



SPA at IU Journal

Student Personnel Association at Indiana University



2016

***Journal of the Indiana University
Student Personnel Association
2015-2016 Edition***

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The Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University is published annually by the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University with support from the Higher Education & 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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Letter from the Editors

Matthew D. Cramer and Kody K. Sexton

We are proud to present the 2014-2015 Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University (SPA at IU Journal), which is a publication of original scholarly works in the field of higher education and student affairs. The SPA at IU Journal has a long tradition of providing an opportunity for Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) master's and doctoral 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 and is now available to a much wider audience through the IUScholarWorks database, a service provided by the Indiana University Digital Libraries Program. We are also proud to present the entire digital archives, which include original publications from 1967 to the most recent issue of the IUSPA Journal available on IUScholarWorks. We hope that you will not only enjoy but also be intellectually challenged by the excellent student scholarship you will find in the 2015-2016 Journal and on our IUScholarWorks digital archives.

This edition features articles relevant to higher education and student affairs, both past and present. The first article, "The Impact of Student Organizations on Sense of Belonging for International Students," offers a look into the impact that student organizations have on the sense of belonging of international students at Indiana University Bloomington. Next is "Performance Funding 2.0," which analyzes why some states have moved toward performance-based funding and how this change has impacted institutional behavior. The following article, "Environmental Assessment of Alumni Hall at Marian University: Building Community Through Constructed Environments," explores how one facility has contributed to student community at a small Catholic institution. Looking into the past, "If They Come, We Will Build It: The Creation of the Office of Afro-American Affairs at Indiana University" offers a historical perspective on the creation of the Office of Afro-American Affairs at Indiana University. The next article, "Using Knowledge of the Brain to Address Racism of College Students," takes a neurological look at racial bias, offering methods for altering automatic thoughts and racial bias in students. The article "Bridging the Gap: Building Meaningful Connections after the Groups Scholars Program" explores the experiences of students in a bridge program for underrepresented populations. What follows is "An Examination of Student Protest in the Late 1960's: A Case Study of San Francisco State and UC Berkeley," a historical piece that compares two California institutions during times of student protest. The final article in this year's Journal, "Understanding Sense of Belonging among Undergraduate Latino Men at Indiana University Bloomington," looks at how Latino men interpret their sense of belonging at a predominantly white institution.

As editors of this year's SPA at IU Journal, we would like to thank the 19-member review board, our graphic designer, the online publishers, and our advisor, Danielle M. DeSawal, for their generous dedication to creating a quality publication that upholds HESA's legacy of strong scholarship. Several months of time and effort are required from all who contribute to the Journal's publication, and for this, we are very appreciative. The Journal would not be possible without the continued support of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University, financial contributions from alumni, and additional resources from the HESA program. With this support, the Journal is able to provide a unique opportunity for master's and doctoral students to showcase their scholarship and experience the publication process.

Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University

We hope you are as excited to read through the scholarship presented in this year's Journal as we are in bringing it to you. Please enjoy the 2015-2016 Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University!

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The Impact of Student Organizations on Sense of Belonging for International Students

Susan Gieg, Liliana Oyarzun, Jake Reardon, and J. Corey Gant

This study looked at the impact that student organizations have on the sense of belonging of international students at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB). The research conducted aimed to identify if and how international students got involved with IUB-recognized student organizations, if the results correlated with a sense of belonging to campus, and any other potential trends that could be drawn from the data. The research drew implications about the effect student involvement has on belongingness to the college community.

Student involvement on college campuses has long been associated with higher retention rates and a greater sense of student belonging (Astin, 1984). For this study, we looked at sense of belonging among undergraduate international students at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) and their level of engagement with IUB-recognized student organizations. To connect sense of belonging with level of engagement, we define terms, review existing research, and develop a conceptual framework in which to move forward.

Astin (1999) noted that student involvement "refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience" (p. 518). Goodenow (1993) defined sense of belonging on a college campus as "the extent to which students feel personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in the school social environment" (p. 80). Therefore, a highly involved student likely spends much time on campus, frequently interacts with faculty and other students, and participates actively in student organizations. These attributes positively influence students' sense of belonging.

Strayhorn (2012a) discussed the relationship between involvement in student organizations and a heightened sense of belonging in undergraduates. Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) offers more than 900 recognized student clubs and

organizations, or groups founded and led by students that meet and explore a range of subjects, including professional and general interests, recreational sports, religion, politics, service-based leadership, etc. (Trustees of Indiana University, 2015a). Part of IUB's mission is a commitment to "culturally diverse and international educational programs and communities" (Trustees of Indiana University, 2015b). This commitment includes fostering support for culturally diverse organizations created and led by IUB students, domestic and international alike.

Approximately 13% of the total undergraduate student population at IUB is comprised of international students (iStart, 2015). The Office of International Services (OIS) is charged with offering ongoing orientation, cultural, educational, and social programming for international students at IUB (Trustees of Indiana University, 2016); yet, they work directly with only 5 student organizations (T. Cook, personal communication, November 19, 2015). Accordingly, we identified limited research connecting individual engagement and sense of belonging for international students at American colleges and universities. Rienties, Beusaert, Grohnert, Niemantsverdriet, and Kommers (2012) emphasized that international students require additional attention and effort to achieve social integration as their home

support systems are oftentimes more difficult to access. International students experience loneliness and isolation due to a lack of familiarity in campus and cultural environment, limited or no peers, and little social support or sense of connectedness (Sherry, Thomas, & Chui, 2010).

As a university committed to culturally diverse and internationally educated communities, it is the duty of the entire academic body to integrate *all* students into the campus community. Research suggests that international students are at a greater risk of not persisting due to their varying cultural values, norms, and behaviors, which are less likely to fit into the American university environments (Berger & Milem, 1999; Rienties et al., 2012; Strange & Banning, 2015). As such, our study aspired to answer the following questions:

- Are international students getting involved with IUB-recognized student organizations and to what extent (i.e. attending meetings, organizational leadership, etc.)?
- Does international student's involvement in IUB-recognized student organizations impact sense of belonging to IUB's campus?
- What observations and trends of involvement within the international student population can be drawn?

By studying international students' perceived sense of belonging in relation to their involvement within IUB-recognized student organizations, this research identifies trends to provide avenues for future research, recommending strategies for faculty and staff to support international students in American college settings.

Literature Review

Our literature review covers the rising trend of international students in the United States, students' sense of belonging with

college campuses, the impact involvement in student organizations has on sense of belonging, and the conceptual framework we used for our study.

Rising Number of International Students in the United States

International students, or "students who have crossed borders expressly with the intention to study" (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizations, 2010, p. 130), have reached a record population in the United States. As of 2014, the United States hosted more than twice as many international students than any other country in the world (Institute of International Education, 2014). This growing population of students is an important part of college campuses and it is essential that international students feel included in the community.

Sense of Belonging

Research indicated, "students have a fundamental need to feel that they are an important part of a larger community that is valuable, supportive, and affirming" (Johnson et. al, 2007, p. 527). This emphasized a correlation between social involvement and sense of belonging (Berger & Milem, 1999; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Museus, 2014; Strayhorn, 2012a; Tinto, 2006).

Tinto's (1975) exploration into reasons people drop out of higher education revealed "a person may perform adequately in the academic domain and still drop out because of insufficient integration into the social life of the institution" (p. 92). Furthermore, Astin's (1984) theory of involvement emphasized that involvement leads to higher retention rates. The findings of Berger and Milem (1999) connect Astin's (1984) theory of involvement to Tinto's (1975) description of student persistence to show students with high levels of institutional commitment are

more likely to become involved and more likely to persist.

Tinto (2006) suggested that ‘what’ is important for student retention and graduation is different across student populations and environments, however the research does not provide clear factors on how to increase involvement for international students. Berger and Milem (1999) suggested adjusting Tinto’s model of student interactionist theory to be more inclusive of various student populations. They recommended “students who are most likely to persist are those who have values, norms, and established patterns of behavior that are congruent with [these] dominant [qualities] already in existence on campus” (Berger & Milem, 1999, p. 661). This is consistent with Strange and Banning’s (2015) ideas about person-environment congruence: that differentiated characteristics are less likely to fit in with an incongruent environment.

The rise in research on student involvement has been met with an increased focus on various student identities, including those of race and ethnicity. Museus (2014) developed the Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) Model, which looked at the experiences of students of color and how their sense of belonging differed from White students. Museus (2014) noted that “students’ perceptions of the quality of their connections with the cultures of their respective campuses might be just as important as considering the quantity of these linkages” (p. 199).

Involvement in Campus Organizations

Strayhorn’s (2012a) research revealed “students who were involved in campus clubs, organizations, and committees tended to have a greater sense of belonging in college than their peers who were not involved” (p. 111). Strayhorn’s research was the product of four different studies focused

on both White and Black domestic students in the United States. For some students of color, involvement in organizations helped to reduce or eliminate feelings of being an “other,” yet other students of color had a heightening of this “other” feeling (Strayhorn, 2012a). Rienties et al. (2012) also mentioned how being involved in student groups can influence social integration and lead to academic integration and lower levels of stress.

Student organizations are one form of High Impact Practices (HIPs), which are activities that an institution can offer allowing students to channel their time and energy towards a productive and meaningful experience (Kuh, 2009). While many HIPs have been identified that enhance a student’s likelihood of succeeding in college, only a few impact sense of belonging, such as engagement in co-curricular activities or undergraduate research.

Research in the field of student involvement and sense of belonging typically lacks information on international students or fails to indicate domestic/international status of the students involved in studies. Additionally, research on international students seldom includes specific information on their involvement with organizations, instead focusing on dropout rate, academic support (Nora, Urick, & Cerecer, 2011), and language barriers (Sherry et al., 2010). Taking this information into consideration, our study links sense of belonging for international students to their involvement in student organizations.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used for our study was constructed with elements of Astin’s (1984, 1993) theory of involvement and Strayhorn’s (2012b) sense of belonging framework. These two theories examined

the influence of social interactions between individuals, and how these interactions influenced sense of belonging and increased satisfaction. These studies were developed with research that included some attention to heterogeneous populations, including those comprised of individuals of various cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Astin's exploration of student satisfaction in college examined the impact college has on a student's life. In his book *What Matters in College*, Astin (1993) stated that undergraduate students have a level of satisfaction at 75 percent or higher when they have opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities. Strayhorn's (2012b) sense of belonging framework supports the theory of involvement by Astin (1984, 1993). With this in mind, Strayhorn (2012b) set out to explore students' use of social networking sites and how their use related to their persistence. International students had an overall lower sense of belonging than domestic students, and involvement in campus clubs and organizations positively impacted sense of belonging for all students (Strayhorn, 2012b). However, Strayhorn (2012b) only had 22 students (3%) identified as international students and excluded nationality.

To address this limitation, we adjusted Strayhorn's (2012b) model, which considered sense of belonging as a factor of student satisfaction, by utilizing an exclusive focus on international students. The Strayhorn model guided the investigation of how involvement in student organizations relates to IUB international students' sense of belonging. Sense of belonging ultimately increased student satisfaction and retention (Astin, 1993), which focused on the positive influence of student involvement on college student retention. Based on these theories, we hypothesized a positive directional trend for international students' sense of

belonging with involvement in clubs or organizations at IUB. Using a survey that was already tested for reliability and validity (see Johnson et al., 2007), we examined sense of belonging for IUB international students.

Methods

By evaluating the sense of belonging in relation to international students' level of involvement with student organizations, we collected quantitative data through an electronic survey. Research indicated that web-based surveys can lead to higher response rates, higher levels of participation than that of paper-based surveys, and can be an efficient way to transfer data to computer software for further analysis (Issa, 2013). Our survey addressed all three determined research questions, and upon acceptance by IUB's Institutional Review Board, we moved forward with collecting responses from undergraduate international students. Participants completed our survey via an announcement emailed through OIS. Responses from different countries of origin established the varying cultural backgrounds that were considered when assessing participants' sense of belonging to campus. Once data was collected, we used descriptive and observational strategies to analyze trends that existed.

Measures

Our survey consisted of questions to identify demographics, examine sense of belonging and satisfaction, and measure involvement in student organizations. We developed demographic questions to target trends during our analysis process, collecting birth year, country of origin, gender identity, academic class, and housing arrangement data. The sense of belonging portion of the survey was taken directly from scales used and validated in research

by Johnson et al. (2007). The section that we used for our survey revealed a high indication of consistency and reliability. Using a previous survey that has been tested for reliability and face validity is an acceptable practice for collecting data (Creswell, 2012). The Johnson et al. (2007) study achieved a 33.3% response rate, which underwent extensive review, pilots, and tests of internal consistency.

To evaluate sense of belonging, participants were presented with statements from Johnson et al. (2007) with answers placed on a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Participants considered aspects of their undergraduate experience that theoretically supported or diminished their physical, mental, and emotional connections to campus. The final section of the questionnaire addressed involvement in student organizations, with multiple-choice questions (except for a question about number of meetings attended), and included quantity and frequency of student organization engagement. Two questions specifically asked why students are or are not involved in student organizations to provide context to differing levels of engagement.

Procedures

Construction and implementation of our web-based survey is supported by Fan and Yan's (2010) research for structuring the development, delivery, completion, and return of surveys. We collaborated with OIS to reach the largest potential number of participants through existing email databases, since research indicated that a sponsor can lead to higher response rates (Fan & Yan, 2010). OIS conducted an independent review to ensure that the survey aligned with their office's objectives and mission before sending it out to the target population.

Research indicated that special attention should be placed on the design, personalization, and information provided to participants through the process (Fan & Yan, 2010; Issa, 2013). As a result, we partnered with OIS to include a welcoming and informative letter to participants and provided subject headers throughout the survey. OIS sent out the survey twice within a four-day span to both contact students and remind them to complete the survey within the same week. Research indicated that participants are more likely to engage and answer surveys on Mondays and Tuesdays (Zheng, 2011) and Fan and Yan (2010) noted that Crawford et al. (2001) determined reminder emails should be sent out within two days of the original email survey.

Results

Our survey received 176 completed participant responses, consisting of 62 (35.2%) men, 112 (63.6%) women, and two who preferred not to share their gender identity. The undergraduate international student population at IUB at the date the survey instrument was sent out consisted of 3,664 students (J. Warner, personal communication, November 3, 2015), yielding a response rate of 4.8%. The participants ranged from 18 to 32 years of age with the majority of responses (83%) between the ages of 18 and 22. Participants reported 22 different countries of origin with 45% from China and 17.5% from South Korea, the two largest demographics. Sixty-nine (39.2%) of the participants were first-year undergraduate students, 42 (23.9%) were second-years, 35 (19.9%) were third-years, and 30 (17%) were fourth-years. Fifty-five (31.2%) participants reported that they had not joined a student organization while 46 (26.1%) had joined one student organization, 39 (22.2%) had joined two

student organizations, and 22 (12.5%) had joined three or more student organizations.

Sense of Belonging

Participants responded to a subset of questions, from surveys used by Johnson et al. (2007) and Bollen and Hoyle (1990), about their collegiate experiences as an IUB student in order to indicate their sense of belonging. According to the survey, 105 participants (60%) stated that they strongly agreed or agreed that they were a member of the IUB community, and 109 (61.9%) participants said they would choose the same college over again. When asked about comfort on campus, 149 participants (84.7%) responded that they felt comfortable on campus.

However, the other 27 participants (15.3%) indicated feeling neutral. When asked if IUB was supportive of them, 134 participants (76.1%) agreed. Finally, when asking participants if they felt a sense of belonging to the campus community, 111 participants (63.1%) reported that they did, 17 (9.7%) did not, and 48 (27.3%) felt neutral. Similar to the majority of participants indicating that they felt a sense of belonging to the campus community, 97 (55.1%) participants also reported involvement with student organizations may have caused a greater sense of belonging. Additionally, only six (3.4%) participants felt that they did not have a positive experience with student organizations.

Categories of Student Organizations

The four organizations with the highest numbers of participants were the Malaysian Student Association, the Chinese Business Association, the Chinese Students and Scholars Association, and Ascend at Indiana University, a professional organization promoting leadership and global business potential of Pan-Asians (Indiana University Bloomington Chapter Ascend, 2014). These

four organizations are directed at serving the needs of Asian students, covering both professional and cultural needs.

Country of Citizenship

Participants were from 17 different countries, with three students indicating citizenship in multiple countries. It is worth noting that three participants put a numerical value instead of a country. Survey data for these participants were removed for this question, reducing participants in this section to 173. The highest proportion of participants came from China (81 participants, or 45% of participants), with a high sense of belonging (indicating agree). Within this subpopulation, 40 (49.7%) were involved in student organizations, and 57 (70%) attended a student organization's event.

Several trends emerged from the 53 participants from Asia who did not report an overall high sense of belonging. Thirty-seven (69.8%) participants reported involvement with a student organization, with 47% attending five or more student organization events. When asked "Do you feel that you have a greater sense of belonging at IUB because of your involvement with student organizations?" 54% of these participants agreed and only 8% disagreed.

Out of seven participants from Europe, the three from Italy had a much lower sense of belonging than those from Austria or England. The Italians selected survey measures that indicated they felt comfortable on campus; were neutral on choosing the same college again; indicated IUB as being supportive and feeling like a member of the community; and did not have a sense of belonging to the campus community. The lack of participants from Europe made it hard to analyze these results. Report bias from too small a sub-population limits data analysis in quantitative research

as it increases the weight of individual responses (Creswell, 2012), which hindered conclusions for the European student population in this report. We include this information as a consideration for future research.

Gender

Men and women reported similar percentages for sense of belonging. However, when observing the data in relation to statements of sense of belonging, the main distinction was found when participants were asked how comfortable they felt on campus. Men and women reported a 10% difference in how they agreed on comfortability on campus, men more than women. This correlates with Kelly & Torres' (2006) statement that women in general have higher concerns of campus safety, which we translate as level of comfort on campus. Furthermore, the two participants who preferred to not identify their gender reported low sense of belonging and disagreed that they had positive experience with student organizations. It should also be noted that while both men and women joined organizations at the same percentage (60.8%), 30% of men reported holding leadership roles, compared to 18.8% of women. For the two participants who did not identify their gender, both engaged with student organizations and took on leadership roles.

How They Got Involved

Data revealed that only 43 participants (24.4%) attended the Student Involvement Fair, an event that promotes student organizations, local nonprofits, and IU support services to connect and engage IUB students (Trustees of Indiana University, 2015c). However, 108 participants (61.4%) attended a call out meeting for a student organization. This does not reflect participants who might have attended both

call-out meetings and the Student Involvement Fair. In addition, participants were asked to identify all the ways they got involved with a student organization. The top responses included a friend (55%), email notification from OIS (41%), social media (38%), and word of mouth (32%). Participants were able to select multiple options. Hence, percentage of results may overlap. The results highlight the importance of word of mouth and personal connections in recommending involvement in campus activities.

Number of Organizations

Students involved in at least one student organization had an overall higher sense of belonging than those not involved in any student organization. Once a student is involved in four or more organizations, their sense of belonging increases, especially with regard to feeling like a member of the campus community, feeling comfortable on campus, and having a sense of belonging to the campus community.

Extent of Involvement with Student Organizations

Overall, over half of undergraduate international students who completed the survey indicated involvement with student organizations. Of the survey participants, 107 (60.8%) students were involved with at least one student organization. Of these, 61% strongly agreed or agreed they had a positive experience with IUB student organizations. Additionally, 55% responded they had a greater sense of belonging because of their involvement, while 37% were indifferent. Level of involvement in student organizations varied when looking at meetings/events attended and leadership positions obtained. While 120 participants (68.2%) stated that they had attended a student organization's event (including meetings and social or networking events),

55 (45.8%) of those had attended five or more events.

The more events participants attended, the greater their reported sense of belonging was. When analyzing sense of belonging, those who attended five or more events tended to strongly agree and agree with the statements of belonging at higher percentages than those attending zero to four events. For instance, when reviewing the survey item that asked participants if “they felt like a member of the community,” those who attended five or more events reported they strongly agreed and agreed at 69%, while those who did not attend any events strongly agreed or agreed at only 49%.

Extent of Involvement within Student Organizations

Of the participants, 41 stated that they had taken on leadership roles within student organizations. Of these, 59% held one leadership position and 37% held two. Those who responded that they had taken on leadership roles reported higher levels of belonging. When asked if they had a greater sense of belonging because of their involvement, 85% of those who had leadership roles responded with strongly agree and agree, while only 41% of those who did not have a leadership role indicated strongly agree and agree about having a greater sense of belonging. Looking at those who held leadership roles, 85% stated that they strongly agreed and agreed about having a positive experience with student organizations. On the other hand, 50% of those who did not have a leadership role stated that they strongly agreed and agreed about having a positive experience with student organizations.

Discussion

Sense of Belonging

When looking at overall sense of belonging, the results were surprising considering the implication that international students would have a harder time reaching a feeling of belonging on campus compared to domestic students (Sherry et al., 2010). While all participants reported high sense of belonging, first year students had the highest sense of belonging out of all undergraduates. Additionally, almost all of the participants (98%) indicated they were involved in some way. Those involved with a campus committee indicated higher rates of sense of belonging, which supports Kuh’s (2009) literature about HIPs. The high percentage of participants’ engagement on campus answered our first research question, which demonstrated that international students are getting involved.

Number of Organizations

Once a student is involved in four or more organizations, their sense of belonging increases, especially with regard to feeling like a member of the campus community, feeling comfortable on campus, and having a sense of belonging to the campus community. This addressed our second research question that involvement in an IUB-recognized student organization directly impacts international students’ sense of belonging. There was a similar finding for the amount of events attended, which emphasized that students require time together in both informal and formal settings to feel more connected to the larger community. This mirrored the recommendations made by Braxton and Mundy (2001), who found an increase in retention when students are connected to their campus, including student organizations. This finding was also supported by Astin’s student involvement

theory (1999), which included the amount of physical energy that students devote to their time at their college. By investing more time in involvement on campus, or in this case specifically within student organizations, these students are rewarded by feeling a higher sense of belonging and are more likely to persist (Berger & Milem, 1999; Tinto, 1975).

Country of Origin and Cultural Impact

There are suggestions that the disconnect between American culture and non-western international students' culture creates an incongruent environment, which establishes a barrier to having a strong sense of belonging (Berger & Milem, 1999; Rienties et al., 2012; Strange & Banning, 2015). Our study shows inconsistencies with this suggestion as the students from Italy had a lower sense of belonging, despite coming from a Western or Eurocentric environment that would be more compatible with American culture, and the Asian students overall had a higher sense of belonging, indicating they felt comfortable and compatible with the campus. At the same time, the very low number of European participants means that their views on campus comfort, support, and belongingness could be the result of idiosyncratic experiences rather than general experiences of students from these countries. Additional research is needed to examine the multiple factors at play and intricacies of this relationship.

A reason for the unexpected high sense of belonging from Asian students could be the types of organizations that these students joined. The results of this data informed the third research question (identifying trends that emerged from the data). The survey indicated that students heavily belonged to and attended events of culturally relevant organizations. This is supported by the literature as Museus (2014) suggested that a

cultural connection is an important aspect of connecting to the larger campus. However, a majority of Chinese participants reside on campus and spend time with peers, which can also positively influence sense of belonging, according to Kuh (2009). These two factors could be isolated in future research to determine the influence of residential status on sense of belonging.

Limitations

Several limitations in the research should be acknowledged. Providing a survey enables participants to self-report information of their choice. As a result, the information provided may be falsified (Furnham, 1986). Additionally, although the survey was sent to 3,664 students, 217 students started the survey, and 176 surveys were considered for the research. While only a small proportion completed the survey, we believe the results are indicative of the population. Creswell (2012) noted concerns with a small (less than 10%) response rate via response bias, which may limit the meaning associated with identifiable trends. We considered the small sample size in all data analyses and noted concerns in data analysis, though the list is not exhaustive.

Using the survey by Johnson et al. (2007) provided multiple benefits for this study, but it was not designed specifically for international students. This survey also has limitations in the information collected, as the nature of the study was to provide observational trends and not in-depth explanations for the sense of belonging reported by international students. In addition, this survey was only offered in English, which may not have been the primary language for participants. While most questions were reviewed carefully and interpreted by each researcher as recommended in Fan and Yan (2010), there are colloquial references within different

questions that could have been misinterpreted. To limit the potential barriers, the survey instrument could have been provided in popular languages used by the international student population, as well as having been piloted by potential participants before it was released.

Despite asking participants to identify country/ies in which they hold citizenship, the survey was designed to consider international students as one static group. Rienties et al. (2012) noted concerns when consolidating groups of international students, as it “may oversimplify specific cultural adjustment processes across different countries, continents and cultures” (p. 698). Accordingly, results were stratified and examined separately. Thus, broad generalizations may not be indicative of how all international students perceive sense of belonging.

It is acknowledged that there are multiple ways that students could be engaging within the campus community to strengthen their sense of belonging, both through academics and other events with departments that are not student organizations. Such events could include programs sponsored through OIS, academic functions, or research projects hosted by faculty members.

Implications and Future Research

As the rise in international student enrollment on college campuses continues (DeSilver, 2013; Institute of International Education, 2014), student affairs practitioners must find ways to connect and support students. Leong (2015) posed, “how might institutions of higher learning. . . better address international students’ needs?” (p. 473). Our research indicated IUB-specific responses that can be

considered by student affairs professionals at IUB as well as other institutions.

A major implication of this research is international students’ access to student organizations and how they get involved. As stated before, most participants initially got engaged with a student organization or were informed of one through word of mouth, interpersonal communication, OIS, and social media. The data demonstrated the importance that personal relationships had for participants in terms of getting involved.

Over three-quarters (75.6%) of participants either did not attend or do not recall attending the Student Involvement Fair. This event received institutional support from eight campus departments (Trustees of Indiana University, 2015c), although OIS is not a listed host. As an institutionally supported event, the Student Involvement Fair would likely benefit from collaborating with OIS to engage international students. Despite the limited number of international students attending the Student Involvement Fair, data showed that these students were engaged in student organization activities by other initial means. For instance, information from a known, trusted source often impacted the engagement of international students. Since OIS serves as a main source of information for international students, suggestions from that office would also lead to greater visibility for student organizations. Moreover, future research could look at the impact of interpersonal relationships between incoming international students with those already enrolled. Additionally, future research comparing the reasons domestic students get involved with student organizations would distinguish the impact interpersonal relationships and trust have for both domestic and international students.

A second implication is the level that international students are engaged in

leadership roles and the disparity between women and men in those roles. This study illustrated that those participants who were engaged in a leadership role tended to have higher sense of belonging and reported high levels of satisfaction with their experience. A suggestion for future research is to evaluate the motivation behind taking on a leadership role, as well as how international students are being prepared to take on those positions. In addition, leadership development offered to international students and how they receive and process those messages should be reviewed. When it comes to gender disparity among leadership roles, further research could investigate what gender roles mean to different international students. It should be noted that gender norms are created by society, reinforced by adults towards children during early childhood (Conry-Murray, 2015), and these norms may be different depending on country of origin. These cultural norms could have an impact on how international students perceive leadership, as well as how they engage with leaders or perform as leaders.

Another important element is the correlation between the student organization category and the number of international student members. Museus' (2014) work with the CECE model posits that "the extent to which college students have opportunities to physically connect with faculty, staff, and peers with whom they share common backgrounds on their respective campuses is associated with greater likelihood of success" (p. 210). Our data revealed that the four highest selected student organizations all focused on different themes but each culturally aligned with the large representation of Chinese or South Korean students. Additional research could investigate the trend and relevance of international students joining culturally driven organizations. There is the potential

that engaged students were able to recruit other international students of similar backgrounds into those organizations since the study has shown interpersonal relationships and trust are key factors into getting involved for international students.

