Colorado State University

JOURNAL
of
STUDENT
AFFAIRS

Colorado State University
Journal of Student Affairs
Volume Five, 1996

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Acknowledgements

A Note from the Editors

DeEtta Jones
Michael Karpinski

"I regard it as the foremost task of education to ensure survival of these qualities: an enterprising curiosity, an undefeatable spirit, tenacity in pursuit, readiness for sensible self-denial and above all, compassion."

-Kurt Hahn

It is our pleasure to present this fifth edition of the *Colorado State University Journal of Student Affairs*. This year's *Journal* brings perspectives from fifteen authors covering a wide spectrum of topics.

It is especially fitting that these articles represent many divergent directions. Student affairs professionals, as integrators, are called upon to be knowledegable in various arenas. The articles in this journal reflect the multiple roles which students affairs professionals fulfill on college campuses.

In order to meet the needs of higher education's diverse constituency, all resources should be fully utilized. Accesing these resources requires drawing information from various sources. It is our hope that this edition of the *Journal* will be among the resources drawn upon by student affairs professionals to supplement the current body of knowledge from which we gather information.

Without the contributions from current students, alumni, faculty, and student affairs professionals at Colorado State University, this edition of the *Journal* would be bereft of its current depth and scope. We celebrate the efforts of this year's Journal Board and authors in creating a journal of a diverse and scholarly nature. Enjoy!

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The State of the Program

Dr. Grant P. Sherwood, PhD
Program Director
Student Affairs in Higher Education

Five years of Journal history! It's hard to believe! This effort continues to grow in scope and quality. Thanks to all authors, students and faculty who participate in this endeavor. Special kudos to DeEtta Jones and Michael Karpinski our co-editors.

We continue to modify our curriculum offerings in the program. Although the masters degree in student affairs continues to attract a very qualified pool of applicants, our faculty continues to monitor changes in our professional roles that directly relate to a modification of curriculum. Student affairs as a faculty will be to attempt to stay in touch with new advances in technology and management practices and transfer what we learn to the classroom experience.

The international component of our program continues to expand. We currently have students from the Republic of China and Canada registered. SAHE graduates are now working in England and Germany. In a continuation of a program begun two years ago, we had seven of our students accompanied by a faculty member travel to Great Britain for a two week study abroad experience in January. Our student affairs work certainly has application in other cultures and higher education systems.

The new Alumni Directory is at the printer and will be mailed by March 1. Our SAHE (CSPA) network is alive and well! Please remember to keep in touch and let us know of changes in both your personal and professional life.

A Qualitative Look at a High Ropes Course Experience

Patrick W. Rastall

This article reports on a qualitative study examining the effects on students of completing two high ropes course elements. Outcomes including apparent gains in self-efficacy are explored.

"Fear is something that I have always had a hard time with. Doing the ropes course today gave me more confidence in confronting my fear of trying something for the first time." These words, written by a female participant after completing two high ropes course elements, pay tribute to the potency of the experience. An encounter with a ropes course is not soon forgotten. This article reports on a qualitative ropes course study completed in the summer of 1995. Two high elements were used, a trapeze jump and a high beam walk. Participants belayed each other on the beam walk. Open-ended questionnaires were completed following the experience.

WHAT IS A ROPES COURSE?

Ropes or "challenge" courses have become popular at universities across the country. Challenge courses promote teamwork, trust, risk-taking and personal growth (Gall, 1987). Challenge courses include both high and low elements. The low ropes develop group interaction skills and teambuilding (Anderson, 1995). The high ropes offer opportunities for individual risk taking and personal growth (Rastall, 1995). Getting out of your "comfort zone" by creating an environment with high perceived risk and low actual risk is one component of the "high ropes" (Thompson, 1991). High elements often are thirty feet above the ground. They are constructed with aircraft cable connected between trees or utility poles (Webster, 1989). Participants are kept safe by a belay system using modern climbing ropes and

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hardware.

Empirical research in the outdoor adventure field is limited. Several early studies found that programs such as Outward Bound increased participant self-concept (Ewart, 1983; George, 1984). Corporate adventure training utilizing challenge courses has been shown to improve teamwork (Bronson, Gibson, Kichar & Priest, 1992; Klint & Priest, 1995). Therapeutic use of challenge courses involves many applications with varied populations, and studies indicate positive results (Gass, 1993). Metaphoric framing, assisting the transfer of knowledge from the challenge course to home, also has been studied (Bacon, 1983; Gass, 1995). Researchers studying physiological aspects of "high ropes" participation (Little, Bunting, & Gibbons, 1986; Priest & Montelpare, 1995) report potentially dangerous elevated heart rates. Development of trust through the use of participant belaying (Priest, 1995) indicates reassessment of facilitator-belayed systems. Modeling, observation of a peer participant attempting a high ropes course element, was found to be helpful for those following later (Tholkes, 1994).

SELF-EFFICACY

Self-efficacy is a term associated with Dr. Albert Bandura (1977) of Stanford University, and is used in the field of psychology. Bandura believes that self-efficacy varies along three major dimensions: strength, generality, and magnitude. It is called self-confidence in other domains. By definition, self-efficacy is a personal belief that one can perform a task or cope with a situation. Self-efficacy determines what tasks or activities a person will attempt and how long they will persist at the task.

To understand self-efficacy theory, a distinction must be made between outcome expectations and efficacy expectations. Outcome expectations are beliefs that a given behavior will lead to a given outcome. An efficacy expectation is a person's belief that he or she can perform a behavior (Bandura, 1977). A student may believe that quitting smoking will improve his or her health (outcome) but may not feel confident that he or she actually can quit (efficacy).

Self-efficacy expectations are strengthened through four processes (see diagram, Bandura, 1977). The most powerful is performance accomplishment. Success experiences have a strong positive influence. Vicarious experience or modeling also influences efficacy expectations. Watching a peer succeed at a task will increase confidence. Words of encouragement or verbal persuasion is the third way of raising efficacy expectations. Emotional arousal in the form of fear and anxiety can alter self-efficacy expectations (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy as a construct usually is thought to be task-specific. If a student is a good rock climber, he or she may not be a good swimmer. Recently, the concept of general self-efficacy, the composite of all past success experiences and failures in a person's life, has gained popularity

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SELF-EFFICACY: Personal judgments that an individual can perform a task or cope with a situation.

Efficacy expectations are not the same as outcome expectations:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  PERSON ─────────► BEHAVIOR ─────────► OUTCOME               │
│             ▲                   ▲                            │
│             │                   ┊                            │
│  EFFICACY EXPECTATION    OUTCOME EXPECTATION                 │
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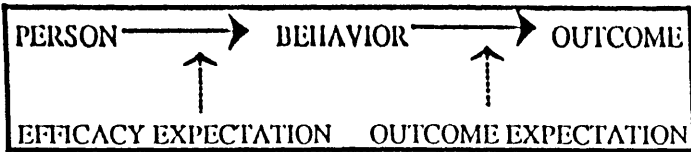
Four methods for raising efficacy expectations:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ PERFORMANCE                          VICARIOUS               │
│ ACCOMPLISHMENTS                      EXPERIENCE              │
│                  ╲                  ╱                         │
│                   ▼                ▼                          │
│           EFFICACY EXPECTATIONS                              │
│                   ▲                ▲                          │
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│ VERBAL PERSUASION          EMOTIONAL AROUSAL                 │
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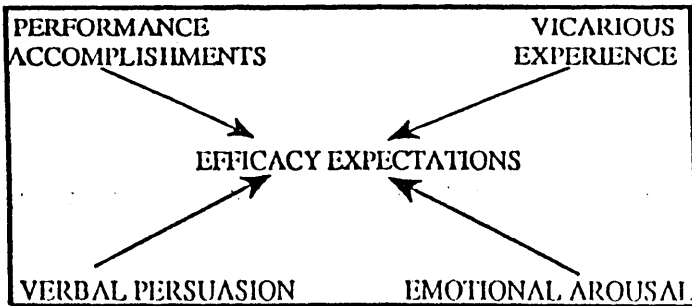
(Bandura, 1977)

(Shelton, 1990). In theory, each new success builds a universal sense of self-confidence. General self-efficacy should affect success expectations in new situations. Experiences that put individuals out of their "comfort-zone" also have the potential for advancing self-efficacy (Nadler, 1995).

METHODOLOGY

This study took place at the Pingree Park Campus of Colorado State University. The campus is located in a mountain valley at 9,000 feet elevation. Twenty-four college students who were participating in a four-week residential natural resources field camp volunteered for the study. Pairs of students came to the course on evenings, one pair at a time. The study incorporated the two most popular high elements on the challenge course: the high beam, or "Catwalk," and the trapeze jump, or "Pamper-Pole." The Pamper-Pole requires climbing up and standing on a pole and then jumping out for a trapeze. The Catwalk challenges participants to walk a log high above the ground. Both of these elements are individually belayed from the ground.

Participants first were asked to do three "stand-ups" on the practice stump. The practice stump is an exact duplicate of the top five feet of the Pamper-Pole. The trapeze on the Pamper-Pole can be raised or lowered to three settings: low, middle, and high. Starting at the low trapeze setting, participants climbed the pole, stood on top, regained their balance, and jumped. The pole is 27 feet high. If students were successful in catching the trapeze, it was raised to the next height. Three attempts were encouraged before stopping at any height. All participants were belayed by the chief researcher.

The Catwalk is a common element on most high ropes courses. It challenges a participant to walk across a log suspended high off the ground. The Catwalk at Pingree Park has two logs. The lower log is at a height of 19 feet, the higher log is at 27 feet. Participants were instructed to walk a practice log several times. Participants worked in pairs on this element, one climbing while the other was belayed from the ground. Brief instructions on belaying were given. Belays were backed up by a facilitator. Individuals were asked to climb up and walk across the lower log first, then across the upper log. On both the elements used in this study, participants were instructed not to hold on to the belay rope, to think of it as only a safety rope. Once across the upper log, participants were instructed to walk backward, retracing steps to the center of the upper log, where they were lowered by their belayer to the ground.

The 11 male and 13 female participants taking part in the study were combined to form twelve pairs. Different gender combinations were used to make up the pairings. The author/researcher was a facilitator/observer for the entire study.

The purpose of this study was to explore the immediate effects on participants of completing two high elements. The goal was to evaluate the unique structural modifications, practice components, and participant belaying used on our challenge course. Several aspects make this research unique. The focus was on just two high elements. An attempt was made to take these as they are in order to keep the experience as pure as possible. There was no metaphoric framing or any other preparation. The adjustable nature of the trapeze allows for more success, if success is defined as catching and holding on to the trapeze. Participant belaying allows individuals to work with the technical equipment and experience the responsibility of watching out for each other's safety. Participant belaying brings in a potential fear and trust component not available on some ropes courses. With advances in hardware and techniques, participant belaying now can be done safely with minimal instruction, provided there is a safety back-up.

The research question for this study was this: What did participants gain from the ropes course experience?

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PARADIGM

This study used the qualitative research paradigm as proposed by Patton (1980), Lincoln & Guba (1985), and Creswell (1994). Observational data was collected and a written response questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire asked to respond to the following statement: Describe what you gained from the high element ropes course experience. Questionnaires were collected soon after the experience. Observational notes were gathered immediately after the process.

THE ROLE OF THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCHER

As a qualitative researcher, the author has a history working with ropes courses and outdoor adventure programs, having directed the challenge course program at Pingree Park for the past six years. Each season the researcher facilitated numerous one-day ropes course programs. In the past the researcher worked as a field instructor for the Colorado Outward Bound School. The researcher also teaches an outdoor leadership course for Colorado State University.

RESULTS

The parallel between Bandura's (1977) methods of raising self-efficacy expectations and what happened during the high element experience was striking. It appears that utilization of the practice stump and practice log, the gradual raising of the trapeze with each success, and the progression of lower Catwalk to higher allowed for personal mastery and success experiences that translated into gains in self-efficacy. Participants in the study reported consistent gains in self-efficacy/self-confidence. One male

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student wrote:

> The most important thing that I gained from the ropes course was
> confidence in myself. Being high in the air forced me to overcome
> my fear. For me, climbing down would be a failure. After I caught
> the trapeze for the first time, I knew that I could do it again, at a
> greater height. The same for the Catwalk. The higher log was
> actually easier. Confidence and experience helped me.

Participants also reported that the first attempts were the most difficult . A
female participant wrote about this process and noted the modeling
component, or vicarious experience of watching the other participant go first:

> I think that I gained some confidence and learned that things get
> easier the second time around. The first time [on the Pamper-Pole]
> just standing up there was the hardest challenge. The second time I
> knew I could stand but jumping became a challenge. By the third
> time, I knew the motions and was ready to go for the bar. I think it
> also helped to see my partner go first, even if she didn't give me any
> advice. I suppose that now I will be more likely to power through
> things, if only for the sake of knowing that even though the first time
> is terrible, the second and subsequent times will get easier.

> Increased self-efficacy was a universally reported outcome. Nearly
> every participant reported gains in this area. Many participants alluded to the
> value of getting outside their "comfort-zone." A female participant wrote:

> I gained more confidence in my balance and strength. I hope to use
> this new confidence to rock climb. I also feel if I was able to do the
> ropes course I should be able to have confidence in uncomfortable
> situations.

The results would indicate that, for this group of students, self-confidence/
self-efficacy was increased by completing two high ropes course elements.
    What the author observed was an evolution from being fearful when
first climbing the Pamper-Pole, to a focus on the task during latter attempts.
One male participant wrote:

> It was very exciting to stand on the pole and jump out for the trapeze.
> I wasn't real sure how I would feel about it until I did it once. After
> that, it was more of a challenge to get the bar as opposed to trying to
> get past my fear factor.

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There was an obvious desensitization or adjustment to the fear of heights with each successful attempt. It appears that experiencing the activity (performance accomplishment) allows for confidence and the desire for repeated attempts to increase.

Participants reported a huge adrenaline rush from attempting the two elements. This not only makes logical sense but also reaffirms the intensity of high ropes course activities. It takes courage to climb high on a pole. This powerful experience creates an environment for personal growth and change.

Of the 24 students in the study, only one climbed back down the pole without jumping. He wrote, "I realized that I don't like heights when I am not familiar with the procedure. I don't like releasing control with people I am not familiar with."

Trust was a variable that surfaced in the data. The chance to hold another person's life in your hands makes participant belaying a powerful tool on the high element ropes course. Participants switched roles keeping their partner safe and then trusting the reverse end of the process. A typical response was, "On the Cat-walk I gained a trust of someone belaying. I learned to trust a person that I did not know very well."

CONCLUSION

These results indicate that the students participating in this study did see an increase in their self-confidence or what the author will call their general self-efficacy. The high ropes course experience also built trust through participant belaying. Perhaps the exhilaration of being high above the ground walking a log, or jumping out for a trapeze has value in itself, but it also enables focused action, which helps create personal confidence. High ropes course activities utilize all four of Bandura's (1977) means of raising self-efficacy expectations. In effect, the ropes course is like a factory that creates self-efficacy for participants.

It would be interesting to evaluate ropes course programs that use other belay procedures (e.g. static belay systems) and have only one fixed trapeze height. Evaluations also could be conducted on programs that do not utilize practice activities before attempting the high element.

While one cannot generalize to the population at large, this study indicates that high ropes course experiences have a powerful positive effect on participant self-efficacy. Assumptions can be made about the value of the structural adaptations designed into the two high elements and the use of participant belaying. Finally, this study indicates the power in the experience of getting out of one's "comfort zone."

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Applying Astin's Involvement Theory to Student-Faculty Interaction

Jeffrey Alan Hoffman

This article examines the significance of student-faculty interaction within the framework of Alexander Astin's Involvement Theory. The author asserts that Astin's ideas uniquely and successfully bring together theory and practice. The result of bringing theory and practice together is the recognition that the needs of students can be linked to the needs of the institution.

INTRODUCTION

In the last several decades, when student affairs professionals assumed the roles of integrator and educator, student development theories have become the backbone of the profession. In many ways, student development theory defines the primary mission and focus of student affairs. Theory has been used intentionally, or for a lack of a more sound rationale, as an attempt to legitimize the profession and to coherently articulate a message of change and inclusion to the broader university, mainly faculty and administrators (Bloland, Stamatakos, and Rogers, 1993).

Has the centrality of student development theory in student affairs served the profession, the students, and the university effectively? Russell Rogers (1991) in a paper presented to the American College Personnel Association argued that the merits of student development theory are overshadowed by its criticisms. Primarily, persons drawn to the student affairs profession are practitioner-types driven by pragmatism. Inherent in pragmatism is an implicit anti-theory bias. One then can conclude that unless a theory is of obvious practical value, the typical student affairs professional may not find it useful. Rogers also notes that the sheer number of theories, some of which seem contradictory, challenges the very notion of student

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development theory and its relevance to the field.

In support of Rogers' assertion, Patrick Terenzini (1987) offers his analysis of student development theory:

> The problem is not only number—but also the variety of theories even within the developmental tradition. All attempt to describe an apparently similar process, but do so in ways that involve apparently different approaches and dimensions and manifestly different nomenclatures. (p. 2)

As the emergence of student development theory is a relatively recent phenomenon, its validity and reliability should undergo further testing. The emergence of theory should be evaluated within a historical framework. In historical context, current student affairs practice has evolved from the duty of controlling student behavior, to representing student opinion, to taking on the role of expert (Plato, 1978). The role of expert evolved as development theory gained prominence in the student affairs field. Given the historical precedence, it seems evident that student affairs will need to play a new or expanded role in the modern institution of higher education. If student development theory becomes a more unified paradigm and can be viewed by those outside of student affairs as beneficial to the institution as a whole, theory can and should be central to professional practice.

In the 1980s, and now the 1990s, a greater number of student affairs theorists have begun to bridge a perceived gap between theory and practice. One such theorist is Alexander Astin. Astin's acceptance and popularity is in part a result of the relevance his research and writing has to issues of student retention. Since the latter half of the 1970s, when a shrinking national pool of college students left many colleges scrambling to fill seats in their lecture halls, the issue of how to keep matriculated students, not just recruit them, has left administrators hungry for literature such as Astin's (Hossler, 1990).

Astin's (1985a) work has filled a need — a need for theory which is practical. Kurt Lewin said, "There is nothing as practical as a good theory" (Rogers, 1991, p. 2). Why is there a need for practical theory? Student affairs professionals are uniquely equipped to handle the primary concerns that faculty and college presidents struggle with today — diversity of race, orientation, and age; academic transition; and the expansive growth of the university. Theories that assist practitioners in meeting these challenges will bring cohesive definition to the profession.

Astin's Involvement Theory (1985b) has heightened the discussion of practical issues, such as faculty-student interaction. In a preliminary summary of a national survey conducted jointly by the American College Testing Program and the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, Beal and Noel (1979) reported that two of the most significant positive

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characteristics influencing retention are: a caring attitude of faculty and staff, and a high level of student involvement. More recently, Vincent Tinto (1993) claimed that institutions with low retention rates report low levels of faculty-student interaction, while conversely, colleges with high retention rates report high levels of interaction.

In *What Matters in College?*, Astin (1993) states that one of the primary factors in retention (degree attainment) is student involvement with peers and with faculty. The remainder of this paper examines the signifi-cance of faculty and student interaction and its benefits both to the institution and to the student.

INVOLVEMENT THEORY

Since Involvement Theory explains the real value of faculty-student interaction, it is important to understand the principles foundational to Astin's theory. Alexander Astin (1985a), currently a Professor of Higher Education and the Director of the Higher Education Research Institute at University of California, Los Angeles, says that "student involvement refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience" (p. 134). The theory is comprised of the following five basic postulates.

> 1. Involvement refers to the investment of physical and psychologi-cal energy in various "objects." The objects may be highly generalized (the student experience) or highly specific (preparing for a chemistry examination).
> 2. Regardless of its object, involvement occurs along a continuum. Different students manifest different degrees of involvement in a given object, and the same student manifests different degrees of involvement in different objects at different times.
> 3. Involvement has both quantitative and qualitative features. The extent of a student's involvement in academic work can be measured quantitatively (how many hours the student spends studying) and qualitatively (does the student review and compre-hend reading assignments, or does the student simply stare at the textbook and daydream?).
> 4. The amount of student learning and personal development associated with any educational program is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement in that program.
> 5. The effectiveness of any educational policy or practice is directly related to the capacity of that policy or practice to increase student involvement. (pp. 135-136)

According to Terenzini (1987), student development theories are

based on two different models, developmental and impact. Involvement Theory (Astin, 1985a) is considered an impact theory; sources of change for the student are a result of external variables (structural/organizational, environmental or student related) that impact the individual. Along with Astin's Involvement Theory (1985a), other well-known sociological impact model theories are Tinto's Theory of Departure (1993), and Pascarella's Model For Assessing Change (1990).

