Journal of Student Affairs

2016-2017
Volume XXVI

STUDENT AFFAIRS
IN HIGHER EDUCATION
COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

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Colorado State University
Journal of Student Affairs

Mission Statement

The mission of the Colorado State University *Journal of Student Affairs* is to develop and produce a scholarly publication which reflects current national and international education issues and the professional interests of student affairs practitioners.

Goals

- The *Journal* will promote scholarly work and perspectives from graduate students and student affairs professionals, reflecting the importance of professional and academic research and writing in higher education.
- The Editorial Board of the *Journal* will offer opportunities for students to develop editorial skills, critical thinking, and writing skills while producing a professional publication.

State of the Program

Jody Donovan, Ph.D.
David A. McKelfresh, Ph.D.
Co-Program Chairs

This year marks the 49th anniversary of the Student Affairs in Higher Education (SAHE) Master's Program and it has been an active year with many accomplishments. We are very pleased to provide an update on the "state of the program." The SAHE program has made significant strides this year with the addition of new faculty, new courses, and new international experiences.

Congratulations are due to the SAHE Journal editorial board members, and content and style readers responsible for continuing to produce a quality journal for the student affairs profession. We are also pleased to note the addition of online students serving on the SAHE Journal editorial board.

Deep appreciation to Karla Perez-Velez and Teresa Metzger for their service as faculty advisors to the SAHE Journal Board. Karla and Teresa continue the annual professional development field experience for the journal board members – attending the annual conference of the Association for the Study of Higher Education. This year board members attended the ASHE conference in Columbus, Ohio.

The residential SAHE program experienced another high number of applicants this year – 275 applicants for the 20 spaces available for the 2017 cohort. Our applicants were from 42 states, the District of Columbia, and 4 countries (China, Mexico, Australia, and Russia). The residential SAHE program continues to be one of the most diverse graduate programs at CSU, in every respect.

Our online SAHE Master's program continues to provide a strong academic experience for students all over the world. Additionally, this spring the online SAHE Certificate Program begins its seventh year serving approximately 20 students each year. We currently have more than 40 students enrolled in the online SAHE Certificate program, and 70 students enrolled in the online SAHE Master's program. We continually graduate approximately 20 online students each year.

In the residential program, we are pleased to have Heather Novak join us as an instructor for Program Evaluation, Mark Perkins returned to teach Introduction to Research, and Carmen Rivera and Leslie Taylor are co-instructors for the Ethical and Practical Issues in the Profession course. Lastly, Jason Foster now coordinates the residential students' practicum experiences.

The Exploring Student Affairs in the Higher Education Profession open online course is in its fourth year as a collaboration with NASPA. We average more than 1,200 students each year, from all 50 states and 35 countries. Amy Dinise-Halter, John Henderson, and Bobby Kunstman teamed up to co-teach this free eight-week, online course.

Under the leadership of Oscar Felix and Andrea Reeve, we are anticipating the completion of the online Access and Success Certificate. The certificate is a collaboration with the Council for Opportunity in Education (COE) and offers a five-course track for pre-collegiate staff members, and a five-course track for post-secondary staff members. We are also in the process of adding an online Community College and Student Affairs course under the leadership of Paulette Dalpes, Deputy to the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and Chief of Staff for the City University of New York.

Oscar Felix ('93) and Kathy Sisneros provided strong leadership for this year's SAHE International Field Experience. The major highlight this year involved SAHE students and faculty travelling to the Yucatan, Monterrey, and Mexico City, Mexico. Two students (Myvy Ngo and Yennie Diaz), along with our faculty, led a group of 11 students on the Mexico field experience for 10 days in January. Enrique Lara (SAHE '13), accompanied and assisted with hosting the group. The intention of the field experience is to interact with higher education leaders and students as well as participate in cultural immersion experiences to learn more about higher education and the student experience in an international context.

We are pleased to report the fourth Sherwood Scholarship was awarded to Sheena Martinez (SAHE '17). The Sherwood Scholar Fund was established by Dr. Grant Sherwood, who provided leadership for the SAHE program for 13 years. Applicants address the importance of integrity and character in the student affairs profession, and how they integrate their values into their work. This past summer Sheena participated in practicum experiences at Auckland University in New Zealand and Todos Santos, Mexico.

You may have heard Colorado State University entered into a partnership with the Institute for Shipboard Education – Semester at Sea. Craig Chesson sailed as the Assistant Dean of Students on the first ISE-CSU fall '16 voyage and Jody Donovan is sailing as Dean of Students for the spring '17 voyage around the world. Nine SAHE students from around the world completed practicum experiences working to assist the Semester at Sea program to reflect the Colorado State mission, values, and practices.

The SAHE program maintains its long and strong relationship with the Division of Student Affairs and the CSU Graduate School. The Student Affairs Division contributes more than $1.2 million dollars through 40+ graduate assistantships available for SAHE students, and the Graduate School provides considerable support for the non-resident tuition premiums for students in their first year in the program. Additionally, Gene Gloeckner and Louise Jennings, Co-Directors of the School of Education, have provided strong support for the SAHE Program this year. Amy Dinise-Halter, Erin Hammersley, and Barb Richardson have teamed up to provide strong leadership in the coordination of the graduate assistantship process, and assistantship supervisors continue to provide excellent experiences for students.

The CSU SAHE program has evolved to meet the needs and challenges of our profession. The job placement rate for SAHE graduates continues to be 100 percent and our alumni consistently report that the program has prepared them very well for working in and contributing to the student affairs profession. We thank our faculty, staff, assistantship supervisors, and alumni who all combine to provide a high-quality experience for students.

Looking to the future, the School of Education committed to hire and fund a full-time, tenured faculty/co-chair position for the SAHE Program. We are excited to welcome our new colleague this fall and will begin the transition for Dave McKelfresh to increase focus on the online students and program components, while Jody Donovan and the new faculty member will serve as co-chairs for the overall SAHE program. In addition, Kathy Sisneros and Pamela Graglia are chairing a Curriculum Review Committee to update and refresh our curriculum with an eye toward increasing research opportunities within our practitioner-based program.

Please mark your calendars for July 7-9 for the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the SAHE Program. Mari Strombom and Lance Wright are coordinating the planning for the event. If you would like to volunteer or serve as a cohort communication liaison, please contact Mari or Lance.

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To contact the Editorial Board, please call or write:

Student Affairs in Higher Education
Colorado State University
201 Administration Building
Fort Collins, CO 80523-8004
Phone: 970.491.5312
Email: journal@colostate.edu

The 26th edition of the *Journal* is available online: www.sahe.colostate.edu

Managing Editors' Perspective

Jenny Kim, Managing Editor – Marketing & Outreach
S M Jafar Sadek, Managing Editor – Training & Development
Myvy Ngo, Managing Editor – Technical
Liz Menter, Managing Editor – Coordination

The *Journal of Student Affairs* is proudly celebrating its 26th anniversary of publication in 2017. In these twenty-six years, the *Journal* has served to showcase high-quality articles that contribute to the scholarship of student affairs, our ever-evolving field. The *Journal* affords opportunities for dissemination of new scholarship to both established researchers and those just beginning their research journey, meeting our mission to develop and produce a scholarly publication that reflects current education issues and the professional interests of student affairs practitioners in the spirit of access, opportunity, and excellence. This year's authors span from across the United States and international borders, and they serve institutions of higher education in a multitude of roles. We are pleased to have among our articles literature reviews and original research detailing important and relevant topics for student affairs.

This has been a year of changes for the *Journal*, all of which the Managing Editors believe have strengthened its abilities to promote scholarly work and perspectives from graduate students and student affairs professionals, reflecting the importance of professional and academic research in higher education, and to offer students opportunities to develop editorial skills and critical thinking while producing a professional publication. This year, Reader Board Day has been replaced with the inclusion of external reviewers throughout three rounds of review, with external reviewers joining teams of Editorial Board members to offer new perspectives on submissions. Our external reviewers included current residential SAHE students, alumni, and online students. We cannot thank these reviewers enough for their hard work and dedication to producing this year's *Journal of Student Affairs*.

Additionally, the Editorial Board made the decision this year to re-organize several editorial responsibilities to more efficiently meet the evolving needs of the *Journal*. While the responsibilities of each position remain somewhat fluid to allow for future changes, this year the Training & Development position began a consolidation with the other editorial positions, synthesizing this role seamlessly with the other major editorial roles of the board. As part of this synthesis, all editorial teams collaborated to create a training orientation for all reviewers, internal and external. Another exciting change for the *Journal* to support this collaboration is our inclusion, for the first time, of an online SAHE student on our Editorial Board. Kristina Miller, our Associate Editor for Coordination, served from across international lines as an invaluable member of our team, pioneering our inclusion of online SAHE students. As we move into our next year of publication, we hope to continue to draw on the strengths of both residential and online SAHE students in forming dynamic Editorial Boards and advancing into the future of our work.

We are very pleased to present in this year's edition an invited article from Kevin J. Gin, Tony Ho, Danielle Martinez, Derek Murakami, and Long Wu in honor and memory of Dr. Linda Ahuna-Hamill, who worked at Colorado State University for more than 30 years. During that time, she created and developed the student diversity program office that became known as the Asian Pacific American Cultural Center (APACC) and contributed to the CSU community through her role as the Assistant Vice President for Student Affairs.

The Managing Editors would like to extend our heartfelt gratitude to Teresa Metzger and Karla Perez-Velez, our stalwart advisors, for their dedication to the *Journal* and to our Editorial Board's professional development. From guiding us during our attendance at the annual Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) conference to going above and beyond to provide guidance on matters great and small, we appreciate them from the bottoms of our hearts. We are grateful for their passion for the scholarship of student affairs.

We extend our thanks as well to Jody Donovan and Dave McKelfresh, co-chairs of the SAHE program, for their continual support of the *Journal*, and to Vice President of Student Affairs Blanche Hughes for her valued leadership. We would be remiss not to thank Kim Okamoto, Executive Assistant to both Blanche and Dave, for her support and dedication to the *Journal* as well. Finally, the outgoing Managing Editors would like to thank the Associate Editors, who we know will continue the proud legacy of the *Journal of Student Affairs*, making new strides in our efforts to produce excellent scholarship in the field of student affairs.

We hope as you read the *Journal* you will note the authors' tireless efforts to fine-tune their works. We are eternally grateful for our contributing author's service to the *Journal* and to the field. We hope you enjoy reading the 26th edition of the *Journal*.

Advisors' Perspective

The 2016-2017 year has been a year of innovation and growth for the *Journal of Student Affairs* towards our goal of consistent excellence. This year's graduate student board has brought another year of growth to the *Journal* through the use technology to enhance our collaborative work with our online and residential graduate program students.

We hope you enjoy reading this year's *Journal of Student Affairs*. As always, we would like to thank Dr. Dave McKelfresh, Dr. Jody Donovan, and Kim Okamoto for their ongoing support of the *Journal*. We also extend our thanks to the SAHE Supervisors and Faculty for, without their support of the students participating in the *Journal* Board, the work of the *Journal* could not be accomplished. Our thanks also extends to Colleen Rodriguez and her publishing team for their assistance in producing the CSU SAHE *Journal of Student Affairs*.

In 2016, we continued our tradition of attending the annual Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) conference held in Columbus, Ohio. Our students were able to connect with scholars, practitioners, and fellow graduate students while attending ASHE, in addition to connecting with Dr. Susana Muñoz from CSU's Higher Education and Leadership graduate program. The students of the *Journal* Board reflected on the role of scholarship during an era of challenges in higher education.

This year we have added a special guest article in honor of our beloved faculty member Dr. Linda Ahuna-Hamill, who passed away in May of 2015. She was a shining light in the SAHE program and served as an advocate and mentor to many students in her time as a faculty member and administrator at CSU. This years' guest article is written by her students and is dedicated to her and her steadfast advocacy for Asian American students in higher education. We are grateful for the distinctive addition to the *Journal* this year. Many thanks to Kevin Gin, Tony Ho, Danielle Martinez, Derek Murakami, and Long Wu for their contributions to this article.

We continue to be honored in serving as the advisors to the Colorado State University Student Affairs in Higher Education (SAHE) *Journal* Board, a group of dedicated young professionals working towards the advancement of scholarship in student affairs in higher education through the production of a scholarly journal. We are proud of the eight students we get to work with and their hard work in the production of the 26th *Journal of Student Affairs*.

Lastly, to the 2016-2017 SAHE *Journal* Board, you have placed another layer of foundation for the *Journal* and we thank you for your time and dedication. Each of you makes the advisor role a truly enjoyable and learning experience.

Teresa Metzger
CSU Office of Residence Life,
Housing and Dining Services
SAHE Advisor

Karla Perez-Velez
CSU Office of Apartment Life,
Housing and Dining Services
SAHE Advisor

Acknowledgements

The Editorial Board wishes to thank the following individuals for their contributions toward the success of the 2016-2017 *Journal of Student Affairs*:

- Justin Thimgan, Housing and Dining Services Technology Services Assistant Coordinator, for his technical assistance during each Editorial Board meeting.
- Shaun Geisert, Webmaster for the Division of Student Affairs, for his diligent efforts in updating and overseeing the *Journal of Student Affairs* website.
- Erin Hammersley, Coordinator of Parent and Family Programs, for her support in updating the SAHE *Journal* website content.
- Dr. Kevin Kruger, President of NASPA – Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education for providing this edition's guest article.
- Dr. David A. McKelfresh and Dr. Jody Donovan, Co-Program Chairs for the SAHE program at Colorado State University, for being so supportive and encouraging for those who participate in the *Journal of Student Affairs*.
- Karla Perez-Velez, Assistant Director of Apartment Life, for pushing us to consider the future of *Journals* and *Journal* Editorial Boards to come, and her constant dedication to our professional development as *Journal* Editorial Board members.
- Teresa Metzger, Residence Life Assistant Director of Academic Initiatives, for her time dedicated to dedication to making this year's *Journal* one of the best it's ever been, and her support and guidance with the overall editing and review process.
- Kim Okamoto, Executive Assistant to the Vice President for Student Affairs and to the Executive Director of Assessment and Research, for her tireless encouragement and guidance for all associated with the *Journal of Student Affairs* and the CSU SAHE program.
- Colleen Rodriguez, Communications Coordinator for Communications and Creative Services, for her commitment in printing professional quality copies of the *Journal of Student Affairs*.
- Dr. Gene Gloeckner and Dr. Louise Jennings, Co-Directors of the School of Education, who have provided strong support for the SAHE Program and *Journal.*
- SAHE Faculty, for preparing and serving as guides to several authors and Editorial Board members during this process.
- Members of the Editorial Board for dedicating a tremendous level of professionalism and passion to the success of the *Journal of Student Affairs*, and for their commitment to making the *Journal* a better and more available publication than ever before.
- Contributing *Journal* reviewers for their hard work and dedication to editing and analyzing articles.
- The authors and contributors who chose to submit articles to the 26th Annual *Journal of Student Affairs*. Your research, dedication, and quality contributions made it possible to produce this edition.
- NASPA and ACPA graduate program directories for assisting the *Journal of Student Affairs* in reaching out to a broader audience of graduate students and new professionals who wish to submit articles for publication.

Past Leadership

As we produce the 26th edition of the Colorado State University *Journal of Student Affairs,* we acknowledge those who have laid the foundation for our success.

MANAGING EDITORS

2015-2016	Matthew Dempsey '16, LeRoy Ford '16, Kevin Ngo '16, Colin Watrin '16
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1991-1992	Marie E. Oamek '92

FACULTY ADVISORS

2007-2013	Oscar Felix, Associate Vice President for Enrollment & Access/Diversity; Assistant Professor Faculty, Student Affairs in Higher Education, School of Education, College of Health and Human Sciences, Colorado State University

	Andrea Takemoto Reeve, former Director Academic Advancement Center; former Professor, Student Affairs in Higher Education, School of Education, College of Health and Human Sciences, Colorado State University
2004-2007	Jennifer Williams Molock, former Director of Black Student Services, Colorado State University
2003-2006	David A. McKelfresh, Executive Director of Assessment & Research; Program Chair for the SAHE Graduate Program, Colorado State University
2000-2003	Paul Shang, former Director of HELP/Success Center, Colorado State University
1996-2000	Martha Fosdick ('95), former Assistant to the Vice President for Student Affairs, Colorado State University
1991-1998	Keith M. Miser, former Vice President for Student Affairs, Colorado State University

Revisiting the Model Minority Myth in Higher Education

Kevin J. Gin
Boston College

Tony Ho
Colorado State University

Danielle Martinez
University of Iowa

Derek Murakami
Semester at Sea

Long Wu
New York University

Abstract

The most recent article published by the Colorado State University Journal of Student Affairs relating to Asian Americans appeared nearly twenty years ago by DeGuzman (1998), who called for student affairs to critically examine how the model minority myth shaped the national discourse on affirmative action. Since that publication, a number of emergent trends and critiques have materialized and have been published regarding this problematic stereotype that are relevant to student affairs practitioners and scholars. This article summarizes a selected review of the literature regarding these issues (e.g. educational attainment, racialized hate, mental health, and visibility in research), and offers recommendations for student affairs practice as it relates to neutralizing the model minority myth.

Keywords: Asian Americans, model minority myth

The definition of Asian American is an individual having racial or ethnic identity(ies) from Asia (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004), which includes those from Southeast Asia, who may identify as DESI (sanskrit meaning *one from our country*). Although the United States (U.S.) Census Bureau does not include Pacific Islanders, such as people having ancestry from Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands, this review recognizes that there are strong cultural ties between Asian American and Pacific Islanders. Within the complexity of identity, many Asian Americans may also identify as Pacific Islander and vice versa (Ching & Agbayani, 2012; Hune, 2002; and Muses, 2013), Asian American is the term used in this literature review for those who identify within the Asian American, Pacific Islander, and DESI communities; understanding that this use of the term may be limiting and problematic for some individuals, and liberating for others (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997).

Asian Americans are a rapidly expanding population in the U.S., whose growth is expected to impact the composition of higher education in the 21st century (Museus & Vue, 2013). Along with Latinxs, which is a term that encompasses Latin American identity beyond the gender binary (Scharrón-Del Río & Aja, 2015), Asian Americans are the fastest increasing racial group in the country, and are projected to comprise ten percent of U.S. citizenship by 2050 (U.S. Census, 2010). Despite the documented increase of this racialized population, limited consideration is dedicated to Asian Americans within student affairs.

A review of the Colorado State University *Journal of Student Affairs* archives exemplifies the lack of attention to Asian American populations, as only one article has been published specifically relating to this racialized community since the journal's inaugural publication in 1992. DeGuzman's (1998) article focused on the impact of the model minority myth, and drew attention to the problematic means with which the Asian American community was racialized over affirmative action. The article uncovers the complexity of the Asian American population through the understanding that the experiences and ethnicities under the umbrella Asian term are varied, yet collapsed into one narrative which has perpetuated the model minority myth and in turn continued to hinder the educational success and attainment of Asian Americans.

Since DeGuzman's (1998) publication, the model minority myth has continued to impact a number of issues relevant to Asian American students that require the attention of student affairs scholars and practitioners to foster socially just learning communities (ACPA & NASPA, 2015). These issues include but are not limited to, concerning trends regarding the lack of educational attainment, the pervasiveness of racialized hate on college campuses, the lack of student support structures in student affairs, and the overall invisibility of Asian Americans within research and scholarship. These issues are briefly discussed within this review of the literature.

The Model Minority Myth

The model minority myth is a pervasive stereotype that has evolved from the perception that Asian Americans are deviant foreigners, to a modern belief that all individuals within this racialized population excel in both academic and social success (Kim, 1986). Scholars (Poon, Squire, Kodama, Byrd, Chan, Manzano, & Bishundat, 2016) have framed the model minority myth through critical frameworks, which assert the myth stems from an agenda to promote color-blind racism (Kumashiro, 2008) while also invalidating the experience described by Black students of systemic racism (Osajima, 2000). These stereotypes are advanced by contextualizing the Asian American population as a uniformly, high academic achieving community, whose success is demonstrated through attainment of superior grades, and increased degree completion compared to other racially minoritized communities (Suyemoto, Kim, Tanabe, Tawa, & Day, 2009).

Asian Americans are assumed to have *made it* in American culture, which implies Asian Americans are racially superior to other non-White populations; thus, the stereotype is used to validate the existence of the *American Dream* (Wu, 2002). This belief implies that educational attainment and social success can be realized by any racially minoritized group regardless of social inequities (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). The model minority myth further claims that the Asian American community has been successful in breaking through the racial barriers that are often cited in critiques of educational access/success that stymy Blacks and Latinxs within American society (Suyemoto et al., 2009). Such assertions are the societal narratives that tend to define the Asian American college experience, the sentiments of a universally excelling community are debunked by research that problematize the dominant discourse of this population as the model minority.

The Fallacy of Educational Attainment

The model minority myth emphasizes an oversimplified educational reality of Asian Americans in higher education (Sakamoto, Takei, & Woo, 2012). The aggregation of Asian American ethnicities into a singular group has been standardized in educational data, and the inability to decouple this racial umbrella into its more than 50 distinct subgroups has resulted in impediments that make uncovering the unique individual realities among these varied ethnic populations a difficult task (Museus, 2009).

Oversimplification of Asian American communities through aggregated data is problematic because it masks the lack of degree attainment and economic poverty faced by a number of ethnic subgroups (Chang & Kiang, 2002). For example, data indicate that a number of Asian American ethnicities exhibit alarmingly low rates of college graduation that should be of concern for college educators (e.g. Laotian 12%, Samoan 10%, and Micronesian 4%) (Museus, 2013). Furthermore, scholars have described the numerous challenges that Cambodians, Lao, Hmong, and Native Hawaiians face regarding academic readiness to succeed in college including, access to institutions of higher education, and these communities' persistence to graduate once enrolled in higher education (Lee & Kumashiro, 2005).

While the model minority myth assumes a density of the Asian American population is situated within four-year institutions, little attention is paid to the critical mass of students who enroll within two-year institutions. A majority of Asian Americans do not enroll within four-year colleges, but experience higher education through community colleges (Lew, Chang, & Wang, 2005). Teranishi (2010) confirms this by reporting that more than half of Asian American student populations attend two-year institutions, discrediting the principal claim that this racialized population is primarily located within academically elite colleges and universities.

The Prevalence of Racialized Hate

Educational researchers often assume Asian American students do not encounter the social struggles that other minoritized groups face within higher education (Chou & Feagin, 2008). Contrary to this belief, evidence exists that suggests Asian American students are the subject to significantly negative racialized campus experiences that are also faced by Black and Latinx peers at predominantly White institutions (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000).

Asian American students have been documented as regularly encountering racism in the form of microaggressions on college campuses (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013) that invalidate their identities as domestic citizens, uniformly generalize the community with high levels of intelligence, exoticize and sexualize gendered identities, and convey invisibility as a racialized population (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). Recent evidence also suggests that Asian American students are regularly the targets of racialized hate on social media and other online spaces (Gin, Martínez-Alemán, Rowan-Kenyon, & Hottel, *in press*; Museus & Truong, 2013). High-profile incidents targeting Asian Americans on social media have included Duke University's 'Asia Prime' party on Facebook (Kingsdale, 2013), and a widely shared anti-Asian rant posted on YouTube by UCLA student Alexandra Wallace (Lovett, 2011). The evidence regarding the prevalence of racism in both physical and online spaces on college campuses is concerning because encountering such hostility has been shown to result in racial battle fatigue, and increased levels of cultural distrust (Gin, Martínez-Alemán, Knight, Radimer, Lewis, & Rowan-Kenyon, 2016).

The Impact on Mental Health

Higher education often justifies the lack of support services for Asian Americans due to a belief that this racialized population experiences a seamless transition in and throughout higher education (Suyemoto et al., 2009). The model minority myth assumes that Asian American college students do not find value in support services on college campuses, but Suzuki (2002) has pointed to interventions such as the hiring of Asian American support staff led to a significant increase in utilization of campus resources by this racialized student population.