Overall, our research supports Astin's theory of involvement (1984, 1993) and Strayhorn's sense of belonging framework (2012b). Even so, multiple considerations have been found that higher education professionals should address. Of particular note are (1) access to student organizations and how students get involved, (2) leadership development and the gender disparity within leadership positions, and (3) organizations that actively support cultural identities. This report indicated variance in each of these areas and calls for further research on how they affect international students' satisfaction and belongingness to their institution.

Conclusion

In summary, our study looked at the sense of belonging of international students in relation to their involvement with student organizations. We reviewed the limited research on international students' sense of belonging and used Astin's (1984, 1993) theory of involvement and Strayhorn's (2012) sense of belonging framework to structure our study. We formulated a quantitative study, using the Johnson et al. (2007) sense of belonging, along with demographic questions and questions measuring levels of involvement. Our results addressed all three of our research questions (1) to identify if and how international students got involved with IUB-recognized student organizations, (2) if the results correlated with a sense of belonging to campus, and (3) if there were any other potential trends that could be drawn from the data. Our research indicated strong sense

of belonging and high levels of engagement for students, but does not necessarily prove correlation since students could gain a sense of belonging through student organizations and through other involvement. Overall, we bring forward considerations for additional research and implications which practitioners should contemplate as they look for ways to better support international students.

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Performance Funding 2.0

Michael B. Leonard

This paper will draw upon the existing scholarly literature base to examine how and why certain states have moved toward performance-based funding of higher education, who seem to be the major players, and what political forces are advocating for such funding formulas. This will be accomplished through an analysis of the performance funding models in states where such models have been most prevalent in recent years. This paper will also provide an analysis of institutional behavior in these states in response to their respective performance funding models.

Dougherty and Reddy (2011, 2013) posited that over the last three decades policymakers have been actively seeking new ways to improve the performance of higher education institutions. A popular approach to achieve this goal has been performance-based funding. According to Miao (2012), “Performance-based funding is a system based on allocating a portion of a state’s higher education budget according to specific performance measures such as course completion, credit attainment, and degree completion, instead of allocating funding based entirely on enrollment” (p. 1). This model creates a broad picture of the level of success to which postsecondary institutions are using their state appropriations to support students throughout their college careers and to promote course and degree completion (Miao, 2012). Furthermore, performance funding is a structure that incorporates both enrollment and performance metrics as incentives for colleges and universities to continue to improve in these areas (Miao, 2012).

Although performance funding for higher education has existed for many years, the details of some of these funding programs have changed—sometimes dramatically—over time (Dougherty, Natow, Jones, Lahr, Pheatt, & Reddy, 2014). Dougherty et al. (2014) declared that “a new form of performance funding often called *performance funding 2.0* (PF 2.0) represents

a major shift in performance funding and in higher education funding more generally” (p. ii), and despite their common goals, states that incorporate PF 2.0 differ widely in the structure of these programs (Miao, 2012). The emergence of PF 2.0 is a result of a shift in focus in recent years by state officials from decision-making authority and processes to outcomes in terms of institutional performance on key metrics (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). This paper will draw upon the existing scholarly literature base to examine how and why certain states have moved toward performance-based funding of higher education, who seem to be the major players, and what political forces are advocating for such funding formulas. This will be accomplished through an analysis of the performance funding models in states where such models have been most prevalent in recent years. This paper will also provide an analysis of institutional behavior in these states in response to their respective performance funding models.

Methods

This paper offers a synthesis of the existing literature. Much research already exists around the broad topic of higher education finance. When overlaid with the subject of performance-based funding, there are still a sizable number of publications. To remain focused on the purpose of this paper,

only the literature on the relationship between state appropriations for higher education and performance-based metrics was fully explored.

Of the literature on state appropriations for higher education, the following types of information were used in the conceptualization and writing of this paper: (a) findings from studies conducted on performance-funding systems and (b) data on national trends in performance funding and their effect on institutional behavior.

Performance Funding: Nature and Forms

Sizer, Spee, & Bormans (1992) identified five primary uses of performance indicators: monitoring, evaluation, dialogue, rationalization, and resource allocation. Before launching into a review of the research literature on performance funding, it is imperative to review relevant terms and make important distinctions. Particularly, one must distinguish between the three main forms of state accountability for higher education: performance funding, performance budgeting, and performance reporting (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013).

Performance Funding versus Performance Budgeting and Reporting

According to Dougherty and Reddy (2013), “*Performance funding* connects state funding directly and tightly to institutional performance on individual indicators” (p. 5). Formulas are created in which specific institutional outcomes, such as the number of graduates, graduation rates, and persistence and retention rates, among others, are tied to specific, discrete levels of funding (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). This concept is grounded in the notion that higher education institutions (HEIs) are resource-seeking organizations that aim to maximize revenue and minimize loss (Burke, 2002; Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). Therefore, institutional improvement is a byproduct of

the aims of HEIs (Burke, 2002; Dougherty & Reddy, 2013).

Performance budgeting does not have an explicit formula connecting performance to funding (Burke, 2002; Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). Instead, institutional achievements are evaluated on performance indicators by state governing bodies, such as state governors, legislatures, boards of education, and Boards of Regents (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). Dougherty and Reddy (2013) noted that “in recent years, this form of performance accountability has greatly receded in attention, in good part because it is difficult to differentiate it in practice from performance reporting” (p. 6).

Performance reporting involved little or no explicit relationship between performance and funding (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). While the indicators may be the same, funding parties do not commit themselves to basing funding on that performance (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). In fact, changes in institutional self-awareness and public reputation are more likely to spur institutional improvement than threatened shifts in government funding (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013). “The acquisition and dissemination of performance data may compel institutional change by making institutions more aware of their performance or of state priorities, or by fostering status competition among institutions desirous of being seen publicly as effective organizations” (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013, p. 6). Moreover, such healthy competition among postsecondary institutions competing in an arms race for state funding can allow institutions to differentiate themselves by meeting prescribed performance metrics. A knowledge of the historical development of state accountability systems for higher education is paramount to understanding the current state of higher education funding in the United States. This topic is discussed below.

Historical Background

Before the 1980s, accountability in public higher education was marked by challenges of state authorities to balance needed public oversight of HEIs with the valued traditions of campus autonomy (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). There was debate over whether campuses should have their own boards or whether boards should oversee multiple campuses (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). There were also concerns over who should have powers of oversight and control: campuses or state boards of higher education and other executive-branch agencies (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). Questions lingered about how to delegate responsibility for decisions regarding tuition rates and budgeting (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). In recent years, the focus of state officials has shifted from decision-making authority and processes to outcomes in terms of institutional performance on key metrics (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). McLendon and Hearn (2013) described a new movement that took hold in higher education funding:

This “new accountability” movement took shape as incentive systems have been designed to link campus funding levels to desired institutional performance outcomes in such areas as student retention and graduation rates, undergraduate access, measures of institutional efficiency, student scores on licensure exams, job placement rates, faculty productivity, campus diversity and, increasingly, student learning. (para. 4)

Tennessee was the first state with a formal performance-funding program in 1979-1980 (Dougherty et al., 2014; Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013;

McLendon & Hearn, 2013). In 1985, Connecticut launched its own performance-funding system (McLendon & Hearn, 2013). Missouri and Kentucky followed suit by adopting similar systems in 1991 and 1992, respectively (McLendon & Hearn, 2013). Twenty-one more states had adopted performance-funding systems by 2001 (McLendon & Hearn, 2013). According to McLendon and Hearn (2013), “Moves to adopt such systems have sometimes been followed by retreats, however, and the current number of states with active systems is appreciably lower than the number that adopted such systems at some earlier point” (para. 6). As of July 2015, there are 32 states with active performance-funding systems in place “to allocate a portion of funding based on performance indicators such as course completion, time to degree, transfer rates, the number of degrees awarded, or the number of low-income and minority graduates” (National Conference of State Legislatures [NCSL], 2015, para. 2), and five states are currently transitioning to some sort of performance-funding model, meaning the programs have been approved by legislatures or governing boards, but the details are still being worked out (NCSL, 2015). Thirty-six states have had a performance-funding system in place at some point (Dougherty, 2014). Tennessee’s performance funding is discussed further in the next section.

Tennessee: An Early Adopter

McClendon and Hearn (2013), Dougherty et al. (2014), and Dougherty and Reddy (2013) asserted that Tennessee is a pioneer in the development of performance funding 1.0 (PF 1.0), and the state’s initial model and its current reformulation are illustrative of the factors driving the initial and now resurging interest in performance funding as an approach to funding higher education. According to McLendon and

Hearn (2013), “The state’s goal in establishing the first performance-funding system was to address widespread dissatisfaction with enrollment-based funding formulas and a growing public concern over performance assessment” (para. 7). Tennessee received support from the federal Fund for the Improvement for Postsecondary Education, the Ford Foundation, and the Kellogg Foundation, which allowed it to implement the performance-funding policy at several pilot campus sites, with close involvement of the Tennessee Higher Education Commission (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). Under this system, HEIs could earn a bonus of two percent “over and above their annual state appropriations for achieving certain goals based on five performance indicators, each of which was worth 20 out of 100 points” (Banta et al., 1996; Bogue & Johnson, 2010; Levy, 1986; as cited in Dougherty & Reddy, 2013, p. 30).

The original indicators were program accreditation (proportion of eligible programs in the institution’s inventory that are accredited); student major field performance (student performance in major fields as assessed by examinations that have normative standards for state, regional, or national referent groups); student general education performance (student performance in general education as assessed by a nationally normed exam such as the ACT-COMP examination); evaluation of instructional programs (evaluative surveys of a representative sample of current students, recent alumni, or community members or employers); and evaluation of academic programs by peer review teams of scholars from institutions outside the state

and/or practicing professionals in a field. (Banta, 1986, pp. 123–128; Bogue, 1980; Bogue & Johnson, 2010; as cited in Dougherty & Reddy, 2013, pp. 30-31)

The success of the pilot program propelled legislative action (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). At the time, campus administrators hoped to avoid, or at least stall, the imposition of a more restrictive state accountability system for higher education by demonstrating the higher education community’s commitment to active performance assessment (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

Burke (2002) and McLendon and Hearn (2013) noted that, from early on, Tennessee’s performance-funding program had many features that made it attractive to other states: (1) it featured twin goals of external accountability and institutional improvement, (2) it focused on a set of performance indicators that were varied in scope but limited in number, (3) it specified a phased implementation and periodic reviews afterward, (4) it stressed institutional improvement over time, (5) it provided limited but still significant supplementary funding for institutions, and (6) it maintained reasonable stability in its priorities and program requirements. The innovation, not surprisingly, spread quickly (Layzell, 1998, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

The Spread of Performance-Funding Systems

At first, the spread of performance-funding innovation was primarily regional (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; Layzell, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). States adopting the performance-funding approach in 1997 were clustered mostly in the South and Midwest, but, by 2000, the states adopting

the performance-funding approach had become more evenly spread throughout the country (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; Layzell, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). Adoption of performance-based budgeting systems followed similar patterns (McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

A very intriguing pattern marked the development of state performance-funding schemes, as much volatility emerged over time: “there are numerous instances of states adding and dropping accountability emphases and features” (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 10). McLendon and Hearn (2013) asserted that “in reality, these programs are extremely difficult to design and maintain, both fiscally and politically” (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 10). Therefore, undoubtedly, some of this effervescence was a result of the difficulties of translating the theoretical and policy attractiveness of the programs into effective, efficient implementations (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; Layzell, 1999; McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

Burke (2002), Dougherty and Reddy (2011, 2013), Layzell (1998, 1999), and McLendon and Hearn (2013) argued that, ultimately, the stability of performance-funding programs is significantly influenced by the degree of political force over the design and development of these performance-funding systems. McLendon and Hearn (2013) explained that, “specifically, the least stable programs have been those in which legislators, governors, businesspeople, and community leaders have been most influential, while the most stable ones exhibit the greatest involvement of state higher education officials” (para. 11). Additionally, “political, corporate, and community leadership can play an important role in both the adoption and the long-term success of performance regimes, but effective leadership in this arena may be as much about informed deference as about

command” (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 11). South Carolina’s performance-funding initiative is illustrative of a program that was unstable and, ultimately, unsuccessful, as discussed below.

South Carolina: An Unsuccessful Story

According to McClendon and Hearn (2013), “South Carolina is most often cited as an example of a state that has pursued an overreaching and ultimately unsuccessful performance initiative” (para. 12). South Carolina initially attempted to base its appropriations for higher education entirely on performance metrics and to use a rather uniform allocation approach that poorly distinguished among institutions’ missions (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

As legislated, the South Carolina performance funding program was to be based on 37 indicators grouped into nine Critical Success Factors (in priority order): mission focus, quality of faculty, instructional quality, institutional cooperation and collaboration, administrative efficiency, entrance requirements, graduates’ achievements, user friendliness of institution, and research funding. (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013, p. 29)

As a result, not surprisingly, implementation of this system was extremely controversial and extraordinarily costly in political and economic terms (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). These problems, coupled with sharp drops in the availability of higher education tax funds and a lack of evidence that performance systems enhance institutional performance in a cost-effective way, prompted retreat from such approaches in South Carolina and in many other states (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

Performance Funding 2.0: The Modern Era

A resurgence in state performance approaches. Interestingly, however, today there are early signs of a resurgence in state performance approaches, “perhaps rooted in wisdom and experience gained from the earlier problems in this arena yet influenced unmistakably by the changed political context for higher education in many states” (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 13). McLendon and Hearn (2013) posited that “The Lumina Foundation funded quality-improvement efforts in eleven states, each featuring substantial commitment to what is being termed ‘Performance Funding 2.0,’ a systematic effort to tie state funding explicitly and significantly to quality improvements on various dimensions of campus performance” (para. 13). In parallel, several states have decided to move along similar lines without foundation support (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). About half of all currently operating performance-funding programs take the form of performance funding 2.0 (PF 2.0) (Dougherty, 2014). The PF 2.0 movement has several distinctive features (McLendon & Hearn, 2013):

First, the funding of degree production for the emerging economy has been much more strongly emphasized than in earlier efforts. Second, the development of workforces specifically prepared for the states’ perceived future needs has become a greater focus. Third, there is increasing recognition that missions, measures, and incentives must be more tightly and efficiently linked. Fourth, these newer efforts have begun incorporating into performance-appraisal systems certain “throughput” indicators of

success, as well as output or outcome measures. (para. 14)

Examples of throughput indicators include rates of student completion of “gateway” courses (like those in biology, chemistry, mathematics, or psychology), “where poor academic performance by students often creates bottlenecks impairing student transition to upper-level curricula and contributes to student dropout” (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 14). Different states have approached the new performance-funding movement in varying ways, as outlined below.

Varying approaches to PF 2.0.

Dougherty and Reddy (2013) and McLendon and Hearn (2013) declared that the most important factor influencing the PF 2.0 movement is the financial and political stakes, which have become appreciably higher. Again, Tennessee provides an illustrative example. In its first three decades, Tennessee’s performance funding stated that an institution’s score on its individually prescribed performance indicators would determine how additional funds would be allocated to supplement core state funding (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). The percentage of an institution’s state appropriations based on performance funding increased over time but still remained limited (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). In 2010, though, Tennessee stopped its enrollment-based core funding approach and moved to an output-based approach, “thus providing an incentive for campuses to build staffing and services for improving graduation rates, including fast-track majors, increased advising, expanded tutoring and remediation efforts, and expanded course offerings” (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 15).

Other states have pursued similar approaches (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011,

2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). In 2008, Ohio adopted a performance-funding model that over time will lead to all state appropriations being based on higher education outputs, namely course and degree completions (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; McLendon & Hearn, 2013). Colorado and Arkansas have developed formulas that reward institutional success in degree production, and they have implemented performance-funding systems that eventually will allocate up to 25 percent of state funding for higher education on the basis of these formulas (McLendon & Hearn, 2013). In Texas, legislators are working out the details of a law passed in 2011 that redirected up to ten percent of the state's enrollment-driven funding for allocation to colleges and universities based on certain performance metrics, "such as the six-year graduation rates of an institution's undergraduate students, the total number of bachelor's degrees awarded, the number of degrees awarded in certain 'critical fields,' and the number of degrees awarded to 'at-risk' students" (McLendon & Hearn, 2013, para. 16). In 2013, Texas lawmakers debated further increasing the share of performance-based funding to 25 percent of total state funding for higher education (McLendon & Hearn, 2013).

Theoretical Frameworks for Performance-Based Funding 2.0

A state's decision to pursue performance-based approaches to higher education funding is influenced by many variables. In order to examine how PF 2.0 initiatives have been carried out in different states and their effect on state appropriations as well as on institutional behavior, it is important to understand the concepts that undergird the political process behind performance-based funding models. To understand this political process, one must

examine theoretical perspectives within policy: Advocacy Coalition Framework, Policy Entrepreneurship theory, and policy diffusion theory (Dougherty et al., 2014). These three perspectives, which "powerfully illuminate different facets of the origins of PF 2.0 policies when treated as complementary rather than as mutually exclusive explanations" (Dougherty et al., 2014, p. 3), are reviewed below.

Advocacy Coalition Framework

Dougherty et al. (2014) explained that "the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Sabatier & Weible, 2007) conceptualizes policy change as occurring within a 'policy subsystem' consisting of actors (individuals, interest groups, and government agencies) that interact regularly to formulate and implement policies within a particular policy domain" (p. 3). Within a policy subsystem, there are various advocacy coalitions comprised of different actors, and the various advocacy coalitions each champion different policy problems and solutions to the actors (Dougherty et al., 2014). "The coalitions may include elected officials, government agency personnel, interest group members, and researchers" (Dougherty et al., 2014, p. 3). Therefore, the coalitions can encompass a wide variety of individuals and entities.

The ACF states that advocacy coalitions integrate mainly around the layered shared beliefs, rather than the shared interests, of their members (Dougherty et al., 2014). Dougherty et al. (2014) described the beliefs of the advocacy coalitions: "'Deep core' beliefs concern fundamental social values, the nature of society and humanity, what the appropriate role of government is, and the importance of different social groups" (p. 3). "Policy core beliefs," which reflect the application of deep core beliefs to specific policy areas and typically involve views

about a problem's import, its causes, and the most effective potential solutions, stem from deep core beliefs and are particularly important to the formation of advocacy coalitions (Dougherty et al., 2014).

The ACF outlines various means through which policy changes occur (Dougherty et al., 2014). One mechanism is policy learning, "in which advocacy coalition members gain knowledge about policies and their contexts, causing the coalition members to modify some of their beliefs" (Dougherty et al., 2014, p. 4). Policy change can also occur through "shocks" to the policy subsystem "that cause the dominant coalition in a policy subsystem to change its beliefs or to lose power to other coalitions" (Sabatier, 1993; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Sabatier & Weible, 2007; as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014, p. 4). Examples of such shocks to the policy subsystem can include economic downturns, large shifts in public sentiment, changes in the government-controlling political party, and major policy events taking place in other subsystems (Dougherty et al., 2014).

Dougherty et al. (2014) asserted that "the ACF provides a powerful lens through which to view the politics of performance funding" (p. 4). Dougherty et al. (2014) offered a critique of the ACF: the ACF does not analyze how and why advocacy coalitions appear and formulate their policy agendas and lacks sufficient detail to explain how shocks to the policy subsystem produce changes in policy. Dougherty et al. (2014) also pointed to the ACF's concept of policy learning, which they posited "focuses too much on processes that are internal to a policy subsystem and pays insufficient attention to external sources of ideas" (p. 4). However, according to Dougherty et al. (2014), "these shortcomings can be overcome by complementing the ACF with the Policy Entrepreneurship and policy diffusion perspectives" (p. 4).

Policy Entrepreneurship Theory

Policy Entrepreneurship theory "stresses the role of policy entrepreneurs, whose initiative is key to publicizing public issues, promoting particular policy solutions, and mobilizing the advocates for those solutions (Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996; see also Kingdon, 1995; Roberts & King, 1996)" (as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014, p. 4). Essentially, Policy Entrepreneurship theory thus "helps to illuminate political dynamics that the ACF tends to overlook" (Dougherty et al., 2014, p. 5).

The Policy Entrepreneurship theory adds clarification to the process of advocacy coalition organization (Dougherty et al., 2014). The Policy Entrepreneurship theory contends that, by identifying points of ideological commonality, policy entrepreneurs are able to pull together political supporters (Mintrom & Norman, 2009; see also Mintrom & Vergari, 1996; as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014). Dougherty et al. (2014) noted that "policy entrepreneurs also are key to the process by which political coalitions decide on what policy proposals to push them onto the decision agenda of government" (p. 5). Policy entrepreneurs allure opposition and capture the attention of policymakers through persistent and energetic advocacy (Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996; see also Kingdon, 1995; as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014).

The Policy Entrepreneurship theory also helps explain how policy change is spurred by the ACF's external shocks (Dougherty et al., 2014). Policy Entrepreneurship theory states that policy entrepreneurs are a vital link in realizing the "windows of opportunity" provided by political events (Dougherty et al., 2014). Dougherty et al. (2014) further explained that "by noticing and providing persuasive interpretations of

the meaning of political events, policy entrepreneurs can use them as openings to call attention to particular problems and policy solutions" (Kingdon, 1995; Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996, p. 5).

But Policy Entrepreneurship theory fails to explain where these policy ideas come from (Dougherty et al., 2014). Policy learning internal to a policy subsystem is not sufficient; outside influences also play a crucial role (Dougherty et al., 2014). Policy Entrepreneurship theory outlines the role of policy networks across political jurisdictions (Mintrom & Norman, 2009; as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014), which is developed further by policy diffusion theory (Dougherty et al., 2014).

Policy Diffusion Theory

Policy diffusion theory suggests that policy learning is often an interstate process, with state policymakers frequently designing policies based on what they have seen in other states (Dougherty et al., 2014). Dougherty et al. (2014) further explained that "states turn to other states' policy innovations in order to learn about what works, compete for economic advantage, or adhere to national or regional standards of the hallmarks of progressive state government" (Berry & Berry, 2007; McLendon et al., 2005; Walker, 1969, pp. 5-6).

Traditionally, under the policy diffusion perspective, a state's neighbors were the main sources of policy ideas (Berry & Berry, 2007; McLendon et al., 2005; McLendon et al., 2006; as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014). However, Dougherty et al. (2014) pointed out that "a growing body of research indicates that neighboring states often do not have much influence on a given state's policy innovations" (p. 6). In recent years, scholars and researchers have studied the role of

interstate organizations and government agencies (such as the National Governors Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures) in spreading policy concepts across states that may be far away from each other as a mechanism of non-proximal policy diffusion (Balla, 2001; Berry & Berry, 2007; McLendon et al., 2005, 2006; see also Walker, 1969; as cited in Dougherty et al., 2014). Used in tandem, these three theories illuminate different aspects of the policymaking process (Dougherty et al., 2014).

Revisiting the Effects of Performance Funding on Institutional Behavior

The author of this paper has chosen to examine the performance-funding systems in Indiana and Ohio since performance funding models have been prevalent in these two states in recent years. An examination of the effect of Indiana and Ohio's performance-funding programs on Indiana University Bloomington and The Ohio State University's main campus will be conducted since the two campuses share many similar characteristics. It should be noted that this analysis utilizes 2015 data from Indiana University Bloomington and 2013 data from The Ohio State University. This is potentially a large limitation; however, earlier data from Indiana University Bloomington was not publicly available as of this writing.

In both Indiana and Ohio, the performance funding (PF) programs involve embedding performance funding indicators in the base state funding for higher education (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014; Miao, 2012). Both Indiana and Ohio have performance-funding systems in place at both two-year and four-year institutions (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014; Miao, 2012; NCSL, 2015). However, there are considerable

differences among these two states' PF programs in the amount of state funding based on performance indicators and in the precise way they embed the indicators (Lahr et al., 2014; Miao, 2012). Ohio uses "a formula to determine state funding for higher education operations, with about four fifths of the funding of those operating appropriations based on performance indicators" (Lahr et al., 2014, p. 63). In Indiana, "performance funding involves a much smaller amount (6 percent of state operational funding), and that funding involves both bonus funding and withheld funding that is paid back based on performance" (Lahr et al., 2014, p. 63). Indiana thus utilizes a performance-based structure that leverages both bonus and withheld funding.

Performance Funding in Indiana

According to a 2011 report by HCM Strategists, Indiana first adopted performance funding in 2007 in the form of a bonus on top of the base state funding for higher education (as cited in Lahr et al., 2014). "However, this program was quickly replaced in 2009 by a new program in which five percent of each institution's base allocation would be withheld and then all or some of it would be awarded based on performance on certain metrics" (Lahr et al., 2014, p. 63). According to data from the Indiana Commission for Higher Education (2013), in the period 2011–2013, this five percent withholding amounted to roughly \$61 million dollars (as cited in Lahr et al., 2014). In 2013, the state general assembly increased PF to six percent for both fiscal years 2014 and 2015 but changed the allocation method (Lahr et al., 2014). Of the six percent devoted to performance funding, 3.8 percent was in new money, and 2.2 percent was from withholding funds from institutional appropriations (Lahr et al., 2014). Lahr et al. (2014) explained that "the

portion withheld is put into a funding pool and institutions can then earn back some or all of that withheld funding depending on how well they perform during the year and how well other institutions perform (Authors' IN interviews)" (p. 63).

One of the goals of the PF indicators is to measure change over time, based on comparing two- to three-year averages of institutional performance (Lahr et al., 2014). The PF indicators Indiana has used have changed every two years (Lahr et al., 2014). However, certain indicators have persisted (Indiana Commission for Higher Education, 2013; as cited in Lahr et al., 2014); change in number of degrees awarded (2009–2011, 2011–2013, 2013–2015 biennia); change in number (or rate) of resident, undergraduate, first-time, full-time students graduating on-time (2009–2011, 2011–2013, 2013–2015); change in degree completion by low-income students (2009–2011, 2011–2013, 2013–2015); and change in number of successfully completed credit hours (2009–2011, 2011–2013) (Lahr et al., 2014).

Performance Funding in Ohio

Ohio joined the performance-funding movement much earlier than Indiana, as Ohio established two performance funding programs in the 1990s (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). Ohio's first PF 1.0 program was launched in 1995 with a new legislation introduced in 1997 (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). Both of these PF 1.0 programs were replaced with a new PF 2.0 program established in 2009 (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). In 1995, Ohio adopted the Performance Challenge, which "rewarded colleges on the basis of nine different 'service expectations' but only one focused on outcomes versus process variables, such as amount of vocational education programming" (Lahr et al., 2014, p. 65). Community colleges, technical

colleges, and branch campuses were rewarded on this single outcome-oriented service expectation awarded based on the number of students who transferred or relocated after completing at least 15 quarter hours or 10 semester hours of coursework and on the number of transfer or relocated students who completed baccalaureate degrees (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Dunlop-Loach, 2000, Appendix B; Ohio Board of Regents, 1996; as cited in Lahr et al., 2014). The Performance Challenge was abandoned in 2000 (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Moden & Williford, 2002, pp. 174, 176; as cited in Lahr et al., 2014).

In 1997, Ohio established the Success Challenge (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). The Success Challenge provided a bonus to universities based on the number of students who earned a bachelor's degree until it ended in fiscal year 2010 (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). Lahr et al. (2014) explained that "two thirds was based on numbers of in-state at-risk students graduating in any year; one third was based on numbers of any in-state students who earned a baccalaureate degree 'in a timely manner' (generally in four years, but extended for majors that required more than four years)" (p. 65). The metric measured the number who graduated, and not the graduation rate (percentage graduating), within four years (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Moden & Williford, 2002, pp. 173, 178; as cited in Lahr et al., 2014).