At the core of Involvement Theory (1985a) is a challenge to the system, the institution's"business as usual" mentality. It challenges the very notion of "academic excellence" as it has been traditionally defined by academe. Rather than judging educational excellence on the basis of institutional reputation and resources, high quality institutions should be judged according to the degree to which they "maximize the intellectual and personal development of students" (Astin, 1985b, p. 35). Involvement Theory (1985a) focuses less on what the educator does and more on what the student does—leading the student to be an active participant in the process of learning (Astin, 1985b).

Student expenditure of physical and psychological energy should be encouraged both inside and outside the classroom. The learning process is a matter of importance to both college faculty and students, therefore, institutions must provide the means and incentive for faculty and students to engage in meaningful relationships.

THE IMPACT OF STUDENT-FACULTY INTERACTION

Due to the increase in the number of students attending college and the predominant role that research plays at large universities, more institutions of higher learning struggle to maintain a high level of faculty-student interaction. The emergence of the multiuniversity, or comprehensive university, does present a challenge to the idea of this type of interaction. The 1960s and 1970s were a tumultuous time of change for American colleges and universities. Some of the student unrest during this time can be attributed to the emergence of the multiuniversity and the accompanying communication challenges, as well as the increasing non-classroom contact between faculty and students (Pascarella, 1980).

With the 1980s, came a new emphasis on the importance of student involvement in the learning process. In part, this was probably a reaction to the growing sense of alienation by many college students. An increasing majority of students were matriculating into the growth industry of higher education—the multiuniversity. Involvement Theory (1985a) was a manifestation of the recognition by educators that academic failure is not always the result of a lack of skills but in many cases due to the devastation students can feel from social isolation (Tinto, 1993).

It has been mentioned that Astin's Involvement Theory (1985a)

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addresses the need to redefine "academic excellence." Astin (1985b) suggests that an alternative to the traditional definition is to think of academic excellence in terms of talent development. Is the institution committed to developing the student to her/his full potential? Astin (1985b) makes it clear that talent development should be the primary purpose of higher education:

> The talent development view of excellence emphasizes the educational impact of the institution on its students and faculty members. Its basic premise is that true excellence lies in the institution's ability to affect its students and faculty favorably, to enhance their intellectual and scholarly development, and to make a positive difference in their lives. (pp. 60-61)

Talent development is contingent upon involvement by the student. The student who is involved in the academic life of the institution is more likely to expend the effort to be successful academically than the uninvolved student (Astin, 1975). Talent development is contingent upon more than individual student effort. It requires faculty commitment to interaction with the student. Faculty members who encourage students to be active learners in the classroom also are encouraging students to seek informal contact with them outside of class. Conversely, students who feel alienated from the learning process are unlikely to seek contact with faculty outside of the classroom (Tinto, 1993). The attitude or openness of faculty to informal contact sends a powerful message to the student.

The consequence of student-faculty interaction is critical. Student involvement with faculty has a direct positive relationship to learning, academic performance, and degree attainment (Astin, 1993). Wide-ranging contact with faculty members contributes to student intellectual and social growth. This is true of all students regardless of differences in ability, prior levels of development, and prior educational experience (Pascarella, 1980). Talent development is encouraging and challenging each individual student, regardless of the level of development, to fulfill their potential. This will not be accomplished without faculty who are committed to facilitating the development.

Student-faculty interaction inside the classroom has an inseparable correlation to interaction outside the classroom. Both are important, and one generally does not happen without the other. A variety of factors influence the level of student-faculty interaction. Individual student differences, institutional faculty culture, the degree of peer-culture involvement, and institutional size all have an impact (Pascarella, 1980). Administrators must recognize and identify how these factors affect student-faculty interaction. As a result, institutional administrators will be better equipped to respond appropriately.

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INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT

Unfortunately, the policies of many colleges and universities do little to enhance healthy interaction between students and faculty. Limited faculty office hours, large lecture-style sections of courses, and academic advising by non-faculty members contribute to the alienation of students from academic life (Astin, 1985a). If the argument that students are hurt by a lack of interaction is not sufficient evidence for improvement, then administrators can look at the issue in terms of retention. The more students interact with faculty in a variety of formal and informal settings, the greater degree those students will be committed to the institution. Greater commitment results in increased persistence (Pascarella, 1980).

Without question, institutions, with respect to academic and student life policies, create an environment that either encourages or discourages student and faculty interaction. The faculty incentive system typically does not reward faculty for effective talent development. A system rewarding faculty for commitment to student interaction would mean greater student learning and satisfaction with the institution. Faculty who are compensated with promotions, cash bonuses, increased professional travel funds, and reduced teaching loads will have a reason to pay more attention to students (Hossler, 1990). There are many faculty wanting more time to teach and interact with students but who are bound by the credentialing system of higher education.

Hossler (1990), in his book *The Strategic Management of College Enrollments*, suggested that both classroom and non-classroom activities encourage student-faculty interaction. Classroom activities and behaviors that he identifies are (a) course performance feedback, (b) engaging students in classroom discussion, (c) offering extra assistance to students having difficulty, (d) seeking out students having problems or who are missing class, (e) involving students in research projects, (f) employing students part-time in a department, and (g) forming a student advisory committee for an academic department.

Hossler's (1990) suggestions for faculty involvement in non-classroom activities are to (a) advise student organizations, (b) participate in orientation events, (c) host small groups of students at their home, (d) extend office hours, (e) eat meals in the cafeteria with students, and (f) serve on student committees.

Admittedly, much of what has been recommended is likely to be more plausible at smaller institutions than at large universities. Achieving a high degree of student-faculty interaction is more easily attained at small colleges where faculty to student ratios are low. However these suggestions are as relevant, and perhaps more so, for large research-oriented institutions. Students having a lack of personal affiliation with faculty tend to feel alienated from the learning process. A continuation of this trend will leave

students unprepared to tackle future societal and global challenges. Students who are engaged in the educational process learn to be engaged in addressing the complexities of the modern world.

The future of student development theory is contingent on its relevance both to students and to the institution as a whole. Theories like Astin's (1985a) are a useful reminder that the needs of students, in most cases, are linked to the needs of the institution. The integration of student and institutional needs can and should guide the student affairs profession into the next century.

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The Importance of Students and Their Use of Power Through Student Activism

Becki Eatch and Jennifer Iannacone

This article provides the reader with an historical evolution of student activism and the rise of student power on the college and university campus. Through case law and selected readings, the authors provide a comprehensive historical picture as students have emerged into the current age of activism.

Students have exercised their use of power since the beginnings of formal higher education in the United States. Student power has been defined as the "ability to make decisions" (Prickett & Seagall, 1979, p. 13). This power involves the organization and participation of college students to bring about changes that affect students within the university. Communities of students often gather to act upon issues of political, economic, and social concerns. This use of student power has been best displayed and exercised through acts of student activism on college campuses. Student activism is formally defined as "the active participation of individuals in group behavior, for the purpose of creating change - in attitudes, knowledge, behavior, and symbols" (Chambers & Phelps, 1994, pp. 45-46).

The rise in student activism has had one of the greatest impacts on American institutions of higher education. The relationship between students and universities has evolved from both philosophical and legal perspectives. The concept of "*in loco parentis* guided the relationship between students and the institution until recent years" (Garland & Grace, 1993, p. 3). College officials acted in the place of parents, monitoring student behavior and moral development. However, the role of student affairs professionals now has evolved "from a role designed primarily to control student behavior and enforce institutional values to a profession concerned about student development, academic enhancement, the rights and responsibilities of young adults,

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and the educational enrichment of the campus environment" (Miser, 1988, p. 1). Student activism has been viewed as the impetus to the demise of *in loco parentis* toward institutions developing contractual relationships with students.

The first documented form of student activism in the U.S. occurred in 1766 at Harvard University in reaction to the poor quality of butter that was served in the University Commons (Paterson, 1994, p. 187). During the 1800s, other forms of activism took place on college campuses for similar reasons; however, these occurrences were more "violent and often accompanied such incidents, resulting in destruction of university property, injury, and in one instance the death of a professor at the University of Virginia" (Paterson, 1994, p. 187). These early signs of activism did not focus on the ideological or political concerns that we see today, but more on student services, activities, and required attendance at religious services (Chambers & Phelps, 1994, p. 47). However, during the beginning of the 1900s, students began to form clubs, organizations, fraternities, and student governments to collectively combat a variety of issues. In the 1920s, students began to shift their focus toward broader social and political issues. Student involvement in Christian service organizations gave students a better understanding of worldly social concerns and political education (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 7). Finally, the organization of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, later called the Students for a Democratic Society, played a significant role because it was the first ideological student group in the United States (Altbach, 1974, p. 17).

Between 1900 and 1930, national student organizations began to focus on social and political concerns and became a part of the campus environment. "This period marked the emergence of student activism in the organizational forms in which it has existed ever since" (Altbach, 1974, p. 17). There were two main themes prevalent during this time. Altbach (1974) found that from 1900 through 1917, there was "modest growth in campus political activism that showed some organizational development and very little generational conflict" (p. 18). This period is labeled the pre-World War I era. The second part of this period can be termed the "time of stress" (Althbach, 1974, p. 19). There was growing cynicism on college campuses due to the post-war scare and the failure of governmental promises. The college campus also was changing as institutional enrollments expanded and universities tried to meet the needs of more diverse students. Students were beginning to question higher education and argue that the current curriculum did not relate to broader social issues.

While activism was beginning to find a place in higher education, there was still a strong presence of *in loco parentis*. In *Gott v. Berea College* (1913), the courts "placed the student under the control of the institution much as a parent controls a child. This institution was thus responsible for the

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physical and moral welfare of its students" (Paterson, 1994, p. 187). The
opinion of the court states that,

> For the purposes of this case the school, its officers and students, are
> a legal entity, as much so as any family, and, like a father may direct
> his children, those in charge of boarding schools are well within their
> rights and powers when they direct their students what to eat and
> where they may get it, where they may go, and what forms of
> amusement are forbidden. (*Gott v. Berea College*, 1913).

This case reemphasized the role of student affairs professionals as custodians,
acting in the place of traditional parents. In the court's opinion, the school's
power was defined as going beyond behavior in the classroom or on school
grounds, but also including "all acts of pupils which are detrimental to the
good order and best interest of the school, whether committed during school
hours, or while the pupil is on his way to or from school, or after he has
returned home" (*Gott v. Berea College*, 1913).

Student activism reached a high point in the 1930s with greater
involvement in left-wing activism and anti-war movements (Altbach, 1974).
Student activism during this period shifted its focus from educational concerns
to the "massive social concerns and economic crisis of the Depression and as
a reaction to the rise of fascism in Europe" (Altbach, 1974, p. 57). With the
rise in radical political parties and other organizations, student activism began
to be seen as a real part of the political system. Altback (1974) explains "this
was one of the few times in American History when students were accepted as
legitimate political actors, and were given a hearing, if not always a
sympathetic one, at the centers of political power" (p. 57). Thus by the
1930s, the rise of student power and activism had found a true place in
American society.

Although students were becoming more active and taking responsibil-
ity for world issues, colleges and universities continued to assume parental
roles. Students and society were moving toward the ideals of liberalism;
however, institutions of higher education continued to hold more conservative
views. "They repressed student activists without hesitation" (Altbach, 1974,
p. 60). Several schools refused to allow certain political groups to meet on
campus. While students protested these decisions, they had little success in
changing administrative decisions. Several students were expelled during this
time merely because of their political views or involvement in demonstrations
or activist movements (Altbach, 1974). Schools were operating from the *Gott
v. Berea College* (1913) decision which upheld the role of *in loco parentis*.

During World War II, students continued to be involved with student
groups focused on political and social concerns; however, concern for
governmental policies and university regulations lessened (Altbach, 1974).

Student focus was on winning the war. Many students were drafted into the war and others served military functions in America. "In short, there was a moratorium on activist and radical politics during the war" (p. 110).

While most students were not active in challenging university decisions, one student did set a precedent for free speech on college campuses. *Bridges v. California* (1941) demonstrated that universities do not have absolute power over students (Paterson, 1994). Students are protected by the right of free speech. The court stated that the "substantive evil must be extremely serious, and the degree of imminence extremely high, before the utterances can be punished" (Paterson, 1994, p. 188).

Following the war, the climate on college campuses began to change. Students were moving away from forms of activism and placing greater value on "conformity and stabilization" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 8). "The conservative nature of American society and the rise of political repression was reflected in a student population uninvolved in social issues and committed to attaining the lifestyle of the American Dream" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda. 1988, p. 8).

Students of the 1950s have been characterized as "silent" (Levine & Hirsch, 1991, p. 119). The use of student power remained static during this time and was centralized with student governments. Students were fearful to make statements or sign petitions due to university regulations or requests for membership lists. This time has been called "a period of repression on campus, and much of the activism of the decade was aimed at restoring the elementary rights of free speech" (Altbach, 1991, p. 117). The atmosphere on college campuses was "sufficient to stifle all but the most committed of activists" (Altbach, 1974, p. 118). The environment on the college campus was reflective of McCarthyism, a movement nationally prevalent at the time. The country felt that it could finally relax and regroup after World War II.

During the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, institutions of higher education went through a revival of student activism. There were four recurring and interrelated themes that dominated this period: "civil rights, civil liberties, the peace movement, and student life" (Baxter Magdola, & Magdola, 1988, p. 8). During this time period, the courts also revisited the concept of *in loco parentis* and "redefined the relationships between the student and institution" (Paterson, 1994, p. 187).

The civil rights movement prompted students to re-engage in student activism. Students began to fight for racial equality through marches, sit-ins, and other non-violent forms of activism. "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) quickly organized more sit-ins, picketing campaigns, and voter registration projects to protest segregation" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 9). The non-violent actions of Southern Black students served as an "impetus to the Northern White college students" (Altbach, 1974, p. 177).

During the civil rights era, student protests also centered around the

rise of the Cold War and the testing of nuclear weapons. In response to these issues, the organization of the student peace movement in the United States, which involved larger numbers of students than the civil rights movement, was formed. The Student Peace Union organized as one of the largest nationally-recognized student peace groups. It was also one of the first nationally-recognized student groups to combine active protest with educational programs in their communities. Through this student organization they were able to bring speakers on foreign affairs and the arms race to campuses across the country. They also sponsored "a monthly publication featuring reports on chapter activities, national peace actions, and some discussions of relevant foreign-policy-related issues, and provided further cement to the growing peace movement" (Altbach, 1974, p. 187). In 1961, the Student Peace Union exercised its collective power at a demonstration in Washington, D.C. against nuclear testing.

During this time, active students were stirring the curiosity and raising awareness in many, but still were "given lip service" by the those in power. However, the peace movement was successful in bringing together thousands of students to unite on a common issue. It involved a greater number of students in the cause than any other issue in the past. These efforts helped shape and model activism for students in future years.

The 1960s saw a resurgence in civil liberties protest and the birth of free speech. Protests were originally sparked during the 1950s when students and faculty were reacting to loyalty oaths and the barring of controversial speakers. Students at University of California, Berkeley were one of the first groups to challenge "the right to free speech and the right of equality in a democratic society" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 9). They disagreed with an administrative decision that did not allow off-campus political groups to distribute literature and solicit funds and membership on university property.

The issue of free speech on college campuses appeared in the courtroom again during the 1960s and was intertwined with the demise of *in loco parentis*. Students began to challenge the authority that administrators had over students and the abuse of power used to stifle free speech.

The first official case that reversed the decision of *Gott v. Berea College* (1913) came in *Bank v. Board of Education* (1967). While many colleges and universities were beginning to assume less responsibility for students, a number of their policies and publications were still based on the doctrine of *in loco parentis*. Administrators still thought they knew what was best for students. Initially, the courts did not feel equipped to rule on educational matters, but then decided that decisions and policies could be reviewed if there was blatant disregard for human rights or an abuse of power. In the *Bank* (1967) decision, "the court held that the authority of an institution and its administration was not absolute" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p.

17). Additional cases also were decided that limited the scope of power that schools could exercise over students.

University authority was questioned further in *Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California* (1967). Students at the state university challenged the constitutionality of their suspension and dismissal. The plaintiffs in the case had been involved in various rallies on the college campus protesting the arrest of a nonstudent who displayed an obscene sign. The students were charged with violation of obscenity statutes and disturbing the peace, which led to university discipline proceedings. They were not charged due to the content of their speech. The court ruled:

> Action of a state university in suspending and dismissing students, who participated in rallies on campus to protest the arrest of nonstudent displaying objectionable sign, and whose on-campus conduct expressed criticism and disapproval by highly visible and proactive means, was proper exercise if its inherent general powers to maintain order on campus and to exclude therefrom those who are detrimental to its well-being. (*Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California*, 1967)

This was one of the first cases that made the distinction between monitoring time, place, and manner as opposed to controlling the content of one's speech.

The students in the case were not disciplined because of their participation in the protest, but for doing so in the manner they did. The court opinion stated:

> The qualification imposed was simply that plaintiffs refrain from repeatedly, loudly and publicly using certain terms which, when so used, clearly infringe, on the minimum standard of propriety and the accepted norm of public behavior of both the academic community and the broader social community. (*Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California*, 1967)

In a similar case, students challenged their First Amendment rights when South Carolina State University had a policy that required students to seek approval for demonstrations. The court ruled that this policy was in violation of student First Amendment rights provided in the Constitution. Students gathered on the campus protesting certain institutional practices. Due to their involvement, the students were called to a discipline hearing and later were suspended from the University.

The court found that the suspension of the college students was unlawful according to the First Amendment right of free speech. The opinion stated:

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A rule promulgated by college authorities prohibiting parades, celebrations, and demonstrations without prior approval of college authorities was a prior restraint on the right of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, and was incompatible with the First Amendment and was invalid, and violation of such rule therefore did not constitute a basis for suspension of students. (*Hammond v. South Carolina State University*, 1967)

As stated earlier, a university may regulate the time, place, and manner, but not the content of a demonstration. The institution can require that students register a demonstration with an office to ensure that it does not interfere with the educational purpose of the school, but the university cannot approve or disapprove based on the demonstration's purpose.

In addition to issues of free speech, students also began to claim the right of due process. This often was closely related to other issues because of the action that would occur prior to the discipline hearing. In many free speech cases at the time, students challenged the process that officials used to "hold students accountable" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 18).

In *Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education* (1961), the students were not fully informed as to the reasons for their expulsion. The University president also was unaware of the specific charges that were made against the students. The court decision stated "that due process required notice and some opportunity for a hearing before the students at the tax-supported college could be expelled for misconduct" (*Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education,* 1961). As the issue continued to attract national attention in colleges and universities in the 1960s, school officials:

> had to take greater care to provide due process to students. As courts heard student cases, minimal standards for due process evolved, including written notice of disciplinary charges, the right to question witnesses, and the responsibilities of judicial bodies to make judgments based solely on the evidence provided at hearings. (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 18)

With the demise of *in loco parentis* in the 1960s and the rise of student power and responsibility, institutions began to assume a contractual relationship with students in the 1970s. Colleges and universities were "viewed as property owners providing services to student customers" (Paterson, 1994, p. 188). This gave students greater power and influence in deciding what services would be provided and how they would be provided. "Written materials published by colleges and universities, such as catalogs and student handbooks, were viewed as implied contracts as were verbal presentation by college and university officials" (Paterson, 1994, p. 188). The

development of student rights continued to grow during this time and students came to be viewed as consumers in the college environment.

In *Green v. Howard University* (1967), the court decided that the university handbook formed a contract between the student/teacher and the institution. Several students and faculty members were asked to not return to the university the following year, and were not given an opportunity to establish a case. The faculty manual stated that they would be afforded this chance. The court concluded the following:

> [w]here faculty handbook provided that it would be practice of university, without contractual obligation to do so, for deans to give written notice of reappointment not later than December 15... and that after termination of contracts on June 30 they would not be reappointed, and faculty members should have been afforded opportunity to give their version of events which led to non-reappointment because of misconduct. (*Green v. Howard University*, 1969)

The manual formed a contract between the institution and the students/faculty.