Asian American students often perceive a negative racial climate within higher education, which results in increased stress, depression, and feelings of isolation, but these students are less likely to seek support for such mental health issues (Cress & Ikeda, 2003; Lorenzo, Frost, & Reinherz, 2000). Researchers have hypothesized that this lack in help-seeking behavior may be in part explained by internalization of the model minority myth, which may threaten the ability of a student to vocalize problems and seek support from appropriate campus services (Inman & Yeh, 2007).

Others state that an overtly positive caricature projected by the model minority myth has led to adverse effects in developmental processes (Chun, 1995). Such implications include the finding that Asian American students often experience pressure and cultural shame that they must fully live up to the expectations that are defined by the model minority myth (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2008), which contribute to personal anxiety, and academic attrition (Wing, 2007). To counter these mental health ramifications, Kim and Lee (2014) suggest that Asian American students benefit from interventions that enable this population to critically analyze the effect of the model minority myth upon their psyche, and more concretely identify the barriers that inhibit help-seeking behavior.

Invisible in Research and Theory

The model minority myth has become prevalent within the structure of research and inquiry, thus limiting the visibility of Asian American issues in relevant scholarship (Museus, 2009). When examining peer reviewed publications, Museus reports a substantial lack of research (less than one percent of all published articles) regarding Asian Americans within the field of higher education's most prestigious journals. Museus asserts this finding is due to the assumption that Asian American communities continue to be perceived through the model minority lens. This lens positions the community as a population that does not face adversity or struggle within the academy, and therefore is not deserving of attention within research.

Museus (2009) states that the invisibility of Asian American's racialized experiences within student development theories is a barrier that must be remediated. When theories do integrate identities of race into their frameworks, the context is often delineated between Black and White students, which neutralize the potential to critically examine the Asian American experience as unique within higher education (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000). Although an overview of Kim's (2012) Asian American identity development is included within Wijeyesinghe and Jackson's (2012) most recent racial identity development textbook, this developmental model is regularly the only recognition of the racialized experiences considered in the literature, rendering Asian Americans identity an afterthought within research and practice. The lack of race as a confounding factor within student development theories is critical to note, as this oversight has resulted in misunderstandings of how to proficiently work with Asian American students through culturally misaligned practices and competencies (Patton, McEwen, Rendón, & Howard-Hamilton, 2007).

Future Directions for Student Affairs Practice

Student affairs practitioners are encouraged to work in ways that respond to the problematic issues stemming from the model minority myth as a means to facilitate more inclusive campuses and academically successful experiences for Asian Americans. These suggested actions must be ongoing, and congruent with the values of promoting socially just campus administrators who are dedicated to lifelong learning through the promotion of research, scholarship and best practices (ACPA & NASPA, 2015).

To accomplish this objective, student affairs scholars and practitioners are encouraged to place a greater emphasis on elevating the narratives, stories, and experiences of Asian American students within both practice and theory. Suggested steps for actions include (a) Increase the visibility of Asian Americans within scholarship early on in the training of practitioners, such as in graduate program sponsored journals, syllabi, and/or newsletters; (b) Include Asian American identities within services, programs, and conversations related to race, ethnicity, and diversity; (c) Identify, train, and promote scholar-practitioners with a specific interest in advancing Asian American research through targeted outreach within the Asian American community; (d) Recruit and retain Asian American faculty and staff who may act as mentors and increase visibility of this racialized community within senior level administrative positions, especially at predominantly White institutions (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2012).

Evidence exists that invalidates the normative "truths" assumed by the model minority myth, but barriers remain that impede the ability to foster both academic and social success for Asian Americans within higher education. Through intentional and targeted action such as the above recommendations, student affairs can situate itself as a leader in championing the call to transform today's campuses into socially just institutions that are structured to promote success not just for Asian Americans, but for students of all racially minoritized identities.

Dedicated to the memory of Dr. Linda Ahuna-Hamill, who mentored countless generations of students at Colorado State University, and taught us to shatter the glass ceilings that the model minority myth defined for us. We miss you so much.

– Me ke aloha,

All the students you inspired

Kevin J. Gin is a doctoral candidate in the Lynch School of Education at Boston College. Tony Ho is an academic success coordinator at Colorado State University. Danielle Martinez is an assistant director of academic support and retention at University of Iowa. Derek Murakami is a resident director for Semester at Sea, and Long Wu is an assistant director and career development counselor at New York University.

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Exploring the Social Experiences of College Students Who Have Autism Spectrum Disorders

Monique N. Colclough, Ph.D.
Old Dominion University

Abstract

Research and discussion on the prevalence of autism spectrum disorders in education is longstanding, albeit almost exclusive to K-12 students. Within less than 10 years the number of K-12 students who were receiving special education services for autism doubled; 2% of these students later self-identified upon matriculation as a college student who has autism. The persistence and retention of college students who have autism spectrum disorders is not well documented. Among the existing literature the diverse first-person narratives of college students who have autism are missing. This phenomenological study explored the experiences of college students who have autism spectrum disorders, focusing on the social experiences that impact college persistence and retention. The following research questions guided the study: What are the social experiences of college students who have autism? What role(s) do various social experiences play in the persistence and retention of college students who have autism?

Keywords: autism, college students, engagement, neurodiversity

Purpose

Research on the prevalence of autism spectrum disorders in education is longstanding, albeit almost exclusive to secondary students (Connor, 2013; Moores-Abdool, 2010; Newschaffer, Falb, & Gurney, 2005). Importantly, two- and four-year institutions each report 2% of the surveyed student body self-identify with autism (U.S. Department of Education [US DOE], National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2011). Although this statistic presents a broad picture of college students who have autism at two- and four-year institutions, as identified in Zager, Alpern, McKeon, Mulvey, and Maxam (2012), data about college students who have autism and their experiences is yet elusive. Literature does not capture the first-person experiences of college students who have autism, limiting the basis by which colleges and universities can create retention practices. This phenomenological study explored the social experiences of collegiate life in the context of college students who have autism, focusing on the social experiences that encourage persistence in college (Miller & Salkind, 2002).

In 2007, almost 200,000 students aged 6-21 were identified as receiving special education services for autism under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) (Newman, 2007). Less than 10 years later, the US DOE National Center for Education Statistics (2015) identified almost 450,000 of the 6.4 million secondary students, or 7%, as receiving support services for autism. This two-fold increase is critical as it provides background for the 11% of college undergraduates in 2011-2012 who self-reported a disability (NCES, 2015). In addition to research focusing on secondary school experiences, many awareness campaigns focus on the diagnosis and experiences of persons under 18 years of age (Connor, 2013). The Autistic Self Advocacy Network (ASAN) and the Autism Society appear to provide a counter spotlight, drawing attention to issues across the lifespan of persons who have autism, including college students.

Literature Review

Specific to higher education, Henderson (2001) reported approximately 6% of 66,000 first-time enrolled, full-time first-year students self-reported a disability at four-year institutions in fall 2001, including learning disabilities, visual and hearing impairments, speech and other health-related impairments. Eight years later, during the 2008-2009 academic year, more than 700,000 students self-reported a disability (NCES, 2011). More than 70% of two- and four-year colleges and universities report enrolling students who have autism, with more than half of the same colleges and universities also enrolling students with cognitive difficulties or intellectual disabilities (NCES, 2011).

Actionable information on how to support college students who have autism that is driven by personal narratives is missing from postsecondary education literature. The present literature does not include how college students who have autism navigate the social idiosyncrasies of college life, persistence and retention, nor student readiness for career and workforce opportunities. Understanding these social experiences could spotlight transition planning and positively impact retention, providing persistence strategies for higher education's response to the emerging body of college students who have autism (Kelley & Joseph, 2012). Gobbo and Schmulsky (2014) cautioned against assuming students who have autism are homogenous, instead recognizing the diversity in student ability and need. Existing research explores the learning experiences and persistence factors for college students who have autism (Gobbo & Schmulsky, 2012, 2014). Intentional techniques, such as universal design, captioning video presentations, and presenting lecture outlines ahead of class, can be used in class to be inclusive of the different cognitive abilities and learning styles. Designing varied tests or assignments also gives diverse learners opportunities to present their comprehension of the course's material (McKeon, Alpern, & Zager, 2013).

Based on the gap in the literature, the following research questions guided the study: What are the social experiences of college students who have autism? What role(s) do various social experiences play in the persistence and retention of college students who have autism?

Theoretical Framework

Astin's (1999) work surrounding involvement and student development theory created the framework for understanding the relationship among success, persistence, and student involvement, thereby moving the needle in student development theory beyond anecdotal references toward intentional longitudinal study. Astin identified several key environmental components that can shape a student's college experience, and subsequently retention. Environmental factors include: on-campus residency, engagement in university Greek life, faculty interaction, undergraduate research opportunities and faculty mentorship, participation in campus athletics, honors programs, and being involved in student leadership or government. These environmental factors are important to note as they provide context for college student campus engagement. Identified by Astin as a "unifying construct" (1999, p. 527), student development theory provides the foundation for student success initiatives, inclusive of persistence and retention.

Engstrom and Tinto (2008) expand on Astin's (1999) work by explicitly linking institutional accountability to student access, equity, and success. Writing about low-income student persistence and retention, Engstrom and Tinto identified learning communities as spaces that helped low-income students foster social engagement with peers. Safe spaces to engage, learn, and challenge each other without ridicule may also be influential for the diverse community of college students who have autism.

Significance of the Study

Ultimately, institutions are accountable for their environment related to preparedness and appreciation of diverse learners (Engstrom & Tinto, 2008; Longtin, 2014). Although Astin (1999) generally wrote about all students and Engstrom and Tinto (2008) wrote about low-income student persistence and retention, these researchers paved the way for similar arguments for the emerging body of college students who have autism. The environment college students who have autism are asked to adapt into needs improvement. Institutions must acknowledge, welcome, and strategically support college students with diverse cognitive and social abilities, encouraging their involvement and subsequently supporting persistence and retention (Couzens et al., 2015; Engstrom & Tinto, 2008; Milem & Berger, 1997).

Engstrom and Tinto's (2008) call for extending institutional support beyond traditional disability accommodations preceded Longtin's (2014) and Couzens et al.'s (2015) call for student-centered support focused on the logistical elements of time management and planning. Engstrom and Tinto (2008) also preceded Burkhardt's (2008) research on the social needs of college students who have autism. Longtin's (2014) work on designing institutional infrastructure within existing resources to meet the needs of college students who have autism champions the ability to create the inclusion and access Engstrom and Tinto promoted (2008). This recent shift to inclusivity for college students who have autism is important to note in the history of student development theory, as literature about college students who have autism in this context is scarce (Tinto, 2006-2007). The existing student development literature focuses on autism as a deficit in ability, instead of considering autism as an element of diversity, uniquely existent in a student, and an asset to the institution itself (Ne'eman, 2010; Robertson, 2010).

Understanding the social experiences and perceptions of interactions with peers, faculty, and administrators for college students who have autism is the first of many steps in strengthening the student experience. Learning how young adults navigate scenarios where social capital is at stake provides context for their future work environment, influencing outreach, and programs created for career preparation (Wehman et al., 2014).

Overview of Methodology

As an alternate to the deficit approach of research centered on the challenges or accommodations of college students with disabilities, this person-first descriptive study explored the social experiences of college students who have autism and the impact of these experiences on persistence and retention (Chown & Beaven, 2012; Gobbo & Schmulsky, 2012, 2014; McKeon et al., 2013). Taking place at a public, urban, research-intensive, doctoral-granting institution in the southeastern United States, this phenomenological study was conducted during fall 2015 and spring 2016. Undergraduates who self-identified with autism spectrum disorders were invited to participate in semi-structured interviews by way of campus advertisement on the institution's daily student announcements via email, university televisions located throughout the student center and academic spaces, partnership with regional autism advocacy organizations, and the institution's disability support services staff. The sample site was selected as a result of the diversity in course delivery for both non-degree and degree-seeking students, which is believed to be appealing to diverse learning needs (Remy & Seaman, 2014). To reduce exclusion, the inclusion criterion for the sample population was self-identification with autism for enrolled students and recent college graduates who completed degrees within the previous six months. After Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, potential participants were recruited through the Office of Educational Accessibility, campus advertising through student and faculty announcements, and collaboration with several on-and off-campus partners also working with students who have autism, including two regional autism societies and a national autism advocacy organization. Snowball sampling was also used to identify other participants who met the inclusion criteria. As a result, semi-structured one-on-one interviews were conducted with five participants, with the interviews ranging from 30 to more than 90 minutes. Interviews were held in various locations, including the university library, academic classrooms, and through a synchronous format, Skype. The variance in interview length reflects the diversity in participant communication styles and abilities, including those with elaborate responses, as well as a participant with speech disfluency.

Beginning in fall 2015, data collection persisted until spring 2016 when saturation was met. Each participant was interviewed at least once, resulting in 307 minutes of participant data. Following the foundation of qualitative inquiry, each transcribed interview was initially analyzed using a-priori codes developed from the literature and previous pilot study. Simultaneous data collection and analysis were used to take advantage of qualitative research's features, while intentionally identifying patterns and textural themes among the data (Miller & Salkind, 2002; Rubin & Rubin 2012).

A-priori codes were used to analyze and code the transcribed audio data line by line, identifying common themes, pertinent participant quotation, and unique language, creating patterns of loosely identified thick descriptions that were used for comparative pattern analysis. A-priori coding assisted in identifying etic codes, expanding and revising the initial codebook, and creating narrative themes and textural data for the final codebook (Hays & Singh, 2012). The final codebook and cross-case analysis reflect the comprehensive data identified throughout the data analysis, becoming the foundation for a comprehensive narrative reflecting the diversity of student perspectives, experiences, and recommendations for supporting college students who have autism.

Research Design

During the 2014-2015 academic year, the sample site's Office of Educational Accessibility served almost 1,000 registered undergraduate and graduate students. During fall semester 2015, almost 800 undergraduate and graduate students were registered, of which 3.5% self-identified with autism and/or Asperger's Syndrome. Snowball sampling was also used to identify other participants who met the inclusion criteria. Each call for participants instructed the interested student to complete a brief Qualtrics survey to confirm interest in the study.

Created to capture the research questions without directing the participants to focus on a singular element of their collegiate experience, 12 semi structured interview questions were intended to be a conversation guide and frame for the experiences participants were asked to recall (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The interview questions included main questions and probes (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

To memorialize salient thoughts and experiences, each participant interview was paired with a contact summary sheet, which was used to record observations and experiences immediately after each interview. Reflexive journaling also bracketed any researcher subjectivity. Confirmability was demonstrated through member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Two weeks after each interview an executive summary of keywords and themes, less than 500 words and in bulleted format, was presented as a memo to each participant for their review and feedback. Responses to the memos were used as new additional data.

Participants

The purposeful sampling method and snowball sampling strategy yielded five participants (N = 5) (Table 1). Pseudonyms were used to identify the participants and protect their anonymity. The participants self-identified with autism and confirmed receipt of diagnosis by a medical professional during their educational career. Notably, two of the participants were diagnosed in adulthood, after enrollment in college courses. Ranging in age from 19-36 years, two participants attended either a community college or another four-year university during their postsecondary educational career, while three participants only attended four-year universities. Four of the five participants were registered with the institution's disability services and many received support in secondary education through an Individualized Education Plan (IEP). However, two of the participants were not accurately diagnosed with an autism spectrum disorder until adulthood, in their 30s specifically. In "Mary's" instance, accurate support was not received until college enrollment, whereas "Don" did not receive any support at all because his diagnosis occurred after he completed college. All but one of the participants, "Norris," lived off campus with family members. Four participants were male, one female, and two participants identified as a person of color, i.e., Hispanic/Latino and Biracial/Multiracial, or Asian American.

Table 1. *Research Participants' Demographics*

Participant	Gender	Race/ Ethnicity	Age	Age of Diagnosis	Accommodations	Classification	Prior Attendance
Mary	F	White	35	33	None	Alumni	2-year & 4-year Colleges
John	M	White	26	1st Grade	Extended Time & Recording Rights	Sophomore	2-year College
Gary	M	Hispanic/ Latino & Biracial/ Multiracial	20	9 or 10	Extended Time & Quiet Testing Room	Sophomore	None
Norris	M	Asian American	19	7	Extended Time	Freshman	None
Don	M	White	36	32	None	Alumni	None

Note. All names are pseudonyms.

Summary of Findings

There are seven themes in the participant narratives: (a) campus engagement, (b) noise, (c) living accommodations, (d) faculty engagement, (e) intentional peer/classmate interactions, (f) romantic experiences, and (g) peers as mentors. What seems to be a simple decision to attend a campus event, as in a lecture, pep rally, or athletic event, can actually be a more complex decision for college students who have autism. "John" expressed his sentiment about campus engagement: "As it is…I go, I come here to learn. I don't care about the sports. Never have, never will. Even if I lived on campus I wouldn't care about the sports" (John, personal communication, February 18, 2016). Half of the participants shared they are either intentionally not engaged or cautiously engaged with social events on campus, due to the size of the crowd, potential noise levels, general disinterest, and anxiety associated with being spread too thin or not being able to focus appropriately on academics. One of the students shared her decisions are based on sensory needs, preferences, and disconnectedness with what seems to be the standard identity of an undergraduate student – that is, incredibly social, eager to attend campus events among throngs of other people, and willing to participate in athletic events.

The diversity in campus engagement is further illustrated by Norris's earnest hesitancy to disrupt the rhythm of his academic focus, which was positively influencing his persistence and retention. When asked if there were anything that he wished were different, among taking additional Advanced Placement credits in high school, he responded like other college students he wished he was able to get more involved on campus and simultaneously do well academically.

Likewise, noise was linked closely to the decision to not engage socially with campus. The decibel range at campus events and the lack of control over the noise presented a concern for some participants. Mary illustrated this best when sharing two questions she asks of herself before considering attending an event: "Is there going to be a lot of noise? Okay. Am I able to manage it? If not, don't go…if I could change anything it would be all the heavy emphasis on participating in all of these things" (Mary, personal communication, November 30, 2015). She can trace this conscious avoidance of noise back to her adolescence, age 12 specifically, when she began to separate herself from people and scenarios that were excessively noisy.

Forgoing the financial burden of on-campus housing prompted all but one of the students to live at home, with recognition that living on campus influences social engagement and overall engagement on campus. Conversely, John presented a different perspective on how living in university housing could impact his engagement with campus events, "If I lived on campus, and was exposed to it more and had interacted with it on a daily basis, I probably would be more attentive to it" (John, personal communication, February 18, 2016).

While being intentionally reluctant and selective to engage socially with the campus community, participants recall their relationships with faculty with fondness and admiration for supporting academic success in individual courses, as well as overall degree completion. Faculty engagement is a complement to intentionality about peer and classmate interactions. Talking with faculty often begins with course content and extends to become a mentee/mentor relationship as the participants progress toward graduation. Building connections with faculty around selecting a major, academic achievement, and related topics furthered student connection to campus.

Half of the participants talked about purposefully creating friendships to support academic achievement or to create a social identity. Familial support, connections with faculty, and friendships with other peers outside of campus events were also influential in the participants' persistence and retention. In the various discussions, the participants also referenced unintended romantic relationships during their college career. Although none of the participants attended college with the hope or intention of meeting their significant other, sexual identity and orientation also played a role in social experience. The participants introduced the presence of romantic experiences or relationships as an element of their social interactions with peers, on and off campus. The impact of learning how to communicate, understanding social cues, and becoming aware of communication preferences is important in understanding the relationships of the participants. Two of the students recalled talking to a woman with whom they had interest and the relative ease in which a conversation or an invitation to lunch would be extended. In retrospect, the students recalled the conversations as a natural event and did not frame establishing personal or romantic relationships within the context of being a college student with autism.

Unique to the one first-year student, the only participant living in university housing, developing a relationship with peer Resident Assistants is a salient theme. Purposefully focused on academic success, with concern for being able to incorporate cocurricular activities without failure, Norris looks to his Resident Assistant for guidance and an invitation to participate in specific extracurricular opportunities on campus. Some of the conversations about interacting with peers and classmates are rooted in the participant's contributions to group dynamics through assignments. "Gary" is partnering with a small group of young men he met in an advanced high school program, who all decided to attend the sample institution together, building an intentional academic and social network for each other. This small yet integral social and academic support group is intentionally continuing the relationships that were established in high school, in spite of different living accommodations and class schedules. Don, who created a disc jockey radio show and subsequent well-known campus persona during his first year of college, developed the most intentionally and creatively crafted peer interaction. With a weekend show dedicated to disco music, "Saturday Fever" became a campus hit. Don recalled that he "had to be extreme, I couldn't just fit in" (Don, personal communication, February 20, 2016). Don's decision highlights the diversity in approach participants took in creating a social experience as a college student who has autism.

Discussion of Findings

College students with autism spectrum disorders face a unique array of scenarios that both directly and indirectly impact their readiness and success in higher education. First-person narratives from the body of diverse students provide insight into the complexities of identity based on their narration, social experiences, and relationships with others. This includes identity as a college student, as a person who has autism, a person of color, and a member of the LGBTQIA community.

In relation to the first research question posed in this study, participants were asked about their social experiences as college students who have autism. The participants shared that in most instances they choose not to engage with campus-based social experiences intentionally, due in part to challenges noise and crowds presented at campus events. The unpredictability of a crowd's size, behavior, and decibels discouraged attendance at events which are traditionally seen as the bedrock for the undergraduate student experience. Astin's (1999) work on the intersection of environment, student identity, persistence, and student involvement is illustrated in the connections participants made with faculty. Likewise, the connection with faculty appears to build a foundation of support and affirmation that encourages persistence, personal exploration, and academic growth (Milem & Berger, 1997). In the instance of the one participant who lives on campus, the connection he made with his Resident Assistant also fosters personal exploration and persistence. An interpretation of Astin's (1999) work identifies the forgotten essence of his contribution to student development theory, which is engaging with and experiencing campus life, and those experiences becoming the foundation for a student's expanding adult identity. Student frustration with this expectation is evident as stated by John:

> There's all of these expectations to participate in all of the stuff and these things and attend a football game, attend uh, uh, attend here, attend…it's almost as if social interaction is demanded at times…and if not, uh, then people think, they'll think you're just one of those people. (John, personal communication, November 30, 2015)

Granting John's perspective, in a broader context, the participants' social experiences are inclusive of intentionally crafted and maintained friendships with people off campus, collegial friendships with faculty, and romantic relationships. The participants are not using campus as their hub for communication, connection, nor identity, yet are still having incredibly valuable social experiences as college students who have autism. It is unknown if the intentional disconnect with campus is due in part to the complex nature of autism itself, or, if the disconnect is the product of a lifetime of being forced to engage with environments that do not take into account diverse abilities and needs (Ne'eman, 2010).

As evidenced by this sample population, social experiences do not appear to influence persistence and retention – answering the second research question. With the exception of Norris, who intentionally seeks social experiences with his Resident Assistant and is motivated to increase his social experiences on campus by establishing new friendships, each of the other participants' persistence and retention is influenced by additional factors including parental and familial support, the proximity of the institution to family, and the opportunity to reside at home, thereby eliminating on-campus housing expenses. Although there was a natural ease each of the students described when talking with their instructors, none of the students identified faculty engagement as the primary factor in their persistence and retention. Instead, Don, Mary, and Norris described their interactions with faculty as positive influences, in particular the ease of conversation and relatability.

The diversity within the social experiences of college students who have autism is important and valuable to understand. While the persistence and retention of this study's participants does not appear to be influenced by their social experiences, it is critical nonetheless to understand what experiences students are having, what experiences they are avoiding altogether on campus, and the types of experiences they are creating for themselves throughout the course of their college enrollment.