In 2009, Ohio passed a budget bill embedding performance indicators in the state's formula for higher education appropriations, known as the State Share of Instruction (SSI) (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). For public universities, 80 percent of state funding was based on course and degree completions, with the remainder being set aside for doctoral and medical education (Dougherty

& Reddy, 2011, 2013; Lahr et al., 2014). The portion of state funding based on degree completion rose from 15 percent in fiscal year 2011-2012 to 50 percent in fiscal year 2013-2014 (Alstadt, Fingerhut, & Kazis, 2012; Ohio Board of Regents, 2011b, 2012, 2013b; as cited in Lahr et al., 2014). Meanwhile, course completions share dropped from 65 percent in fiscal year 2012 to 30 percent in fiscal year 2014, with the remaining 20 percent representing the set-aside for doctoral and medical education (Lahr et al., 2014).

Institutional Effect on Indiana University Bloomington and The Ohio State University

Administrators at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) seem to think that the university has fared quite well with Indiana's PF 2.0 system. According to IUB Provost Lauren Robel, "Indiana University is the big winner on performance metrics" (Indiana University Bloomington Faculty Council [IUBFC], 2015, p. 11). IUB receives \$2.5 million over three years for every one percent increase in retention (IUBFC, 2015). Compared to Purdue University, another large, public, four-year, residential, research university located in Indiana, IUB is receiving 21 percent of Indiana's state appropriations for higher education, while Purdue is receiving 14.7 percent (IUBFC, 2015).

It is even more interesting to compare IUB to its peer institutions. The Ohio State University is a large, public, four-year, flagship, residential, National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I, research university in the Big Ten athletic conference (the same conference as IUB). The Ohio State University's main campus in Columbus, Ohio, receives about 19 percent of Ohio's state appropriations for higher education, but when one takes into account The Ohio State University's five regional

campuses, this number increases to approximately 20 percent of Ohio's SSI (Ohio Board of Regents, 2013). Indeed, The Ohio State University seems to be faring quite well with Ohio's PF 2.0 program. Yet, IUB—as a single flagship campus (not including Indiana University regional campuses)—receives a larger proportion of Indiana's state appropriations for higher education than the proportion that all of The Ohio State University's campuses receive from Ohio's SSI. This could be because these figures reflect 2015 statistics for Indiana, but 2013 statistics for Ohio, meaning there is a two-year gap in the data between the two states. Nisar (2014) argued that higher education governance and performance-based funding are an ecology of games. Therefore, Nisar might assert that IUB has found a way to “game the in-state metric somehow” (IUBFC, 2015, p. 10). Regardless of how one thinks, one fact is hard to argue: in the words of IUB Provost Lauren Robel, “Performance really, really is a political question” (IUBFC, 2015, p. 11). McLendon, Hearn, and Mokher (2009) corroborated this sentiment.

Implications

The range of state policies in existence today suggests there are a variety of factors that influence the structure of a performance-based funding system (Miao, 2012). Some items that policymakers and legislators should consider when implementing or reforming a performance-based funding system for higher education include the following:

- Who is implementing the system?
- Who are the key stakeholders that should be involved in the discussion?
- What state- an institution-specific performance goals should be incorporated in funding? How can states allocate funding for

performance most effectively? What additional funding provisions are necessary to remain sensitive to the needs of individual colleges? (Miao, 2012, pp. 7-8)

The multitude of state experiences with performance-based funding underscores a number of best practices in the system design-and-implementation process (Miao, 2012). The following tips should help guide states that are looking for ways to hold higher education institutions accountable for success (Miao, 2012):

- (1) Actively involve key stakeholders in the funding model's design.
- (2) Ensure that enough money is apportioned for performance to create strong incentives.
- (3) Recognize institutional differences with separate funding formulas or differently weighed metrics.
- (4) Integrate all metrics and provisions into the same formula.
- (5) Use indicators that emphasize progress.
- (6) Incorporate stop-loss provisions that prevent institutions from losing more than a certain level of funding each year.
- (7) Gradually phase in new measures.
- (8) Subject the system to frequent evaluation. (Miao, 2012, pp. 9-10)

Miao (2012) declared that “Going forward, a careful analysis of the impacts of ‘performance-based funding 2.0’ measures should help revise and expand on these best practices” (p. 10). This paper has some notable limitations that warrant further description below.

Limitations

Much of the existing research on higher education funding is not limited specifically to state appropriations and key performance-based metrics. Though such research was

used in constructing the arguments presented in this paper, the differences between federal funding models and state funding models for higher education, as well as the difference between appropriations to public institutions and appropriation to private institutions, have not been presented here. Rather, these research findings were closely examined to identify the traits applicable to state appropriations tied to performance metrics and outcomes.

Viewing all of the information collected in tandem, the author offered a set of recommendations on tactics and methods that may help to improve state performance-funding systems. The recommendations offered should be helpful for policymakers and legislators focused on appropriately allocating funds to higher education institutions (HEIs) when faced with a limited amount of financial resources.

Conclusion

Miao (2012) asserted that “the recent wave of ‘performance-based funding 2.0’ measures signals a change in the way states are prioritizing goals in higher education” (p. 11). Institutions must do more than

simply increase enrollment; “they must also ensure that students complete their degrees and graduate with the skills to be successful in an evolving economy” (Miao, 2012, p. 11). Miao (2012) eloquently concluded:

As the national conversation on higher education shifts toward completion, it must be accompanied by equally significant changes in institutional behavior. Performance-based funding is a necessary step toward aligning the objectives of state and institutional leaders, while ensuring that states are investing their limited funds wisely and productively. (p. 11)

Indeed, given the present landscape of the American higher education system where resources are scarce—both for HEIs and for the state legislatures that hold them accountable—performance funding has become the new measure to ensure that specific goals and objectives are being met. Performance funding does not seem to be going away anytime soon, at least not for the foreseeable future. Performance-based funding for higher education is here today and here to stay.

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Environmental Assessment of Alumni Hall at Marian University: Building Community Through Constructed Environments

Elizabeth A. Pence, L. Noel Pietruszka, and Linden B. Spalding

Our research sought to determine how Alumni Hall contributes to a sense of community at Marian University using a mixed methods approach. Using Gardner as a framework, we identified eight domains that represented different aspects and perceptions of community. Our results showed that the presence of Alumni Hall fosters and sustains community.

Marian University is a small, private, Franciscan university located in Indianapolis, Indiana. Alumni Hall is one of the newest buildings on campus and prior to its development, a communal space that met the needs of students, faculty, staff, and visitors did not exist. The creation of Alumni Hall marks a shift in institutional planning as it puts a focus on improving the sense of community on campus (R. Rodgers, personal communication, September 18, 2015).

As Bonfiglio (2004) stated, “campus buildings are . . . symbols of the ways that institutions of higher education see themselves in a cultural context” (p. 28). Thus, buildings such as Alumni Hall can reflect the ways in which a campus values the creation of a sense of community. By understanding what happens in Alumni Hall, attempts can be made to understand how this building contributes to a sense of community at Marian University. Given this information, our research focuses on how Alumni Hall contributes to a sense of community on campus through the following research questions:

1. How is Alumni Hall used?
2. In what ways does the use of this space contribute to a sense of community at Marian?
3. How is sense of community displayed in the constructed environment of Alumni Hall?

Literature Review

Sense of belonging refers to the human need “to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships” which involves frequent and pleasant interactions with others and a “stable and enduring framework of affective concern for each other’s welfare” (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 497). The concept of sense of belonging has also been articulated as the “marginality and mattering” binary (Schlossberg, 1986). On this scale, a person experiencing marginality does not feel like they can fully be accepted by society, while a person experiencing mattering feels affirmed (or in some cases overwhelmed) in their importance by others (Schlossberg, 1986). This concept was envisioned to be used in institutions of higher education to measure the degree to which students felt like they mattered and how the campus environment affected their sense of belonging (Schlossberg, 1986).

The feeling of mattering, or sense of belonging, is known to be an important factor in student retention and success (Haufman, Richmond, Morrow, & Solomone, 2002). A strong sense of belonging within a community can lead to social learning, which increases meaning making and provides a context in which classroom information may be applied (Rullman & Harrington, 2014). Therefore, it is important for colleges to make sure that

they are creating environments that foster community building.

College Unions and Campus Community

Alumni Hall exhibits characteristics that are consistent with the definition of a college union. Historically, college unions represented the physical and symbolic backbone of the college community (Strange & Banning, 2015). The Association of College Unions International (ACUI) defined college unions as:

...the community center of the college, serving students, faculty, staff, alumni, and guests. By whatever form or name, a college union is an organization offering a variety of programs, activities, services, and facilities that, when taken together, represent a well-considered plan for the community life of the college (ACUI, 2015).

Alumni Hall does not have a central body of organized leadership and does not have a specific mission or purpose statement as many other organizations do. Therefore, Alumni Hall could not, in its current form, be considered an “organization” as is stated of college unions by ACUI (2015).

However, the space currently meets all the other requirements for consideration as a college union. As further measures take place to centralize student services at Marian University, Alumni Hall will most likely come to resemble the definition even more closely (R. Rodgers, personal communication, 2015).

A key component of ACUI’s definition is the statement that the union is “for the campus community at large” (ACUI, 2015). A space that meets the needs of the entire community must take into account the wide variety of people as well as the various needs they have. As Banks, Hammond, and Hernandez (2014) stated, “[c]ollege unions are in a position to be a central point where institutions can promote inclusion and be a

welcoming place for numerous student populations” (p.13). Providing a space for students, faculty, staff, and visitors to meet is a step in the right direction if developing a sense of community is the end goal of an institution. Campus spaces where people are free to gather for whatever reasons they choose are critical to the development of community and the encouragement of relational learning (Bonfiglio, 2004).

ACUI’s (1996) characterization of college unions posited that unions are the “center of the college community life.” This assertion has been demonstrated in higher education literature that details the effects that the physical and constructed environments of college unions have on student behavior and engagement. College unions were the first campus facilities that were neither for academic or residential purposes. For this reason, college unions, including Alumni Hall, are often referred to as the “living room of campus” (Rouzer, De Sawal, & Yakboski, 2014; R. Rogers, personal communication, 2015). Rullman and Harrington (2014) noted the importance of this “living room” space on campus, saying that “Community created in college unions can help individuals apply what is learned in and beyond the classroom, while also experimenting with meaningful interaction and a deepening of understanding about self and others” (p. 43). In order to maximize the use of such a space, higher education scholars have begun to investigate “the influence of architecture and the physical campus on student behavior” in order to “create physical environments for learning and facilitate a sense of belonging for students” (Rullman & Harrington, 2014, p. 39).

College unions also have the capability of influencing how people feel and interact within the space (Strange & Banning, 2015). The concept of “environmental press” describes the way in which an environment

either discourages or encourages a certain type of behavior (Pace & Stern, 1958). When the needs of the participants within a constructed environment and the environmental press that is perceived by and impacts these participants are congruent, growth can occur (Strange & Banning, 2015). If the constructed environment within Alumni Hall contributes to environmental press toward community development, it is likely that a greater sense of community can be achieved. However, within constructed environments, there is much room for interpretation about the perceived impact of the space and the community. This interpretation is dependent upon the meaning people ascribe to various elements of the environment (Strange & Banning, 2015). Therefore, this study seeks to determine the meaning participants within Alumni Hall are making of the constructed environment within the space.

Framework

Gardner (1991) provided a palpable, encompassing outline for the concept of community and is the framework on which we built our study. He argued that there are ten “ingredients” to community: wholeness incorporating diversity; a reasonable base of shared values; caring, trust, and teamwork; effective internal communication; participation; affirmation; links beyond the community; developing of young people; a forward view; and institutional arrangements for community maintenance. Gardner (1991) described each of these ten “ingredients,” which have been cited as a framework for developing and organizing community, public administration, and education (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2004; Achinstein, 2002; Solomon, Battistich, Watson, Schaps, & Lewis, 2000). Each ingredient is summarized below:

1. Wholeness incorporating diversity refers to valuing diversity as more than a good. This requires deep tolerance and sympathy. Wholeness incorporating diversity is characterized by pluralism, “an open climate for dissent,” and the freedom for marginalized groups to both maintain their identities as well as share their perspective when developing larger community goals (Gardner, 1991, p. 16).

2. A reasonable base of shared values requires that members of the community see themselves as an “active defender” of these shared values, giving them a sense of shared social purpose (Gardner, 1991, p. 17). These values should be exemplified, not preached (Gardner, 1991).

3. Caring, trust, and teamwork posits that a good community will create a sense of belonging and community identity through a spirit of mutual responsibility and respect for individual differences. Tasks must be shared, the community should have a variety of bonding experiences, and all “sub-groups and individuals” must feel that they are fully accepted (Gardner, 1991, p. 18).

4. Effective internal communication encompasses open forums or spaces for “public talk” as well as a feeling of freedom to express dissent, which is facilitated by a community common language (Gardner, 1991, p. 20).

5. Participation in the community includes voting, speaking out in public meetings, volunteering, and bringing up the youth with a sense of community responsibility (Gardner, 1991).

6. Affirmation requires that the community face its flaws, tolerate criticism received from individuals both inside and outside the community, and possess confidence in itself (Gardner, 1991).

7. Links beyond the community

refers to the impossibility for smaller communities to survive without linkages to a larger framework; these linkages are often formed by multiple representatives in power within the community reaching out (Gardner, 1991).

8. Developing of young people seeks to maintain the vitality of the community by enabling the young members of the community to develop fully as well as preparing these young members to preserve a common heritage by instilling shared values and commitments to shared purposes, often done through volunteering and intern experiences (Gardner, 1991).

9. A forward view posits that a healthy community has an idea of where it wants to go and what it might become, created through planning commissions, institutional effort, and continuous research that is relevant to the future of the community (Gardner, 1991)

10. Institutional arrangements for community maintenance are predominantly provided by a system of governance, which could include a board of trustees, a director or staff, or volunteer committees. This government must act as an instrument of the community in which the community actively participates; this system must earn the trust and respect of the community (Gardner, 1991).

These ten elements provide a comprehensive view of the concept of community. The “ingredients” compose the framework that informs the following methods and data analysis.

Methodology

In our study, we used a qualitative case study approach to assess how Alumni Hall contributes to participants’ sense of community. Using a case study design provided us with the opportunity to incorporate various qualitative methods in obtaining our data. Our case study design allowed us to uncover emergent themes in the data rather than test a predetermined theory (Schuh & Upcraft, 2001). We understand that there are multiple social constructions of community. The qualitative aspects of our research provided insight as to how those various aspects of community manifest within Alumni Hall (Mertens, 2014).

Methods

Our study employed a variety of methods in order to construct a thick description of Alumni Hall’s environment (Merriam, 1988). We used a questionnaire to gather demographic and usage information about the environment. The questionnaires were administered on tablets, and the data was stored in Qualtrics, an online survey software. We employed participant observation as a means to gain a deeper understanding of the activities and interactions that take place within Alumni Hall. The on-site interviews allowed us to gain a deeper perspective of people’s experiences in and perceptions of Alumni Hall. The interview questions were developed in an attempt to gain insight about the perceptions of community based on Gardner’s ten characteristics of community (1991). Our aim was to boil down the ten characteristics into five questions that would give participants the opportunity to discuss the various pillars of Gardner’s framework such as shared values,

incorporation of diversity, a forward view, and institutional arrangements. With this design, we pieced together information from interviews in order to give more context to what we observed as participants in the space. All data collection processes were approved through IRB.

Collection of data for our study spanned a two-week period, during which pairs from our research team spent two-hour blocks of time administering the questionnaire, observing the space, and conducting brief on-site interviews with participants in Alumni Hall. Convenience sampling was used in both the observational and questionnaire phases of data collection since we could not control who would be in the space at the times we chose to observe and administer questionnaires (Mertens, 2014).

Data Analysis

After we collected our data, we used consensual qualitative data analysis methods, as outlined in the process of Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR), to derive meaning from our qualitative data (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). This method suited our study because our research design fit within the core components of CQR (Hill et. al, 1997). Although our study employed the use of mixed methods to some degree, the quantitative data did not shed light on the stories of community as it was perceived in Alumni Hall by its patrons. The stories that were told through our observations and interviews helped us understand the experiences that participants in Alumni Hall have in developing a sense of community at Marian University. Quantitative data was important as we attempted to construct an accurate description of the environment, including the people who use the space to determine what level of structural diversity existed in this environment. As structural diversity is a key component of any campus climate, it was critical that this be assessed

as part of our study (Hart & Fellabaum, 2008).

The central requirement of this method was that the group of researchers came to a consensus. Consensus ensures that multiple perspectives are considered, which is an important piece in approximating "truth" and "minimizing researcher bias" (Hill et. al., 1997). Our research group was able to come to a consensus, which was supported by an external auditor.

Results

After two weeks of collecting data, we conducted and transcribed twenty-six interviews with patrons of Alumni Hall. We observed Alumni Hall for a total of 15.5 hours, taking detailed field notes of the people, activities, and interactions that occurred in the space. Observations and interviews were conducted at various points during Alumni Hall's hours of operation (7:00am-12:00am) as to ensure that we could capture the full range of activity within the building. Finally, we were able to obtain 211 questionnaire responses in order to understand the demographic composition and general use of the space, as indicated by respondents.

After all the interviews were transcribed and the observations completed, we conducted data analysis using the CQR data analysis process outlined above (Hill et. al, 1997). The following domains were established during this consensus meeting: Perceptions of Diversity; Reasonable Base of Shared Values; Caring, Trust, and Teamwork; Effective Internal Communication; Participation and Links Beyond the Community; A Forward View; Institutional Arrangements; and Perceptions of Community. Some of the domains were chosen because of their relevance to Gardner's (1991) ten characteristics of community while others were born out of

what the data revealed as the study progressed. The tables in Appendix 1 outline the domains and respective core ideas as well as provide examples from our field notes and interviews in order to give a deeper description of the information we gained during our research. The quotes provided in each example reflect experiences from a variety of participants.

The eight domains that emerged during our data analysis reflect many of Gardner's ten characteristics of community (Gardner, 1991). We chose to incorporate them in our analysis as much as possible in order to evaluate this constructed environment against a basic framework of community. In instances where too few examples of behavior that applied to a specific characteristic were present during our observations and interviews (e.g. "Affirmation"), we were not able to include that characteristic as a domain. We blended two of the characteristics together to create Domain 5, "Participation and Links Beyond the Community" and "Developing Young People" as a core idea within this domain. In our data, the instances of developing of young people as described by Gardner (1991) appeared in relation to acts of participation and links beyond the community. Domain 8, "Perceptions of Community" emerged purely from the collected data. It encompasses instances in which participants spoke of the value of community within Alumni Hall without being prompted. See Appendix 1 for more details and examples about the domains and how examples from the interviews informed the formation of these domains. The following discussion is organized into three sections, each of which corresponds with our research questions.

How is Alumni Hall used?

Our first research question is addressed by both the quantitative findings gathered from the questionnaire as well as the qualitative information collected from interviews and observation. The participant responses to the questionnaire on their use of Alumni Hall mirrored much of the qualitative data gathered and can be divided into four usage categories: academic use, consumption of dining, social use, and use as an intermediary space. The quantitative findings lead our discussion of how Alumni Hall is used, as they are reflective of the self-reported use of the space. The qualitative data, containing self-reported use to a lesser extent as well as the observations, supplement the quantitative findings to create a robust understanding of use.

Alumni Hall functions as a space that supports academics. When identifying their use of Alumni Hall, participants overwhelmingly indicated on the questionnaire that they came to the space to study. Approximately two-thirds of participants reported their use of Alumni Hall as a study space. Every observation period yielded field notes describing students "working" or "studying." During an interview, a pair of students even suggested closing half of the family room portion to create a "silent study" in Alumni Hall "because the library is so enclosed and not very friendly."

The results of the questionnaire indicated that 27% of respondents used Alumni Hall for group meetings and an additional 13% for meeting with a professor or staff member. Students were observed studying for tests together and working on group projects in forty-seven instances. Additionally, of the 2% of participants who indicated that they were in the space for other purposes, one individual noted that they were in the space to tutor a peer. Six

instances of tutoring were observed in Alumni Hall to supplement this finding.

Consumption of dining services constitutes the largest percentage total of space use recorded by the questionnaire. 61% of participants indicated that they were patrons of Starbucks. The Starbucks in Alumni Hall seemed to encompass each of the four categories of space usage as a study space, social meeting space, and intermediary space. Observations also indicated that patrons of Starbucks, after having purchased their goods, had no intention of interacting in the space and exited Alumni Hall. Participants also reported use of the dining options Grille Works and Papa John's at 39%. The consumption of dining services was observed acting as a facilitator for meetings and social bonding, such as a student meeting their professor over Starbucks coffee or a social group gathering for dinner from Papa John's. To a lesser extent, the researchers observed individuals purchasing goods from Starbucks, Grille Works, and Papa John's and leaving soon after.

The social use of the space, similar to the use of Starbucks, permeates the other three categories. Participants were observed studying, eating, and bonding together between classes. 38% of respondents use Alumni Hall to hang out with friends. Students were observed laughing, talking, and generally spending time together in the space. The majority of the eight domains presented either focuses on social aspects and interaction or refers to a lack of communication as a threat to the continuance of a healthy community. These results are discussed in further detail in relation to the other research questions.

For the approximately 68% of resident and 32% of commuter respondents, Alumni Hall functions as an intermediary space. 37% of respondents noted that they used the space to wait between classes, and 30%

indicated that they simply wanted a place to get out of their room. Alumni Hall, in these instances, acts as an intermediary between physical spaces such as class and home, but it has the capability to be a space that mediates relationships through providing neutral ground for professors and staff to meet with students. This use, in combination with academic use, consumption of dining, and social use, provides a foundation for how Alumni Hall contributes to and displays a sense of community.

In what ways does the use of this space contribute to a sense of community at Marian?

Overall, our data revealed that Alumni Hall is a space that promotes many of the characteristics of community described by Gardner (1991). One of the most telling signs that Alumni Hall is perceived as a communal space is that without being prompted, seven of our participants mentioned that they thought Alumni Hall was a space that facilitated community building. Within Domain 4, Effective Internal Communication (see Table 4), there were thirty instances in observations and interviews that demonstrated how Alumni Hall is used as a common meeting ground, largely due to its central location on campus. Additionally, there were twenty-three instances of observed spontaneous positive interactions (see Table 4) within the space, indicating that Alumni Hall is a space conducive to unplanned as well as planned meetings. In addition to Alumni Hall's central location, our data showed that Starbucks was a facilitator in community building, as it offers space and products that bring constituents from all around campus into Alumni Hall. Marian University should continue to capitalize on the convenience and popularity of Alumni Hall and its amenities by using it as a space for intentional community-building programs.

Alumni Hall should also continue to be considered a premier location for programming and community building because the data, especially as it relates to the “caring, trust, and teamwork” domain (see Table 3), suggests that Alumni Hall is already an environment that is conducive to bonding, working in teams, and feeling comfortable and secure. The feelings of comfort and security were also prevalent in the “perceptions of community” domain (see Table 8). Alumni Hall was perceived as a transformational addition to campus in that it provides a new space that is a comfortable and secure location for campus community members to bond with other members of the Marian community. These components are essential in community building, as Gardner (1991) has described.

While the perceptions of Alumni Hall were overwhelmingly positive, when prompted, most participants articulated ways in which Alumni Hall could better serve the Marian University community. Most participants saw the potential Alumni Hall brought to campus community and provided ideas about how the space should be used and additional resources they would like to see within it. Participants were primarily interested in adding more of what Alumni Hall already offered to the campus community as opposed to removing or changing anything (see Table 6). This finding leads us to believe that the participants have a strong, forward view of future enhancements.

Participants’ perceptions of diversity within Alumni Hall also point to the communal nature of Alumni Hall. Participants perceived that people from different backgrounds and social groups interacted often in Alumni Hall. This perception is validated by the data we collected in our survey which showed that the structural diversity of the space mirrors that of the campus as a whole. This, at least

in part, demonstrates an aspect of Gardner’s description of what diversity looks like in a community. Our research did not address the ways in which marginalized groups are able to both maintain their identities and share their perspectives within Alumni Hall. This is an important aspect of Gardner’s (1991) concept of wholeness and should be considered in future assessments in order to examine whether and how patrons with marginalized identities are able to participate fully in the space.

Community was also exhibited in that participants in the interviews were able to identify the ways in which they saw the Franciscan values at work in Alumni Hall, either in physical embodiments of the values or in the behaviors displayed in the constructed environment of the space (see Table 2). Out of thirty-five data points that related to the “reasonable base of shared values” domain, twenty-four alluded to the existence of the Franciscan values within Alumni Hall. Responsible stewardship had the most notable presence within our data, as there were eighteen instances either observed or mentioned in interviews that referred to Alumni Hall’s commitment to sustainability as an enactment of the Franciscan values. Dignity of the individual was also perceived as prominent in the space, as it was mentioned five times as an important part of Alumni Hall’s constructed environment.

Although perceptions of diversity and shared values were generally positive, there were some indications that patrons of Alumni Hall had not considered their own perceptions of diversity or values in the space or acted in ways that may pose a threat to the maintenance of a welcoming and inclusive environment. This reality may pose a threat to both the “wholeness incorporating diversity” and “reasonable base of shared values” tenets of community, as described by Gardner (1991). Our data

revealed five instances of threats (e.g., racial, ethnic, gender) to “perceptions of diversity” (see Table 1). Two of these instances were related to students’ negative perceptions of “trans*” as an option for gender on our questionnaire. Further, there were many instances in which participants did not know the Franciscan values or could only list them partially. In order to maintain the patrons’ positive experiences in the space, Marian University should consider the ways in which it can leverage Alumni Hall as a space to provide educational programs around multicultural sensitivity while tying in the Franciscan values (namely, Dignity of the Individual) in order to promote their incorporation into the constructed environment of Alumni Hall and promote ideals of diversity and community on campus in general.

Community may face a further threat in Alumni Hall. Our data revealed that patrons of the space do not seem to have a clear idea about how to give feedback about their experiences. This may prove as a threat to both the internal communication and institutional arrangements in relation to Alumni Hall (Gardner, 1991). If Alumni Hall serves as an example for the community of Marian as a whole, there is evidence from our data to show that many members of the Marian community do not have a clear idea of whether or not their feedback would be heard or what outlets they have to provide their feedback about the environment of Alumni Hall (see Tables 4 and 7).

How is sense of community displayed in the constructed environment of Alumni Hall?

In response to our third and final research question, we primarily focus on the behaviors we observed within the space that suggested certain norms have evolved as this community has developed over the past

year. Consistent with the phenomenon of “environmental press,” change and growth can occur in an environment when the needs of the participants in the space and what the space provides to them align (Strange & Banning, 2015). Many participants said that before Alumni Hall was built, there was no space on campus where people could gather for reasons other than studying or attending class. Because Alumni Hall offers a space where various types of interactions can occur, it may contribute to the environmental press that either promotes or hinders community development. As the culture of Marian develops further, the physical as well as the social artifacts begin to provide guidance for those within the community regarding their behaviors and how they should interpret the behavior of others (Kuh & Hall, 1993). These behavioral artifacts were clearly visible within Alumni Hall and seemed to have an impact on the behaviors that were common among participants within the space.

The primary behavioral norms we noted were communal behaviors such as studying or working in groups, meetings both for formal and informal purposes, and non-academic or non-professional socialization. These behavioral norms primarily speak to the domains of “caring, trust, and teamwork” and “effective internal communication” (see Tables 3 and 4). Additionally, we noticed many instances during our observations of individuals recycling or using reusable cups. These instances fall under the second domain, “a reasonable base of shared values” (see Table 2), suggesting that there is a commitment to the shared value of Responsible Stewardship. Alumni Hall also provided an ideal location for students to mobilize their own campus initiatives. The data revealed five different student-driven initiatives during our period of data collection. These were observable acts by students to further

their own projects such as a Haiti backpack drive or a campaign to promote the use of reusable cups on campus. The convenience and popularity of the space made it an ideal environment to promote drives and collections, campus sustainability initiatives, and other student driven events that add value to the experience at Marian University. These commonly observed behaviors suggest that it is an expectation of students within this community to get involved and contribute in some way to the betterment of the community.