Furthermore, the contractual responsibility of the institution also transferred into published degree requirements. Colleges and universities could not publish one set of requirements and then expect students to comply with another set later in their academic career. The published specifications formed a contract between the university and the student. This view, established in *Healy v. Larson* (1971) states, "These specifications of institutional obligation, along with prior rulings that required justification of institutional rules, spelled out the institutional obligations as contractual for the first time" (Baxter Magolda & Magolda, 1988, p. 19).

This historical analysis of student activism has helped define how colleges and universities have evolved in terms of philosophical and legal perspectives. Students of the past have modeled the use of power and how it most effective in bringing about change. These actions have helped pave a path for students in the future.

In April of 1994, the students at Western Oregon State College organized a "sit-in." Their target was the closure of the main road running through the middle of campus. For ten years the College's president had been working with the citizens of Monmouth, Oregon to close the main thoroughfare of campus. The president was unsuccessful at working with the community and the students took on the project. Unfortunately, the students' success was limited. Only about fifty students participated by actually sitting in the street. Many others stood by and watched. The media was present to record and disseminate information about the protest to the rest of the

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community. Prior to the actual demonstration, the students wrote letters, attended city hall meetings, and went door-to-door to "convince" the citizens that the road closure was necessary. The students failed in the sense that the road closure did not go through; however, they succeeded at exercising their right to demonstrate and voicing their issue. They exercised their power as students.

Students have fought long and hard to establish their rights. Beginning in 1766 at Harvard through today, students have sought to better their academic and social tenures on campuses.

> Students are important whether or not they are engaged in activist politics. The nature of student culture, political or not is an important ingredient in the academic ethos on campus. And, of course, student political involvement has dramatic implications for higher education and potentially for society. (Altbach, 1991, p. 117)

The students of the 1960s and 1970s participated in demonstrations that, through the media, got their message out. The Vietnam War, TheCivil Rights and Women's Movement, and others were issues that impacted every campus across the country. The media enabled the movements to reach every campus around the country.

Another aspect also helped to spread the movements globally: Study Abroad Programs. Students visited other countries and others came here and they exchanged ideas. This "idea sharing" helped to shape student power around the world. Toward the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s through the present, the country experienced a shift in student activism. The information age has impacted student activism far more than anyone ever anticipated. Access to information is more readily available to the modern college student. A student can "surf the net" and find out what is happening on other campuses in a matter of minutes without ever leaving the safety of his/her home. Students do not have to go to the student union to participate in a "demonstration," they can respond with a quick punch of the "A" key on the keyboard and provide their input to any cause.

> Student politics is but one part of a complex configuration of attitudes, values and orientations. It is important to understand and take seriously the non-political elements in student life. In the United States, for example, there has been a dramatic increase in racial tensions on many campuses and this has been reflected in incidents of racial prejudice. (Altbach, 1991, p. 117)

Currently, there are no nationwide movements addressing the racial tensions that are occurring; however, Levine and Hirsch (1991) argue, "[t]here are in signs that the quiet of the American campus may be coming to an end" (cited

Altbach, 1991, p. 117). The factors that could be affecting this include the attitudes of students, cultural climates of campuses, and the educational insights that students bring with them to the campus.

"Students today continue to protest against social issues such as racism, sexism, homophobia, divestment policies, and abortion rights. In addition, environmental concerns have moved to the forefront" (Chambers & Phelps, 1994, p. 49). Environmental activism was rekindled in 1990 with the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of Earth Day. "The historical association between the first Earth Day and its anniversary, however, raised many questions about the connection between the legacy of the 1960's radicalism and student environmentalism today" (Keniry & Trelstad, 1992, p. 104). This is one issue that campuses deal with yearly as new students come to the campus with more knowledge of and concern about the environment. Students demand recycling centers on campuses and they have learned from their predecessors of the 1960s and 1970s how to get their demands met on the campus without major demonstrations.

"Student power means, not simply the ability to influence decisions, but the ability to make decisions" (Segall & Pickett, 1979, p. 13). It is important to understand the configurations of student politics as well as listen to what students are saying (Altbach, 1990). Students today continue to fight for their rights. "College students brought suit as a class action seeking permanent equitable relief from a county election board's policies and procedures with regard to students who attempted to register to votez" (*Levy, et al., v. Scranton, et al.,* 1991). The Twenty-Sixth Amendment lowered the voting age to eighteen, giving the traditional-aged college student the right to vote. "State statutes lowering the age of majority also enhanced the independence of students from their parents and brought the bulk of the post-secondary students, even undergraduates, into the category of adults" (Kaplin, 1995, p. 372). The court held, "Policies and procedures of local county election board which denied students their right to vote on the sole basis that they were students who lived in on-campus housing was an unconstitutional denial of the right to vote" (*Levy v. Scranton*, 1991).

The students in the above mentioned case wanted to exercise their right to vote. Instead of holding a demonstration, as their predecessors might have done, they took the issue before the courts. The right to vote was granted in 1971, and in 1991 students still were fighting to exercise it.

An issue that has been prevalent from the onset of higher education is that of *in loco parentis,* the concept of the institution acting as the parent to the student. Many in student affairs would argue that the profession dropped this concept in the 1970s. In the 1979 case of *Bradshaw v. Rawlings,* the court said, "The modern American college is not an insurer of the safety of its students." It also noted, "By constitutional amendment, written and unwritten law, and through the evolution of new customs, rights formerly possessed by college administrators have been transferred to students. College students

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today are no longer minors: they are now regarded as adults in almost every phase of community life." *(Bradshaw v. Rawlings, 1979)* Eight years later in *University of Denver v. Whitlock*, (1987), a student sued the university for negligence. Whitlock injured himself on a trampoline. The court agreed and reaffirmed that the university is not an insurer of its students' safety. "The relationship between a university and its students has experienced important change over the years" *(University of Denver v. Whitlock, 1987)*.

At one time, college administrators and faculties stood *in loco parentis* to their students, which created a special relationship "that imposed a duty on the college to exercise control over student conduct and reciprocally, gave the students certain rights of protection by the college" *(University of Denver v.Whitlock, 1987)*. The courts went on to say,

> [t]oday's colleges and universities are regarded as educational institutions rather than custodial ones.... In today's society, the college student is considered an adult capable of protecting his or her own interests; students today demand and receive increased autonomy and decreased regulation on and off campus .... Only by giving them responsibility can students grow into responsible adulthood.
> *(University of Denver v. Whitlock, 1987)*

It is this responsibility that higher education should continue to give to students. There cannot be the expectation that they have rights without responsibility and accountability for their own actions. Whitlock had his rights which equated power on the campus and when things went afoul, he wanted to blame somebody else for his actions and the courts said NO!

The courts have upheld the premise that an institution of higher education is not in custodial relationships with students, which was reiterated in *Hartman v. Bethany College* (1991). A Bethany College student brought action against the college when she was assaulted by two men whom she met while off campus, drinking. The District Court held, among other things, "college did not stand *in loco parentis* to student, and owed her no heightened duty of care" *(Hartman v. Bethany College, 1991)*.

Student movements are sporadic, lasting between six months and one year. The period following the Vietnam Era has been quiet and uninvolved. There have been a few uprisings here and there, about issues such as South Africa and apartheid. However, for the majority of issues, there has not been the uprising that was seen in the 1960s.

> Levine and Hirsch (1990) postulated that in the next few years campuses will see a resurgence of political activism and concern about international issues, social issues, and campus governance. They believe that the era of self-preoccupation that followed the Vietnam War, and was articulated by Levine (1980) in *When Dreams and Heroes Died*, is coming to an end and the transition to a period

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of social engagement is already underway. (Paterson, 1994, p. 192)

Levine and Hirsch postulated this in 1990, and it is now the end of 1995; it is questionable as to whether or not their idea has materialized. Possibly students have gotten more involved in social issues through the Internet. However, there is neither research to support this, nor has anyone investigated how students voice their concerns about issues in the present, aside from the courts. Another possible reason as to why students are not exercising their power through demonstrations is that in the 1990s students have more demands and responsibilities than students of the 1970s. The 1990s reflect a faster-paced world in which information is available at one's fingertips. The cost of a college education is soaring which also effects students. More and more students are having to work two or three jobs to be able to afford tuition and living expenses. It is the authors' opinion that these added stressors and pressures do not allow the time for the development of political turmoil on the campus as was the case in the 1960s and 1970s.

> The rapid turnover of participants makes it difficult to sustain a movement. Further, campus generations may have quite different orientations and interests, and the "tradition" of activism is some- times transitory. On the other hand, student movements may be impatient for results precisely because the leadership realizes that the movement may be short-lived. On issues relating to university reform or campus conditions, there is often a special desire to achieve results so that the current student generation can benefit from the change. (Altbach, 1990, p. 30)

Today's college students are concerned with themselves. The attitude they have reflects: I want it and I want it now. Students are not interested in how they can impact tomorrow, but how they can impact today for themselves. The media is a major contributor to this . Students grow up attached to the "little black box." Television shapes their view of the world. They watch shows like "L.A. Law" and get ideas about their "rights and power." Students today are quick to say, "You're violating my rights," or "I'm going to appeal this decision." They wage their own "protests" individually based upon what impacts their lives directly, not university wide.

Traditional students do not understand fully the rights and the power that they have on the campus. Rarely are first- and second-year students seen in leadership positions that directly impact campus politics. It is not until they reach their junior and senior years that they begin to understand fully their power and their impact on the campus.

Students and their use of power will continue to evolve as institutions of higher education, society, and the nation continue to advance and diversify

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their populations. Students will continue to challenge and push existing envelopes to further extend their power. It is quiet now, but administrators should start listening to the dull roar of a diverse nation that is building.

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Incorporating the Concept of Internalized Oppression into Campus Training Models

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Higher education administrators and professionals have a commitment to the campus community requiring a constant evaluation of the traditional training and identity models, which have been designed and utilized to meet the needs of students. In meeting these commitments, a diversity training model is needed that specifically addresses the concept of internalized oppression, consequent manifestations, and options for unlearning socialized oppression.

Concurrent with changes in society and in demographics, colleges and universities throughout the country are placing ever-increasing emphasis on meeting the needs of diverse student populations. The influence of group membership on social and academic welfare is an area of particular concern. One of the most prevalent dilemmas facing institutions of higher education is how to meet the needs of unique student populations while promoting an inclusive and celebrative multicultural environment (Jacoby, 1992).

Higher education administrators and professionals have a commitment to the campus community that requires a constant evaluation of the traditional training and identity models which have been designed and utilized to meet the needs of students. As a land grant institution, Colorado State University faces such challenging issues as: meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse student population; dealing with constrained financial resources; and addressing social issues, such as school reform, youth at risk, crime, and violence. The role of institutions of higher education is expanding, no longer is it enough to serve the traditional college student. Higher education's current obligation is to broaden its scope of knowledge and disseminate this information, including: interpersonal and intercultural communication skills; global awareness on social, political and economic issues; and in-depth discovery of personal development in a confusing, often fragmented, world.

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To meet these commitments, a diversity training model is needed specifically addressing the concept of internalized oppression, consequent manifestations, and options for unlearning socialized oppression.

STUDENT DEVELOPMENT THEORY

While student development theory plays a primary role in understanding and designing programs to meet the needs of students, theory is only truth for the very brief period of time in which it explains a particular phenomenon (P. Shang, personal communication, Spring, 1995). Therefore, assessment of students' needs, based on the demographics of the time, often has focused on traditional college students. "Several prevalent theoretical models of college student development are based on the experiences of traditional age students, many of whom were white, middle-class males who attended mainly private four-year residential institutions" (Jacoby, 1992, p. 29). The considerable body of literature on traditional college students does not necessarily help in addressing the developmental concerns of the racially and ethnically diverse students present on campuses today (Jacoby, 1992). Therefore, there is a need to increase awareness of individual and group identity as it relates to traditionally underrepresented group membership in order fully to prepare for the spectrum of diversity that will embody the students of the future.

SHAME THEORY

Shame Theory, based on a psychological identity model developed by Gershen Kaufman (1980), can be used as a tool for truly understanding the needs of individual students. It discusses shame as it affects an individual's perception of self. Kaufman believes that no other effect is more central to the formation of identity than shame. One's sense of self, both particular and universal, is deeply imbedded in personal struggles with its alienating effect. Shame also is acutely disturbing to the self. Kaufman likens shame to a wound, it may be made from the inside, by an unseen hand, disrupting the natural functioning of the self.

Shame is central to conscience, indignity, identity, and disturbances in self-functioning. These in turn lead to low self-esteem, poor self-concept, self-doubt, insecurity, and diminished self-confidence. Shame is the effect that is the source of feelings of inferiority. "The inner experience of shame is like a sickness within the self, a sickness of the soul" (Kaufman, 1980, p. 6). In order to work toward healing our "self" we must begin by addressing the source of our pain, shame.

One traditional misrepresentation of the concept of shame is that the shaming must come from an outside party. Thus, shame involves public viewing, the presence of a third party. "This assumption, which is fundamental to formulations of personality and culture, is in error because shame can be an entirely internal experience with no one else present"

(Kaufman, 1980, p. 6). The self is fully capable of shaming its self without any outside participation in the act of shaming.

Another aspect of shaming that is essential to understand is the target of shaming. The traditional view has held that the target of shaming is the self. When individuals feel shame their entire self is involved. Shame may involve actions or behaviors; however, its potency lies in the idea that it is often attached to a person's core or being (Kaufman, 1980) and the group to which he or she ultimately feels a sense of belonging.

INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION

The concept of shame is so closely connected to internalized oppression that describing one without including a preface of the other is incomplete. Internalized oppression is to a group what shame theory is to an individual. Thus, if an understanding can be attained on an individual level about the ways in which shame has been administered and received, a clearer and more empathetic view may be reached regarding internalized oppression. This author understands internalized oppression as the manifestation of human indignation within a group context. Internalized oppression manifests itself within all groups. Eating disorders for women, Black on Black violence, and disproportionately high numbers of suicides among gay teens (Clark, 1977) are examples of this concept.

It is this author's belief that higher education in general, and student affairs professionals more specifically, have a responsibility to examine this concept and its usefulness in working with incoming students and other constituents. There have been discussions of these ideas; however, concepts have not yet been appropriately identified, named, and clearly recognized (hooks, 1994); thereby limiting access to such ideas. Without language for individual experiences, understanding and empathy are impossible. For years Paulo Freire, bell hooks, and Jonathon Kozol have discussed the ideas of class, race, and gender stratification that are embodied in United States socialization, as they relate to education. Even with the innovative concepts in these great works, institutions of higher education have not embraced these ideas in their approach to student needs, particularly for those students who traditionally have not been a part of any campus community.

Internalized oppression is the reaction to pain and indignation which is manifest at a human being's primary level. Understanding this concept and its relationship to marginalized groups is only the first step for marginalized individuals in their process of liberation. bell hooks (1994) discussed how her understanding of "global struggles, always emphasizes that this is the important initial stage of transformation - that historical moment when one begins to think critically about the self and identity in relation to one's political circumstance" (p. 47).

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Freire (1970), in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* details the cycle of oppression as it affects both the oppressors and the oppressed:

> The pedagogy of the oppressed, as a humanistic and liberation pedagogy, has two distinct stages. In the first, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. In the second stage, in which the reality of oppression has already been transformed, this pedagogy ceases to belong to the oppressed and becomes a pedagogy of all men in the process of permanent liberation. In both stages, it is always through action in depth that the culture of domination is culturally confronted. In the first stage this confrontation occurs through the change in the way the oppressed perceive the world of oppression; in the second stage, through the expulsion of myths created and developed in the old order, which like specters haunt the new structure emerging from the revolutionary transformation.
> The pedagogy of the first stage must deal with the problem of the oppressed consciousness and the oppressor consciousness, the problem of men who oppress and men who suffer oppression. It must take into account their behavior, their view of the world, and their ethics. A particular problem is the duality of the oppressed: they are contradictory, divided beings, shaped by and existing in a concrete situation of oppression and violence. (p. 40)

This relationship between oppressed and oppressors is the necessary beginning point for understanding this issue personally and globally. Individual and group empowerment lies with this knowledge coupled with a conscientious change, by a critical mass, in favor of human liberation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Some specific suggestions given by hooks (1994) for creating inclusive educational environments include: exercising the power of recognition; ensuring that no student remains invisible; abandoning the idea of students as passive consumers; pursuing the thought that students are agents, willing and able to partake in the transformation of the academy; and studying, understanding, and discussing "'whiteness'…so that everyone learns that affirmation of multiculturalism, and an unbiased inclusive perspective, can and should be present whether or not people of color are present" (pp. 42-43).

Some specific suggestions for incorporating "multicultural content and experiences" into student training are outlined by McEwen, Roper, Bryant, & Langa (1990). Although they outline these steps for understanding human

development theory, as administrators, we must engage in such processes.

According to McEwen et al., training should involve the study and application of the following:

1. An understanding of the concepts of race, ethnicity, and culture
2. The cultural backgrounds, research bases, and assumptions of traditional theories/models and theorists
3. Models of racial and ethnic identity development
4. Professional literature, research, and popular literature on different visible racial/ethnic groups
5. Cultural awareness and racial consciousness development of the dominant/majority group (White Americans) and the role of being White in American society
6. Instruments that measure racial and ethnic identity; such as Helms' Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B) and White Racial Attitude Scale (WRIAS), Baldwin's African Self-Consciousness Scale (ASC), and Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). (pp. 46-47)

These suggestions have been cited as necessary training topics for current and future student affairs professionals. Yet, as inclusive as these suggestions may appear, the major focus is on race and ethnicity; internalized oppression concerns are absent. There is no mention of studying non-traditional identity development theories or coming to understand the internal workings of internalized oppression as it affects individuals belonging to oppressed groups. In order truly to fulfill the mission of the land grant institution, including embracing those individuals who would not traditionally have access to higher education, these two items should be added to the above list of training activities. The price of ignoring such a responsibility ultimately could be disenfranchisement of the relationship between students and the institution.

While training professionals to address the needs of students more effectively is of vital importance, it is equally important that institutions incorporate system-wide action plans for creating the environment they seek to foster. Garland and Grace (1993) outline further suggestions detailing the "critical phases in developing a multicultural campus:"

1. Establish clear definitions and realistic goals.
2. Establish a comprehensive plan, including student development, organizational development, and environmental development.
3. Prepare and involve the campus and community.
4. Develop support services and programs for minority students, and

enhance intercultural expertise of existing services.

5. Establish related behavioral policies and standards to deal with inappropriate behavior.
6. Encourage the involvement of student organizations in increasing membership of minorities.
7. Offer a variety of educational and social intercultural programs.
8. Incorporate minority perspectives in academic courses.
9. Develop and educate minority students to prepare them to deal with the transition to campus and to facilitate integration and involvement.
10. Develop and educate majority students to encourage intercultural awareness.
11. Establish a mentor group program for minority students to provide ongoing support.
12. Encourage minority students to assume positions of leadership on campus.
13. Recognize innovations and efforts of individuals and departments in facilitating multiculturalism.
14. Evaluate progress toward meeting these goals. (p. 58)

The introduction of internalized oppression and its effects on intercultural interactions may be incorporated directly into suggestions #4, #9, and #10. Taking advantage of opportunities to teach about societal problems, which can be understood using personal experiences as proposed through the Shame Theory, may be the bridge that allows true empathy and nonjudgmental connections to form. In turn, this supports the mission of land grant institutions by taking an active step to create an environment in which students from all backgrounds can contribute.

As institutions work to fulfill their goals, understanding individual and group identity processes will prove invaluable. Internalized oppression is an aspect of these identity processes that is not always taken into account. As a matter of fact, little if any of the related literature reveals that internalized oppression plays any role in training models. An understanding of internalized oppression, as well as its manifestations within groups, will provide a strong foundation for student affairs professionals to build training models from and create support services for higher education's constituencies. Only by considering various factors among many groups will student affairs professionals be able to successfully attend to the developmental concerns of all students (Delworth, 1989).