Implications for Further Research

Although snowball sampling produced a diverse cross-section of participants inclusive of age, gender, academic major and classification, diagnosis, and age of diagnosis, the study's findings are not intended to be transferable to other postsecondary institutions because of the small sample size. Instead, the study's findings present an opportunity to identify implications for further research. Additional research using quantitative methods, specifically a Likert scale survey, to explore why or by what influence(s) students who have autism are maintaining college enrollment would add additional depth to the body of research. Further exploration into the role family plays in supporting and inspiring students could also be considered. Each of the students who referenced a parent in the discussion spoke specifically about their mother. While there can be any number of variables at play, research about the role of mothers, or mothering, in the persistence and retention of college students who have autism would be a valuable research extension.

The role of faculty is introduced in this study and can certainly be explored for more in-depth dissection. Specifically, what role do early connections to faculty play in establishing purpose and academic identity (Milem & Berger, 1997)? Does early exposure to faculty build upon the examples of scholarship, which were demonstrated in high school, specifically relevant for students who were enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) courses or completed an International Baccalaureate (IB) program? Similarly, disability services are discussed, almost exclusively to provide accommodations, yet their role in the persistence and retention of college students who have autism can be explored more explicitly (Robertson, 2010). What type, if any, of case management techniques do disabilities services staff provide students who are on the autism spectrum?

Two of the participants identified as persons of color, yet there is very little literature about the role within the context of autism, if any, that race or ethnicity play in the matriculation of students from high school to college and their racial identity development (Pinder-Amaker, 2014; Robertson, 2010; Shattuck et al., 2014). Lastly, an additional opportunity for research exists in the identification and study of peer support or social groups for college students who have autism. Do other institutions have peer-facilitated groups as a safe space for students to socialize and develop friendships or explore romantic relationships? If so, how do these groups function? Are they housed within disability services, or does diversity and inclusion staff incorporate this community into their portfolio?

Summary and Conclusion

This research study was purposefully developed to capture the voices of college students who have autism spectrum disorders. To accomplish this, two research questions were developed: What are the social experiences of college students who have autism? What roles do various social experiences play in the persistence and retention of college students who have autism? Participants were recruited through campus media, email, and partnerships with several off-campus advocacy and support entities. The five participants included three college students, and two alumni. In most instances the participants chose not to engage with campus-based social experiences due to challenges that noise and crowds presented. Yet, the participants intentionally developed social connections outside of campus with friends and family. It is these social connections that appear to influence college student persistence and retention. Participants also recognized the positive impact college faculty had on their undergraduate experience, self-confidence, and awareness as students and alumni. The study's findings present opportunities for further research into retention and institutional support for college students who have autism spectrum disorders.

Monique N. Colclough is a recent doctoral graduate of the Higher Education program at Old Dominion University.

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Multiracial Student Identities in American Higher Education

Raul Leon
Jennifer Osetek
Eastern Michigan University

Abstract

Scholars have noted a lack of higher education research pertaining to multiracial students (Literte, 2010). Furthermore, the presence of monoracial social constructions have impacted how student services are designed on colleges campuses (Chang, 2014), which has contributed to the creation of feelings of isolation and marginalization affecting multiracial students in the United States (Hyman, 2015; Lou, 2015) This literature review addresses themes in multiracial student identity development as being unique and complex, fluid in nature, and differing from monoracial students. This literature review brings light to the experiences of multiracial students in the college setting, examining the impact of marginalization and exclusion on identity development and college success. This literature review concludes with implications for student affairs practitioners creating more awareness and understanding of multiracial identity so communities and spaces for these students can be developed. Such spaces are essential for multiracial students' success and engagement on college campuses. Being inclusive of multiracial students can positively impact campus climate, reduce racial discrimination and bias, increase retention, and foster belonging to allow universities to reap the benefits of a racially diverse campus.

Keywords: higher education, identity development, multiracial, student

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the percentage of multiracial people (i.e., individuals and groups identifying with two or more races) represented in the United States has increased to roughly seven percent of the total population (Museus, Sariñana, & Ryan, 2015). This growth is also reflected in the K-12 system, where it is estimated one out of five students will identify as multiracial by the year 2050 (Garrod, Kilkenny & Gomez, 2014; Hyman, 2015; Ingram, Chaudhary, & Jones, 2014).

Despite the anticipated growth of this population, limited research has been conducted regarding this group and their needs in higher education (Bergerson & Huftalin, 2011; Hyman, 2015; Museus et al., 2015; Perkins, 2014). Furthermore, even when research exists, "monoracial issues tend to dominate the discourse [on campus] and multiracial issues remain largely ignored" (Museus, Yee, & Lambe, 2011, p. 22). Consequently, we discuss the experiences of multiracial students on colleges campuses today, examining current challenges for this group, while focusing on multiracial student identity development as a contributing factor for student success in the college setting (Museus et al., 2011).

History and Context

Lou (2015) argued the effects of monoracial social constructions in our country continue to create feelings of isolation and marginalization affecting multiracial students. This has been exacerbated by the creation of student services designed with a monoracial orientation, failing to provide spaces where multiracial students can develop their identity (Hyman, 2015; Literte, 2010). Nadal, Wong, Griffin, Davidoff, and Sriken (2014) compared these feelings of isolation and marginalization to experiencing daily microaggressions, which could have a detrimental effect on a college student's sense of belonging and success (Museus et al., 2011).

Confronting these challenges, campus leaders recognize addressing racism and promoting diversity are campus priorities (Williams, 2013). Unfortunately, creating a campus climate where all students can thrive is not a simple task, especially when the complex history of interracial relationships in America has contributed to the invisibility and lack of understanding of multiracial students. Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, and Renn (2010) elaborate on this lack of understanding by providing two salient examples. First, they cited the existence of America's "one-drop rule," which placed a Black monoracial identity upon those who had any Black racial makeup regardless of their physical appearance (Evans et al., 2010, p. 290). The purpose of this rule was to prevent children from Black slave owners and Black enslaved women to access any benefits linked to paternity rights. Second, they discussed events taking place in World War II, where people with one-sixteenth Japanese ancestry were not considered White and were sent to internment camps (Evans et al., 2010). Both examples, reaffirmed America has denied the existence of multiracial identities as a whole, and these examples cannot be dismissed when attempting to understand how racial tensions impact multiracial student on campuses today.

Consequently, when attempting to unearth issues pertaining to the status of multiracial students today, it is clear layers of complexity must be confronted, defined by the broad disregard of multiracial people and an acute discrimination because of their label as people of color. This literature review aims to include the narratives and experience of multiracial students in the discourse, promoting the well-being of all students on campus as a priority not reserved only to certain groups (Ortiz, 2013).

Multiracial College Student Identity Development

The nature of multiracial student identity development is complex. As one might expect, it is difficult to simplify this process, considering that identity is influenced by several factors such as one's upbringing, ethnic background, local environment, and societal expectations (Garbarini-Philippe, 2010). For multiracial students, physical appearance adds an additional layer of complexity, because they must confront the interpretations of other people who often make broad assumptions about their racial identity (Garbarini-Philippe, 2010; Hyman, 2015; Ingram et al., 2014; Lou, 2015).

Ford and Malaney (2012) argued that monoracial identity development has been explored as a linear concept, which ignores identities can intersect and can influence each other. In particular, White identity development models have been criticized because they "arbitrarily assigned a linear process that has yet to be verified empirically" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 105). This has several limitations, including contextualizing the understanding of race as a White-Black framework with no consideration of other racial groups or the complex and non-linear nature of multiracial identity formation (Evans et al., 2010). In addition, monoracial identity development theories have been criticized because they assume multiracial students must select and reconcile one racial identity, conforming to a societal racial landscape placing individuals in single groups (Evans et al., 2010). For that reason, to understand multiracial identity development, we must go beyond monoracial norms, and understand key concepts such as identity fluidity and marginalization.

Identity Fluidity

Bergerson and Huftalin (2011) stated multiracial students develop their identity through a process of recursivity, which they define as constantly negotiating multiple identities. Ford and Malaney (2012) noted that this non-linear process can include confronting issues such as sense of belonging, working through internal and external perceptions of self, and acknowledging white skin privilege and the concept of passing. To better understand the non-linear framework of multiracial identity development, researchers have introduced the concept of identity fluidity (Evans et al., 2010; Hyman, 2015; Kellogg & Liddell, 2012; Literte, 2010; Lou, 2015). Identity fluidity means multiracial identity development can differ depending on each multiracial student's setting and community, stimuli, and can fluctuate over time (Evans et al., 2010; Franco, 2015). For example, in Renn's 2004 study, 61% of multiracial college students reported that they identify their race differently in different contexts, which demonstrates the fluid nature of this concept for multiracial students (Renn, 2004 as cited in Evans et al., 2010).

Code-switching is another principle to take into account when interpreting fluidity and its relationship to identity development. Code-switching refers to the changes in mannerisms, clothing, or dialect depending on the context or environment where multiracial students interact (Ford & Malaney, 2012; Franco, 2015; Hyman, 2015). With the ability to flow across racial boundaries, multiracial students seek mutual topics (e.g. clearly stating their shared culture, ethnicity, and related experiences) to discuss with monoracial students to display their understanding, common background, and membership (Museus et al., 2015). Multiracial students adapt their racial identity in an effort to engage with peers and gain inclusion to monoracial environments (Ford & Malaney, 2012; Franco, 2015; Hyman, 2015).

Marginalization

Externally defining or negotiating identity for multiracial students often means being exposed to the negative experience of bias and marginalization in the college setting (Bergerson & Huftalin, 2011; Chang, 2016; Franco, 2015). Research suggests multiracial students experience bias and judgment through "identity ascription," which is when others decide what race multiracial students belong to (Museus et al., 2015, p. 333). Studies have demonstrated this can create distress, frustration, and anger (Museus et al., 2015, p. 339), which as Ortiz (2013) noted, can lead to further marginalization and isolation. Museus et al. (2015) explained that some multiracial students may utilize avoidant coping mechanisms as a way to deal with this bias, leading to increased stress and reduced satisfaction. Or they would intellectualize the experience of bias as nonthreatening to circumvent having to address any difficult feelings they encounter. The outcome is that multiracial students will continue to have a desire to avoid spaces where they experience marginalization due to their identity (Chang, 2016).

Another aspect of marginalization occurs when multiracial students yearn for a space where they can feel welcomed, celebrated, and accepted for their non-monoracial identity (Hyman, 2015). Multiracial students describe a desire to have their whole self be represented (Chang, 2016; Franco, 2015; Hyman, 2015). This desire to feel understood as whole is not limited to interactions with White peers. As Chang (2014) reflected upon her own multiracial experience in college (identifying as Latina, Asian, and White), it can also occur when multiracial students form relationships with peers of color, which as a group can also perpetuate silos based on one racial identity. Thus, multiracial students continue to be challenged to verify or explain their racial identity to peers (Chang, 2014, 2016; Franco, 2015; Hyman 2015; Lou, 2015). In essence, multiracial students can feel excluded with White peers because they are considered students of color (Evans et al., 2010), or challenged by peers of color because they are not considered truly authentic as monoracial people of color (Chang-Ross, 2010; Hyman, 2015;

Kellogg & Liddell, 2012). Ford and Malaney (2012) reported this as a feeling of being "racially inauthentic" (p. 24), which causes additional challenges for multiracial students who continue to feel isolated and believe their identity is externally "defined" or "negotiated" (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012, p. 525).

Spaces for Multiracial Students

Supporting the identity development of multiracial students while they are on campus is a priority colleges and universities must understand and acknowledge. One aspect of helping multiracial students with this process is to create spaces on campus where multiracial students can develop their identity without having to explain it; and where they can be with others who acknowledge their whole selves (Ingram et al., 2014; Museus et al., 2015; Perkins, 2014).

If multiracial students continue to face challenges when defining their own identity, this could have significant repercussions, including dropping classes, leaving organizations, and avoiding peers (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012). Therefore, it is necessary to create spaces where student affairs professionals can help validate the experiences of multiracial students (Garbarini-Philippe, 2010). These spaces can include creating and fostering the growth of organizations, organizing conferences, speakers, workshops, and programming focused on multiracial issues (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012).

Being in college can also offer multiracial students the opportunity to build relationships and community with other students. On one hand, while many will seek to meet other multiracial students (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012; Evans et al., 2010), it is valuable to think about intentional opportunities created on campus to allow students to interact across different racial groups. Exposure to other races and ethnicities can have a positive impact on the racial attitudes of students (Sidanius, Levin, Van Laar, & Sears, 2008). The purpose of this exposure must take into account that students must learn how to utilize resources to learn more about their racial and ethnic histories, heritages, and cultures (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012). Providing opportunities where multiracial students can educate their peers in raising awareness and promoting understanding about multiracial experiences, needs, and identities can be empowering (Museus et al., 2015). At the present time, organizations such as the National Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans and the MAVIN Foundation bring continual awareness to issues facing multiracial people, creating a movement where "inclusion and legitimacy" for those who identify as multiracial, as well as creating spaces and communities for multiracial people are no longer a desire but rather a priority (Evans et al., 2010, p. 291).

Along these lines, student interaction and bonding with peers can foster as sense of belonging and promote student engagement (Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, Whitt, & Associates, 2010). However, it is vital to think about the context where interaction and bonding take place, examining intentional practices to foster student engagement without ignoring systemic issues. In a seminal work in the field of diversity, Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998) discussed structural diversity as an important initial step toward improving the campus climate. However, to foster a sense of belonging, leaders must acknowledge and address the history of discrimination in institutions of higher education, examine the quality of student interactions, and pay close attention to the views of individuals in regards to inter-group relations and institutional commitment to diversity. Without progress in all these areas, it will be very difficult to reap the benefits of a diverse campus.

Implications for Student Affairs Professionals in Higher Education

Student affairs practitioners must be knowledgeable about all student sub-groups enrolling on campus and have a solid understanding of the interplay amongst the identities that college students bring with them (Museus et al., 2011). To meet this challenge, it is a priority to promote racial dialogue on campus and support spaces and opportunities for interaction for all students (Chang, 2016; Evans et al., 2010). Representing the voices of student sub-populations such as multiracial students can have a positive effect on campus. However, this requires campuses to pro-actively address and confront spaces and occurrences where racial bias and discrimination occur, moving from a reactionary response to campus racial tensions, to planning and strategizing as part of a broader diversity agenda (Williams, 2013).

Museus et al. (2015, 2011) stated ignoring these issues can negatively impact retention and degree completion for these sub-populations. In particular, at predominantly White institutions, racial bias and discrimination can impact the development of sense of belonging on campus which is "crucial to all students' academic and social success" (Ford & Malaney, 2012, p. 18). Therefore, student affairs professionals need to be intentional in the creation of programming for multiracial students, considering all factors influencing the development of identity, and not ignoring how multiracial students interpret their own identity (Roper & McAloney, 2010).

As it pertains to the literature discussing the identity development of multiracial students, it is promising that researchers have moved toward a discussion and a reconceptualization of student development theories (Patton, Renn, Guido, Quaye, 2016). This is a foundational moment for the field, offering an alternative framework to examine, describe, and understand the intricacies of the experiences of students and their social identities. This renewed focus on how we understand student development provides incentives to approach our work considering the fluid nature of identities, while also centering the importance of social justice and identity development. Approaching the examination of student development theory from this perspective can enhance our research and practice, but more important, it can help to recognize how identities intersect, influence each other, and exist within the context of today's college campuses.

To guide this journey, Lou (2015) urges resisting the desire to characterize and group students, making broad assumptions about their racial identity. This entails working towards an understanding of identity beyond the monoracial interpretations, where self-awareness can help create a more inclusive climate for multiracial students to have a sense of respect and belonging. Lou (2015) underscores the importance for student affairs professionals to gain "more knowledge about [multiracial students so that they can] encourage all to move beyond multiracial student acquiescence to full empowerment" (p. 56). By creating spaces and acknowledging their unique position, student affairs practitioners can contribute to the ever-important goal of creating inclusive communities.

Conclusion

In closing, supporting multiracial students requires colleges and universities to be truly committed to pluralism, which entails supporting the creation and coexistence of campus sub-communities where students can build friendships and support networks with other groups and with those who share similar characteristics (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Harper & Quaye, 2009). By paying attention to all aspects of the campus racial climate, colleges and universities can create positive educational experiences for all students, reducing "normative social and racial parameters" discouraging cross racial interaction (Asel, Seifert, & Pascarella, 2009, p. 6) by confronting current racial tensions with intentional and deliberate diversity planning.

While this is not an easy task, these are essential steps to foster multiracial student success and engagement on college campuses. As a growing number of multiracial students enroll in colleges across the nation, it is our responsibility to create a welcoming campus climate. As a nation, we are at a crossroads where reaping the benefits of a racially diverse society demands moving in a new direction, acknowledging the tense history of interracial relationships in America, but also making strides towards crafting a future where all individuals are included and can grow and develop to their full potential.

Dr. Raul A. Leon is Associate Professor of Higher Education and Student Affairs at Eastern Michigan University.

Jennifer Osetek is the Program Manager at the University of Michigan's Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center and a graduate student at Eastern Michigan University.

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Advisor as Leader? Using Adaptive Leadership as a Framework for Student Organization Advising

Michael D. Giacalone
Rhode Island College

Abstract

Student organization involvement is a common experience for students that frequently involves college employees as advisors (Cuyjet, 1996; Dugan & Komives, 2007). For students, advising provides an opportunity to connect with campus while engaging in learning and development; and for advisors it provides an opportunity to pursue interests, fulfill job duties, and help students through the learning and development process (Dunkel, Schuh, & Crystal-Green, 2014). While advising student organizations is common for faculty and staff, graduate programs provide little to no education on advising successfully. This literature review provides a framework for working with students by applying adaptive leadership to the context of advising student organizations (Heifetz, 1994). Through engaging in specific behaviors, advisors can help students learn and develop as they address different types of challenges through their work as an organization through (1) giving options, (2) role modeling, (3) defining authority, and (4) changing as necessary.

Keywords: advising, leadership, student organizations

Adaptive leadership focuses on how leaders assist others with learning how to adapt to new challenges. The theory was introduced by Ronald A. Heifetz in 1994 in his book *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, and has been further refined in collaboration with his colleagues (Heifetz & Laurie, 1997; Heifetz, Grashow, & Linsky, 2009). Since then, the theory has been applied to areas such as healthcare (Bailey et al., 2012), academic administration (Randall & Cokely, 2007), and bureaucratic organizations (Uhl-Bien & Marion, 2009). Adaptive leadership can also be applied in the context of advising college student organizations. Both the theory and student organization advising focus on group members learning, making it an appropriate framework when working with students in organizations (Heifetz, 1994; Astin, 1993).

Student Organization Advising

Eighty percent of undergraduates participate in at least one student organization before they graduate (Dugan & Komives, 2007). Many institutions require either a faculty or staff advisor for an organization to be recognized, and often student affairs professionals fulfill that role (Cuyjet, 1996). Part of the advisor's job is to facilitate students' learning and development through purposefully designed experiences and interventions which encourage both holistic and group development (Astin, 1993; Cuyjet, 1996; Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998).

While student and group development are common components to student affairs preparatory graduate program curricula (Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education, 2012), how to advise student organizations is often left to graduate students and new professionals to learn on their own, and they may not feel prepared to advise at an adequate level (Dunkel et al., 2014; Renn & Jessup-Anger, 2008). The challenges that can come from this unstructured learning is further compounded for advisors who either did not complete a student affairs preparatory graduate program (for example, faculty advisors or staff advisors from other educational backgrounds), or those programs which do not contain an experiential learning component such as a graduate assistantship (Underwood & Austin, 2016).

Advisor as Leader?

Post-industrial leadership theories have moved away from leadership being predicated on holding a specific position or a finite number of traits (Northouse, 2016); however, the current body of literature continues to have undertones of leadership as a formal position (DeRue, 2011). For example, Bass (1990) in his discourse on transformational leadership refers to "supervisors" and their "employees" in the process (p. 19). These undertones are reflected in higher education literature as well, where leadership is contextualized as leading from an administrative position (Amey, 2006; Dalton & McClinton, 2002).

Student organization advisors have authority based on their position, however, the purpose of student organizations is to help students learn and develop, not for the advisor to lead the organization (Astin, 1993; Dunkel et al., 2014). The focus on others' (the students) learning makes adaptive leadership an appropriate framework for advising (Heifetz, 1994).

Advisor Authority

Heifetz (1994) distinguished authority from leadership in adaptive leadership theory. Authority, which Heifetz defined as "conferred power to perform a service" (p. 57), is based on the expectations of others relevant to their understanding and perception of an experience, whereas leadership is something people do, but is not necessarily something they do all the time (Heifetz et al., 2009). Heifetz further divided authority into formal authority and informal authority. Formal authority comes with a position whereas informal authority is granted based on social interactions.

Student organization advisors are granted formal authority as employees of the institution regardless if advising an organization is an assigned or volunteer responsibility (Cuyjet, 1996; Meyer & Kroth, 2010). Authority, however, is not without constraints. Since authority is conferred by others, it can be taken away by those same people thus the leader loses the power and influence needed to create change (Heifetz, 1994). In the role of the advisor, the authority is additionally constrained by the complexity of the individual's roles. As both an agent of the organization and an employee of the college, an advisor has to navigate how decisions of the group may impact their employment or reputation at the institution (Cuyjet, 2006).

Adaptive Leadership

Adaptive leadership has two primary components: (1) situational challenges and (2) leader behaviors. The theory emphasizes "the activities of the leader in relation to the work of followers in the contexts in which they find themselves" (Northouse, 2016, p. 257). The goal of the leader is not to solve the programs for their followers, but rather to help them adapt to the situations presented to them (Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz et al., 2009).

Situational Challenges

Heifetz (1994) identified three types of situations in which challenges arise. Each type has a different level of problem and solution clarity, as well as a different balance of responsibility between the leader and followers for solving the problem (Heifetz et al., 2009). For the purposes of advising student organizations, this balance is conceptualized as the amount of advisor facilitation needed to help students work through challenges they encounter.

The first type of challenge, a *technical challenge*, is when both the problem and the solution are clear, often because the group has encountered the problem before. A *technical-adaptive challenge* is the second type and occurs when the problem is clear, but the solution requires learning, and both parties have the responsibility to find an answer. The final type of challenge is an *adaptive challenge*. These are challenges where the problem and solution are unclear, and the advisor takes on the primary responsibility for assisting with student learning (Heifetz, 1994).

Leader Behaviors

There are six behaviors leaders enact in adaptive leadership: (1) *get on the balcony*, (2) *identify the adaptive challenge*, (3) *regulate distress*, (4) *maintain disciplined attention*, (5) *give the work back to the people*, and (6) *protect the voices of leadership from below* (Heifetz, 1994). These behaviors may happen simultaneously (Northouse, 2016), but the first, *get on the balcony*, is necessary for the leader to engage in any of the other behaviors (Heifetz & Laurie, 1997).

Get on the balcony was coined because in order for leaders to understand what is occurring they need to be able to remove themselves to see overarching patterns within the organization. Leaders must be able to move from this high-level view into the work of the group and back again in order to facilitate learning (Heifetz & Laurie, 1997). From the view on the metaphorical "balcony," leaders can engage in the second behavior, *identify the adaptive challenge*, by distinguishing the type of challenge (*technical*, *technical-adaptive*, *adaptive*) the group encounters. Common forms of adaptive challenges are values incongruence, conflicting commitments, addressing taboo topics, and work avoidance (Heifetz et al., 2009).

The third behavior in adaptive leadership is to *regulate distress*, and mirrors Sanford's (1962) theory of challenge and support. "The leader is responsible for direction, protection, orientation, managing conflict, and shaping norms" (Heifetz & Laurie, 1997, p. 127) and needs to create a "productive zone of disequilibrium" (Heifetz et al., 2009, p. 29). The fourth behavior, *maintain disciplined attention*, is related to the third. For this behavior, the leader's responsibility is to ensure group members persist in addressing their challenges by encouraging them to continue to work through the challenge until they overcome them.