The last and perhaps most prominent behavioral norm noted throughout our research was expressions of “comfort and security” within the space, with a total of thirty-five instances in observations or interviews (see Table 3). Participants within the environment would often lounge, take their shoes off, and show other signs of relaxation and comfort such as laughing, sleeping, and demonstrating signs of physical affection. Often, participants within the space would also leave their belongings unattended as they went to get food, used the restroom, or greeted a friend or colleague. This suggested that a form of trust as well as a commitment to respect one another is shared among members of the community. These behavioral norms can communicate a lot of information both to usual participants within the space as well as to newcomers. In further research and examinations of this community or other similar environments, it would be important to consider how certain behaviors may hold different meanings for different people.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is the possibility that participants in the interviews understood that we, as the researchers, were also observing them in the space. This may have led to some discomfort as we

approached participants for interviews. Moreover, we did not pilot our interview questions or our questionnaires, nor were we able to identify the interview participants to have them check our transcriptions or analysis for accuracy.

Finally, our research did not take into account the ways in which social identities affect participants’ experiences in Alumni Hall. Future studies of Alumni Hall should consider the climate of the space for groups of Marian students based on race, gender, sexuality, residential status, and grade level in order to get a complete understanding of the ways in which Alumni Hall contributes to the experiences of these students and to understand how the university can ensure that the space is benefitting students equitably across various social identities.

Recommendations

This preliminary study of Alumni Hall at Marian University indicated that Alumni Hall embodies most of the domains and characterizations of community as outlined by Gardner (1991). However, the study does leave lingering questions that should be considered for future research. First, future research on Alumni Hall should consider the perspectives of Marian University community members that do not use the space on a regular basis. As previously mentioned, our study did not consider the ways in which the intersectionality of identities affected community members’ experiences in Alumni Hall. Understanding these experiences is paramount in order for Marian University to maintain an environment that is accessible, comfortable, and affirming for all community members and should be an immediate focus for any continuing research in this space. Finally, it would be interesting for future research on Alumni Hall to consider the ways in which the addition of Alumni Hall to Marian

University's campus contributes to the success of students at the institution. This information could prove useful as Marian University continues to build new spaces for students on its campus in the near future.

This research could also be used as peer institutions seek to assess their community spaces, particularly college unions or student centers. As mentioned previously, ACUI states that these spaces must represent a "...well considered plan for the community life of the college" (ACUI, 2015). In order for this to be realized, administrators, staff, and other stakeholders responsible for providing opportunities for the formation of community in these spaces could consider this study as an example of how to go about assessing their spaces for community development.

Hall, there were few, if any, community spaces on campus. The addition of Alumni Hall to Marian University has proven valuable to the campus environment as it provides a space for community that previously did not exist on campus. It was not until the creation of Alumni Hall that many participants felt the benefit of having a centralized, open space on campus. As the plans for the additional two phases of centralized student services continue, this research would be beneficial in ensuring the development of environments that are open, welcoming, and supportive of a sense of community.

Conclusion

Throughout our research, participant responses as well as our own observations indicated many ways Alumni Hall has helped to create and sustain community at Marian University. Some of our participants noted that before the construction of Alumni

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Appendix 1

Table 1

Domain 1: Perceptions of Diversity

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Existent	17	<p>Example from field notes during observations:</p> <p><i>Participant: I mean, I guess just everyone coming together as a whole, like, not thinking of gender, race or anything like that and I guess everyone just like working together.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Ok. Do you see that happening here?</i></p> <p><i>Participant: Yeah, I see it a lot in Alumni Hall and the library and all around campus.</i></p>
Non-existent:	7	<p>Example from an interview response:</p> <p><i>Researcher: So in what ways do you see people from diverse communities interacting in this space?</i></p> <p><i>Participant: I don't really see that much diversity in here. Um, pretty much see the same people with people they normally hang out with, I guess. Or I don't really pay attention. I'm just - I just come in here and sit by myself cause I don't really talk to anyone here, so I guess - I don't really pay attention to the people around me.</i></p>
Threat (offensive/destructive behavior and comments):	5	<p>Example from field notes during observations:</p> <p><i>Researcher reports that there is a new group of people in the food court area who appear to be male athletes, and they chuckled at us having trans as an option on the survey.</i></p>

Note/Summary: For this domain, examples have been pulled from observations and interviews that collectively demonstrate the perception of the community felt within Alumni Hall. ·

Table 2
Domain 2: Reasonable Base of Shared Values

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Existent	24	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: Well, I guess, like, the Starbucks right now, they're doing like the reusable cups. So that's like being a responsible steward. That's part... That's part of it.</i>
Non-existent:	11	Example from an interview response: <i>Researcher: Thinking about Marian University and the Franciscan Values that come along with that, how do you see those values expressed or not expressed in Alumni Hall?</i> <i>Participant: Skip that.</i> <i>Researcher: Ok.</i> <i>Participant: Sorry.</i>
Threat	3	Example from field notes during observations: <i>Researcher observes a student who is offering to pay someone for writing a paper for them.</i>

Note/Summary: The examples above demonstrate instances in which participants have verbally expressed a commitment to the Franciscan values and how those values are enacted in this space.

Table 3
Domain 3: Caring, Trust, and Teamwork

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Teamwork	17	<p>Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I guess kind of like in a sense of like a support system I guess we always kind of support each other...it's kinda like pretty much open here in Alumni and a lot of people come with their friends and study so it's a lot of encouragement, I think, rather than in a library where you would be by yourself, you know, and it's quiet and there's no one saying "just keep going;" the girl I had here earlier with me, we try to encourage each other to stop talking so that we could get our homework done. So I think in that sense it—you gain dignity through realizing that you can study even in an environment like this with your friends and things.</i></p>
Bonding	26	<p>Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I've seen my professors here which is kind of interesting. You see them in a—a classroom setting versus, like, this kind of setting and it's interesting. It makes it more, I guess, personal in a way.</i></p>
Comfort and Security	35	<p>Example from field notes during observations: <i>The student who was sitting with sunglasses and a hat on has now laid down on the orange couch. He took his shoes off and propped his feet up on the back of the couch while the rest of his body is lying face up on the seat of the couch. He is using his backpack as a pillow.</i></p>

Note/Summary: For this domain, the examples demonstrate a commitment the participants had to supporting and encouraging members of the community. This domain had the highest number of relative instances within interviews and observations.

Table 4
Domain 4: Effective Internal Communication

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Spontaneous positive interactions	23	Example from field notes during observations: <i>Another person joins table closest to the main room; person pats on a chair and exclaims "Sit!" as she smiles at her friend who has now joined the group.</i>
Common meeting grounds	30	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I'm a business major and for business projects we have group projects a lot. And a lot of times in this space is where they all meet and come together...I know that some clubs hold meetings in here. Like I know Sophia club [Marian University's philosophy club] is holding an event in this space and like they welcome everyone.</i>
Threat (people not knowing who in the institution to talk to):	13	Example from an interview response: <i>Researcher: Do you know where you would go, like if you wanted to share that idea with someone, do you think you would be able to?</i> <i>Participant: Mhhmm</i> <i>Researcher: Do you know who you would go to?</i> <i>Participant: Um, I guess, like - You know, I don't know who I would go to. Who would I go to?</i>

Note/Summary: For this domain, examples have been pulled from observations and interviews to demonstrate various forms of established modes of communication within this environment. Namely, this environment is a good place for holding meetings as well as interacting with other community members either formally or informally. The threat within this domain indicates a lack of knowledge among community members about how to provide feedback and affect change within this environment.

Table 5
Domain 5: Participant and Links Beyond the Community

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Student driven initiatives:	5	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: One of my friends, one of my friends is in a sustainability group so, like, he's been working with Starbucks to make sure that the reusable cups are happening. So this is just one aspect of responsible stewardship, but it's kind of played out here.</i>
People outside of Marian participating in Alumni Hall	17	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: Oh, when I come here it's usually for community events...you know, campus events, and there's always people in and out. Last week we were here for Trick-or-Treating. There were tons of kids and families and everyone was so welcoming, and it's not just a place for students to come. Obviously, we're not students. So, we picked this place cause we wanted to meet up and hadn't seen each other in a long time, and this is a central place. So we knew it would be a good place to stay and chat and feel comfortable and safe, and that's why we came here today!</i>
Developing young people	5	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: Uh, so, I guess a good example is we have a mentor program over in [the medical school], and so whenever I meet with my mentee, this is the perfect place to come. You know, they have the Starbucks here, it's a common space for both of us. A lot of med school students live off campus, so it's a great way to just kinda keep in touch with people and touch base. It's convenient.</i>

Note/Summary: For this domain, examples have been pulled from interview responses to demonstrate the frequency with which participants in the space took a vested interest in the development or expansion of the community as well as interactions outside of the community.

Table 6
Domain 6: A Forward View

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Changes	8	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: If I had the ability to change anything...well, I don't know. I guess I would maybe have an area like sectioned off for... if somebody wanted to do more like quiet time or something, have it...or... sometimes they have these doors down or they'll separate the, you know, the room in half and I feel like I've heard lots of people enjoy that because like it's extra space to be quiet and another area to study besides the library...</i>
Neutral:	5	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I don't know that I would really change anything. I think it's serves its purpose rather well.</i>
Need for more	16	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I would probably make more, like, more options like this on campus. This is really the only option like this. Like if they made more buildings that are similar to this, it would be good.</i>

Note/Summary: For this domain, examples demonstrate the ways in which community members are seeking to alter the environment as time goes on. When community members did have suggestions for change, they were most often suggestions for additions to the space.

Table 7
Domain 7: Institutional Arrangements

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Ensuring adaptability and maintenance of space	14	Example from field notes during observations: <i>The woman with the walkie-talkie has returned to view and is now speaking with a student about something, indicating that he needs to move. The woman moves some furniture and the student repositions himself a little toward the east.</i>
Threat (people not knowing who in the institution to talk to)	10	Example from an interview response: <i>Researcher: So do you know what the proper avenue would be to have that change...like how would you...?</i> <i>Participant: I have no clue how to do that, but I'm sure somebody would be...I can just go to a professor and ask them if they would know.</i>

Note/Summary: For this domain, examples demonstrate the commitment by the institution to the upkeep of this environment. Similar to the threat within the Domain 4, a potential threat noted mostly through participant responses is a lack of knowledge about how to communicate their feedback or concern regarding various components of the environment.

Table 8
Domain 8: Perceptions of Community

Core Idea	Number of Instances	Description
Physical	17	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I like all the bright colors, and the furniture is really comfortable, and the fact that there's outlets everywhere is super helpful cause I always have my iPad and computer and I have plenty of places to plug them in.</i>
Feeling	19	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: I, personally, I'm a very big fan of coming here early in the morning. I think that especially on the weekends too, like Sunday mornings are like, that's prime time for this space to like—I feel that's the essence of this space. Because it's about, it's about studying and it kinda, it kinda just gives the feeling like, I am in a room that is like part of Marian, Marian University but it feels peaceful. And so I really like early in the mornings. Or like late at night, you know, right when everybody's trying to finish up all their stuff for the next day.</i>
Transformational Addition to Campus	9	Example from an interview response: <i>Participant: This is one way I have a community with people I don't live with...So, that has helped, I guess, the community, and I think it just brings people who don't live on campus and people who do live on campus together without it being like, "why are you in the re—" like, when I hang out in the residence halls, like, "Oh, I never see you, why are you here?" kind of thing. So here, it's just like normal for me to be here, it's not like weird. So, I think it's helped the community in that aspect.</i>

Note/Summary: For this domain, examples have been pulled from interview responses to demonstrate how participants expressed their own perceptions of the community within Alumni Hall. These perceptions were most often influenced by the physical components of the space, feelings the space elicited, and the perception that this environment has changed the overall environment on campus.

If They Come, We Will Build It: The Creation of the Office of Afro-American Affairs at Indiana University

Megan Bottoms

In 1970 Indiana University launched one of the first black studies programs at a major university (Wynkoop, 2002). Alongside the black studies program was the creation of an office that specifically addressed the issues of black students on campus, the Office of Afro-American Affairs. The creation of this office was a significant moment in the history of the university. This is a brief account of the events that lead to the creation of the office.

“This institutionalized presence of black people, like all other facets of our academic environment, has a history of struggle, development and unfolding. It is a presence, however, which remains largely unrecorded and therefore invisible in the standard texts on our history.”

– Herman C. Hudson, 1986.

Indiana University has progressed in eliminating instances of human injustice and indignity since its founding in 1820. On paper, Indiana University’s academic programs have always been open to all students without regard to race, creed, or color. In 1895 Indiana University graduated its first Negro student, Marcellus Neal, with an A.B in mathematics. Even before *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954, Indiana University had already made significant strides in desegregating the Bloomington campus; however, the road to such progressive movements and reforms was not smooth and remained largely unpaired.

Brief History of Black Students at Indiana University

Institutional records are unsure of when the first black student was enrolled in Indiana University. From its founding in 1820 to its centennial in 1920, Indiana University did not keep official enrollment records of their students, but informal records indicated that 1882 might have been

when the first black student entered the University (Beck, 1959). Records from 1910 indicated there was anywhere from ten to twenty black students. When the University did begin keeping formal records, less than one percent of the 2,356 students were black. Between 1920 and 1950, enrollment of the number of black students never reached above three percent of the total enrollment (Beck, 1959).

There is a record of the first black student to graduate from Indiana University. Following the civil war, many black families began an exodus from the still highly contentious southern states to northern states. Marcellus Neal’s family was one of those families. They moved from their home in Lebanon, Tennessee to Greenfield, Indiana. His high school work earned him a distinguished scholarship to Indiana University, which allowed him to enroll as a freshman in 1891, and in 1895 he became Indiana University’s first black graduate (Beck, 1959). Marcellus Neal was not the only black student to find their way to Indiana University.

For black students, Indiana University provided an education and an opportunity to advance in their careers and professions. Halson Vashon Eagleson, a black Methodist minister who made his way to Bloomington after being an orphan in Virginia, sent four of his five children and several of his grandchildren to Indiana University (Beck, 1959). In September of 1940, Wilson

Vashon, Jr. was the fourth generation of Eagleson's family to attend Indiana University (Beck, 1959). Attendance at Indiana University provided Eagleson's family a chance to attain bachelor's degrees in teaching, the arts, and nursing, as well as doctorates in law, medicine, and philosophy. Education provided an opportunity for black students to advance in society and to make a living for themselves that might guarantee them some financial security.

While educational opportunities might have been open to black students, enrollment into the University proved to be difficult. During the depression, black student enrollment dropped nearly twenty percent, while white student enrollment doubled (Beck, 1959). By the 1960s, the total number of black students at Indiana University had increased to approximately six hundred, but they still remained two percent of the student population (Capshew, 2012). In 1968 University President Elvis Stahr was giving a presentation on the University's commitment to black students, when he commented that until more black youth graduate high school academically prepared to enter college, colleges will continue to be disproportionately white (Stahr, 1968). Stahr's comment strengthened the struggle that black students encountered.

When Race Becomes a Problem

While black students may have been admitted into the University without regard to race, creed, or color, their academic experience while at Indiana University did not always align. Black students were often confronted with instances of discrimination and segregation throughout their experience. Even at Indiana University, "racism and segregation were common experiences for most blacks . . . It was nearly impossible to find in Indiana a public place, institution, or group where whites accorded blacks an

equal and open reception" (Madison, 1982, p. 8). Throughout the Indiana University campus and surrounding Bloomington community, there was evidence of racism and segregation as strong and prevalent as the Jim Crow societies of the south. Capshew (2012) noted how everything at that time was "owned" by white people and that everything from clubs and activities, residences, and food service was segregated.

Students began recognizing the growing social inequities and racial discrimination that permeated the campus. A group of concerned students, comprised of both blacks and whites, gathered together in 1935 to form the interracial Commission. This small group of students charged themselves with examining where the University permitted instances of discrimination and segregation on campus. Over the course of the next academic year, the Commission interviewed and surveyed over 500 students, both black and white. Their interviews revealed that the University itself placed restrictions on black students, including the restricted dining facilities (Beck, 1959).

During their investigation, the Commission found many instances of discrimination and segregation. Beck (1959) recorded that the R.O.T.C and University band denied black students membership. Black students were excluded from professional and honorary societies like the Sphinx, denied entrance into all-university dances, and were limited in the student organizations they could join (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). Black students could play sports, but only those sports with no skin-to-skin contact. Black students could eat in the campus dining facilities, but only in specified facilities in the designated areas. Black students were allowed to join student organizations, but only the few black Greek-letter organizations. Faculty even supported the practice of discrimination in organizational membership based on race

(Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). Involvement for black students was very limited and almost entirely non-existent.

The University housing operated separate but equal facilities for white men and women and black men and women. The white students lived in halls that were more centrally located and closer to where classes were held. White men lived in the men's dormitory that was located near the core of campus, and white women lived in a women's dormitory located just across the street from major academic buildings (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). The black students were provided some smaller housing facilities far north of campus or they lived in Greek housing, while most lived with other black families (Capshew, 2012; Freyer, 2004). The black students were so minimal in number that they lived scattered throughout Bloomington.

Segregation and discrimination of black students even extended into the classroom and among faculty. During commencement exercises in the late 1890's and early 1900's, black students were often left to march by themselves. In the 1920s and early 1930s black students were permitted to attend classes with the white students, but they were forced to sit in a separate area of the classroom (Beck, 1959). Some classes like physical education and swimming remained segregated. While the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision integrated the classroom, it did little to impact the attitudes of the faculty. In an article by the *Indiana Daily Student* (1968) one black female student recalls how a professor, in front of the entire class, questioned her as to why she didn't choose to attend a historically black institution.

Black students faced the struggles and challenges of segregation and discrimination without an advocate in the faculty or administration who was also black. It wasn't until 1951 that Indiana University hired the

first black faculty member, Richard Johnson, who was hired by the School of Music as percussion instructor (Capshew, 2012). In 1966, Dr. Orlando Taylor, a professor in speech and theatre, was one of only of three black faculty members. By the end of the 1960's there were only ten black faculty members in the entire university and no black administrators (Capshew, 2012; Clark, 1977). This made it very difficult for Black students to find someone in a position of power and support with a shared experience.

Beyond the discrimination and segregation occurring within the University, black students encountered similar issues when they stepped off campus. In 1937 a Bloomington restaurant displayed a sign that indicated that blacks were not welcome and that only white customers would be served (Beck, 1959). This proved to be quite an issue as it significantly limited the number of dining establishments for black students. There was "only one eating establishment, outside of the colored cafeteria, in the entire city where Negro students can secure food" (Daily Student, 1939), and it was chronicled regularly in the student newspaper. It continued until well into the 1950's when headlines from the *Indiana Daily Student* from March 16, 1950, read "We got no hamburgers; City cafes close early." Black students were no closer to integrating even their food options.

Putting the Pressure on University Administration

At the turn of Indiana University's second century, race relations were its most unsolved and dogged issue; in fact, the University administration did little to correct or address the issue, publicly or privately (Beck, 1959). Indiana University was poised for change. It was in a place to address issues of discrimination on campus. Change

would have to be at the determination of the administration if it was to happen.

William Lowe Bryan had been presiding as President of Indiana University since 1902. While regarded as one of Indiana University's pioneer Presidents, he and his administration had remained uncharacteristically moot on the issues of racial discrimination (Lowe-Bryan, 2013). In an initial report to the President in 1936, the interracial Commission presented their findings with recommendations for improvements. Whatever the reason, President Bryan had the opportunity to act but did nothing to address the issues of discrimination happening at Indiana University. "He [Bryan] might have insisted that an order to discontinue discrimination might not have worked. He might have held that intolerance could not be removed by a mandate or a law. He might have thought that the proper time had not yet arrived" (Beck, 1959, p. 60). The interracial Commission commented in their minutes following their first official report that "increased the general ignorance and indifference to discrimination happening on campus among the students" (Beck, 1959, p. 34) originated from lack of administrative support for issues of discrimination.

The Commission continued their investigation of campus racial tensions. They were particularly interested in improving the race relations on campus, and specifically the attitude of the University administration toward black students (Beck, 1959). After the completion of their second investigation in 1937, the interracial Commission composed another report. This time, the Commission presented their results to the Board of Trustees and the new University President, Herman B Wells. The Commission reported that "If the University is to achieve its greatest good as a free, democratic institution, we feel that it should promote organizations which aid in

preparing its students to participate more intelligently in democracy" (Beck, 1959, p. 34). The Commission encouraged more administrative action be taken and provided the Board and Wells with several educational methods to assist in the remedy of the University's discrimination. Beck (1959) recalled that these remedies included a curriculum that focused on race-relations and racial intolerance and an inquiry by the university administration into the housing options for black students.

Even before he became President in 1937, Herman B Wells had witnessed discrimination at Indiana University. As a student at IU in the 1920s, Wells had observed the hatred and racial intolerance the Ku Klux Klan brought to Monroe County (Capshe, 2012). Wells had always been welcoming of all people and when he became President of Indiana University, he extended that tolerance into his administration, "We must renounce prejudice of color, class, and race in Bloomington, Monroe County, Indiana. Our renunciation must be personally implemented by deeds. Our actions will be the measure of the sincerity of our words" (Beck, 1959, p. 44; Capshe, 2012, p. 164). As an administrator, Wells looked for unobtrusive ways to combat racism and segregation. Wells was genuinely concerned about the larger civil rights issues as whole, in addition to the issues black students faced at Indiana University and in Bloomington. In his book *Being Lucky*, Wells (1980) commented, "One of the most time-consuming and important responsibilities relating to students that occurred during my administration involved the effort to shake off our previous university practices that discriminated against Black students" (p. 214).

Upon taking office, Wells immediately began addressing items conveyed in the interracial Commission's report. Wells first

addressed the restricted dining in the Union and the policy of only serving white customers in the Men's Grille. He met with the manager of the Indiana Memorial Union, James Patrick, to have the signs that designated special seating for black students removed. Wells instructed Patrick to remove all the signs without mention and without interrupting patrons. It was not until weeks later than anyone realized they had been removed (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012; Wells, 1980). Next, Wells worked with Athletics Director, Zora Clevenger, to integrate the men's swimming pool by using one of the popular black football players, Chester "Rooster" Coffee. At Wells' call, Coffee was to jump into the pool at the busiest time of the day and to observe the reaction of those already swimming. Coffee was greeted cordially in the pool and patrons continued to conduct their business in the pool (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012; Wells, 1980). In 1943 the faculty raised questions about a Negro girl participating in swimming classes with white girls. Director of Physical Education for Women, Edna Munro, petitioned Wells to allow the department to integrate the Negro girls with the white girls and provide one swimming class for women. Wells responded in a memo to Munro with strong encouragement that the current policy of separation be abandoned in favor of the new policy (Wells, Personal Communication, April 26, 1943). Wells (1980) recalled the subtle actions taken to integrate campus, "I doubt that anyone realized a policy had been changed" (p. 216).

University housing proved to be a larger administrative issue for Wells than the integration of the pool or campus dining. Upon entering the administration in 1937, Wells initiated an administrative exploration into the campus housing. He became troubled by the discrepancies reported between the black and white students'

accommodations. Reports of the Dargan House, where many black female students lived, alarmed Wells so much that he immediately began working to improve the conditions. Wells began working with Ward G. Biddle, Indiana University comptroller, and Kate Mueller, Dean of Women, to begin securing housing for black women. The new facilities would require the same accommodations and amenities as the white women, and in 1940 two new off-campus facilities were acquired (Beck, 1959). While black females had more appropriate facilities, Wells was not satisfied with the progress.

At the end of World War II in 1946, Indiana University was presented with both a blessing and curse. The federal government had created a plan, the Service Member Readjustment Act, to provide funding, education, and employment for returning service members. In the fall of 1946, approximately 4,200 veterans enrolled in Indiana University (Archives, Online Exhibit: IU and World War II - Post War IU, 2013). The massive influx of students created a dramatic housing shortage. Wells took advantage of this opportunity to create new housing for black students, particularly females. He worked with the Director of the Halls of Residence, Alice Nelson, and the Trustees to provide facilities for black females that "were better accommodations for privacy, more adequate equipment in desks and lighting for study, and increased toilet and bathing facilities" (Beck, 1959, p. 56); consequently, they established the Elms Residence Hall near the core of campus.

At the turn of 1950 campus housing still remained separate but equal facilities, but ultimately Wells wanted the entire residence system integrated. He created a proposal that he submitted to the University Housing Committee and the Trustees requesting the integration of the male dormitories. The housing crisis was a perfect opportunity to

begin the integration of the male dormitories with a small group of students (Beck, 1959). Met with minimal student dissatisfaction at the initial integration, efforts were made to completely integrate the residence halls. Considerable effort was made to house students together based on race. By the end of 1948 all males in University housing had been fully integrated, and by the end of fall of 1948, plans were made for the integration of the female dormitories (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). Fifteen years after his initial investigation and plan, Wells had integrated the University housing system.

In 1962, administrative control transferred to the hands of new President Elvis J. Stahr. When Stahr assumed the role of President in July of 1962, student protest and demonstration was on the rise. The social and political activism of the students at Indiana University was no different from any other campus in the 1960's. Students, both black and white, protested the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and general university policies and procedures (Archives, Online Exhibit: Student Demonstrations at IU in the 1960s, 2013). Additionally, the 1960's also saw the rise of the civil rights movement. Protests became not only a critical way for students to voice their feelings on social and political issues, but also a way to voice their concerns to the administration. In general, students protested peacefully in order to maintain decent orderliness on campus (Wynkoop, 2002). These nonviolent protests made working with students more appealing to University administrators.

In October of 1967, Indiana University experienced one of its most historic protests, the protest of Dow Chemicals. Dow Chemicals was a chief producer of the napalm gas that the United States armed forces had used in Vietnam (Archives, Online Exhibit: Student Demonstrations at IU in the 1960s, 2013). On October 30,

1967, a senior official for Dow came to the Indiana University Business School on a recruiting trip looking for interested students to join their company. Sometime in the afternoon, over two hundred students converged on the business school with picket signs and demanded to speak with the representative (Dow Protest, 1967). The protest quickly turned negative when students marched into the area where the interviews were being conducted. Fearful of physical violence, the university and local police were called for protection. Several students were targeted, beaten, and arrested by police, including "the colored boy" Robert (Bob) Johnson (Archives, Online Exhibit: Student Demonstrations at IU in the 1960s, 2013). Dean of Students Robert H. Shaffer indicated that the students involved in the disruption and were arrested would "face serious disciplinary action" (Dow Protest, 1967). The Dow Chemical protest served to ignite a sequence of student protests, particularly among the black students.

Black students began protesting and crusading against racial discrimination, for equal treatment of all students and faculty. Black students began to organize themselves and their message into a more unified front and created the Afro/Afro-American Student Association (AAASA). The AAASA worked with students, both black and white, and organizations dedicated to the purge of impediments that were preventing these students from moving forward (Wynkoop, 2002). The AAASA elected graduate student Robert Johnson as their leader and their main objective was to put pressure on the university to take serious action to decrease the instances of racism and discrimination happening on campus. An article from the Indiana Daily Student (1968a) captured the message, "The University hasn't made enough significant changes . . . so far it's not enough," said the Vice President of

AAASA. “Everything is moving too slow and white people think it’s moving too fast” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a).

When the Black Panther Party visited Indiana University in October of 1966, they spoke about the importance of the incorporation of black culture into education. Students gravitated toward one of their principles, idea of education for all, including a history reflective of black decedents and struggles. The principle spoke about America’s “true history” and how that helps to educate black students not just to their past, but to their present role in society and beyond (Nelson & Pellett, 1995). Students wanted black professors to teach them about black history and Afro-Americans in the United States (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a). But it would be hard for the University to support black education with no formal program, no afro-centric educational curriculum, no black faculty to teach the courses, and sparse resources to support the program.

