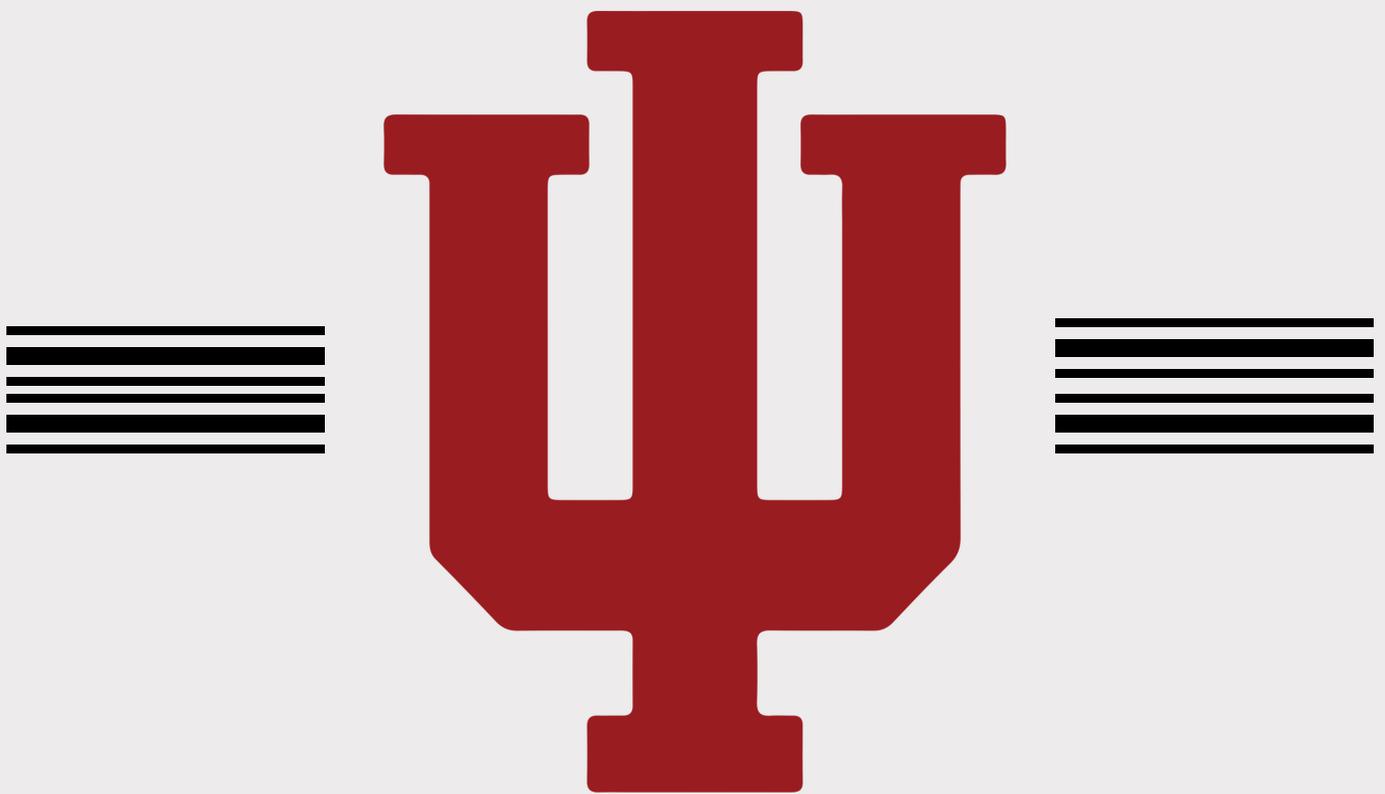


Student Personnel Association at Indiana University

SPA at IU JOURNAL



— 2017 —

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at Indiana University***
2016-2017 Edition

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

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Letter from the Editors

Kody K. Sexton & Drew A. Donaldson

It is with great excitement that we present the 2016-2017 Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University (SPA at IU Journal), a publication of original scholarly works related to higher education and student affairs. The SPA at IU Journal has a long tradition of providing an opportunity for Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) master's and doctoral students to submit their scholarship. First published in 1967, the Journal has featured numerous articles on a variety of topics, ranging from original research studies to literature reviews and educational policy analyses. In 2010, the Journal moved to an online format through the IUScholarWorks database, a service provided by the Indiana University Digital Libraries Program. This service has allowed us to reach a much wider audience of readers, and we are proud to make the entire digital archives, dating back to 1967, available online. We hope that you will not only enjoy but also be challenged by the scholarship in the 2016-2017 edition of the Journal and in our IUScholarWorks digital archives.

