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JOURNAL



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

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Editors' Comments

Tracy L. Teel & Kelly L. Grab

We are proud to present the 2012 Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association, a publication of original scholarly works in the field of student affairs. The IUSPA Journal has a long tradition of providing an opportunity for Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) master's students to publish in a peer-reviewed public forum. First debuted in 1967, the Journal has also featured numerous articles by HESA doctoral students, alumni, and others associated with the program. To keep up with modern trends in technology and education, the Journal made the move to an online format in 2010 through the *IUScholarWorks* database, a service provided by the Indiana University Digital Libraries Program. The articles in this year's edition cover a broad range of topics and it is our hope that you will not only enjoy, but be intellectually challenged by the excellent student scholarship.

This edition features articles on special student populations and issues facing both students and practitioners as our college campuses become more diverse. "Delaying the Crossroads: The Impact of Parental Alcoholism on Self-Authorship" opens this edition with a look at how growing up in an alcoholic environment impacts college students' holistic development. Parallels are drawn between Native American college student identity and the experiences of returning adult learners in "From the Reservation: A Theory Regarding the Development of Native American Students." One author explores an important identity development issue facing the growing multiracial/multiethnic student population in "Ethnic Identity Development of Anglo-Oriented Second-Generation Latinos," and the closing article features a theoretical investigation into a population that has recently gained attention in "Heterosexual Ally Identity Development: A Conceptual Model." Another author connects Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Theory with students' experiences in web-based courses in "Student Growth in Asynchronous Online Environments: Learning Styles and Cognitive Development." "Exploring Physical Artifacts on the Campus Tour: A Comparison of Institutional Messaging" looks at the educational environment through an assessment of an official walking tour. Finally, in a piece combining in-depth research with current issues in student affairs administration, "The Influence of Campus Protest on Student Conduct Policies: The Case of Indiana University Bloomington" offers a valuable and timely contribution to the IU campus' historical archives.

As editors of this year's Journal, we would like to thank the 11-member review board, our graphic designer, and our advisor, Dr. Danielle De Sawal, for their generous dedication to creating a quality publication that upholds HESA's legacy of strong scholarship. The Journal would not be possible without the continued support of the IUSPA, financial contributions from alumni, and additional resources from the HESA program. Please enjoy the 2012 Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association!

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Delaying the Crossroads: The Impact of Parental Alcoholism on Self-Authorship

Jillian Liota

This paper proposes a theory regarding the developmental process of College Student Children of Alcoholics (CSCAs). In understanding the distinctive lens through which CSCAs experience Baxter Magolda's (2001) journey to self-authorship and applying Brown's (1988) understanding of identity formation in adolescent children of alcoholics, this paper aims to identify the unique way that CSCAs experience self-authorship.

It is currently estimated that approximately one in four children in the United States grow up in homes with alcohol abuse or dependency (Center on Addiction and the Family, 2011). This means that out of the 11 million 18-24 year olds enrolled in college in 2009, nearly 2.75 million identify with the term Adult Children of Alcoholics (ACAs). While there is growing amount of data and information regarding these individuals, studies and theories that address the development of this population and how they experience college engagement during college remains unexplored. There is a substantial body of work indicating the behavioral, emotional, and psychological issues Adult Children of Alcoholics experience, including lower self-esteem, higher rates of anxiety and depression, excessive self-consciousness, phobia development, codependency, lower scores on cognitive and verbal skill tests, and difficulty developing and sustaining both peer and intimate relationships (Wilson, 1982; National Association for Children of Alcoholics, 1998; Fisher, Jenkins, Harrison & Jesch, 1992; Harter, 2000). While most research indicates that these problems are most prevalent in pre-teen and teenaged children (Brown, 1988), it can be surmised that these issues will continue to affect the identity development of these young adults as they transition into college and adulthood. After examining the effects of parental

alcoholism on development, it is evident that student affairs professionals should know the unique characteristics of this student population and what resources are available for them as they develop.

While the field of psychology broaches this topic, there is a lack of literature addressing what this author is calling College Student Children of Alcoholics (CSCAs). Due to this gap in the literature, student affairs professionals do not have information about what this population experiences as they transition into college life or how they attempt to make meaning of their childhood experiences in this new context. Research about developmental issues in children of alcoholics focuses on their distorted sense of identity and reality based on attachment to an alcoholic parent that leads to a basic mistrust in the intentions of others (Brown, 1988). Brown (1988) indicates that children develop a distorted concept of who they are as a coping mechanism to remain close to their alcoholic parent which then affects all subsequent development. According to this paper, this distorted self-concept will inevitably become a component in college students' identity formation. In an attempt to better understand the experiences of being a CSCA, current literature on the development of children (ages 13-18) of alcoholics and Kegan's (1994) orders of consciousness will be taken into account to develop a unique lens through which to view Baxter Magolda's

(2001) journey to self-authorship. Specifically, this work will focus primarily on the interpersonal and intrapersonal development of the CSCAs who leave the home environment for college; however, these concepts can be applied to all CSCAs. Understanding how CSCAs develop a clear sense of identity and create interdependent relationships on their journey to self-authorship will provide insight to professionals on how to interact with and assess the needs of this unique student population.

Literature Review

Journey to Self-Authorship

Baxter Magolda (2001) describes self-authorship as “the source of knowing, an internal voice from which to interpret and judge knowledge claims from the external world,” (p. 15). In alignment with Kegan’s (1994) fourth order of consciousness, this type of knowing is evident in those who can make choices based on personal value systems that are defined by a sense of self-understanding separate from others’ opinions. The ability to define and understand the various aspects of one’s identity is an integral component in each individual’s holistic development. In the pursuit of self-authorship, Baxter Magolda (2001) indicates that students ask the intrapersonal question, “Who am I?” – the question of self-identity – and the interpersonal question, “What kind of relationships do I want to construct with others?” – the question of relationships relative to identity definition (p.4). These questions lead students through three unique phases: external formulas, crossroads, and self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2001). Baxter Magolda (2001) relates external formulas to Kegan’s (1994) third order of

consciousness, where individuals “subordinate one’s own interests on behalf of one’s greater loyalty to maintaining bonds” (p.75). Kegan (1994), like Baxter Magolda (2001) supported the idea that the “formation of identity is closely tied to the relationships one has with external others” (p.18). In Kegan’s (1994) third order, identity is consumed by our relationships with others, and it is natural to assume the values and opinions of those people we are in relationship with.

In attempting to find the answer to “who am I?” (intrapersonal), students begin by basing their identity off their relationships with others (interpersonal). The movement towards self-authorship requires students to develop a sense of identity separate from the ideas of others. The question “What kind of relationships do I want to construct with others?” (interpersonal) is closely intertwined with personal identity development, as students are attempting to understand their relationships with those around them (Baxter Magolda, 2001). The ultimate developmental outcome is that students will get to a point where their existence is not defined by relationships. Similar to Kegan’s (1994) fourth order, individuals are able to stand apart from relationships and reflect upon them.

The major conflict for CSCAs that arises out of pursuing interpersonal development is cyclical. When they arrive at college, these students believe they know who they are based on what their parents and friends from home have told them. Their intrapersonal and interpersonal understanding of who they are as a person is dictated by their relationships and interactions with the very parent figure that caused the development of basic mistrust. When dissonance occurs in one of the dimensions of self-authorship, all aspects of development are affected (Baxter

Magolda, 2001). This dissonance, typically in the form of a challenge to an ideology or assumption, causes students to feel an uncomfortable amount of stress. They will only be successful in resolving their developmental tasks if they acquire appropriate coping skills for what they are experiencing (Erikson, 1980); otherwise, they are likely to regress to earlier stages of development (Erikson, 1968).

Identity Formation and Attachment in Children of Alcoholics (COAs)

In an attempt to better understand the impact of parental alcoholism on the development of identity, Talashek (1987) completed a study of adolescents with and without an alcoholic parent in which teens (aged 13-17) were given a 72-question survey based on Rasmussen's (1964) Ego Identity Scale. Those with an alcoholic parent were then matched based on age, sex and socioeconomic status with children without an alcoholic parent. The results were compared across data sets and it was concluded that those from families with an alcoholic parent scored lower on the ego identity scale than those who came from families without an alcoholic parent. Due to the continual fear of embarrassment by the alcoholic parent, these children often isolate themselves to avoid scenarios that could cause humiliation or shame (Talashek, 1987). This study of ego identity proposed that those from an alcoholic family may be deficient in their ability to answer "Who am I?"

Brown (1988) states that a family's core beliefs "are based on denial of alcoholism, or the explanations adopted and incorporated to explain it if it is not denied" (p. 169). If a child denies that they perceive a problem or the effects that problem has, developmental arrests and/or difficulties begin to take shape (Guidano & Liotti, 1983).

Guidano & Liotti (1983) indicate that the personal identity resulting from this denial is maintained in contradiction to actual reality. Brown (1988) states that "maintenance of denial and the resultant distorted perceptions about the world then structures subsequent cognitive, affective and social development" (p.169) which causes these areas of development to be bound to the attachment figure. Research indicates that upon entering adulthood, COAs have experienced cognitive, affective, and social development differently than those who have not had an alcoholic parent (Brown, 1988). Their understanding of the world, their emotions, and their relationships are reliant upon the parental figure. Brown (1988) discusses the child's formation of identity beginning at infancy, including the development of basic assumptions "which must not be disproved" (p.170). These assumptions form the basis of the identity, and "individuals cannot function without a stable self-representation" (Brown, 1988, p. 170). Similar to Erikson's (1980) basic trust versus mistrust, this leads the child to become selective in their information gathering to ensure that their self-knowledge remains intact (Brown, 1988).

Guidano and Liotti (1983) state that parents are *the* world to the child. Maintaining an attachment to the alcoholic parent is of the utmost importance, and children will inevitably create a distorted self-concept that will affect future developmental capabilities (Brown, 1988). As parents deny their alcoholism, their child is denying his or her developing senses based on a need to believe and accept the parents' views (Brown, 1988). Because children are incapable of changing their core beliefs or basic assumptions at such a young age, they must then reject the information they are receiving from the world in order to maintain an attachment to their parents, which can

ultimately keep the child from relying on their abilities and lead the child to develop feelings of mistrust in the intentions of others (Brown, 1988). Wilson (1982) also indicated that children will refrain from engaging in close relationships because they want to keep their parent's drinking a secret and they do not trust others with that information, which can lead to long-lasting deficiencies in the ability to develop relationships. Erikson (1980) theorized that mistrust as a child can lead to mistrust of others later in life, and Brown (1988) indicated that mistrust of others and of personal insight were core problems in those attending alcohol-related therapy as adults.

Eventually, this can lead to the child taking on the assumption of responsibility, because "if their parent does not have a problem with drinking, then there must be something wrong with the child" (Brown, 1988, p.176). Ultimately, this will create coping mechanisms developed in reaction to the disequilibrium the child is feeling, as they will consider it worse to believe that the person they depend on is wrong. The ultimate result in COAs is their inability to perceive reality the way other children do since they must narrow their views until they align with and remain supportive of the views they have developed based on their attachment to an alcoholic parent (Brown, 1988). This "so interrupts the path of normal development that the preadolescent is in no way emotionally prepared to negotiate the adolescent tasks of identification and separation" (Brown, 1988, p.180). In other words, they are incapable of defining themselves separately from their alcoholic parental figure.

Brown (1988) continues by stating that in a family that centralizes around the denial of alcoholism, "the development of a stable, integrated, independent identity that

by-passes the issue of alcohol is impossible" (p. 182). Because the entirety of the COA's upbringing has revolved around the topic of alcohol, their formation and development is largely defined by it (Brown, 1988). By wrapping the entirety of the identity into the family alcoholism, this author proposes that CSCAs find themselves torn between a new life at college where they may experience developmental challenges and the familiarity of the alcoholic environment at home. Because they will typically look to their home environment for cues as to how to proceed in their own lives, CSCAs will be inextricably bound to the issue of alcohol, making developmental processes in a university setting even more complicated.

Integration: The Impact of Parental Alcoholism on Self-Authorship

In an effort to better understand what CSCAs experience in college, Baxter Magolda's (2001) journey to self-authorship will be utilized as a framework in defining the CSCA's unique developmental process and attempt at self-definition (i.e. a lens through which they view themselves and others). Brown's (1988) understanding of identity formation in adolescent children of alcoholics will help to better represent the internal changes that CSCAs have experienced and what direction they take in their development. Talashek's (1987) study of ego identity in teenagers (aged 13-17) will assist in identifying where the pre-college aged adolescent is in their development.

Baxter Magolda (2001) indicates "the college experience offer[s] opportunities for questioning and exploration, raising the possibility of constructing an identity separate from external forces" (p.18). In contrast, Brown (1988) indicates that adolescents from alcoholic homes will deny

all external forces that threaten their established ideals about their family and who they are. Instead, they will rely on the previously assumed understanding that has been communicated to them through their parent's alcoholism. Despite the indication in student affairs literature that college often serves as a catalyst for identity definition, CSCAs are likely to reject any formations of a separate identity, as an identity formed based on anything other than their parent's alcoholism is nearly impossible.

A representation of the intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions of Baxter Magolda's (2001) journey to self-authorship indicates that the typical college student moves through different phases towards solidifying their understanding of their identity – beginning first with external

formulas, then into the crossroads, and finally on to self-authorship (see Figure 1). CSCAs may go through a different process that requires additional time and resources, as well as an intentional decision to address this unique developmental experience (See Figure 2). The proposed process of CSCA development is described below.

Stage 1: Prolonged Attachment

This stage is highlighted by the CSCA's struggle with experiencing separation from their alcoholic parent once they arrive in the college environment. The student still remains completely dependent on their parent as the representation of their identity, and the student may have difficulty stating explicit beliefs or values without their parent as context. The student may remain

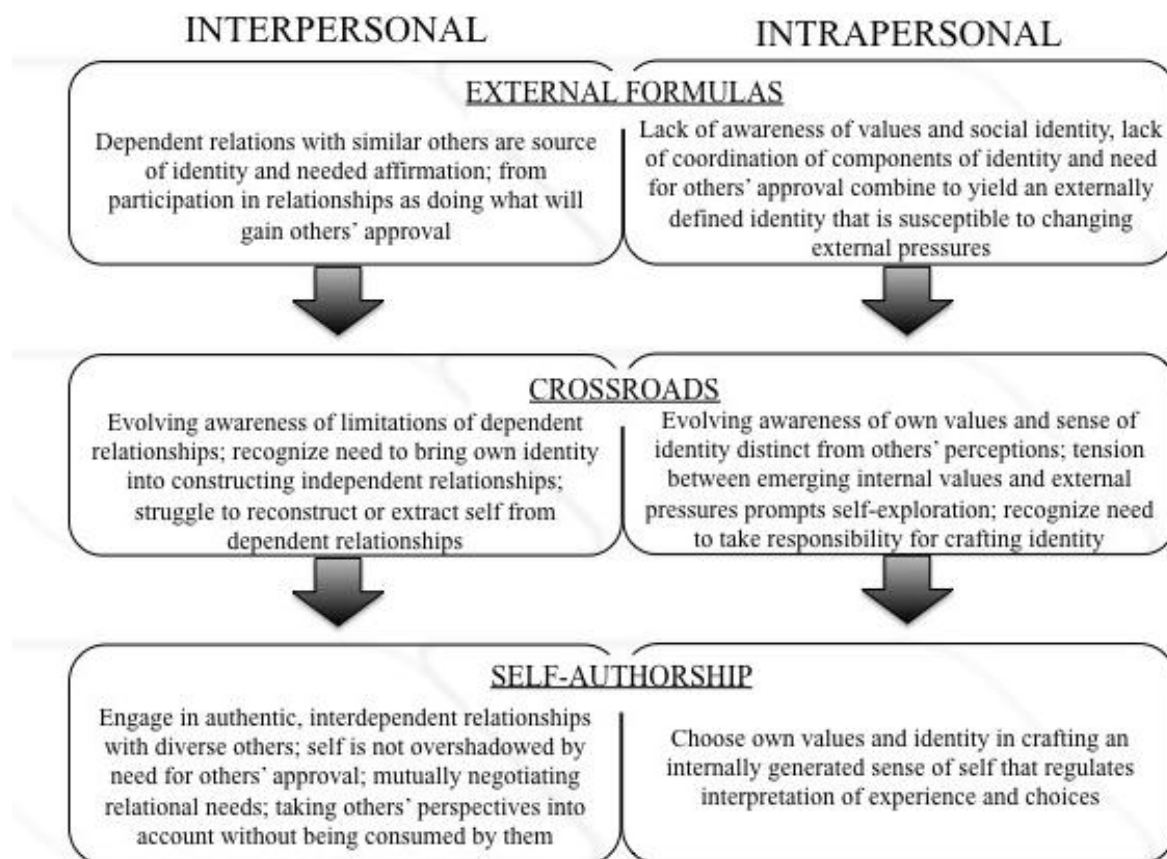


Figure 1. Model of Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Dimensions of Self-Authorship. Adapted from Baxter Magolda, M. (2001). *Making Their Own Way: Narratives for Transforming Higher Education to Promote Self-Development*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.

somewhat distant from peers for fear of shattering the identity they have always known, and they may still experience secretive tendencies similar to how they handled fear, embarrassment, and shame for the parent’s behavior during their youth. Brown (1988) indicates that adolescents’ “distorted self-conceptions remain anchored to forms of prelogical [*sic*] thinking typical of childhood and consistent with denial” (p.171). This student would appear to be following a form of external formulas (Baxter Magolda, 2001). However, due to the symbol of alcohol creating the foundation for all further development, this form of external

formulas revolves around the family and home life rather than friends or other authority figures.