One issue and area of protest was the University’s failure to recruit black students and faculty. Students did not believe that the University was making a concerted effort to address this issue (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d). Students argued that not enough had been done by the IU administration. Admissions and recruiting materials included almost no mention of black students on campus and certainly did not include pictures of black students. Indiana University was an equal opportunity employer but did not actively publish or promote that to potential faculty candidates (Clark, 1970-1977; Indiana Daily Student, 1968b). Students began protesting and calling for the administration to increase the number of black students and faculty at IU and to “put faith in black students to recruit other black students” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968b).

Invigorated by student concerns and the Black Panther’s visit, the AAASA set about to create a petition for a black studies program at Indiana University. Additionally, the AAASA wanted to unify the efforts of the black students on campus and the university administration. To achieve this unification, the AAASA created a proposal for the creation of a black studies program that they submitted to the Bloomington Faculty Council in January 1968 (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d). In addition to the hiring black faculty to teach in a black studies program, the proposal included a resolution to increase the number of black students and administrators on the Bloomington campus. In particular, the proposal called for a position in the university administration that would focus specifically on the issues of black students: “If the university is sincere, they should install someone in a position at the vice-presidential level to deal exclusively with black problems” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d, p. 4). In order for the black student and faculty population to continue growing on campus, there was a need for black representation and for those positions to be of authority.

There was immense pressure from the students and University community, including the Faculty Council, to support the proposal presented by the AAASA. The Board of Trustees had taken action in 1967 to “accelerate the final elimination of such vestiges of discrimination as may still exist, based upon race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, from all phases of university life” (Clark, 1977; Wynkoop, 2002) by creating the Joint Commission for Discriminatory Practices. There was a necessity for the University to escalate their commitment to growing the number of black students and faculty on campus. President Stahr identified that there was a need to have an administrator that he said, “could give us

[administration] guidance in what we can do better and faster to meet the needs of our Negro students” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a). As part of his plan to reorganize the University, Stahr was going to create the Office of Afro-American Affairs (OAAA).

In May 1968, while speaking in Indianapolis at the National Conference on Negroes in Higher Education, President Stahr commented on the progress that the University was making in regards to race relations. His comment led to questions about his commitment to black students at the University. Stahr commented, “negroes at IU have told us where we are falling short” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968b). He furthered his remarks by acknowledging that Negro students, like any other students, had needs that needed to be addressed. Additionally, he stated that he was hesitant to increase the population of black students on campus until the University had sufficient programs and services in place to meet “the special needs they have” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a; Wynkoop, 2002). Finally, he concluded his remarks by saying, “I did not think predominantly white universities should hire black faculty away from all-black colleges, because they were often vital to their own institutions existence” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a; Wynkoop, 2002).

Stahr’s comments trickled back to Indiana University where they were met with disapproval. The AAASA was outraged at his series of comments, “while the black student used to have a 200-pound foot on his neck, now he has a 199-pound one” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a). The University had even been praised by the Indiana Department Commander of the American Legion, Frank L. Hamilton, for “keeping minority groups under control” and stating “they have not run rampant at this university like they have at others” (Herald Times Reporter, 1967). Even with the promise of a

new office and program, black students felt their issues were no longer at the forefront and believed the administration was still lagging on issues of discrimination. In May 1968, with mounting frustrations and administrative inattention, the black students decided further action was necessary.

On May 8, 1968, fifty black students sat camped out in Memorial Stadium, the site of the Little 500 bicycle race. In its twelfth year, the Little 500 had become a campus tradition at Indiana University, largely among the predominantly white fraternity and sororities. Sponsored by the Indiana University Student Foundation, the event was held each year to raise money for student scholarships. Thousands of spectators were set to gather in the coming days to witness what would later be termed “The Greatest College Weekend” (Clark, 1977). Yet fifty black students were not there to reserve their seat for the race, but in protest of the openly discriminatory practices being perpetuated by the University.

To the black students, the Greeks symbolized an acceptance by the University [administration] of discriminatory practices. The white fraternities and sororities had “acceptance clauses” and “other racially restrictive” (Wynkoop, 2002) membership clauses in their charters. The black students asserted that they would not permit the race to proceed until ALL the fraternities and sororities had changed their chapter membership policies to more inclusive language and had signed waivers from their National organizations documenting the changes. The students also demanded that the University demonstrate “definitive plans for desegregation” of the white fraternities and sororities (Wynkoop, 2002). All but one fraternity, Phi Delta Theta, had provided sufficient documentation that these clauses had been removed. Having sat through almost a day and a half of protest, most

which was in the rain, the black students accepted the statements that were presented, including the caveat that Phi Delta Theta be excluded from the race for failing to comply (Clark, 1977; Archives, Why the black students are sitting-in, 2013).

This protest was not just about fraternities and sororities opening their membership, but rather an open challenge to the University to address all its discriminatory practices across the institution. It was an open call to Indiana University to support black students. This was their way of challenging the university to address organizations whose membership was based on racial exclusion (Clark, 1977; Indiana Daily Student, 1968b). According to Clark (1977), Stahr asked why they pushed for the elimination of discrimination clauses several weeks later, to which the black student representatives replied, "they did not want to join the chapters, they merely wished to establish the privilege of doing so."

On July 5, 1968, President Stahr announced to the Board of Trustees that he would be stepping down from the Presidency in September. He cited that he was suffering from "presidential fatigue" that was the result of years' worth of long days and nights, and mounting pressure of the position (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, July 1968; Capshew, 2012). No doubt the fatigue was exacerbated by the protests and struggles Stahr had encountered that spring. The Trustees approved Stahr's resignation unanimously and named Joseph L. Sutton as President in November of 1968 (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, July 1968; Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, November 1968). Sutton was not in his role as President long before he too had to deal with student protest and pressure for administrative action.

In May 1969, students and administrators were holding a meeting in

Ballantine Hall to discuss business of the university, including a boycott of classes due to the massive increase in student tuition. During the meeting, 150 black students interrupted refusing to let anyone leave until they spoke with Trustees to negotiate the fee increases. Chancellor Snyder was one of the administrators held "hostage" and agreed to contact the Trustees to arrange a meeting (Capshew, 2012). Authorities were called, including the National Guard, to remedy the situation. At the conclusion of the "lock-in," Chancellor Snyder and Dean Harvey of the Law School commented that despite the means to address the issue, the discussion was productive and in no way needed intervention by the authorities (Capshew, 2012; Indiana Daily Student, 1969c). No formal charges were pressed by the administrators or the University; however, the state felt it necessary to call a grand jury indictment. Due to his outspoken support for the student protest, one of those indictments was handed to faculty member Dr. Orlando Taylor (Capshew, 2012; Indiana Daily Student, 1969c). He was charged with "riotous conspiracy" that carried with it a misdemeanor and \$100 fine.

The Birth of the Office of Afro-American Affairs

The mission of the OAAA was to be two-fold, to provide academic, programmatic, and social support to the black students on the Indiana University campus and to oversee the creation of a black studies program (Program, 1969). Through these objectives, the OAAA would be responsible for raising the enrollment of black students and attracting qualified black faculty and administrators to the Bloomington campus. Additionally, the OAAA would be the central resource for disseminating all pertinent social and

academic material and information to end practices of discrimination and injustice (Program, 1969). According to Wynkoop (2002), this office, and the corresponding black studies program, was to be the first of its kind at a major, state university.

Stahr had committed to finding “an outstanding Negro-scholar, administrator for his staff” (Wynkoop, 2002). Dr. Orlando Taylor was identified as an ideal candidate to lead the new Office of Afro-American Affairs, and provided Stahr’s administrative staff some guidance on issues of the black students and faculty. Dr. Orlando Taylor was an outspoken black faculty member who served as Assistant Professor with appointments in both the theatre and the speech and hearing departments (Indiana Daily Student, 1969a). His advocacy led him to serve in a variety of roles, including a member of the Faculty Council, Director of the newly created Joint Commission on Discrimination, and advisor to the AAASA (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d, p. 4). In his new role of Director of the Office of Afro-American Affairs, he would be responsible for creating a proposal to establish both the office and black studies program, and would report to the Chancellor of the Bloomington campus (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, 1968). This was an innovative and boundary pushing administrative position.

For the next several months the newly created OAAA, headed by Director Dr. Orlando Taylor, worked continuously on a proposal for the future black studies program. In order for the office to effectively deal with issues of race and discrimination, they needed power behind their office (Indiana Daily Student, 1968c). An outlined proposal called for the development of the black studies program and OAAA leadership structure. Dr. Taylor asserted that if the OAAA was to be responsible for the coordination of student services and a black studies program, it was

necessary to be integrated into the university programs. To ensure its future development, “an administrator must be appointed high up in the University’s organization structure” (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, 1968). This administrator, “whose decisions will have an important influence upon the scope, intensity, and format of the entire Afro-American program” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968c), needed to be prominent. The success and survival of the office depended on the regular access to key decision makers.

At the center of the proposal was the recommendation that an administrator be appointed at the level of university Vice Chancellor. This Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs would report directly to key decision makers and have direct influence on the campus activities, and would also oversee the Office of Afro-American Affairs and the black studies program (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Program, 1969). The proposal considered the position of Vice President, giving them direct access to the President and influence over all of the extension campuses. However, a Vice Chancellor position would have jurisdiction over the Bloomington campus only (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Program, 1969). This allowed for the extension campuses to implement their own Afro-American programs.

Taylor’s proposal also called for a full-degree program and outlined specific cross-departmental courses that would be included in the degree requirement. The faculty of the program would have regular appointments and report to both the Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs and the College of Arts and Science Dean. Any qualified faculty, either by degree or race, would be welcome to teach in the program. Other institutions like Harvard, Yale, and Stanford were offering programs in black studies, but

they were not “anywhere near the program being discussed here [Indiana University]” (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Indiana Daily Student, 1969b). Indiana University was set to make history.

Dr. Taylor’s proposal received favorable support from President Sutton and the Faculty Council requested an immediate implementation of the proposal, but there were still some issues of concern. The two largest were the issues of funding and administrative responsibility. Finances were currently tight and budget stringencies would dictate where the support for a \$200,000 program would come from, which included hiring enough qualified faculty to teach in the program. The Faculty Council wanted to ensure that financial implementation of the black studies program was “feasible and responsible” (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969, pp. 6-7). Additionally, Chancellor Snyder was concerned about the administrative responsibilities of the new Vice Chancellor of Afro-American Affairs. Snyder expressed concerns that the administrator would be confined to the issues of just black students when there were “other disadvantaged students” that also needed attention (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969, p. 7). Snyder believed that such an administrator should have wider administrative responsibilities and greater reach to the university as a whole. The faculty voted unanimously to approve the proposal and its implementation as it might be one of the “most important things accomplished in the decade of the 1970’s” at Indiana University (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969, p. 5). Indiana University was primed to set the bar high and have “the finest Afro-American studies program” in the country (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Indiana Daily Student, 1969b). In October of 1968, the black studies program began as a minor and was offered as an area of

concentration through the College of Arts and Sciences.

After the passing of his proposal, Taylor was offered the position of inaugural Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs at Indiana University in April of 1969 (Indiana Daily Student, 1969d). The letter from Chancellor Snyder expressed the importance of Taylor and the new role that he would occupy in the University, but fallout from events in December of 1968 derailed Taylor’s implementation of the proposal. Taylor’s indictment in connection with the Ballantine Hall “lock-in” in May of 1969 sent concern through the University administration. On the morning of May 14, 1969, Taylor received another letter from Chancellor Snyder; however, this time the message was not so jovial. The letter to Taylor indicated that the University had decided to withdraw their offer for Taylor to serve as the new Vice Chancellor. Taylor commented to the Indiana Daily Student (1969d), “it would represent a crude example of how a big, white run institution insists on applying sanctions against individuals who are not accepting to the white power structure.”

With Taylor’s removal, the black studies program was in jeopardy and it could not happen without administrative oversight. Students initially interested in attending Indiana University because of the program were reconsidering their decision. Potential faculty to the program were concerned about the University’s genuine support of the program and office (Indiana Daily Student, 1969d). Students were angered that the program would be dismantled after all of their hard work to bring awareness for the programs need (Indiana Daily Student, 1969e). More importantly, students were outraged that Taylor had been removed from his position simply for expressing his approval of the events in December. The students wanted Taylor to be the Vice

Chancellor. They believed he had a unique connection with the black community and could communicate their issues to the administration, but his outspoken nature was not welcome among the administration (Indiana Daily Student, 1969f; A resolution concerning the withdrawal of the offer of the position of Vice Chancellor of Afro-American Affairs from Professor Orlando Taylor, 1969). What was done was done and Taylor had moved on from Indiana University and accepted a position in Washington DC.

Doubt lingered over the OAAA and black studies program, they could not exist without a leader. There was doubt as to whether the University wanted the program exist and if they would appoint someone. After several failed attempts, a suitable candidate was finally appointed. In February 1970, Herman C. Hudson was hired as its first Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs and black studies program (Indiana University News Bureau, 1970). Before his appointment, Hudson was the head of the School of Education's Urban and Overseas English program. Hudson received full cooperation from the black faculty, the administration, and students; "He is a scholar wise in the ways of the university and deeply committed to the expansion of opportunities for our disadvantaged black students" (Indiana University News Bureau, 1970). The OAAA was now an official office of Indiana University.

Conclusion

"Thomas D. Clark's four-volume history, Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer (1977), and Chancellor Herman B. Well's autobiography, Being Lucky: Reminiscences and Reflections (1980), cover periods which end in 1968 or 1970. That is, their ending dates coincide with the inception of offices and programs which over the past 15 years have given black people an organized and recognizable stake in the mission of Indiana University."

– Herman C. Hudson, 1986

In part, the Office of Afro-American Affairs was created in a genuine response to the needs of black students at Indiana University, but it also served as a means to placate the black student protest. As Hudson noted, black students have been integral in the history of Indiana University but time has not been taken to write their history. This history served to cover three purposes. The first was to bring together the multiple histories of black students into a cohesive narrative that could be continued forward. The second was to identify how the university addressed the needs and services of black students with modifications in their organizational structure. Lastly, this story serves as an introduction to history of the OAAA and black studies program. This story of black students, Office of Afro-American Affairs, and the black studies program at Indiana University is not over. This story will continue unfold, and as it does, it will create a more complete historical account of the life of Indiana University.

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Using Knowledge of the Brain to Address Racism of College Students

Susan N. Gieg

By examining neurological research, which studies how the brain activates when participants are confronted with race, we can learn about the intrinsic racist thoughts we all may have. The interactions between these four areas can inform scientist about ways to disrupt the automatic thoughts individuals may have using behavioral modifications. Methods for altering automatic thoughts include facilitating interaction between people of different races, using the contact hypothesis, and Cognitive Behavioral Therapy. This knowledge can help student affairs professionals diminish the automatic racial bias that humans have when working with our students.

As student affairs professionals we are tasked with creating welcoming communities on our campuses for all students. Throughout the history of human kind there has been a primal fear reaction to those who are different than you (Maroney, 2009). This instinct to fear the “other” had a valid orientation, as when humans lived in tribes those who looked unlike you were more likely to pose a threat than those who looked like you (Maroney, 2009). As human kind has developed and, as Americans, we live in a country in which White people will be in the minority by 2050 (Roberts, 2009), the likelihood that we will interact with someone who is racially or ethnically diverse is increasing every day. The automatic assumption that anyone who does not look like us is no longer a valid fear inducing reaction and, in some cases, it can be harmful.

The Webster's New World Dictionary (n.d.) defines racism as “a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race.” There are two different types of racism, explicit and implicit. Explicit racism is a conscious belief that race or ethnicity is the most important determinant of human traits and abilities (Bosman, 2012), whereas implicit racism is our brains’ automated response to anything

and anyone perceived as a possible threat or enemy and is not based on conscious belief about racial differences (Phelps & Thomas, 2003). Even more harmful than an implicit racist assumption is when someone has explicit racist beliefs. According to Torres (2009) racism is “a product of the cultural beliefs of a society” and can change over time (p. 505).

Especially prevalent in the news right now are conversations about racial tension on college campuses. Students of color across the country are speaking out against the lack of support and the active racism present on their campuses. Students at the University of Missouri (Mizzou) held protests over racial incidents and the administration’s poor response to them, leading to the president of the university resigning and the chancellor stepping down to a lower position (Criss, 2015). This example is just one where racial tension on a college campus has led to activism. While college campuses are typically hosts of reform and liberalism, they still host students who hold racist ideals. Therefore, it is the duty of student affairs professionals to help all students understand racism, how it manifests itself in different ways, and how to overcome it. They can do this by using information about student development to target their work with individual students to

better educate and influence their reactions to others.

In the last year and a half the concept of racism has once again become a hot topic on college campuses through situations such as the one at Mizzou, a blackface party at UCLA, and threats to students of color at IU over Yik-Yak. We now have a way to closely examine the workings of not only explicit racism but also implicit racism through neural imaging. Previously our society has been dependent on psychological studies to understand racism, and Phelps and Thomas (2003) remind us that the most efficient way to look at human behavior is to combine physiological and neurological approaches rather than using them separately. Since 2000 the practice of using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) to look at the neurological activation of the human brain when faced with those of one's own and other races has increased and we are learning more about the pathways in the brain that are activated by this interaction.

This study will examine literature on neurological measurements examining racial attitudes and reactions. It will then discuss the racist tendencies of America including the reasoning behind the natural preference towards individuals within the same race and the manifestation on college campuses of racism. Lastly, it will create recommendations for student affairs professionals on ways to decrease racist thoughts and behaviors on campus based on the neurological studies examined.

Literature Review

The 10 studies reviewed were done with participants identifying as either White or Black. When examining this neural research on how we process race group information there were four areas of the brain that are implicated. These are the amygdala, the

anterior cingulate cortex (ACC), the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (dlPFC), and the fusiform gyrus, commonly known as the fusiform face area (FFA). These areas work together to recognize faces, categorize them, and process how to react to each one. Implicit processing for race group information is done by the amygdala, while the ACC, the dlPFC, and the FFA do explicit processing. There are two stages in processing race stimuli: categorization and reaction. The categorization phase is where the amygdala and the FFA activate and decide if the face in view is from an in-group or out-group. The second phase is the higher order motivations where the ACC and the dlPFC exert control over the lower order processes of the amygdala and FFA. The ACC and the dlPFC react to the immediate feelings and are influenced by personal and societal motivations of the individual (Kubota et al., 2012). This second phase could potentially be engaged intentionally, but more research is needed for this to be conclusive.

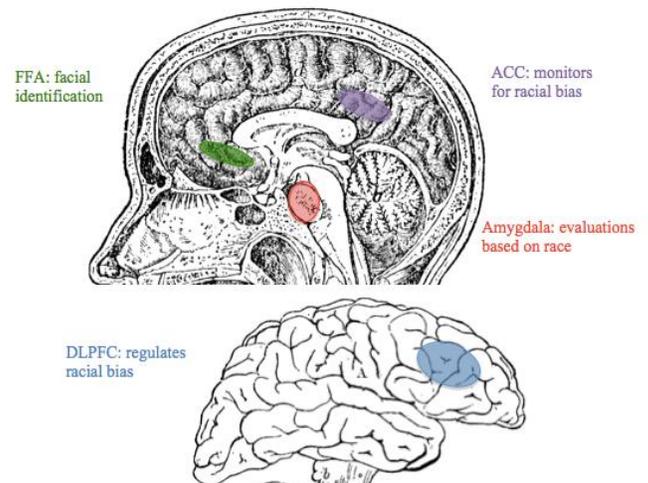


Figure 1. The brain regions associated with racial recognition.

Implicit Processing

The amygdala is a small structure that is important for emotional learning and memory. It expresses learned memories in physiological ways (Phelps & Thomas, 2003; Stanley, Phelps & Banaji, 2008), and is key in fear response (Ambady & Bharucha, 2009; Kubota, Banaji & Phelps, 2012; Moule, 2009; Phelps & Thomas, 2003; Stanley et al., 2008). The amygdala will activate without our conscious direction, meaning we have no control over what it is activated by. The studies reviewed showed that the amygdala was activated differently for White participants and Black participants depending on the faces they were shown.

In the Phelps and Thomas (2003) study the White participants had statistically significant activation of the amygdala when shown Black faces, and when Black participants were shown White faces their activation was not significantly over baseline. This was supported by the Maroney (2009) and Kubota et al. (2012) studies, which both highlighted the greater fear response for faces from an out-group as compared to those within an in-group. Even though we are not able to consciously influence the amygdala, its response can be modified by familiarity and experience (Phelps & Thomas, 2003; Stanley et al., 2008), meaning that if we spend more time with people from out-groups we will not react as strongly to them. This could explain the lessened amygdala activation response in Black participants, as Black individuals are more commonly exposed to out-groups than White participants are.

Explicit Processing

The ACC, dlPFC, and the FFA are influenced by our conscious minds. The ACC and the dlPFC monitor our systems and engage executive control when there is a conflict between an automatic reaction, such

as the one our amygdala has when seeing a face from an out-group, and the conscious intentions most of us have to treat all people with respect and kindness (Kubota et al., 2012; Stanley et al., 2008). Even though the amygdala and the dlPFC are not directly connected the dlPFC is able to influence the amygdala when it senses activation (Stanley et al., 2008). Participants in a study by Kubota et al. (2012) who had increased internal motivation to be unprejudiced in their response to others had amplified activity in their ACC.

The FFA can differentiate between faces and non-face items, as well as between familiar and unfamiliar faces (Kubota et al., 2012). The left hemisphere looks at categorical visual processes, like Black vs. White, and the right hemisphere works with the ability to recognize individual faces (Phelps & Thomas, 2003). When looking at imaging from experiments there is greater activation in the FFA for in-group faces than out-group faces (Phelps & Thomas, 2003). The recruitment of the FFA emphasizes the use of race specific information rather than individuating information (Golby et al., 2001; Kubota et al., 2012; Phelps & Thomas, 2003).

Methods

This study looked at 10 neurological articles focused on how the brain activates when participants in studies were confronted with race. The study of racism using neurological methods is relatively new, and these articles were found by exploring research done by Elizabeth Phelps, a pioneer in relationships between race and the brain. Suggestions for how to combat these unconscious actions were given by examining the neurological responses to the socially constructed phenomenon of race. Taking these methods of combatting these responses and connecting them to the work

that student affairs professionals already do with college student development enabled the recommendations for new creative ways to work with students on eliminating racist attitudes and behaviors.

Discussion

Although explicit bias has decreased in America (Kubota et al., 2012; Phelps & Thomas, 2003), implicit racism is still thriving. As stated in the introduction, there are two different kinds of racism, explicit and implicit. Race and racism are socially constructed, and we are able to influence them through developmental experiences, such as those encountered at college (Torres, 2009).

The human race has developed in a way in which we prioritize cooperation and social learning, which requires that we trust each other rather than have instinctual distrust (Brewer, 1999). By trusting our in-group, or those who look like us, instinctively we have an automatic distrust of out-groups. However, this distrust does not mean we automatically view out-groups with hostility. This categorization of those around us based on skin color or facial features into a race is not genetically supported and serves a purely social role. We are able to view out-groups with indifference, sympathy, and even admiration as long as we prefer our distinct in-group (Brewer, 1999). The situations in which in-group and out-group relationships are more hostile are those in which there is competition over limited resources or political power (Brewer, 1999). This could be inclusive of a college campus in which there are limited financial resources to assist students as well as high stakes to achieve both in and out of the classroom. Another way in-group and out-group relations are active in a college campus is if there are two significant subgroups, such as Students of

Color and White students. When there is division like this, the probability of social comparison and conflict of interest rise, and negative attitudes towards the out-group will heighten (Brewer, 1999; Phelps & Thomas, 2003). When looking at studies even those who consciously believed they were unbiased towards people of another race were influenced by cultural stereotypes (Phelps & Thomas, 2003).

College students are at a time in their lives when they are still developing neurologically and are faced with new, and sometimes scary, surroundings. In order to appreciate difference students need to have the developmental capacity to realize their internal values, not view difference as a threat, and view relationships as mutually beneficial rather than acting only for their pleasure (Baxter-Magolda, King, Taylor & Wakefield, 2012). This self-awareness and being able to internally generate belief systems is called self-authorship, and it is a very complex state to reach (Baxter-Magolda et al., 2012).

When encountering an unexpected person or situation there is a fear response initiated by the amygdala, but in many people this bias is usually overridden in a nanosecond (Moule, 2009). This is a response of subtle racism. Brewer (1999, p. 438) defines subtle racism as “the absence of positive sentiments towards [minority out-groups]” but not necessarily the presence of strong negative attitudes. In this case out-groupers are more likely to be assumed to have provoked aggression and less likely to receive the benefit of the doubt in comparison to a member of the in-group. Brewer (1999) discusses if in-group love and out-group hate are related and if a sense of belongingness and loyalty to one’s in-group requires hostility towards out-groups. We know that development of familiarity and preference for ones in-group develop much earlier than any attitudes towards out-

groups, and multiple studies indicate that the positive attitudes towards our in-groups do not correlate to bias or negativity towards out-groups (Brewer, 1999).

College students who are close to self-authorship, or who have achieved it are typically very rare, and are often of marginalized identities (Baxter-Magolda et al., 2012). The exposure to out-groups and their beliefs at a high level that these marginalized students have experienced is key to the development of their own internal belief systems. One side effect of being a marginalized student is a potential sense of being powerless, which can force one into submission by internalization of majority beliefs about their group, causing them to believe stereotypes about themselves (Torres, 2009).

Brewer (1999) talks about the tolerance for difference and when moral order is seen as absolute there can be a moral superiority that will be incompatible with tolerance. This moral superiority is often seen in majority students who have never had to think about what it means to have privilege and how it is oppressing others. They believe that they deserve the things they get, including networking, resources, and the benefit of the doubt. As student affairs professionals it is up to us to encourage our students to be open to differences with themselves and others, and to engage throughout their school community.

Since the beginning of racial identity development theory there has not been as much work on the identity development of White students as an identity group as there has been with racial minorities. All early identity development was done on White students but without acknowledging being White as an identity for these students. This in itself is indicative of racism within our society, as the majority group does not feel the need to examine their own development as it is “normal”. It is important to research

and understand how all students develop and understand difference in order to create a more welcoming environment (Torres, 2009). Even those students who do not believe they are racist most likely still have racist tendencies.

The White Identity Development Model (WIDM) created by Helms in 1995 is the most researched theory on White identity development (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, Renn, 2010; Torres, 2009). The processes that Helms’ WIDM discuss are inclusive of how to make meaning of racist thoughts dealing with both cognitive and affective states (Torres, 2009). It is important to recognize that even if a person has racist thoughts, they may not understand them as racist (Torres, 2009). This is demonstrated in a study by Stanley et al., (2008) which is predictive of indirect race bias. The study looked at pain empathy in participants and found that participants who had a higher probability of being racist from a test they took had lower pain empathy for people of another race. There is also a greater recognition and empathy for faces in pain from in-group members (Ambady & Bharucha, 2009; Forgiarini, Gallucci, & Maravita, 2011). The bias towards your own race is part of a process designed to make the immense flow of information from the external world easier to comprehend. By categorizing visible attributes, such as race, we can utilize a fewer number of neurons and make quicker sense out of our surroundings (Forgiarini et al., 2011).

Within Helms’ WIDM there are two phases. The first is the abandonment of racism, which moves from being oblivious to racism to understanding that it exists and that the individual plays a part in it (Evans et al., 2010). The second phase is the evolution of a nonracist identity, and involves constant work to disable their racism and understand how their privilege affects others (Evans et al., 2010). Within the second phase people

begin to see themselves as racial individuals, and the racism and privilege they automatically receive with being White. Most college-aged students will be in the first phase but some individuals might be approaching the second.