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Increasing the Participation of Historically Underrepresented Students in Study Abroad Programs

Allison V. Carroll

International Education administrators recognize the need to diversify the group of U.S. students who study abroad. The author outlines current patterns in participation and the marketing of study abroad programs to historically underrepresented students, arguing that a national assessment of the real and perceived barriers to study abroad is needed in order to increase participation.

During 1993-1994, 76,302 U.S. college students studied in a foreign country for some period of time (Rubin, 1995). The positive developmental opportunities that the study abroad experience provides for undergraduate students has been well documented (Kauffmann, Martin,Weaver & Weaver,, 1992; Kuh & Kauffmann, 1985; Sell & Craig, 1983). Students who study in a foreign country often become more conscientious and active world citizens and are better able to cope with diversity and change (Sell, 1983; Swinger, 1985). Studying abroad also may help students to better understand their own cultures and to become less ethnocentric (Carlson & Widamin, 1988). These skills are transferable to the work place and result in success in an increasingly international world.

Historically, study in a foreign country has been perceived as an exclusive privilege reserved for wealthy students who know a foreign language and who are interested in studying in Western Europe (Bowman, 1987; Koester, 1987). As a representative from the Council on International Exchange (C.I.E.E.) explains (in C.I.E.E., 1991b):

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Students who study abroad are from a narrow spectrum of the total population. They are predominately White females from highly educated professional families, majoring in the social sciences or humanities. They are high achievers and risk takers. Many have had earlier overseas travel or international experience. Whether by their own choice or lack of encouragement to do so, there are fewer men, members of minority groups, students from nonprofessional and less educated families, and there are fewer students from science, education, or business majors among undergraduates who study abroad. (pp. 2-3)

The above words, "by their own choice or lack of encouragement to do so", may be important words for student affairs administrators to consider. If historically underrepresented students do not participate in study abroad programs because they are not encouraged to, higher education is failing. As Robert Bailey (in C.I.E.E., 1991b), Director of Semester Abroad at the University of Wisconsin, River Falls, explains, studying abroad can be an important component in a student's development:

Study abroad can provide students with a more accurate view of the world, and the role that they can play in that world; it can prepare them for both competition and cooperation in business and international relations; and it can increase their employability in many ways and areas. Thus, the opportunity must not be linked to only the elite, but must be made available to all students. (p. 41)

Increasing opportunities for all students to participate in study abroad programs concerns many international education administrators. While there is some concern that fewer study abroad participants are men or are science majors, it is perhaps of greater concern that the majority of Americans who study abroad are White or of European-American origin (Rubin, 1995). White students, who made up 80% of college students in 1993, made up 83% of study abroad participants during that same year. In contrast, African American students, who made up 12.1% of college students that year, made up only 2.8 percent of study abroad participants.

Increasing the number of historically underrepresented students who study abroad benefits the United States by providing diverse ambassadors who can help to provide balance to the image of Americans portrayed by the media. In addition, as Charles Gliozzo (1980) argues:

International education is essential if higher education is to succeed in equipping minority students with the knowledge and guiding ideas they require to make sense of the interdependent world in which they

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live. Due to continued political unrest in many parts of the globe and
our overdependence on oil, what was until recently the American
century has turned into the Global century. It is essential, therefore,
that a vast number of minority students need to be exposed to an
international environment as an effective means to dispel ignorance
and provincialism. (p. 1)

The involvement of historically underrepresented students in study
abroad programs is not well documented because until recently, very few
universities have kept statistics regarding the ethnicity of their students who
study abroad (Bowman, 1987). The general consensus of leaders in the
National Association of International Student Educators- NAFSA is that not
only do very few historically underrepresented students study abroad, but also
that very few are even encouraged to do so (Carter, in C.I.E.E., 1991b;
Monaghan, 1994). This is not surprising considering the history of racism and
classism in the U.S. and in higher education.

For historically underrepresented students, the study abroad experi-
ence can be an especially powerful opportunity to confront the role which race
plays in their lives. It may provide a unique chance for students to see
themselves "from a perspective other than race" (Carew, 1993, p. B3). In
1989, Joy Gleason Carew, then Director of Minority Services at Illinois
Wesleyan University, took a group of three African American and two
Hispanic students from Olive-Harvey College in Chicago to study in Denmark
for one semester. Carew (1993) reported that:

At first, the students were suspicious and tentative, since the Danes
were not treating them as they were used to being treated in the
United States. It was almost as if the Danes were not taking their
'blackness' and their 'Hispanicness' seriously....Over time, the
American students realized that there was no preset rule for how
whites and nonwhites should interact with each other. The students
could be themselves and still be accepted by a white majority.
Hence, they were able to identify ambitions that later would enable
them to break free from both the perceived and the real constraints of
living in a society polarized by an intense awareness of race. (p. B3)

This is not to say that historically underrepresented students who
study abroad are exempt from racism. Indeed, these students may more
frequently experience unwanted questions, stares, and attention because of
their race and because of the world's general perception that all Americans are
White (Ganz, in C.I.E.E., 1991b). These concerns are now being addressed
by study abroad administrators through pre-departure orientations (M. Miller,
personal communication, November 30, 1995). They also must be addressed

in promotional efforts; as Johnnetta Betsch Cole (in C.I.E.E., 1991b), President of Spelman College explains, many students hesitate to study abroad because while "they know and on some level understand American racism," they wonder why they should "venture into foreign variations on that everyday theme" (p. 6).

Concerns about potential discrimination are but one of the possible reasons that few historically underrepresented students participate in study abroad programs. It has been suggested that certain factors that may hinder white students from participating are of more concern to underrepresented students (Carew, Carter, in C.I.E.E., 1991b; C.I.E.E., 1991a; Hembroff & Ruse, 1993; Monaghan, 1994). These factors include worries about the cost of study abroad, fear of foreign language requirements, discouragement by family members, the need to live at home while working to pay for school, disinterest in studying in a Western European country, and the fact that very few study abroad advisors are trained to recruit or assist historically underrepresented students (Monaghan, 1994).

Of further concern is the possibility that all too often faculty and staff members mistakenly assume that historically underrepresented students are underqualified or uninterested in studying abroad, and thus they do not encourage or promote this opportunity to these students (Carter, in C.I.E.E., 1991b). Bailey (in C.I.E.E., 1991b) suggests that:

> The reasons minorities do not study abroad are way off the mark. Minorities do not travel abroad because they have not been told that Stafford loans, and other scholarships and grants can be used for study abroad. They are often not aware that there are programs to Africa and the Caribbean. (p. 41)

A mini-study conducted by Holly M. Carter (in C.I.E.E., 1991b) at Northeastern University supports Bailey's conclusion. In this study, students from historically underrepresented populations (who made up seven percent of their 16,000 full-time undergraduate students) were surveyed regarding potential barriers to study abroad. Twenty percent of these students (N=150) responded. Of the respondents, 23 percent reported that financial constraints were the primary barrier to participation in study abroad. Thirteen percent reported that a lack of foreign language ability was the primary reason they would not participate. Carter also reported that:

> Only a fraction of a percent cited family, social, or university constraints. Perhaps the most striking result of the survey was that over 55 percent of those responding indicated that they had no knowledge of any international education programs offered by the university. (p. 15)

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This suggests that the first step for those who wish to increase participation in study abroad programs is to generate awareness of their office and the programs they offer. While this is likely to be a primary goal at most study abroad offices, perhaps the current methods of publicizing study abroad opportunities are not as effective at reaching students as they could be. Individual offices may assess what it is that is different about those students who study abroad and how their offices reached these students. Was it alumni speaking in a classroom? Was it the table they stopped at during orientation where they picked up study abroad brochures? Was it a video they saw playing in the student union? Was it their parents who encouraged them to study abroad? Was it the fact that they had enough money? Was it memories of past travel experiences? Was it a desire to complement their academic major? Was it faculty or staff encouragement? These are some of the questions that could be asked during a study abroad program application process.

Perhaps there are other ways of promoting study abroad to historically underrepresented students. Indeed, many study abroad administrators maintain that barriers other than a lack of knowledge of study abroad programs prohibit participation. For example, Carter (in C.I.E.E., 1991b) concludes that:

> Students are often constrained by family predispositions to the value and interrelatedness of an international experience in their student's education. Often the parents of minority students hold the opinion that international travel for study abroad programs are a frivolous luxury that has no place in a serious education. There is also concern among many families that the minority student traveling abroad will meet with the same racial prejudice and discrimination experienced in this country, but further away from a support base that family can provide in those situations. (p. 14)

C.I.E.E. has recognized the need to address these concerns and the overall lack of participation by students of diverse ethnicities for at least five years. In 1991, C.I.E.E. published a document entitled "Increasing Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Study Abroad." This pamphlet sets forth specific methods of outreach and promotion which seek to address a variety of barriers to study abroad that may be particular to historically underrepresented students (C.I.E.E., 1991a). These methods include the creation of shorter study abroad programs which cost less and which may appear to be less intimidating than year-long programs, outreach to admitted students about study abroad, and various funding opportunities before students even come to college.

In addition, C.I.E.E. recommends a concentrated outreach and promo-

tional campaign for historically underrepresented students that includes quotations from and photos of a variety of students who have studied abroad (C.I.E.E., 1991a). Direct mailings of information to every historically underrepresented student each semester or quarter is advocated. Study abroad administrators also are encouraged to work closely with the parents of historically underrepresented students to create further awareness of the benefits and challenges of study abroad, and how these may relate to their sons and daughters.

C.I.E.E. suggests recruiting historically underrepresented students who have studied abroad to help staff study abroad offices, assist with outreach, and serve as advisors to prospective students (C.I.E.E., 1991a). Other study abroad administrators suggest that new study abroad programs should be created which might appeal especially to historically underrepresented students, such as a short program to Africa for African American students or to Korea for Korean American students (Monaghan, 1994).

These approaches may be effective means of increasing the participation of historically underrepresented students, but is it always appropriate to group students from a variety of cultures and backgrounds into one category titled "minority" or "historically underrepresented" students? This question arises when an institution must determine whether it will have one overarching multicultural affairs office or whether it will have individual ethnic-based advocacy offices for particular sub-groups of underrepresented students. Study abroad administrators will need to create a close connection with both types of support offices, and with their aid, determine what specific and individual promotional avenues will reach students.

Students of different ethnicities may communicate and obtain information in different ways. Some individuals highly value the knowledge and experience of their elders; some individuals cannot relate well to the majority experience and marketing techniques which come from that perspective. With the assistance of study abroad alumni and directors of advocacy or multicultural offices, perhaps efforts aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of the benefits of study abroad can be tailored to reach diverse students more effectively.

One of the suggestions aimed at increasing participation in study abroad programs raises some concern; that is, the marketing of study abroad destinations which reflect an individual's ethnic heritage to historically underrepresented students. For example, it may be difficult for study abroad administrators to know which ethnicity a multi-ethnic individual identifies with, as someone whose mother is Vietnamese and father is African American. He or she may identify more with his or her Vietnamese American culture than with his or her African American culture. Blanket advertisement of a study abroad program to Ghana to all students who selected "African American" on their admissions forms or have been identified as African
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American by others may result in the further alienation of a student who has an interest in going to an Asian, Latin American, or European country. While this technique may be an important way of increasing interest in study abroad, awareness of the need to keep the door open to other destinations will decrease the chance of such alienation occurring.

It also is not clear which countries or universities would be marketed to Native American students. Carter (in C.I.E.E., 1991b) points out that "this group of students is truly the forgotten ethnic constituency" when it comes to participation in study abroad programs (p. 15). Native American students, particularly those who have made the transition from life on a reservation to life in a city or town, may have different concerns about participation in study abroad programs than other students. While study abroad administrators certainly can work with Native American applicants on a one-on-one basis if they come into an office for information, how will they reach those students who do not come to the office or hear about study abroad opportunities in a meaningful way?

Thus a major issue confronting study abroad administrators today is the assessment of differences in the perception of barriers to study abroad for students of different ethnicities. Other concerns, such as increasing the participation of males and science majors in study abroad programs, also are important. The role of family support, professor or administrator support, fears about financial ability, academic ability, and foreign language ability may effect all students equally, or they may be of greater concern to students from particular sub-groups.

The current marketing efforts which C.I.E.E. and other international education administrators suggest may only partially address lack of participation by one's "own choice or [by] lack of encouragement to do so" and differences among students (in C.I.E.E., 1991b, p. 2). A national comparative study of the perception of barriers to study abroad for sub-groups of historically underrepresented students is needed to provide meaningful and appropriate efforts to increase opportunities for all students to participate.

Cooperation between study abroad, advocacy and multicultural offices is an important aspect of any plan that seeks to increase the participation of historically underrepresented students in study abroad programs. In some cases, advocacy, or multicultural office staff may be better able to maintain close relationships with study abroad alumni than may study abroad office staff. Alumni are excellent resources for the promotion of study abroad, thus it is important that study abroad administrators provide advocacy or multicultural office administrators with information and support regarding international opportunities, as well as opportunities for alumni to become involved with both offices.

At Colorado State University, increasing the participation of historically underrepresented students in study abroad programs is a goal for both

the Office of International Opportunities and for the directors of the four ethnicity-based advocacy offices. Specific actions aimed at increasing interest in study abroad include the submission of articles to advocacy office newsletters that are designed specifically for the students each office serves and the installation of a study abroad brochure rack in each advocacy office. In addition, presentations have been made during classes taught by the Advocacy Offices which include panels of diverse study abroad alumni.

While these efforts may help to increase the interest of historically underrepresented students in study abroad programs, a national study is needed in order to truly understand the real and perceived barriers that inhibit students from studying abroad. Such a study will help guide study abroad administrators dedicated to this goal as we move into the 21st century.

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Using Student Development Theory to Enhance Experience Based Learning

Linda Cleeland

Educators can facilitate cognitive development in young adults, but teaching the skill of critical thinking is difficult, if not impossible. Recognizing the systematic and developmental nature of the intellectual growth of young adults gives instructors in higher education a framework with which to formulate realistic teaching goals. Specifically, knowledge of intellectual development theory allows laboratory, practicum, and field experience instructors the opportunity to design experiential instructional activities and evaluation methods which are likely to optimize learning.

It is not uncommon for instructors in higher education to express concerns about students who want easy answers to complex questions. Believing that most students have the ability to master the task of critical thinking for any content area, educators attempt to teach critical thinking skills. However, intellectual reasoning is acquired through a developmental process that is orderly (moving from the simple to the complex), continuous, and cumulative (Miller, Winston, & Mendenhall, 1983; Mines, King, Hood, & Wood, 1990).

Student development theory supports the notion that the ability to think critically can be facilitated when developmental guidelines are recognized and incorporated into teaching strategies. Additionally, instructional effectiveness is somewhat dependent upon teachers identifying the operational level of intellectual development for students (based on a developmental framework) and then challenging students to move systematically toward higher levels of development. Educators can support, encourage, and facilitate intellectual development, but they cannot teach students to utilize higher levels of intellectual reasoning (Baxter Magolda & Porterfield, 1988; Perry,

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1970).

A THEORY OF INTELLECTUAL AND ETHICAL DEVELOPMENT

Perry (1970) reported that intellectual and ethical development of traditional college-aged students is systematic and predictable. Perry's theory, originally published over a generation ago, is a complex student development theory which is frequently referenced in student affairs literature. It is a developmental stage theory addressing both intellectual and ethical growth. The scheme proposed by Perry consists of a hierarchy of nine different positions or stages of cognitive and ethical development which occur within college students. For ease of understanding and use, the nine developmental levels are often organized into a conceptual structure consisting of fewer categories (Baxter Magolda & Porterfield, 1988; King, 1978; Perry, 1970). The stages typically cited include dualism, multiplicity, relativism, and commitment in relativism.

Dualism

At this level of development, the world has a dualistic structure such as right and wrong or good and bad. Professors are authorities with the right answers; the dualistic student expects instructors to provide the answers. There are right answers to all academic questions and any issue with multiple resolutions is confusing and/or alien because the student has not acknowledged that there can be more than one right answer.

Multiplicity

In this stage of development, there is recognition of the possibility of multiple solutions to problems or questions. The student trusts authority figures but also realizes authorities do not have all the answers. Instructors are expected to facilitate an examination of the alternatives. The student recognizes that everyone has rights to opinions but has difficulty evaluating the relative merits of differing opinions. Because all answers seem to be equally valid and there is no longer a right or wrong, problem solving while in the stage of multiplicity is confusing for the student.

Relativism

At this developmental level, the student is able to analyze a problem contextually as a part of a bigger picture. Answers to questions and solutions to problems vary depending on specific or unique circumstances. Therefore, authorities are redefined as competent, experienced individuals who problem solve through contextual thinking. The student may become frustrated upon recognizing that problem solving is a complex process which is achieved through decision making based on contextual information.

Commitment in Relativism

The highest level of development in Perry's (1970) scheme focuses on affective rather than cognitive development. Upon reaching this level, the student develops a well-defined personal identity. The student realizes that

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there are implications to his/her decisions and accepts responsibility for those decisions. The student becomes the authority and growth occurs through expanded or reaffirmed commitments.

Temporizing, retreat, and escape are three ways students elude intellectual and ethical growth (Baxter Magolda & Porterfield, 1988; King, 1978; Perry, 1970). Temporizing consists of an interruption in development which is sustained for a year or more. It can be a period of broadening or lateral growth or a period of suspension or stagnation. Retreat is a time of regression from any point within the developmental sequence to a lower position; most dramatically, this would be a retreat to dualism. In the escape mode, a student is reluctant to move into a position of commitment and remains in a position of relativism.

APPLYING PERRY'S SCHEME IN EXPERIENCE-BASED TEACHING

Experiential courses such as practicum or laboratory courses, field experiences, student teaching, and internships are often structured in ways that provide ideal opportunities for the application of student development principles. Experiential learning activities foster higher-order cognitive skills by providing students real-life opportunities to practice reasoning skills (Mines et al., 1990). One-to-one contact between instructor and student lends itself to individualized teaching based on the student's immediate level of intellectual development. To this end, a program is presented which is designed to facilitate cognitive growth according to Perry's (1970) theory of intellectual and ethical development for students enrolled in individualized, experiential learning activities.

Assessment of the Level of Intellectual Development

An initial assessment of cognitive development of participating students is necessary. One approach to assessment would be through the use of a formal developmental assessment tool, such as the Measure of Epistemological Reflection (M.E.R.) (Baxter Magolda & Porterfield, 1985, 1988; Taylor, 1983). The M.E.R. is a paper-and-pencil test on which the student is asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions. The test is scored by trained raters, and the student is assigned a score which reflects his or her level of cognitive and ethical reasoning. This formal testing option is available through many campus counseling and/or testing centers, but it is time consuming and costly to administer and score. Additionally, the general cognitive development of the selected students may not be representative of their operational cognitive levels in the specialized content area. Therefore, the M.E.R. or other such tools may have limited value as assessment measures for use in experience-based learning courses.

A practical and perhaps more useful option is to determine operational intellectual levels through careful observation of students. The instructor can

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monitor a student's performance or student-instructor interactions for developmental clues from the student. By video or audio taping students in learning situations, tapes can be reviewed for content or behavior indicative of specific intellectual developmental levels.

Students make comments or ask questions that are representative of the developmental level from which they are operating. Some examples of typical remarks by students which are representative of the stages of dualism, multiplicity, and relativism are provided below.

Students functioning at a dualistic stage of development offer questions and comments similar to the following:

- What do I do now?
- What would I/you do next?
- What do you think?
- Don't confuse me; I have a lesson plan already.
- The book said to do it this way.
- Dr. _____ said to do it this way and now you want me to do it differently. Which is the right way?
- Dr. _____ said never to . . .

When students are functioning at a stage of multiplicity, then questions and comments may take the following form:

- I know there are several ways to do this but I want to do it my way.
- I know there are several ways to do this; any of them should work.
- When I visited _____ they were using some interesting methods.
- I guess there is more than one way to _____.
- I think this is the best way to do _____ but I guess other people have their opinions.
- Last time I tried it your way. Now I'll try it the way we learned it in class.

If the student has reached the stage of relativism, then questions and comments will be similar to the following:

- I finally realize that I need to be flexible based on what will work best for this situation.
- I've tried all the different options; now I need to learn when it is best to use each one.
- I know there are several ways to do this; which will work best under these circumstances?
- I always thought that Dr. _____ didn't know much about _____, but he/she just wanted me to devise my own method.