Stage 2: Stall/Restoration

This stage requires deep reflection most often attributed to therapeutic assistance. Various events will prompt the student to seek assistance, ranging from personal identification of a problem to an authority figure mandating therapy. If the student arrests at Stage 1 and refuses to acknowledge Stage 2 as their next step, their ability to develop interpersonal relationships will be stunted. This may lead to unhealthy

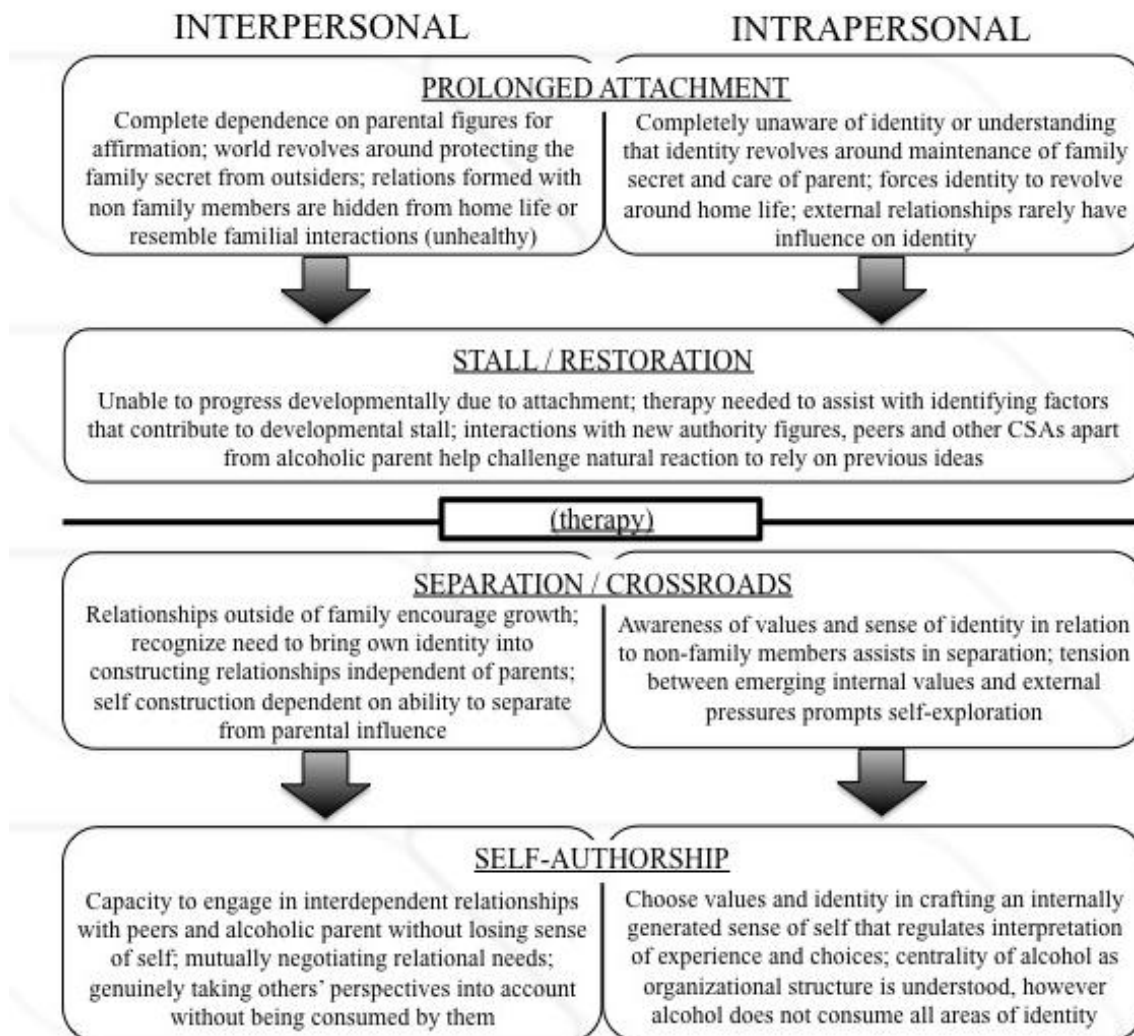


Figure 2. Proposed reorganization and understanding of interpersonal and intrapersonal dimensions of self-authorship

intimate and peer relationships, and their understanding of their identity will remain rooted in their parent's alcoholism. Baxter Magolda (2001) acknowledged the complications experienced by those with difficult histories, stating, "finding their own voices and standing up for themselves was complicated for many participants by personal dynamics and external events" (p.10). Stage 2 is long and difficult, and many college students may leave the university setting still in this stage. As Figure 2 notes, CSCAs will not be able to move past Stall/Restoration unless they have gone through therapy or counseling. It is in this stage that student affairs professionals can be of great assistance, as students may not be prepared to identify therapy as a solution for their struggles. For many, this stage will never end and persist as the student continues on to other stages.

Stage 3: Separation/Crossroads

At this stage, which is best understood as the transition between Baxter Magolda's (2001) external formulas and crossroads stages and Brown's (1988) theory of ACA recovery, students' experiences with others prompts their ability to recognize the importance of separation. Due to their physical separation from their alcoholic parent, students begin to shift away from the alcoholic parent or family experience as their "external formula." Because separating from the parent is still a new process, CSCAs will latch onto the opinions and value systems of their peers. They start to recognize not only the importance of separating their identity from their parent's alcoholism but also the fact that they are capable of such a separation. Students begin feeling comfortable revealing their family history to peers and partners, allowing them to release from those attachments. Recognizing the disparity between their emerging concepts

and beliefs and the ideals from their home lives will prompt further growth and development. At the same time, students must remain cognizant of alcohol's impact on their life and their family's history, and allow their understanding of alcoholism to play a small role in the development of their new values, beliefs, and relationships. Student affairs professionals can again serve an integral role in assisting students as they struggle to handle the confusion that will often accompany this stage.

Stage 4: Self-Authorship

Self-authorship is highlighted by the student's ability to understand who they are in spite of their parent's alcoholism and in relation to peers and intimate relationships. They are able to see parental alcoholism and their experiences growing up as a part of their identity, but this association does not drive their choices and values. It is imperative for CSCAs to accept "the centrality of alcohol as an organizing principle" (Brown, 1988, p.202) in their restructured identity. This allows them to acknowledge who they are as children of alcoholics but not allow alcohol to be the central focus of their life (Brown, 1988).

Further Investigation

Studies on CSCAs have been completed in the past decade that are reflective of codependency differences between ACAs and non-ACAs (Jones, Perera-Diltz, Salyers, Laux, & Cochrane, 2007), alcohol and drug use (Braitman et al., 2009), the impact of parental alcoholism on executive functioning (Schroeder & Kelley, 2008), occupational choice (Vaught & Wittman, 2011) and depression and peer relations (Kelley et al, 2010). While this covers the clinical perspective, none of these studies highlights implications for student affairs. Student

affairs professionals must begin researching this student population to ensure awareness of these various and unique experiences. As stated previously, CSCAs must be able to recognize the centrality of alcohol as an organizational structure in their identities, and to do so they must interact with other CSCAs (Brown, 1988). Student interactions with other CSCAs who are also struggling on their journey to self-authorship may be a significant opportunity for them to experience personal challenge. College and university administrators could provide a student group as a part of their counseling or psychological services departments to assist CSCAs in developing a better understanding of who they are and how they experience life.

Further investigation into these developmental processes requires studies of college students who identify as CSCAs in relation to their experience of self-authorship and their understanding of being children of alcoholics as an identity. Identifying a correlation between parental alcohol use and abuse with how these students experience collegiate drinking culture is an additional topic that deserves exploration. Because stigmas that accompany alcoholism vary by cultural background, therefore influencing the developmental experience in unique ways, recognizing the different experiences of CSCAs who identify as a member of a minority group must be pursued as well. It is also plausible that CSCAs will feel

embarrassed about their family background. Those who have strong role models outside the home may not have as severe developmental arrests or be impacted by parental alcoholism as much as their peers without strong parental figures. Those who had an alcoholic parent who was absent from the home (through divorce, separation, abandonment, etc.) will have varied experiences as well. Due to the increased likelihood of COAs becoming alcoholic themselves (Brown, 1988), it is important for professionals to begin conversations with CSCAs regarding their predisposition to alcohol and substance abuse. Ensuring that these students have safe spaces to explore their identity is imperative to their healthy development.

Student affairs professionals must remain cognizant of the varying degrees to which students will experience the journey to self-authorship as a CSCA. Administrators must remain aware of these differences and how they affect the developmental processes of CSCAs. It is imperative that more empirical data about this student population be gathered. By taking steps towards better understanding the lens through which this unique student population experiences the journey to self-authorship, student affairs professionals can take appropriate courses of action to ensure that CSCAs experience holistic development on par with other student populations.

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The Influence of Campus Protest on Student Conduct Policies: The Case of Indiana University Bloomington

Mahauganee D. Shaw

This article provides a historic view of how student activism influenced campus governance in the 1960s, using Indiana University as a lens. Alongside IU archival documents, publications of the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges provide the national context of campus administration during this period of student unrest. These documents come together to provide an example of how one institution navigated the task of reconciling institutional need with opinions from different stakeholder groups.

The 1960s was a decade ripe with social movements. Young Americans were incited into activism in numbers larger than ever before (Rhoads, 1998). As this “generation of young people best known for its idealism and impatience” (Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges [AGB], 1968a, p. 6) entered college, they brought with them the spirit of collective action. At Indiana University, student protests and demonstrations were staged in support of different causes, including the anti-war movement, racial discrimination, disagreement with administrative decisions, and the equal treatment of women students. In a 1966 study of student protest, Peterson writes that the “surge of student unrest and active protest must certainly be among the most significant developments in American higher education, perhaps in American society, of the mid-1960s. As a cultural phenomenon, as a social force, it warrants being understood” (p. 1). This article focuses on how Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) administrators handled the responsibility of responding to student protests and demonstrations on campus from 1967 to 1969. These years were selected because of the surge of student demonstrations staged by IUB students, and

thus the spike in administrative attention paid to student activism.

Using studies such as Peterson’s (1966) in tandem with national publications and primary documents from the archives of Indiana University, this essay describes how one Midwestern university responded to student activism through policy decisions. Over fifty years later, higher education administrators and scholars can still learn from the “social force” that characterized campus culture of the 1960s. For higher education administrators and scholars, this story provides an institutional example of navigating the balance of power between different campus constituencies, developing and implementing new policies and procedures, and responding to the concerns and actions of student activists.

Student Unrest as a National Issue

Across the country, campus administrators were coping with what Peterson (1966) termed “the restiveness of the ‘new’ college student” (p. 3) under the realization that they were “not able to respond to [student] demands with nearly the speed or the effectiveness that they desire[d]” (AGB, 1968a, p. 6). Roger Heyns,

then chancellor of the University of California Berkeley—home to some of the most often-cited student demonstrations—wrote of his desire for simpler campus issues in the September 1968 edition of *AGB Reports*, the journal of the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (AGB):

I often find myself hoping wistfully that we could have a crisis so simple as a tornado or a flood....I do not mean to minimize the tragedy and suffering that accompanies natural disasters....What I do mean is that while the crisis in higher education is not so immediate, it is immensely more complex than those dramatic situations. (AGB, 1968a, p. 5)

To discuss the complexities of governing campus protests, the AGB planned a special conference in October 1968 with a theme of “Crisis on the Campus.” The invitation to the conference “urged” members of “Boards of trustees and regents...to be fully represented at this important conference,” noting that “presidents or other representatives” were only welcome to the conference if “accompanied by one or more board members” (AGB, 1968a, back cover). Often misunderstood by bodies of demonstrating students, university presidents provided visible leadership to the campus community but were not ultimate decision makers (AGB, 1968a). Largely controlled by Boards of Trustees, bodies that in turn are influenced by state legislatures, university presidents and other senior administrators housed in campus offices bore both the burden of enforcing policies that were often incongruent with the desires of student masses and the brunt of responsibility for explaining the actions of students not willing to follow those policies. This structure was definitely true of Indiana University: “It is no exaggeration to conclude that in almost every respect, the Board is the final, if not the sole,

locus of authority within [Indiana] University” (Travis, 1968, p. 2). In conversations with student activists, IUB President Elvis Stahr attempted to explain this “system of multiple, criss-crossing [*sic*] authority-relations of differing types and strengths” (AGB, 1968a, p. 9) in efforts to alleviate pressure from himself (Wynkoop, 2002).

Public opinion on proper institutional structure and power dynamics varied. UC Berkeley Chancellor Heyns wrote of the necessity for authoritative power and responsibility to be spread amongst administrative levels (AGB, 1968a). He called for campuses to “solidify [their] leadership base” (p. 11) in efforts to maintain order on campus. Conversely, an essay in *Time* noted that “administrators who have permitted students to participate in some policy areas applaud the results, say that it prevents protest and often raises standards” (*Time Essay*, 1968, section Needed: Tolerance & Participation, para. 1). This essay, however, also differentiates between accepting student advice and granting student power, and it cautions against the latter.

In regards to student power, the *Time* (1968) essay suggested taking a proactive approach: “...the way to deal with student power is to anticipate it [and] to initiate changes before the students demand them” (section Needed: Tolerance & Participation, para. 1). Understanding that some student demands and demonstrations could not be anticipated, the October 1968 *AGB Reports* strongly suggested that institutions of higher education stand to benefit from having an organized response plan for campus disturbances and an employee whose responsibility it is to activate and execute the response plan when necessary. This same issue of the journal states that campus policy and the possible sanctions for violating policy

“should be made clear, before any campus demonstration takes place,” warning that (a) “vague regulations and lack of consistency give the activist a strong advantage....[and (b)] spokesmen for the university must be persons that students know and trust” (1968b, p. 34). The problems of “vague regulations and lack of consistency” was a prominent concern of IUB students and administrators.

The Late 1960s at Indiana University Bloomington

Herman B Wells, the IUB alumnus who spent twenty-five years as the University president, resigned from the presidency in 1962. His successor, Elvis J. Stahr, assumed the Indiana University presidency on July 1 of that same year (Harrell, 1968b). Stahr’s tenure as president continued through the late 1960s, the period which marked the height of student unrest at Indiana University Bloomington. By 1967, IUB was not unlike most U.S. campuses: there was an intense student faction committed to voicing opposition to University and national affairs; student protests and demonstrations, originating from various interest groups, were frequent; and University administrators were consumed with discussions on how to handle the issues posed by these demonstrations.

The fall semester of 1967 saw two of the most well-known campus demonstrations in IUB’s history—one on October 30 to protest the presence of Dow Chemical recruiters on campus and the other on October 31 to voice opposition towards then Secretary of State Dean Rusk who was giving a speech on campus. Both demonstrations resulted in unfavorable local and national media coverage for the University; won the attention of other college presidents, parents

of IUB students, Indiana residents and state legislators; and generated discussion and many strong opinions amongst IUB faculty, staff, and students. President Stahr himself called these protests “a threat to [IUB’s] academic enterprise” (*Remarks from Elvis J. Stahr*, 1967, p. 3), noting that student activists had overstepped the bounds of acceptability in an “[attempt] to assert some presumed right to deny the rights of others, in one case the right of students to explore career opportunities [by interviewing with recruiters from Dow Chemical], in the other not only the right of one to speak, but the right of many others to listen” (p. 5).

The constancy of student uprisings during Stahr’s presidency were likely the impetus for his retirement after what he called “six long and busy years” (Harrell, 1968b, p. 2). Never citing specific events, President Stahr noted that the reason for his resignation was “presidential fatigue, the result of 24 straight years of working for unusually long hours in unusually demanding jobs, the last ten years of which have been in positions I can only describe as involving super pressure” (pp. 2-3). At the time of Stahr’s resignation, Herman B Wells, who had been serving the University as Chancellor, was named Interim President (Harrell, 1968b). In November 1968, the Board of Trustees unanimously elected Joseph Lee Sutton the 13th President of Indiana University (Harrell, 1968c). Sutton remained in this position until 1971.

Administrative Approaches to Student Protest

David Clark, Dean of the School of Education from 1966-1974, described the responsibility that fatigued President Stahr: Complexities...arise when one attempts to discuss rules, regulations, and authority in the context of the university—an institution which values and thrives upon freedom from conventional definitions of rules, regulations,

and authority. Actions which are quite appropriate in other settings to combat inefficiency, ineffectiveness, or disruptiveness become useless in the university setting because they are antithetical to the necessary and unique culture of the institution. (Clark, 1967, p.1) By nature, institutions of higher education are places where information, open discussion, and thought should flow freely. Yet, some level of control must be exerted to maintain order and provide guidance. Distinguishing the proper, strategically executed response to student protests was the dilemma that plagued the IUB presidency, the Trustees, and other senior administrators.

AGB Reports (1968a) called for campuses to rethink and revise their focus on student conduct. Writing on “New Grounds for Student Discipline,” (AGB, 1968a, p. 21) John McDonough, a law professor at Stanford University, posited that the university’s new relationship to student conduct should be that of an educator and proprietor. McDonough argued that, as educator, the university should reduce the focus on citizenship standards and place emphasis on whether a student’s behavior “casts doubt upon the student’s entitlement to continue as a member of the University community” (p. 22). As proprietor “of the physical complex that constitutes the campus,” (p. 22) the university’s concern with student conduct should focus specifically on how students interact with and respect campus property. McDonough’s call to move away from conventional methods and focus energy on the parameters of student conduct was in stark contrast to the *in loco parentis* regulations—a campus governance approach in which the university-student relationship resembles the parent-child relationship—of previous years. Under *in loco parentis*

policies, colleges and universities were heavily regulating student dress codes, residential and automobile privileges, visitation hours and locations, conduct, and increasingly campus politics (Heineman, 2001; Wynkoop, 2002). President Stahr’s “super pressure,” Dean Clark’s recognition of the “complexities” of campus governance, and McDonough’s call to focus on the overarching objectives of educating students and protecting campus infrastructure, provide an apt background for examining the evolution of campus policies at IUB.

The Evolution of IUB’s Campus Policies on Student Protest

The urgency to institute a policy governing the conduct of student activists at IUB arose after the two previously-described student disruptions in October 1967. The drive to create this policy was initiated by the Faculty Council and supported by President Stahr. Student leaders quickly got involved, offering their own critiques and revisions to the policy. These events are detailed in the subsequent sections. It should be noted that all of the versions of the IUB policies described below also include sections on student conduct issues other than protest and demonstrations (e.g., plagiarism, cheating, traffic violations, housing regulations, and the like); however, the discussion that follows will focus solely on the portions of these policies intended to manage and direct the conduct of student activists.

Regulations Affecting Student Life (Faculty Council, 1967-1968)

The Faculty Council held an informal meeting on the evening of October 31, following the Secretary of State’s appearance on campus, to discuss the “wide-spread

concern among the Faculty about the events” (*Notice to members*, 1967, p. 1). In early November 1967, conversations regarding how to best protect the academic integrity of the University while also maintaining the “commitment to freedom of inquiry, freedom of expression and freedom to differ” (p. 1) intrinsic to the University setting permeated IUB’s campus. There are archival records from this time filled with hundreds of letters addressed to President Elvis Stahr from people both internal and external to the University expressing either concern for the state of the University, objection to the University’s response, or support for University administrators (see *Student Demonstrations*, n.d.; “The following”, 1967). It was with great concern and this range of opinions in mind that the Faculty Council included “consideration of the University Policy with Respect to Student Demonstrations” on their November 7 meeting agenda.

Prior to discussing the policy at the November 7 meeting, the Faculty Council heard from President Stahr. Noting that the number of letters received from faculty helped him understand the importance of the topic at hand, President Stahr made an appeal for support: “For only when faculty and administration find themselves on common ground can the University really expect to cope with such problems” (*Remarks of Elvis J. Stahr*, 1967, p. 1). In his address, President Stahr asked that deliberations over the proper policy for campus demonstrations keep his two basic principles in mind: “the safeguard of orderly dissent, and protection from forcible disruption” (p. 1). Student protests walked a fine line between “orderly dissent” and “forcible disruption.” It was the progression from the former to the latter that characterized the events of October 30 and

31 and necessitated a review and possible revision of campus policy regarding these types of events.

The result, *Regulations Affecting Student Life, 1967-1968: Free Speech Policy*, a document outlining general rules of student conduct, noted that students “may be subject to disciplinary action, including suspension” for conduct fitting, but not limited to, the following criteria:

1. Damaging or destroying University property
2. Conducting oneself in a disorderly or disruptive manner
3. Disobeying proper orders of authorized University personnel acting in accordance with University regulations
4. Violating criminal law, [either] on University property [or] while acting on behalf of the University
5. Creating, maintaining, or participating in a situation seriously detrimental to the health, safety, or welfare of the University community; and in so doing being inconsistent with the basic objectives of the University community.

(“Excerpt from ‘Regulations,’” 1967, p. 1)

These criteria could be interpreted as a ban on organizing and demonstrating. This, however, is not the case; higher education’s dilemma stemmed from the fact that students were allowed the freedom of expression, thought, and speech that often resulted in news headlining demonstrations.

As such, the 1967-1968 *Regulations Affecting Student Life* moved past the general rules above to include a section on “Picketing and Other Forms of Demonstration” (p. 2).

According to the guidelines provided, picketing and demonstrating: (a) was only allowed outside of buildings, excluding buildings where such activity would interfere

with classes in session, privacy of residential students, or university functions; (b) had to be orderly and safe; (c) could not block building entrances or otherwise obstruct the flow of people or vehicles on campus; or (d) could not be scheduled at an organized meeting or event, which signified intention to disrupt the event and its attendees. To ensure that these rules did not prohibit students from picketing and demonstrating, Dunn Meadow was designated as the University's official "Assembly Ground," and information regarding use of city streets was made available through the Student Activities Office (*Faculty Council Doc. No. 21 1967-68*). Additionally, picketers and demonstrators were expected to: remain peaceful and indifferent towards passersby; include the name of the organizing faction on all printed materials; clean up after themselves; and understand that violation of campus policy would result in disciplinary action or, depending on the severity of the violation, arrest.