Recommendations

There are ways to use what we have learned about the brain from neurological studies and what we know about college student development to attempt to decrease racial bias on college campuses. These include things such as facilitating interaction between people of different races, using the contact hypothesis, and understanding how people process race so student affairs professionals can increase challenges to these thoughts.

Facilitating interactions between people of differing identities, including race, are one of the High-Impact Practices outlined by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U). These practices are pathways to student success, and include collaborative learning, which promotes personal development and a greater openness towards diversity (Kilgo, Sheets & Pascarella, 2015). There is indication from both neurology and student affairs that when we create relationships with people who are different from us there is a weakening of the fear of those who are in an out-group (Evans et al., 2010; Kilgo et al., 2015; Maroney, 2009; Stanley et al., 2008). This could be because of the contact hypothesis or due to activation in the right hemisphere, which focuses on individualization and tends to recognize our in-group or people we are close with from an out-group.

The contact hypothesis is the theory that positive intergroup contact reduces negativity towards out-groups (Maroney, 2009). This ties in with the idea that when students interact more with people who have

different identities they will become more familiar with them, and begin to have less fear towards the out-group as a whole. There is also an indication that higher levels of interracial dating align with lower fear-conditioning bias (Maroney, 2009). Getting to know more people from an out-group could also create a higher probability that the right hemisphere would be used when viewing a face from the out-group. In experiments the race of the face the participant was viewing influenced the ability to distinguish individual characteristics of each face. For example, a Black participant viewing a Black face will be able to distinguish between it and another face at a later time, but if they viewed a White face they would not be able to as easily distinguish between that White face and another White face. More exposure to out-groups would lower the activation of the FFA and allow the dlPFC and ACC to do less work to correct the racially biased impulses we have.

There is also a proposal that just knowing you have a bias towards a group will cause you to carefully consider your reactions and attitudes towards that group (Moule, 2009). This correlates with the information from Stanley et al. (2008) on the process of the dlPFC and its role directing racial impulses from the amygdala to more aligned beliefs of the social consciousness. When we acknowledge our bias we are able to openly work to better ourselves, and can more efficiently compete tasks (Moule, 2009). Acknowledging our bias is an important step within the WIDM, and without this we will not be able to disable the racism within ourselves, or the broader society.

Limitations

The studies reviewed only examined reactions from Black and White participants, and thus created a limitation on assigning these results to other racial or ethnic groups. Although we can use these results to inform the work we do with other racial or ethnic groups, we have to be aware that there are potentially other factors influencing the behaviors of these students. The studies reviewed were also all neurologically based, and they did not address how to combat beliefs and attitudes using psychological knowledge. This review is meant to examine the neurological findings about race, and is not meant to be exclusive of previous studies using psychological methods.

Conclusion

It is difficult to address our racist responses to others, as you must first acknowledge that racism exists in society in order to recognize it within oneself (Torres, 2009). Only then can you push yourself to understand how you are a part of that perpetuation. As student affairs professionals we can attempt to understand how people process and evaluate those from social groups other than their own, which will allow us to have more insight into prejudicial actions and how to reduce these (Kubota et al., 2012). In the future, by teaming up with neurologists we could attempt to recognize those students who are

having difficulty interacting with those of a different race, and change the effect of race preferences using imaging at the moment of negative activation of the amygdala (Kubota et al., 2012). Currently, we could use the methods in the recommendations section or team up with counseling services to utilize Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) for those cases where there is an unconscious bias towards others that is affecting campus climate. CBT utilizes emotion regulation through talk-therapy and has demonstrated a more lasting effect than other therapies (Kubota et al., 2012).

The most important thing to remember when working with college students is that demonstrating a behavior, whether on a brain scan or in a conversation, does not mean that the individual is hardwired for that behavior (Kubota et al., 2012; Phelps & Thomas, 2003; Stanley et al., 2008). We can work with students to change how they think and interact with others, not only on a college campus, but also for the rest of their lives. This research demonstrates that even those people who feel that they have unbiased views about race have an innate fear of those who are different. As individuals we should take it upon ourselves to create a welcoming community for all. We should each seek out interactions with people who are different from us in order to have the contact needed to reduce the biased thoughts we automatically have. We all have work to do in order to become more just individuals and, overall, a just society.

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Bridging the Gap: Building Meaningful Connections after the Groups Scholars Program

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This study explores the experience of 12 undergraduate students who have recently participated in the Groups Scholars Program at Indiana University Bloomington. The aim of the Group Scholars Program is to support underrepresented students transition to college through a rigorous academic prep program, social activities and financial assistance—if eligible. Through the use of qualitative methods and analysis, six emergent themes were identified about their experiences after completing the summer bridge program. For example, it was found that resident assistants played a significant role in how connected these students felt to campus once the fall semester began. Recommendations were given to further assess and improve the Groups Scholars Program to encourage not only academic success, but a positive social acclimation to campus.

Every year, new students embark on the journey of higher education, and they bring to campus a unique personal identity influenced by individual experiences, cultures, and education (Marcia, 1975). These unique personalities influence the method in which they transition and the success of such transitional efforts (Goodman, Schlossberg, & Anderson, 2006). To assist students during the transition process, institutions often elect to bridge cultural, socioeconomic, or racial gaps through diversity and inclusivity initiatives. According to Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, and Terenzini (2004), “compared to their peers, first-generation students completed fewer first-year credit hours, took fewer humanities and fine arts courses, studied fewer hours and worked more hours per week, were less likely to participate in an honors program, were less likely to perceive that faculty were concerned about students and teaching, and made smaller first-year gains on a standardized measure of reading comprehension” (p. 251).

It has been well documented that first-generation and low-income students face challenges when adjusting to the environment of a college campus due to the amount of social capital they possess relative to a majority of their more

privileged peers (Oldfield, 2007). This shortage of social capital, or exchange of information and resources from friends, relatives and community members, can be hard on these students' transition because they lack familiarity with their new surroundings and expectations (Hill, Bregman, & Andrade, 2014). To counter this, summer bridge programs were designed to assist these students with the transition from high school to the constructed demands of the collegiate environment (Cabrera, Miner, & Milem, 2013). Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) recognized the need for a summer bridge program on campus and created the Groups Scholars Program (Groups). Groups has served more than 10,000 students over the past 47 years, supporting in-state students from low-income and/or first-generation backgrounds (students with physical disabilities are also eligible) the summer before their first year at IUB (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015). The goal of Groups is to be more than an academic preparation program, seeking to strengthen students on a personal level and help connect them to campus resources and services as they enter their fall semester (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015). Currently, Groups serves approximately 200 students each summer

(The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015). Based on the limited literature about the subsequent influence of summer bridge programs like Groups, we wanted to gain a clearer understanding of what these students at IUB are experiencing. Our two main research questions were:

- Where do Groups students find meaningful connections after transitioning out of the summer bridge component of the program?
- How do those experiences positively or negatively influence their persistence?

Learning more about how their experience evolves after the summer component of the program was useful in understanding retention at IUB and informing stakeholders of the specific needs for support. In the sections to follow, there will be a discussion of the literature regarding the experiences of students who completed summer bridge programs and related theories and models with an overview of our methodology and findings. Research limitations and considerations are given along with recommendations for student affairs practitioners and researchers focusing on the Groups Scholars Program.

Literature Review

Summer Bridge Programs

Summer bridge programs are transitional programs that assist high school seniors with the process of moving into college/university life by providing support through varying means. These programs are most commonly found at nonselective colleges and universities (Douglas & Attewell, 2014). Cabrera, Miner, & Milem (2013) summarized research on these programs by writing that, traditionally, these programs focused on providing academic and social support to minority students. Despite the widespread implementation of summer bridge programs, there is little

literature on their influence and students' experiences after participating in them (Cabrera et al., 2013; Kezar, 2000; Strayhorn, 2011).

The literature that currently exists on summer bridge programs generally has reported positive results related to academic performance and retention. Cabrera et al. (2013) conducted a longitudinal study of the impact of the University of Arizona's New Start Summer Program (NSSP) on participants' first year GPA and retention and found "on the aggregate, that participation in NSSP positively impacts academic performance and persistence above and beyond demographic characteristics and high school preparation" (p. 491). Douglas and Attewell (2014) conducted a study using data from the National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) Beginning Postsecondary Student Longitudinal Survey (BPS) and uncovered clear evidence that shows a higher rate of student success leading to graduation in those that attended summer bridge programs between high school and the first semester of college than those that have not. Strayhorn (2011) investigated the linkages between participation in a summer bridge program and academic self-efficacy, sense of belonging, and academic and social skills. Academic self-efficacy is defined as "the level of an individual's confidence in his or her ability to compete academically oriented tasks" (Strayhorn, 2011, p. 149). This construct is closely related to academic resilience, which Waxman, Gray, and Padron (2003) defined as perseverance in school despite adverse circumstances. Cabrera et al. (2013) posited that while resilience is often measured in terms of an individual's determination, environmental factors also influence development of resiliency. O'Connor (2002) criticized the scholarship on resiliency for failing to account for the social structures that

conceptualize resilience, and, within this critique, she offered the concepts of constraint and opportunity, which “are interrelated concepts that describe a student’s structure of opportunity or lack thereof” (Cabrera et al., 2013, p. 484). A student is more likely to develop self-efficacy and experience academic success if he or she has opportunity, or the availability of resources (O’Connor, 2002).

Underrepresented Students’ Transition to College

The way in which institutions allocate resources to contribute to student success can help to increase or diminish student engagement (Kuh, 2005). For low-income, first-generation students, this is exceptionally important due to the heightened challenge of integrating into a complex, bureaucratic organization. Typically, students that hold these identities are unacquainted with navigating complex systems that inherently bring new bureaucratic policies, social formalities, and heightened academic expectations (Bess & Dee, 2008). Such unfamiliarity increases the risk of attrition (Tinto, 1999). Tinto’s (1997) Student Departure Theory postulated that an important factor for the success of a student and their persistence is the societal integration into a collegiate community. Students not capable of feeling connected to campus are then more likely to leave an institution. Tinto’s model is not widely accepted across the board, largely due to the model lacking generalizability beyond students who are resident on, or near, campus and who enter a university or college directly after leaving school (McCubbin, 2003), making it inapplicable to some students. Yet, one study of Tinto’s model as it relates to freshmen in a community college setting found that even outside of traditional first year students, academic integration aspect can predict persistence and exit outcomes.

Campus Ecology

The influential relationship between student and campus environment can further be explained through the lens of campus ecology. First presented in 1974 by James Banning and Leland Kaiser, the campus ecology approach recognizes “the transactional relationship between students and their environment” (Banning, 1978, p 4). It suggests that both the student and the campus influence one another in shared manners (Banning & Kaiser, 1974). Of course, both entities bring their own cultural and structural power dynamics (Bess & Dee, 2008), which, in turn, perpetuates the issue of at-risk students lacking economic and political capital. When students come into an institution lacking cultural and political capital, they experience the way in which the institution provides services much more acutely. Consequently, this leads back to the importance of scrutinizing and assessing the ways in which institutions allocate services and construct learning opportunities to promote engagement (Kuh, 2005).

Understanding the integration of low-income, first-generation students into campus communities also entails understanding the transitions that they face. Schlossberg’s (1984) theory can be considered the foundational piece on transition models. Schlossberg (1984) described her framework as a channel for “analyzing human adaptation to transition” (p. 2). While original transition theories were typically meant to classify and categorize specific components of transitions, later collaborative efforts between the Cormier and Hackney (1993) counseling model and Schlossberg’s (1984) transition model helped to identify and facilitate the success of individuals in transitions.

Description of Program

Students admitted into Groups are recommended for admission as seniors in high school, at which point they are accepted based on meeting the eligibility requirements previously outlined (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015). The cornerstone of Groups is the summer experience. The goal of the summer experience is not only to provide an academic preparation program, but also to strengthen students on a personal level and help connect them to campus resources and services as they enter their fall semester (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015). Therefore, we sought to understand where Groups students find meaningful connections after transitioning out of the summer bridge component of the program.

According to Groups administrator Cedric Harris, incoming students arrive on campus at the end of spring the semester before the program begins to receive a tour and to take assessments in math and other subjects (C. W. Harris, personal communication, October 13, 2015). Based on their performance on these assessments, students are placed in honors, STEM or general coursework once they arrive for check-in during the summer. There are three core summer classes and an elective, which is optional for all but STEM students. The school day begins at 8 in the morning for all students and can last until around 3 in the afternoon. Each cohort is different and each individual experience is different. Students are required to attend college meetings once a week, during which they learn about the process of transitioning into the regular school year. There is daily optional programming to keep students engaged as they are forbidden from attending parties either on or off campus. Students are forbidden from intermingling between sexes after midnight and from leaving the residence hall premises after 2 a.m. While

students are allowed to leave the city outside of class times, missing class is a likely cause for expulsion from the program (C. W. Harris, personal communication, October 13, 2015).

Methods

Positionality & Methodology of the Researchers

As researchers, we shared varying identities that influenced our lenses while engaging with the Groups students. Three of our researchers identified with being first-generation college students. Two of the researchers also identified with coming from a low-income background. As graduate students at IUB, three of four of the researchers were relatively new to the campus (less than two years) and were not employed directly by the Groups Scholars Program, leaving them with a limited personal experience of the program. However, based on personal undergraduate experiences, different assistantships at IUB, co-curricular activities, and extracurricular interests, the researchers have encountered Groups students outside of academia and in varying settings across campus. With that in mind, we are aware of the biases that we may have based on our privileged identities and acknowledge that our perceptions affected how we conducted our research, analyzed our data, and interpreted it for potential recommendations. Throughout our research process, we did our best to mitigate those biases.

To illuminate the perspectives of Group students themselves, we decided to utilize a qualitative research methodology to explore their socially constructed environment here at IUB. This is in accordance with constructivist theory where students acquire context and meaning of their surroundings through a reflection of personal understanding, allowing us to gather broad and developing data that assisted in the

creation of themes (Creswell, 2013).

Population

Participants included current undergraduate students at IUB. Those students who were admitted into the summer 2013-2015 Groups cohorts were eligible to participate in the study and constituted the population of interest for this study. We gathered referrals from university administrators, non-Groups students and participants as we recruited them into the focus groups, assisting in the comfortability in dialog and exchange (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). The first respondents that met participant eligibility requirements received personalized recruitment emails to participate in a focus group specific to their cohort year.

Sampling

Sampling selection was limited to seven students per cohort years 2013, 2014, and 2015, with two additional chosen as alternates. We utilized a purposive sampling method to reach student participants and then recruited participants using the snowball sampling method. This purposive sampling method was used to ensure that students shared key characteristics and homogeneity, thus providing for a more comfortable and open focus group experience (Rea & Parker, 1997). Sample selection was based on students whom the researchers encountered during their matriculation at IUB who identified with being connected with the Groups program.

As a result, we had a total of 12 students from the 2013 through 2015 cohorts of the Groups Scholars Program participate in the four focus groups. Nine students identified as female and three identified as male. Eight students were a part of the Groups 2013 cohort; two other students were in Groups 2014 cohort; and another two students came from the Groups 2015 cohort. All 12 identified as African American/Black with

one student also identifying with multiple races. Participating students' ages ranged from 18 to 21. A majority of students initially contacted were African American and Groups 2013; however, efforts were made to gather referrals and recruit students of other races/ethnicities and cohort years.

Design

A qualitative, semi-structured focus group approach was used for data collection purposes in our IRB-approved study. Based on previous literature, the focus groups were limited to seven to ensure a permissive and supportive environment (Carnaghi, 1992; Gall, Borg, & Gal, 1996). Participation was voluntary and responses were left anonymous, allowing students to self-select out during any point. Questions were developed using a combination of our assessment of the literature and Tinto and Schlossberg models. The participants' responses dictated the subtopics and follow-up questions as we moved forward from the topics that we had created. A standardized note-taking template was also used by the researchers while facilitating the focus groups, which allowed for the collection of direct quotes, nonverbal cues, as well as the tracking of responses from each participant. The focus groups were also audio recorded to be later transcribed by the researchers, and cross-referenced with the notes.

Data Analysis

Through consideration of Tinto's Retention Model (1987), Schlossberg's Theory (1984), and our participants' responses, we attempted to identify emergent themes from their responses that demonstrate patterns that increase or hinder their likeliness to persist based on indicators that link students to transitional success or failure. Key areas of consideration were the current format of the summer program, placement of the students in residence halls during the first fall term, the connection that

the students maintained with their cohort during the regular school year, the connection the student maintained with Groups during the school year, cross connections between cohorts, student involvement on campus, and parent involvement/family support.

We collectively compiled and transcribed recordings and notes from all four focus groups in a shared document. We began to code the data and identify emerging themes (Creswell, 2013). We began to validate these codes and themes with more specific quotes and instances recalled from the data collected. We then collectively reviewed the transcripts and notes for consensus and decided whether to add to, reject or modify our emerging themes. Upon completing this, we arrived at six emergent themes that each have their own effect on likeliness to persist: pipeline towards involvement in racially homogenous organizations, campus is geographically compiled of cultural silos, enhanced racial awareness, strong academic preparation, the impact of resident assistants (RAs), and campus connections' influence on generativity.

Results

Considerations from theory and participant interviews led researchers to six prominent themes. These themes were relevant to every participant and stood out against all other patterns.

Pipeline Towards Involvement in Racially Homogenous Organizations

A particular theme that emerged earlier on from the data was a large overlap in participants' similar co-curricular club and activity involvement. A majority of students articulated an intentional membership in predominantly black student organizations due to the comfort and ease of shared cultural belonging. One participant noted, "I

feel like you have to go the extra mile to meet people, and make connection [when] finding an event or org that doesn't focus on Black students." Other students, who did decide to branch out to other forms of involvement, spoke up about being chastised by their racial peers for going outside their own racially homogenous organizations. One participant was asked, "Where are your white friends at? Where are your Asian friends at?" This involvement in racially homogenous organizations can be seen across all three years of the Groups' cohorts with a systematic persistence.

Campus is Geographically Compiled of Cultural Silos

While students showed an interest in shared common spaces like the student union and residential dining halls, a good amount their time is spent at spaces marked by the likelihood to see familiar faces; examples include: Neal-Marshall Black Culture Center, friends' residence halls, Groups office, and fourth and fifth floors of Herman B. Wells Library (only with friends). One participant stated, "That's where I feel culturally safe." These physical locations where one may find students with shared cultural values operate somewhat distinctly from the campus at large due to physical and social separation. Groups participants seemed to trade inclusive environments for the security of the familiar and communal experience, citing The Neal-Marshall Black Culture Center as the number one place to congregate on campus. The seemingly self-imposed isolations are compounded by feelings of social segregation with regard to residence hall selection and student organization participation, with participants citing that even the residence halls and neighborhoods are segregated by race and/or culture.

Impact of Resident Assistants

Participants across all cohorts consistently emphasized the impact that Groups RAs had in shaping their experience and helping them transition and get connected to campus. “Your Groups RA can make or break your experience, honestly,” one participant noted. Other responses revealed that Groups RAs served as key conduits for involvement opportunities, academic assistance and social support. RAs would hold group meetings that highlighted different organizations and opportunities on campus, provide advice based on prior experiences, and even engage with the participants via social media. Many participants mentioned that the connection they established with the Groups RAs continued after completion of the program. “My RA from the summer keeps in contact, and she helps me with my essays,” one first-year participant mentioned. Even participants who did not build strong connections with their assigned RA were able to find support with another RA staff member. “I’m really close to one of the RAs, so we [participant and friends] go see her and talk to her...my RA didn’t really come off as helpful,” said another participant.

Campus Connections’ Influence on Generativity

While gaining a clearer understanding of our participants’ connections to campus, we discovered that several saw themselves giving back as a result of their experience, involvement, and connections. This concept of generativity, as first introduced by Erikson (1968), refers to an individual’s desire to give or create a lasting, positive effect directed towards benefiting others. Almost one-third of our participants saw themselves creating this lasting, positive effect for others by participating in the program as RAs or event coordinators. One

participant explained their interest in being a Groups RA or an event coordinator to make the experience better: “When I was in the summer program, they [the event coordinators and RAs] had their fun events, but it would always be the same people—I would focus on getting everybody together.” Some currently help incoming students by being ambassadors for the program and speaking to students at their high schools. “I love IU,” one participant commented. This student went on to explain that it was important for her to leave a legacy and help these students get the most out of their experience. Others saw themselves giving back by providing mentorship and guidance to students who had similar backgrounds or major/career aspirations through providing job shadowing and internships.

Enhanced Racial Awareness

Participants overwhelmingly realized a heightened awareness of their racial identity once they arrived on campus. This is not to say that they did have a sense of self prior to arriving, but they were almost forced into recognizing those parts of their identity that separated them from the majority. One participant stated that while she knew that she was Black, she never felt Black until she got to IUB. This occurred for a few reasons. Groups is an academic, college preparatory program for Indiana high school graduates, many of whom come to IUB from areas largely populated by those that share racial or cultural similarities. The Groups participants were surrounded by similar dynamics during the summer enrichment program. However, upon the start of the fall semester, Groups students were separated from the peers and administrators that were a large part of their summer experience in the program. Many participants expressed discord with being one of few students of color in their classrooms during the regular school semester and experienced pressure from feeling like they were made to

represent their entire race or prove their worthiness to be in attendance.

Strong Academic Preparedness

As a scholars program, Groups had a great focus on academics during the summer. However, this was not the reason that participants garnered the understanding that the only option was to be successful. The large sense of community that is created during the summer carries over and we were able to see throughout the other themes the variable that connectedness played in the growth and persistence of each participant. Not only are the students expected to do well, they are made aware of the biases that they will face based on where they are from and how they will be perceived as Groups participants. This factor is used in pushing students to excel as a testament to their true capabilities. The Groups participants are given access to a network of enrichment programs and opportunities well into their matriculation as students at IUB. Many students shared the sentiment that they look forward to receiving information from the Groups office and will often read that information over correspondence from their school of study or the university because they know that it pertains directly to them. Students have received information regarding scholarships and study abroad and as one participant stated, “because it is from Groups, I trust that it will be good for me.”

Discussion

Our findings on the campus connection experience of Groups students following their summer bridge program shadow similar findings from previous literature and research reviews. As a theoretical framework, Tinto’s retention model provided a comprehensive and fitting schema in understanding Groups students’ integration experiences. However, the one challenge with Tinto’s retention model came

with understanding the salience of students’ racial identity, which emerged as a significant theme in our findings. Tinto’s retention model was modeled after an extremely homogenous group of white, male students. The demographics of our focus group participants were composed of African American students, with a majority being women. Therefore, our findings may not apply to all Groups students but specifically to African American Groups students.

Taking our findings and unique demographics into consideration, we propose two explanations for the unique themes that emerged. First, while Groups students’ displayed many of the similar norms and behaviors to those of Tinto’s (1997) findings on collegiate integration, they also displayed heightened levels of racial awareness among group settings and key administrative influences with RAs involved directly in the Groups Scholars Program. Thus, when accounting for students’ unique involvement in a summer bridge program, the transmission of values, information, and social connections are potentially influenced through the distinct relationship to organizational culture. Organizational culture is an active force that both shapes and is shaped by social interactions (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Therefore, socialization is an ongoing process, both intentionally and unintentionally. Structural mechanisms account for more of the intentional socialization process for academic preparation and social integration. Informal interactions with peers, administrators, and faculty account for the unintentional socialization process of academic preparation and social integration. This helps to explain why participants shared similar pathways of involvement, friend groups, positive resident advisor

experiences, and thoughts on generativity in relation to the Gorups program.

The second explanation we propose is that collections of Groups students bring with them a common set of values, norms, and ways of interpreting the world. These previously constructed values and paradigms then reflect the themes that emerged from our findings. This process counters the assimilative nature of the previously discussed explanation and suggests that students are bound by previously held shared values and lines of thinking that are then introduced into the organization. Self-selection, social capital, cultural capital, and collective action then become the primary force in promoting a collective identity. The Groups Scholars Program, in this explanation, takes on the role of a vehicle that catalyzes dispositions previously held.

Both of these explanations offer some understanding as to why unique themes of homogenous involvement and the importance of RAs emerged, accounting for the organizational and individual influences. It seemed reasonable to consider both as valid influences, just as most would understand the way nature and nurture make mutual contributions to a person's behavioral traits. In other words, Groups students both bring with them a series of values and are influenced by the organizational culture of the summer bridge program. These bifurcated contributors can then influence how they perceive themselves on campus and how and where they go on to make connections.

Recommendations

Based on our findings, we offer several recommendations on how Indiana University student affairs staff and campus administrators can continue to support Groups students. First, we believe that utilizing new approaches for developing community and providing social support

during and following the program will assist students with the transition from high school to the constructed demands of the college environment. Second, because we found Groups RAs to have a significant impact on the Groups students' experiences, we believe that additional assessment on the training and experiences of Groups RAs is necessary to further quantify, describe, and explain the impact that the Groups RAs have on the experiences of Groups students throughout their time at Indiana University. Third, we believe that continued exploration into the experience of students in summer bridge programs based on their racial/ethnic identities both at Indiana University and on other college and university campuses is required. Indiana University staff and administrators can then use the data from other institutions to benchmark with the overall goal to improve the experiences of Groups students.

Limitations

We have an aggregate sample of data from our four focus groups. Of the four focus groups, two groups were fully audio recorded and two were not due to technical difficulties that arose during the focus group sessions. There were no major discrepancies between the two audio recorded and two unrecorded focus groups with regard to participant responses or direction of research data. Written notes were taken by each of the facilitators for every focus group, and we found it would be inappropriate to not include this data for our analysis. The availability of published data was lacking and due to the focus of our research on the student perspective, we were not able to gather a great deal of data from Groups administrators.

Other limitations related specifically to characteristics of our participants. First, all of the participants who responded to the focus group invitations were involved in

organizations and/or work in various offices on campus. Due to the nature of our sampling procedure, these students also referred other Groups students who were involved or work on campus. We are aware that all Groups students may not match our participants' level of involvement, which means there are possibly other narratives regarding connection to campus after the program. A second characteristic to note is that there were very few non-Black/African-American students who showed interest in participating in the focus groups. A third potential characteristic we did not account for was whether or not these students had relatives, siblings or close friends who had participated in Groups or attended IUB before them who could shape their perspective of the environment. As a result, we were unable to get a wide range of perspectives from other races that participated in and likely had other experiences within Groups.

Lastly, we would be remiss if we did not mention that there were events happening during the study related to IUB's racial climate that potentially affected our participants' perspectives. Themes did not emerge encompassing recent campus incidents, including the loss of a Groups student, and for the purpose of this particular study, we as researchers decided not to prompt this during focus group discussions. However, in our varying capacities on campus, we know that the Groups student's passing had been discussed among many Groups students.

Implications & Future Questions

There was a considerable lack of diversity within the sample of participants. The majority of students who inquired about participating in the focus groups identified as Black or African American, so we were unable to test other questions that were raised as we conducted this study. Since

students may be able to identify negative association to participation in the Groups program, future research in this area might consider investigating these questions:

1. Do students who identify as White, IUB's majority race, face greater challenges in associating with Groups, deterring them from participating in such a study?
2. Is the ability for majority students to blend into non-Groups affiliated student populations following the end of the summer program an appeal to dissociation from the program?

Additionally, in the limited timeframe available to conduct this research, we were unable to survey administrators and Groups student staff regarding their roles in planning and implementing the Groups program. Having this knowledge could have changed the perspective of the researchers as to what impact specific administrators have and how they impact the program. We determined that the participants' experiences are directly linked to their relationship with their summer Groups RA. We were unable to provide the link between the role of administrators and how they impact the summer cohorts. In addition, the time limitations of this research did not allow for the surveying of Groups alumni nor Groups participants that elected not to finish the summer program. Alumni and participants who did not finish the program could give the unique perspective of variances between their summer cohort and current students.