Heifetz and his colleagues (2009) stated "the work of addressing an adaptive challenge must be done by the people connected to the problem" (p. 74), which is the essence of the final two behaviors: *give the work back to the people* and *protect the voices from below*. As described above, creating a dependency upon the leader to solve the challenges a group encounters does not encourage learning (Heifetz, 1994). It is important that those who are impacted by the challenge take initiative to solve it. The leader's responsibility is to empower the members to do so while ensuring that members who have dissenting thoughts or feel silenced are encouraged to share their thoughts (Heifetz & Laurie, 1997; Northouse, 2016).

Implications for Practice

Based on the review above, the author provides four broad implications for advising student organizations: give options, role model, define authority, and change as necessary.

Give Options

Supplying an appropriate amount of challenge and support will enable both the students and organization to develop (Sanford, 1962; Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz et al., 2009). Instead of the students avoiding challenges or approaching everything the same way, encourage them to think about other ways to accomplish a task. Using the argument "we've always done it this way" to execute a poorly functioning program or process is a type of work avoidance that will not encourage learning (Heifetz & Laurie, 1997).

Rather, challenge students to think about other ways they could execute that function. If the students are unable to think of alternatives, it could be a sign they are experiencing too much challenge (Sanford, 1962). In that case, give the students a variety of options from which to choose. By doing this, the advisor is providing support (Sanford, 1962), while challenging the students to analyze the merits of the various options (Perry, 1981), without creating a dependency on the authority figure (Heifetz, 1994).

Role Model

By engaging in adaptive leadership behaviors, the advisor role models for their students, thus encouraging leadership development (Komives, Owen, Longerbeam, Mainella, & Osteen, 2005). The role modeling can extend beyond working with undergraduates to working with new professionals and graduate students who advise student organizations as well. Adaptive leadership can be used more concretely when working with new and pre-professionals by creating specific definitions and actions for each behavior (Northouse, 2016). Not only will definitions and actions provide a common language, it also will help with assessing their advising ability. By using a rubric, new professionals and graduate students can understand their areas of strength, weakness, and growth over time (Henning & Roberts, 2016; Renn & Jessup-Anger, 2016).

Define Authority

Authority is given and taken away by others both within and outside of an organization (Heifetz, 1994). In the context of advising, this means advisor authority is conferred by both an advisor's supervisor and the students in the organization. Losing authority from a supervisor could come with disciplinary actions, fewer responsibilities in the future, or negative reviews. Losing authority from the student organization could result in reduced influence to engage them in learning and development (Heifetz, 1994). It is important advisors are proactive about managing the expectations by discussing their role with students and supervisors on a regular basis (Cuyjet, 1996; Dunkel et al., 2014). Additionally, advisors need to be aware of campus, local, and national politics and events that could impact advising a student organization (Cuyjet, 1996).

Change as Necessary

As students learn and develop, the way a person advises has to change (Creamer, 2000). A challenge may change from an *adaptive* challenge to a *technical-adaptive*, or *technical challenge* as the group encounters that challenge multiple times. As the perception of challenges changes, the advisor will be required to adjust the amount of facilitation necessary in his or her work. Advisors encourage a "maladaptive" dependency when they give answers too quickly based on the assumption that students have learned from a particular challenge already (Heifetz, 1994, p. 73). If the advisor, however, does not facilitate a student organization through challenge at all, they are not providing the support needed for student learning and growth (Heifetz et al., 2009; Sanford, 1962).

Limitations

There are a few limitations in applying adaptive leadership to advising student organizations. First, there is little empirical evidence surrounding the theory, as it is primarily based on broad ideas that are difficult to measure. The breadth of these ideas pose a second limitation as people may conceptualize them differently (Northouse, 2016). Third, adaptive leadership is based on the assumption that the organization acts as a well-functioning group with a high level of trust. Without those pre-conditions, the execution of some behaviors outlined may breakdown in the process (Uhl-Bien & Marion, 2009). Finally, the level of involvement with an organization and advisor varies (Dunkel et al., 2014). Many of the recommendations outlined above are based on the assumptions that the advisor is viewed as an authority figure of the organization (Heifetz, 1994) and has the availability or interest to spend time developing the students.

Implications for Research

Given the limited empirical research on adaptive leadership, there are many areas to explore through scholarship. On the broadest level, research needs to be done on if and how student organization advisors view themselves as leaders of the organizations they advise, and how that impacts student learning and development. Additionally, while adaptive leadership theoretically provides a framework for student organization advising, no research exists about its impact on student learning, development, and/or organizational effectiveness. Northouse (2016) has developed a 360-degree assessment questionnaire, which has yet to be tested for reliability or validity. Establishing psychometric properties for the questionnaire would allow for quantitative research to be done in a variety of settings, including with student organization advisors.

Conclusion: Advisor as Leader

Advisors have the opportunity to play an important role in student learning and development, and given the high percentage of students who participate in student organizations, this can amount to a large number of students (Dugan & Komives, 2007; Dunkel et al., 2014). While the advisor's role is not to the run the organization that does not mean that advisors are not leaders. Advisors have the opportunity to lead through the lens of adaptive leadership by assisting students address and find solutions to the challenges that present themselves. Specifically, advisors can give options, role model, define authority, and change as necessary in order to help students. Using adaptive leadership as a framework for advising student organizations is a tool to assist advisors improve their practice and fulfill one of the primary goals of student affairs – the holistic development of students (Evans et al., 1998).

Michael D. Giacalone is the Student Activities Program Coordinator at Rhode Island College and a student in the University of Rhode Island/Rhode Island College joint Ph.D. in Education program.

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Legal Analysis: Sexual Assault on Campus

Karen Coburn
Daryl R. Privott
Morehead State University

Abstract

Title IX was originally designed to prevent sexual discrimination in educational and campus activities for any institution receiving federal aid. Though still responsible for this purpose, Title IX and its amendments have developed into an expansive set of laws to protect students. The prevention of sexual assault and sexual harassment is a crucial issue for college campuses across the United States as they work to provide a safe educational environment free from discrimination. Updated legislation and high-profile cases have created a maelstrom for campus leaders. The crossroads of federal oversight, state law, and institutional interpretation of the laws can inhibit educational institutions from responding appropriately when issues arise. This paper offers a legal review, provides policy strategies and recommendations for addressing sexual assault and sexual harassment on college campuses.

Keywords: sexual assault, sexual discrimination, Title IX

The prevention of sexual assault and sexual harassment has become a crucial issue for college campuses across the United States. A 2015 report by the Association of American Universities (AAU) revealed about one in ten female students had "experienced sexual assault involving penetration, by force or incapacitation, while in college" (Kingkade, 2015, para. 1), and "only about 1 in 4 students said they reported their attacks to either their school or law enforcement" (Kingkade, 2015, para. 3). How did sexual assault become a prevalent issue for campuses? What do Title IX and the Clery Act do to address the issue? This paper examines Title IX and its amendments, rape and sexual assault, policy strategies, current cases as well as provide recommendations for forward movement.

Background

Implemented in 1972, Title IX of the Education amendments act is overseen by the United States Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The amendment forbids gender discrimination to establish equality in college sports programs that receive federal assistance (Dunn, 2014; Meloy, 2014; United Educators, 2015b). Originally a civil rights violation, Title IX has grown to encompass sex and gender discrimination, including sexual harassment and sexual assault when it interferes with the ability to access educational programs or activities (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016; Galloway, Arnold, & Patel, 2015; Koss, Wilgus, & Williamsen, 2014; Meloy, 2014; O'Connor, 2016; Streng & Kamimura, 2015; United Educators, 2015b). In 2016, the United States Department of Education along with the United States Department of Justice, released a joint statement to include protections for transgender students within Title IX.

In response to the rape and murder of Jeanne Clery on Lehigh University's campus in 1986, a consumer protection law called the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (also known as The Clery Act) was passed in 1990 (Clery Center for Security on Campus, 2016). The Clery Act requires all federally funded colleges and universities to annually report crime on campus. Section 304 of the 2013 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) amending Clery, required universities to address how they are improving campus safety and providing support programs to survivors of assault, violence, and stalking (Clery Center for Security on Campus, 2016; Dunn, 2014; Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016; Galloway, Arnold, & Patel, 2015; MacKinnon, 2016; United Educators, 2015b; Yung, 2015). In 2014, another VAWA amendment required colleges and universities to report all sexual violence and show the standard of proof in adjudication (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016). These amendments to the Clery Act have better aligned the program with Title IX and federal definitions of rape and sexual assault.

Rape and Sexual Assault

In 2012, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revised its definitions of rape and sexual assault to accommodate societal changes. Originally, the definition of rape referred only to incidents involving female victims. The current definition is "the penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim" (Carbon, 2012, para. 1), or where the victim is incapable of providing consent (Aronowitz, Lambert, & Davidoff, 2012; Carbon, 2012; MacKinnon, 2016; O'Connor, 2016). The definition of sexual assault includes rape, and includes other forms of unwanted sexual contact like sexual coercion, fondling, or sexual battery (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016). In many states, sexual assault is considered a lesser offense while rape is not (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016; O'Connor, 2016).

Definitions created by the Federal Government, as well as Title IX and the Clery Act, provide colleges and universities with flexibility in addressing sexual violence. This flexibility has ultimately hurt victims by hindering the development of proactive and progressive policies (Dunn, 2014; Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016). The National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2016) found that one in five women and one in every sixteen men are sexually assaulted while in college. Most assaults occur within the freshman and sophomore years with sixty percent of sexual assaults taking place on campus (O'Connor, 2016; Streng & Kamimura, 2015; United Educators, 2015a).

Sinozich and Langton (2014) compiled a study of rape and sexual assault victimization among college females from 1995 to 2013. It was found that eighty percent of student victims did not report the assault to the police and twenty percent feared reprisal for reporting the assault (Sinozich & Langton, 2014). Only sixteen percent received support services following the assault (Sinozich & Langton, 2014). Eighty percent of victims knew the offender, and typically alcohol played a role, making it difficult to prove assault (Aronowitz, et al., 2012; O'Connor, 2016; Sinozich & Langton, 2014; United Educators, 2015a).

Cantor et al. (2015) released their findings for the Association of American Universities on rape and sexual assault from twenty-seven prominent U.S. schools. More than twenty percent of undergraduate female respondents reported being victims of sexual assault or sexual misconduct during the year. About the same number (20.2 percent) reported sexual assault and misconduct as a true problem, while most did not report the assault to law enforcement (Cantor, et al., 2015). Yung (2014) suspects colleges and universities are underreporting by upward of forty-four percent and indicated that belief systems might be responsible for the reporting discrepancy.

Critics identify some reports are confusing rape with other forms of sexual assault thereby increasing the victimization rate or ignoring the larger numbers of college-age women who are not students that are more likely to be raped or sexually assaulted (Aronowitz, et al., 2012; Crocker, 2015). DeMatteo, Galloway, Arnold, and Patel (2015) concluded campus sexual assault to be a substantial public health concern warranting further investigation and questioned whether cases of sexual assault should ever be handled by an institution other than the criminal justice system.

Rape myth is the idea that victims are responsible for their victimization, allowing justification of the perpetrator's actions (Aronowitz, et al., 2012; Chapleau & Oswald, 2013; Hayes, Lorenz, & Bell, 2013). Aronowitz, et al., (2012) found more sexual knowledge does lessen the likelihood of a student accepting rape myth to be true and helps to develop a "prosocial attitude" (p. 179). Similar studies examined rape myth through system justification theory and just world belief theory. System justification theory posits the strategic use of stereotypes about rape to blame women for their own suffering (Chapleau & Oswald, 2013). Similarly, just world belief theory posits the rationalization of an injustice by blaming the victim (Grinnell, 2016). Both studies found support within these belief system theories for the defense of unethical behavior (Chapleau & Oswald, 2013; Hayes, et al., 2013).

Policy Strategies

It is important that sexual misconduct policies include clear definitions and reporting guidelines. Policies, along with prevention and awareness resources need to be shared with students, faculty, and staff. The policy should address high-risk behaviors such as binge drinking and promote culture change within groups by collaborating on student-driven programming (Brown, Alexander, & Rothenberg, 2015; Dupain & Lombardi, 2014; Salazar, Vivolo-Kantor, Hardin, & Berkowitz, 2014; Streng & Kamimura, 2015; United Educators, 2015a). Changing the culture and belief systems on college campuses will require sustained attention and the implementation of specific policies and programs.

Bystander intervention is a program which focuses on community-level change and encourages action (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016; Kleinsasser, Jouriles, McDonald, & Rosenfeld, 2015; Not Alone, 2016; O'Connor, 2016; Salazar, et al., 2014). Bystanders tend to be hesitant to intervene either due to rape myth belief, concerns of misjudging a situation, or waiting in hopes others will help first (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016; Not Alone, 2016). Bystander intervention programs teach participants to heighten their awareness, take responsibility of those around them, change their perception of norms like rape myth, shows them how to weigh the pros and cons of a situation, builds their confidence and intervention skills. Classes can be offered online or in-person, and there are a variety of services available to provide training (Gala & Gross-Schaefer, 2016; Kleinsasser, et al., 2015; Not Alone, 2016; Salazar, et al., 2014).

Another popular method colleges are adopting is affirmative consent which is defined as a knowing and voluntary agreement between partners before engaging in sexual activity. Slogans such as *Yes Means Yes*, or *No Means No* are examples of affirmative consent (Affirmative Consent, 2016). At the state level, twenty-four states have no affirmative consent legislation under review. Eighteen other states are considering affirmative consent legislation. Three states have passed similar laws and three have passed statewide campus assault legislation without affirmative consent. Only one state, California, has a statewide college affirmative consent law signed by the governor (Affirmative Consent, 2016; Emba, 2015; Ortiz, Shafer, & Murphy, 2015). Legislating affirmative consent has met resistance from critics who claim the policy is unfair and may infringe on a male students' civil rights (Yoffe, 2014).

Critics of affirmative consent doubt students are seeking consent before sexual encounters and question how one can prove that consent did or did not take place (Keenan, 2015; MacKinnon, 2016). MacKinnon (2016) states "presence of consent does not make an interaction equal. It makes it tolerated, or the less costly of alternatives out of the control or beyond the construction of the one who consents" (p. 440). In other words, to avoid a more violent assault, someone may consent to a sexual encounter, or they may be a victim of sexual coercion. Sexual coercion is the use of words, drugs, or alcohol to force a sexual interaction by one party against the will of another party (Basile, Galbraith, & Lukima, 2015).

A seemingly significant blow to the affirmative consent movement transpired in May 2016. The American Law Institute voted against including affirmative consent in their model penal code (MPC). The vote removed affirmative consent as a standardized state criminal law in the United States (Harris, 2016; Richardson, 2016). Richardson (2016) applauded the vote as a win for the rights of accused perpetrators who felt they had received consent. Harris (2016) agreed, even if found innocent, an accusation can have a lasting and permanent effect on the accused.

Current Cases

The outcomes of several current cases may change how colleges and universities handle sexual assault cases moving forward. In several of the cases, the rights of the accused are the central focus. Spicer (2016) reviewed five such cases. The first case is a situation where a university board of regents is accused of being irresponsible in their response to accusations of sexual assaults by several female students, particularly assaults by football players (Spicer, 2016). The remaining cases are by male students who are fighting back against current systems.

In the second case a male student accused the school of not providing him with a full notice of the assault allegation. The lack of information denied him a fair hearing. The third case complainant accused a university of biased decision-making toward the victim displaying gender bias. The case is now on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. In the fourth case, the defendant raised concerns that disciplinary action would eliminate the privacy of the alleged victim. The case records are currently sealed to the outcry of First Amendment advocates (Spicer, 2016). In the final case, a university banned a student and withheld his degree while they investigated allegations. The suit challenges the policies of the United States Department of Education use of preponderance of evidence, rather than clear and convincing evidence (Spicer, 2016).

Final Thoughts

The issues surrounding sexual assault are unique to each school, their population, their ability to address the issue and support victims. Turning a blind eye will merely perpetuate an underground rape culture that allows continued victimization of students (Brown, Alexander, & Rothenberg, 2015). Federal programs and legislation can only provide a certain level of protection. At the state level, there are limits to what can be done to address the problem. However, prevention and informational programs, as well as clear and precise policies need to be implemented at each university to ensure all students are protected and in a safe environment free from discrimination.

Karen Coburn is a doctoral candidate in the Adult & Higher Education program at Morehead State University. Daryl R. Privott, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor in the Adult & Higher Education Program at Morehead State University.

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The Impact of Employment on College Student Satisfaction and Retention

Jungmin Lee
Renee Setari
University of Kentucky

Abstract

With increased college costs, working while enrolled in college is common among college students. Despite its prevalence, researchers have not reached a consensus regarding whether working while in college harms student retention (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). In order to fill the void in the literature, this study examines the relationship between student employment and college retention for first-year college students. This study used logistic regression models to analyze institutional data from a large flagship university in the southeastern United States. Results showed that students who worked more than fifteen hours per week off-campus tended to be less satisfied with their institution and less likely to intend to reenroll. These results suggest excessive off-campus employment has a direct and negative effect on college retention. However, there was little evidence that working on- and off-campus affects students' academic or social integration to their institution. This result calls for more empirical studies to examine the relationship among student employment, integration, and retention.

Keywords: academic integration, college retention, social integration, student employment

College student employment has become increasingly commonplace over the past four decades (Geel & Backes-Gellner, 2012; Riggert et al., 2006; Roska, 2010; Scott-Clayton, 2007). Gleason (1993) noted undergraduate employment rates rose from under 45% in the 1960s to nearly 56% by the end of the 1980s. Furr and Elling (2000) found the number of students intending to work while in college increased another 6.4% during the 1990s. Undergraduate employment peaked in the early 2000s, with more than half of full-time students working in 2000, and 85% of part-time students working in 2005 (NCES, 2014). In 2012, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reported 41% of traditional age full-time students worked, and part-time and nontraditional students were employed at even higher rates (NCES, 2014). Although these numbers may have dropped somewhat due to the recession, undergraduate employment remains prevalent, and most students will be employed at some point during their college careers (Butler, Dodge, & Faurote, 2010).

Although employment has become an expected part of the college experience, researchers are uncertain if it is a beneficial part of the experience (Kulm & Cramer, 2006; Orszag, Orszag & Whitmore, 2001). While employment can improve one's chances in the workforce following graduation, many students do not work jobs that enhance their marketable skills (Scott-Clayton, 2011). Low-wage, unskilled college work has been connected to increased stress instead of growing confidence (Butler, Dodge, & Faurote, 2010). Furthermore, the majority of working students feel obliged to work because of financial need, and this distracts them from concentrating on their studies (Curtis & Williams, 2002). Working, particularly long hours, may hinder students from adapting to the college environment because they do not have ample time to engage in their classwork, connect with other students, or work with faculty

(DeSimone, 2008; Furr & Elling, 2000). Problems adjusting to college may lead to students becoming dissatisfied, reducing their course load, or withdrawing from higher education in the end (Gleason, 1993). The negative consequences of excessive work can have even more serious implications for first-year students who often have difficulty adjusting to college (Tinto, 2012).

Despite these contrasting perspectives, only a few studies have empirically examined the effect of student employment on college outcomes. This study fills the void in the literature by exploring whether student employment affects first-year college students' satisfaction and intent to reenroll in a large flagship university. Results from this study will inform higher education administrators and practitioners about the relationship between student employment and retention and provide the basis for initiatives to improve undergraduate retention experience.

Theoretical Backgrounds

This study is grounded on Astin's (1984) student involvement theory and Tinto's (1975) interactionalist theory. According to Astin, students' academic and social experience on-campus is the key to student retention. In other words, as students put more energy and time into academic and social activities in college, they become more likely to remain at their institution. Tinto states that student attrition is affected by the extent of students' academic and social integration. Upon college enrollment, students have an initial level of commitment to their college and to degree attainment. The initial level of commitment is adjusted as students interact academically and socially in their institution. The more students are integrated, the higher their commitment to their institution and degree attainment. Students with a higher level of subsequent commitment are more likely to reenroll in their institution (Tinto, 1975).

Based on these frameworks, we can derive propositions to test the relationship between student employment and retention. According to Tinto (1975), student employment can have contrasting effects depending on the job's location. Working on-campus helps students interact more with faculty, staff, and other students, as well as develop a sense of belonging (DeSimone, 2008). As a result, on-campus student workers would be more likely to reenroll in their institution. In contrast, off-campus workers would be less likely to continue enrollment, as off-campus jobs take time and energy away from activities on-campus. Based on Tinto's theory, student employment can affect student retention through integration. Students who work long hours off-campus have less time available to interact with other peer students, meet with instructors, and become involved with campus organizations (Stuber, 2009). Such student workers would be less likely to be integrated into the on-campus environment, and would be more likely to leave their institution or higher education entirely because they would not feel committed to the experience.

Literature Review

To date, researchers have not reached a consensus about the effect of student employment on college outcomes (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Some researchers found that student employment improved students' outcomes. Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedon, and Terenzini (1998) determined that off-campus employment was positively related to reading comprehension and critical thinking skills during the third year of college, so long as students worked fewer than 20 hours a week. Furthermore, no negative impact was found for first- and second-year students working off-campus in terms of their cognitive abilities (Pascarella et al., 1998). In another study, students working a moderate number of hours (under 15 hours per week) were found to have above average GPAs and a greater likelihood of graduating on time (Hood, Craig, Ferguson, 1992; King, 2002). Employment was also shown to increase the likelihood of persisting to graduation for middle- and upper-class students (Paulsen & St. John, 2002), possibly because these students were more likely to have jobs related to their career aspirations and, in turn, were more motivated to continue (Holland, 1985; Luzzo, 1995; Stern & Nakata, 1991; Stuber, 2009). Beeson and Wessel (2002) also found that students who work on-campus are more likely to persist until graduation.

In contrast, numerous studies found employment hinders positive adjustment to college life (Bozick, 2007; Mimiseishvili, 2010). The negative outcomes of working while enrolled include increased stress, depression, and higher risk of heavy drinking when compared to students who do not work (Butler, Dodge, & Faurote, 2010). Student workers have been shown to incur steep academic consequences, especially when they worked off-campus. Ehrenberg and Sherman (1986) reported the more hours students worked, the less likely they were to continue their education the following academic year. Even workers who managed to stay enrolled often did so by extending their degree programs well beyond the traditional four-year window (King, 2002). Gleason (1993) also demonstrated working while in college increased dropout probability, and working every semester in college increased the time students needed to earn their degrees.

To summarize, working while in college can have either positive or negative effects on student outcomes depending on the location or the intensity of work. However, only a few studies provided explanations for these mixed results. According to Pike, Kuh, and Massa-McKinley (2009), there are three possible explanations for these inconsistent findings. First, the relationship is curvilinear rather than linear. Because student employment has a negative effect only when students work excessive hours, the effect of employment can differ depending on the number of work hours. Second, the effects depend on where students work. On-campus work sometimes has positive effects on grades or retention, while off-campus work is related to negative outcomes. Lastly, there are mediating variables that affect the relationship between student employment and college outcomes. For example, student employment itself does not have a significant effect on retention; however, students who work too many hours off-campus are less involved in on-campus activities, which in turn affect their retention.

Based on the theoretical frameworks and the literature, this study addresses the following research questions. First, does on- and off-campus student employment affect college retention after controlling for student characteristics? Second, is there a direct relationship between student employment and retention? Or, does student employment affect retention, acting through student integration into the student's institution?

Methodology

This study used an institutional dataset from a public flagship university in the southeastern U.S. The data come from a 2013 survey of students' first-year college experiences. The survey data included students' demographics, academic preparation, and Pell grants receipt status, but it did not have parental education or family income variables. The survey, which was distributed during the spring 2013 semester, collected responses from 568 first-year students out of 5,765 all freshmen enrolled in the institution. Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics for students in the sample. Overall, 65% of respondents were female students, and 20% of respondents were underrepresented racial minority students (African-American, Latino, Native American, or two-race students). About 80% of students never worked either on- or off-campus during their freshman year.