Notification that picketing and demonstrating could potentially result in arrest was important given the escalation in campus incidents across the country during this time. IUB student activists were not the only group protesting Dow Chemical or running the risk of arrest. According to a 1967 version of *Higher Education and National Affairs*, the newsletter of the American Council on Education, "a nationwide campaign to exclude Dow Chemical Company people from campuses and a forthcoming meeting solely on the tactics to be employed" (*Remarks of Elvis J. Stahr*, 1967, p. 6) had been instituted by the National Student Association (NSA). The success of this campaign is seen in the results of a 1968 study conducted by the NSA which reported that "the most common reason for student protest was this year's cause célèbre,

Dow Chemical Company recruitment" on campus (AGB, 1968b, p. 7). Students on various campuses, including Kent State University in Ohio, the State University of New York at Buffalo, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison had also been involved with such protests (Heineman, 2001). At the University of Wisconsin, the protests began in the spring of 1967 and escalated to a violent head on October 18, less than two weeks prior to the Dow Chemical incident at IUB (Wynkoop, 2002). The Wisconsin protest resulted in the involvement of the local police force, mass arrests, and the injury of at least 175 student activists (Heineman, 2001). The Dow protest at IUB was smaller scale, resulting in the arrest of 35 students and serious injury of two. Occurring on the heels of the Wisconsin incident, IUB's decision to involve local police in campus issues was not well-received by many faculty, administrators, and students. Yet, the students involved in the protest understood when planning the demonstration that "whenever they protested on campus against the war, they were subject to disciplinary action and, perhaps, arrest" (Wynkoop, 2002, p. 55). In fact, IUB's student activists included the possibility of arrest in their strategy. Guy Loftman, then student body president, was one of the student activists who elected to not participate, noting that "if the Dow protests resulted in any arrests, someone had to be free to get everyone else out of jail" (Wynkoop, 2002, p. 56). Even with knowledge of the possibility of arrest and a somewhat detailed list of regulations, the unfavorable response to student arrests and the air of dissatisfaction amongst the campus community was a clear indication that the campus policy was insufficient.

Uniform Student Conduct Code (Student Senate, 1968)

In February 1968, IUB student body president Guy Loftman released an open letter to the campus community stating that “inconsistent and ambiguous student conduct regulations have caused unhappiness for many students, and conflict among faculty, students, and administration” (Loftman, 1968, p. 1). If inconsistent policy was sowing discord amongst the different factions within the campus community, there was a need for a policy that was clear, consistent, and accepted. Guy Loftman’s open letter served as an introductory note to a proposal for instituting a *Uniform Student Conduct Code*. The “inconsistent and ambiguous student conduct regulations” referenced by Loftman are representative of the “vague regulations and lack of consistency” of which *AGB Reports* (1968b, p. 34) warned. As the journal cautioned, the vague and inconsistent regulations increased student power. It appears that a clear and consistent policy would have eliminated the catalyst that inspired the 1968 Student Senate to draft and propose a new policy.

The Conduct Code was drafted by the Student Senate in hopes that combining segments of all previous campus documents regarding student behavior into one would “clarify the needs of the University community to protect itself from anti-social behavior, thus removing one cause of conflict and making students more certain of what behavior is legal and what is not” (Loftman, 1968, p. 1). The newly proposed code was presented to the campus community in anticipation that it would be adopted by the Faculty Council and become official IUB policy.

The preamble to the Uniform Student Conduct Code noted that “the student must be recognized and treated as an adult, with the encumbent [*sic*] rights, freedoms, and

responsibilities” (“*Uniform Student*,” 1968, p. 1). For the student authors of the *Uniform Student Conduct Code*, these “rights, freedoms, and responsibilities” included the “authority to determine regulations governing their own lives...[and recognition] as *full members* [emphasis added] of the University community in matters affecting its general governance” (p. 1). The call for full membership in the University community is likely a nod to student concerns regarding the impersonal feel of campus procedures and the common belief that administrators treated students as numbers rather than people (Wynkoop, 2002).

Among other violations, the section of the *Uniform Student Conduct Code* devoted to “General Conduct” lists that students should not:

1. ...steal, destroy, damage, litter, deface, or impair the usefulness of any property owned or held by the University.
2.interfere unreasonably with the conduct of any University activity.
3.refuse to display his [*sic*] University identification card or other identification to an employee of the Division of Student Personnel or to a deputized employee of the Safety Division upon reasonable request.
4.fail to obey any proper order before any judicial body. (*Uniform Student*, 1968, p. 2)

Each of these rules was followed by a stated maximum penalty for violation, ranging from formal reprimand to monetary obligation. Placed in the context of national and local student movements, these rules of “general conduct” covered many of the actions involved in the demonstrations.

Even though the *Uniform Student Conduct Code* was meant to be an amalgamation of previous policies, it did not

include a specific section on picketing and demonstrating. Based on the proclamation of adulthood in the preamble, it is likely that student leaders simply did not believe there was a need for specific rules guiding demonstration. If protest is a form of free expression, able to be conceptualized and performed in ways befitting the protestor and the protested, how could one logically place parameters on how to protest? Doing so would strip students of the freedoms that are inherent to higher education settings. Beyond simply removing the section on protest and demonstration from the conduct code, the new document contained a statement repealing any previously-enacted regulations that were not included. Thus, the regulations on "Picketing and Other Forms of Demonstration" were to be voted out of existence.

Picketing & Demonstration Regulations (Faculty Council, 1968)

Revisions to *Regulations Affecting Student Life*, submitted by the Faculty Council Committee on Picketing, Demonstrations, and Related Matters, were approved on April 2, 1968. Specific rules on "Picketing and Other Forms of Demonstration" were omitted from this draft of the campus policy. The Committee stood by this omission, noting that a survey of other universities revealed that "the detailed and prescriptive approach [to writing campus policies] invariably [led] to confusion, controversy, and chaos" (*Faculty Council Minutes*, 1968, p. 9). Additionally, the Committee reported that "institutions with the least unfortunate experiences in recent months have been those adopting some form of general standard, rather than a catalogue of campus crimes" (p. 9). Finally, the Committee argued that omitting specific rules on picketing and demonstrations was "the

only truly educational approach. [In order] to cultivate in students a sense of responsibility, and a responsible sensitivity, there is no other viable action" (p. 9). Accompanied by these supportive arguments, the Committee presented the new *Regulations*. In a more condensed and generalized statement of the regulations governing student conduct, the policy outlined the ways in which students should exercise their dissent:

...each student shall have freedom of speech and assembly, and freedom to publish and distribute any material at any time and place, subject only to legal limitations, provided that he does not unreasonably disturb the peace or the good order of any University activity or unreasonably interfere with the movement of vehicular or pedestrian traffic. The penalty for violating the foregoing proviso may be any within the full range of University discipline. (Shaffer, 1968, p. 1)

The revised policy was named "Picketing & Demonstration Regulations." Though the new policy did not include the terms picketing and demonstrations, the authors were careful to name specific activities included in picketing and demonstrating, and the title of the policy clearly stated the reason for its existence. In late May, after the close of the 1967-1968 academic year, President Stahr presented a statement to the Board of Trustees differentiating between dissent and disruption: "We recognize each individual's right to disagreement, even dissension, but the University and its members must be protected from threat and intimidation....it is vitally important...that the University's activities be subjected to modification only through rational means" (*Statement of the President*, 1968, para. 3). This differentiation became a key point in future versions of IUB student conduct policy. The Board, approving of Stahr's statement, reaffirmed their

“support of the officials of the University in the firm enforcement of University policies and rules relating to picketing, demonstrating and related matters” (Harrell, 1968a, p. 4). Further, the Board affirmed a commitment to immediately expel any student violating the policies and rules. Newspapers across the state of Indiana praised the Indiana University Board for making the rules clear and taking “firm stands” (*Firm Action*, 1968, para. 5).

Guiding Procedures for Handling Disruptive Demonstrations (Dean of Students, 1968)

Heading into the fall 1968 semester, *AGB Reports* published an article titled “Tactics for Handling Campus Disturbances: Planning, restraint more effective than police force.” In the article, the authors warn: Unless a university wants to cancel all its government contracts, revamp its board of trustees to eliminate corporate representatives, admit 15 percent minority students unconditionally, take a firm institutional position against the war in Vietnam, and give the *coup de grace* to *in loco parentis* –unless it decides to do all these things, it is going to have to get down to some serious planning for the disturbances that *are going to come* [emphasis added] this fall, next fall, and the fall after that. (AGB, 1968b, p. 30).

Anticipating the return of student activism to campus for the 1968-1969 academic year, and noting that “there may be some ambiguity surrounding University rules and policies applicable to student demonstrations” (Shaffer, 1968, p. 1), IUB Dean of Students Robert Shaffer released a campus memo revisiting the official campus rules that governed student demonstrations and discipline. In the memo, Dean Shaffer (1968) noted that the standing campus policy was “to permit dissent but not to tolerate

disruption” by allowing the “freedom of inquiry and discussion essential to a student’s development” (p. 1).

Dean Shaffer’s memo was sent to the campus on August 1, prior to the start of the academic year, noting that “indications of the possibility of demonstrations of one sort or another early this fall” existed (p. 1). Dean Shaffer followed his memo with the release of *Guiding Procedures for Handling Disruptive Demonstrations* to all university officials in September. This document, one for wide circulation and one more detailed, confidential version for staff members in the Division of Student Personnel, outlined specific steps to take in the event of a potentially disruptive campus demonstration (Dean of Students, 1968). Rather than targeting student behavior and actions, *Guiding Procedures* provided guidelines and instructions for University employees, explaining how to respond when present at a student demonstration. According to this document, “a demonstration or gathering shall be judged to be unreasonably disruptive if it obstructs or prevents the conduct of business, holding of a scheduled activity or the carrying out of University procedures” (“*Board of Trustees*,” 1968, para. 5). In the same month that Roger Heyns’ article appeared in the *AGB Reports* (1968a) urging institutions to solidify their leadership base, Dean Shaffer released his memo putting the onus for maintaining order on all campus officials.

Although Shaffer’s memo imbued all faculty and staff with the power to mobilize a response to student activists, it also provided contact information for offices to notify and stated that “no off-campus police will be called without the express order of the President or his vice-presidential designate” (Dean of Students, 1968, para. 11). The Office of the Dean of Students is listed as the first

office to contact, with the Safety Division listed second. Given the history of student activists with safety officers, the decision to involve familiar staff members before the campus safety team was a move that aligned with the article from *AGB Reports* advising that “spokesmen for the university must be persons that students know and trust” (1968b, p. 30). The confidential version of the Guiding Procedures lists steps to be taken after the Office of the Dean of Students is contacted. Each office within the Division was assigned a specific task to complete in efforts to dissipate the demonstration. In recognition of the positive influence and cordial relationship many faculty members had with students, the policy states that “any faculty observers present....will be encouraged to talk with the participants in the demonstration to urge compliance with University policy” (*Confidential-For Division*, 1968, para. 5).

Indiana University Student Code (1969)

By March 1969, the rules and regulations included in previous versions of the student conduct code had been combined into one clearly outlined document, the *Indiana University Student Code, Bloomington Campus*. Addressing the dilemma faced by campus administrators and previous concerns raised by members of the student body and others, the preamble to the *Student Code* stated that “the purpose of the code is to protect the rights of the individual student and the needs of the community. It is written to insure fairness and equality by explicitly defining the rules governing student life and disciplinary procedures” (*Indiana University Student Code*, 1969, p. 1). Seemingly in reprimand of student activists’ actions the preamble further stated that it was specifically “designed to encourage students themselves to assume the

responsibility for their own behavior and discipline” (p. 1). However, showing growth from the lessons of previous years, the new *Student Code* proposal required approval from both the Faculty Council and the Student Senate—representatives of the campus’s two largest constituent groups—prior to being referred to the Board of Trustees. In addition, the power to draft amendments to the code was designated to “a faculty-student committee [to] be appointed by the Faculty Council and the Student Senate.” Yet, the approval of amendments submitted by the committee was left up to the Faculty Council and the Board of Trustees. Effectively, IUB had found a way to include students in the process of governing their own behavior and disciplinary procedures without relinquishing the discretionary power of final approval.

Summary and Discussion

Responding to student unrest was a difficult task that marked the experiences of 1960s campus administrators across the nation. The responsibility entrusted to campus leaders required the simultaneous preservation of essential elements in the academic environment—freedoms of thought, inquiry, opinion, and speech—and maintenance of campus operations and safety. In order to do this, institutions of higher education had to shift away from the *in loco parentis* management style, permit students to act and exist as adults, and devise a comprehensive policy on student conduct that could be effectively applied to any situation. The different versions of the policy governing student protest at IUB help construct the story of how campus administrators handled this responsibility and which groups influenced the development of the policy.

While campus administrators had the primary responsibility of protecting the integrity of the University, they also had to consider and acknowledge the concerns of campus stakeholders. All campus constituencies—students, staff, faculty, administrators, and trustees—as well as alumni, state residents, and politicians on both the local and state levels held strong opinions regarding how IUB campus administrators should respond to student unrest (see Chavis, 1968; Hillis, 1968; Student Demonstrations, n.d.). Filtering incoming information and opinion and reconciling them with one’s own train of thought on an issue can be a time-consuming process for campus leaders. The multiple revisions of IUB’s campus policy, continually updated to better address the ever-expanding tactics of student activists and meet the needs of the campus, are testament to this fact. Ironically, it was the actions—unruly demonstrations on behalf of student concerns—of students seeking more

authority in campus governance that resulted in the creation of a campus policy and thus increased restrictions on student actions. Student activism of the 1960s was a phenomenon that demanded attention and warranted understanding both then and now. It helped define student culture, delineate the boundaries of relationships between different campus constituent groups, and provided a foundation for many of the communication channels that exist between students and administrative personnel today. The rationale for developing the IUB policy regarding student protests and demonstrations, and the various versions of the policy, are akin to the content and origin of the written emergency management plans that exist on today’s campuses. Contemporary campus administrators can use the lessons learned from the process of governing student unrest in the 1960s to help maintain clarity, foresight, and sanity when dealing with campus disruptions today.

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From the Reservation: A Theory Regarding the Development of Native American Students

Nathan C. Winters

Native American students are a diverse yet underrepresented population in higher education. Little research has been done regarding identity development of these students. This paper focuses on influences to Native American identity and the commonalities between the experiences of traditional-aged students from reservations and adult returners to college. It concludes with a proposal for a developmental theory for Native American students from reservations structured around Goodman, Schlossberg, and Anderson's (2006) transition theory.

There are nations within our nation. In fact, according to the most recent available data, there are over 560 tribal nations within the United States representing the Native American/Alaska Native peoples (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). Even though the number of tribal nations may appear large at first glance, it is important to note that the Native American/Alaska Native populations only make up approximately 2% of the entire United States population, leaving no doubt that native peoples can be considered a marginalized, minority population (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). Statistics also show a gap in higher education enrollment and achievement for these students. For example, in fall 2009, the total number of undergraduate students enrolled in degree-granting institutions was approximately 17,565,300 (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2011b). Of that number, approximately 76,500 identified their race as American Indian/Alaska Native, representing 1% of the total undergraduate student enrollment at degree-granting institutions (NCES, 2011b). Also, 57.2% of all first-time, full-time, degree seeking students who started school in 2002 obtained their degrees in six years or less (NCES, 2011a). When looking at only those who identified themselves as American Indian/Alaska

Native in that same cohort, the six-year completion rate drops to 38.2% (NCES, 2011a). This population is also underrepresented in prestigious private and four-year colleges and conversely overrepresented in less-prestigious public colleges and two-year institutions (Lowe, 2005). This achievement gap begins early on in the educational career of students. For example, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, 16.1% of American Indian/Alaska Native individuals aged 16 to 19 were not enrolled in school and did not complete a high school diploma, a percentage double that of white students (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011).

Approximately one third of Native Americans live on Indian Reservations (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). While this represents a decrease over the past few decades (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011), it remains important to consider the backgrounds of students who are coming from reservations. In Shannon County, South Dakota, where the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is located, a strong sense of ethnic identity is evident with 96% percent of the 13,586 residents of the county self-reporting as American Indian/Alaska Native in the latest U.S. Census (2010). There is evidence of academic struggle on the South Dakota reservation: Of individuals who are

age 25 or older, 78.9% hold a high school diploma and 12.9% percent hold a bachelor's degree, compared to 88.8% and 24.6% for the rest of South Dakota respectively (U.S. Census, 2010). At Pine Ridge however, there are stories of success. For example, the reservation is home to Red Cloud Indian School, a private, Jesuit-run K-12 institution that does not charge tuition and operates almost entirely on private donations (ABC News, 2011). In 2010 there were 39 graduating seniors who planned to attend post-secondary institutions or complete additional job training (Red Cloud Indian School, 2010). Over the years, 45 Red Cloud students have received the prestigious Gates Millennium Scholarship (Red Cloud Indian School, 2010).

Coming from an area where students share a common ethnic identity, questions remain regarding the unique developmental needs of those who transition from a majority to a minority status at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). Horse (2005) has theorized common aspects among Native American people that influence identity development. However, Horse (2005) asserts that no true model of identity development exists because of the diverse nature of the population itself. In order to help those working in higher education settings understand the transition process and resulting identity development of Native American students moving from reservations to PWIs, a theory addressing this topic must be developed.

This paper will review influences on American Indian "consciousness" (Horse, 2005), experiences of Native American students, and Goodman, Schlossberg, and Anderson's (2006) transition theory. Commonalities will also be drawn between the experiences of Native American students and adult learners. By using existing

literature on the collegiate experiences of Native American students, this paper will present a theory of the transitional process and development of students from reservations who move from a majority to a minority status. This paper concludes with a discussion of limitations, suggestions for future research, and implications for student affairs.

Influences on American Indian "Consciousness"

The existence of an identity development theory for Native American students is absent from the literature, which includes both students from reservations and whose ancestral heritage is mostly or completely Native American (Horse, 2005). However, Horse (2001) developed a framework to provide understanding of Native American racial identity based primarily upon the collective and individual experiences. Horse (2001) refers to these individual and group commonalities as a "collective consciousness." For example, one commonality in the identity development of Native American individuals is shared cultural tradition. Horse (2001) describes how culture is transmitted in identity development through naming ritual. Massive ceremonies are associated with naming in many Native American cultures, and often there is great significance attached to those names, such as honoring important family ancestors (Horse, 2001). Horse (2005) also proposes five influences that affect Native American "consciousness" which include (a) "the extent to which one is grounded in one's Native American language and culture, one's cultural identity"; (b) "the validity of one's American Indian genealogy"; (c) "the extent to which one holds a traditional American Indian general philosophy or worldview

(emphasizing balance and harmony and drawing on Indian spirituality”); (d) “one’s self-concept as an American Indian”; and, (e) “one’s enrollment (or lack of it) in a tribe” (p. 65). While this idea of understanding a “collective consciousness” can provide a framework for understanding the development of Native American students, Horse (2005) does not refer to this idea as an identity model.

Horse’s concept of “consciousness” relates to Pavel and Inglebret’s (2007) ideas about individual identity and success in higher education. The authors present four areas related to cultural identity: individual, family, community, and tribe (Pavel & Inglebret, 2007). The idea of cultural identity and the linkage across these four areas are connected and interact with each other in three phases of higher education: transitioning in, program enrollment, and returning to serve. This represents a number of challenges that Native American students from reservations could potentially face, including understanding how they can apply and live their culture in the collegiate setting, but also simultaneously discovering for themselves how their experiences can be translated back to furthering the development of their own Native American community (Pavel & Inglebret, 2007).