Finally, it is important to consider Groups students and the requirements to which their contracts bind them. Each summer, the Groups cohort is different, sometimes subtly and sometimes very drastically. What remains the same is that each participant is bound to the requirements of a contract. To break this contract means either repaying a large debt of incurred

expenses or leaving school altogether. The Groups '15 cohort was the first to be mandated to take a transition course in the fall following their summer program. This was also the one cohort of the three studied that were the least engaged and willing to participate in activities related to the Groups program. It may be necessary to consider whether Groups participants can be over-stimulated with the requirements of the program so much so that they disconnect from the program, their peers, or their university.

Conclusion

This paper makes a significant contribution to higher education and student affairs researchers and professionals interested in the college experiences of underrepresented students of color in higher education. Understanding how to best support these students and foster their persistence and retention is a complex undertaking with many stakeholder groups who, when they work together, have the

potential to significantly and positively impact the experiences of these student populations. To this extent, the data reported in this paper aligns substantially with the existing literature, which indicates that summer bridge programs, like the Groups Scholars program, significantly improve students' academic preparedness, thus increasing social and cultural capital. We argue that this is an important constituency in higher education because of the challenges that underrepresented students face in relation to a majority of their more privileged peers. Thus, it is necessary for higher education and student affairs practitioners and administrators to support these students beyond just academic preparation and connecting them to campus resources and services. We argue that it is necessary to strengthen them on a personal level. Such connections are imperative for their persistence. It is our hope that additional support and interventions are developed to better aide in students' transition following the summer program.

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An Examination of Student Protest in the Late 1960's: A Case Study of San Francisco State and UC Berkeley

Susan N. Gieg & Emily C. Miller

This historical case study of the 1960s student strikes at San Francisco State College and University of California-Berkeley determines what reforms related to multicultural engagement were sought by the protestors and the methods used to achieve these goals. Strikers at each school were seeking the creation of ethnic studies academic programs. Findings suggest that with support from community leaders and faculty, student strikes can remain peaceful and result less frequently in violence.

Students have been protesting since the establishment of the university. The dissatisfaction and resistance of institutional authority can evolve into eruption of active protest on campuses. The first American college to encounter a large, organized protest was Harvard University in 1766 (Van Dyke, 2012). This protest came to fruition over spoiled butter served in the dining hall and resulted in a student walk out. The climate of protest spread to other universities in the Colonies, and over the next decade students protested issues that were both personal and political (Van Dyke, 2012). According to Howard (1974), student activism and organizing has the potential to produce meaningful reform in higher education.

Due to students' lack of full time careers or family responsibilities, they are typically more available to protest (Van Dyke, 2012). They are also at the time in their life when they are exploring new ideas and forming their own identities. Therefore, they are more likely to want to spread ideas and raise the consciousness of the more "conservative" campus and community population (Van Dyke, 2012). According to DeGroot (2014), student protest is a culture similar to any other, with myths, rituals, language, and formalized behavior passed down from generation to generation. As a result, each topic of student protest is not an isolated incident, but is instead entwined with all

student protest that has paved the way for this occurrence. Colleges with a more selective admissions process experience more protest activity, and it seems that the culture of the college is what encourages student political activity, not economic reasons (DeGroot, 2014).

It is imperative that those who work on a college campus know the history of student protest. By knowing the history, we can attempt to create a productive outcome for those involved in future student movements on college campuses. While the researchers were exploring this topic, there was an uprising of protests on college campuses around the country, starting with a protest at the University of Missouri over the lack of support for students of color by campus administration. The striking similarity of these recent protests to those in the late 1960's on the San Francisco State College (SF State) and University of California-Berkeley (UC Berkeley) campuses displays the need to examine the history of student protest and gain a better understanding of how student movements create reform. The events at SF State and UC Berkeley resulted in significant higher education reforms in relation to the creation of ethnic studies departments and requirements on their respective campuses.

In order to better understand how student movements lead to education reform, the researchers will compare two institutions

that were in the forefront during arguably the most active time for student protest (1960's). While these institutions are similar in their geographical location, they differ in student population and governing body.

The following research questions will guide this work:

1. What can student affairs professionals learn from the successful movements for ethnic studies that occurred at SF State and UC Berkeley in the 1960s?
2. How do student protests with the same goals (e.g. development of an ethnic studies department) utilize a variety of methods (claims, arguments, and strategies) in their pursuit of reform and are these methods more effective in one situation versus another?

This paper will aim to answer these guiding questions by conducting a historical look at the protests and student movements at the SF State and UC Berkeley college campuses. To do this, the researchers will identify and examine historical literature, news articles, and related publications with relevant information about these events.

Literature Review

A plethora of previous research examines the relationship between student involvement and satisfaction or sense of belonging to campus (Astin, 1984; Astin, 1999). This extends to student involvement in protest and activism on college campuses, which tends to have a liberalizing effect on students who participate (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). Existing literature also suggests that the campus environment has an influence on student involvement, outcomes, experiences, and perceptions of college (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Strange & Banning, 2015). However, legislation in 1960's California threatened to

drastically change campus environments across the state.

The *Donahoe Higher Education Act 1960* was one change in environment that greatly impacted those admitted and not admitted to institutions of higher education in California. This act included a section dubbed the Master Plan for Higher Education. This plan codified a "tripartite system of public research universities, comprehensive four-year undergraduate campuses, and open-access community colleges" (Douglass, 2000). Public institutions make up 93% of postsecondary enrollment in California, and this plan limited eligibility for these colleges and universities (Geiser & Atkinson, 2010). The plan was developed by a committee as part of a cost-cutting move, and limited admission to the UC system to the top 12.5% of high school graduates and the CSU system to the top third of graduates, with everyone else was diverted to the 2-year community colleges (Douglas, 2000). This plan changed the racial and ethnic makeup of the different institutions in the state, and decades later lead to dissension over affirmative action in admissions (Geiser & Atkinson, 2010). The protests at SF State were a direct response to the Master Plan for Higher Education's restriction of the top third of high school graduates for state colleges, as this would severely limit admission of ethnic populations (Yamane, 2001).

Certain environments can prove to be problematic for some student populations. For example, there is evidence that campus environments at predominantly white institutions (PWIs) can be troublesome because they can convey messages of insignificance and exclusion to undergraduates of color (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Gonzalez, 2003). Goals behind involvement in student protest and activism seem to vary. Many students who participate

in these movements wish to advocate for educational change and reform (Howard, 1974) in order to create outcomes and experiences that are more inclusive of all students, despite how they identify.

For the purposes of this study, multicultural engagement is defined as the degree to which one participates in or is involved with creating mutually respectful relationships in which cultural meanings and patterns are openly explored. This definition underscores the reasoning behind the student protests that occurred at SF State and UC Berkeley. In these cases, minority students were attending PWIs, and the exclusion they felt was amplified by the desire to create an environment in which they could engage in multicultural conversations. This research team is particularly interested in these types of student movements that aim to create reforms related to inclusion and multicultural engagement, specifically with the creation or development of ethnic studies departments or programs at collegiate institutions.

SF State and UC Berkeley are two collegiate institutions in history that have been active in student protest with the goal of creating reforms to enhance multicultural engagement outcomes for students (Yamane, 2001). These two protests in the 1960's both resulted in educational reforms that brought ethnic studies departments and curriculums to their campuses (Yamane, 2001). Among the extant literature examined above, few have examined and analyzed the ways that faculty and student affairs professionals can influence the outcomes. Therefore, it is important that more research is done to determine the most effective methods of staff involvement in advocating for educational change on college campuses.

UC Berkeley Overview

UC Berkeley has been a hotbed of protest throughout its history. The Sixties was the most active time for student protest, and in 1964 protests began to fight for the freedom of speech and continued protesting this issue, along with others, until 1969. The Afro-American Students Union (AASU) had demanded a Black Studies Program in the Spring of 1968, and Chancellor Heyns had worked to begin to offer classes and had a proposal for a Black Studies program by the fall of 1969 (Heyns, 1969), but this offer was turned down by the AASU when they joined with other ethnic organizations to form the UC Berkeley branch of the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF).

On January 22, 1969, a student strike was organized to demand, among other things, the establishment of a Third World College, which would include 4 departments, one of Asian Studies, one of Black Studies, one of Chicano Studies, and one for Native American Studies and requirement of more Third World faculty and staff in all departments (Third World Liberation Front, 1969). This strike was a partnership between the AASU, the Asian-American Political Alliance, and the Mexican-American Student Confederation (The Strike: Understand It, 1969), who wanted a college that could coordinate totally new programs (Third World College Proposal, 1969).

The strike at UC Berkeley was partially successful in that a department of ethnic studies was created, but it was not its own college due to a compromise by students because of the inability “of the faculty and administration of UC Berkeley to create outright and put into operation by Fall 1969 a Third World College” (Yamane, 2001, p. 14). Due to the prestigious nature of UC Berkeley, and the immense power its administrators had when it came to multicultural requirements, the student activists had to make sure their suggestions

were beneficial for the administration in order for their demands to penetrate the bureaucracy (Brown, 2007). The development of an ethnic studies Department at UC Berkeley was in some ways a win for the student protesters. However, because of the organization of the University of California system, it survived but did not “challenge the dominant paradigm” (Brown, 2007, p 76).

SF State Overview

During this time of unrest at UC Berkeley, students at San Francisco State College were also advocating for change at their own institution. In late 1968, student-led protests at SF State were sparked by the firing of G. M. Murray, an English faculty member who was also a member of the Black Panther Party. Murray was alleged to be teaching courses that were too radical and revolutionary in nature and was accused of telling black students to bring guns to campus (Turner, 1968). Murray was fired almost unanimously by the Board of Trustees (Brown, 2007). In addition, the new Master Plan for Higher Education in California was put in place that would increase exclusivity and decrease access to racial minorities on SF State’s campus. These two critical events were catalysts for the first large-scale minority student-led protest in the sixties (Yamane, 2001).

This protest was led by two student organizations, the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front. Together, these organizations brought a list of fifteen demands to the university. Among these, students demanded that all non-white students who wished to attend SF State be admitted the following year, that Murray retain his position, a School of Ethnic Studies created to house, among others, a Black Studies department, and that 50 faculty positions be appropriated to the School of Ethnic Studies, 20 of which would

be for the Black Studies program (Whitson, 2015). With some compromise, many of these demands were met, including the establishment of a School of Ethnic Studies and the admittance of approximately 500 qualified nonwhite students for the Fall 1969 semester (Whitson, 2015).

The use of the case study design as a research tool is expanding and is prominent in educational research (Gerring, 2007). Through the examination of these two cases of student protest at SF State and UC Berkeley, the researchers are hoping to find patterns in the methods used in the pursuit of educational reforms as well as examples of how student affairs professionals can understand why protest is happening, and how to help both sides come to an agreement. Because these two historically significant cases acted as a springboard for other campus movements, the examination of these two demonstrations is relevant and may provide insight into successful methods of enacting significant change on college campuses.

Methods

To achieve the goals of this study, the researchers used a constructivist epistemological framework. This framework allowed the researchers to understand accounts of the events at SF State and UC Berkeley as socially constructed, with multiple viewpoints being held and varying meanings being attributed to the events (Creswell, 2003). The researchers sought to understand the meaning of the student activism and protest from the perspectives present in historical documents and publications. The researchers used a qualitative, historical case study approach to the research to understand these historically and socially constructed meanings (Creswell, 2003).

Data was collected by identifying historical documents related to the student protests at SF State and UC Berkeley, including newspaper periodicals, historical essays, and first hand sources. In total, the researchers collected and analyzed 34 different historical periodical articles, 19 from the UC Berkeley case and 15 from the SF State case. The researchers also examined a variety of literature about these protests. The time that has passed since the protests, along with the distance from the site, created a limitation in that the periodicals were gathered only from the New York Times and the Washington Post. These sources were used because their archives were thorough and digital, however it does provide a limited lens for this study.

The historical documents were coded for key words and phrases related to two ideas: (1) education reform, curriculum reform, and university change and (2) methods and tactics used in the student protest and activism. The researchers then evaluated and aggregated these codes to see if themes and patterns emerged that shed light onto the type of education reform practices that typically result from student protest and organization on college campuses, as well as methods that are common in the pursuit of those reforms. Throughout this process, the researchers adjusted the codes to reflect the information gathered from the sources. Finally, the researchers compared and contrasted the themes and patterns that were identified for each case to determine the similarities and differences in the methods of protest and reforms that were sought and/or brought to fruition. This method of analyzing qualitative data was borrowed and supported by Creswell (2012).

Findings

Upon analysis of the historical sources related to the student movements at SF State and UC Berkeley in the 1960s, themes emerged related to methods used to acquire reforms and specific demands, as well as types of reforms.

Method Themes

Four themes emerged in relation to methods used in the student protests at SF State and UC Berkeley in 1968-1969. These methods included (1) student strike and campus closure, (2) violence and intimidation, (3) peaceful protest, and (4) community leader and faculty support. Each of these themes will now be further elaborated and their influence determined.

Student strikes and campus closures.

There are many articles that mention the UC Berkeley and the SF State strikes, either separately or together, and the amount of time they had been going on (Special to The New York Times, 1969, March 5; Special to The New York Times, 1969, January 29; Roberts, 1969, November 23; Davies, 1969, January 22; Flax, "Another view of Berkeley"; From News Dispatches, 1968, November 22; Greider, 1968, December 8; Gustaitis, 1968, December 1; Special to The New York Times, 1968, November 21; Special to The Washington Post, 1968, December 5; The Washington Post, 1968, November 11; The Washington Post, 1968, December 9; Turner, 1968, November 28; Turner, 1968, December 4). The strike at SF State was considered the longest student strike in the sixties (Yamane, 2001). It began on November 6, 1968 and lasted a total of 5 months, ending in March of 1969. The strike at UC Berkeley was the only a few months shorter, beginning on January 21, 1969 and also ending in March of 1969. This strike created a sense of support for the demands of an ethnic studies department (Special to

The New York Times, 1969, January 29; Davies, 1969, January 24). The students suspended the strike on one occasion in hope that the Chancellor would “demonstrate good faith in implementing ethnic studies programs” (Davies, 1969, March 15).

One of the main habits of the UC Berkeley Third World student supporters was to set up picket lines blocking the entrances to campus (Police use clubs in Berkeley Fight, 1969, February 28; Special to The New York Times, 1969, January 29; Turner, 1969, February 9; Davies, 1969, February 7; Alsop, 1969, April 9). Sometimes these picket lines would be peaceful and move aside when bystanders had to get through, but there were times they became violent and would throw things at the police and crowd. This violence was also occurring at SF State. The strike began with “mobile teams of Third World students enter[ing] buildings, dismiss[ing] classes, set[ting] trash cans on fire, and otherwise disrupt[ing] campus operations. Meanwhile, 400 white students marched to President Smith’s office in support of TWLF demand” (Yamane, 2001, p. 14). Periodicals also noted that students were disrupting classes in session by banging on doors, ordering people to leave, and setting off the fire drill alarm to empty buildings (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1).

Violence and intimidation. Historical sources noted violence and intimidation tactics used by both sides during the events at SF State and UC Berkeley. At SF State, these violent methods were mentioned by the accounts more frequently than any other. Specifically, sources refer to protesters using guerilla tactics and would resort to intimidation and violence when peaceful methods failed to achieve their goals (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1; Special to The New York Times, 1968, November 21).

Among the violent acts described in the historical SF State documents were police harassment (From News Dispatches, 1968, November 22; Gustaitis, 1968, December 1; Turner, 1968, December 10), jumping and kicking a TV newsmen in the back (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1), setting fire to flags and offices (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1), surrounding the university president and shouting and shoving him (Turner, 1968, December 3), and bringing firearms to campus (From News Dispatches, 1968, November 22; Turner, 1968, November 28; Turner, 1968, December 4).

At UC Berkeley, this included breaking windows and disrupting classes (Police use clubs in Berkeley Fight, 1969, February 28), as well as violence within protests, mostly against the police (From News Dispatches, 1969, February 21; Police use clubs in Berkeley Fight, 1969, February 28; Roberts, 1969, November 23; Special to The New York Times, 1969, February 5). During the strike the governor of California, Ronald Reagan, declared a state of emergency, allowing the California Highway Patrol to “maintain order” (Turner, 1969) which increased the amount of violence on the campus. Police violence against protestors was highlighted with examples such as “club-swinging policemen” (Police use clubs in Berkeley Fight, 1969, February 28; Special to The New York Times, 1969, February 5), fistfights, and the use of birdshot (Davies, 1969, May 16).

Peaceful protests. Although there were frequent references to violent tactics in the historical sources, there were also articles highlighting the peaceful methods used for protest at SF State. For example, notes were made about several thousand people gathering on campus the quadrangle in solidarity (Turner, 1968, December 4), non-violent sit-ins (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1), and peaceful marches through campus and on city hall (From News Dispatches,

1968, November 22; Gustaitis, 1968, December 7; Special to The Washington Post, 1968, December 5). This explicit reference to peaceful types of protests was not as prevalent in the sources examined for UC Berkeley. There were references to the fact that some picket lines were peaceful and would let people through, but these were typically followed by information about these same lines turning violent.

Community leader and faculty support. Another important theme that emerged was the influence and support of community leaders and faculty on the methods used for protest in both cases. At SF State, prominent black community leaders appeared for the rallies to help support the cause (Gustaitis, 1968, December 7; Turner, 1968, December 4). The strike at UC Berkeley included students and community members, including some members of the Black Panther Party (Special to The New York Times, 1969, March 5). The presence of the Black Panther Party at the strike lent a political edge to the protests.

At the beginning of the UC Berkeley strike, the faculty were aloof and unsupportive of the students' protest (Turner, 1969, February 9). Eventually the Academic Senate gave their support to the strike on March 4th, 1969 (Special to The New York Times, 1969, March 5; Davies, 1969, March 15; Roberts, 1969, November 23). Some faculty decided to support the students in asking for the establishment of a department of ethnic studies (Davies, 1969, March 15; Roberts, 1969, November 23), putting more pressure on the administration to give in to the students' demands. However, most faculty did not actively participate in the student protests at UC Berkeley.

In contrast, faculty and students at SF State came together to organize "crisis convocations" involving discussions between protesting students and faculty to

share ideas and create a space for engaging multicultural dialogue (From News Dispatches, 1968, November 22). The demonstrations were held around the time of the holiday break, and after students returned to campus for classes in the spring semester, faculty members joined in on the efforts significantly, striking alongside of the students (Yamane, 2001) to show their support and solidarity.

Reform Themes

In regard to the education reforms and university changes sought by the student protesters at SF State in 1968, the Black Student Union and Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) had a list of fifteen total demands. At UC Berkeley, the TWLF had a similar list of demands, however, upon analysis of the historical documents for both cases, there were five themes identified in relation to the types of reforms protesters desired. These reforms and changes included (1) curriculum reform relating to minority populations (2) the development of ethnic studies departments on both campuses, (3) increased student responsibility for university decision making, (4) an increase in non-white student enrollment and faculty and staff representation, and (5) equal rights on campus for minority student populations. Each of these themes will now be further elaborated and their influence determined.

Curriculum reform. One of the most recognized reforms mentioned by the periodicals for SF State was the hope for curriculum changes within the institution. Specifically, protesters called for the establishment of academic programs that would teach students about historically disenfranchised and minority populations with an emphasis on black culture (Greider, 1968, December 8). Contrary to the desire for more diverse curriculum from SF State, there was a variety of courses established for

the study of various cultural and ethnic areas at UC Berkeley. There were courses in Black Studies (Davies, 1969, January 22; Roberts, 1969, November 23; Turner, 1969, February 9), as well as Chicano, Asian, and Native American Programs (Roberts, 1969, November 23). UC Berkeley was also the site of the first Asian-American studies program (Ching, 1973, July 26). The portrayal of these programs in the media is positive, and to the researchers seems like a point of pride for the community.

Ethnic studies department development. The media frequently reports on the demanded ethnic studies departments at both UC Berkeley and SF State (From News Dispatches, 1968, December 8; Greider, 1968, December 8; Gustaitis, 1968, December 1; Gustaitis, 1968, December 7; Special to The New York Times, 1968, November 21; Turner, 1968, November 28; Turner, 1968, December 10; Turner, 1969, January 9). Specifically, at UC Berkeley, there had been a plan for a Black Studies department before the strike occurred, and this is mentioned in an article at the start of the strike (Turner, 1969, February 9). At UC Berkeley once an experimental department was established (Alsop, 1969, April 9; Ching, 1973, July 26; Evans & Novak, 1968, September 29; Roberts, 1969, November 23) the media shared news of, and discussed the faculty's urging for, the department to be converted eventually into a full college (Special to The New York Times, 1969, March 5).

Student responsibility. Students wanted to have more responsibility, specifically with the control and decisions regarding the ethnic studies department. This responsibility was given back to the students in two different ways. The first was to invite the students to participate in the course design of ethnic studies courses (F.M.H., 1969, January 9). The faculty worked with the students to change and

update the course offerings. They spoke about learning from the students and coming to an agreement for the sake of innovation (F.M.H., 1969, January 9). The second way responsibility was returned to the students was to return the Associated Students' control of funds that was taken from them during the protest. This return occurred on February 5, 1970 (Wicker, 1970, February 5), two years after it was initially taken from the students.

Non-white representation. The main event that sparked the SF State protests of 1968 was the firing of George Mason Murray, a black faculty member on campus. Therefore, as is to be expected, student strikers were calling for his reinstatement (From News Dispatches, 1968, December 8; From News Dispatches, 1968, November 22; Gustaitis, 1968, December 1; Gustaitis, 1968, December 7; Special to The New York Times, 1968, November 21; The Washington Post, 1968, November 9; The Washington Post, 1968, November 11; Turner, 1968, November 28; Turner, 1968, December 3; Turner, 1968, December 4) as well as increased non-white faculty and staff representation.

At UC Berkeley, there was in depth discussion about the difficulty in finding qualified black faculty to teach as requested by the TWLF (Davies, 1969, May 16; Roberts, 1969, November 23). The main concern was with regard to obtaining qualified faculty without stealing them from Historically Black Colleges or Universities (Roberts, 1969, November 23). There was use of graduate assistants for teaching courses, (Roberts, 1969, November 23) but some concern was mentioned about their inexperience or lack of completed terminal degree. In regards to staff, students demanded that a non-white Associate Director of Financial Aid be appointed to handle non-white student problems and concerns (Gustaitis, 1968, December 7).

They also asked for the retention of Dr. Juan Martinez, a faculty member who supported the TWLF and was scrutinized for this support (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1).

The new Master Plan for Higher Education in California at that time was increasing exclusivity and decreasing access to racial minorities on SF State's campus (Yamane, 2001). Historical sources indicated that student protesters were seeking an increase in enrollment of non-white students at SF State as a result of this master plan (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1). Specifically, protesters wanted unlimited admission of non-white students the following year, regardless of qualifications (From News Dispatches, 1968, December 8; Gustaitis, 1968, December 1; Turner, 1969, January 9). Additionally, there was a call for the establishment of programs to meet the needs of this more diverse population (Gustaitis, 1968, December 1).

Equal rights. In addition to these changes in curriculum and representation, periodicals noted the desire for student protesters to achieve equal rights on the SF State campus (The Washington Post, 1968, November 11; Turner, 1969, January 9). These equal rights refer to minority and black students being seen as equal in the eyes of university administration compared to their white student counterparts and being offered the same resources and support towards their development. Specifically, students were requesting implementation of policies and procedures on campus that would support all students, despite personal identities they may claim.

Discussion

The current study aimed to better understand how student movements on college campuses lead to education reform that encourage multicultural engagement and what methods are most effective in

achieving these goals. The researchers used a case study of historical sources and documents to analyze the protests at UC Berkeley and SF State in the late 1960s. These two protests were revolutionary for their emphasis on curriculum and other reforms contributing to multicultural engagement on college campuses. There were several interesting trends in the findings that will now be discussed.

First, the periodicals indicated that the student movements at SF State and UC Berkeley seemed to use different methods to achieve similar goals. While both campuses seemed to use violence and intimidation to get their voices heard, SF State was noted for using peaceful protests, sit-ins, and marches much more frequently than UC Berkeley. This may be a result of the community and faculty support that was prevalent for the SF State protests. In the researchers' observation, this support of authoritative figures standing in solidarity with student strikers may have made the protests seem more acceptable to the rest of the nation, increasing the perception of less violent movements. This observation validates and builds upon previous research that suggests faculty generally support student protest unless it interferes with educational proceedings (Francis et. al., 1973). In contrast, the lack of support, specifically from faculty members, during the UC Berkeley protest could have created more resistance against the student strikers demands, which may have incited the use of more violent methods instead of peaceful ones.

There were some differences in the actual reforms sought by each campus. Compared to UC Berkeley, the SF State protest had demands rooted deeper than curricula changes. The student protesters at SF State were also driven to advocate for increased enrollment of non-white students as a result of the Master Plan for Higher

Education in California in the 1960s, which had increased exclusivity of admission and decreased diversity among the student population. However, the student strikers at UC Berkeley had no demands surrounding enrollment, just a call for non-white representation in the faculty. This is an interesting finding because it suggests that different types of reforms demanded by the protesters may require different methods to acquire them.

Limitations

The researchers recognize that limitations exist in this study that may impact the generalizability of these findings. First, the student protests that took place at both SF State and UC Berkeley in the 1960's reflect issues that were highly political during that era. The socially constructed individual perspectives of the authors of the historical documents analyzed may reflect a bias towards these political issues. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, due to ease of access, the data collected in analysis of both cases was mainly from the New York Times and Washington Post. Therefore, the data collected may reflect limited or biased accounts and may not be representative of all perspectives important to these events.

Along with the potential bias of the news reporters, the researchers understand they have their own bias, and have to consider this when analyzing these documents. Both researchers are white, middle-class women, and therefore can not truly, fully, and objectively understand the student reasoning behind the protests. One of the researchers has knowledge of the events from family members who were present for these protests. The researchers discussed their bias before beginning, and were aware of its presence throughout the study.

The research conducted for the purposes of this paper analyzed very limited amounts of first hand accounts of students, faculty, or administrators that were present during the events at SF State or UC Berkeley. Mostly historical periodical documents, considered second hand sources, were collected and analyzed. James Harvey Robinson (1904), author of "Readings In European History" pleads with the reader to use primary sources when studying history, as "the study of the sources enables us to some extent to form our own opinions of the past" (p. 6). The use of secondary sources in this study may have created a potential bias in the reporting of the studied historical events, and there was a potential inaccuracy to these reports. If research done in the future is primarily first hand accounts, such as letters written during the protests by members involved, or discussions with people who were active in the protests, the researchers will be able to form their own conclusions about the events, which could lead to drastically different implications and recommendations.

Implications for Future Research

Student protests occur at almost all colleges and universities, and have been happening in America since the start of Harvard (Van Dyke, 2012). For student affairs administrators the need to understand why students' protest is important, but the actions necessary to support both the university and the students are also a critical part of this understanding. This research that was conducted on the protests at SF State and UC Berkeley leads to implications for both future research and a call to action for administrators at colleges and universities today.

The first implication is the need for further research on student protests and their outcomes using first hand accounts. In

future research, this team recommends creating a partnership with the universities that are being studied. This would allow the researchers to obtain primary sources that may be held in archives or museums on location. The university would also be able to inform the researchers about individuals who may have had personal involvement with the protests and could participate in interviews with the researchers.

Another important research implication for administrators on college and university campuses is the ability to look at students asking for reform as an opportunity to hear what students feel like they need, and are not receiving, from their campus. If administrators can truly be open to discussing with the students what they need, we should never reach the point where students feel like they have to conduct protests that can turn violent in order to get what they need. By conducting research on protests that have led to successful reforms, we can understand where students are coming from and what methods work to appease them, while still maintaining a fully functional university system.