Designing instructional activities that challenge students to move to a higher intellectual level should be a goal for all teachers. Widick, Knefelkamp, and Parker (1975) suggest that dualistic thinkers are relatively easy to challenge toward a higher level of intellectual development. Dualists can be challenged by controlled exposure to new, complex, and/or conflicting ideas. The absolute assumptions of dualistic thinkers should be questioned. Modeling the use of complex reasoning and giving students opportunities to observe the real-life process of relativistic reasoning are also effective strategies for promoting cognitive growth. Dualistic thinkers should be allowed to work closely with people who have differing views. Additionally, students operating at a dualistic level should participate in structured, risk-free experiential learning activities where they are encouraged to try out new ideas. Students could be informed of procedural options but allowed to use techniques with which a comfort level has been established.

Since the stage of multiplicity is characterized by difficulty in evaluating information, students operating at this level need to learn strategies and methods to objectively and accurately assess and analyze information. Thoughtful guidance from instructors can facilitate this process. Finding answers to questions and making decisions can be positive and valuable experiences for students especially when the options are limited and controlled by the instructor. Decision-making can be overwhelming when there are too many choices.

It is more difficult to promote intellectual development in relativistic thinkers (Widick et al., 1975). Relativists are challenged with the expectation of developing a personal identity and accepting responsibility for decision-making. Less structure is necessary because these students are willing to assume responsibility for their own learning; they are ready for new information and want to be exposed to new ideas. Group activities work well with relativistic thinkers because they are receptive to the ideas of other individuals. Activities that require making decisions should also be utilized with these students.

Using Developmental Level as a Consideration in Student Evaluation

To facilitate optimal intellectual growth, faculty need to be sensitive to developmental levels and willing to modify feedback methods as well as instructional techniques accordingly. When working with the dualistic thinker, feedback techniques might include providing detailed structure with specific information about performance expectations and grading criteria. Additionally, the focus on grading can be minimized or totally eliminated. Intellectual growth for the dualistic-minded student may be most dramatic

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when the student is allowed to take risks without the fear of negative feedback. The instructor may choose to intervene in the experience when the challenge becomes too great for the student. A grading system that uses only satisfactory or unsatisfactory grades works best for these students. Challenges might come from exposure to new ideas, theories, and techniques in the form of suggestions, not directives.

For students in the multiplicity phase, less structure is necessary. Feedback need not be as carefully regulated. Students should be encouraged to resolve difficult or challenging situations through the use of their own skills and knowledge. In this stage students believe their ideas have equal value to those of other people when indeed they may not. Students operating from the multiplicity level are willing to listen to suggestions by the instructor but may still respond negatively to criticism.

Students functioning at the level of relativism are likely to be independent in most situations. They are ready for feedback which provides new perspectives and insights as they attempt to develop personal work styles. Instructors are valued because of their expertise, and feedback, including criticism, is asked for and welcomed. For the most part, these students are approaching a commitment to relativism.

SUMMARY

Utilizing formal and/or informal assessment techniques, instructors in experiential teaching situations can determine their students' operational reasoning levels. Interaction and communication with students can be developmentally-based to facilitate intellectual growth. Additionally, instructors can provide realistic challenges, appropriate support, and meaningful feedback with the expectation of maximizing student growth through this developmental approach to teaching.

The study of student development theory can provide educators in experience-based learning environments tools for achieving optimal effectiveness in their teaching roles. Instructors and supervisors often have little or no formal training in the teaching process. Applying student development theory is a means of enhancing overall teaching effectiveness.

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Meeting the Needs of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Students on Campus

Tricia L. Sullivan

This article describes the campus climate for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students. The author makes recommendations for campus policies and practices that could better serve the needs of these students.

Many colleges and universities today have expressed an institutional commitment to diversity and have implemented a wide range of initiatives in an effort to progress from monoculturalism toward an environment of multicultural appreciation and inclusivity. There is growing awareness that a campus climate characterized by a prevailing monoculturalism makes "each person feel unworthy unless they fit into the dominant culture" (Satin, 1990, p. 1). Unfortunately, this commitment seems to be almost exclusively in reference to racial, ethnic, gender, ability, age, and cultural diversity and rarely includes mention of sexual orientation. While the concerns of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students on campus have increasingly become a topic of discussion for higher education administrators and staff, prejudice and misinformation continue to contribute to a hostile campus climate for these students (Evans & Wall, 1991). Non-heterosexual issues and experiences are generally excluded from discussions of sexuality, relationships, oppression, parenting, family, literature, and other relevant areas, thus rendering gay and lesbian lives invisible (Lopez & Chism, 1993). Gay, lesbian, and bisexual students are not commonly provided with an advocacy office, there is often no institutional commitment to retain gay, lesbian, or bisexual students, and there is little support for openly gay faculty and staff. The impact of such institutionalized omission is significant considering that "the available research suggests that the prevalence of predominant same-sex orientation in the United States is currently in a range from 4% to 17% with the most reliable estimates likely in the middle of that range" (Gonsiorek, Sell, & Weinrich,

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1995, p. 47). In addition, gay and lesbian persons have mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, grandparents, cousins, aunts, uncles, and children. Considering this observation, approximately 50 million Americans are themselves or have a close family member who is either gay or lesbian (Patterson, 1995, p. 4). The author will describe the campus climate for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students and make recommendations for campus policies and practices that could better serve the needs of these students.

DAMAGING ASSUMPTIONS

Richardson (1981) theorized that the identity development of gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons has been neglected for three reasons: (a) the study of homosexuality has focused almost exclusively on its causes, (b) homosexuality has been defined in terms of sexual acts, and (c) homosexuality has been viewed as a pathological state (cited in Levine & Evans, 1991, p. 2). It is this author's opinion that these same biases, as well as several other ingrained societal prejudices, have functioned to effectively exclude gay, lesbian, and bisexual students from the current concern for multicultural inclusiveness on college campuses. Three different and more accurate premises will be the basis of this paper: (a) the cause of homosexuality is undetermined and may be largely irrelevant to student affairs administrators as there has been no evidence that one's sexual orientation can change as late in life as the age of the average college student (Myers & Kistler, 1991); (b) Peplau (1991) stated that both homosexuality and bisexuality, like heterosexuality, are sexual and affectional dispositions and are not inherently tied to any particular lifestyle or sexual activity (as cited in Gonsiorek, et al., 1995); and (c) in 1973, the American Psychiatric Association determined that homosexuality was not a pathological condition. One month later, the American Psychological Association joined in that decision. "Therapists once treated homosexuals for 'their problem': now they realize the problem is not the homosexuals' orientation but the social oppression they experience because of their orientation" (Myers & Kistler, 1991, p. 8).

Choice

"Most experts in the area have found that sexual orientation is set by early childhood" (Bell, Weinberg, & Hammersmith, 1981; Green, 1988; Money, 1988, as cited in Gonsiorek, et al., 1995, p. 40) and although there has been no definitive evidence as to the cause of homosexuality, there has been no convincing evidence at all that an individual can deliberately chose his or her sexual orientation. Breedlove (1994) observes that

The public debate about the ontogeny of sexual orientation seems especially misguided because there is profound agreement between scientists who favor psychosocial theories... and those who favor biological theories... that sexual orientation is determined very early in

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life and is not a matter of individual choice. (as cited in Baumrind, 1995, p. 130)

Abandoning false assumptions for more accurate and realistic premises has many implications. Since there is little evidence to suggest that college-aged students can change their sexual orientation, administrators need not worry that addressing the needs of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students on campus is tantamount to advocating or promoting homosexuality. "Either you are gay or you are not. You can advocate equal rights for homosexuals, but advocating homosexuality makes no more sense than advocating left-handedness" (Bawer, 1993, p. 144).

Language
The use of the word lifestyle generally assumes a conscious choice and "may trivialize the depth of the psychological processes involved" (Gonsiorek, et al., 1995, p. 41). Similarly, Peplau (1991), believes that the term lifestyle "suggests a unanimity in patterns of living which does not reflect the diversity within the gay and lesbian populations" while it ignores many similarities between the lives of homosexual and heterosexual individuals (as cited in Gonsiorek, et al., 1995, p. 41). There are as wide a variety of "'lifestyles'among homosexuals as among heterosexuals" (Bawer, 1993, p. 145).

Pathology
In light of new research findings, the American Psychiatric Association voted to remove homosexuality from the DSM-II listing of mental disorders. What replaced this classification was the term Sexual Orientation Disturbance (DSM-II, 1968), which eventually became Ego-Dystonic Homosexuality, "reserved for those homosexuals who are disturbed by, in conflict with, or wish to change their sexual orientation" (DSM-III, 1980; as cited in Sultan, Elsner, & Smith, 1987). The World Wide Web circulated a Statement on Homosexuality released in July 1994 by the American Psychological Association. The first paragraph stated:

> The research on homosexuality is very clear. Homosexuality is neither a mental illness nor moral depravity. It is simply the way a minority of our population expresses human love and sexuality. Study after study documents the mental health of gay men and lesbians. Studies of judgment, stability, reliability, and social and vocational adaptiveness all show that gay men and lesbians function every bit as well as heterosexuals. (On-line, personal communication, January, 1996)

In their study of gay male and lesbian adolescents, Hershberger and D'Augelli (1995) found the greatest predictor of mental health to be self-acceptance, defined as "a general sense of personal worth, coupled with a

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positive view of their sexual orientation" (p. 72). Many medical and mental professionals have moved from an assumption that homosexuality is the problem to a perception of societal prejudice and anti-gay bias as the greatest concern. Long and Sultan (1987) observed that given present day societal conditions for gay men and lesbians, "it would be very surprising if there were not some significant adjustment problems associated with being homosexual" (p. 227).

CAMPUS CLIMATE

Similar to ethnic minority students, gay, lesbian, and bisexual students often experience the campus environment in ways that are different from the ways in which the environment is experienced by the majority population. According to Bendet (1986), the climate for gay, lesbian and bisexual students is "chilly at best on college campuses; occasionally it is downright hostile (as cited in Bourassa & Shipton, 1991, p. 79). To paraphrase Wall & Evans (1991) gay, lesbian, and bisexual students face:

1) Campus homophobia manifested in negative stereotyping, hate crimes, and violence.
2) A heterosexist campus environment that ignores or marginalizes their existence and relationships and exerts a strong pressure to assimilate.
3) The usual developmental issues compounded by sexual identity, cultural identity, and coming out issues.
4) A lack of "out"/ open gay role models among faculty, staff, and student leaders.
5) Feelings of isolation or a tendency to socialize primarily with each other and, consequently, the marginalization of the entire group.

Campus Homophobia

Researchers have found that "homophobic prejudice, harassment, and violence are pervasive on college and university campuses" (Berril, 1990; D'Augelli & Rose, 1990, as cited in Croteau & Lark, 1996). In a 1989 survey by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1,329 episodes of anti-gay verbal and physical violence were reported on 40 sample campuses. The following year, approximately 48% of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual student respondents reported being verbally harassed or threatened due to their sexual orientation (Liddell & Douvanis, 1994). In a study at the University of Massachusetts - Amherst, a majority of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual students surveyed said they would not feel safe disclosing their sexual identity in class (Yerkel, 1985). At Ohio State University, students reported that the hostile incidents they most frequently experienced ranged from the "tearing down of posters for gay, lesbian, and bisexual events to overhearing or being addressed

with hostile remarks such as 'hey, faggot' or 'bash them back into the closet!'" (Lopez & Chism, 1993, p. 99). Clearly, a climate marked by verbal harassment and both the threat and reality of physical assault has an over-whelming impact on a student's sense of safety and well-being. Despite this reality, when the Auburn Gay and Lesbian Student Organization sought official recognition in order to "educate all interested persons about homo-sexuality and homophobia" and to provide a support group for gay and lesbian students, the Alabama legislature responded by proposing a bill to "prohibit any college or university from spending public funds to sanction any group that promotes a lifestyle prohibited by the State's sodomy and sexual miscon-duct laws" (Liddell & Douvanis, 1994, p. 123).

Heterosexism

While in a racist society "whiteness equals superiority or normality, beauty, importance, and power" (Hardiman & Jackson, 1992, p. 25), in a heterosexist society everyone "is or should be heterosexual" (Friend, 1993, p. 211). In addition, individuals in this society, whether ethnic minorities or gay, lesbian, or bisexual persons, learn that there are acceptable and unacceptable roles and behaviors and that there will be negative repercussions for acting in a manner that is "inappropriate" (Hardiman & Jackson, p. 25). Some of the most pervasive assumptions of a heterosexist society, as adapted from Riddle and Morin (1977) are the following:

1. Heterosexuality is more mature and is preferred. Heterosexual relationships equal love and family. Homosexual relationships equal sex.
2. Homo/bisexual persons need counseling or religious guidance and should avoid the "temptation" to act on their feelings.
3. There is a need to find the "cause" of homosexuality and homo-sexuals are to be pitied if they are born "that way".
4. Gay men are effeminate and weak, lesbians want to be men, and other negative, false stereotypes.

Identity Development

Within a campus climate marked by widespread homophobia, a dominant culture of heterosexism, and the marginalization of non-hetero-sexual students as a group, all students, whether gay, lesbian, bisexual, or heterosexual, are struggling with issues of sexual identity development (Levine & Evans, 1991). For non-heterosexual and questioning students, this issue is compounded by the need to develop a minority sexual and cultural identity. Just as the identities of Black Americans are shaped by both African-American culture and societal racism (Hardiman & Jackson, 1992), the identity development of gay, lesbian, and bisexual Americans is influ-enced by their identification with gay culture and community within the

context of societal heterosexism (Wall & Evans, 1991).

Many significant steps in the identity development process for gay and lesbian individuals occur during the traditional undergraduate years (Levine & Evans, 1991). Access to information and resources, an understanding community, supportive family attitudes, and individual self-esteem all help to diminish how much of a struggle it will be for a gay or lesbian student to develop a positive sexual identity (Levine & Evans). Vivienne Cass (1984) developed a model of sexual identity formation based on extensive research (Levine & Evans, 1991). Through her work, Cass found no evidence that an individual who discovers an incongruence between his or her own sexual/ affectional disposition toward those of the same sex and what he or she had thought to be socially, personally, or religiously acceptable will, instead of a gay identity, develop a positive heterosexual identity. Instead, individuals will either continue to progress toward identity synthesis, in which gay and lesbian persons perceive both "similarities and dissimilarities with both homosexuals and heterosexuals, and sexuality is seen as one part of their total identity" or they will experience repression and identity foreclosure (Levine & Evans, p. 21). Dillon (1986) collected an inventory of issues of concern for lesbian and gay young adults. One such issue was, "grieving loss of membership in the dominant heterosexist culture and entry into a permanently stigmatized group" (Dillon 1986, as cited in Wall & Evans, 1991 p. 31). "Lesbian and gay students frequently have no family support or role modeling to help them deal with this new-found status" and often the isolation can become overwhelming (Crooks & Bauer, 1987, as cited in Wall & Evans, p. 31).

Lopez & Chism (1993), recently conducted a study at Ohio State University, where gay, lesbian, and bisexual students who were surveyed reported that they thought almost constantly about identity issues. A significant portion of their time and energy was focused on these issues, whether they were in the process of discovering and accepting their own sexual identity, struggling with issues of revealing their identity to others, or coping with experiences of homophobia and anti-gay prejudice on campus. The students reported the most psychologically taxing aspect of the identity formation process to be the process of "coming out" to oneself. Although the students were adamant in stating that coming-out is a continuous, life-long process, for participants in the study, the most intense portion of this struggle lasted from two months to two years and most often occurred within the time span from the last two years of high school through the first two years of college. The students experienced varying degrees of self-hatred, fear of rejection by family and friends, and concern over the possible loss of financial support from parents. Frequently overwhelmed by identity issues, students saw an impact on their performance in school, often reporting a significant drop in grades and some even left school.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

To effectively meet the needs of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students on campus, administrators should attend to multiple factors of a student's life on campus, including his or her individual experience, interaction with campus constituencies, and perception of the institutional culture (Gutierrez, 1987). The first approach is focused on the gay, lesbian, or bisexual individual and includes primarily ensuring the availability of sensitive and knowledgeable counselors, advisors, and psychotherapists to assist students with their coming out process, adjustment to the campus climate, establishment and maintenance of healthy interpersonal relationships, and career and lifestyle choices. The focus of this strategy is primarily on self-acceptance and the development of coping and relationship skills.

The second approach involves intervention with groups. This strategy includes both sensitivity, awareness, and skills training for primarily hetero-sexual students, staff, and faculty groups, as well as the promotion and sustenance of gay, lesbian, and bisexual support and social organizations. An effective example would include attempts to increase student and staff awareness of gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues through programs in the residence halls and during student orientation. Students at Ohio State University identified members of fundamentalist religious organizations and fraternities and sororities as frequent offenders in episodes of harassment and violence (Lopez & Chism, 1993). Additionally, research consistently shows high degrees of anti-gay prejudice in student athletic programs (Rhoads, 1995). It would be especially appropriate for administrators to require educational programs for advisors and staff in these areas. Finally, student affairs administrators could ensure that gay, lesbian, and bisexual student organizations have adequate advising, staff, and resource support (Rhoads).

The third category of approaches can be classified as institutional or ecological approaches. These methods address the "attitudes of the adminis-tration, faculty, and staff toward students, the institution's values orientation, its policies, or other factors that produce a poor ecology for student growth and development" (Gutierrez, 1987, p. 6). The primary aim of such strategies is the inclusion of all members of the campus community. Rather than addressing the issues of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students as entirely separate topics, a commitment to inclusion involves the incorporation of the reality of gay, lesbian, and bisexual lives and relationships into all aspects of the community. One example of an institutional strategy was employed by a Catholic university. In this case, the university president endorsed the inclusion of a workshop on "Gay Men and Lesbian Women in Family Relationships" as part of the university's Institute on the Family (Gutierrez, p. 12).

An institutional approach encompasses such strategies as ensuring that

the college or university's student code of conduct and non-discrimination policies include sexual orientation in the list of protected classes and that policies and practices with a bias against homosexual or bisexual persons are eliminated. Insurance plans and other benefits should cover domestic partnerships and be available to all couples regardless of orientation (Rhoads, 1995). The administration of an institution should design policies, penalties, and disciplinary procedures that make it clear that harassment of or discrimination against gay, lesbian, or bisexual students is no more tolerable than racist or sexist behavior (Rhoads, 1995). Finally, a college or university could benefit from the formation of a gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns task force. This task force could conduct a survey of the campus climate for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students, assess needs, and evaluate current policies and practices.

Students surveyed at Ohio State University reported that, although they encountered homophobic remarks far less often in the classroom than on campus in general, the demeaning comments made by professors or those comments made by students who were not confronted by the professor were particularly damaging as they struggled with their identity (Lopez & Chism, 1993). Most often, the respondents noted that a prevalence of heterosexist assumptions and avoidance, rather than specifically deprecating remarks, characterized their classroom experience. According to one student; "Doing nothing is doing something. To a gay, lesbian, or bisexual student, failure to act could make the student feel that the instructor is unsupportive and possibly hostile" (Lopez & Chism, p. 100).

On the other hand, accepting and welcoming comments made by instructors were also cited as particularly significant. Most frequently, students identified the encouragement of discussion about gay, lesbian, and bisexual topics in the classroom, the inclusion of gay, lesbian, and bisexual content in the course work and in suggested topics for student papers, and the affirming statements professors made about gay men, lesbians, and bisexual persons as important to their classroom experience (Lopez & Chism, 1993). In addition, they noted that a professor's use of language was significant to their sense of "validation, legitimacy, and visibility" (Lopez & Chism, p. 102). Students preferred the terms "gay men," "lesbians," and "bisexual persons" to "homosexuals" and the terms "sexual identity" and "sexual orientation" to "sexual preference" (Lopez & Chism, p. 102).

With this in mind, student affairs professionals could work to provide training for faculty and staff on heterosexism, homophobia, and the environment for gay students on campus during brown bag lunches or faculty and staff meetings (Rhoads, 1995). Similarly, student affairs professionals can advocate for the inclusion of sexual identity issues and gay, lesbian, and bisexual history, literature, and perspectives in the classroom. Finally, both faculty and staff can be invited and encouraged to attend cultural, educational,

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and social programs put on by gay, lesbian, and bisexual student organizations.