Experiences of Native American Students in College

A small number of studies have addressed the factors that contribute to the success of Native American students, most of which are framed from an individualistic point of view (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). Jackson, Smith, and Hill (2003) conducted a study that involved qualitative interviews with 15 Native American college students who grew up on reservations and were

successful in completing their course of study. A number of themes emerged from this study, including “(a) family support, (b) structured social support, (c) faculty/staff warmth, (d) exposure to college and vocations, (e) developing independence and assertiveness, (f) reliance on spiritual resources, (g) dealing with racism, (h) nonlinear path, and (i) paradoxical cultural pressure” (Jackson, Smith, & Hill, 2003, p. 548). Jackson and Smith (2001) also found similar themes in a study on the transitional experience for 22 Navajo Indians. These themes are consistent with the insights of Horse (2005) as well as Pavel and Inglebret (2007). Finding common themes in experiences provide a ground for the development of a theory related to the transition from majority status on a reservation to minority status at a PWI.

Another interesting and critical component in developing this theory is the similarity between traditional-aged Native American college students and adult learners. For example, Waterman (2007) conducted a study of 12 students who identified their tribe as Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy, with most of these students living on reservations. Waterman writes, “Because the participants remained strongly connected to their communities and their families, they resembled adult returning students even when they were college aged and living in a residence hall” (p. 29). In other words, they tended to resemble adult returning students because most participants in the study were unable to name friends from college that did not share a common background (Waterman, 2007). These students also received the vast majority of their emotional and social support from their family and native community (Waterman, 2007). Family ties are also recognized as being an important consideration when working with adult

returning students (Kasworm, 2003). Similarly, Guillory and Wolverton (2008) found family support to be a critical factor determining whether or not Native American students persist in higher education. Besides the connection of family support between Native American students and adult learners, there also seems to be a connection regarding the lack of engagement in the social life of the university. For example, Fairchild (2003) argues that involvement for adult learners looks very different from that of traditional students and that adult learners are usually not interested in involvement opportunities targeted at traditional-aged students. Waterman (2007) also found Native American student involvement and engagement with the university more closely relates to the experience of adult learners. The role of peers in the lives of Native American students also relates to the role of peers in the lives of adult returning students. Shotton, Oosahwe, and Cintrón (2007) found that peer mentors, specifically those from a similar cultural background, could be a vital component to whether or not Native American students succeed in college. Relationships with peers have also been shown as vital to the success of adult returning students. Lundberg (2003) found in a study of adult returning students that one of the best predictors of success for this population is frequent engagement in educationally centered conversations with peers. Thus, the role and impact of peer engagement can be a predictor of success for both Native American students and adult returning students.

The support and role of faculty in the lives of Native American students and adult returning students is an additional parallel between these two student populations. Jackson et al. (2003) found that when Native American students reported high levels of

engagement with faculty and staff, they also reported that these individuals cared for them, acted as resources, and provided a personal connection to the institution. Lundberg (2003) found that the quality of relationships between administrators and students was a strong predictor of learning for all students and the strongest for students aged 30 and older. This suggests that a model to explain adult learners' experiences could be applied to the experiences of Native American college students from reservations. One theory about adult students is transition theory (Goodman, Schlossberg, & Anderson, 2006) which is used to address that population's experiences of returning to college. This theory will provide further support for how Native American students from reservations experience the transition to college.

Goodman, Schlossberg, and Anderson's (2006) Transition Theory

Transition theory arose out of a number of studies and research related to the counseling of adults and specifically as a result of Schlossberg's earlier work (Goodman, Schlossberg, & Anderson, 2006). Transition theory serves as a framework to understand change and allows counselors and other individuals to provide guidance and intentional support for individuals moving through a transition (Goodman et al., 2006). Schlossberg, Lynch, and Chickering (1989) argue in favor of applying transition theory to adult students in their book *Improving Higher Education Environments for Adults*. In light of the connections drawn between adult learning and Native American students, transition theory (Goodman et al., 2006) is appropriate for understanding the development of how Native American

students move from a majority to a minority status.

Goodman et al.'s (2006) theory identifies three common stages through which individuals transition (see Figure 1) referred to as *moving out*, *moving in*, and *moving through* (Goodman et al., 2006, p. 50). Moving out is characterized "as ending one series of transitions and beginning to ask what comes next" (Goodman et al., 2006, p. 50). The moving in phase involves becoming

acclimated to the new situation or "learning the ropes" (Goodman et al., 2006, p. 49-50). The moving through phase is usually characterized by questions such as "Did I do the right thing?" and "Can I commit to this transition?" (Goodman et al., 2006, p. 50). It is important to note that transitions are viewed as cyclical, ongoing processes with the end result of moving through the three stages having a positive outcome or a negative outcome depending on the

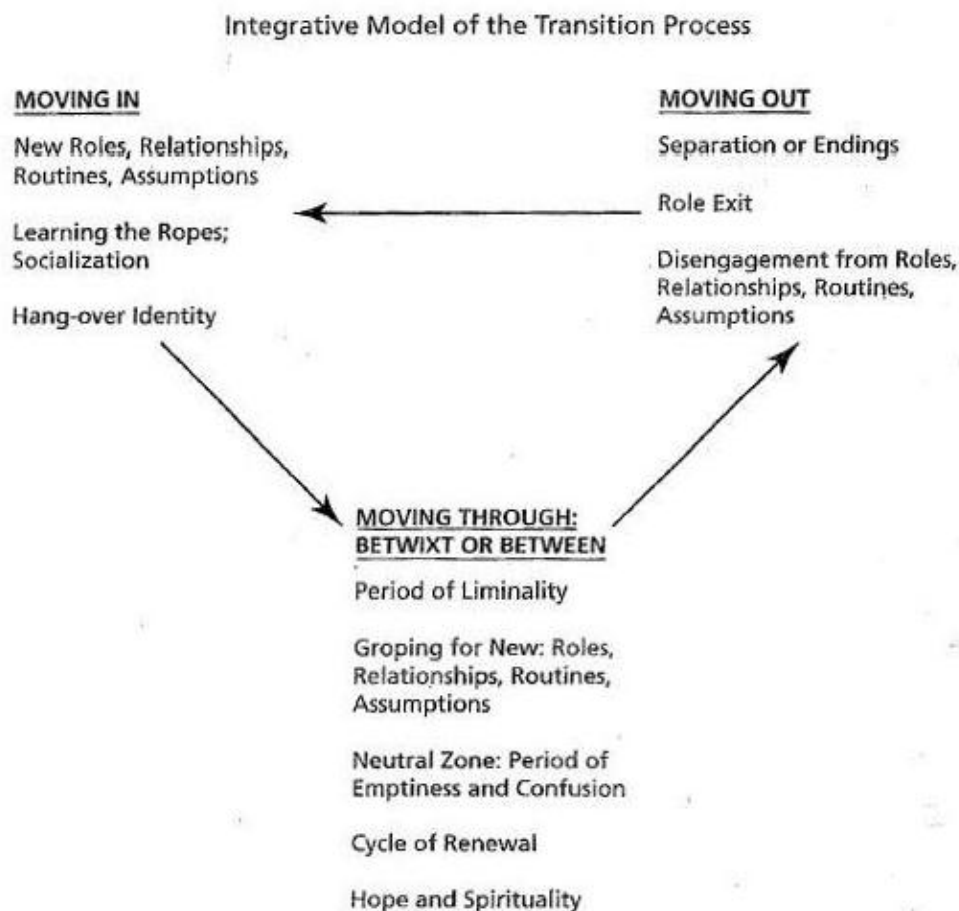


Figure 1. Anderson, Goodman, and Schlossberg's (2012) integrative model of the transition process. Anderson, M. L., Goodman, J., & Schlossberg, N. K. (2012). *Counseling adults in transition: Linking Schlossberg's theory with practice in a diverse world* (4th ed.). New York: Springer Publishing Company, LLC. Reproduced with permission from Springer Publishing Company, LLC.

experience and support received (Goodman et al., 2006).

Goodman et al. (2006) also report that four variables, referred to as coping resources and titled the “4 S System,” influence transition. These four variables are situation, self, support, and strategies (Goodman et al., 2006). Each of these variables has different components and varies from person to person, allowing for the individuality of every person to be taken into account (Goodman et al., 2006). According to the theory, how a person utilizes these resources will determine the degree to which the transition is positive or negative.

Theory for Movement from Majority to Minority Population

Based upon a review of the literature, a theory has been constructed regarding the development of Native American students from reservations in terms of moving from a majority population to a minority population (see Figure 2). In this model there are three stages of transition that match the stages described in Goodman et al.’s (2006) transition model, but with the addition of a fourth stage called *integration*. The names of the first three stages were modified from Goodman et al.’s model to more accurately describe the experiences of Native American students.

The first stage is *departing* or the moving from the majority culture of the reservation to a being a minority at a PWI. This stage involves the individual making the decision to attend college outside of their established comfort zone on the reservation. The individual, community, family, and tribe could all be reasons why a student would

choose to go to college or to not move out at all (Pavel & Inglebret, 2007). For example, one student at an Ivy League institution said she chose to leave the reservation she lived on because she wanted to be able to contribute back to her tribe in the future (Brayboy, 2004). This is an important stage in this theory because if an individual never decides to leave, there will be no opportunity to interact with diverse individuals. The triggering motivations also relate back to “consciousness” as identified by Horse (2005), such as wanting to contribute back to the tribe.

The second stage in this theory is *arriving*. According to the literature, when Native American students from reservations move to a new environment, they experience culture shock. Pavel and Inglebret (2007) write:

The distance you travel may be great—not so much in physical miles but in the distance from our Native cultural values and upbringing to the culture of the college or university that you attend, particularly if you choose to attend a predominantly white institution. (p. 156)

This is consistent with the findings of Jackson, et al. (2003) regarding instances of both active and passive racism directed at the Native American students. Many students also describe how their norms do not match their new college environment (Jackson et al., 2003). For example, one student described how he or she had a hard time reconciling the norms of their native culture with those of the dominant culture, including the native norm of not looking a person of authority in the eye out of respect or the dominant culture’s expectation to speak up in class (Jackson et al., 2003).

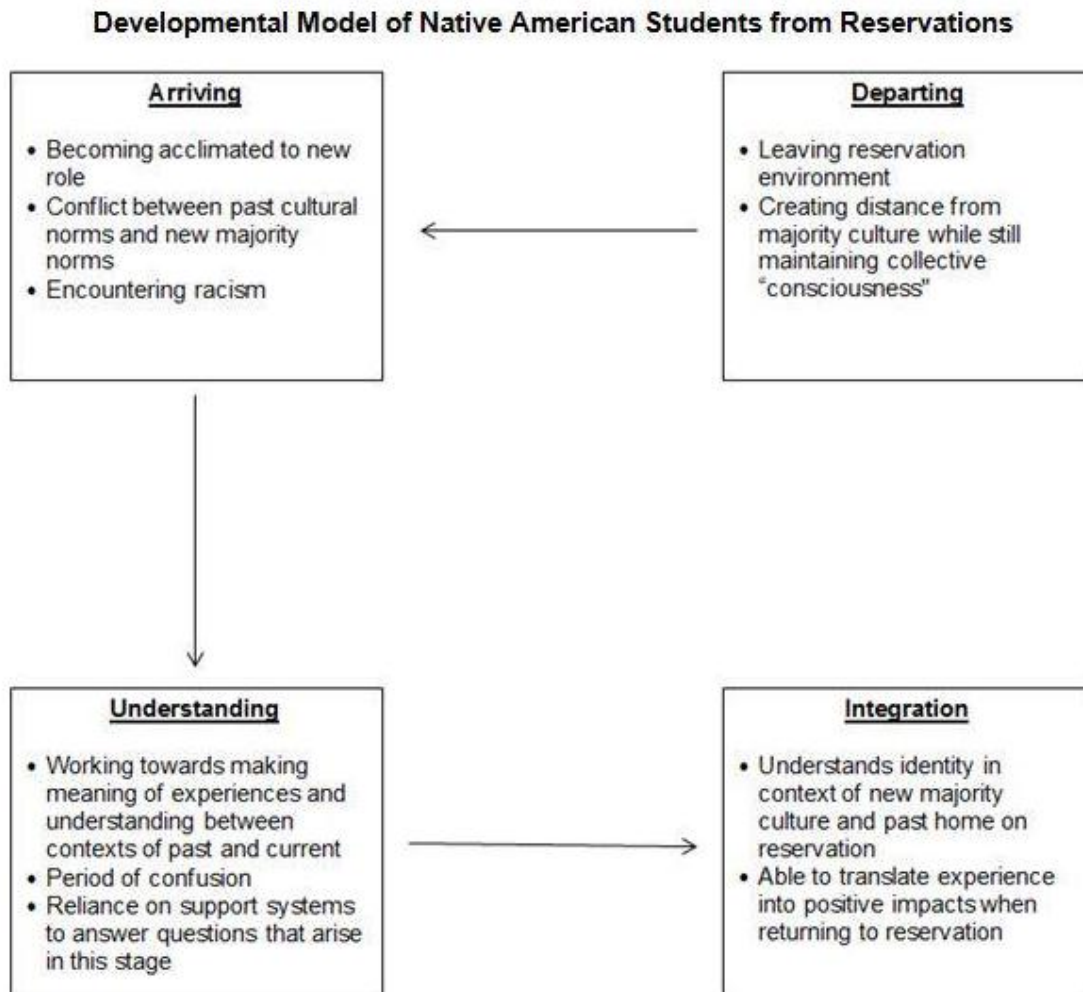


Figure 2. Model for the proposed theory of development for Native American students from reservations.

The third stage is called *understanding*. Consistent with Goodman, et al.’s (2006) theory, this stage is characterized by an understanding for how things work in the college environment. This is where students from reservations begin to work through cultural pressures and become more independent and assertive (Jackson et al., 2003). Jackson et al. (2003) directly relate growth in independence and assertiveness as an adaptation to the dominant culture and provide an example of a student who felt his shyness begin to dissipate as a result of the

atmosphere that promoted open dialogue. With regard to cultural pressure, students described having issues coming to terms with how their reservation culture was going to accept them after having getting a college degree and living in a new environment (Jackson et al., 2003). These situations are examples of how struggle and confusion can occur with regard to balancing the dominant culture with students’ strongly held “consciousness” of their native culture.

The final stage, called *integration*, addresses the strong sense of responsibility

that Native American students feel about using the knowledge gained from their college educations to help people to their reservations (Jackson et al., 2003; Pavel & Inglebret, 2007; Waterman, 2007). This implies that the student has reconciled (or integrated) living in both the majority culture of the reservation and as a minority at a PWI. It may also indicate the strong effect that Horse's (2005) "consciousness" can have on individuals throughout their experience in higher education.

It is important to note that regression in this developmental model may occur. Evidence shows that a lack of support for helping Native American students understand the new diverse environment can result in them giving up and moving back into their comfort zone on the reservation (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). Many students end up taking time off from school for reasons such as marriage or caring for a family member (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). Providing multiple forms of support coming from sources such as faculty, cultural centers, and even family members appears to be critical for student success.

Limitations and Future Research

This theory attempts to explain the very complex and fluid experience of being a Native American student transitioning to a PWI. It is important to note, as Horse (2005) says, that because the Native American community has so much diversity in it, defining the Native American identity broadly can limit the understanding and appreciation for diversity within the identity itself. However, this theory can help to inform practice by explaining what identity development processes might be occurring since previous research has focused solely on what influences success or failure for this

student population. It is also necessary to continue finding ways to understand and assist this student population in student affairs practice given the small amount of literature on the subject.

For future research, this theory should be tested through longitudinal studies of students from specific reservations to understand not only their experiences in college but also what occurs after they have graduated. Using such information would allow researchers to develop a theory of holistic development for Native American students similar to the work done on Latino/a students by Torres and Hernandez (2007). In addition, based on the arguments in this paper, practices for working with returning adult learners should be examined and applied in order to assist underrepresented, marginalized student populations.

Implications for Student Affairs Practice

Student affairs professionals can utilize this theory to further understand the unique experiences of Native American student at PWIs. One key aspect of this theory is that the developmental process begins with the student deciding to leave the reservation to attend college. Admissions staff and other recruiters can take this into account when recruiting students by understanding that the first steps for success or failure could occur before the student even arrives on campus. Staff in cultural centers, multicultural affairs offices, and other departments can utilize this theory as well. This theory demonstrates that this student population will experience a number of moments of dissonance that they will need to make meaning of, including understanding their role as both a student and reservation member, as well as adjusting to new cultural norms and encountering

racism. Goodman et al. (2006) propose that support from others and strategies for working through these challenges can help determine to what degree the transition will be positive or negative. For example, an orientation program targeted to this student population and increases in other support services might aid in retention and

persistence. This developmental theory can inform the work and creation of these programs and services by providing a new understanding of this understudied student population. Student affairs professionals are in a unique position to serve Native American students and could make the crucial difference for these students' future success.

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Student Growth in Asynchronous Online Environments: Learning Styles and Cognitive Development

Caitlin C. Clark

As online courses become more popular with college students, it is important for student affairs professionals to understand how this unique environment influences student learning and growth. This paper examines the impact of the asynchronous online learning environment on student cognitive development. Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Theory of Development is used to explain this influence and further inform student affairs practice in a previously unexplored realm.

Higher education institutions throughout the United States are increasingly offering online courses to meet the growing student demand for distance education (Smart & Cappel, 2006; Song, 2010). Based on a 2011 survey of 2,500 colleges and universities, 65% responded that online education was a critical component of their long-term strategic plan (Allen & Seaman, 2011). Ramage (2002) defined online education as the method of instruction in which the students and faculty are physically separated but connected through an Internet link. These online learning environments allow students the flexibility to enroll in courses without being physically present on the college campus. Approximately one in three college students enrolls in at least one online class (Allen & Seaman, 2011). These courses can be delivered through synchronous or asynchronous methods. Synchronous instruction is time- and place-dependent while asynchronous instruction is characterized by students working independently, generally at their own pace, and in separate spaces (Bernard et al., 2004). Both methods of instruction create unique learning environments, but asynchronous online instruction is especially distinct from traditional, face-to-face instruction on college campuses.

Much of the existing research on the asynchronous learning environment compares it to traditional course environments, but these studies focus

primarily on measuring student learning outcomes using grade comparisons, student satisfaction surveys, and end-of-term course evaluations (Bernard et al., 2004; Diaz & Cartnal, 1999; Summers, Waigandt, & Whittaker, 2005). Meta-analyses of these data produced “no significant difference” between online course instruction and traditional, face-to-face instruction (Bernard et al., 2004; Russell, 1999). However, the aforementioned statistics do not accurately portray the student experience in asynchronous online education. Many students may encounter dissonance in the asynchronous learning environment when there is a mismatch between their learning style preferences and the online environment (Logan, Augustyniak, & Rees, 2002; Lu, Jia, Gong, & Clark, 2007; Terrell & Dringus, 2000). This dissonance impacts how students learn in online courses, challenging them to gain new cognitive skills as they adapt to the online learning environment. Alternately, students may struggle to adapt and therefore disengage from the developmental process. Thus, the way in which students engage in asynchronous online environments can have implications for their cognitive development.

This paper will examine the asynchronous online learning environment and its potential impact on students' cognitive development. Kolb (1984) defines four interrelated learning dimensions that shape how students engage and process experiences and problems: concrete

experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation (see Figure 1). Challenging students to strengthen their non-dominant learning dimensions and integrate all learning dimensions in ever-increasing complexity promotes cognitive development (Kolb, 1984). The author posits that students who are not adequately challenged to employ non-dominant learning dimensions in the asynchronous online learning environment may not develop higher orders of learning, and these students may stagnate on their path to achieving a balanced learning styles profile. This paper proposes a model for understanding how asynchronous online

learning can inhibit or promote development based on Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Theory.