Overall, it is essential to support these minority populations by providing space on campus where they feel comfortable and safe. Looking at the protests at SF State and UC Berkeley in the late 1960's that led to the establishment of ethnic studies departments, it's clear that these students wanted a space where they were valued and could have an active role in their education. Student affairs administrators and faculty on campus should critically examine the environments created for students to determine who is being excluded from the space and make every effort to create a more harmonious environment. It is difficult to attempt to view an environment from a different perspective than your own, but this

is a necessary discomfort if we want to create a space for all students on our campuses.

Conclusion

Overall this study discovered some thought-provoking information about student activism and its effectiveness in education reform. Both protests at SF State and UC Berkeley were partially successful, and resulted in curricular changes at the respective universities due to the organized student movements that occurred. The methods used by these two campuses in their student protest varied, from peaceful protests to violent picket lines, and the support from the faculty and staff made a difference in the pursuit of curriculum reform, which manifested in the form of a department of ethnic studies.

Knowing how to understand people and what their needs are is an important part of creating successful education reforms within colleges and universities. From these successful movements we have learned that support from faculty and staff is crucial, and makes a big difference in the methods the student activists choose to take. By understanding the historical results of protest and the theory behind these actions we can put into practice methods for successful mediation of student activism from an administrative view. Although achieving different goals can utilize varied methods, the findings of this study indicate that by supporting students administrators can create a more positive message of the activism. Rather than fighting each other administration, faculty, and students should attempt to work together to efficiently realize goals for an inclusive and supportive community.

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Understanding Sense of Belonging among Undergraduate Latino Men at Indiana University Bloomington

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This study examined the experiences of undergraduate Latino men in relation to their sense of belonging at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB). Participants discussed how being a first-generation student affected their college preparedness. Participants explained how the campus climate affected their integration into the community. Participants also shared their level of identity awareness and described the support they received. These findings can inform practice for professionals working with undergraduate Latino men as well as benefit future research and recommendations.

Higher education institutions have a responsibility to not only educate but support their students, particularly students who have been historically underrepresented in higher education. In the United States (US), the Latino community is projected to make up over 31 percent of the total US population by 2060 (United States Census Bureau, 2012). With this population growth, more members of the Latino community are likely to enter institutions of higher education. Currently, over 70 percent of the Latino population has pursued a college degree; however, only 22 percent have successfully obtained one (Excelencia in Education, 2015). Within this population there is a growing concern about the educational attainment gap between Latino men and women, which has widened over the last 20 years where over 66 percent of bachelor's degrees were earned by Latino women in 2009 (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2011). Research has also suggested that Latino men are more likely to drop out of college before graduating (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2011).

The challenges Latino men face in higher education degree attainment nationally are reflected at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB). Indiana University Institutional Research and Reporting (2015) data shows that for the IUB 2008 cohort, 77.6 percent of all students received degrees while only 68

percent of Hispanic students did. Furthermore, conversations with Lillian Casillas-Origel, Director of IUB's Latino Cultural Center (La Casa), revealed that undergraduate Latino men at IUB are disappearing in leadership roles at the cultural center and are struggling to matriculate. Given these statistics and Casillas-Origel's concern, we felt it was imperative that the field of higher education address the current needs of Latino men in order to better support them now and in the future. The following research questions were developed to facilitate conversations surrounding their experiences at IUB and how their sense of belonging might play a role in degree attainment:

1. How do undergraduate Latino men experience IUB?
2. How does sense of belonging affect their experiences?
3. In what ways do campus resources affect their sense of belonging?

This study hopes to inform higher education professionals about the specific needs of Latino men and suggest specific strategies for improving efforts to support this student population on IUB's campus.

Definition of Terms

In relevant literature, the term Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably. This study, however, will be using the term Latino as it encompasses a broader range of individuals with cultural ties to Latin America as well as nationalities within the bounds of Latin America, which is a common practice among researchers of this population (Excelencia in Education, 2015; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). In terms of participant identification, students identified with either term and had the opportunity to share how they self-identify.

Literature Review

Relevant literature revealed that Latino men experience discrimination and unwelcoming environments throughout their educational experiences, which can lead to low enrollment at four-year institutions. For undergraduate Latino men enrolled in four-year institutions, positive relationships with peers and support from family members was found to contribute to their overall student success. The literature demonstrates the need for additional research on undergraduate Latino men, particularly at predominantly White, large research institutions.

Latino Men and College

A main concern for undergraduate Latino men is how the educational and emotional support they receive during their primary education affects their college experience. For example, studies have shown that Mexican American men who had experienced microaggressions, or subtle forms of racial discrimination (Nadal, Wong, Griffin, Davidoff, & Sriken, 2014) at a young age have received these negative messages from White teachers who discourage their aspirations to attend college

and White peers that narrowly categorize Latinos as unsuccessful (Cerezo, Lyda, Beristianos, Enriquez, & Conner, 2013). These challenges are important to consider in order to fully grasp how Latino men's previous educational and social environments affect their perceptions about college.

According to Nuñez (2011), the percentage of Latino students enrolling in higher education is lower compared to White students; however, the number is growing. Latino men have increased enrollment but have done so at lower rates than other racial groups. This has led to an overrepresented population of Latino men in two-year institutions (Nuñez, 2011) and a decreased probability of continuing on to pursue a four-year degree (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). As of 2013, less than 15 percent of Latinos aged 25 to 29 had graduated with a four-year degree (Krogstad, 2015). Research has also found that Latino men do not have high success rates when compared to Latina women. Enrollment patterns also differ, showing that the college enrollment gap between Latino men and women is widening (Oguntoyinbo, 2009).

Additionally, research emphasizes the hardships Latino men face during college. Students with underrepresented identities at public research universities more often encounter unwelcoming campus climates than their majority peers (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Latino students have reported a lack of support from faculty and staff members, thus creating a struggle to articulate academic goals and needs (Sanchez, 2012). Likewise, environmental challenges have negative effects on Latino students' experiences in college, as linked to limited financial resources, lack of employment, low educational capital, and more demanding familial responsibilities (Sanchez, 2012).

In contrast, research has found that positive factors for Latino men's educational experiences are role models of success and strong relationships with family and peers (Cerezo et al., 2013). Cerezo et al. (2013) found that many students' parents were the reason they attended college because students saw how hard their parents worked and yet still struggled because of their lack of higher education. They were, therefore, encouraged to go to college to have a better life than their parents (Cerezo et al., 2013). Furthermore, positive relationships with peers, regardless of race or ethnicity, led to educational and social success for Latino men (Ayro, 2012).

Sense of Belonging

With current trends showing a small percentage of undergraduate Latino men enrolling and completing their education at four-year colleges and universities, there is much to understand about their sense of belonging at these institutions of higher education (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009, 2011). Meeuwisse, Severiens, and Born (2010) found that students who come from backgrounds where there is little history of participation in higher education may find academic culture particularly bewildering and may lack the support and guidance that comes from having friends or family that have been through the experience of attending college. Researchers have found that Latino students at PWIs perceived a more antagonistic campus climate than White students and reported more negative experiences, such as racism (Cerezo & Chang, 2013). Harper and Hurtado (2007) support this by stating that students with underrepresented identities at public research universities more often encounter a non-welcoming campus climate than their majority peers, in turn affecting their sense of belonging. The racial climate at PWIs lack the power provided by numerical

diversity to challenge "prevailing norms, values, and practices [that] cater mostly to White students" (Chang, 2002, p. 3) and may result in Latino men, and other students of color, to feel less understood and affirmed (Cerezo & Chang, 2013). This led the research team to further assess the campus climate at IUB by focusing on undergraduate Latino men and analyzing if their experiences on campus relate to the literature.

Methodology

Conceptual Framework

To understand the experiences of undergraduate Latino men on IUB's campus, this study used a socially constructed framework. Strange and Banning (2015) note that constructed approaches focus on the collective, subjective views and experiences of participant observers, assuming that environments are understood best through the perceptions of the individuals within them. One of the main assumptions in these approaches is the concept that examining collective personal perspectives of an environment is critical to understanding how people are likely to react to those environments (Strange & Banning, 2015). A facet within a constructed environment is sense of belonging, which is how an individual perceives their level of integration in a particular setting (Strayhorn, 2012). For this study, the research team used Strayhorn's (2012) definition of sense of belonging, which is described as "relatedness, membership, acceptance, and support" in relation to "students' psychological experiences and their subjective evaluation of the level of integration in a particular context (e.g., school, college)" (p. 8). This definition helped shape the lens the research team intended to carry throughout the study.

Researchers' Positionality

The research team was made up of one Latino man, two Latina women, two White men, and one White woman. Baca Zinn (1979) found that outsiders, or researchers who do not share an identity with their participants, may find it challenging to interpret participants' behaviors because participants can feel obligated or might conform to the stereotypes they think the researcher has of them rather than expressing their own attitudes and opinions. Baca Zinn (1979) also suggested that individuals in minority communities have developed many self-protective behaviors for dealing with outsiders. Therefore, the researchers recognized how race and gender may influence participants' participation and behavior in data collection.

Insiders have the unique ability to gain access to their participants trust because of their commonalities, which lends participants to be more open with their experiences (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). It is possible, however, that the insider's closeness to the subject might cloud data analysis and objectivity during the research process (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Collaboration between insider and outsider researchers can reap the benefits of gaining access to participants' trust and staying objective throughout the research process (Louis & Bartunek, 1992; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). With this in mind, each focus group was organized according to the insider and

outsider identities of the researchers. For example, there were generally two focus group leaders and two note takers in each session. At least one focus group leader in each session shared one or more identities similar to the participants, including race, ethnicity, and or gender. The research team was cognizant of each researcher's identities and therefore decided to disclose their own racial and gender identities to the participants during the focus group sessions to make transparent how intersectionality might influence the research process.

Recruitment and Participants

This study focused on self-identified undergraduate Latino men at IUB and used criterion sampling as the main recruitment strategy. After receiving Institutional Review Board approval, the research team collaborated with Casillas-Origel, who sent recruitment emails through the Latino Cultural Center's listserv to current undergraduate students that have self-identified as Latino men with the university. Members of student organizations with strong ties to this identity were also recruited via email. Table 1 briefly describes the participants, including their self-selected pseudonym, identity, year in school, and first-generation status. Each participant brought a diverse perspective to the study from a pan-ethnic context.

Table 1.
Research Participants

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Year in School</u>	<u>Identity</u>	<u>First-Generation</u>
Abril	1st Year	Latino	Yes
Dallas	2nd Year	Mexican American	Yes
Emmanuel	2nd Year	Mexican	Yes
Limon	4th Year	Latino	Yes
Pablo	1st Year	Honduran, White	No
Rico	1st Year	Hispanic American	Yes
Xicano Consciousness	3rd Year	10 Latino	Yes

Data Collection

A constructivist qualitative case study approach was used to study a single institution (IUB) and learn more about a specific population's (undergraduate Latino men) experience within that institution. The research team chose this design because it provides "insight, discovery, and interpretation" (Merriam, 1988, p. 10). Using the case study with a constructivist framework allowed the research team to make meaning with participants thus avoiding making assumptions about the data.

Four semi-structured focus groups and interviews were conducted for up to 90 minutes with up to three participants at each session. The participants gave verbal consent and were given a study information sheet explaining the purpose of the study and their voluntary status to participate. The focus group leaders engaged in dialogue regarding topics such as identity, high school experience, campus involvement, sense of belonging, and more. Interview questions used for data collection were inspired by several studies but were based primarily from the quantitative 27-item Sense of Belonging Instrument, as created by Hagerty and Patusky (1995) and adapted by Strayhorn (2012). Using the qualitative framework of Palmer and Maramba (2015), questions were adapted from the Sense of Belonging Instrument (Hagerty & Patusky, 1995) for this qualitative study. Thus, the researchers were able to construct a qualitative framework from a previously quantitative one. Through this process, interview questions were generated to capture the focus of students' sense of belonging in relation to their experiences of being a Latino man at IUB.

Interview Data Analysis

During each focus group and interview, clarifying questions were asked to ensure that the researchers had gathered enough responses to capture a full picture of each student's experience. Once all focus groups and interviews were completed, the research team transcribed the four audio-recordings from each session, including any pertinent observation notes. Using strategies from Cooper and Shelley (2009), the research team first reviewed the transcripts individually in order to identify codes throughout the narratives. Having identified these codes, the team collaborated to find major significant themes that were salient through each researcher's individual analysis. From this process, there emerged four main themes. By having all researchers involved, the data was viewed from multiple perspectives and lenses. Researchers did not explicitly use the research questions to determine coding or themes, but through the interview protocol process each research question was answered based on the participants' responses.

Limitations

Although there is value in this study's findings, the research team has identified some areas for future considerations. First, the level of in-depth discussion and participation was largely influenced by the number of participants in each focus group. Two focus groups had one participant, thus creating an individual interview rather than a focus group. The researchers recognize that the dynamics of having more than one individual in a focus group may produce different qualitative data than a focus group with only one individual; however, it was necessary to complete the individual interview instead of rescheduling due to the

limited time for recruitment and data collection.

A second limitation was related to student involvement on campus. While the study itself hoped to understand the effects of sense of belonging, it was found that many of the participants experienced acceptance and membership through their involvement with IUB's cultural centers and transition programs, such as La Casa and the Groups Scholars Program. Future research could be directed to analyze the effect other organizations play in the sense of belonging amongst undergraduate Latino men at IUB.

Lastly, all of the participants had attended high school in Indiana and were Indiana residents. This might have influenced their perceptions of IUB, a state flagship institution. Further analysis of non-Indiana students could have provided the perspective of out-of-state students and their reasons for attending IUB and how they perceive the university as a whole.

Findings

Through analyzing the participants' descriptions of their experiences, beginning with their transition from high school and ending with current involvement at IUB, four themes emerged.

First-Generation Status

A common factor that affected the experiences of the participants was whether they identified as first-generation students. Six of the seven participants identified as a first-generation student, or "as students whose parents never attended college" (Ishitani, 2006, p. 862). Among the six participants, most were the oldest child in their family and only one was the youngest. Throughout conversations with students, it became evident that their status as first-generation directly affected both their

college application process and feeling of preparedness once arriving at college.

When looking at first-generation students, applying to college was difficult. Límon explained that college was challenging from the "get-go," because his mom could not help him, stating, "I had to figure everything out on my own, which was cool, but it did make it a little harder." Many other participants also felt this way; Xicano Consciousness explained that he needed to convince his parents to attend college because they did not know there would be financial resources available to him. Once participants had become familiar with the college process, they were then viewed as resources to help their younger siblings and extended family. Abril expressed that he feels "like a guinea pig" for his family, a test to see if a member of his family can be successful in college. However, due to different family dynamics, one of the first-generation students did not encounter the same obstacles as other participants due to having older siblings who attended college and could use them as a resource. This demonstrates the differences that existed between first-generation students in our study who had older siblings or other family members currently in college versus those that were the oldest and did not.

Some of the first-generation participants in this study were participants in the Groups Scholars Program (Groups), a summer pre-college transition program to help students from low-income or first-generation households' transition into college life. While all the participants who were in the program regarded their experience as positive, each noted they had a substantial amount of difficulty with their new college coursework. When discussing the Groups program, Límon said, "I was not prepared for that [level of difficulty]. I had done really well in high school...and then I came here and I realized my writing actually

wasn't as good as they had told me." Emmanuel echoed this sentiment, sharing, "[the Groups Program] kicked my butt every day." However, in addition to these feelings of unpreparedness, participants who identified as first-generation also shared that they feel more motivated to do well in college and prove themselves. Emmanuel shared, "Being first-generation there's this pressure that you have to be the best... being first-generation has made me more driven." When sharing these sentiments, students seemed very motivated to do well not only because they valued their education but also because of the importance it played for their family.

Cultural Integration

Several participants experienced culture shock upon arriving at IUB and identified campus as a White space, which was described as locations on campus that are created for and used predominately by White students. Emmanuel shared that he experienced a high level of culture shock during his transition to IUB because he had been used to the racially diverse population in his hometown and wished he had been prepared for that experience. For future incoming Latino students, he expressed, "...be prepared that there's going to be a large majority of White students instead of Latino students or African American students. And that it will be hard to adjust." Rico had similar thoughts in relation to the diversity of his high school and the diversity at IUB, "I never experienced racism and that. But, like, I got here and there's a weird tension between some of the Whites and Hispanics and just minorities in general." Therefore, the researchers found that participants who came from racially diverse hometowns and high schools, like Emmanuel and Rico, experienced a higher level of culture shock compared to those

who came from a predominantly White hometown and high school.

In addition to culture shock, participants expressed that they feel like there is a tension between racial identities on campus in relation to the concept of White space. Xicano Consciousness claimed that White students often segregate themselves from others, "They don't really venture off to go experience other people's communities. I feel like some of us Latinos and Blacks are more willing to reach out to them than they will reach out to us." This perception of segregation between students has led participants to feel like they have to prove themselves to their peers, particularly to their White peers, in order to justify their presence on campus. Students who identify as first-generation found this revelation challenging. Xicano Consciousness shared:

I feel like a lot of times I have to prove myself. Just because it's like you're kind of entering a space that is not completely yours. So you kind of have to show what you're about and what you represent. I also feel like my actions will be indicative of a whole group so anything I do is a Latino action. But, anything a White person does is an individual action.

Límon and Emmanuel also experienced similar feelings of an internal motivation to do better than their White peers in order for validation that they deserve to be a part of the campus community.

Identity Awareness

Many of the participants were not fully aware of the implications of what it means to be a minority until they arrived at IUB. Those participants that came from more diverse high schools as Emmanuel, Límon, and Abril did, described that before starting at IUB they did not have a heightened sense of racial identity awareness. Their Latino identity development began when they

realized there were people at IUB who now only saw them as Latino and nothing else. Emmanuel came from a diverse high school where he did not actively recognize that he was minority until his experiences on campus, stating, "It was intimidating. I didn't feel like I belonged. But, in a way it helped me get closer to my Latino side more." Emmanuel describes his experience as being intimidating while another participant, Abril, described his experience as uncomfortable but stated that it made him appreciate his ethnicity and race.

Participants also explained their experiences in the classroom that made them further understand their status as a minority, often contesting that they were one of only a few in their classroom. This sometimes led to feelings of not belonging as described by Emmanuel, "I think about [my ethnicity] when I'm in those classes when I am the only Latino student. Just like, 'what are you doing here?'" When discussing experiences in the classroom, Límon shared, "It's funny because we have our crew, we always do our projects together. We're all minorities in our crew because it's all the minorities in our whole class."

Additionally, participants described learning more about their identity through their coursework. These experiences were a catalyst to further understanding their culture and identities. Límon discussed that college is a place where people discover who they are, stating, "I have discovered a lot about my Latino identity.... I've taken a lot of Latino studies courses and I've actually learned a lot more about where I come from and that actually Latino history is US history." Classes like these have been a positive experience for others, like Xicano Consciousness who has developed a passion for social justice through different classes and experiences at IUB. He shared that he values his experiences on campus, disclosing, "If I hadn't come down here [to

IUB] those are things I would not think about and I would not be knowledgeable about. And I wouldn't be able to warn somebody about issues we face today and how to exploit it." From these examples, it is clear that students' experiences on campus have made them more cognizant of their racial and ethnic identities, specifically in relation to the environment in their classrooms and in other spaces on campus.

Support

As with any college student population, an important theme that emerged from the participants was the support they receive from family, IUB peers, and campus resources. Although these are types of support needed by all university students, regardless of their privileged or oppressed identities, there are important considerations that tie specifically to the participant's identities as Latino men.

Family. All but one participant mentioned that they regularly communicated with their family, whether it was their parents, siblings, or other relatives. Although not much information was given about the specificity of these conversations, it can be assumed that this constant contact is providing some support for these students. As with most participants, Límon initially mentioned that he was excited to move away from home and be independent; however, he later states, "I wasn't uncomfortable coming here but I got to realize how much I miss my family." In contrast, Xicano Consciousness stated that although he does not talk to his family often he still thinks about them regularly, "I know [my brother] misses me and he does a lot of things that shows me that he misses me."

IUB peers. The majority of the participants discussed the deep sense of support they feel from their Latino peers or those who share other aspects of their identity. As stated earlier, most participants

feel a quicker, deeper connection to other Latinos on campus. Additionally, Emmanuel disclosed, “I agree in the sense that after a while once [non-Latinos] get to know you, I will start to get comfortable around them regardless of race. I just feel that instant connection with a Latino.” That instant connection was mirrored by Xicano Consciousness who would highly encourage an incoming Latino student to get involved:

I think it’s important to experience that sense of community. I didn’t really get too familiar with it until this year and I feel like I really missed out in the last two years. I know a lot of Latinos aren’t very knowledgeable about their Latinidad [Latino heritage] and I would want them to experience it and become more informed about the title of Latino.

Another insight shared about the importance of connecting with Latino peers at IUB came from Límon, who talked about the differences in the Latino community at IUB and his hometown, “Back home a lot of people don’t talk to each other like that sense of pride. But here everyone is...kind of like a big family, because you are supported here and we all are fighting for this common goal [of graduating].” Regardless of the students’ level of involvement, participants all mentioned feeling an instant connection to their Latino peers that helps them feel more comfortable or prideful being at IUB.

Campus resources. Conversations with participants revealed the various ways that they are supported by campus resources, such as academic support, faculty, staff, and specific resources related to their identities.

Groups Scholars Program. Most participants went through the Groups Scholars summer program, mentioning that they continued going to Groups for tutoring. Límon shared that he preferred going to Groups over other tutoring centers on

campus because he had negative experiences, “I’ve just had experiences where they’re a lot more patient and understanding and actually sit down and try to understand you and what you’re struggling with.” In general, participants who went through Groups found that it was one of the main resources helping them through college. Dallas stated, “the Groups office has been helping me out, getting me through college.” Emmanuel took advanced placement courses in high school but still struggled academically during the Summer Experience Program, stating, “I thought, wow, this sucks. But then I realized that this is college and that there would be days like this. But now I just feel like it’s high school again. It’s not hard.” All participants who went through Groups mentioned that it helped prepare them academically or continued to provide support for their college coursework.

Faculty. Although not all participants said that they take advantage of office hours with their professors, most mentioned that they feel comfortable approaching them for help. Emmanuel provided an interesting anecdote when he mentioned trying to relate to a professor but that their relationship fell flat of his expectations:

I feel treated the same [by IUB faculty] as other students. One expectation I did have was I was taking a music course and the instructor was Mexican, so I was like, hey, we’re going to get along so well. This is going to be so cool. But that didn’t happen. She still treats me like every student. Professional. So I just feel like other students would.

It is evident, however, that this did not hinder his overall experience in the classroom, just detracted from his personal expectations to connect with a professor with a shared identity. Xicano Consciousness has a particularly good

relationship with one of his old professors, who no longer works at IUB, stating, “He’s been really supportive of me lately. He really wants me to pursue graduate school...we keep in touch all the time...he sends me messages every once in awhile to see how I’m doing.”

La Casa. All but one participant said that they have taken advantage of La Casa’s resources and opportunities to be involved. Pablo attributes his success on campus to the center, “La Casa has really helped me get out there and navigate and give me more information about Bloomington and campus life.” Similarly, Emmanuel shared one of his first experiences that has highly impacted his sense of belonging at IUB, recounting an interaction he had during the beginning of his first semester with a graduate student who worked at the center, “I asked, ‘Can I sit down?’ and she said, ‘Yeah, this is your house.’ That was one of the best things ever.”

Mentoring. Only one participant said they had a current mentor who assisted them in applying to IUB and helped them understand various aspects of college life and college transition. Those who did not have a mentor, like Dallas, mentioned the importance of this type of support, stating, “Finding a mentor, especially if the mentor is in an area you’re interested in is important. You can learn from their mistakes and you’re able to learn quicker because they have gone through it. Mentors are a key to success.” Most participants said that they would appreciate a mentor who had similar career focuses and had some similarities based on race or background experiences. Yet, most participants were unaware as far as how to develop this type of relationship with someone. Some had heard of mentoring programs external to the institution, but would be interested in a program catered to their interests and needs as Latino men.

Discussion

A common theme among participants was their transition from high school to college. Most notably, a challenge that most participants faced stemmed from their status as a first-generation college student and their identity as a Latino man. As outlined by Cerezo et al. (2013), experiences before college are important to consider for how Latino men experience college. Difficulties faced by participants transitioning to college aligned with the literature, finding that participants who were first-generation or had families with little experience dealing with higher education had more difficulty in their transition because they lacked the support and guidance from others who had been through college (Meeuwisse, Severiens, & Born, 2010). Some of the challenges participants faced in regards to their identity as a first-generation college student were not knowing how to utilize campus resources; how to use, access, and understand financial aid; and how to anticipate the higher level of academic rigor at IUB.

These challenges were compounded by the culture shock experienced by some of the participants. Students that directly experienced culture shock had a heightened sense of awareness of the racial dynamics on IUB’s campus. Participants felt that IUB was a White space except for the cultural centers (i.e. La Casa, Neal-Marshall Black Culture Center), causing them to seek out and create community among other students of color in these environments. This in turn led to a stronger sense of belonging within these spaces and an increased awareness of their racial and ethnic identities, which allowed them to form support networks with peers who shared similar experiences.

Some study participants also received valuable support from mentors or individuals who were able to provide

guidance during their transition to college. Cerezo et al. (2013) mentioned that success in college for Latino men is closely linked to their support system, including both family and peers. Participants who had an official mentor, went through the Groups Scholars Program, or were involved with campus resources (i.e. La Casa) identified that the additional support helped them adapt and have positive experiences at IUB. While not all participants had a mentor, they expressed that having a mentor would have benefited them in their transition and throughout their college career.

Implications for Practice

The research team found persistence among the participants in this study; however, they recognize that it only highlights a small number of the population of Latino men at IUB. Given the challenges students faced as first-generation and experiencing culture shock, it is evident that intentional spaces and social support networks contribute to their success and retention. Therefore, the researchers suggest that IUB work to transform physical spaces on campus to be more inclusive and develop mentoring programs tailored to undergraduate Latino men.

Transforming Physical Spaces

The researchers propose that the institution work towards transforming more physical spaces on campus into inclusive, multicultural learning environments. Cultural spaces, such as race-based centers, should not confine students' comfort levels nor should it limit where students are asked to talk about their race and ethnicity. Some of the participants stated that they thought about their race and ethnicity the most while walking to class, sitting in the classroom, and in other public spaces, such as the campus buses. To transform a physical

space into a multicultural learning environment, the institution should involve students and multicultural student groups in the initiation, planning, and implementation of space design or redesign (Kinzie & Mulholland, 2008). Student organizations could display physical artifacts in spaces that have historically and socially been deemed White spaces. This could help to minimize the level of culture shock that the participants' experience and show that the campus community values their identity.

Mentoring

Additionally, the researchers propose a mentoring program tailored to undergraduate Latino men, which would allow students to connect with positive role models and form meaningful relationships with someone who can help them navigate their college experience. This program could provide students with a mentor, preferably someone in the field of interest of the student, based on the recommendations given by the participants. One way to achieve this is to develop early connections with first-year undergraduate Latino men through promoting campus resources and student organizations. Providing the opportunity to develop these relationships would further aid a student's connectedness, attachment, or membership to IUB (Strayhorn, 2012).

Conclusion

This research adds to the current body of literature that seeks to understand the experiences of Latino men on predominantly White campuses. These findings suggest that the socially constructed environment on IUB's campus has produced some challenges for Latino men related to their adjustment to college and their sense of belonging. The researchers believe that higher education professionals should ensure

that their institution is aware of the challenges that Latino men face in pursuit of a college degree and is actively implementing strategies to create a more inclusive campus environment.

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