Higher education administrators can be advocates for going beyond the societal prejudices and myths about homosexuality in order to create a more welcoming environment for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students on their campuses. Discrimination against, marginalization of, and refusal to recognize gay, lesbian, and bisexual students will not "keep a single gay person from being gay" (Bawer, 1993, p. 25). This disregard will only keep students from being honest about it and working toward a healthy identity and self-concept.

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Student Organizations and Institutional Legal Liability

Nancy Barrow and Sunshine B. Martin

This article provides a summary of the legal issues concerning the relationship between institutions of higher education and student organizations. Past and recent cases as well as approaches to risk management are discussed.

Colleges and universities long have recognized the value of student development through co-curricular activities. "Indeed co-curricular activities and student organizations have been a part of higher education since the eighteenth century" (Richmond, 1990, p. 309). Involvement in student activities is positively related to student retention and to personal success after graduation.

As recent court cases have shown, student activities are not without some institutional risk. The increasingly litigious nature of our society, the growing concern for consumer protection, the increased cost of insurance, and the increasing number of contractual disputes have contributed to the growing concern by student affairs administrators about institutional liability (Barr, 1988).

There are two major legal issues concerning the relationship between institutions of higher education and student organizations. First is the potential for institutions to be held liable for the actions of affiliated student organizations, or to be held liable for injuries sustained by students while participating in co-curricular activities, based on the relationship the institution forms with the student organization. The majority of court cases in this area are related to contract law, tort law, alcohol, hazing, defamation, sexual assault, and discrimination. Case law has focused on the institution's status as a landowner, or the assumption of duty by the institution.

Secondly, institutions must respect the constitutional rights of students, particularly freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. The

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majority of court cases in these areas have been related to institutional recognition and funding processes, and regulations on the use of the facilities for expression.

RELATIONSHIP THE INSTITUTION FORMS WITH STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

> While an institution is not normally held responsible for the independent behavior of each student, its responsibilities can be very different when that behavior occurs in the context of an organization or group that carries with it the actual or implied approval, recognition, sponsorship, or control of the institution. (Bennett, Combrinck-Graham, & McMullan, 1992, p. 4)

The relationship an institution forms with student organizations impacts the level of legal liability the institution potentially may incur. Under tort law, no duty exists to control the conduct of a person or to prevent injury to that person unless a special relationship exists. Historically, courts have found that once a person has been matriculated into the college or university, a special relationship has been created sufficient to impose a general duty to control and protect. "For many years colleges and universities were guardians of their students' health, welfare, safety, and morals, and closely regulated their students' lives" (Richmond, 1990, p. 311). This relationship was enforced by the doctrine of *in loco parentis*, which "has been rejected, unanimously under the current law" (Bennett, et al., 1992, p. 4).

Institutions as Landowners

Courts have found other reasons to support claims of the existence of special relationships, such as the university's status as a landowner (*Denver University v. Whitlock*, 1987; *Mortiboys v. St. Michaels College*, 1973). *Lamphea v. State* (1982) is a representative case in which Delphi State Agricultural and Technical College was held liable for injuries the plaintiff sustained during an intercollegiate softball game. The courts held that the college had a duty to inspect the playing field for unsafe conditions.

As landowners, universities have the duty to use care not to injure the invitee, warn the invitee of hidden dangers, inspect the premises to discover possible dangerous conditions, and take reasonable precautions to protect the invitee from foreseeable dangers (Richmond, 1990). A university's strongest defense often lies in the argument that there is no breach of this duty, that it is not the proximate cause of injury, or that student misconduct or assumption of risk mitigates liability (Bickel & Lake, 1995).

Assumption of a Duty by the Institution

Special relationships also have been formed by the exertion of control by

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post-secondary institutions over student organizations or student activities. The involvement of colleges and universities in the activities of student organizations can be considered to be a formation of an agency relationship or to be an assumption of a duty. "Universities may assume a duty to protect their students from harm stemming from campus activities by attempting to control or regulate activities" (Richmond, 1990, p. 319). There are numerous ways institutions have approached the administration of student organizations.

Arms Length Approach. At one end of the spectrum are institutions which consider student organizations to be separate, independent entities and give no physical, financial, or administrative support to student organizations. Under this approach, a college or university is attempting to shield itself from legal liability by disassociating from the student groups. However, it is important to note that this approach does not guarantee complete immunity from the legal ramifications of the actions of the student organizations (Richmond, 1990).

The recent *Furek v. University of Delaware* (1991) decision produced a surge of administrative concern about legal liability associated with Greek organizations. The plaintiff, Furek, brought suit against Donchez, the local Sigma Phi Epsilon chapter, the national fraternity, and the university for damages related to severe burns sustained during a hazing incident. The jury held Donchez, the actual hazer, to be seven percent responsible, and the university to be the bearer of the majority of the responsibility. Although the university ultimately succeeded in absolving itself of liability, many administrators fear future litigation will result with the burden being placed on the institution for the activities of student organizations which an institution knows about, or should reasonably know about (Bennett et al., 1992).

Hands On Approach. At the opposite end of the spectrum are institutions that exercise a degree of control over student organizations and provide active support through physical, financial, and administrative means. These clearly are establishing a relationship with the student organizations, and they are retaining a degree of control over the actions of the student group. An example of a university taking proactive measures to protect itself from liability is *Mintz v. State* (1975). Two students drowned on a canoe trip while participating in school-related activities. The plaintiffs' claims of negligence were dismissed due to the careful planning of the trip and the many precautions taken by the canoe company and the university (Bennett et al., 1992).

Hybrid Approach. Most institutions vary their approaches between the two spectrums, matching the level of involvement or control to the particular activity. When considering the type of relationship the university has with student organizations, one must consider the potential legal liabilities inherent in the relationship and the ability the college or university has to control the actions of the student group. Most institutions have long-standing policies of recognizing or registering student organizations in order to foster student

leadership development and to provide at least minimal assistance by helping students form associations that further the co-curricular educational mission of the university.

Judicial decisions have not been consistent, and it is unclear how much involvement with a student organization constitutes a special relationship. For example, in *Bradshaw v. Rawlings* (1979) the court was unwilling to find a special relationship between the college and its students. The case ensued when a fatal automobile accident occurred following the annual sophomore class picnic, at which the student driver became intoxicated. The court's decision to absolve the university of liability was based on the belief that colleges should not be made the insurers of their students' safety and that students are adults capable of caring for themselves.

"Colleges tend to rely heavily on the Third Circuit's opinion in Bradshaw, but it is unclear whether that case would still be decided the same way" (Barr, 1988, p. 300). It can be argued, based on precedence, that the mere registration of an organization or the requirement of a faculty advisor creates a special relationship (Bennett, Combrinck-Graham, & McMullan, 1992).

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

For centuries, university students have used the resources available to them on college campuses to voice their collective opinions on local, national, and international issues.

> From 1832 Paris, where students rioted to protest France's new leadership; to 1970 Kent State University, where students protesting the Vietnam war died in a clash with the Ohio National Guard; to 1989 Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China, where numerous students perished under the guns of the Red Army during a nonviolent prodemocracy demonstration; students have been at the forefront of social change and upheaval. (Coty, 1994, p. 115)

More commonly, students exercising their right to peacefully assemble has been seen on American college campuses in the form of student organizations. The purpose of these organizations ranges from educational and political, to social and recreational.

Student Organization Recognition Policies

The way in which an institution interacts with student organizations may raise liability concerns. Courts have recognized that the First Amendment implies a right to associate with others in pursuit of a wide variety of political, social, economic, educational, religious, and cultural ends (Synthesis, 1995). For this reason, colleges and universities must respect a student's right to choose his/her associates when designing policies to recognize student

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organizations. "Refusal of a public university to recognize unpopular student organizations without a compelling reason has been held to be a violation of student First Amendment rights of speech and association" (Bennett, Combrinck-Graham, & McMullan, 1992, p. 7).

The Supreme Court ruled in *Healy v. James* (1972) that Central Connecticut State College could not deny recognition to a local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.). In defense, the college cited four reasons for denying recognition to S.D.S. However, the court disapproved of denying rights and privileges to an organization based on the organization's affiliation with an unpopular national organization or based on the abhorrent views of the organization (*Healy v. James*, 1972). "The Healy decision has made it virtually impossible for campuses to deny recognition to any group that complies with reasonable application procedures, unless their group openly admits to breaking university regulations" (Barr, 1988, p. 285).

Since 1972, this decision has been tested several times, consistently favoring the student organization. Most of these cases involve an institution attempting to deny recognition to gay student organizations on the basis that homosexuality is illegal and abhorrent. Courts have responded by asserting that an organization cannot be denied recognition unless the law has actually been violated. In support, courts have noted that recognition by an institution does not imply support, agreement, or approval of the organization's purpose (Barr, 1988).

The Healy court held that universities retain the power to protect their legitimate educational interests by requiring student organizations seeking recognition to affirm a willingness to abide by university regulations and state and federal laws. For example, public institutions may prohibit student organizations from discriminating on the basis of race, sex, national origin, religion, and handicap because such denial of membership constitutes an interference with federally protected rights (Barr, 1988). In *Sigma Chi Fraternity v. Regents of the University of Colorado* (1966), the court ruled that the university could impose sanctions on a student organization for denial of membership on the basis of race, color, or religion. The court determined that the right of association is not absolute, but rather subject to evaluation in relation to the interest which the state seeks to advance (*Sigma Chi Fraternity v. Regents of the University of Colorado*, 1966).

There are many benefits associated with recognition. Most recognized student organizations are entitled to utilize campus facilities for holding meetings, posting signs, distributing literature, raising funds, and sponsoring speakers and demonstrations. Regulation of institutional facilities has been tested repeatedly in the courts with the outcome that schools may enforce reasonable restrictions of time, place, and manner of expression, applied equally to all student organizations, regardless of the content of the message (*Bayless v. Martine*, 1970; *Widmar v. Vincent*, 1981). These regulations must

not be vague or overbroad, and institutions may not exercise unrestrained discretion in enforcing regulations (Barr, 1988; *Cox v. Louisiana*, 1965; *Smith v. Ellington*, 1971).

Student Organization Funding Policies

While courts have recognized the rights of students at public institutions to organize, express their views, and utilize university facilities, there exists no clear right to institutional funding. There are two major legal issues regarding institutional funding of student organizations through student fees. First, some students object to having mandatory student fees allocated to student organizations whose viewpoints they oppose. Second is the denial of funding by an institution based on the content of the ideas expressed by the particular organization.

"As early as 1882, courts have held that governing boards of colleges and universities can impose mandatory fees on students for items other than teaching" (Barr, 1988, p. 292). In *Good v. Associated Students of the University of Washington* (1975), the state Supreme Court upheld the right of the university to collect mandatory service and activity fees. In support of the decision, the court reasoned that a minority disapproval for the funding of a controversial issue should not cripple a valuable learning experience consistent with the mission of the university.

In *Smith v. Regents of the University of California* (1993), the court applied a balance test between the Regents' compelling interest in having discretion over how to accomplish the university mission and the principle that the government cannot compel persons to contribute money to support political or ideological causes since compelled speech violates the First Amendment. Ultimately, the court decided that the collection of mandatory student fees is constitutional. However, it also held that certain political and ideological organizations should be excluded from funding, or the university could establish a voluntary student fee system (Coty, 1994). This decision is based on the following principle:

> [A] university may support student groups through mandatory contributions because that use of funds can be germane to the university's educational mission. At some point, educational benefit becomes incidental to the group's primary function of advancing its own political and ideological interests. (844 p. 2d 500 [Cal 1993])

Thus, it is common practice for universities to determine that certain student organizations are not eligible for funding based on the political, ideological, or religious purpose of the student organization. In the recent *Rosenberger v. The University of Virginia* (1995), the university had a practice of withholding financial support for student religious, political, and philanthropic activities. The funding guidelines recognized eleven categories of student activities

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eligible for funding including student media publications. *Wide Awake Production*, a Christian publication organized by Rosenberger, applied for funding as a student news publication but was denied funding due to the religious activity of the student organization. Rosenberger filed a claim that the denial of funding was based on the magazine's religious perspective, a denial which violated their right to freedom of expression.

> At the end of its spring 1995 term, a narrow majority of the Supreme Court ruled that the University of Virginia was guilty of viewpoint discrimination when it denied student newspapers with religious perspective equal access to student activities funds. (Schimmel, 1995, p. 911)

This decision has sent higher education administrators scurrying to evaluate institutional funding processes. The Rosenberger decision clearly directs institutions which fund based on activity to fund all student organizations regardless of the political or religious view of the organization. However, based on precedent, it is likely that the courts will continue to uphold the right of institutions which fund based on purpose to exclude those organizations which are political or religious in purpose during the funding process.

RISK MANAGEMENT

Based on the value of facilitating co-curricular educational opportunities for students, many colleges and universities have instituted risk management policies in order to minimize the potential for institutional legal liability. Colleges and universities often provide cultural, recreational, social, and educational programs to enhance student development outside of the classroom. By providing leadership opportunities in student government, programming boards, fraternities and sororities, athletics, and other clubs and organizations, student affairs professionals can enhance significantly the institution's mission. However, "the very nature of many of these programs are such that risks must be taken if their goals are to be met" (Richmond, 1990, p. 325). Given this knowledge, it is essential for higher education to identify and realistically evaluate the risks posed by student activities.

According to Richmond (1990), there are three approaches to risk management: risk avoidance, risk transfer, and risk retention or control. Risk avoidance entails eliminating those activities which pose a risk to the university. By carefully weighing the potential benefits and the potential costs of each activity, institutions may be able to determine that the risk associated with an activity is too great and simply eliminate the activity. This, however, is often unrealistic due to the essential role many student activities play in accomplishing the educational mission.

By purchasing comprehensive, general liability insurance, institutions

are attempting to transfer the financial loss of potential student claims. However, it is unlikely that students and their organizations will be covered under the institution's liability policies. Additionally, liability insurance is expensive and not always cost effective. An institution's reputation cannot be repaired by financial indemnification, and universities cannot be released from their regulatory and legal responsibility to meet life-safety standards (Bennet et al., 1992).

The final approach to risk management is risk retention, in which the institution takes steps to manage the activity and ensure the risks will be acceptable. After deciding to retain or accept the risks, institutions need to implement risk control procedures, a process which "usually involves improving physical environments, or modifying behavior or activities in ways that reduce those risks" (Richmond, 1990, p. 326). Risk retention and control require an institution to acknowledge that it has a stake in the appropriate management of student activities for its own protection.

Key issues for institutions to consider when evaluating the potential legal liability of an activity include: the relationship the institution has formed with the student organization, the amount of control the institution can exert over the activity, the location of the activity, and the constitutional rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution. Additionally, institutions legally are bound to follow and uphold their own policies and procedures and state and federal laws and regulations.

Severing all ties with student organizations for fear of liability is contrary to an institution's educational mission. The benefits colleges and universities receive for fostering student leadership development outweigh the risk of legal liability. Indeed, the courts have recognized that institutions are not insurers of students' safety. While it is essential for institutions of higher education to recognize the legal limits of their power and their legal duties, it would be counterproductive for institutions to eliminate all co-curricular programming and activities for fear of litigation.

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Historically Black Colleges & Universities: A Model of Success for Historically White Institutions

R. James Emery

Historically White institutions, as a whole, are failing our nation's Black students. This article examines the success of historically Black colleges and universities as a first step in determining whether these successes can be adapted to historically White campuses.

ARE WHITE INSTITUTIONS FAILING BLACK STUDENTS?

Research indicates that predominately White institutions of higher education are failing our nation's Black students. Livingston and Stewart (1987) found that in general, minority students have difficulties adjusting to the academic and social atmosphere of a college campus. Members of all minority groups have reported not feeling welcome on predominately White campuses and being "treated like uninvited guests in a strange land" (p. 39).

Black students seem to suffer greater barriers within higher education than other minority students. Social isolation, alienation, and overt racism confront Black students on predominately White college campuses (Bohr, Pascarella, Nora, & Terenzini, 1995). Black students are more likely to report feeling less welcome, experience discrimination from faculty, staff, and students, and feel as if they are not a valued part of campus life as compared to other minority students (Livingston & Stewart, 1987). "Major research organizations and universities just don't believe in the academic capabilities of Black students," says Dr. Frank Morris, Dean of Graduate Studies at

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Morgan State University and President of the Council of Historically Black Graduate Schools (cited in Hawkins, 1992, p. 12). The failure of predominately White institutions to successfully educate Black students is evidenced by the fact that one-third to one-half of these students drop out without attaining a degree (Livingston & Stewart).

This higher education failure is seen by some as a continuation of the poor schooling many African American citizens receive. "Many have already been disenfranchised by urban school systems by the time they reach college campuse.... They're products of an inferior school system" (Mercer, 1990, p. 29). Of course, many Black students do not make it to college. "Only 30 percent of African American men who graduate from high school go on to college" (Hawkins, 1994, p. 28).

Access is denied, in part, by admissions procedures that focus on test scores that some claim are discriminatory. African Americans tend to have lower test scores and these are used to turn away a disproportionate amount of potential Black students (Constantine, 1994; Hawkins, 1992; Ware, 1994). "Although forty years have elapsed since [court ordered desegregation], educational opportunities are not much better than they were in 1955" (Ware, p. 8).

ENTER THE HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

However, there are a number of schools with long histories of successfully educating African Americans. These are the historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). They "play a unique and pivotal role" (AAUP committee, 1994, p. 9) and "have become an increasingly effective and important component of American higher education" (Ware, 1994, p. 7). The first Black colleges were founded before the Civil War by religious organizations to make up for the lack of educational institutions for African Americans (Ware). After the Civil War, there was an immediate need to educate African Americans and produce Black leaders in order to cope with the tremendous social upheaval that resulted from granting citizenship to four million former slaves. Private philanthropies joined the religious organizations and the government in creating over 100 HBCUs (Hughes, 1992). Most of these existed in the 17 Southern or border states. These institutions accepted the challenge of and sole responsibility for educating Black students until the NAACP's successful challenge to segregation in the 1940s and 1950s, which legally, if not actually, opened traditionally White institutions to all people (Ware, 1994). "Even when legal access to education was granted, African Americans still continued to turn to HBCUs" (Black, 1992, p. 96). Today there are 117 HBCUs in the United States (Hawkins, 1995).

Despite intensified recruitment efforts by predominately White institutions, HBCUs continue to enroll a substantial number of Black students

(Ware, 1994). Some even say HBCUs take on the "lion's share of the nation's responsibility" (Hawkins, 1994, p. 28). In 1950, over 90 percent of the United States' approximately 100,000 Black students were at HBCUs. By the 1960s, there were 200,000 Black students, 65 percent of whom were at HBCUs. By the 1980s, 80 percent of Black students were at White institutions (Livingston & Stewart, 1987). Today, HBCUs enroll about 18 percent of the nation's Black students despite comprising only 3 percent of all higher education institutions (Hawkins, 1994).

These declining percentages should not be interpreted to mean that fewer African Americans are being educated at HBCUs. On the contrary, it appears that HBCUs are enrolling a record number of students (Hawkins, 1994; Mercer, 1991). Possible reasons for these increases may be the general enrollment trends that brought more students to higher education after a significant decline in the early 1980s (Constantine, 1994; Hawkins, 1994), a record number of Black student transfers from White institutions to HBCUs (Hawkins, 1994), increased tuition at White schools, or an increase in racial tensions on White college campuses (Constantine).

A CONTINUED NEED FOR HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The increase in African American enrollment at White institutions has not lessened the need for HBCUs, they continue "to play a major role in the education of Black men and women" (Pascarella, Smart, & Stoecker, 1989, p. 82). Black students need not even attend these schools to benefit from them. Constantine (1994) found that African American high school graduates from states with public HBCUs were more likely to attend *any type* of higher education institution than those from states without an HBCU. HBCUs provide higher educational opportunities for those students who may not have anywhere else to go (Ware, 1994). The increase in Black student enrollment at both types of institutions has indicated that HBCUs "cannot accommodate the numbers of Black students who want and need an education" (Giovanni, 1994).