Literature Review

Kolb & Kolb (2005) suggest that learning is the "major determinant of human development, and how individuals learn shapes the course of their personal development" (p. 195). How individuals make meaning of information and experiences influences their cognitive development. A review of the current literature on asynchronous online course environments and experiential learning

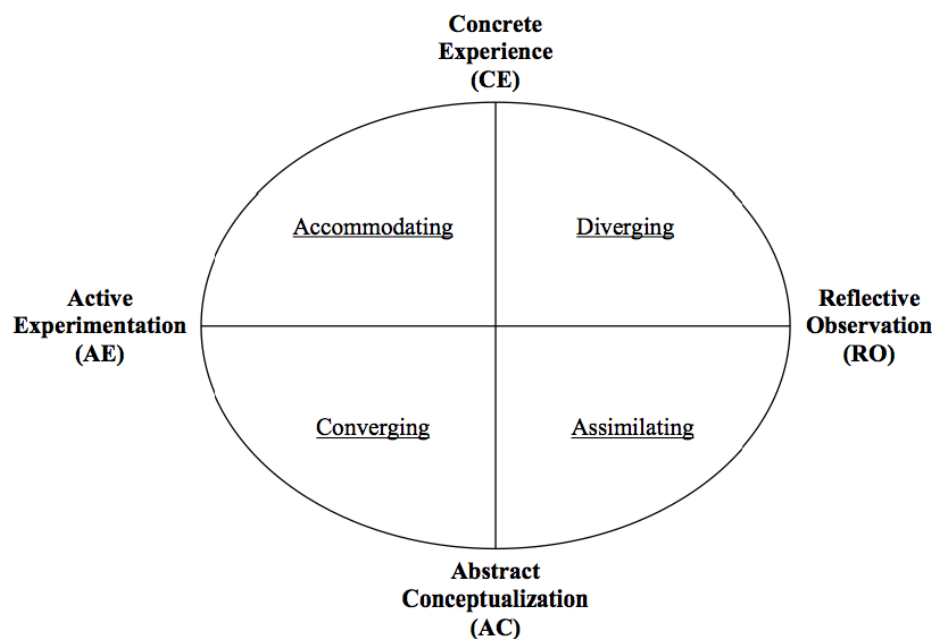


Figure 1. Kolb's (1984) learning dimensions and associated learning styles. Learning dimensions, listed on the outside of the oval, are cyclically integrated to make meaning of information or experiences. Learning styles, listed within each oval quadrant, represent an individual's preferred processing and grasping learning dimensions along each axis. Adapted from KOLB, DAVID A., *EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING: EXPERIENCE AS A SOURCE OF LEARNING & DEVELOPMENT*, 1st, ©1984. Printed and Electronically reproduced by permission of Pearson Education, Inc., Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.

theory provides a foundation for analyzing the impact of online learning spaces on this developmental process.

The Asynchronous Online Learning Environment

The asynchronous online course setting represents a relatively new and unique learning environment in higher education. Terrell and Dringus (2000) explain the online learning environment as a comprehensive structure that supports the process of learning through the implementation of a variety of instructional and communication technologies. Many face-to-face college courses utilize learning management systems, such as Blackboard or eCollege, to manage a proportion of course content and delivery through a computer-mediated interface; however, online classes deliver at least 80% of the course content online and typically do not involve face-to-face meetings (Allen & Seaman, 2011). Textbooks may not be available online, but syllabi, readings, assignments, and supplementary materials are posted on course websites, and students are able to access the information and submit course assignments from any computer with an Internet connection at any time. Typical asynchronous online courses require students to independently review course materials and use online discussion forums in place of face-to-face content delivery and discussion (Allen & Seaman, 2011). Issues and features of asynchronous online education include “instructional design, student motivation, feedback and encouragement, direct and timely communication, and perceptions of isolation” (Bernard et al., 2004, p. 382). Collectively, these features represent the inherent differences between asynchronous online instruction and face-to-face instruction (Bernard et al., 2004). Many studies attempt

to differentiate between these instruction methods, specifically with regard to student learning styles and academic achievements (Diaz & Cartnal, 1999; Lu et al., 2007; Smart & Cappel, 2006; Terrell & Dringus, 2000), but few have successfully evaluated the online environment as a catalyst for student cognitive development.

Kolb’s Experiential Learning Theory

Experiential Learning Theory (Kolb, 1984) describes cognitive development as a function of integrating increasingly complex learning modes. Kolb (1984) defines the learning process as a series of four cyclical learning dimensions that build upon each other to create meaning. In foundational order, these steps are concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation (see Figure 1). Concrete experience and abstract conceptualization are polar opposites and form a processing dimension while reflective observation and active experimentation form a dichotomy for the grasping dimension (Kolb, 1984). An individual’s learning style is based on his or her preference for one of the poles of each learning dimension. However, these learning styles are not stagnant, and cognitive development occurs when the student builds adaptive competencies in each of these learning dimensions.

Learning styles are categorized into four primary forms of meaning-making: convergent, divergent, assimilation, and accommodative (Kolb, 1984). Convergent learners utilize abstract conceptualization and active experimentation and are “inclined to be good problem solvers and decision makers” (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010, p. 139). Divergent learners are people-oriented and rely on concrete experience and reflective observation to generate solutions to problems utilizing

diverse perspectives (Kolb, 1984). Students employing the assimilation learning style use abstract conceptualization and reflective observation to guide the creation of sound theoretical reasoning (Kolb, 1984). Accommodative learners emphasize concrete experience and active experimentation and use a perceptive trial-and-error approach to solve problems (Kolb, 1984). Cognitive development occurs when students begin to integrate additional learning dimensions into their preferred learning style. Kolb (1984) introduced three stages of cognitive development through maturation: acquisition, specialization, and integration. The goal of this development is to achieve competency in using all learning dimensions rather than relying on a single preferred dimension. The acquisition and specialization stages are seen from early childhood through adulthood, and individuals in these stages acquire and utilize a dominant learning dimension to process information and experiences. The final stage, integration, culminates in the ability to adapt to any learning situation by effectively using all four learning dimensions in a balanced learning styles profile (Kolb, Boyatzis, & Mainemelis, 2001). Moving from specialization to integration is a process of strengthening skills in non-dominant learning dimensions through three increasingly advanced orders of learning styles. Much of the existing research on Kolb's Experiential Learning Theory has focused primarily on learning style preferences and impacts on student achievement (Aragon, Johnson, & Shaik, 2002; Garity, 1985; Lu et al., 2007). These studies utilize learning style assessment tools that are readily available and easy to execute; however, they do not assess whether students are achieving the desired cognitive growth associated with integrating additional learning dimensions into their learning styles profile.

Cognitive Development in the Asynchronous Learning Environment

The asynchronous online learning environment impacts the transition from specialization to integration in Kolb's (1984) experiential learning theory. Most students have reached the specialization stage, or first order of learning, by the time they enroll in college courses, and the college environment is where these students develop their non-dominant learning styles to achieve integration (Kolb, 1984). Since most students begin college specializing in a particular learning style, situations and environments they encounter on a college campus can help them transition to the second order by providing opportunities to develop non-dominant learning dimensions. First order learning style preferences can predict specific implications for individual students and their opportunities for growth in distinct learning environments (Kolb, 1984).

Current research states that convergent learners and assimilators are more likely to succeed in, and be satisfied with, the asynchronous online learning environment than divergent learners and accommodators (Aragon et al., 2002; Lu et al., 2007). Aragon, Johnson, and Shaik (2002) speculate, "by design, an online Internet environment will require students to utilize reflective observation (learning by watching and listening) and abstract conceptualization (learning by thinking) simply due to the way the course materials are organized and delivered" (p. 9). Alternatively, face-to-face courses facilitate learning through more hands-on approaches where students are likely to use the learning dimension of active experimentation (Aragon et al., 2002) associated with the accommodative learning style. This observed discrepancy between the asynchronous online and face-to-face

environments can have a strong impact on student cognitive development.

Given the influence of individual learning style preferences and environmental factors on cognitive growth, individuals with different learning styles may uniquely experience development in the asynchronous online environment. Convergent and assimilative learners' development may stagnate in an online environment while divergent and accommodative learners are challenged to develop skills in abstract conceptualization, prompting a movement into the second order of learning. The following section describes this phenomenon for each of the distinct learning styles.

Asynchronous Learning for Convergent and Assimilative Learners

Students who specialize in the convergence and assimilative learning styles may experience the asynchronous learning environment similarly because these two learning styles share the processing dimension of abstract conceptualization. Students who use abstract conceptualization value scientific approaches to solving problems instead of the artistic approach characteristic of the concrete experience dimension (Kolb, 1984). Since the way in which students engage in the asynchronous online environment is constrained by limitations of the computer-mediated interface and structured content, the scientific approach allows students to easily process course material. Furthermore, Kolb (1984) explains that these students are good at systematic planning and value "precision, the rigor and discipline of analyzing ideas, and the aesthetic quality of a neat conceptual system" (p. 69). The asynchronous learning environment requires students to analyze ideas and independently process concepts and thus preferences the abstract

conceptualization processing dimension to make meaning of the material.

The abstract conceptualization strength of the convergence and assimilative learning styles are aligned with the requirements of the asynchronous online learning environment. Therefore, these students are not challenged to develop their non-dominant learning dimensions and are more prone to feel "safe and satisfied" with the environment (Evans et al., 2010, p. 30). Sanford (1966) claims that an unchallenging atmosphere can inhibit development, and online courses are no exception. While convergent and assimilative learners succeed academically in the asynchronous online environment, the lack of sufficient mental challenge can inhibit their cognitive development. This implies that convergent and assimilative learners may not move to the second order of cognitive development through their experience in the asynchronous online environment.

Asynchronous Learning for Divergent and Accommodative Learners

Divergent and accommodative learners experience the online learning environment differently than their convergent and assimilative counterparts. The concrete experience learning dimension is a shared strength of the divergence and accommodation learning styles (Kolb, 1984). Students adept at the concrete experience learning dimension enjoy handling situations in a personal way and use intuitive, artistic approaches to solve problems (Kolb, 1984). As previously mentioned, the asynchronous online environment does not align well with these approaches because there is little to no personal interaction and the structured online delivery of course materials does not allow for experimentation or creativity. The time and space separation characteristic of this environment precludes students from

personal interactions and creative, artistic problem solving. Kolb (1984) states, “The person with this orientation [of concrete experience] values relating to people and being involved in real situations” (p. 68). Since the strengths of divergent and accommodative learners center around feeling and personal interaction (Kolb, 1984), elements not found concretely in the asynchronous environment, these learners may gain the most from interacting with the asynchronous online learning environment.

Asynchronous online courses prefer independent thinking due to the self-regulated, individual processing that these courses require of enrolled students. Engaging in asynchronous online learning may challenge students to increase their competency in individual thinking and conceptual approaches to learning. For example, students who prefer to process new learning through discussion and intuition are required instead to learn material independently and analyze the given information. Sanford (1966) qualified this type of challenge by stating that adequate support must also be available to the student to encourage optimal development in the environment. While defining “adequate support” for all students in any environment is difficult, instructors and administrators must be conscious of students’ needs and provide students with personal and structural support in the asynchronous online environment. Building student-to-student and student-to-faculty relationships and creating opportunities to acquire or request additional help can provide the support students need in the asynchronous online learning environment. As long as this support is present, divergent and accommodative learners have the potential to further develop their cognitive skills and move into the second order by acquiring the strength of abstract conceptualization.

However, if adequate support is not present, students will disengage from the learning experience and their development may stagnate.

Implications and Future Directions

How a student learns is central to their personal development, and individuals who do not achieve proficiency in multiple learning styles as well as the understanding of how to adapt these techniques to new environments can inhibit their own learning and developmental progress (Kolb, 1984). Understanding the differences between learning styles allows faculty and student affairs professionals to provide both challenge and support in multiple environments to advance student development through learning. As universities increasingly turn to online education as a means of educating and developing students, understanding the developmental impact of these environments will become more central to the student affairs profession. Faculty, administrators, and professionals need to be cognizant of how they design online interactions with courses, workshops, and student services. Ensuring these environments are offering a balance of challenge and support will provide a positive foundation for interaction between students and the asynchronous learning environment, encouraging further cognitive development and integrated learning styles. University faculty and staff should intentionally design online courses and workshops keeping diverse learning styles in mind. Consulting resources on best practices in online education can inform curriculum design and learning outcome development. For example, Graham, Cagiltay, Lim, Craner, and Duffy (2001) discuss principles for effective online instruction that should be implemented in asynchronous courses in

order to enhance the educational experience for all online students. These principles include encouraging student-faculty contact, communicating high expectations and giving prompt feedback, providing opportunities for interaction and cooperation between students, and respecting the diverse learning styles that are present in the course. Educators and administrators can use this information to better implement engaging online education for their students. Facilitating students' development and integration of non-dominant learning dimensions in person can ease the transition for students into the asynchronous online environment. Student affairs professionals can help their students succeed in online courses by supporting their cognitive development out of the classroom. Implementing programs and activities that encourage the integration and development of non-dominant learning dimensions may help students develop these skills in a comfortable environment prior to engaging in the asynchronous online environment. Student affairs professionals can also advocate for students on an administrative level to ensure that faculty and the general campus community understand the challenges that students face when taking online courses. This will ensure that campus decision-makers are informed when deciding how to integrate asynchronous online courses into the academic curriculum. Further research is needed to validate the conclusions presented in this paper. Studies comparing the unique interactions between each individual learning style and the asynchronous online environment will limit generalizations made by assuming that different learning styles engage in the environment in the same way. Implications for curriculum development for online courses and the integration of pedagogy grounded in theory should also be

incorporated. Furthermore, comparisons between asynchronous and synchronous delivery methods are also necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of each of these environments in advancing student development. Studies that include mandated asynchronous and synchronous online courses would provide useful data on the impact of these courses on student development. Since a vast majority of the existing literature is based on self-selected, graduate level, asynchronous education, there is a significant need for additional studies to examine the online undergraduate level courses that many current and future students may be required to take as colleges and universities shift to online education.

Conclusion

Asynchronous online learning offers a unique environment in which different learning styles may influence cognitive development. Developmental outcomes are a product of the interaction between individuals and the asynchronous learning environment. Since convergent learners and assimilators may be more comfortable in the asynchronous learning environment, they may not experience the challenge associated with transitioning to higher orders of cognitive growth. Conversely, the asynchronous learning environment challenges divergent and accommodative learners, prompting a shift into a higher order of cognitive understanding. Although possessing a divergent or accommodative style may assist learners with cognitive development, convergent and assimilative learners may experience little to no development due to the lack of challenge to develop non-dominant learning dimensions. The mismatch between the specialized learning styles of divergers and accommodators and qualities of the

asynchronous learning environment facilitates further development. Students who are able to increase their competency in their non-dominant learning dimensions are consequently able to advance to higher orders of learning and cognitive growth. This paper presents a strong case that the

asynchronous learning environment may impact student cognitive development, and alternative ways to evaluate cognitive development should be developed and utilized to assess student learning in online courses.

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Ethnic Identity Development of Anglo-Oriented Second-Generation Latinos

Kathy Fisher

Latino students have become the largest minority group on college campuses and their numbers continue to grow (Fry, 2011). The largest generation of Latinos attending higher education institutions is the second generation of immigrants to the United States. This paper examines Phinney's (1989) model of ethnic identity formation, Torres' Hispanic identity model (2003) and Bicultural Orientation model (1999), and how high acculturation or Anglo-orientation affects the process of ethnic identity development for second-generation Latinos. It will also suggest ways that student affairs practitioners can assist students in moving toward a bicultural orientation by understanding their unique ethnic identity development process.

Hispanic Americans make up the largest minority group in the United States, accounting for 16% of the population, and these numbers continue to grow (Fry, 2011). Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population grew from 35.3 million to 50.5 million (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011), 62% of which is native-born and 38% foreign-born (Hugo Lopez & Taylor, 2010). The terms Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably throughout the literature and this paper to describe individuals of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

In 2010 the number of 18- to 24-year-old Latinos attending college grew to 12.2 million—a 24% increase from the prior year—making them the largest minority population on campuses for the first time (Fry, 2011). The largest portion (42%) attending college is second-generation Latinos (Fry, 2002). Second-generation Latinos are U.S.-born with at least one foreign-born parent (Fry & Passel, 2009). The continuing rise of the general U.S. Latino population along with the increase in second-generation college attendance makes this an important population for student affairs professionals to understand. Having been raised in the United States, second-

generation Latinos have levels of acculturation that make their ethnic identity development process, or how they make meaning of their ethnicity (Torres & Baxter Magolda, 2004), complex.

Among second-generation Latinos, one-third self-identify as “American,” are primarily English speaking (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009), and are more acculturated to U.S. culture than first-generation Latinos (Torres, 2003). This high acculturation level combined with low ethnic identification is called Anglo-orientation (Torres, 1997). Anglo-oriented students begin their ethnic development process with an “acceptance of the values and attitudes of the majority culture, including often internalized negative views of their own group that are held by the majority” (Phinney, 1989, p. 36). While there is research explaining ethnic identity development both among minorities in adolescence (Phinney, 1989) and within the broad category of Latinos (Torres, 2003), few studies have highlighted the process for the growing population of Anglo-oriented second-generation Latinos in college. Current research and literature provide a starting point for understanding how these students self-identify when they reach college and the unique experiences they may face in their ethnic identity journey.

This paper uses Phinney's model of ethnic identity formation (1989) and Torres' Hispanic identity (2003) and Bicultural Orientation (1999) models to explore how Anglo-orientation affects the ethnic identity development process for second-generation Latinos. In her work on the Bicultural Orientation Model, Torres (1997) posed the question of whether there is an advantage to assisting students in moving from a primary identification (Anglo orientation or Hispanic orientation) toward a balance of the two with a more *bicultural* orientation. This paper argues that Anglo-oriented Latino students' movement toward a bicultural orientation is a unique and important process necessary for the full development and understanding of their ethnic identity. Implications for Student Affairs practice and what can be done to assist these students in their ethnic identity journey are also identified.

Foundational Theories

Minority ethnic identity theories (Cross, 1978; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989) are based on Erikson's (1968) psychosocial and identity development theory. They suggest that identity is "achieved through a process of crisis, or exploration, followed by a commitment that results in a confident sense of self" (Phinney & Alpuria, 1987, p. 3). Phinney (1989) offers a three-stage model of ethnic identity development that is widely used to describe this process among minority groups (see Table 1.1). The first stage, *unexamined ethnic identity* or *foreclosure*, is characterized by a lack of "exploration of issues" (Phinney, 1993, p. 68) with one's ethnicity, "accompanied by commitments based on attitudes and opinions adopted from others without question" (Phinney, 1993, p. 68). This stage continues until individuals are confronted with a situation

that triggers a turning point in their prior thoughts and opinions about their ethnicity. The second stage, *ethnic identity search*, is a time of "experimentation and inquiry" (Phinney, 1993, p.69) into their minority culture. This stage involves an active process of uncovering ethnic issues in a variety of ways such as reading about them, discussing with friends and family, and thinking about the "effects of ethnicity on their life in the present and the future" (Phinney, 1989, p. 38). In the final stage, *ethnic identity achievement*, individuals develop "acceptance and internalization of [their] ethnicity" (Phinney, 1989, p. 38). This is characterized by confident acknowledgement of themselves as a "member of a minority group" (Phinney, 1989, p. 38).