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics*

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation
Female	0.646	0.479
Racial Minority (Excludes Asian)	0.202	0.402
Pell Recipients	0.259	0.438
ACT scores	26.768	4.255
High School GPA	3.815	0.506
Intent-to-Re-Enroll	0.920	0.271
Satisfied with College	0.809	0.394
Student Employment		
Variables	**Categories**	**Percentage (Number)**
On-Campus Work	Never	80.48 (400)
	1-15 hours per week	15.90 (79)
	15 hours or more	3.62 (18)
Off-Campus Work	Never	79.64 (395)
	1-15 hours per week	14.52 (72)
	15 hours or more	5.85 (29)

To address the first research question, this study used logistic regression to explain students' first-to-second-year retention. In this study, there are two indicators of student retention: intent-to-reenroll and student satisfaction. The intent-to-reenroll variable directly asked students whether they had a plan to reenroll the next fall. Although this variable appears to be the direct indicator of student intent-to-reenroll, student responses to the variable overestimated their actual reenrollment decision. In the survey, only 8% of students reported they did not plan to reenroll, while the actual first-to-second year drop-out rate for the cohort was 17.5%. Therefore, following Strayhorn (2008), this study used the student satisfaction variable as another indicator of students' intention to reenroll. The satisfaction variable was constructed based on student responses to the question "If you could start college again, would you enroll at the institution?" If a student responded either definitely yes or probably yes, we treated the student as satisfied (and more likely to reenroll). If a student responded either definitely not or probably not, we treated the student as unsatisfied (and less likely to reenroll). For this question, 19% of students responded they were not satisfied with the institution, which was similar to the university's actual first-to-second-year dropout rate.

The key independent variables are the number of hours worked on-campus and off-campus. Based on literature which described working more than 15 hours per week as a tipping point for students (Hood, Craig, Ferguson, 1992; King, 2002; Pascarella et al., 1998), there are three categories within the employment variables: never worked, worked between 1-15 hours per week, and worked 16 hours or more per week. In addition to these independent variables, covariates related to student retention were added: gender, race, Pell grant status, ACT scores, and high school GPAs (Adelman, 2006).

The second research question explored whether student employment first affected student integration and then retention. Using exploratory factor analysis, integration variables were constructed based on student responses about their success in making friends and adjusting to social environment of the campus (social integration), as well as their ability to manage time effectively, develop effective study skills, and adjust to the demands of college (academic integration). Both integration scales were found to be internally consistent. Cronbach's alpha for academic integration and social integration were 0.897 and 0.872, respectively. In order to answer the second research question, we first ran a multiple regression to predict student academic and social integration using students' on- and off-campus work hours. Then, another logistic regression model was run in order to predict retention using student employment, integration, and all other covariates.

Results

Figure 1 shows the relationship between work hours per week and the outcome variables. The x-axis represents the number of work hours per week, and the y-axis indicates the probability of retention outcomes (either intent-to-reenroll or student satisfaction). Students' number of work hours had a negative relationship with both intent-to-reenroll and student satisfaction. As students worked more, their probabilities of intending to reenroll or being satisfied with the institution decreased. The negative impact of working more than 15 hours per week was most pronounced with off-campus employment and student satisfaction.

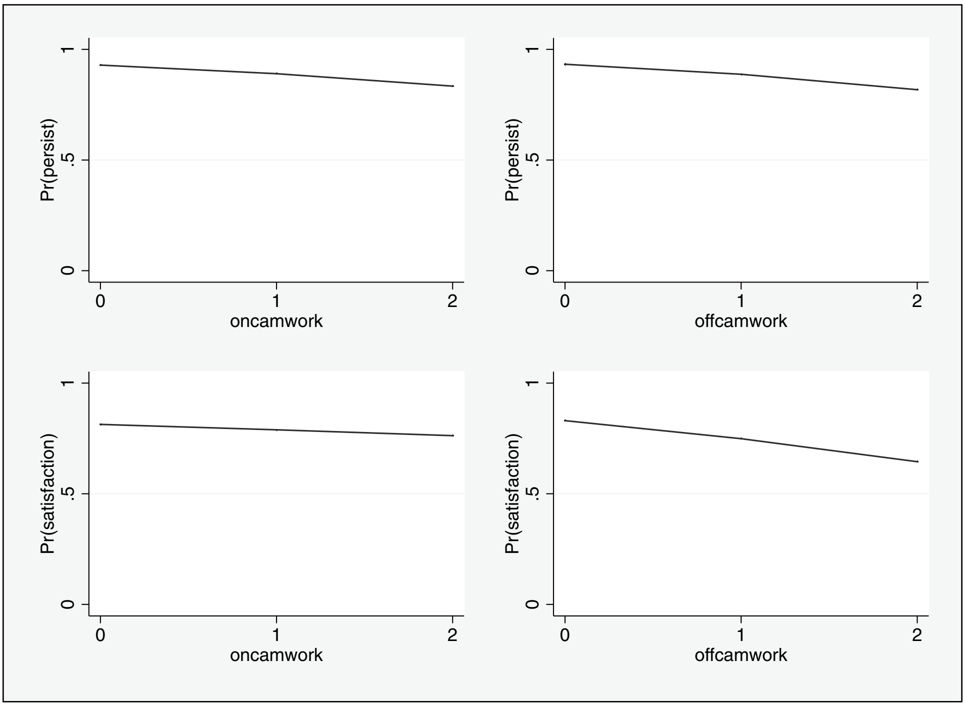

Figure 1. *Relationship between Student Employment and Retention/Satisfaction*

Association Between Employment and Retention

Results for the first research question are presented in Table 2. The first two columns predict student intent-to-reenroll, while the third and fourth columns predict student satisfaction with the institution. Because the effect of student employment differs based on hours worked, slightly different independent variables were used in the models. In columns (1) and (3), the total work hours per week was used to predict student retention; while in columns (2) and (4), the total work hours were disaggregated into on-campus work hours and off-campus work hours. When the total work hours variable was used, as in columns (1) and (3), working while in college had a significant and negative effect on the intent-to-reenroll and student satisfaction. The coefficient on the total work hours variable for intent-to-reenroll and satisfaction is -0.5229 and -0.4085, respectively. Both coefficients are statistically significant at the 5% level. That is, the more students worked, the less students intended to reenroll or the less satisfied students were with their institutions.

When on- and off-campus work hours were included in columns (2) and (4), results changed. For both outcome variables, working more hours off-campus had a significant and negative effect, while working more hours on-campus did not have a significant impact. These results were consistent with previous studies that showed where students worked mattered. Among covariates, ACT scores were positively associated with intent-to-reenroll, and minority students were less likely to be satisfied with their institution. All other covariates were not significantly related to the outcome variables.

Table 2. *Logistic Regression (without Integration)*

Outcome Variables	Intent-to-Re-Enroll		Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Total Work	-0.5229* (0.2299)	N/A	-0.4085* (0.1712)	N/A
On-campus work	N/A	-0.4547 (0.3114)	N/A	-0.0059 (0.2488)
Off-campus work	N/A	-0.4705+ (0.2656)	N/A	-0.5022* (0.1961)
Female	-0.3556 (0.4112)	-0.3915 (0.4124)	0.1542 (0.2644)	0.1520 (0.2653)
Racial Minority	-0.0506 (0.4475)	-0.0515 (0.4485)	-0.7679** (0.2874)	-0.7840** (0.2879)
Pell Recipients	0.4277 (0.4129)	0.4360 (0.4188)	-0.1549 (0.2747)	0.2081 (0.2755)
ACT Scores	0.1114* (0.0522)	0.1060* (0.0528)	0.0610 (0.0350)	0.0528 (0.0355)
High School GPA	0.2992 (0.4084)	0.2769 (0.4151)	-0.1849 (0.2833)	-0.1214 (0.2898)
Sample Size	457	455	458	456
Pseudo R-Square	0.0669	0.0670	0.0426	0.0435

Association Between Employment and Integration

In Table 3, we examine whether student employment was associated with the level of academic and social integration. Contrary to Tinto's theory, there was no significant relationship between student employment and the level of college integration, regardless of the key independent variables used (either total work hours or on- and off-campus work hours). In all four columns, the number of work hours per week did not have a significant effect on student integration at the conventional level. The low model fit (based on adjusted R-square) also suggested student employment was not a good predictor of academic and social integration. This was inconsistent with the theoretical framework, which states student employment affects retention through integration. Among covariates, a student's high school grade was positively related to the level of academic integration. Compared to male students, female students were more socially integrated into their institution. These results suggest that employment is unlikely to prevent adequate integration into college life; however, differences in gender and previous academic achievement may warrant further investigation.

Table 3. *Regression Results (Predicting Integration)*

Outcome Variables	Academic Integration		Social Integration	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Total work hours	0.0018 (0.0634)	N/A	-0.0225 (0.0611)	N/A
On-campus work	N/A	0.1110 (0.0872)	N/A	0.1301 (0.0841)
Off-campus work	N/A	-0.0541 (0.0766)	N/A	-0.1126 (0.0739)
Female	-0.0817 (0.0920)	-0.0885 (0.0920)	0.1857* (0.0886*)	0.1855* (0.0887)
Racial Minority	0.0709 (0.1090)	0.0780 (0.1097)	-0.0776 (0.1050)	-0.0826 (0.1058)
Pell Recipients	-0.0026 (0.1000)	-0.0301 (0.1004)	-0.0378 (0.0963)	-0.0639 (0.0968)
ACT Scores	-0.0117 (0.0121)	-0.0155 (0.0123)	0.0147 (0.0117)	0.0104 (0.0118)
High School GPA	0.3763*** (0.1005)	0.4101*** (0.1013)	-0.1444 (0.0968)	-0.1118 (0.0976)
Sample Size	464	460	464	460
Adjusted R-Square	0.0213	0.0268	0.0013	0.0078

Direct and Indirect Effect of Employment on Retention

Table 4 provides the logistic regression results predicting intent-to-reenroll and satisfaction using both variables for integration and student employment. Of the integration variables included in the logistic regression, only social integration was found to be positively and significantly associated with the outcome variables. Essentially, students who were better integrated socially were more likely to plan to reenroll and be satisfied with the institution. This provides support to the suggestion that students better adapted to the social environment of higher education are more inclined to enjoy and persist through college (Astin, 1984; Gleason, 1993). However, the level of academic integration was not associated with both outcomes. Although academic integration is one of the central predictors of retention in Tinto's model, our findings suggest that the relationship lacks empirical support, as Braxton, Hirschy, and McClendon (2004) reported in their study.

Table 4. *Logistic Regression Results (with Integration)*

Outcome Variables	Intent-to-Re-Enroll		Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Total work hours	-0.4928* (0.2387)	N/A	-0.4529* (0.1903)	N/A
On-campus work	N/A	-0.6556* (0.3266)	N/A	-0.1953 (0.2723)
Off-campus work	N/A	-0.3663 (0.2824)	N/A	-0.4593* (0.2176)
Female	-0.5709 (0.4426)	-0.6197 (0.4445)	-0.0071 (0.2969)	-0.0254 (0.2967)
Racial Minority	-0.0267 (0.4666)	-0.0226 (0.4680)	-0.7662* (0.3188)	-0.7645* (0.3183)
Pell Recipients	0.5230 (0.4378)	0.5668 (0.4422)	-0.1221 (0.3081)	-0.1603 (0.3088)
ACT Scores	0.1040 (0.0559)	0.1062 (0.0569)	0.0525 (0.0392)	0.0463 (0.0396)
High School GPA	0.3555 (0.4230)	0.2544 (0.4259)	0.0016 (0.3170)	0.0250 (0.3208)
Academic Integration	0.2320 (0.1991)	0.2595 (0.1997)	-0.0231 (0.1502)	-0.0205 (0.1503)
Social Integration	0.8320*** (0.1816)	0.8544*** (0.1828	1.1644*** (0.1553)	1.1547*** (0.1551)
Sample Size	455	453	456	454
Pseudo R-Square	0.1585	0.1634	0.1979	0.1955

In regard to the impact of student employment in the logistic regression, total work hours per week had a negative effect on both intent-to-reenroll and satisfaction. However, when the location of work was considered, there were mixed results depending on the outcome variable. When predicting student satisfaction, working long hours off-campus was negatively associated with this outcome. When predicting students' intent-to-reenroll, working long hours on-campus was negatively associated with this outcome when level of integration is taken into account, but off-campus employment did not have a significant association. This effect of on-campus employment on intent-to-reenroll is not entirely unexpected, as previous research found working beyond 15 hours per week can negatively impact students, regardless of where the employment took place (Ehrenberg &Sherman, 1986; Pascarella et al., 1998). However, the lack of a significant relationship between off-campus employment and intent-to-reenroll is puzzling, given the negative impact discussed in the literature and the results of our previous regression, and warrants further exploration.

Conclusion

This study examines whether and how student employment affects freshman students' intent-to-reenroll and satisfaction with their institution. In response to the two research questions posed by this study, two conclusions can be reached based on our results. First, employment does affect college retention because the more hours freshman students work, the less likely they are to be satisfied with their institution and to intend to reenroll for their second year. This is consistent with previous studies that warned of the potential negative impact of excessive work hours in college (e.g. Bozick, 2007). Second, our results suggest the impact of student employment does vary based on where students work. Students who work more than 15 hours per week off-campus are more likely to be dissatisfied and not plan to reenroll.

Implications for Student Affairs

As working long hours off-campus has a negative effect on college retention, we suggest institutions increase the availability of need-based financial aid. For example, institutions can consider awarding a higher share of their institutional aid based on financial needs (Blanton, 2016) or minimizing the share of student loans offered in financial aid packages for financially disadvantaged students (Censky, 2010). With additional aid, fewer students may be forced by financial hardship to work long hours. This is not to assert that having a paying job in college should be discouraged, as the literature suggests working while enrolled in college can be beneficial. However, working off-campus should be optional, not mandatory, given its potential negative consequences on student retention. One way to achieve this goal is to increase more on-campus jobs available for students. It will not only help students pay their tuition but also give them more opportunities to interact with people on-campus.

For the second research question, there was little evidence to suggest a direct link between student employment and academic or social integration. Thus, working long hours on-campus or off-campus does not seem to affect students' integration, but it does only influence their retention. This result is contrary to the theoretical proposition that student employment prevents integration, and that lack of positive integration leads to the drop in retention. Possibly, employment affects retention because of reasons apart from integration into the college environment, such as a need to transfer to an institution closer to work or a desire to pursue a career instead.

Results showed that only social integration, not academic integration, is significantly associated with student retention. This may indicate that first-year undergraduates judge the fit of their higher education institution by the social atmosphere rather than the academic, as social mismatch may be more difficult to overcome. This result is sensible when coupled with our finding that minority students are more likely to be dissatisfied with their college. Because the share of underrepresented minority students at this institution of study is approximately 20%, minority students may feel isolated. As this evidence emphasizes the importance of social integration, institutions seeking to improve retention may want to prioritize their students' social requisites. Given such potential implications, future research needs to empirically revisit the theoretical propositions in Tinto's model, focusing on the central role of both academic and social integration.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. A key limitation of this study stems from data availability. For example, this study did not account for student motivation or other psychological factors. According to Mamiseishvili (2010), students' role orientation and reasons for working are important to understanding the relationship between student employment and retention. If students have paying jobs in order to continue their college education, employment does not have significant effects on their retention. In contrast, if students do not value their education as much as they do their work, working while in college has negative effects on their retention. Therefore, omitting these psychological factors may confound the true relationship between student employment and retention. In addition, this study used two proxy variables (intent-to-reenroll and student satisfaction with their institution) for retention due to the data availability. As these proxies are self-reported variables, responses to these variables may be different from actual retention outcomes. Moreover, students would leave their institution even though they were satisfied with it due to academic or financial issues. Using satisfaction as a proxy variable for retention may have underestimated the actual retention rates.

Another key limitation of this study is its generalizability. The data in this study came from freshman students in a large, flagship, and residential university. Results from this study may not be generalized to different institutional settings or student populations. For example, the relationship between excessive work and retention might be weaker for senior students as they already had learned how to balance schoolwork and paying jobs. The relationship could also be even more pronounced for commuting students because traveling between school, work, and home contributes to more time conflicts. Additionally, the large residential nature of this campus means that the results are unlikely to reflect smaller community or commuter campuses where on-campus employment is scarcer and off-campus employment is the norm. Future research should consider including such institutions.

Recommendations for Future Research

Overall, this study reinforces previous research by finding working long hours negatively affects college student retention. In support of Astin (1984), this negative relationship is more pronounced for off-campus workers. Although, employment does not appear to affect students' integration into college life, institutions would likely benefit from increasing the availability of financial aid, as this would improve freshman students' satisfaction and intent-to-reenroll. Results from this study call for more empirical studies exploring the relationship between student employment, student integration, and retention within diverse student populations and various institutional settings. Such future studies could determine whether the effect of employment on retention holds the same effects for commuters, upperclassmen, and community college students, which would allow institutions to develop targeted intervention for these groups. In addition, more empirical studies are needed that examine the relationship among student employment, integration, and retention. Future research could provide empirical evidence about whether there is a significant relationship among the three factors as well as how these three factors work.

Jungmin Lee, Ph.D. is an assistant professor of higher education at the University of Kentucky.

Renee Setari, M.S. is a doctoral candidate with the Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation at the University of Kentucky.

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Exploring the Roles and Responsibilities of Academic Coaches in Higher Education

Alicia Sepulveda
University of Northern Colorado

Abstract

Academic coaches have expressed frustration in how their role is perceived on campus. This study was conducted to better understand the roles and responsibilities of academic coaches in higher education. Narrative methodology was used to approach this study from a pragmatist theoretical perspective. Role Theory was chosen as the theoretical framework and semi-structured interviews were the main method of data collection. Defining the role of an academic coach is complicated because some of the roles overlap with other roles on campus, such as academic advisors, mentors, or counselors. Findings help to explain and differentiate academic coaching, particularly the uniqueness in how they use coaching as their strategy to support students. Coaches frequently meet with their students and focus on specific elements during these meetings, such as relationship building, student development, action planning, follow up, and reflection. Although themes emerged, participants implemented their academic coaching role in various ways and were frustrated about the lack of training offered. Implications are described including the need for affordable coaching training, institutional support, and more assessment to determine the effectiveness of the academic coaching role. Further research will help to develop, solidify, and support the academic coaching role in the future.

Keywords: academic coaching, retention, roles, student success, student support

Academic coaching is an emerging professional role across institutions of higher education in the United States. Robinson (2015) surveyed participants involved with academic coaching programs at 101 different institutions and found 83% of these programs were established after 2005. Although many institutions around the country are investing in these positions, a review of the literature highlights a lack of information about the role of an academic coach and how it differs from support services on campus such as advising, mentoring, or counseling. The goal of this study was to explore the roles and responsibilities of academic coaches in higher education to provide clarification about what they do. Academic coaches were interviewed from multiple institutions regarding their roles, responsibilities, and experiences. The narratives offer a comprehensive understanding of the role of academic coaches in higher education in the United States.

According to the National Student Clearinghouse Research Center (2015), only 59% of all students who started college in the fall of 2013 returned to the same institution the following year. Noting this trend, strategic efforts have been made to increase retention. Academic coaching has been linked to improving student retention (Bettinger & Baker, 2014), and positions were created to improve retention and support students who struggle academically (Dalton & Crosby, 2014; Robinson, 2015).

Benefits of Academic Coaching

Although limited literature exists, many individual academic coaching programs have boasted positive outcomes because of this role. The University of Dayton claimed their retention rates improved since they adopted coaching (Hoover, 2011). Saint Louis University implemented many resources to increase retention on their campus, some of which included: hiring student success coaches, implementing early intervention, providing supplemental instruction, and offering professional academic advising (Israel, 2016). Student success coaches were believed to be one factor that helped increase retention rates (Israel). Students were also more likely to have a higher GPA during the spring semester if they attended more coaching meetings throughout the academic year (Israel). The college life coaching program at Florida State University also found "students who actively engage in this program average higher GPAs than their peers, stay at the university longer and express higher levels of satisfaction with their overall college experience" (College Life Coaching, 2016).

Little empirical evidence has been published describing the efficacy of academic coaching in improving retention, however coaching appears to be beneficial to both the student and the institution. Bettinger and Baker (2014) conducted an experimental study and found coached students had 5% higher retention rates than those who did not have a coach. Some of the coached groups also had higher graduation rates (Bettinger & Baker). Allen & Lester (2012) found improved persistence rates when institutions had a success coach teach a College Survival Course. The effectiveness of academic coaching as a retention strategy is promising, yet the direct impact of an academic coach remains unclear.

Role Ambiguity

An academic coach can provide many benefits to students, yet coaching is often confused with other support services like tutoring, counseling, or mentoring (McWilliams & Beam, 2013). After completing a dissertation to learn more about academic coaching, Robinson (2015) found difficulty distinguishing how the academic coach role is similar or different than an academic advisor, mentor, tutor, and counselor, recommending further research to clarify these differences. The present study was conducted to understand the existing ambiguities, increase clarity, improve practice, and provide more knowledge about the role.

The National Academic Advising Association (NACADA) provided an overview of specific characteristics of academic coaches. These characteristics included developing a personal relationship with the student, providing support to help with a student's goals, developing self-awareness, teaching decision-making skills, connecting students to resources, and developing an action plan to hold students accountable (Advising and Academic Coaching Interest Group, 2016). NACADA explained how the characteristics of coaching have become "viable skills in advising" (Advising and Academic Coaching Interest Group). However, including academic coaching competencies into the academic advising profession complicates the uniqueness of the coaching role, and how, or if, it differs from academic advising. Clarifying the role and responsibilities of academic coaches will help colleges and universities better understand the function of academic coaching within their institution. Exploring how the roles are similar or different than academic support services on campus may also provide further clarification.

Theoretical Framework

Role theory places an importance on role conflict, which is experienced when expectations are uncertain (Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). Those who experience role conflict feel stress, and may become dissatisfied or less efficient in their position (Rizzo et al.). As a result, ambiguity can decrease organizational effectiveness (Rizzo et al.). Role theory was the guiding theoretical framework used to design and implement this study. Understanding the role of academic coaches may help to increase organizational effectiveness in higher education settings.

Research Design

Methodology

The researcher approached this study from a pragmatist theoretical perspective. Pragmatists are focused on finding out what works and figuring out solutions to real-world problems (Patton, 1990). Narrative inquiry was chosen to focus on the stories, perspectives, and experiences of academic coaches and better understand their role (Merriam, 2009). Retelling the participants' experiences collectively may help colleges and universities better understand the role of an academic coach in higher education. Purposeful sampling was chosen because participants were encouraged to provide information-rich stories about their experiences and position as an academic coach (Merriam).

Participant Selection

Criteria for participation included having "coach" in the job title, focused on non-athletic support, and working full-time at an institution of higher education. Participants were identified using Google through a search of the following terms: academic coach, achievement coach, and success coach. The Institutional Review Board approved this study at each participants' institution and potential participants were emailed. Thirteen individuals were emailed and eight were interviewed. All participants worked at institutions located in the West region, Mountains Division defined by the United States Census Bureau (2016). Participants worked at either a public community college or four-year institution. Titles varied between academic success coach, achievement coach, collegiate success coach, and academic advisor. Academic advisor emerged later in the interviews, as some participants were transitioning from one role to the other. The academic coaches and their programs are described briefly to provide context into their position and perspective. Each participant worked with various populations in different settings. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of participants.