If predominately White colleges are currently having problems educating Black students and also are expecting larger African American enrollments, then it may be necessary to examine the successes HBCUs have achieved, the reasons for these successes, and whether they can be transferred or adapted to historically White campuses. It is argued that if effective programs and services are found, then it may be possible to implement them elsewhere (Bohr et al., 1995). While some argue that HBCUs' successes cannot be "duplicated elsewhere" (Constantine, 1994, p. 14), there is merit in looking to HBCUs for guidance in educating racially diverse students. Black (1992) believes "there can be no better beacon than the Black college ... to create systems that work for all people, regardless of race.... [There is an]

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urgent call to translate the strength of the Black college into a shared resource in a society that is coming to grips with its own diversity" (p. 96).

CRITICISMS OF HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Critics argue that HBCUs are either remnants of an outdated segregationist era or of such low quality they should be closed or merged with other institutions. The first argument seeks to show that HBCUs run counter to current higher education trends, in that they foster a homogeneous learning experience, while other campuses are seeking to diversify their student body. It is argued that HBCUs foster racial separation rather than integration (Bohr et al., 1995 [This is not Bohr et al.'s argument, but they present it for context.]). This argument lacks any sense of historical perspective. These institutions have always been open to all and "unlike [their] White counterparts, never endorsed race-exclusive admissions requirements" (Ware, 1994, p. 10). It is not only the student body that has been open. White people have been involved on HBCU campuses since their founding. At first, they were needed because they had skills and abilities not possessed by newly-freed Black citizens. Today, White professors still "maintain a strong presence on Black campuses" (Mercer, 1991, p. 5).

One cannot look at increasing Black student enrollments at White schools and use this as proof that HBCUs are no longer needed. "This is far too superficial a measure to determine whether true educational equality has been achieved" (Ware, 1994, p. 7). A related argument maintains that White campuses will never attain adequate levels of racial diversity if minority institutions (including tribal and Hispanic colleges) continue to enroll substantial numbers. Rather than closing minority schools to increase racial diversity at White colleges, "states would be better served by taking actions to increase the pool of available minority college students" (Ware, 1994, p. 11).

The second argument points to the financial resources of HBCUs as proof that they are inferior institutions. There have been efforts to close state HBCUs or to merge them with historically White institutions (Hawkins, 1995). It cannot be disputed that HBCUs have been under-funded since their founding (Hawkins, 1995; Pascarella et al., 1989; Ware, 1994). Generally, it is also clear that, for the most part, they are lacking in some key areas, such as library holdings, laboratory and computer facilities, distinguished faculties, salaries, endowments, and course offerings (Bohr et al., 1995; Constantine, 1994; Pascarella et al., 1989; Ware, 1994). By examining the physical structures and available resources, some argue that HBCUs should be closed. This argument lacks historical perspective. It is not sufficient to look at the physical plant of today's HBCUs, note their inadequacies, and decide to close or merge them with nearby historically White institutions that have enjoyed decades of adequate funding at the expense of HBCUs due to the racism of

past legislatures. This argument also fails to look at the outcomes produced, namely educated, contributing members of society. In fact, the tremendous successes achieved by HBCUs, despite these limited resources, is proof of how they can serve as models for other higher educational institutions.

DEMONSTRATED SUCCESS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK INSTITU-TIONS

Historically Black colleges and universities are successful in a number of areas. These include graduation rates for Black students that White institutions have been unable to match, the wage earnings of their students, the ability to educate students from a limited educational background, and their ability to produce African American leaders.

Graduation Rates. Livingston and Stewart (1987) report that the attrition rate of Black students is three to five times higher than for White students and that only 30 percent of Black students graduate on predominately White campuses. However, at HBCUs the drop out rates are much lower and a higher percentage of students obtain degrees (Constantine, 1994). Although in 1987, HBCUs enrolled about 25 percent of the Black student population, they awarded 69 percent of the degrees (Livingston and Stewart, 1987). Bohr et al. (1995) found that persistence and attaining a Bachelor's degree by Black students were positively linked to attending an HBCU.

Wage Earnings. Constantine (1994) explored the wage earning potential of HBCU attendees and found they earn slightly more in hourly wages than non-HBCU students ($12.31 vs. $11.68). A possible reason for this may be that more students graduate and receive Bachelor's degrees from HBCUs than at other institutions. These results were not confined to Black students, but to all students at HBCUs. It was found that this advantage was due to women's increased earning potential. Women attending HBCUs had a mean hourly wage of $12.34 as compared to $10.82 for women at other institutions. However, men at HBCUs earned $12.24 versus non-HBCU attendee wages of $13.24. Despite these numbers, Constantine showed that men received a larger boost from attending an HBCU than did women. "Women [at HBCUs and non-HBCUs] start on a more equal playing field which makes their wage gains appear large. Men who attend HBCUs seem to come from lower in the wage distribution than men who attend non-HBCUs" (p.16). In contrast, Bohr et al.(1995) concluded that HBCU attendance did not confer "any substantial net economic or occupational advantage *or disadvantage*" [italics added] (p. 76).

Remedial Success. The historical mission of HBCUs has included educating students lacking the necessary preparation (Mercer, 1990) and making up for poor elementary and secondary education (Black, 1992). Today, they continue to enroll "some of the most deprived students, including many who require remedial coursework" (Hawkins, 1994, p. 28). These

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academically under-prepared students tend to come from families with low socioeconomic backgrounds (Bohr et al., 1995; Constantine, 1994; Ware, 1994). From the beginning, HBCUs have offered remedial courses that prepare students for college learning (Constantine). The high graduation rates prove this strategy of admitting under-prepared students and offering remedial coursework can be successful.

By admitting these educationally disadvantaged students, one might assume that students at HBCUs do not learn as much as Black students at other schools. In a longitudinal study of the effects of college racial composition on cognitive gains for first year Black students, Bohr et al. (1995) found that there were "no significant group differences in the gains made in reading, comprehension, mathematics, or critical thinking" (p. 81). While the differences in ability were not statistically significant, the net gains favored students at HBCUs. In response to their findings, they concluded that a college's "stock of financial, educational, and human resources...alone do not guarantee educational impact" (p. 82).

Production of Black Leaders. Another demonstrated success of HBCUs is their ability to produce African American leaders (Black, 1992; Ware, 1994). Often, these leaders emerged from the "poor, isolated, hyper-segregated" backgrounds that indicated failure rather than success (Ware, p. 11). These leaders include teachers, community leaders, and lawyers. The contributions of HBCUs to the civil rights movement cannot be overstated. Lawyers at Howard University created the legal strategy that led to the court victories of the 1940s and 1950s. They instilled this mission in their students who led the battle. Students from HBCUs led sit-ins, boycotts, marches, and voter registration drives (Ware).

WHAT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE SUCCESSES?

Many attribute the successes of HBCUs to the supportive environments they provide for Black students, but what exactly does this mean; being part of a racial majority on campus, being at an institution committed to African American education and culture, or learning from diverse faculty?

Nurturing Environments. Some point to the nurturing environment and mentoring that students receive at HBCUs. "Students need people who believe in them, who will suffer with them through their failures and rejoice with them in their successes" (Mercer, 1991, p. 6). Nurturing and mentoring are not new trends on HBCU campuses but were and are integral to the original missions (Black, 1992). Some believe nurturing environments are fostered by the lack of racial tensions on HBCUs compared to predominately White campuses (Mercer, 1991; Ware, 1994).

Celebration of Heritage. The celebration of African American culture is another essential ingredient of the success of the Black campuses. While historically White campuses marginalize the accomplishments of African

Americans (Ware, 1994), students at HBCUs "enjoy the benefits of basking in Black history" (Hawkins, 1995, p. 29).

The self-concept or self-esteem of Black students is enhanced by attending an HBCU according to research by Pascarella, Smart, Ethington, and Nettles (1987). They found that Black students felt better about their academics and social standing, perhaps due to the higher level of academic integration and interaction with faculty (Constantine, 1994).

Diverse Faculty. Another possible reason for HBCU success may be its diverse faculty. Unlike many White institutions having predominately White faculty, Black institutions have recruited and retained diverse faculty. Only one-third of the faculty at HBCUs are White (Mercer, 1991). Dr. Charles Willie, a Harvard Graduate School of Education professor, points out that Black colleges' "faculties have been heterogeneous in terms of race, class, and culture. [The] ability to attract and keep diverse teaching staff is a model that White institutions should learn from and emulate" (p. 5).

The benefits of being on a Black college campus exist for faculty as well as students. While faculty at Black colleges may not be able to access research funds as readily as their peers at White institutions, there are rewards in being able to make a tangible difference in the lives of Black students (Mercer, 1991).

CONCLUSION

Clearly, there is much to learn from the nation's 117 historically Black colleges and universities. Their success in educating Black students cannot be matched by historically White universities. They have succeeded despite being under-funded and having inadequate facilities since their founding. Despite this, they graduate educated, contributing members of society and a significant number of African American leaders. Having a majority population that is Black, a nurturing environment, multicultural faculty, curricula celebrating African American heritage, remedial programs, or a combination of these and other factors contribute to a success story in American higher education that some may point to as an anomaly, but that no one can deny. It bears further study and practice to see if these successes can be adapted to predominately White campuses to improve the success of all students. Administrators at historically White institutions stand to learn much from the practices of HBCUs. The ability to recruit and retain both Black students and faculty are models that White institutions will need to employ in the coming years of increasingly multicultural campuses.

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Exploring Gender Theory in the Context of Greek Life

Mariam G. Taft

Greek organizations can serve as catalysts for change if held to identified standards and encouraged to evaluate the existing stereotypes of male and female roles within the system. The dynamic opportunity which exists through student affiliation with Greek organizations should be utilized to enhance, rather than hinder, positive gender relations on campus.

EXPLORING GENDER THEORY

As evidenced by the growth of women's programs and studies into academic and social curricula on campuses, gender theory as a discipline has seen increases in review by developmental researchers, educators, and counselors. Whereas gender theory during the 1970s was viewed more as "women's issues," the categorical review of human development acknowledges gender theory as issues concerning both men and women.

Significant research regarding student development and self-identity has been based on male development (Chickering, 1969; Kohlberg, 1971; Perry, 1970). The understanding that women students develop through the college experience in ways different than men did not become widely acknowledged until Gilligan's (1982) challenge to Kohlberg's (1971) theory of moral development. Although research had been previously conducted on women (Loevinger, 1970a & 1970b), Gilligan's research was the first major published evaluation of women applicable in the context of student development theory. Until that time, it was assumed that the well-known basis for student development, and thus programming and services for college students, was from the existing research on men with "non-traditional" alternatives offered for women students.

The educational process of women is highly intertwined with the developmental stages of a woman's life. Society continues to hold particular expectations for women, tending to dictate the standard of life events, posing

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challenges to women whose choices are not in pattern with traditional female roles. In turn, college women today are a diverse group confronting a wide range of developmental issues. A very progressional timing of major events of life, such as education, marriage, family, and career or professional training as distinct phases of life, can come to be expected by young women (Bernard, 1985).

Unfortunately, many of the pressures to develop in specific ways arise because girls' stages of development are measured against those of boys (Gilligan, 1982; Maslow, 1954). For instance, until the ninth or tenth grade, girls achieve at a higher academic level than boys. Much of this success has been attributed to an early and sustained talent or interest in school that women possess. This talent is actually an acceptance and passiveness that allows girls to assimilate information being taught (Douvan, 1975). Early socialization for girls is geared toward learning and women's ability to conform to the environment of the classroom.

At the point when boys begin to surpass girls, it may be attributed to the changing styles of classroom teaching. The high school years mark a time when classroom activities require greater independence and assertiveness, which comprise two composites of male development (Douvan, 1975; Maslow, 1954). While both men and women continue to develop, changing significantly between the ages of 18 and 24, men arrive at college apparently better prepared academically and more mature than women. One explanation for this apparent maturity has been the application of subjective measurements of behavior such as autonomy, individuation, and independence with the supposition that these characteristics indicate "greater growth" (Chickering, 1969; Heath, 1964).

When educators begin to evaluate women's lives through the educational career in "traditionally female" terms, maturity and development will be comparable or above those of men (Astin & Leland, 1991; Douvan, 1975; Gilligan, 1982; Komarovsky, 1985). For women, the determinants of development and growth depend upon their relationships with others and their ability to receive and interpret external (societal) signals, empathize with others, and continue to achieve, academically or otherwise, at a high level (Astin & Leland, 1991; Evans, 1985; Horner, 1970). The determinants for men include issues of autonomy and independence, identity and ego development, and essence of maturity (Chickering, 1969; Heath, 1964).

The application of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1954) demonstrates that throughout development, women and men have differences in the importance of stage fulfillment. Although for all people proceeding through developmental stages there are similarities between their entrance into each stage, the importance of the belongingness stage appears to have greater significance on the stage pattern of women than men. This is established by examining the developmental research specific to women, particularly the

"interconnectedness" highlighted in these theories, in comparison with the developmental theories specific to men, where "interconnectedness" is not so clearly delineated. Maslow's theory traditionally has been applied to men of average intelligence, however when this theory is applied to women who strive to succeed, a fault arises. Maslow's theory perpetuates the comparison of development for men with that of women, and unfortunately, this generalization is inappropriate. Dowling (1981) discusses how a society has cultivated norms which accept that women will tend to become wary of demonstrated independence and thrive on perfectionism in order to represent a successful and fully developed woman. Again the comparison is made to men, rather than simply on differing development and the fulfillment of needs in the life system of women.

Today's college women perceive that the ambitions of college women from previous generations have not necessarily been positive (i.e. negotiation and compromise still are necessary in balancing career, family, personal goals, etc.), and that in order to succeed they interpret this to mean that a woman's interpersonal relationships are at risk (Bernard, 1985). However, women have been socialized to work with others, to care for and support those around them, and to define themselves in terms of their relationships with others (Gilligan, 1982). This juxtaposition of expectations from others and a woman's personal goals may set a woman up for failure if she begins to believe that both areas cannot be fulfilled. In addition, the reality is that the terms "success" and "fulfillment" are subjective and perpetually will be so.

As researchers began to investigate these conflicts in women, it became clear that studies of male life choices simply were being applied to female choices (Kerr, 1985; Maslow, 1954). In a society which has been organized patriarchically, a woman judged against "male-defined criteria" will appear a failure (Broverman et al., 1972). However, the increasing negotiations required of modern women (e.g. family, career, community involvement, managing a household, etc.) to create a personally successful life are much more demanding than the male criteria of success. For men, the options of lifestyle are limited compared to the increasing mix of family and work roles for women (Evans, 1985). For men, occupation can be separated from marriage and parenthood. These three roles are inextricably linked for women (Tittle, 1981). As a society we have allowed for this separation to continue in men, resulting in the conflicts arising in young women as they begin to formulate their life plans and patterns. Statistics repeatedly demonstrate how women are putting off marriage in order to "complete" phases of their careers (Havinghurst, 1975), whereas men continue to be able to marry and pursue their career with equal vigor (Reuban, 1975; Simeone, 1987).

For both men and women, the review of life choices and fulfillment of the belongingness need offers an avenue of investigating interpersonal connections in their development as a "man" or a woman" (gender identity).

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The relationship for both genders between achieving (again, a subjective term) and affiliating (belonging) becomes clearer as we recognize that through the life cycle, the roles of particular people in our lives and the expectations of those individuals create an impression of how we value ourselves.

More recent evaluation of gender theory is being implemented in areas of leadership development and theory, communication, and enhancing interpersonal relationships. Due to the increasing emphasis in organizations on collaboration and establishing communities, the interconnectedness with which women approach their everyday activities with others is seen as an advantage in the dynamic work environment (Helgesen, 1991). The application of gender theory also has brought new perspectives to leadership, success, and the ability to interface with same and opposite gendered people. Communication and language between the sexes have been redefined and include phrases such as "sharing a vision," "personal commitment," and "empowerment." In addition, support for both genders to be sensitive to human needs has increased acceptance to work for social change, which previously has been perceived as a female approach (Astin & Leland, 1991).

GENDER THEORY AND GREEK LIFE

The impact of Greek organizations is one of tradition, evaluation, and dynamic change. The dynamic role which men's and women's fraternities can have regarding gender theory is to challenge the specificity of traditional gender roles. Men's and women's fraternities provide microcosms within the University setting which can be appropriately examined along parallel lines with traditional residence hall living and the greater society. This comparison can be illustrated in Boyer's (1987) description of how one institution created "communities" to define the college as a learning community:

> Princeton created five undergraduate "colleges," whose [freshman and sophomores] eat together in units of manageable size, enjoy play and study areas, plan social and academic activities, invite university professors to meals.... (p. 206)

This description fits the foundations and organization of (Inter) National fraternities. The community that is created by membership appears to contribute significantly to the development of individuals. Every student at a university strives to develop his or her own sense of community, be it formal, through membership with an organization, or informal, with friends or family. A fraternity is an established "community" continually changing with the new members and dedicated to national principles and standards. Lloyd Averill (cited in Boyer, 1987) reinforces this idea of community when stating:

A community is not just a collection of individuals. A community is more fundamentally a group of persons acquiring their significance by their conformity with standards and rules from which they derive their dignity. (p. 204)

(Inter) National Greek organizations have similar standards for academics, organization, and behavior. It becomes clear that fraternities can be identified as "established" communities, and their long history of existence and the continual addition of members creates a peer group with significant impact on the individual members. Greek organizations provide students with something of worth to identify with and fulfill a need for belonging (Winston & Saunders, 1987). McKee (1987) clarifies the overall effect which the Greek experience should be:

... a teaching and learning activity designed to build confidence and character, to establish an intellectual growth pattern to be continued throughout life, ... to develop mature human relations and social skills, to acquire an understanding and respect for differing ideas and opinions, and to attain personal and professional life goals. (p. 27)

Additionally, the application of student development theory to the student body in general, specifically on campuses which host men's and women's fraternities, provides a natural transference of applying the theory to assess a student's Greek experience (Komives & Schuh, 1988).

There is no best starting place to incorporate the changing paradigms of gender-roles on campuses. Areas that can be impacted by Greek organizations include leadership roles, communication, interpersonal relationships, definitions of success and achievement (academic, career, and otherwise), contribution to host institutions, community outreach, and empowering men and women to challenge and evaluate the appropriateness of gender behaviors and discourse on college campuses.

One approach would begin with infusing a Greek community expectation that gender roles and relationships are an important component of the Greek experience. On an annual basis, the Greek Councils (i.e. Inter Fraternity Councils, National Pan-Hellenic Councils, Panhellenic, Inter Greek Council, etc.) should intentionally address the climate on their campuses and within the organizations regarding gender relationships. This investigation should go beyond hosting annual sexual assault programs to include inter-organizational communication between the men's and women's groups and addressing the general atmosphere within living units regarding the opposite sex. In addition, all organizations should come to consensus on establishing standards of decorum related to images of men and women for t-shirts, party themes, campus promotions, and other Greek-related activities. Community outreach efforts, particularly fund-raising activities such as

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athletic tournaments, talent shows, and multi-day events ("Derby Days" or "Paddy Murphy"), should be designed for participation of both men and women, rather than single-sex, and should reflect similar standards of decorum and maintain the philanthropic focus. This co-ed approach will reflect the importance of support for community service because of the charity or cause, rather than simply based on single-sex activities for the entertainment of the opposite sex.

Organizations should be clear in establishing methods for conflict resolution and education in the areas of gender relations. Both men's and women's organizations should approach their member development programs (internal to the organizations) in terms of developing the whole person and discouraging stereotypes of what it means to be a man or a woman. Celebrations of the contributions all members of the organizations make to their campuses also should focus on those members who contribute in perceived and historically non-traditional ways (with regard to gender behavior), such as the men who are sexual assault peer educators and the women who are leaders in male-dominated fields. Education regarding sexual relations and communication in intimate relationships (including friendships) which encourage empowerment and independence for personal identity rather than gender-specific behaviors in relationships should occur within organizational or all-campus programming efforts.