Although Phinney's model (1989) establishes an understanding of the process of ethnic development, its focus on adolescents neglects to explain how college students form their opinions of their ethnicity and how they self-identify. Until the development of the Bicultural Orientation Model (Torres, 1999), little research had explored what contributes to the ethnic orientation of students when they go to college. Torres (2003) followed with the Hispanic identity model that focuses on Latino students' ethnic identity development throughout their first

The Bicultural Orientation Model consists of four quadrants representing the relationships between acculturation and ethnic identity. This shows the diversity within the category "Hispanic" and allows practitioners to "understand the individual choices made by a student" (Torres, 1999, p. 4). Students with a low level of acculturation and high level of ethnic identity indicate a "preference to function within the Hispanic/Latino culture" and have a *Hispanic/Latino Orientation* (Torres, 1999, p.

5). Students with a high level of acculturation and low level of ethnic identity indicate a “preference to function within the Anglo culture” and are considered to have an *Anglo-Orientation* (Torres, 1999, p. 5). Students with a high level of both acculturation and ethnic identity indicate an ability to “function competently in the two cultures” and are considered to have a *Bicultural Orientation* (Torres, 1999, p. 5). Students with a low level of both acculturation and ethnic identity are considered *Marginal*, as they “are not able to adequately function within each culture” (Torres, 1999, p. 5). The Bicultural Orientation Model is a “snapshot of where an individual stands on these constructs” and “cannot measure movement within these constructs” (Torres, 1999, p. 5).

This model, in conjunction with Phinney’s (1989) model, formed the basis of Torres’ (2003) study of Hispanic identity development. The study revealed patterns in “the starting point of identity development in college” and “influences on change in identity development” (Torres, 2003, p. 536). Torres found that where students begin their identity development in college is determined by “the environment where they grew up, family influences and generation in the United States, and self-perception of status in society” (Torres, 2003, p. 537). These elements explain students’ ethnic orientation and allow practitioners to predict the next step that may spark change. Torres proposed two categories as a catalyst for this change: *cultural dissonance* and *change in relationship with the environment* (Torres, 2003). With cultural dissonance, the experience may be a “conflict between one’s own sense of culture and what others expect” (Torres, 2003, p. 540). Change in relationship with the environment is predominantly displayed in “the peer group that individuals seek out while in college” (Torres, 2003, p. 543), whether students choose to associate

with other Anglo or Latino students or become involved in ethnic student groups.

Torres’ study provides further information on the ethnic identity development process, “illustrates the intragroup differences among the Latino population” (Torres, 2003, p. 545), and highlights the unique experiences that Latino students may experience throughout their lives. Each of these elements positions students in different starting places when they get to college. The study also illustrates how Latino ethnic identity development aligns with Phinney’s stages of minority ethnic development as well as the necessity to understand the internal process that Latino students are going through, regardless of whether they outwardly acknowledge it or not (Torres, 2003). Phinney’s stages of ethnic identity development, in conjunction with Torres’ Bi-cultural Orientation Model and study of Hispanic identity development, provide a framework for understanding the unique process of high acculturation in Anglo-oriented second-generation Latino students.

Ethnic Identity Development of Anglo-Oriented Second-Generation Latinos

Looking at the circumstances leading to self-identification among Anglo-oriented second-generation Latino students entering college provides insight into the challenges they face and what inspires exploration of their ethnicity. Being American-born, these students have a “national identity as Americans” (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997, p.168). The steepest decline in cultural awareness and knowledge among Latinos is between the first and second generation, resulting in a low ethnic identity (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Although their family may provide exposure to their minority culture at home, they are exposed to the majority

(Anglo) culture within their community, at school, and through the media (Phinney & Alipuria, 1987). These students are externally defined by how the outside world recognizes their ethnicity or what they are told by their family. Either situation places them in Phinney's first stage of foreclosure. Some Anglo-oriented students may feel more comfortable with the Anglo culture in their daily interactions with society, but within their homes they exhibit pride for their Latino culture through food, music, and focus on family (Torres & Hernandez, 2007). For these students, going to college and being away from home quickly challenges them to "relinquish or retain characteristics from each culture" (Torres, 1997, p. 58).

Some Anglo-oriented students are influenced primarily by mainstream society and believe negative stereotypes of Latinos, but they do not believe these stereotypes apply to them (Torres, 2009). This is illustrated in a student's reflection about how others view Latinos:

Like there's a lot of people that crack jokes about (Mexicans), but it really doesn't pertain to me...Maybe that is bad. May(be) I don't identify with the people they are making jokes about because a lot of people you know, they are gardeners, and stuff like that. (Torres, 2009, p. 515)

Due to their English-dominant language acculturation and sometimes White physical appearance, second-generation Anglo-oriented students often are privileged with a "level of choice...about how others view them and they see themselves" (Torres, 2009, p. 515). While these students may appear to be acculturated and rarely experience the extreme "crisis" that less acculturated students do such as being subject to discrimination or racism (Phinney, 1989),

this does not prevent them from experiencing cultural awareness through other internal or less obvious avenues. Anglo-oriented students may experience an awakening merely by witnessing discriminatory acts toward a friend or family member in the same ethnic group; in fact, when not directed at them but at someone within their ethnic group, this may result in "greater loyalty toward his or her group" (Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 39). This is typically a "highly emotional experience" (Phinney & Alipuria, 1987, p. 10).

Cultural dissonance may occur when Anglo-oriented students encounter a diverse population and come into contact with other Latinos. Suddenly, they may become uncomfortable with their inability to relate to their minority culture or speak proficient Spanish and feel shame. This is similar to the experience of Hispanic-oriented students who feel ashamed of their Hispanic accent when speaking English among the majority population (Torres, 2003). This dissonance can cause conflict, confusion, and stress for students as they develop their identity (Phinney & Alipuria, 1987). In many cases, students will hide their emotions and experiences as "they sense others may not understand or they may be ridiculed" (Torres, 2004, p. 466).

Those who choose to explore their newfound views will begin Phinney's (1989) stage two, ethnic identity search. Many students learn more about their culture within the classroom when they are challenged to study their ethnicity. This may also occur through discussions about diversity when they realize their prior perceptions and racism. Anglo-oriented students may also turn to family as they seek to make meaning of their experiences and who they are as Latinos (Torres, 2004). As these students become "clear as to the

meaning of ethnicity in their life” (French, Allen, Aber, & Seidman, 2006, p. 2), they are able to reach Phinney’s final stage, ethnic identity achievement (1989). For those students who were earlier Anglo-oriented, the new ability to “function competently in two cultures” (Torres, 1999, p.4) while “maintaining a sense of pride and identification with their culture of origin” (Torres & Phelps, 1997, p. 59) indicates a developed bicultural orientation.

The ethnic identity development process is important for second-generation Anglo-oriented Latinos as “those who fail to achieve a secure identity are faced with identity confusion, a lack of clarity about who they are and what their role is in life” (Phinney, 1993, p. 62). Students have a choice about whether or not to take action when faced with crisis of identity. In many cases for Anglo-oriented students, this crisis will occur in a less dramatic fashion than for Hispanic-oriented students. Those who experience crisis and choose to avoid an ethnic identity search will stagnate in their interpersonal development leaving the question of “who am I?” unanswered (Torres & Hernandez, 2007). Student affairs practitioners can offer support and opportunities for these students to make meaning of their changed ethnic views and assist in moving them toward bicultural orientation.

Implications for Student Affairs Practice

Learning Reconsidered: A Campus-Wide Focus on the Student Experience (Keeling, 2004) is a foundational document for student affairs practice—published by the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) and the American College Personnel Association (ACPA)—which calls for the collaboration of academic and student affairs divisions in developing the whole student. This document suggests

that in order to keep up with the needs of students in the 21st century, colleges and universities should consider “the diversification of students...especially in states with large Hispanic and Asian populations” (Keeling, 2004, p. 5). Increasing diversity and cultural understanding is a common theme in the student affairs literature, but much attention focuses on the changing racial demographics of college campuses. More attention must be given to understanding different ethnicities *across* racial groups and how students identify with them. Second-generation Latinos make up a large and growing number of the student population on college campuses today (Fry, 2002) and contribute to “raising the importance of understanding multiple cultures” (ACPA & NASPA, 2010, p. 6).

As a result of being raised in the United States, many second-generation Latinos relate best to the majority White culture (Torres, 1999) and experience a steep decline in cultural knowledge from what their parents’ know (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Second-generation students are the majority among Latinos on campus (Fry, 2002), and rapid growth of this population necessitates an understanding of how these students develop and identify with their ethnicity. The college experience “causes individuals to think differently about how they define themselves” (Feliciano, 2009) and it is the responsibility of student affairs professionals to create “intentional bridges” (Torres & Baxter Magolda, 2004, p. 335) to provide a catalyst for the exploration of students’ ethnic identity development. By looking at diversity through the lens of “ethnic orientation rather than country of origin or popular stereotypes” (Torres & Phelps, 1997, p.64), professionals can meet students where they are to help them not only understand other cultures but how they fit into their own ethnicity.

For Anglo-oriented second-generation Latinos, literature suggests that identity exploration be done in a cognitive way, challenging students to understand different aspects of their ethnicity and how it applies to their lives (Torres, 2004). Many students will choose to investigate their ethnicity through educational routes; therefore, a commitment must be made to inform faculty of this process, encouraging them to include diversity or cultural conversations and exercises in their classes. This information could also be useful to Hispanic/Latino Cultural Centers by helping them understand that Anglo-oriented students may feel uncomfortable when interacting with Hispanic-oriented students, feeling shame for their lack of cultural and ethnic knowledge. With this in mind, educational programs and workshops could be designed to confront issues of prejudice and racism within Latino culture as well as to cultivate ethnic pride for these students. These programs should address the external conditions in which students explore their identity and how to make meaning of shifting thoughts as they progress in their ethnic identity development. Such efforts will assist students

in having a better understanding of who they are.

Conclusion

For many students, college is the first time they begin to critically examine their own ethnicity and how they identify with their ethnic group. Latinos have become the largest minority group on many college campuses and their numbers continue to grow. Many of these students are Anglo-oriented second-generation Latinos who, due to high acculturation, will experience cultural dissonance and their ethnic identity process in a unique way. This high acculturation may also make them less obvious to practitioners as a population in need of support. By better understanding this student population through the lenses of Phinney (1989) and Torres (1999 & 2003), student affairs practitioners can consider potential challenges and provide opportunities for intentional cultural dissonance to assist second-generation Anglo-oriented Latinos in their ethnic identity journey toward a bicultural orientation.

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Exploring Physical Artifacts on the Campus Tour: A Comparison of Institutional Messaging

Elena Brooks and Brittany Gaalema

Campus tours provide an opportunity for colleges and universities to demonstrate the benefits of attending a particular institution. As a recruitment tool, tours are essential in providing context to students' potential college experiences. Embedded in campus tours are non-verbal messages. One form of these messages are the physical artifacts such as posters in the hallways of academic buildings or furniture in study areas. By thoroughly examining physical artifacts found during the campus tour of an urban, Midwestern institution, this study considers messages conveyed to potential students and the implications of those messages for the university.

Understanding the climate of competition for potential students, university admission offices must strategically market the institution through available resources in order to generate a substantial applicant pool (Padjen, 2002). Higher education has become a business, selling an intangible product to students who are increasingly more consumer savvy (Washburn & Petroschius, 2004). Padjen (2002) notes that "today's students are sophisticated consumers who shop for colleges the way they shop for anything else," and colleges must respond to this demand with services and amenities that match current prospective students' sophisticated palates (p. 19). Simply receiving an education may not be enough to entice today's students to apply and enroll. As such, institutions send a variety of messages to potential students to promote their features and amenities. Administrators argue that the perceived collegiate lifestyle sells the college experience more than the degree itself:

Colleges and universities could be said to be selling a product (a degree) and the services they provide (teaching and learning, social life, goods) are simply accessories designed to enhance the perceived (and real) value of the product. One could argue that the better the quality of service enhancements,

the better the quality of the product itself (Anctil, 2008, pp. 2-3). These "accessories" are the collegiate lifestyle that students may expect to accompany their academic education. While academics encompass the traditional areas of classroom education and study space, the lifestyle component is comprised of student involvement activities, social opportunities, and the residential experience.

Artifacts found on campus tours are important because they contribute to the message students receive about the institution and can include anything from posters on display to furniture in lounges. Kuh and Whitt (1988) define physical artifacts as "those things that surround people physically and provide them with immediate sensory stimuli as they carry out culturally expressive activities" (p. 19). According to Hoover (2009), giving prospective students a successful campus tour, which includes highlighting those physical artifacts, could make the difference for that student when it comes to their decision of where to attend college. Physical attributes form the primary basis for the first impression made by an institution on prospective students (Sturner, 1973; Thelin & Yankovich, 1987). Strange and Banning (2001) state, "It is clear that the campus

physical environment is an important feature that influences students' attraction to and satisfaction with a particular institution" (p.12). Therefore, the campus tour is a pivotal experience for prospective students and a necessity for successful recruitment.

There is a lack of research regarding the physical artifacts and the non-verbal messages that are subsequently sent on campus tours. The current literature merely explains the importance of the campus tour in the decision-making process (Hoover, 2009), but little work has been done to explain universities' intentionality in choosing physical artifacts to highlight on the campus tour. Enrollment management professionals understand how crucial the physical campus environment is in attracting prospective students (Sturner, 1973; Thelin & Yankovich, 1987). However, even those not in enrollment management should consider the role that the campus tour has on prospective students' experience within an institution. When a student enrolls following a campus tour, the institution and those staff members within it have a responsibility to meet expectations set by the tour through the collaborative efforts of all departments.

The purpose of this study is to determine what nonverbal messages are communicated to prospective students from the physical artifacts located in the environment featured on a campus tour. This study also addresses a significant gap in the literature by exploring the following research questions about the campus tour experience:

- What messages are conveyed to campus tour participants through physical artifacts about the collegiate lifestyle culture and academic culture of an institution?
- Which of the two cultural messages are found to be more prominent on

the tour, messages of lifestyle culture or academic culture?

Literature Review

Nonverbal Messages

The ability of a physical environment to communicate has long been agreed upon by various environmental psychologists (Moos, 1986; Porteus, 1977; Rapaport, 1982; Zeisel, 1975). The symbolic aspects of a physical environment allow it to communicate non-verbally. Rapaport (1982) states that the physical environment "communicates, through a whole set of cues, the most appropriate choice to be made: the cues are meant to elicit appropriate emotions, interpretations, behaviors, and transactions by setting up the appropriate situations and contexts" (pp. 80-81). This phenomenon of nonverbal communication has been supported by a number of studies looking at various environments from restaurants to universities (Hansen & Altman, 1976; Sommer, 1978).

The symbolic aspect of the physical environment is further broken down into fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed environmental elements (Rapaport, 1982). Fixed elements include physical structures themselves, such as walls, floors and ceilings. Semi-fixed elements can be flexibly arranged within a fixed element and include such things as furniture, pictures, and signs. Non-fixed elements are the people that make up a particular physical environment and are the ever-changing elements of any physical space, such as students studying in a lounge. The study conducted for this article focuses on the fixed and semi-fixed elements in an institution's physical environment because those elements are particularly capable of conveying messages about culture (Rapaport, 1982). Therefore, focusing on the elements

most capable of conveying those messages is essential.

Culture

The framework for analyzing and understanding the content of nonverbal messages and the specific classifications of fixed and semi-fixed elements stem from research on culture. The term *culture* lacks a unified definition (Kuh & Whitt, 1988) due to its use in various disciplines such as anthropology, organizational studies, and education; the term has not one but many definitions depending on its particular context (Kuh, 1993). For this study, a higher education perspective of culture was adopted and thus defined as “the collective, mutually shaping patterns of institutional history, mission, physical settings, norms, traditions, values, practices, beliefs and assumptions which guide the behavior of individuals and groups in an institution of higher education” (Kuh, 1993, p. 2).

For this study, a view of culture as explained by Masland (1985), Schein (1985), and Kuh and Whitt (1988) will be utilized to narrow this concept. Most salient to this research is Masland’s (1985) work on tangible symbols because they are comparable to physical artifacts. In the context of a campus tour, physical artifacts are the very fixed and semi-fixed elements as defined by Rapaport (1982). Besides their functional purposes, physical artifacts are capable of conveying powerful nonverbal messages about campus culture (Hormuth, 1990; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Strange & Banning, 2001). Therefore the physical artifacts that make up an institution’s physical environment, as defined by Banning and Bartels (1997), are the main focus of this study.

Two such messages of interest to this study are messages about the academic

culture of the institution and messages about its collegiate lifestyle (Padjen, 2002; Niles, 2010). Often, institutional mission statements focus predominantly on the goals, impact, and history of academics (Fugazzotto, 2009), and messages regarding academic culture are to be expected while visiting a college or university. Therefore information about the variety of academic programs offered, research opportunities, and the use of technology in classrooms would all be expected on a campus tour. In addition to the academic messages, institutions of higher education are also likely to send messages about campus culture and collegiate lifestyle. Padjen (2002) states, “These days, college isn’t just an education – it’s a lifestyle” (p.19). The necessity of remaining competitive with peer institutions has prompted many colleges and universities to modernize amenities and architecture in order to continue attracting students who expect convenience and cutting edge offerings (Padjen, 2002; Washburn & Petroshius, 2004; Anctil, 2008). Campus tours provide an opportunity for institutions to capitalize on this trend by showcasing the amenities available to prospective students.

The Campus Tour

Boyer (1987) explains that the physical environment experienced on a campus visit has an impact on a student’s likelihood of applying that institution. Hoover (2009) states, “Long known as the ‘golden walk’, the campus visit is a crucial ritual. Research shows that it greatly influences a prospective applicant’s decision to apply to a college – and an accepted student’s decision to enroll” (p.1). As a result, this “golden walk” becomes an extension of a student’s progression through the decision process. Despite the importance of the campus visit, little literature exists on the particular subject, specifically in relation to campus culture. The

nonverbal communication of physical artifacts has been studied in a number of contexts, but rarely in the context of a campus tour where these messages could perhaps have the greatest impact on the crucial function of recruitment.

Research Methods

Site Description

The site studied is a large, public, Midwestern university in an urban setting. Primarily a commuter campus, this metropolitan university is a more recent addition to the city. This particular university places an emphasis on research and has over 100 research centers associated with the campus. At the time of the study, enrollment was estimated at 30,000 students with the institution employing over 2,500 faculty members of whom 90% hold a professional or doctoral degree. Gender composition of the institution was 58% female and 42% male. Over 20% of students were classified as members of an ethnic minority or were international students. The diverse composition of the student body is intentional in an effort to represent the ethnic composition of the surrounding community. Student ambassadors lead the campus tours at the institution. These ambassadors are trained to explain to potential students what the campus has to offer in terms of facilities, services, and experiences. By allowing students to guide campus tours, the institution intends to display not only the campus but also the success and engagement of the students who attend.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection procedure. The researchers observed the environment of the campus tour in its entirety. Tours lasted

approximately 150 minutes, and each research team member was responsible for observing and documenting one complete tour session. This study used naturalistic observation, and each team member acted as a complete participant in the tour. In order to combat bias of human perception, three team members were present for each observational session. While field notes were the most substantial form of data collection, the messages conveyed on the tour were also validated through photographic data collection. Researchers' identities were concealed as an attempt to not disrupt the normal activities of the campus tour (Merriam, 2009).