Three participants worked at a four-year institution. Cody worked in a TRiO program, serving first-generation students. He had a caseload of students and had experience coaching in a previous position. Danielle had eight years of experience with academic coaching and currently supervises academic coaches. Her experience focused on the retention of ethnically and racially diverse students and first-generation students. Rachel managed a caseload of students who were on academic probation or identified as independent students. Five of the participants worked at a two-year institution. Oscar and Aubrey worked in a program to support students from first-generation, low-income backgrounds. Both manage a caseload of students until they graduate from the community college. Jessica and Jackson worked in academic affairs. They were focused at the course level and its impact on student success, completion, and retention. Neither of these participants met with many students individually and they presented academic success strategies in the classroom. Jim served as an academic coach embedded in development courses and met one-on-one with students.

Data Collection

Three methods of data collection were used to answer the research question: What are the roles and responsibilities of an academic coach? The primary method of data collection for this narrative study was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews encouraged participants to provide interpretations of their roles and responsibilities and provide both structure and flexibility for the researcher (Merriam, 2009).

Two types of secondary data were used for this study. After the interviews, the participants were asked to provide a job description for their position. A researcher journal was used to reflect on the responses of the participants after each interview (Janesick, 1999). Using a reflective journal "is critical in qualitative work due to the fact that the researcher is the research instrument" (Janesick, p. 506). Semi-structured interviews were conducted in-person, recorded, and transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

Trustworthiness

Triangulation can increase the trustworthiness of findings and multiple methods of data collection can strengthen the study (Denzin, 2001; Merriam, 2009). Interviews, job descriptions, and a researcher journal were used to increase the trustworthiness of findings in the present study. Participants also reviewed their transcript for accuracy. Direct quotes were used from participants to support findings and increase trustworthiness.

Analysis

Analysis began as information was gathered. Open coding was used initially to analyze the data. Open coding is a strategy allowing the flexibility for all possibilities to answer the research question (Merriam, 2009). Axial coding was conducted to group open codes with a focus on answering the research question (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). Thematic analysis was used to identify themes "as 'told' by the participant" (Creswell, 2013, p. 72). Data collected from each method were organized into themes and described in detail using the participants' language and stories.

Findings

Four main themes emerged from data collection: (1) how the coaching role is distinct from other roles on campus; (2) what academic coaches do when meeting with students; (3) frustration due to a lack of preparation and training; and (4) role ambiguity experienced by participants. Each theme is described to explain the role of an academic coach and supported using participants' narratives. Implications are offered to further develop the academic coach position.

Academic Coaching Role Overview

Academic coaches who worked one-on-one with students had similar approaches. Academic coaches worked with students in the Federal TRiO programs, academically underprepared students, independent youth, students who were referred, or students who were statistically or historically less likely to graduate. Most of the academic coaches were responsible for managing a caseload of students. Responsibilities included intrusive outreach, individual meetings, and frequent interaction with students. Participants used proactive outreach strategies to obtain frequent interaction and get students into their office. Highlighting this proactive approach, Jim shared how a coach is "somebody who can have a conversation with the student when the student wouldn't normally seek that conversation out themselves" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). Academic coaches take a proactive approach to student support and consistently connect with students. Oscar explained how "if we don't hear from students, we are doing everything we can to get in touch with them" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). Students did not walk into the office and ask for help, which is traditionally expected in higher education. Academic coaches used a proactive outreach strategy to engage with their students and provide consistent support.

Although some participants were meeting with students only once, they were doing what they could within their resources. These same coaches did not believe this was an effective coaching practice. Most participants were meeting with students more frequently than other support services on campus, making this one of the main differences of an academic coach. Oscar explained how "coaching takes longer… if you know the answer, it's easier just to tell the student… this is what you need to do. *By far easier* [emphasized in interview]. But then it's not as beneficial to the student" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). He further explained, "so you see, if we are able to put in the time in working with students, they are able to be successful." Although coaching takes longer and involves frequently meeting, academic coaches can have a positive impact on the students' success and improving retention if time and resources are dedicated.

Other themes emerged to further explain how academic coaches were different than other roles on campus. An academic coach works with a student from a holistic perspective and many participants did not believe advisors, tutors, or mentors could do this consistently. Traditionally, students have to go to specific departments for specific reasons. For example, the financial aid office provides financial aid services, and an academic support center may provide tutoring. Danielle explained how departments "are not taking into account their transition, they don't have friends, they don't have a support system, they don't have activities which bring them joy, that's an issue that impacts everything" (personal communication, June 23, 2016). Academic coaches strive to bring everything together, support the student from a holistic perspective, and refer to other offices when appropriate.

Coaching could be an effective strategy to support students who have been historically less likely to graduate. One participant believed coaching could be beneficial in supporting diverse students. Aubrey explained, "I think coaching allows students to voice themselves and allow them to be heard. And I don't think that happens a lot. And I think that's a huge shift" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). A one-size-fits-all model to retain students may be ineffective because it does not take different student identities and experiences into account. Coaching provides a customized approach tailored to each student. Academic coaching has the potential to provide space for students from diverse populations to tell their story and offers a unique experience for students who are uncertain about the college environment.

Role in Coaching Meetings

Participants were confident their role was very different than an academic advisor, counselor, or mentor, particularly in their coaching meetings. Analysis suggest the overall goal of their interaction was to facilitate growth and change, as well as address barriers which may negatively influence student retention, graduation, and overall success. Academic coaches included both structure and flexibility in their meetings to facilitate growth and address barriers relevant to each individual student. For example, Cody offered, "I think having a framework for coaching is good, but, you know, also recognizing that every student is different" (personal communication, June 17, 2016). Rachel explained how academic coaches used techniques such as questioning, motivation, and ownership, "but the content of the appointment is different for each student" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). Oscar and Rachel both emphasized the need to "meet the students where they are at," further supporting students from various backgrounds, experiences, and needs (personal communication, June 24, 2016; personal communication, July 8, 2016). Academic coaching provided some structure for the coach but allowed flexibility for different student needs, identities, and experiences. Who students were and what they needed were much more important to academic coaches than achieving their own agenda.

To facilitate growth, change, and address barriers, academic coaches focused specifically on relationship building, student development, action planning, following up, and reflection. These elements are at the heart of academic coaching and are necessary to understand their role in higher education. To build relationships, move students forward, create an action plan, reflect, and follow up, an academic coach uses artful, powerful, reflective questions. Stoltzfus (2008) explained how asking questions throughout the interaction with students will "cause us to think, create answers we believe in, and motivate us to act on our ideas" (p. 8). Aubrey shared "I feel like a lot of students don't have a voice…. We are asking them questions and they have to speak up" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). Figure 1 was created based on findings as an overview to explain coaching meetings with students.

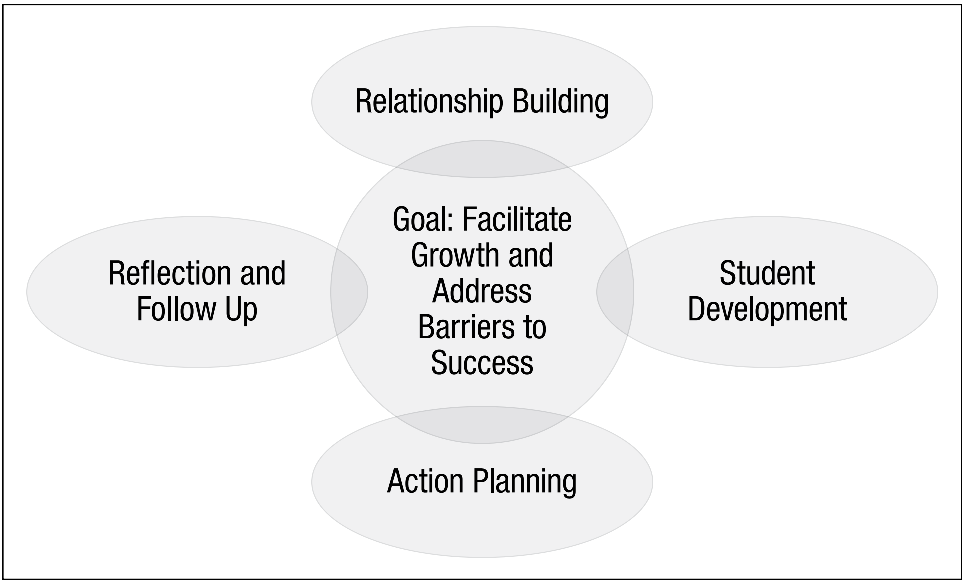

Figure 1. *A description of student meetings with academic coaches.*

Relationship building. Every participant expressed the importance of building relationships with students. Danielle shared how "you can't jump in if you don't learn a little bit about the person" (personal communication, June 23, 2016) and Cody shared he needed to "know their approach to life" (personal communication, June 17, 2016). Academic coaches have more time than other support services because of their frequent meetings and they make relationship building priority. Rachel offered questions she used to get to know students including "What made you decide to come here?", "Where are you from?", and "What do you like to do?" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). Students are also more likely to persist if they feel valued at their institution and if they have frequent, quality interactions with staff (Tinto, 1999). Jim explained how he can "get a general idea about what a students' life is like and what is likely to impede their progress toward degree" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). Academic coaches have time to build relationships with students through frequent contact, which positively influences student persistence (Tinto).

Student development. During meetings, Oscar shared how an academic coach can "dig a little deeper into what they [students] already know about themselves" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). Academic coaches know their students deeply which helps to identify barriers to success. They help students identify, express, and explore their own strengths. Aubrey explained to her students, "You probably already have these skills. So, let's capitalize on those strengths, let's shift them around so that you know those, and use those to help you move forward" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). Academic coaches helped develop greater self-awareness and move students toward their goals.

An academic coach also helps to develop academic and life skills. Skills included study strategies, note-taking skills, and learning strategies. Some life skills included time management, health, developing a support system, building confidence, critical thinking, and decision making. Academic coaches facilitated the decision making process and rarely gave advice. Coaches may provide ideas of solutions, but the student took ownership. Academic coaches also presented in the classroom and held workshops to develop these skills and alleviate some of the time spent with one-on-one interaction. Academic coaches developed skills during their meetings and in group workshops.

One of the main elements of developing the student included ownership. LaRocca (2015) found as students worked with an academic coach, they developed a sense of autonomy and ownership. The Theory of Self-Authorship, developed by Baxter Magolda (2008), influenced Cody's work, particularly in regards to ownership. Rachel explained to students, "You have the strengths and skills, now it's up to you to decide what you want to do with it" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). Pushing students to take ownership and develop their own path was important in the role of an academic coach. Cody shared how, "You're there to support the student, and yet everything you do is putting it [the decision] on the student" (personal communication, June 17, 2016). Building relationships with students helped academic coaches identify areas a student needs or wants to improve. The academic coach supports and guides the student to take ownership of their college experience.

Action planning. Goal-setting and action planning are key in the role of an academic coach. One job description explained how coaches "empower students to create and achieve their personal and educational goals." Academic coaches help students create and identify goals, but they also motivate students to take action to achieve their goals. Questions used by the participants to facilitate action included, "What do you want to do?", "Where do you see yourself going?", or "So these are your next steps. Now what does that look like moving forward?" Danielle explained how she can "help students create an action plan that is very much their own doing, meets their biggest needs, and breaks down specifically what steps they would have to do to achieve that" (personal communication, June 23, 2016). Academic coaches help create goals, create an action plan, push the student to take ownership of the plan, address barriers to success, and ultimately help students meet their goals. Plans were called action plans, educational plans, or success plans. Regardless, "students need to understand the road map to completion and know how to use it to decide upon and achieve personal goals" (Tinto, 1999, p. 5). Academic coaches help students create and take action towards their goals, beyond academics.

Reflection and follow up. An academic coach also encourages reflection and follows up with the student in regards to their plan. Academic coaches help break down student goals, create a plan, and then allow the work to happen outside of the meeting. Once some time passes, the academic coach typically follows up with the student. During this time, participants asked questions like "It either worked, it didn't work, and if it didn't work, what can we do differently?", "Do we need to change up what we are doing?", "Are we making progress?", or "How can you handle it different next time?" When a student did not do well on a test, Oscar used questions like "What do you think went wrong? What can you do differently?" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). These questions encouraged the student to reflect and reinforced ownership of their academic journey by asking what the student believed they should do next. Academic coaching offers a balance between accountability, student development, support, and developing ownership.

During individual meetings with students, the academic coach role included relationship building, student development, action planning, and reflection and follow up. It is important to note while some support services may do some of these, it is the combination of all of these roles and the frequencies at which they occur, that make the academic coaching role distinct. Some student populations who worked with academic coaches have been called at-risk, high-risk, or students of concern. Students who are considered high-risk named the following as important factors that contributed to their persistence in college: "(a) encouraging, supporting, and believing in them; (b) motivating them and wanting to see them learn; (c) taking time for them, expressing an interest in them, and communicating to them that they are important; (d) relating to them on their level; and (e) pushing them to excel while at the same time helping them to understand difficult concepts" (Schreiner, Noel, Anderson, & Cantwell, 2011, p. 338). The factors contributing to high-risk student persistence can arguably be addressed using academic coaching. Academic coaches may prove to be a successful support service for students who are historically or statistically less likely to be retained and graduate. More research is needed to explore if, or how academic coaching can contribute to the persistence and retention of various student populations.

Coaching Preparation for Role

Training and preparation for the role of an academic coach was lacking in regards to coaching students. Some academic coaches were trained on how to coach students, but only one participant received coach training initially for their position. Cody and Aubrey experienced several days of training specifically related to coaching. Cody shared how helpful the training was because he experienced having a coach, which helped him understand the coaching process.

However, most participants expressed frustration because they received little or no training on how to coach students. Rachel explained how, "I'm a coach right… so I'm supposed to know what I'm doing. But I'm really just… I'm going off articles that I've read" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). Danielle shared her frustration by explaining how many academic coaches have very little training. "And that is my problem with multiple people on campus saying they are academic coaching. When no one has been trained any for their role" (personal communication, June 23, 2016). Even some who attended coach training were left dissatisfied. Several participants were also concerned about a lack of framework to follow. For these participants, coaching students was clearly different than generally supporting students.

Every participant shared how they wanted to coach students better. Stoltzfus (2008) explained how "part of being a great coach is continuing to learn and grow in your capabilities" (p. 6). Participants attended conferences and some had a professional degree related to higher education. Participants pulled related topics from the literature about coaching including retention, working with specific student populations, developing skills and student development theory. Participants craved more professional development on how to coach students, but cost was a major concern. The most affordable coaching certification training found was approximately $1,500 (Life Coaching Degree, Training, and Certification, 2016) and it seemed unlikely participants would invest in coach training to obtain certification on their own.

Role Ambiguity

Some participants expressed how some of their roles overlapped with support services on campus, particularly with their overall goal. Each participant highlighted the importance of their job to increase student retention, provide support, and to help students graduate. Job descriptions provided by participants further supported these findings.

An academic coach connects and refers students to campus resources. Knowledge about resources and collaborating with others was consistently discussed across every interview. Jessica highlighted the importance of knowing the role of campus partners sharing, "We don't want to have the student meet with three different people on the same conversation" (personal communication, July 14, 2016). Partnerships were important to provide workshops and programming for students. Academic coaches also aim to provide a welcoming and inclusive space for students and want to motivate, empower, and encourage their students to be successful. The biggest differentiation appears to be how academic coaches proactively outreach, how they interact with students during meetings, and the frequency of these interactions.

Participants shared how their role as an academic coach was experienced on campus. The differences particularly between academic advising and academic coaching were discussed in each interview. Participants made clear they believed academic advising was not the same thing as coaching. Oscar said at their institution, advisors "work with such a large caseload… they have 15 minutes, they get them registered and they're out the door" (personal communication, June 24, 2016). Jackson explained how he was invited to attend a meeting, and the response was "Oh… I thought he was an advisor. And I was like no… so again there was this misperception" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). The misperception about the academic coach role was apparent throughout interviews and participants shared how others in higher education were confused about what they did.

Some participants were listed as an academic coach, success coach, or another title on one website, but listed as an academic advisor on another. Although these participants were transitioning from one role to the other, or holding both roles, each felt comfortable sharing their experiences from a coaching perspective. A position title does not necessarily make someone an academic coach, or take away from another role, such as using coaching skills in advising. Academic advisors and other practitioners may use coaching skills in their work, but findings here present clear differences in the role of an academic coach.

Participants expressed underlying frustrations and concerns about the ambiguity of the academic coach role. Oscar explained "I feel like sometimes people are just given the title of Oh!. You're a coach! But what does that really mean? Is it just a word we decided to give one person, and not the other" (personal communication, June 24, 2016)? The participants' concerns support Role Theory and how role strain and conflict can cause frustration (Rizzo et al., 1970). Jackson explained how he felt academic coaching was not even part of his role, but was just a title. Jessica shared "If you talk to another coach, they will have literally the exact same title, a whole entirely different role" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). The academic coach role is ambiguous and can be largely influenced by upper-level administrators and how they define the role. The role of an academic coach differs drastically depending on the program, causing further frustrations for coaches and those outside their role.

Discussion and Implications for Higher Education Professionals

Findings presented in this study were offered to bring clarification to the role of an academic coach in higher education. Although each participant implemented academic coaching differently, themes emerged to bring some consistencies to light. Implications are provided to develop and support the role of an academic coach. Suggestions for research are offered to explore academic coaching further.

Role conflict and strain was experienced by several academic coaches. Participants needed to consistently justify and explain their position on campus. Affordable training and the establishment of standards for academic coaches in higher education may help alleviate some of this role conflict. An easily accessible framework or model to coach college students could also create more consistency in how academic coaches interact with students.

Academic coaches supported students holistically and spent more time with students because of frequent meetings and proactive outreach. Colleges and universities considering academic coaching need to provide enough time and resources to actually coach students. The title academic coach has become increasingly popular over the past few years (Robinson, 2015). Before creating this position, identify what types of coaching models and programs have been effective and how academic coaches presented their role to campus partners. Additionally, role conflict can be alleviated by sharing what an academic coach does across campus to limit confusion among programs and departments who are also providing student support (Rizzo et al., 1970). More institutions can assess and share the effectiveness of academic coaching programs to improve student retention and graduation rates. Sharing best practices will likely improve academic coaching practices.

Some of the participants shared how their programs were reactive, instead of being proactive. A proactive approach was preferable particularly if institutions already have data predicting who may be less likely to leave their institution. Academic coaching should be implemented proactively instead of waiting for students to be on academic probation or waiting to see which students feel disconnected from their institution.

The interaction between an academic coach and student is much different than other support services. Academic coaches build relationships, develop students in many areas, create an action plan, and reflect and follow up with their students. Academic coaches may help bridge the gap between academic affairs and student affairs, though more research is needed to explore the student-coach interaction. Coaching also continues to be ambiguous because many professionals are given the title of academic coach without proper training on how to coach, creating confusion for the rest of campus.

Academic coaching can be extremely successful, particularly when upper-level administration can invest the time, resources, and support needed to create academic coach positions. Rachel explained how, "It is an essential role on every campus… any university and college that is interested in increasing their overall retention efforts needs to look at increasing their coaching on campus" (personal communication, July 8, 2016). The individualized support and frequent interaction with students that academic coaching provides may prove to be one of the best retention and student support strategies in higher education. However, more research is needed to explore the benefits of academic coaching, how academic coaches contribute to retaining diverse and at-risk students, and how, or if academic coaching improves retention and graduation rates. Some institutions have cited how academic coaches have improved their retention, but more research needs to be conducted and published. Sharing best practices among institutions can also help support the development of positions and provide more training options.

Conclusion

Studies have proven academic coaching contributes to improve retention rates (Allen & Lester, 2012; Bettinger & Baker, 2014). The goal of this study was to better understand the roles and responsibilities of academic coaches in higher education. Although the academic coach role is similar to some support services on campus, findings presented in this study supported a clear difference in the way academic coaches provide support. Academic coaches frequently meet with students and invest individualized, consistent and strategic support that differs from support services on campus such as advising, tutoring, or mentoring. However, the role ambiguity and the lack of consistency in regards to training may influence how much of an impact this support service can provide. Academic coaching can be incredibly beneficial to both students and institutions. Research is needed to determine best practices, examine effectiveness, and support the development of the academic coach role in higher education.

Alicia Sepulveda is a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education and Student Affairs Leadership program at the University of Northern Colorado. She is the graduate assistant for Retention Initiatives in the Office of Enrollment Management and Student Access.

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The Educational Gap Between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous People in Canada

Jessica Charbonneau
University of Toronto Mississauga

Abstract

Although higher education institutions in North America are becoming more diverse, there are still educational achievement gaps between different populations of students (Torres et al., 2010). In Canada, there is a significant educational gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Statistics Canada, 2011a). This article explores contributing factors to the educational achievement gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, highlighting both current and historical factors. The article provides a description of the educational achievement gap, and explores residential schools, the use of a Eurocentric curriculum, and socioeconomic conditions as factors contributing to the educational gap. Utilizing the report from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2016), as well as principles instituted by Universities Canada (2016) as a foundation for change, the paper explores initiatives universities are currently implementing to close the educational gap. Changes to campus spaces, curriculum, programming, and overall educational philosophies are discussed. Finally, the role of student affairs professionals in the implementation of the suggested changes is examined.

Keywords: educational gap, First Nations, Indigenous

The demographics of students enrolling in higher education across North America are changing. Although an increasing number of underrepresented students are accessing higher education, there are gaps in educational achievement between underrepresented and majority students (Torres et al., 2010). In Canada, there is a significant gap in educational achievement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Therefore, student affairs professionals must contribute to initiatives designed to enroll, retain, and support Indigenous learners. This article begins by outlining the educational gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and discusses some of the historical and current issues contributing to the challenges faced by Indigenous learners. Then, a discussion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) report about Indigenous people in Canada and the ways in which the Canadian Government and higher education system are responding to the report is provided. Current and future initiatives being implemented by universities are shared as well as implications and recommendations for student affairs professionals. For the purpose of this paper, the term Indigenous is used as an inclusive term, encompassing all groups of Indigenous people including Aboriginal, Indian, First Nations, Metis, and Inuit.

Educational Gap Between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Students

According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), the Indigenous population across Canada is growing. In 2011, 1,400,685 people in Canada self-identified as Indigenous, representing 4.3% of the Canadian population. This population increased by 20.1% from 2006 to 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011a). In comparison, the NHS showed between 2006 and 2011, the population of non-Indigenous people grew by only 5.2%. Therefore, the total Indigenous population in Canada is increasing at a quicker rate than non-Indigenous people. Of those who identified as Indigenous, 28% were children aged 14 and under (Statistics Canada, 2011a). This is the population who could now be entering universities in Canada.

As the number of university aged Indigenous youth increases, it is important to understand the university attainment rates of the Indigenous population. According to the 2011 NHS, only 9.8% of Indigenous people aged 25-64 attained a university degree, compared to 26.5% of non-Indigenous people (Statistics Canada, 2011b). Student affairs professionals must address this educational gap to ensure Indigenous learners are supported in attending and graduating from university.

Challenges to Educational Attainment

There are historical and current challenges believed to be contributing to the educational attainment gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Research suggests the educational challenges for Indigenous people began with, and is still being impacted by, the residential school system (Barnes, Josefowitz, & Cole, 2006; TRC, 2015a). Additionally, the Eurocentric curriculum and teaching methods employed in Canadian schools are contributing to the gap (Battiste, Bell, & Findlay, 2002; Battiste, 2008; Gorman, 2013). Finally, the socioeconomic conditions currently experienced by some Indigenous communities may also contribute to the educational gap (Battiste, 2008).

Residential Schools

Residential schools in Canada were established in 1883 through a partnership between Christian missionaries and the federal government (TRC, 2015a) with the goal of disrupting the transmission of cultural values and Indigenous identity, from parents to their children (TRC, 2015b). Children placed in residential schools were restricted from seeing their families, were forced to learn English or French, learned Christian and Euro-centric values, and were banned from learning about or sharing their Indigenous histories, traditions, and beliefs (TRC, 2015b). Consequently, Barnes et al. (2006) suggested students in residential schools experienced harmful psychological impacts resulting from being forced to assimilate to a new culture away from their families.