Without exception, (Inter) National organizations and their local chapters, as well as the National Interfraternity Conference, the National Pan-Hellenic Council, and the National Panhellenic Council should evaluate the atmosphere surrounding recruitment activities to reflect the sophistication and expectations of current student populations and the changing gender roles for men and women on campuses and in the greater society. This evaluation should include the type of promotion utilized, the structure of recruitment activities, the role of opposite genders in each recruitment (i.e. men should not represent themselves as spokespeople for one or another women's groups, and vice versa), and the timing of major events with regard to the opposite sex to discourage harassing behaviors toward participants, such as male observers "rating" women or men on the women's pathway to recruitment activities.

Issues of race, culture, religion, and sexual orientation must be part of the discourse on gender relations on campuses and within chapters. These characteristics affect both the frame of reference of an individual and the willingness or interest in shifting paradigms in the gender environment on campus. On campuses where Greek activities are steeped in tradition, these shifts generally are more difficult for alumni/ae and older members of chapters (e.g. students who are seniors). Barometers of other social issues on a campus should be heeded and incorporated into the organizational dynamics of men's and women's fraternities. The discussion should emphasize challenging the status quo around an issue if that standard violates the human

dignity of either men or women on campus, regardless of race, culture and sexual orientation.

Women should be conscientious about becoming allies for the men who enroll in women's studies courses as the men may feel threatened by being one of only a handful in these courses. Similarly, men should become allies for women in historically male-dominated courses of study. Both sets of allies need to be cognizant that this support for the other should include challenging behavior and assumptions by faculty or peers which subject the women or men to stereotypical "gender-bashing." By becoming allies, both Panhellenic Councils and Inter Fraternity Councils also will realize greater success when they propose changes in gender-specific campus activities in need of change as identified by campus climate.

CONCLUSION

With the distinct opportunities Greek organizations have on campuses, it seems appropriate that men's and women's fraternities can have a powerful role in challenging the perpetuation of outdated gender roles, and assisting in developing new life patterns in the relationships between men and women. Ultimately, men and women should be held to the same standard in confronting and enhancing the status of gender relations on campuses, within Greek life, and in society as a whole. Although gender-specific organizations were designed and continue to exist for purposes of supporting an affiliation need and identity development of each gender, the opportunities to redefine stereotypical "fraternity" or "sorority" (i.e. male or female) behaviors must be promoted and seized by the entire community of Greek life, faculty, and campus student affairs professionals, (Inter) National headquarters, and collegiates to have the greatest impact.

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Application of Astin's Involvement Theory toward Residence Hall Programming in the 1990s

Ray F. Gasser

Alexander Astin's (1985b) Involvement Theory provides a basis from which to study issues surrounding programming in residence halls in the 1990s. Astin, who developed his theory based on extensive research, is currently one of the most quoted authors on the subject. Astin stated that students learn best in the collegiate setting by becoming involved both physically and psychologically. By revisiting Astin's five postulates of involvement, this paper demonstrates how to apply those postulates to programming in residence halls, targeting an audience frequently described as indifferent.

INTRODUCTION

College and university residence halls face a challenge in the 1990s with regard to the changing attitudes of students. As budgets continue to shrink on many campuses, administrators have difficult decisions to make regarding the fate of numerous line-budgeted items. One area that some administrators are beginning to feel no longer fits the needs of residents is programming in the halls (Schroeder, Mable & Associates, 1994). Those administrators refute theories which state that programming enhances the holistic person and fosters student development, and instead argue that students have no desire for programming in a residence hall environment.

Student development theories have been instrumental in understanding college students and fostering an understanding of the environments created on a college campus. Alexander Astin has conducted extensive research on college students to support his theories on the college experience. Astin

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argues that universities need to refocus their mission and purpose on the student. Astin feels that much of what has happened in higher education has been directed by two implicit views of excellence: reputational and resources (Astin, 1985a). With the reputational view, an institution's excellence corresponds with its rank and prestige. Excellence with regard to the resources view is equated to areas such as endowments, grants to and prestige of faculty, and capabilities of entering students. In contrast to these ideas, Astin believes that excellence should reflect the effectiveness of the education at the institution. Today, Astin's philosophy and research seem to have sparked a challenge for higher education (Astin, 1985a). This notion is well supported by the sheer number of institutions of higher learning currently reviewing the "undergraduate experience" (Boyer, 1987, p. 7).

First, this paper will examine Astin's (1985b) Involvement Theory and the five postulates that comprise the theory. After reviewing the theory, the author will apply Astin's theory to programming in residence halls and how that pertains to students of the 1990s, concluding with thoughts on how to apply this theory on a daily basis in residence life systems.

INVOLVEMENT THEORY

In 1984, the Study Group on Conditions of Excellence in Higher Education released its final report, *Involvement in Learning*, suggesting that an excellent learning environment must be characterized by the following three conditions: "student involvement, high expectations, and assessment and feedback" (Astin, 1985a, p. 36). Alexander Astin, a member of the Study Group, expanded these findings the following year. He argued that involvement is the foundation of the findings because setting high expectations and providing feedback are the means for enhancing student involvement. Astin defines student involvement as "the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the experience" (Astin, 1985b, p. 134). Simply put, learning evolves from student involvement. However, Astin believes that Involvement Theory supports more than the amount of knowledge people learn. Astin contends that the theory provides a means to understand the empirical knowledge about environmental influences on student development. In addition, the theory embraces concepts from widely divergent sources and is equally applicable to faculty. Finally, Astin's findings provide a useful tool that can guide researchers in designing more effective learning environments (Astin, 1985b).

In 1975, Astin conducted a study on college dropouts in order to identify the college environments from which these students withdrew. As a result of the data collected, Astin concluded that nearly every effect could be explained by the students' non-involvement. Involvement, by definition, includes activities such as full-time attendance, participation in extracurricular activities, studying, living on campus, and interacting regularly with students

and faculty (Astin, 1985b). The study also showed that students had an easier time becoming involved when the college environment was comfortable and familiar (Astin, 1975). In 1977, Astin began a longitudinal study of more than 200,000 students and examined more than 80 types of involvement, including place of residence, participation in an honors program, undergraduate research participation, social fraternities and sororities, academic involvement, student-faculty interaction, athletic involvement, and involvement in student government (Astin, 1985a). The most important general conclusion from this study was that greater-than-average changes in the characteristics of first-year students were associated with nearly all forms of student involvement. Astin's study indicates that involvement had a strong relationship with student retention and social and intellectual development.

Astin (1985b) provides five postulates that comprise Student Involvement Theory:

1. Involvement refers to the investment of physical and psychological energy in various objects that might be quite general or very specific.
2. Involvement occurs along a continuum.
3. Involvement has both qualitative and quantitative features.
4. The amount of student learning is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement.
5. The educational practice of instructors is directly related to the capacity of that practice to increase student involvement. (p. 135-136)

According to the first postulate – to be involved – one must be invested in the activity, whether it is as general as the student's collegiate experience or as specific as writing a research paper. Involvement occurring along a continuum affects the ways in which different students exhibit different degrees of involvement in different objects at different times. To understand the third postulate, student involvement during a calculus test can be measured qualitatively (does the student understand the concepts, or does the student simply stare at the textbook) and quantitatively (number of hours spent studying). The amount of student learning and development is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement. An educational practice directly related to the capacity of it to increase student involvement would be any policy or practice considered effective only by significant student involvement such as student government.

The last two postulates have important implications for colleges and universities since the postulates offer strategies on how to shape a more effective educational experience for students. The greatest challenge may not be designing the experience, but rather tapping into students' most precious commodity, their time. Based on the theory, students are able to develop only

to the extent to which they have time to devote to these learning experiences and environments. Realizing this, educators have a difficult task since students' commitments include family, friends, job, and outside activities, as well as academics. Factors that may influence this time include:

Location of new buildings such as dormitories and student unions; rules governing residency; the design of recreational and living facilities; on-campus employment opportunities; number and type of extracurricular activities and regulations regarding participation; financial aid policies; parking regulations; frequency, type and cost of cultural events; roommate assignments; and relative attractiveness of on and off-campus eating facilities. (Astin, 1985b, p. 144)

These factors may have an important effect on how students are able to become involved in a campus setting.

Student Involvement Theory offers a significant advantage over traditional pedagogical approaches, including the content, the resources, and the individualized or eclectic theories, because it focuses attention on student motivation and behavior rather than on subject matter and technique. Using this idea, higher education practitioners can judge an activity's success by student involvement.

APPLYING THEORY TO PRACTICE

Understanding Involvement Theory is important when developing programs; however, the true challenge is to increase student involvement. Residence halls provide a number of advantages not inherent in other settings. These advantages include more time, peer support, and support services for residents. The greatest advantage is that residential living is one of the most important determinants of a student's level of involvement (Chickering, 1974). Knowing that the residence halls have a captive audience, how can student affairs professionals and leaders promote residence hall programming to the average student who carries a 15 hour credit load, studies ten hours, works 20 hours, and watches television another 20 (Schroeder et al., 1994)? Add seven hours of sleep each day, and residential staff members have 54 hours, not including when students eat and socialize, in which to program.

The author presents five elements essential to gain involvement in residence hall programming as related to Astin's (1985b) Involvement Theory:
1. Program involvement by residents occurs when there is active participation by residents.
2. Programmers must realize that learning occurs along a continuum where students are at different developmental stages.
3. Program involvement occurs when residents have the opportunity to

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acquire knowledge or skills.

4. Programmers must program collaboratively as a partnership with residents, staff, faculty, and the community. The key to any partnership is to develop the program with residents.

5. Program involvement occurs when staff program with different dimensions of the wellness model in mind. This approach allows for a wide variety of programming.

The first element is developing programs that mandate active participation from the residents. Keeping the program in a social setting gives residents the opportunity to learn about one another. Increased likelihood for involvement can be achieved by avoiding programs that use only one-way communication and deny participation by the residents. When students are asked what element they enjoy most about living in a residence hall, most will mention the social atmosphere and the ability to interact with a variety of people outside the classroom. Maintaining an environment that is conducive to a social setting, regardless of the type of program, relates to the first postulate of Involvement Theory. "Involvement refers to the investment of physical and psychological energy in various objects that might be quite general or very specific" (Astin, 1985b, p. 135). Basically, residents invest energy in what meets their identified needs, regardless of the activity. For example, students will attend class if passing the course is important to them. In programming, residents will attend programs that give them the opportunity to learn others' points of view on a topic, particularly when the residents are interacting. It is not surprising that peers are the most influential component in terms of student learning and development (Astin, 1992).

Another element in developing effective programs is for learning to occur along a continuum. This element relates to the second postulate of Involvement Theory that states that involvement occurs along a continuum (Astin, 1985b, p. 136). Residence hall programmers must realize that learning occurs at different levels. Understanding this concept, programmers should avoid incorporating all the education within the program itself. Education can occur outside of the program as well, particularly through advertising and utilizing passive educational programming. Residents do not need to attend a program for a teachable moment to occur. An example is an advertisement that promotes a gay, lesbian, bisexual (G.L.B.) program using the statistic that ten percent of the population is gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Informal discussions likely will occur among residents where they can share their different experiences and knowledge about G.L.B. issues. The other aspect of this element is that all residents are at different developmental levels, and this should be considered as far as what they may learn from a program. A program is not necessarily a failure because the audience did not achieve the understanding and education the programmer expected. The amount of learning is different for each person. The essential piece is for the programmer to spark the

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residents' interest so they continue to attend programs offered in the building.

The third element is developing programs where residents acquire knowledge or skills. Promoting the opportunity to take something away from a program can spark interest in the activity. For example, a program on survival which offers a variety of survival techniques and information likely will spark interest for those interested in learning about survival. The more difficult piece is selling this program to residents who are not interested in survival techniques because they feel it has no value to them. In this example, the programmer would need to promote the program with examples of survival that anyone might face. This element demonstrates the third postulate of Involvement Theory which describes involvement having both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Time on task is not necessarily the only criterion used to measure student involvement. The effectiveness of the time spent on task also is crucial (Astin, 1985b). Simply put, a program's success in fostering involvement is measured by its ability to educate or provide a skill to the resident.

The next element is to develop programs collaboratively. These partnerships consist of, but are not limited to, working with faculty, staff, community members, and residents. The key to creating a partnership in programming is to continually involve the target audience, the residents. By actively involving residents, programmers create an investment for residents to attend programs. Investment may include program development and planning, promotion, or even involvement with the program presentation. "By fostering collaborative partnerships, residence life staff can stimulate the exchange of ideas by opening up organizational boundaries" (Schroeder et al., 1994, p. 17). Partnerships open up programs to more innovative ideas and reflect what students perceive as important to them. This element relates directly to the Involvement Theory's fourth postulate which states that the amount of student learning and development from any educational program is related to the student involvement in that program (Astin, 1985b).

Finally, staff members need to program to meet an array of needs. Astin (1985b) states in his fifth postulate of Involvement Theory that "the effectiveness of any educational policy or practice is directly related to the ability of that policy or program to increase student involvement" (p. 136). In order to increase student involvement, residence halls must provide a wide variety of programs that meet different dimensions of the holistic student. An example would be using Hettler's wellness wheel (1980) which describes six different dimensions of wellness. Hettler argues that involvement in all the dimensions contributes significantly to students' development and expands participation and involvement (Winston, Anchors & Associates, 1994). For those students who do not subscribe to models of wellness, residence halls that program in all the dimensions are likely to meet each student's needs.

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CONCLUSION

Programming in the residence halls is a continually challenging mission for residence hall staff members. The greatest challenge is gaining involvement in an era in which time is becoming increasingly valuable to students. Simultaneously, programmers have increased options and resources to put programs together. With all of these options and resources, residence life staff members continually need to study how they may be able to meet students' needs.

Alexander Astin's (1985b) Involvement Theory gives residence hall staff members an approach toward programming in the 1990s. Applying his model of involvement to programming, five elements exist that promote success. Those five elements include: active resident participation, residents' different developmental learning abilities, programming that provides skills or knowledge, involvement partnerships, and programming toward all of the wellness dimensions.

Using these approaches, residence hall staff members can combat many of the difficulties in attaining student involvement. As students continue to change, so should the model for effective programming. It therefore, is essential that time is invested in studying the needs of students and effective approaches to use.

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Viewing Students as Consumers is Short Changing Everyone!

Editorial by Dr. James H. Banning

This editorial asserts that both students and institutions are being short changed by viewing students as children, clients or consumers. When students are viewed as designers, both students and their institutions benefit.

As I travel across the country attending professional conferences and workshops, I have noted an increase in the number of references to students as consumers or our customers. Viewing students as consumers is not without merit, but it does short change both students and their campuses. Before counting how much loss occurs in this short changing, I would like to point out the importance of how we think about students and briefly review how our thoughts about students have changed over time.

How do we as student affairs personnel view students? The answer to this question guides how we organize and go about our work. The way we perceive situations significantly influences our behavior. A quick look into the classical research in perceptual and cognitive psychology will indicate that often "believing is seeing." We organize our perceptions and conceptions on the basis of what we believe. Our approaches to students and the fundamental ways in which we organize our student affairs work is in large part determined by our ways of framing the answer to the question "What are students?" Historically, our view of students has changed, and with each change the nature of student affairs work also has changed.

HISTORICAL VIEWS OF STUDENTS

Early in the profession of student affairs, we viewed students as "children" from a perspective of seeing ourselves as parents. This *in loco*

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parentis perspective was a powerful one. We saw ourselves as "benevolent" parents and much of our work reflected this perception. Rules governing almost every aspect of student life were promulgated. There was a time to be in your room, a time for lights out, and permission needed to step off the campus grounds. When the *in loco parentis* view of students eroded due to changing times, the nature of the institution's student life policies underwent significant revision. The rules of student conduct changed, and administrative and programmatic structures were altered dramatically. Titles such as Dean of Women and Dean of Men became less useful.

Seeing students as "clients" became a replacement perspective for the outgoing *in loco parentis*. Again this view is benevolent. Doctors treat clients in health-promoting ways. Psychologists treat clients to assist in self-improvement, and lawyers bring benefits to clients by helping them in legal matters. Viewing students as clients is not inherently bad; in fact, much good can come from such a view. We should, however, be wary of some of the behaviors that become associated with viewing students as clients.

When we view students as clients, it is easy to see them as ill or deficient. Such a view turns our attention away from the possibility that "we" or the "institution" may be a part of the student's difficulty. In other words, a client view typically puts the professional in a position of power over the client. In addition, a client view of students breeds a passive approach to services. Actions take place only after the student becomes known to us. Students must take actions to label themselves as "clients" to obtain services. Again, when this action happens students are usually symptomatic and our attention is on treating the student and away from taking preventive action within the campus environment. Also, when we view students as clients we set up special places to see them. Our services become defined by location and we find it more difficult to influence or develop interventions that are campus focused. The viewing of students as clients basically narrows the scope of student affairs work.

The current and increasingly popular way to view students is to see them as consumers or customers. This view broadens the scope of our work; students do not need to have problems before we engage them. The treatment of students becomes an important concern throughout the campus. This view also calls consumer abuses to our attention, and by institutions posting the sign "guaranteed satisfaction or your money back," undoubtedly campus life will improve for students. On the downside, however, the viewing of students as consumers brings a new language to the student-institutional relationship. Lewis John (1977) captured this change in language:

> The vocabulary of consumerism is increasingly applied to the campus. Students are characterized as consumers making educational purchases from among the various services offered by the

education industry. We are told that catalogues and handbooks constitute advertising, that students, as buyers, enter into contractual obligations with institutions which are characterized as sellers, and the institutional representatives who talk with prospective students fall into the category of salesmen. (p. 39)

THE SHORT CHANGE!

The consumer perspective is not evil, but it does short change both the student and the institution. Typically, consumers do not actively create, fashion, execute, construct, or design the "products" or "services" they consume. Consumers may avoid, walk away, stop buying, or complain about goods and services, but these are reactive not proactive choices. The short change is that students do not have an opportunity to participate actively in their own education and the institution does not have the opportunity to use the talents and creativity of the students. Both go away without the full potential of the relationship. They are both short changed! It is becoming increasingly apparent that our survival in a complex world will depend upon our ability to actively design the future. Those we view as students hold the design of the future. Their capacity to fulfill their design responsibility will increase if we do not short change them by seeing them as children, clients, or consumers, but as active and empowered designers.

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Past Editors

As we produce the fifth edition of the *Colorado State University Journal of Student Affairs,* we cannot overlook those who set the foundation for our success:

Editors:

1994-1995	Jeremy Eaves '95 & Alicia Vik '95
1993-1994	Mary Frank '94 & Keith Robinder '94
1992-1993	Jodi Berman '93 & Brad Lau '93
1991-1992	Marie E. Oamek '92

Faculty Advisor:

1991 to present   Dr. Keith Miser, Vice President for Student Affairs

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Student Affairs in Higher Education 1995-96 Hardee's Diversity Scholarship Recipients:

Allison Carroll '96

Jocelyn Lowry '97

Rachel San Pedro Davis '97

Congratulations to the SAHE/Hardee's Diversity Scholarship Winners!

Colorado State University Journal of Student Affairs
Guidelines for manuscript preparation

Purpose: Manuscripts should be written for the student affairs generalist who has broad responsibility for educational leadership, policy, staff development, and management. The Editorial Board invites submissions of the following types of articles:
- Quantitative to Qualitative Research Articles
- Current Trends in Student Affairs/Higher Education
- Books Reviews

Research based articles may be given publication priority. In addition, the Editorial Board will include information on the state of the Student Affairs Program and alumni updates.

Procedure: Manuscripts should not exceed 3,000 words (approximately 12 pages of double-spaced, typewritten copy, including references, tables and figures), and should not be less than 1,000 (or about four pages). Exceptions should be discussed with the Editorial Board prior to submission. Before submitting an article:

1. Prepare the manuscript in accordance with the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 4th Edition.*
2. Send the original manuscript and three copies to the attention of the *Colorado State Journal of Student Affairs.*
3. Place the name of the author(s), position(s), and institutional affiliation on a separate title page.
4. Avoid terminology that is inaccurate, unclear, or ungrammatical as outlined in pages 46 - 60 of the Publication Manual.
5. Do not use footnotes; incorporate the information in the text.
6. Use the APA 4th Edition reference style, using only references cited in the text.
7. Use the active voice to the largest extent possible.
8. Check subject and verb agreement; singular/plural.
9. Use verb tense appropriately: past tense for literature review and description of procedures, and present tense for the results and discussion.
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12. Submit final draft on 3.5" disc and with hard copy.
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