Data analysis procedure. The researchers collected field notes and photographs to begin the analysis process. Each artifact was thoroughly reviewed by each member of the team. To help narrow the focus due to the large amount of information gathered, researchers utilized a grounded theory approach by creating a coding instrument (see Appendix A) to catalogue and analyze the information. This helped to "develop well-supported argument[s] that add to the understanding of [our] phenomenon" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002, p. 164). This information from the coding instrument was then used to organize themes and sub-themes. All data collected, including field notes and photographs, were compiled into a master transcript. Triangulation, or the multiple observational approach, enabled the team to use all research strategies to reflect on the physical attributes that would help to answer the research questions (Denzin, 1971). After distributing the data into two categories—*academic culture* and *lifestyle culture*--axial coding began by cross referencing codes and then extracting the most prevalent meta-themes within each category.

Validity and reliability. Two possible threats existed in relation to the validity and reliability of this study: reactivity and researcher bias. Reactivity indicates the potential distortion of observable behavior due to the presence of the researcher (Padgett, 2008). In this study, reactivity was combated through covert observation in which the researchers participated in the tours as members of the group. An additional threat was researcher bias. Although researcher bias is difficult to avoid completely, the researchers took steps to control the influence of their personal biases on the results of this study. First, the researchers utilized triangulation in the collection and interpretation of the data. Second, the researchers ensured inter-observer reliability by requiring every tour to be observed by a minimum of three researchers at the same time.

Findings

The primary research question asked what messages are conveyed through physical artifacts during the campus tour. A secondary question sought to discover which culture (academic or lifestyle) was more heavily represented in the physical artifacts. This study found that physical artifacts conveying messages of lifestyle culture were more salient to the campus tour when compared to the physical artifacts of academic culture. The following sections outline prevalent themes observed while participating in the campus tour. From the themes of lifestyle culture and academic culture, meta-themes and subcategories were defined to further organize the messages conveyed.

Lifestyle Culture

Two meta-themes were evident within lifestyle culture: urban climate and strategic convenience. For the purposes of this study, urban climate was defined as anything that signified student life as unique to the institution and its metropolitan-focus including events, spaces, places, and other visible artifacts. This institution clearly valued the label of “metropolitan campus” emphasizing the relationships and experiences available due to its location within an urban setting.

Urban Climate. Urban climate specifically relates to characteristics that would not be found on a rural or traditional residential college campus. Subcategories that arose within urban climate included integrated technology and beneficial amenities. Researchers’ defined “amenities” as artifacts that are not required to succeed academically but are an enhancement to the academic experience. It must be noted that integrated technology, including the availability of computer stations, webcam stations, and television advertising campus events is not a necessity to the academic experience, but surely enhances it. From the observation of these resources on the campus tour, it was clear that the institution values technology and invests valuable resources into making it a technologically connected campus. Modern architecture was a prevalent subtheme found on the campus tour. An explicit example of the modern architecture exhibited was the new Campus Center. This building was the beginning and end point for the tour, reinforcing the pride of the new, modern construction. The modern building featured multi-leveled windows and accents of school colors throughout its design. This message of urban community continued in the many advertisements on campus for events in the city as well as by the skyline

visible through many campus building windows.

Strategic Convenience. An additional meta-theme was strategic convenience. Strategic convenience was defined by this study as anything that offered simplicity and accessibility for the students of this institution. Many of these artifacts were not necessary for the academic mission of the institution but offered additional benefits to students and staff of the institution. Even regarding the commute around the campus, above-ground tunnels allowed students to cross streets and enter different buildings without waiting for traffic to clear and to avoid the delay or danger of crossing high-traffic streets. These tunnels are often beneficial for the urban campus, but not necessary for the academic experience. This modern construction in addition to the shops, ATMs, convenient seating arrangements, and food court in the Campus Center are all appealing conveniences that students may enjoy but that are not required for academic success at the university.

Academic Culture

The findings below exemplify perceptions of the academic culture through artifacts found on the campus tour. Within academics, two meta-themes were extracted: academic space and out-of-classroom learning opportunities. Academic space was defined by this research team as physical and social locations that promote the acquisition of knowledge. Examples of these environments include traditional classrooms, study areas, and resource rooms. In contrast, out-of-classroom learning consists of study abroad programs, student employment positions, and civic engagement opportunities.

Academic Space. Physical evidence of academic culture can be seen through the

study spaces, classrooms, and academic support offices highlighted along the tour route. Many study spaces for quiet and group work exist on campus and were featured on the tour. Of these spaces, many had glass walls, allowing other students to see the space in use and marketing the scholarly image to tour attendees and students. The most traditional academic space, the classroom, was not highlighted on the campus tour. In fact, only one tour group physically entered a classroom during the tour. However, open doorways into classrooms existed within the hallways. It was assumed that these rooms were classrooms based on observing dry-erase boards and student desks within. These spaces were not largely featured therefore, physical evidence of active learning was not clear. Academic resource and support offices were visible in nearly every academic and non-academic space on campus. Support for students' academic success was highlighted by the Math Assistance Center, Academic Advising Office, and Writing Center. These offices were conveniently located for students along common meeting spaces such as the student center and academic buildings. Fliers corroborated this message as they encouraged students to utilize the resource offices and writing centers.

Out-of-Classroom Learning. There was an emphasis on learning outside of the classroom at the institution. Out-of-classroom learning opportunities are offered through marketing campaigns and educational opportunities that give students the ability to be immersed in experiences outside of the classroom. Examples of such experiences available include employment opportunities or cultural experiences available to students enrolled in the institution that were exhibited through fliers, television slides, and offices. These resources

demonstrate how valuable the institution considers outside classroom learning experiences. There were a number of resources and offices geared toward developing international students as well as preparing globally aware domestic students. One of the first offices seen on the tour was the Office of International Affairs. Furthermore, there was a Study Abroad Office that advertised the benefits of an experience abroad. Advertisements for student employment fairs and career preparation workshops were another prevalent aspect among the bulletin boards found around campus. There was an office devoted to the career search and preparation that was showcased on the campus tour. Quotes on the walls about creating civic-minded students and community relationships exemplified the importance believed to exist within learning experiences off-campus and in the community.

Discussion

All student affairs practitioners contribute to the culture of an institution. The posters on the walls, furniture placement, and prominence of technology in any given facility can affect a student's choice to enroll. Students may expect these existing messages to hold true once they matriculate to the institution. When there is incongruence between the messages received and the realities of the environment, the institution might present a false image and potentially mislead its students. When a campus tour is used as a marketing technique on behalf of the institution and as an initial introduction for potential students into university life, institutions must balance the act of representing the institution truthfully while simultaneously marketing the institution to attract students. This study

shows both what this institution highlighted about their campus culture during tours while also indicating the degree to which the academic mission of the institution was featured. This particular institution's lifestyle culture was found to be the primary focus of the official campus tour, and this will have an impact on how the institution is perceived by campus tour participants.

Lifestyle Emphasis

The mission of the institution is predominately academic in language but the findings suggest that there is more of a focus on lifestyle during campus tours as opposed to promoting the academic mission. Intentionally marketed ideas of lifestyle prevailed and included such elements as modern fixtures, technology and social media use, institutional pride, and community events. As Padjen (2002) notes, this may be because institutions are choosing to showcase the amenities that students are shopping for in their college experience instead of presenting a more academic focus. Physical amenities are the first thing prospective students notice as they arrive on campus; therefore, institutions may focus their efforts on highlighting physical assets (Hill, 2004). Renovation of academic buildings, social spaces, and housing to entice future students adds to the proposed collegiate lifestyle culture. Today institutions are "spending more on physical amenities, such as student centers and recreational facilities, to upgrade the academic environments as well as the quality of life" (Hill, 2004, p. 25). These points were exemplified through the modern architecture and amenities of this institution like the new Campus Center and the abundance of technology across campus. The more institutions provide these types of things, the more likely it is that they will produce a

larger applicant pool (Hill, 2004). While these physical artifacts send messages about the collegiate lifestyle, they do not suggest academic excellence.

Absence of Academics

Hill (2004) stated that schools must display what best exemplifies excellence for students and noted that they are no longer visually seeking evidence of academic practice but are instead looking to school amenities (Hill, 2004). Institutions must then decide whether their recruitment practices feature institutional goals as portrayed in the mission or student desires for modern amenities. There is an ethical decision that institutions must make to proactively recruit students to enroll: highlighting the academic mission of the institution or its collegiate lifestyle.

Fewer physical artifacts were shown in this study that indicated an emphasis on an active academic culture. For example, when in academic buildings during the tour, classrooms were either bypassed or briefly visited. Academic messages seemed to be stifled by dull advertisements for academic programs and were insignificant and hidden away from high traffic areas. In contrast, banners were visible in most hallways with quotes emphasizing engagement as a citizen. Furthermore, bulletin boards were evident in every academic building that encouraged students to attend campus and community events. Resource centers and study areas were covered with campus involvement advertisements, televisions, and windows viewing the city. These components did not emphasize academic culture but instead espoused the value for spaces to be more modern and socially accommodating rather than academically functional.

Implications

There are many implications for future research based on this study. Further research needs to be conducted on the verbal and nonverbal messages conveyed on campus tours to address the current gap in literature. It would be useful for admissions offices to know what types of messages are received and retained by students. Additionally, it would be useful to understand which cultural messages better sell an institution to prospective students- academic or lifestyle. Such research could have an enormous effect on the way higher education institutions market themselves to students through campus tours. By understanding the amenities that students expect, university staff have the opportunity to evaluate what their institution presents to students on campus tours in order to address any needs or concerns. Administrators should consider better integrating the mission of the institution to the students that the campus attracts. This could enable the institution to provide opportunities for students to develop academically while simultaneously giving them the components of lifestyle culture needed to develop outside of the classroom learning environment.

The campus tour is a pivotal experience for prospective students and for any institution's recruitment numbers (Strange & Banning, 2001; Thelin & Yankovich, 1987; Sturmer, 1973); therefore, more research is crucial if institutions hope to see their particular tour have the most effect on the prospective students attending them. Although this study focused on one specific institution, much still can be taken from its findings. Due to the single institution focus of this study, the findings cannot be generalized; however, the premise of the study is something that can be utilized by any

institution that conducts campus tours. Such institutions can assess the non-verbal messages in their physical environments to determine how those messages fit the image they hope to portray to prospective students during campus tours. Additionally, it is important for admissions offices to remember that although the verbal messages sent by tour guides on campus tours are important and valuable, they are often overpowered by the messages sent by physical artifacts observed in the environment (Eckman, 1985; Mehrabian, 1981).

Limitations

Data collection will always be influenced by human interpretation, and the researchers minimized this limitation by utilizing a variety of bias reduction and validity methods mentioned in the Methods section. Aside from personal bias, the researchers were also limited by external variables. Campus tours led by the student ambassadors may have influenced our research because the tours were ultimately controlled by the ambassador's decision to showcase or omit certain spaces. Time variables were another limiting factor of our study. Campus tours are only offered at 10:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. each weekday. This is another limitation given that this campus has a large commuter population, and the spaces may be used differently in morning hours versus evening hours. Finally, the researchers were limited by the number of tours they could attend, which impacted the amount of data collected. Regardless of how the campus tour is presented, it remains a crucial element of any student's decision-making process; campus physical artifacts and their nonverbal messages remain a critical

component worth reviewing by any admissions office.

Conclusion

Competitive colleges are able to market their institution in an alluring fashion that draws in diverse student populations. This requires intentional and educated marketing efforts. Universities should be conscientious of giving students a tour that represents institutional values while showcasing the amenities many modern students want to see. Students will make their decision to attend a university based on their impression of that institution's features and values, which are often communicated primarily through the campus tour. This site for this study strategically selects artifacts and spaces to showcase to attendees on the campus tour, and the contemporary design of the institution and its outside classroom experiences espouse a lifestyle culture waiting to be embraced. The knowledge of how students shop for colleges is definitely being utilized during the tour through a focus on certain nonverbal messages within this environment.

Ideally, the path of the campus tour and the physical artifacts observed by students intertwine to paint a vivid picture of what student life is like on campus. These physical environments and the artifacts they contain may explain how prospective students make meaning of the institution they choose to attend. From this particular institution's campus tour data, two distinct cultures of academia and collegiate lifestyle emerged. Lifestyle was found to be the most prevalent feature on its tours, and significant evidence showed that the institution may not be marketing the values of its academically focused mission. By maintaining a competitive edge through modern buildings

and technology, however, this campus may still attract a substantial applicant pool based on the needs of consumers in the market for such an institution. Administrators must be cognizant of what the campus tour route is

and which features are shown; physical artifacts and the nonverbal messages they send remain a critical component worthy of institutional review.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Example of Coding Instrument: The Campus Center

		Academic Culture		Lifestyle Culture	
		Academic Space	Out-of-Classroom Learning	Urban Climate	Strategic Convenience
Campus Center	Quiet study spaces	Study abroad office	Use of windows for light	Career services	
	Neutral tones		Vibrant colors	Student employment	
	Work stations	Student organization offices	Social seating arrangements	Auxiliary offices in student center	
	Small group v. individual areas	Bulletin boards and fliers with resources	Social events	ATM availability	
	Resource offices		Fireplace	Food court	
	Writing center		Parking structure	Bookstore and gift shop	
			Metropolitan surroundings	Conference space	
			Use of steel for art	Relaxed student clothing	
			School pride	Accessibility	
			Space and colors	Tall open structure	
			Glass windows showcasing city	Multi-functional spaces	
				Free newspapers	
				Media on televisions	

Heterosexual Ally Identity Development: A Conceptual Model

Matthew L. Jordan

Gay, lesbian, and bisexual (GLB) students represent a significant population of students who are commonly oppressed on college campuses; therefore, student affairs professionals should learn how to better affect social change on their campuses to support these students. Applying Edwards' (2006) Conceptual Model on Aspiring Social Justice Ally Identity Development to Worthington, Savoy, Dillon & Vernaglia's (2002) Heterosexual Identity Development Model, this paper provides a conceptual model for the ally identity development of heterosexual students.

Issues of privilege and oppression have a profound impact on society (Bell, 2007). Systems of oppression are damaging for marginalized groups and provide unearned benefits to those with privilege (Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin, 2007). Marginalized identity groups include those who identify as Black, GLB, and/or having a disability. Privileged social groups include those who identify as White, men, and/or heterosexual. These unearned benefits are not granted as a result of hard work or accomplishment, but instead because of inequitable systems that favor certain social groups over others (Edwards, 2006). Socially constructed systems of oppression not only affect the students that attend colleges and universities, but are perpetuated by the institutions themselves (Kivel, 2002). Therefore, the fight against oppressive systems and the need for support of marginalized student populations are critical tasks for student affairs administrators.

Sexual identity is a form of social identity that commonly suffers from systemic privilege and oppression (Griffin, D'Errico, Harro, & Schiff, 2007). The dominant sexual identity in the

United States is heterosexuality, and this privilege is expressed throughout society in the form of heterosexism (Herek, 2004). Heterosexism is the system of advantage or privilege afforded to heterosexuals in institutional practices, policies, and cultural norms that assume heterosexuality as the only natural sexual identity or expression (Herek, 2004). At colleges and universities, heterosexuals enjoy privileges such as accommodating housing and bathrooms, a welcoming environment in the classroom, residence halls, and social scene, and are rarely in a position where they have to represent their sexual orientation. All of these privileges make non-heterosexuals – in particular GLB students – feel marginalized and discriminated against (Hardiman et al., 2007). Marginalization and discrimination lead to a negative campus climate for GLB students, which can significantly hinder their developmental process (Tomlinson & Fassinger, 2003). In order to provide a welcoming environment for GLB students and support their identity development student affairs professionals need to be aware of the campus climate and address

it when necessary (Tomlinson & Fassinger, 2003).

The importance of understanding the campus climate from the perspective of GLB students is recently significant due to the untimely death of Tyler Clementi, a first year student at Rutgers University, in 2010 (Biemiller, 2010). Clementi, a gay male, was surreptitiously videotaped by his roommate while he was romantically engaged with a male partner (Biemiller, 2010). The videotaping occurred just days before Clementi committed suicide (Biemiller, 2010). At the time of this writing, the alleged perpetrator in the incident, Clementi's roommate Dharun Ravi, has been found guilty of invasion of privacy, bias intimidation, encouraging others to spy, and intimidating Clementi for being gay (Loyd & Curry, 2012). Three of the convictions carry sentences of 5 to 10 years in prison, and Ravi is due to be sentenced in May (Loyd & Curry, 2012). Although student affairs professionals cannot change the behaviors of all students across a campus, effectively educating students can help to improve the campus climate in a meaningful way.

Campus climates are constructed by those who live there (Strange & Banning, 2001), and college campuses are inhabited predominantly by heterosexual students. The lack of awareness of privileged students on college campuses is a perpetual issue that creates unwelcoming campus environments for oppressed social groups (Hurtado, Carter, & Kardia, 1998). Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, and Vernaglia (2002) posit that as heterosexuals develop their sexual identity, their attitudes towards GLBs and understanding of dominant/nondominant group relations, privilege, and oppression begin to crystallize. Therefore, if heterosexual students, as a majority student population, were at a place

developmentally where they had a clear, internalized understanding of their own sexual identity and could understand and appreciate others with different sexual identities, then unwelcoming campus climates could be changed into more positive environments for GLB students. Therefore, student affairs professionals should possess an understanding of heterosexual identity development and how conditions can be created to assist the development of these students (Worthington et al., 2002).

Although many heterosexual students lack awareness, some students recognize their privilege and strive to become allies. There is very little literature on social justice ally development in comparison to the large body of research on the victims of oppression (Edwards, 2006). Social justice allies, as defined by Broido (2000), are "members of dominant social groups who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social-group membership" (p. 3). Supporting students who are targets of oppression has long been a critical aim of student affairs professionals (Kivel, 2000). In addition to this goal, student affairs professionals also work to create social change by altering the structures in place that perpetuate systems of oppression (Kivel, 2000). Developing social justice allyhood in students is a key component toward creating social change at colleges and universities (Edwards, 2006). By focusing solely on the development and support of students in oppressed social groups, as opposed to the development of allies from students in privileged social groups, student affairs professionals continue to place the burden of oppression on the oppressed (Edwards, 2006).

According to a study by the Williams Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) School of Law in 2011, over eight million Americans identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual (Gates, 2011). The estimated population of individuals who identify as GLB is 3.5% of the total population, which although a minority is still a significant population. Due to the systemic nature of oppression faced by GLB students on college campuses (Cramer, 2002) and the masses of heterosexual students that have potential to be mobilized as allies with further education (Edwards, 2006), a theory of heterosexual ally identity development (HAID) is necessary to assist student affairs professionals in their efforts to facilitate social change on campus for GLB students.

Literature Review

The current literature that has helped inform this proposed theory of heterosexual ally identity development spans across sexual identity development, social justice ally identity development, and students' understanding of their ally identity development. Worthington, et.al., (2002) produced the most comprehensive heterosexual identity development model after finding surprisingly limited literature on the topic. His theory not only focuses on psychological processes but also looks at social processes, including the impact that privilege and group affiliation have on the heterosexual development process (Worthington et al., 2002). Worthington et al. (2002) identify six interactive "biopsychosocial influences on heterosexual identity development" (p. 511) including biology; microsocal context; gender norms and socialization; culture; religious orientation; and

systemic homonegativity, sexual prejudice, and privilege. The Worthington et al. (2002) model consists of two parallel, interactive processes: an internal sexual identity process where an individual increasingly accepts and identifies with their "sexual needs, values, sexual orientation and preferences for activities, partner characteristics, and modes of sexual expression" (p. 510), and an external social identity process involving an individual's recognition of their membership in a group "with similar sexual identities... and attitudes towards sexual minorities" (p. 510).