As a result of exposure to excessive maltreatment including racism, neglect, abuse, and forced assimilation, Barnes et al. (2006) asserted some students who attended residential schools have experienced lifelong difficulties with education. Barnes et al. explained "[f]ormer residential school students with low self-esteem, negative attitudes towards school or studying, poor educational background, or underdeveloped cognitive abilities are less likely to engage in subsequent educational commitments" (p. 29). It is believed these conditions and experiences continue to affect the education of Indigenous people today, as the former residential school students communicate their negative experiences and attitudes to their children (Barnes et al., 2006) and grandchildren. Therefore, the residential school system has contributed to a cycle of distrust among Indigenous people towards the education system, which may be a leading factor for the longstanding negative effects on the educational attainment of Indigenous people.

Eurocentric Curriculum and Teaching Practices

When considering the Canadian curriculum and standard teaching practices, Battiste et al. (2002) asserted many schools function under the assumption that Eurocentric understanding is the neutral experience for everyone. Eurocentric learning has been "conventionalized as the universal model of civilization that must be imitated by all other groups and individuals and which monopolizes history, progress, and interpretation, creating an alienation of Aboriginal peoples" (Battiste, 2008, p. 185). When focusing on teaching practices, Gorman (2013) highlighted Indigenous teaching believes "sharing, storytelling, demonstration, observation, and modeling promote long-term learning and critical thinking" (p. 60). Gorman suggested this style or learning "reduces performance anxiety, increases loyalty to teachers, strengthens attachments, and promotes group cohesiveness and continuity and enthusiasm for learning" (p. 60). Therefore, the Eurocentric curriculum and the differences between Eurocentric and Indigenous teaching practices may lead to anxiety and disconnection for Indigenous students, contributing to challenges in learning.

Socioeconomic Factors

The socioeconomic conditions in which many Indigenous communities endure are appalling (Battiste, 2008). This is evident on First Nations Reservations where infant mortality, youth suicide, unemployment and the overall number of people living below the poverty line are higher compared to the rest of Canada (Health Canada, 2009). The unemployment rate of Indigenous people living on reservations is 27.7%, compared to only 7.3% of the general Canadian population (Health Canada, 2009). Correspondingly, the median annual income for Indigenous people living on reservations is $10,631 compared to the general Canadian population's income of $22,274 (Health Canada, 2009). In addition to employment and income, housing situations are poor. When considering the core housing standards in Canada, only 13.5% of non-Indigenous households fall below one or more of the standards, compared to 27.7% of Indigenous households on reservations (Health Canada, 2009).

Socioeconomic factors can lead to advantages and disadvantages for students attending higher education (Walpole, 2004). According to Walpole, students from low social economic status (SES) have different experience in higher education than their high SES peers. Specifically, students from low SES are found to be less involved in school, work more hours, study fewer hours, and achieve lower grades than their high SES peers (Walpole, 2003). Therefore, the historical and current SES in which many Indigenous people living on reservations are experiencing, may be contributing to the educational gap.

The TRC: A New Commitment to Education

In 2015, the TRC released a report documenting personal accounts from First Nations, Metis, and Inuit people who were forced into residential schools. As a result of this report, the Canadian government acknowledged residential schools were a practice of physical, biological, and cultural genocide (TRC, 2015c), and have committed to reconciling the long standing effects on the Indigenous population. Within the report, the commission outlined a call to action with education and improving the educational gap as fundamental priorities. The commission called upon the federal government to draft new Indigenous education legislation incorporating the following principles: "Providing sufficient funding to close identified educational achievement gaps within one generation; improving education attainment levels and success rates; [and] developing culturally appropriate curricula" (TRC, 2015c).

Responding to the TRC, Universities Canada (2015) affirmed, "Universities have a major role to play in closing Canada's Indigenous education gap and supporting the reconciliation process" (p. 2). They recommended the federal government should "commit to substantial, sustained growth in student support and financial assistance for Indigenous students, and new investments to enhance institutional programming that serves Indigenous students and communities" (Universities Canada, 2015, p. 1). Additionally, Universities Canada developed 13 principles acknowledging the needs of this population which include a commitment to indigenizing curriculum through academic and support programs, building welcoming and supportive learning environments on campus for Indigenous students, and developing resources and spaces to encourage dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students (Universities Canada, 2015).

Current Trends to Support Indigenous Students

Institutions across Canada are revamping their student spaces to provide supportive campus environments for Indigenous students. In 2016, the University of Saskatchewan, in consultation with local Elders, opened the Gordon Oaks Red Bear Student Center for the 2,200 Indigenous students on campus (Chiose, 2016). The student center is designed to provide services to the Indigenous student population, while also welcoming non-Indigenous students (Chiose, 2016). Similarly, the Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) is constructing an Aboriginal Gathering Place to provide a space for students, faculty, and staff to honour Aboriginal traditions (JIBC, 2015). It is hoped the space will allow students to interact with Elders and Aboriginal peers, helping students to "succeed in their studies, build rewarding careers in public and community safety, and ultimately support their community" (JIBC, 2015).

Institutions are also adapting their curriculum and programs to include Indigenous learning. In 2016, the University of Manitoba implemented its first master's degree in social work, specializing in Indigenous knowledge (Garbutt, 2016). According to Garbutt, both university professors and Indigenous elders from the community instruct the program. Likewise, Trent University in Peterborough Ontario began offering a new Indigenous Bachelor of Education Degree in 2016. As a response to the TRC, the program includes Indigenous and non-Indigenous instructors and offers courses in Ojibwa language and math courses with a relationship to Indigenous culture (Casey, 2016).

Finally, in Manitoba, there has been an overall shift in the commitment to educating Indigenous students. In 2015, all higher education institution in Manitoba signed the Manitoba Collaborative Indigenous Education Blueprint (MCIEB) uniting them in their efforts to "advance Indigenous education and reconciliation, and to make Manitoba a global centre of excellence for Indigenous education, research, languages, and cultures" (The University of Winnipeg, 2015). By signing the Blueprint, all universities and colleges have dedicated to "Bringing Indigenous knowledge, languages and intellectual traditions, models and approaches into curriculum and pedagogy; [and] Increasing access to services, programs, and supports to Indigenous students, to ensure a learning environment is established that fosters learner success" (MCIEB, 2015).

Implications for Student Affairs Professionals

Challenges around Indigenous distrust of non-Indigenous universities are a fundamental concern when trying to support Indigenous learners. Laura Arndt, suggested that although residential schools are gone, their history continues to contribute to a great distrust among Indigenous people towards education in Canada (McMahon, 2014). Arndt asserted, "In my house, it is not a proud thing to be a university graduate. It means you're less Indian because you're educated" (McMahon, 2014). Therefore, even if institutions and student affairs professionals are committed to changing their academic programs and services to better support Indigenous students, they cannot make changes if students do not enter the school in fear of losing themselves through their education. As a result, efforts must be in place to get students in the door of the university, before being supported on campus.

In addition to lack of trust in the education system, there are challenges with creating a more Indigenous supportive university environment when it comes to the adequacy of programs and services. According to Paquette and Fallon (2014), even if a university wishes to indigenize their curriculum, those with the responsibility may not be adequately equipped with the knowledge, resources, or skills to teach about or perform research around Indigenous content. Student affairs professionals in particular are often involved with designing and creating Indigenous Diversity Offices or support spaces on campus, but may not have adequate knowledge or resources required to implement the changes.

Recommendations

Indigenous community members play a valuable role in changing the higher education landscape to be more supportive of Indigenous students. Malatest (2002) asserted, "Effective curricular development must happen through partnerships and through the expertise of Aboriginal community members" (p. 58). University leaders and student affairs professionals responsible for making decisions about curriculum development, academic spaces, or support initiatives, likely do not have the knowledge or expertize of Indigenous culture to implement the changes independently. Thus, these changes should happen in consultation or partnership with Indigenous community members who can share their knowledge, history, experiences, and pedagogies (Malatest, 2002). Therefore, it is recommended institutions looking to include Indigenous voices into their academic curriculum, seeking to redesign campus spaces, or attempting to implement new support initiatives to be more inclusive and supportive of Indigenous students, consult and partner with Indigenous community members.

In addition, institutions should also consider who is represented among their staff and faculty and increase Indigenous representation. Currently in Canada, the number of Indigenous staff does not adequately reflect the demographics of the population (Malatest, 2002). However, when implementing new support initiatives for Indigenous learning on campus, it is imperative Indigenous staff and faculty are a part of the campus community. This inclusion of more Indigenous staff and faculty creates a more welcoming environment for Indigenous students as it provides opportunities for role modeling, mentoring, and advising (Malatest, 2002). Finally, Indigenous staff could address some of the aforementioned issues of distrust experienced by Indigenous students. Therefore, institutions committed to making their campus community more supportive for Indigenous students, must include Indigenous staff and faculty to better support students.

Conclusion

Universities across Canada need to increase support for Indigenous students in order to close the educational achievement gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The Canadian government and leaders around the country will continue to address the TRC, and respond to the Calls to Action, and therefore universities must join in the reconciliation effort. Through these reconciliation efforts, it is imperative for support offered by student affairs professionals to acknowledge the pedagogies, history, and experiences of Indigenous students, and not simply rely on Eurocentric beliefs and teaching practices. Properly administered programs and initiatives should be intentionally established in a culturally appropriate manner, involving Indigenous community members, faculty, and staff to ensure students are receiving adequate support to succeed during their time in higher education.

Jessica Charbonneau is the Student Development Officer at the University of Toronto Mississauga.

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Appreciative Inquiry: Organizational Model Toward Change in Student Affairs

Yessenia Torres
Colorado State University

Abstract

Originally rooted in social constructivist theory research, appreciative inquiry (AI) was initially based on a set of four principles that acknowledge how social potential of a social system should begin with appreciation, collaboration, be provocative, and be applicable. The AI method has evolved, expanded, and strengthened organizational development and acts as a model of viewing change by focusing on the aspects of what an organization does well and analyzing those aspects. Appreciative inquiry is a transferable theory to the administrative and programmatic nature of student affairs work changing how student affairs professionals work with students and drive change in their professional roles. The philosophy of multiple realities and the asset based framework of appreciative inquiry are strengths in helping systems drive progress, while a limitation of the method is the lack of applicability to a variety of organizational types which impacts the credibility of the model. Applying the model of appreciative inquiry to student affairs, the model provides a positive framework to view and work with a variety of students and can be a model for being a change agent in professional positions.

Keywords: analysis, appreciative inquiry, change, critique, perspective, student affairs

Change is a natural behavior in any organizational structure (Bolman & Deal, 2013). When change occurs, there are a variety of approaches from which to view the change. Hammond (2013) discusses how, “the traditional approach to change is to look for the problem, do a diagnosis, and find a solution” (p. 5). Appreciative inquiry (AI) is a different perspective to the problem-solving orientation that drives change in a way that positively impacts all members of a system by assessing what elements of the system work to drive progress and appreciate those aspects (Hammond). This process leads to positive outlook and ultimately growth. The AI model has great implications for student affairs, affecting how the profession views and functions within multicultural support services and providing space for professionals to drive change in new positions and within new departments. First to discuss AI’s role in the organization of student affairs, a synthesis of its historical roots and current literature is reviewed. An analysis of the model’s strengths and limitations are provided, and lastly, a critical analysis of the model and the presented material provide a foundation as to whether appreciative inquiry has any application to student affairs in how the profession works with change. Though there are many strengths of appreciative inquiry, AI is not the most effective or beneficial model for change when applied to student affairs and higher education on an institutional level, which means the scope of this paper will look at individual and group levels only.

Historical Overview: Evolution and Development of Appreciative Inquiry

Cooperrider had a variety of projects with collaborators such a Whitney (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2001) concerning AI practice throughout the 1990's. According to Watkins, Mohr, and Kelly (2011), Cooperrider and Srivastva's (1987) first public use of the term appreciative inquiry in publication provided a grounded start to the exploration of appreciative inquiry. The AI model as is currently universally known, came around in 1997 as the 4 D cycle. The 4 D method includes: 1) Discovery 2) Dream 3) Design and 4) Delivery/Destiny. The process of discovery includes reflecting on and discussing "what is concerning the object of inquiry" (Bushe, 2011, p. 1). To dream is to imagine the system at its best and to create aspirations of the system, then comes to design those aspirations as concrete proposals for the new organization. Lastly, the process of delivery/destiny includes implementation of the design.

Philosophical Development of AI

Appreciative inquiry emerged from the idea that, "instinctively, intuitively, and tacitly we all know that important ideas can, in a flash, profoundly alter the way we see ourselves, view reality, and conduct our lives" (Cooperrider & Srivastva, p. 146). This philosophy of changing realities is the central focus towards its applicability to student affairs.

Hammond (2013) synthesizes a set of eight assumptions (Figure 1.1) for how groups think and act based on a shared set of beliefs on a variety of levels: individual, group, and institutional. These assumptions give groups common language developed on an unconscious level, a language not necessarily verbal but behavioral. This language develops and shapes what a group believes, and provides context of the group's choices and behaviors. However, application is easier theorized than put to practical use (Whitney & Bloom, 2010; Bushe 2011) when applying to organizational development.

Assumption 1:	In every society, organization, or group, something works
Assumption 2:	What we focus on becomes our reality
Assumption 3:	Reality is created in the moment, and there are multiple realities
Assumption 4:	The act of asking questions of an organization or group influences the group in some way
Assumption 5:	People have more confidence and comfort to journey to the future (the unknown) when they carry forward parts of the past (the known)
Assumption 6:	If we carry parts of the past forward, they should be what is best about the past
Assumption 7:	It is important to value differences
Assumption 8:	The language we use creates our reality

Figure 1.1. *The Assumptions of Appreciative Inquiry (adapted from Hammond, 2013)*

Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) view problem-solving and appreciative inquiry as separate, though Watkins, Mohr, and Kelly (2011) disagree and have critiqued the dependency of these assumptions for action or change. Figure 1.2 contrasts the difference between problem solving and appreciate inquiry as a way of seeing and being in the world. Though Hammond (2013) would agree there is a time and place for problem-solving, the difference in utilizing AI versus traditional change methods, means an organization will use "confirmed knowledge, confidence, and inspiration that they did well" (p. 9) and will continue to use this awareness to change in a positive direction.

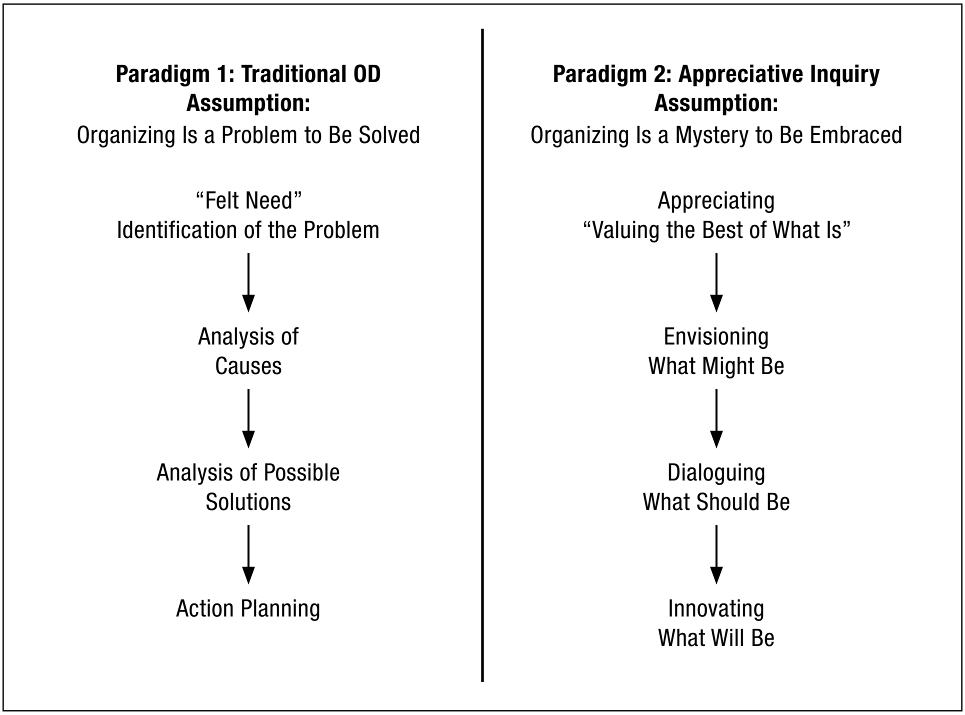

Figure 1.2. *Two Different Processes for Organizing Change (Watkins, Mohr, & Kelly, 2011, p. 17).*

Appreciative inquiry appreciates and values the best of "what is" which will in turn become the ability to envision "what might be" and provides the ability to dialogue "what should be" and "innovate what will be" (Hammond, 2013). There is a developmental and transformative nature intrinsically foundational to appreciative inquiry. Whitney and Bloom (2010) expand the transformative nature of this theory to include the liberation of power of the collective organizational structure. Utilizing these concepts means student affairs departments have an entry point in dialoguing about change which is integral to a profession with generational turnover such as higher education.

Applying Appreciative Inquiry Methodology

To Watkins, Mohr, & Kelly (2011) "change is continuous, relentless, and accelerating" (p. 9) and to reframe using AI means knowing how to define change, relate to it, and how to cope with change within human systems. Other literature supports AI because of its dynamic process (Whitney & Bloom, 2010; Hammond, 2013; Watkins, Mohr, & Kelly, 2011), and by repeating success and inquiry an organization will continue to learn and develop awareness. Awareness is a transformative skill to apply to future change behavior because it allows for coping to the fluidity when change occurs, making it a more natural and integral part of an organization's function. Through the process of appreciative inquiry, "organization's energy moves to make the image real" (Watkins, Mohr, & Kelly, p. 17) to the personal and collective power (Whitney & Bloom). Organizations cannot "skip the step of engaging the entire group to write the propositions, because this is where the momentum occurs" (Hammond, 2013, p. 37) meaning transformation would not occur and change would not happen.

The AI model has evolved in methodology and developed a philosophy that requires organizations to embrace transformation toward growth. Knowing the history and current literature regarding appreciative inquiry makes space for critique of the model by its strengths and limitations and analysis toward beneficial application.

Critique: Strengths and Limitations

The philosophy of appreciative inquiry is a framework applicable to all organizations. However, the theory's lack of transferability to other fields is one critique against it. Utilizing Richard Paul and Linda Elder's Structure of Critical Thinking model (2010), the elements of thought provide a foundation to critique appreciative inquiry.

Strengths of AI Philosophy

The strength of appreciative inquiry lies in its capacity for positive change (Whitney & Bloom, 2010). Utilizing the element of thought that all reasoning has a purpose (Paul & Elder, 2010), the asset-based philosophy of AI makes it stronger and more effective than a deficit-based perspective because it continues to build the foundation of an organization.

Investment. The recognition of multiple realities impacts the process of change as it becomes an investment for the entire system to participate in the process. The inclusion of multiple realities provides a sense of liberation through participation of all members (Hammond, 2013). The focus on inclusion of the entire organization is important not only in student affairs departments, but as departments interact across campus. These interactions create a more positive attitude which lends itself toward positive changes which leads to growth for an organization.

Liberation. The implementation of AI reinforces the positive framework of thinking which then becomes a natural part of the organization's group think. The key finding from Whitney and Bloom's liberation of freedoms and power is that appreciative inquiry "gives people the experience of personal and collective power" (p. 3). Therefore, the value of the freedom cycle to build community and liberate an organization into a feeling of belonging is a strength of the AI model. Though Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) do not address the power of liberation of organizations, the value of AI lies in its ability to shape "perceptions, cognitions, and preferences" (p. 140). Cooperrider and Srivastva expand on this concept to create the foundation for appreciative inquiry, which supports the transformative nature initiated through social innovation. Utilizing an appreciative perspective of others builds a skill that "grows and develops as people practice it" (Hammond, 2013, p. 41).

Limitations and Lack of Applicability

If appreciative inquiry is a focus on solution orientation, a question of *how* to approach change is a limitation. Hammond (2013) acknowledges there is a time and a place for problem solving, however making note of when those times might be is not further detailed in the original or current literature. The simplicity of one perspective is a limitation of the AI model because it too narrowly focuses on the positive which is not enough for transformational change because elements that may need fixing are then not being addressed. Considering the nature of change, Bolman and Deal (2013) explain the altering effects on relationships and existing agreements, and how "even more profoundly, it [change] intrudes on deeply rooted symbolic forms, traditional ways, icons and rituals. Below the surface, an organization's cultural tapestry begins to unravel, threatening time-honored traditions, prevailing cultural values and ways, and shared meaning" (p. 377). The change in relationships and agreements impact the organization more than knowing what to believe and how to act. The organization may fail to see another way to improve effectiveness and "by doing less of what we don't do well," then the problems not being addressed become a bad cycle of behavior (Hammond, 2013, p. 16). By ignoring aspects that complicates change, the assumptions also overlook another necessary perspective.

In looking at Bolman and Deal's (2013) understanding of change, appreciative inquiry also assumes members of an organization already have a level of investment to make such change. There is an assumed shared meaning that impacts the level of change based on the investment of the parts of an organization. AI is transformational in perspective but is not necessarily as practical as a fixing technique for organizations with no group membership buy in. Bushe (2011) complicates this notion further in acknowledging, "another moderating influence… may be the extent to which appreciation, discussion of ideals, and a focus on strengths exists prior to an appreciative inquiry" (p. 9). AI does not include how much of an influence appreciative inquiry needs to exist within an organization (Bushe), therefore the overall, long-lasting change of behavior would not become an integral part of the organization.

It is difficult to apply an appreciative inquiry model to systemic changes occurring in higher education, considering larger scale implications and societal influences on higher education. This means AI best applies to the individual relationships that occur between student affairs professionals and students, as well as dynamics within a department because these are more manageable organization sizes to impact change.

Analyzing the strengths and limitations of appreciative inquiry provides a critical perspective to its applicability to a variety of organizational levels.

Critical Analysis: Implications for Student Affairs Professionals & Practice

Student affairs cannot be viewed as a separate organization in the realm of higher education. The purpose behind and the type of work student affairs practitioners provide to students is intrinsically tied to the mission and value of higher education in the U.S. system (Thelin & Gasman, 2011).

There are many ways in which appreciative inquiry effectively applies to student affairs. This framework impacts the individual level of systems in student affairs. Utilizing appreciative inquiry as an asset-based model helps practitioners further support students. Specifically, in the relationships practitioners have with students as they aid in students' developmental processes throughout college. Asserting that support services exist to support deficiencies, the shift in perspective allows students to find ways to see themselves in a different light and then focuses on negative changes that may need to be fixed. For example, many practitioners perceive and understand first generation students as being "high risk" due to lack of familial familiarity with college and often financial contributions. However, this population also exhibits strengths in adapting to change, a resiliency needed to be successful. Yosso (2005) identifies these strengths as community cultural wealth. Therefore, practitioners could focus on these characteristics and engage with students in a way to increase self-esteem. Utilizing the AI model, students could discover their own strengths, dream new goals, and design that plan to succeed. The language surrounding "high risk" student populations could change and change how services engage with and utilize the various forms of cultural wealth that students bring with them to college.

Appreciative inquiry is a good framework for working in functional areas that are constantly under change due to turn over such as orientation, campus activities or residence life. The nature of programming is constantly under change, and in working with college students there is constant turn over due to cohort graduation and time. This means student affairs professionals are constantly working with a new generation of students, meaning adaptations are necessary for student affairs professionals to work effectively with students. Putting the AI method to practice is a valuable approach toward change because it allows an organization to learn to ask different questions. Another area to practice the 4 D model is when professionals start in new positions. When changes happen in a department, appreciative inquiry is a fresh perspective for any professional to apply when entering a new space. These are major points of change for both the individual and the department meaning that both entities can work together to make change an effective and smoother process. Collectively the department can re-evaluate its goals, how they wish to get there, how they plan work together to do this, and lastly to efficiently function within the new scope, creating less tension and a smoother transition.