Worthington et al. (2002) also proposes five identity development statuses that the two parallel processes occur within, which draw from James Marcia's (1980) ego identity statuses. Statuses, when viewed from the theorist's lens, are not rigid like stages nor are they progressive or permanent (Worthington et al. 2002). Statuses can be revisited at any time and simply explain how a person is currently dealing with crises, consciously or subconsciously, in a particular point of his or her development (Worthington et al. 2002). The five statuses are *unexplored commitment* (unconscious acceptance of a sexual identity), *active exploration* (careful consideration and exploration that leads to deepening and commitment or diffusion), *diffusion* (no engagement in exploration or commitment resulting from a crisis), *deepening and commitment* (more complex understanding of sexual identity and an awareness of oppression and privilege), and *synthesis* (the development of an overall self-concept) (Worthington et al. 2002). The statuses are nonlinear and movement between statuses is possible based on experiences that could potentially challenge the belief systems of

the individual (Worthington et al. 2002). The achievement of an overall self-concept does not have to result in positive attitudes towards GLBs, with potential attitudes ranging “from condemnation to tolerance to affirmativeness” (Worthington et al. 2002, p. 519).

Much of the current literature on social justice allies explore factors that promote or deter individuals from privileged social groups from becoming allies, but there is little on the development of these individuals as allies (Edwards, 2006). Edwards (2006) provides a conceptual framework on how individuals aspiring to be allies can become “more effective, consistent, and sustainable and how student affairs professionals can encourage this development” (p. 41). Edwards (2006) proposes three statuses for the identity development of aspiring social justice allies, including *aspiring ally for self-interest*, *aspiring ally for altruism*, and *ally for social justice*. The first status, *aspiring ally for self-interest*, describes individuals that are primarily motivated to protect oppressed individuals that are close to them personally, but are unlikely to confront any other kinds of oppression and may even oppress others (Edwards, 2006). The second status, *aspiring ally for altruism*, involves a developing awareness of privilege and guilt-driven ally behavior (Edwards, 2006). Because the ally’s actions are driven by guilt and their passion and anger is directed at other members of privileged social groups, as opposed to the systems in place that perpetuate the oppression, their effectiveness as an ally is still limited (Edwards, 2006). The final status, *ally for social justice*, describes allies that “work with those from oppressed group[s] in collaboration and partnership to end the

system of oppression” (Edwards, 2006, p. 51).

Broido (2000) conducted a study that examines how students understood their development as they became social justice allies during their undergraduate years. After conducting open-ended interviews with six white, heterosexual participants, the data was coded to develop five critical factors to inform student affairs professionals of ways to assist their students in becoming allies (Broido, 2000). The five factors include precollege egalitarian values, gaining information about social justice issues, engagement in meaning-making processes, developing confidence, and the presentation of opportunities to act as social justice allies (Broido, 2000). Broido (2000) outlines various strategies that student affairs professionals could utilize to help students develop as allies, including helping students develop self-confidence, making information accessible about ways students can be allies on campus, encouraging perspective-taking, and engaging students in discussion on social justice issues.

Significance and Application

Worthington et al. (2002) produced the most comprehensive theory of heterosexual identity development model to set the framework for the heterosexual ally identity development model. The Worthington et al. (2002) model needs to be further developed for student affairs professionals that want to facilitate social change on campus. Reaching the synthesis status in this model does not have to result in positive change. A student’s self concept as a heterosexual could mean that one has embraced one’s privilege and is secure in

the belief that homosexuality is negative. This is not a status that student affairs professionals should be aiming toward in order to help students develop and to create a welcoming campus environment for GLB students.

The Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS) (2008) points out the importance of creating welcoming environments for all students by stating that student affairs professionals “must create and nurture environments that are welcoming to and bring together persons of diverse backgrounds” (p. 9). Edwards’ (2006) Conceptual Model on Aspiring Social Justice Ally Identity Development aims toward social change that Worthington et al.’s (2002) model lacks, and the statuses presented are also critical to the framework of the heterosexual ally identity development model. Because the Edwards (2006) model focuses on general social justice ally identity development, combining it with heterosexual identity development adds specificity to the heterosexual ally identity development model. Broido (2000) describes critical factors in the development of social justice allies during a student’s undergraduate years, and this literature is significant because these factors affect development and can assist student affairs professionals as they try to create social change on their campus by creating allies.

Theory of Heterosexual Ally Identity Development (HAID)

Using the Worthington et al. (2002) Heterosexual Identity Development Model, Edwards’ (2006) Conceptual Model on Aspiring Social Justice Ally Identity Development, and the critical factors listed by Broido (2000),

HAID theory combines aspects of all three to produce a new theory of how heterosexual students develop an ally identity towards the GLB community (see Figure 1). Similar to the models of Worthington et al. (2002) and Fassinger (1998), HAID theory recognizes two parallel, interactive processes at work: an *individual heterosexual ally identity* process and a *group membership identity* process. The individual heterosexual ally identity process involves the acknowledgment and acceptance of one’s privilege as a heterosexual, an understanding of why that privilege exists, and how it has been used to oppress members of the GLB community. The group membership identity process involves the recognition of oneself as a member of a group of individuals with similar ally identities and approaches toward assisting members of the GLB community (e.g. activists, petitioners, raising awareness, directing efforts towards the local community).

HAID theory uses statuses to show the progression of development. Statuses were chosen for many of the same reasons addressed in the discussion of the Worthington et al. (2002) and Edwards (2006) models. Stages would neither accurately represent the complexity in the developmental processes of different heterosexual allies, nor would they reflect the dissonance that new conflicts can create and how these conflicts affect the developmental process. Worthington et al. (2002) states that “stagewise [sic] theory...inadequately accounts for cycling or recycling through critical conflicts and issues” (p. 502). Statuses can be revisited and are not progressive and are more able to accurately reflect the potential difficulties encountered as a student develops a heterosexual ally identity towards GLBs in a college environment

filled with systemic oppression and opportunity for crises. The proposed model of HAID includes five statuses: *unexplored commitment, aspiring ally to GLBs for self-interest, diffusion, aspiring ally to GLBs for altruism, and ally for GLB social justice.*

The first status, unexplored commitment, explains that students who are still defined by what others have told them will mirror “microsocial (e.g., familial) and macrosocial (e.g., societal) mandates” (Worthington et al., 2002, p. 515). People with signs of unexplored commitment in the individual

heterosexual ally identity process have not done any individual exploration about privilege or ally-ship and do not see themselves as allies. Due to this lack of exploration, they may be consciously or subconsciously oppressing members of the GLB community. This strongly mirrors the individual identity process of Worthington et al.’s (2002) model. The group membership identity process for unexamined commitment also parallels the Worthington et al. (2002) model. As part of the group membership identity process, students reflect the heteronormative societal values around

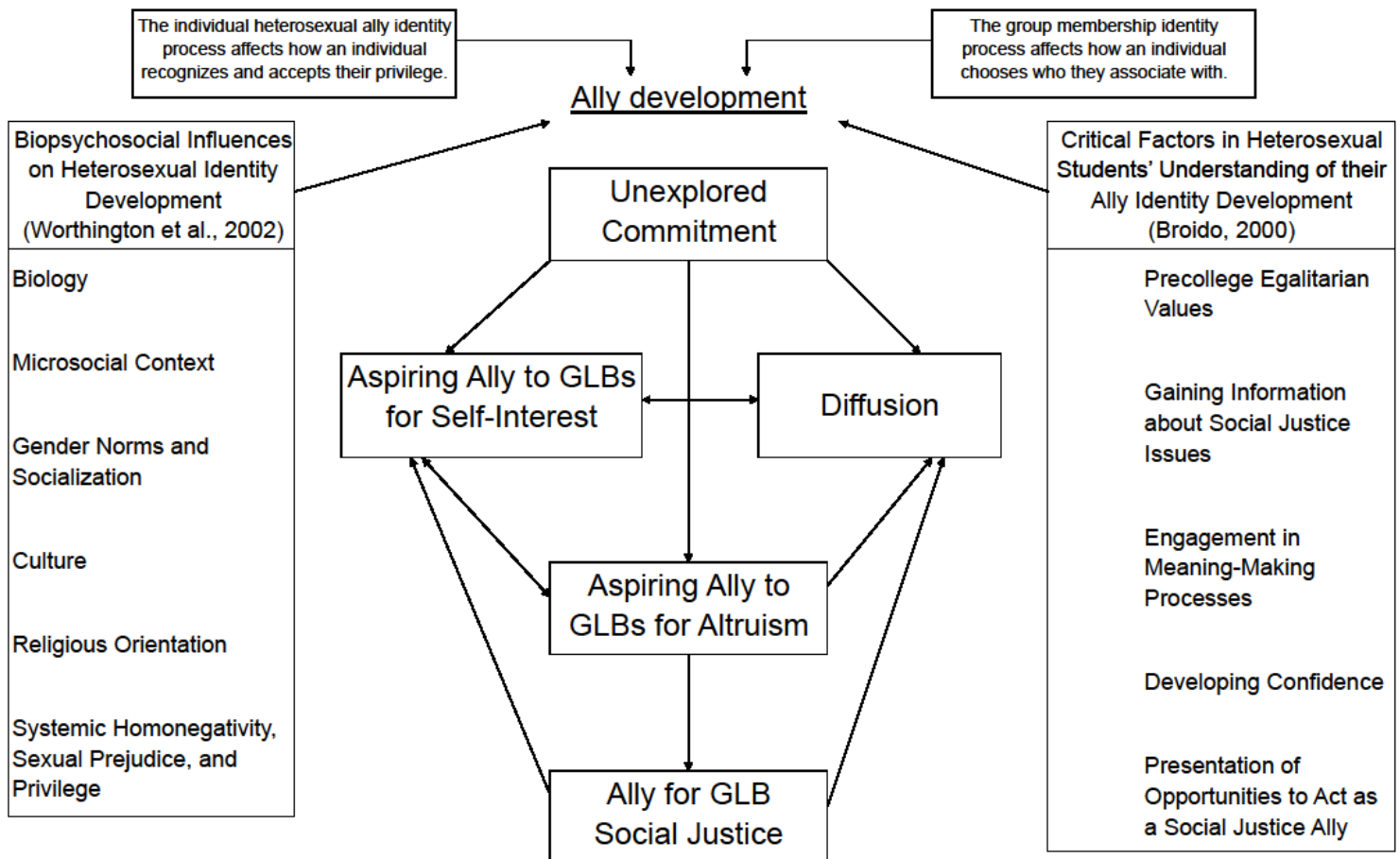


Figure 1. Proposed model of heterosexual ally identity development

them and are likely to be heavily influenced by heterosexism. These students are also unlikely to assume that GLBs are present in their immediate social circles. Movement out of unexplored commitment, as the arrows in Figure 1 suggest, is permanent in the sense that an individual cannot go back to that state of naïve commitment, as Worthington et al.'s (2002) theory also states.

The second status, aspiring ally to GLBs for self-interest, focuses on students whose primary motivation for acting as an ally to GLBs is to protect and support for those they care. As part of the individual heterosexual ally identity process for this status, based on Edwards' (2006) first status, individuals begin to understand privilege and oppression, but have a limited view of both that precludes them from being an effective ally. Students in this status are actively exploring their heterosexual identity and may even have a basic understanding of privilege. These individuals still see the world as a good place and feel that only bad people commit acts of discrimination. The group membership identity process starts to enter the consciousness of aspiring allies to GLBs for self-interest, as it does in the active exploration status of Worthington et al.'s (2002) theory. Individuals may start to question the justice of a privileged status (Worthington et al., 2002) which means that they may begin to understand that there is a difference in the benefits they receive versus oppressed social groups. Aspiring allies to GLBs for self-interest are limited in their understanding because they do not yet understand the systemic nature of oppression or even ways in which they are perpetuating the system of oppression towards GLBs (Edwards, 2006). Due to this, their group

membership identity will not shift tremendously.

The third status, diffusion, is typically a result of conflict. Marcia (1980) described diffusion as a lack of exploration or commitment. The kinds of conflict an aspiring ally to GLBs could face are numerous, but one example is coming in contact with an individual or group of individuals that challenge the aspiring ally's positive beliefs about the GLB community. This challenge could cause the aspiring ally to start questioning his or her allyhood and drive him or her into diffusion. Students in this status are "likely to experience a lack of self-understanding or awareness" (Worthington et al., 2002, p. 518). With this in mind, individual heterosexual ally identity and group membership identity are both in flux as this student tries to reconcile the confusion that has resulted from the crisis he or she experienced. An aspiring ally that has moved into diffusion may be questioning his or her own beliefs about GLBs and whether or not he or she still wants to be an ally to GLBs. A student may tend to reject social conformity in this status (Worthington et al., 2002) which could lead to intentional or unintentional oppression of members in the GLB. Due to the lack of intentionality associated with the diffusion status, students could respond in any number of ways. Although individuals can enter diffusion from any status, individuals with a more solid identity foundation tend to be less susceptible to diffusion (Worthington et al., 2002). Due to the inherent confusion and lack of identity in this status, the only way to move out of diffusion is to actively explore heterosexual ally identity in the aspiring ally to GLBs for self-interest status, where the student can re-conceptualize their role as an ally to GLBs.

The fourth status, aspiring ally to GLBs for altruism, describes individuals who have moved beyond their self-interest to focus on helping all members of the GLB community, not just the GLBs they know. The individual heterosexual ally identity process for this status is modeled after Edwards' (2006) second status, and includes a heightened awareness of issues related to privilege and oppression, as well as feelings of guilt and anger toward other heterosexuals. Individuals in this status have a hard time admitting their own oppressive behaviors and see themselves as "an exceptional member of the dominant group" (Edwards, 2006, p. 50). The group membership identity process for this status, also formed during the second status of Edwards' (2006) theory, is characterized by students dealing with their guilt by distancing themselves from other heterosexuals they see as responsible for oppressing members of the GLB community. Individuals in this status may seek other GLBs for affirmation and to support of their allyship, but in doing so continue to place the burden of oppression squarely on others' shoulders. Aspiring allies to GLBs for altruism have an understanding of the system of oppression, but may be misguided in their efforts to end oppression by solely focusing on other heterosexuals and not the system itself. Individuals in this status will also start to formulate specific ways that they feel comfortable being an ally to GLBs, such as activism, one-on-one conversations, protesting, etc. This is similar to the group identity process in Worthington et al.'s (2002) fourth status.

The fifth and final status, ally for GLB social justice, influenced by Edwards' (2006) third status, describes people who now have a more holistic understanding

of what it means to be an ally to the GLB community as a heterosexual. Movement from the fourth to the fifth status requires a change in an individual understanding of how he or she can act as an ally to the GLB community, switching from an individual approach to a collaborative approach with GLBs (Edwards, 2006). At this status the individual identity and group membership identity merge into one, similar to the synthesis status in Worthington et al.'s (2002) theory, and heterosexual allies have congruence between their self-concept and their actions. Individuals in this status also recognize that the system of oppression negatively affects both the dominant group and the oppressed group, although the harm is not equal (Edwards, 2006). These allies now hold themselves accountable for their own unacknowledged oppressive socialization (Harro, 2000). Allies in this status also begin to see the interconnectedness of all forms of oppression and realize that seeking to address just heterosexism is not enough.

The fifth status is not meant to be seen as an end point, which is why arrows in the HAID model show that movement from this status is possible. The experience and knowledge gained from going through the second status, aspiring ally to GLBs for self-interest, is important to a fully synthesized understanding of ally identity, as it is in the Worthington et al. (2002) model. Any individual that initially moved through the second status and went directly from unexplored commitment to aspiring ally to GLBs for altruism could revert back to the second status at some point in the developmental process. Serious dissonance could also cause an ally for GLB social justice to move into diffusion. Due to the complexity involved in the sexual identity

process (Worthington et al., 2002), and the social justice ally identity development process (Edwards, 2006), it would be difficult for college students to reach this status during their undergraduate education. This complexity also makes the movement from status to status in the model complicated.

Due to the multifaceted nature of the heterosexual identity development process and the social justice ally identity development process, the heterosexual ally identity development process is also complex. Worthington et al. (2002) hypothesized that movement can occur from less developed statuses to more developed statuses and vice versa due to the difficulty of merging an individual identity with a group identity as well as balancing the effects of the six environmental factors. The HAID model shows similar movement and insinuates that becoming a reliable ally to GLBs requires consistent, progressive work that does not end. Attaining the ally for GLB social justice status does not mean that the individual has finished developing, but instead suggests that the individual has a highly complex understanding of their identity that they can continue to work on. This idea relates to the initial point of allyhood, which is to be a collaborator with oppressed social groups to fight against oppression, both individual and systemic. Wise (2005) validates the continuous nature to fight oppression by stating that “there is no such place called ‘justice,’ if by that we envision a finish line, or a point at which the battle is won and the need to continue the struggle over with” (p. 153). This is not meant to suggest that the struggle is futile, but rather that there is always room for improvement and a reason to continue.

Limitations and Further Research

Both of the theoretical models used to frame HAID theory, Worthington et al. (2002) and Edwards (2006), are recent models that have not been thoroughly tested to support their validity. Worthington and his colleagues continue to work to validate their heterosexual identity development theory, as they have produced two instruments to test its validity: the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Knowledge and Attitudes for Heterosexuals instrument (Worthington, Dillon, & Becker-Schutte, 2005) and the Measure of Sexual Identity Exploration and Commitment instrument (Worthington, Navarro, Savoy, & Hampton, 2008). Without concrete validation it is difficult to assess whether or not the hypothesized movement through the statuses is a realistic representation of how an individual would develop their heterosexual identity.

The layering of multiple identities which complicates heterosexual identity, such as race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, etc., as well as the salience of these identities may also need to be accounted for in a different way. An ally, by definition, is part of a dominant social group (Broido, 2000), so the heterosexual ally identity development of a black female, with multiple oppressed identities, may be different than the process for a white male. Broido’s (2000) study that produced the critical factors in heterosexual students’ understanding of their ally identity development used in the HAID theory involved three white men and three white women, so further research is needed to validate whether these factors would change for non-white heterosexuals.

Implications and Recommendations for Student Affairs Practice

H A I D theory, like many student development theories, is not meant to be used prescriptively by student affairs professionals. Instead H A I D theory can be a device for professionals as they work to develop heterosexual allies to the GLB community on their campuses. By having a keen understanding of the five critical factors outlined by Broido (2000) student affairs professionals have the capacity to be intentional about creating opportunities for heterosexuals to experience growth. This starts with providing information and creating awareness about the GLB community. GLBs are not discussed enough in K-12 schooling (Hurtado et al., 1998) so early and consistent exposure is important to educate heterosexual students of a sexual orientation different from their own. In addition, student affairs professionals should expose heterosexual students to ideas of privilege and oppression related to sexual orientation. This challenge is critical to building competent allies and to help students move through the initial statuses of the H A I D model. If students demonstrate growth and show willingness to learn more, student affairs professionals should be intentional in providing resources for aspiring allies to develop skills, opportunities for them to

act as allies, and time to reflect and make meaning of their experiences. Workshops or programs on bystander intervention or social justice initiatives could provide the confidence students need to start standing up for GLB students on their campus. Bystander intervention programs are meant to empower students to stand up for others when they recognize signs of problems, and how to handle the difficult conversations that can result from confronting someone (Hoover, 2012). Equipping aspiring allies with the skills to challenge their peers and stand up for GLB students could help to make them more effective allies.

Conclusion

Studies have shown that campus climate for GLB students is hostile and filled with harassment (Lipka, 2010; Westefeld, Maples, Buford, & Taylor, 2001), and after the tragic suicide of Tyler Clementi at Rutgers University (Biemiller, 2010) it is clear that oppression exists. Although campus climate is a reflection of an institution's mission (Renn & Patton, 2011), it never tells the whole story (Hurtado, 1992). Students play a major role in constructing the campus climate and by developing allies to the GLB community in some of our heterosexual students, student affairs professionals can gain more partners in the fight against systemic oppression.

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