Conclusion

Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) explain how, "the spirit behind each of these four principles of appreciative inquiry is to be found in…hope and inspiration that humankind has ever known-the miracle and mystery of being" (p. 154). This hope and inspiration best applies to student affairs work because it is the one aspect that could make greater change in the lives of the students we support. Though the process may not be easily applied into the larger organization of higher education, the AI perspective could lead student affairs to build community, liberation, and power within and throughout an organization. Utilizing this philosophy throughout individual and group levels of student affairs is a valuable way to support students and changing professional positions. These are efforts needed to be taken to build a strength based framework to create a stronger and involved community amongst student affairs professionals.

Yessenia Torres ('17) is the graduate assistant in Athletics: Diversity and Inclusion at Colorado State University and a current graduate student in the Student Affairs in Higher Education program.

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Students Against Hunger: An Approach to Food Insecurity at a Large Public Land Grant University

Heather Novak
Jennifer J. Johnson
Colorado State University

Abstract

Students Against Hunger (SAH) is a program aimed at mitigating student food insecurity at a large land grant institution. The program was developed in the spring of 2015 and provides students in need of food assistance with free meal swipes on their student identification cards. Nearly three-quarters of SAH recipients are first-generation and/or students of color and have lower than average levels of high school academic preparation. The majority of SAH students are junior or senior undergraduates and utilizing student loans at a higher than average level. There is evidence of higher levels of student success for SAH recipients compared to the SAH applicants who are waitlisted for the program. Persistence to the following semester is higher for students who receive the meal swipes compared to those who do not receive the meal assistance. Additionally, the waitlisted SAH applicants have a statistically significant lower term grade point average (GPA) the semester they apply (and do not receive the meal swipes) compared to the semester prior to applying. This negative correlation between GPA and application semester is not present for SAH applicants who receive meal swipes. The findings of this article suggest SAH is a successful model for tackling food insecurity on college campuses.

Keywords: campus food insecurity, college students, retention, student success

Food insecurity is a major issue for students in the United States (Dubick, Mathews, & Cady, 2016). For the purposes of this article, food insecurity is defined as "a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food" (United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, 2016, para 3). According to the United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service (2016), indicators of adult food insecurity include cutting or skipping meals, not eating throughout a full day, worry that food will run out, the inability to afford a well-balanced meal, feeling hungry but not eating, and running out of purchased food. Individuals experiencing food insecurity may reduce or disrupt their normal eating patterns due to lack of money or resources for food (United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, 2016). The United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service estimates that 12.7% of households in the United States experienced food insecurity in 2015.

The program being assessed, Students Against Hunger (SAH), is at a land grant institution with a commitment to access to undergraduate education for all (Colorado State University, 2016a). In fall of 2014, the institution conducted a campus survey which indicated that approximately 10% of the student population experiences food insecurity, therefore at an institution with an enrollment of 28,000 students, 2,800 experience food insecurity. SAH is an effort to address the issue of campus food insecurity by providing qualified student applicants with 75 meal swipes each semester on their student identification cards. These meals can be accessed at any of the seven residential dining centers located on campus.

Interested students apply for the program via a website housed within the campus service-learning departmental webpage and provide their name, contact information, student identification number, and a brief description of their financial situation. Applications are then evaluated by the Office of Financial Aid and qualified applicants are accommodated on a first-come, first-serve basis until all funding for the semester is exhausted. Students are qualified to receive meals if they: 1) are an undergraduate student registered for six or more credits, 2) have a valid RamCard (student identification card), 3) have an Expected Family Contribution of 10,000 or less based on Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) or the Institutional Aid Application, and 4) do not currently have a meal plan at the institution's Residential Dining Centers.

SAH began in the spring of 2015 and is currently serving 51 students with more than 200 waitlisted students in the fall semester of 2016. The cost for the meals swipes is approximately $500 per student which is paid by private donors supporting the program. Demand for the program is growing (from 33 applicants in the spring of 2015 to 250+ applicants in fall of 2016).

This article describes the SAH students' demographics and academic preparation compared to the large land grant institution (LLGI) population overall. The academic performance of SAH students who received the SAH meal swipes (recipients) is compared to students who applied but did not receive meal swipes (waitlist). The following three research questions guided this study:

1. What are the demographic and academic characteristics of students who apply for the Rams Against Hunger program and how do they differ from the overall population at the LLGI?
2. Is there an association between meal receipt and grade point average among students with a perceived level of food insecurity?
3. Is there an association between meal receipt and persistence to the following semester among students with a perceived level of food insecurity?

Literature Review

Current research focused specifically on food insecurity on college campuses, including the prevalence of food insecurity, the impacts of food insecurity, and assessment of campus interventions addressing food insecurity is limited. The most comprehensive and timely study to date is Dubick et al.'s (2016) *Hunger on Campus: The Challenge of Food Insecurity for College Students*. As a result, the findings reported in the following literature review rely heavily on Dubick's (2016) report, which are integrated with other author's contributions.

Prevalence of Food Insecurity on College Campuses

Current research indicates that college students are at significant risk of experiencing food insecurity (Dubick et al., 2016). Depending on the university and the definition of "campus food insecurity" studies have indicated that somewhere between one-fifth to more than one-half of college students experience food insecurity (Chaparro, Zaghloul, Holck, & Dobbs, 2009; Dubick et al., 2016). Chaparro et al. (2009) found that 21% of surveyed students at the University of Hawai'i Manoa were food-insecure and 24% were at risk of food insecurity. Gaines, Robb, Knol, and Sickler (2014) found that 14% of undergraduate students at a large, public university in the southeastern United States experiencing food insecurity. Another study found that 59% of the students attending a rural university in Oregon had experienced food insecurity in the previous year (Patton-Lopez, Lopez-Cevallos, Cancel-Tirado, & Vasquez, 2014). The largest comprehensive campus food insecurity study to date involving eight community colleges and 26 four-year colleges in 12 states found that 48% of student respondents experienced food insecurity in the previous 30 days (Dubick et al., 2016). The growing presence and usage of food banks on college campuses is also a strong indicator of the growing problem of food insecurity on college campuses (Powers, 2012).

One of the challenges in interpreting studies assessing the prevalence of food insecurity on college campuses is the variation in which food insecurity is defined in each study. Despite this variation, research clearly indicates that food insecurity is an issue affecting many college students in the United States (Dubick et al., 2016).

Student food insecurity is prevalent at both four-year colleges and universities and at community colleges. Dubick et al. (2016) found that 25% of community college students experienced food insecurity and 20% of students at four-year schools experienced food insecurity. 39% of students attending City University in New York (CUNY), a community college, reported food insecurity (Freudenberg et al., 2011). Additionally, Hughes, Serebryanikova, Donaldson, and Leveritt's (2001) study of Australian students suggests that campus food insecurity is not isolated to the United States. Depending on method of analysis used, Australian students experienced food insecurity at the rate of 12.7% to 46.5% (Hughes et al., 2001).

Demographics of Food Insecurity on College Campuses

Students of color appear to be at greater risk of food insecurity when compared to their White-identified peers. Dubick et al. (2016) found that 57% of students identifying as Black or African American reported food insecurity compared to 40% of students identifying as non-Hispanic/White. At University of Hawai'i at Manoa, students identifying as Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (38% of which reported food insecurity) and Filipino (38% of which reported food insecurity) were at the greatest risk for food insecurity (Chaparro et al., 2009). CUNY students identifying as African-American (42% of which reported food insecurity) and Latino/a or Chicano/a (48% of which reported food insecurity) experienced higher rates of food insecurity compared to their White-identified (30.5% of which reported food insecurity) peers.

In addition to students of color, several other student populations experienced high rates of food insecurity. Students renting or living-off-campus are at greater risk of food insecurity when compared to students on-campus or students living with their families (Chaparro et al., 2009; Hughes, Serebryanikova, Donaldson, & Leveritt, 2001). Additionally, Alaimo (2005) found that students who were financially independent and not receiving money from their families were at greater risk of food insecurity. Larson, Perry, Story, and Sztainer (2006) and Gaines et al. (2014) suggested that students who have inadequate food management skills, such as inadequate cooking skills or adequate time or money to buy and prepare food, may be at increased risk for food insecurity. First-generation students also had higher rates of food insecurity (56%) compared to students who had at least one parent attend college (45%) (Dubick et al., 2016). Food insecurity was also significantly associated with having a low income or receiving government assistance (Dubick et al., 2016; Freudenberg et al., 2001; Lyons, 2004; Meldrum & Willows; 2006). Dubick et al. found that three-quarters of students experiencing food insecurity received financial aid, 37% took out student loans, and 52% received Pell Grants (2016). 61% of students experiencing food insecurity reported their household utilized the food aid programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance

Program (SNAP, previously known as food stamps), free or reduced-price school meals, or food pantry/food bank (Dubick et al., 2016). Freudenberg et al. (2001) found that students who reported a household income of $20,000 or less were more than twice as likely to report food insecurity when compared to students with household incomes of $50,000 or more. Finally, rates of food insecurity were higher among students who reported working 20 hours or more per week (44% of which reported food insecurity) compared to students who did not work (35.5% of which reported food insecurity) (Freudenberg et al., 2001).

Impact of Food Insecurity

Research has consistently demonstrated that food insecurity among 5 to 18 year-old students results in negative health outcomes, poor academic performance, and decreased psychosocial function. (Alaimo, Olson, & Frongillo, 2002; Jyoti, Frongillo, & Jones, 2005). In the college environment, food insecurity can contribute to students' inability to perform well academically and in some cases, cause students to discontinue their education (Dubick et al., 2016). Eighty percent of food insecure students at the University of Massachusetts reported that food insecurity negatively impacted their class performance (Silva et al., 2015). Furthermore, 4% of these students reported having to take a break from higher education for one or more semesters due to housing issues or food insecurity (Silva et al, 2015). Similarly, 32% of students experiencing food insecurity in Dubick et al.'s (2016) study reported that food and housing issues negatively impacted their education. These students reported that hunger or housing problems caused them to drop a class (25%), miss class (53%), not purchase one or more required text books (55%), miss a study session (54%), or opt not to join an extracurricular activity (55%).

Campus Initiatives to Combat Food Insecurity

Colleges and universities across the country have employed a variety of approaches to address the issue of campus food insecurity. The most common strategy to address food insecurity employed by university campuses is establishing on-campus food pantries (Powers, 2012). According to the College and University Food Bank Alliance (2016), there are 362 colleges and universities operating a food pantry at their institution. There are a variety of ways that campuses have set up their food pantries. Some institutions have large food warehouses and deliver up to 50,000 pounds of food annually, while other campuses operate small closet-sized pantries (College and University Food Bank Alliance, 2016). Some campuses have mobile pantries with regular distribution times and others allow 24-hour access to locker pantries through the swipe of a student ID card (College and University Food Bank Alliance, 2016). Some campus food pantries utilize a food recovery model by collecting unused food from campus dining halls and repurposing the food into single-sized portions which are handed out at the on-campus food pantry (Dubick et al., 2016).

Meal swipe programs are a second common strategy utilized by university campuses to address food insecurity. When these programs are designed to address on-campus food insecurity, swipes are collected from university students during end of semester table drives and used to purchase meal vouchers. These vouchers are then distributed by a campus administrative office to students experiencing food insecurity (Swipe Out Hunger, 2016). According to Swipe Out Hunger (2016), 20 campuses across the United States support meal swipe programs. To date, Swipe Out Hunger Programs have contributed 1,346,267 meals to students in need.

Another strategy utilized by university campuses to support students experiencing food insecurity is to provide a centralized office or staff member to link students to on- and off-campus resources such as housing assistance, food assistance, and subsidies for health insurance. The Human Services Resource Center at Oregon State is an example of such an office. Their stated aim is to "ensure basic human needs are met so that students can pursue a quality education" (Oregon State University, 2016).

This study contributes to the literature by identifying demographic factors of food insecurity at one institution of higher education and reporting the impact (measured by correlational associations) of a campus meal swipe program on student success for students with a perceived level of food insecurity.

Methodology

To assess which students experience food insecurity and the associations between meal swipe receipt and student success, the analysis includes the 320 individuals who submitted Rams Against Hunger applications in spring 2015, fall 2015, and spring 2016. Among these individuals, about 60% (n=191) received the meal swipes. Among the waitlisted applicants, the majority were denied because the program lacked funding. Occasionally some applicants did not meet the Expected Family Contribution (EFC) eligibility criteria; however, SAH participants were compared to all waitlisted applicants (regardless of EFC) because these students applied for the program based on their perceived need. All data for this study was obtained from the institutional databases as well as the SAH applications.

For the purpose of this study, perceived food insecurity is defined by applying for the program. Among this group there were recipients who received the meal swipes and the waitlisted applicants (those who did not receive the meal swipes but completed their application). It is important to note that level of food insecurity on the LLGI's campus is higher than just those who applied for the SAH program because the program is not broadly advertised; however, the applicant pool provides a measure of food insecurity.

To address the first research question: what are the academic and demographic characteristics of SAH applicants and recipients, the demographic and academic characteristics (first-generation status, residency, students of color, and a composite score for high school GPA/test scores) of the waitlisted applicants and meal swipe recipients are presented as well as the overall demographics at the LLGI. First-generation status is a self-reported measure from the admissions application where students are asked if they are the first in their family to earn a bachelor's degree. Students of color are defined as all self-reported race/ethnicities that are not white, international, or unknown. Residency is defined by student eligibility for the in-state tuition rate. Pre-collegiate measures of academic preparation are represented by the State's Department of Higher Education (SDHE) index score which is a composite score of high school GPA and test scores calculated by the SDHE (SDHE, 2016). Additionally, SAH applicants are described in terms of their academic class level to provide context of food insecurity throughout the undergraduate path.

The second and third research questions explore the association between meal swipe and student success among students with perceived levels of food insecurity. GPA (second research question) and persistence (third research question) are used to measure student success. The second research question uses a match samples t-test to determine if the term GPA significantly changed the term prior to the application compared to the application term. Cohen's d is a standardized difference of the means (Ott & Longnecker, 2008) and is included as an effect size for the mean difference. A chi-squared test is used for the third research question to determine if the persistence (defined by enrollment or graduation) in the subsequent term is statistically different between the waitlisted applicants and the meal swipe recipients. Percentage point differences in persistence rates are used as a measure of effect size. The statistical tests used in this study are appropriate for the type of dependent variable

(Ott & Longnecker, 2008). The rationale behind these research questions is that receipt of the meal swipes should promote student success (as defined by these two measures) among food insecure students at LLGI.

There are two important limitations that must be considered when interpreting the study results. First, the analyses being used are bivariate and descriptive in nature; therefore, they can only be interpreted in terms of correlations between meal swipe receipt and student success outcomes. The analysis does not warrant causal interpretations because meal swipe recipients not randomly assigned, and there could be important differences between applicants and recipients that are not being accounted for. Second, this analysis is conducted at a single institution so the results cannot be generalized beyond this one institution's context. However, considering the lack of research on the associations between food insecurity and undergraduate student success this article is providing an important contribution to understanding these correlations so they can be tested in other institutions' contexts.

Findings

Table 1, below, shows the demographics of waitlisted applicants and meal swipe recipients, as well as the overall levels at the LLGI (for reference). About 64% of applicants and 74% of recipients are first-generation students and 93% of both groups are Colorado residents. A majority of both groups are students of color (63% of waitlisted applicants and 73% of recipients) and 57% percent of students in both groups are female. First-generation students, students who are in-state residents, and students of color are considerably overrepresented among the SAH populations compared to the LLGI overall. Overall at the LLGI (fall 2015), about 23% of students are first-generation, 18% are students of color, and 73% are Colorado residents. There is a slightly larger proportion of females in the SAH population than there is overall (51% overall compared to 57% among the SAH students).

The academic preparation measures for SAH applicants and recipients are very similar. Among the recipients the average index is 108 and average high school GPA is 3.53. Among the waitlisted students the average index is 106 and the average HS GPA is 3.43. Overall at LLGI (FA15 freshman profile), the average index is 115, and the average HS GPA is 3.6. Across these measures of academic preparation, the SAH students have lower levels compared to the average freshman profile at LLGI.

Table 1. *Demographics and Pre-College Academic Preparation for SAH and LLGI*

	First-generation	Students of Color	Female	CO Residents	CDHE Index[2]	HS GPA
Overall at LLGI[1]	23%	18%	51%	73%	115	3.59
SAH Recipients	74%	73%	57%	93%	108	3.53
Waitlisted SAH Applicants	64%	63%	57%	93%	106	3.43

[1] Overall at LLGI is based on the FA15 undergraduates

[2] CCHE index score is a composite measure of high school academic performance based on test scores and GPA calculated by the Colorado Department of Higher Education

Table 2 displays the class level distribution among Students Against Hunger applicants. The distribution of class level between recipients and waitlisted applicants are very similar. Among SAH students, more than 50% of both recipients and applicants are undergraduate students who first applied for SAH during their junior or senior year. Additionally, about 32% of both applicants and recipients are sophomores, and a small number are second-year freshmen or graduate students.

Table 2. *Class Level Distribution of SAH Applicants*

	Waitlist	Recipients
Freshman	12.0%	12.6%
Sophomore	31.7%	31.9%
Junior	25.2%	27.2%
Senior	25.8%	25.1%
2nd Bachelor	1.8%	1.6%
Masters	2.4%	1.6%
Ph.D.	1.2%	0.0%

Table 3 shows the academic success measures by meal swipe receipt in order to address the second and third research questions. The LLGI term GPA is statistically lower for the waitlisted SAH applicants in the term they are denied meal swipes compared to their prior term but is statistically the same for the SAH recipients across the same time frame. For instance, among applicants, the LLGI term GPA the semester prior to their first application is 2.86 but the average term GPA for this group decreased to 2.73 the semester they were denied the meal swipes (p=.013). The magnitude of this statistically significant difference would be considered small to moderate (d=2.6) Among SAH recipients, the LLGI term GPA the semester prior to application is 2.89, and this group's average term GPA decreased a nominal amount to 2.83 the semester they received the meal swipes (p=.371). The persistence (enrolled or graduated) in the semester following the SAH application term is high for both applicants (93%) and recipients (98%). However, the 5.5 percentage point difference between the groups' persistence rates is statistically significant (χ^2= .008).

Table 3. *Student Success Measures by Meal Swipe Receipt*

	Persistence	Prior Term GPA	Application Term GPA
SAH Recipients	98.4%	2.89	2.83
Waitlisted SAH Applicants	92.9%	2.86	2.69

Implications

This study reinforces current literature on the topic of campus food insecurity. Food insecurity at the LLGI, like many institutions across the country, is a significant campus problem (Dubick et al., 2016). Additionally, food insecurity at LLGI was more prevalent among students of color and first-generation college students, a finding that also supports previous research on this topic (Chaparro et al., 2009; Dubick et al., 2016). This study also adds to literature on food insecurity and academic success among undergraduates by showing the positive association between receiving meal swipes and GPA as well as persistence among food insecure individuals.

To date, there is very little literature that addresses the specific impacts of certain programmatic interventions on students experiencing food insecurity. This study supports the use of meal swipe programs as an effective strategy that contributes to the academic success of college students experiencing food insecurity.

This study also indicates that food insecurity is not being appropriately addressed at LLGI. Prior study estimates that about 10% of the LLGI's student population experiences food insecurity; therefore, in FA16 there were approximately 2,800 students in need, but SAH only served 51 students that semester with more than 200 students waitlisted for this semester. In their study of campus food insecurity across the country, Dubick et al. (2016) suggested that colleges and universities like LLGI who have identified food insecurity as an inadequately addressed campus issue should develop, support, and expand programs to support food insecure students. Given the demonstrated programmatic success, LLGI should consider expanding or enhancing the SAH program through increasing donations to increase the number of students who receive meal swipes. Additionally, LLGI should consider a program like Swipe Out Hunger which reallocates unused student meals to students in need (Swipe Out Hunger, 2016). This strategy would sustainably increase the number of meal swipes available to students in need without the burden of constantly identifying additional private donors. However, such a strategy should be considered carefully as it could potentially negatively impact the financial bottom line of the Campus Dining Department, as campus dining centers establish their budgets assuming a certain percentage of unused student meal swipes.

From an institutional perspective, the SAH program could be one avenue to support progress towards an institutional goal articulated in the Institution's Strategic Plan (2016b) to decrease differences in graduation rates for students who are historically underserved by higher education. The students served by SAH are very diverse and mostly upper-class undergraduates; therefore, increasing SAH students' persistence rates will have a positive impact on the overall graduation rate for students of color at the institution. Prior work at LLGI indicates that the differences in student success by demographic groups increase as students progress in their undergraduate careers (Colorado State University, 2015). An implication of this study is if the waitlisted SAH applicants were to receive meal swipes they might have a better chance of persisting to the following semester. There are currently more than 200 students on the waitlist. At LLGI, the graduation rate could increase by 1 percentage point with approximately 45 additional students graduating. Therefore, if all the waitlisted students received meal swipes, the overall graduation rate at LLGI could potentially increase because the persistence rates of the 200 waitlisted students would most likely increase.

Finally, the success of the SAH program at LLGI also provides a model that can be utilized at other institutions. Currently, the food swipe model is not as common as on-campus food banks (Dubick et al., 2016). The benefit of the SAH is that students can access healthy, convenient meals on campus without any additional stigma. A meal swipe for an SAH recipient appears no different than a meal swipe from a paying student. Additionally, the ability to eat on campus (without going home to prepare food) enables students to stay on campus and more easily engage with other students as well as co-curricular resources.

Of course, there are also other successful ways to address food insecurity on campuses beyond meal swipes and food pantries. These include institutional offices to connect students to local support (e.g., subsidized housing, food stamps, and affordable child care) and establishing small grants to supports students with unexpected financial emergencies (Dubick et al., 2016). Programs like SAH should not replace these other strategies but can be used in tandem to ensure a comprehensive support system to address food insecurity's impact on students' ability to successfully continue their education to graduation.

Conclusion

In summary, SAH students are very diverse (nearly three-quarters are first-generation and/or students of color) and have lower than average levels of high school academic preparation. There is evidence of a positive association between receiving the meal swipes and student success (measured by GPA and persistence). Persistence to the following semester is higher for students who received the meal swipes compared to those who do not receive the meal swipes. Additionally, the waitlisted SAH applicants have a statistically significant lower term GPA the semester they apply (and do not receive the meal swipes) compared to the semester prior to applying. This negative correlation between GPA and application semester is not present for SAH applicants who receive the meal swipes. Considering the positive associations between receiving meal swipes and student success among those who apply as well as the demographics of SAH applicants (upper class diverse undergraduates), increasing the number of possible awards could have an impact on the persistence gaps for students who historically have had the highest rates of attrition at the later undergraduate years. From an institutional perspective, addressing food insecurity among self-identified students is a promising strategy to increase historically underserved students' graduation rates.

SAH also serves as an alternate model to support food insecure students on campuses in addition to current strategies, such as food banks. SAH utilizes a structure that is already in place to provide healthy meals in a way that does not further stigmatize food insecure students. Socio-economic status is one of the strongest predictors for future graduation (Kena, 2015). Addressing food insecurity on campus is one component that supports access to undergraduate education for students across the nation.

Heather Novak, Ph.D., Research Manager, Institutional Research, Planning and Effectiveness, Colorado State University.

Jennifer J. Johnson, Ph.D., Assistant Director, Office for Student Leadership, Involvement, and Community Engagement (SLICE), Colorado State University.

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Literature Review manuscripts should not exceed 3,000 words (approximately 12 pages of double-spaced, typewritten copy, including references, tables, and figures) and should not be fewer than 1,000 words (approximately four pages). Exceptions should be discussed with the editors at the time of submission.

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