This edition features a total of eight articles on a wide array of topics, from perspectives on international higher education to recommendations for practice on campus at Indiana University. The first article, "Super Likes and Right Swipes," examines the experiences of undergraduate women at Indiana University Bloomington who use dating apps. The second piece, "A History of the Chaplaincy at DePauw University," provides a look at the evolution of religious life and structures at DePauw. Next, "Mission Accomplished?" analyzes the ways Indiana University's mission is exemplified in virtual tours on the Bloomington and Indianapolis campuses. Following this article is "In-State Tuition for Undocumented Students," which argues for removing financial barriers to undocumented students in the form of high tuition rates. Following this article, "Do You See What I See?" evaluates the similarities and differences between students' perceptions of campus through a viewbook and through lived experience. Turning to literature review, "Asian American Pacific Islander College Choice" examines the extant scholarship on the choice patterns of these students, with recommendations for further research. The next article, "Life in the 'Kelley Bubble,'" presents a qualitative study of help-seeking behaviors among men in the IU Kelley School of Business. Finally, "Privatization in Mexican Higher Education" investigates recent growth in Mexican private higher education and frames this growth globally.

As the editors of this year's SPA at IU Journal, we would like to thank the authors, the review board, our graphic designer, the online publishers, and our advisors, Drs. Gary R. Pike and Lucy LePeau, for their generous dedication to creating a publication that upholds HESA's legacy of scholarship. Several months of time and effort are required from all who contribute to the Journal's publication, and for this, we are very appreciative. The Journal would not be possible without the continued support of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University, financial contributions from alumni, and additional resources from the HESA

program. With this support, the Journal is able to provide a unique opportunity for master's and doctoral students to experience the publication process and showcase their scholarship.

We hope you are as excited to read the scholarship presented in this year's Journal as we are to deliver it to you. Please enjoy the 2016-2017 Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University!

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Super Likes and Right Swipes: How Undergraduate Women Experience Dating Apps

Alyssa M. Beauchamp, Hannah R. Cotton, Allison T. LeClere, Emily K. Reynolds, Sean J. Riordan, & Kathleen E. Sullivan

Dating apps on mobile devices have grown in popularity over the last five years, but little research has been done to understand how college women engage with these apps. As such, this study aimed to uncover how undergraduate women engage with dating apps and how they feel in regards to their safety. Based on this study, connections were made between the utilization of social networks by women using dating apps and the need for healthy sexual and relationship education.

Social media has become increasingly prevalent, with 90% of young adults ages 18-29 using social networking sites (Perrin, 2015). Due to an increased use of technology in building personal connections, it is vital that stakeholders in higher education gain a better understanding of how dating apps in particular impact the student experience. As of 2016, 27% of 18-24 year olds use online dating apps, which is an increase from just 10% in 2013 (Smith, 2016). Hookup culture and consent are also issues that play a role in the dating app experiences of undergraduate women (Garcia, Reiber, Massey, and Merriwether, 2012). Hookup culture is a term that has emerged in recent years to describe a culture on college campuses in which students engage in sexual acts frequently and with little long-term commitment (Garcia et al, 2012). Consent is the act of providing affirmative verbal and/or nonverbal communication to engage in sexual acts with another person (Breiding, Basile, Smith, Black, & Mehendra, 2015).

In addition to patterns of use, it is important for stakeholders to understand the safety implications that using these apps could have on undergraduate women when meeting potential partners in person. As such, this study explored undergraduate

women's perceptions and experiences of safety in regards to the online dating app environment at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB). In hopes of being more inclusive of different experiences as women, this study included women who identify on different parts of the gender spectrum, including: women, trans women, genderqueer, and demi girl. According to Xie (2015), demigirl is defined as a breaking of gender boundaries, where an individual identifies as both "girl" and "non-girl."

The researchers sought to understand what women look for and expect when utilizing these apps that they may not get from their in-person interactions in the socially constructed environment (Strange & Banning, 2015) at IUB. This exploratory study investigated the experiences of undergraduate women who utilize dating apps as a means to make new connections. The research questions were as follows:

1. What are undergraduate women's perceptions of using dating apps?
2. With regard to safety in particular, how do undergraduate women experience dating apps?
3. What campus resources, if any, are these students utilizing in order to process their experiences within the dating app culture?

This study was intended to invite administrators, faculty, student affairs professionals, and campus partners (see Table 2) to: (1) re-conceptualize how we promote sexual and mental health of undergraduates, (2) influence our approach to campus safety policies, (3) spark critical conversations about how we engage women in positive and healthy relationships, and (4) reaffirm this institution’s commitment to creating a safe and affirming campus environment for all IUB students (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015a). The campus resources asked about in this study are described in Table 1. The offices the researchers partnered with to disseminate the survey can be found in Appendix A.

Literature Review

The Internet has become a tool for online dating and forming relationships and has partly replaced family, school, and the neighborhood as venues for meeting potential partners (Rosenfeld & Thomas, 2012). For example, location-based real-time dating (LBRTD) apps rely on photos and minimal bios, allowing users to market themselves in order to attain a desired outcome (Birnholtz et al., 2014). One of the apps discussed in both of these studies is Tinder, a popular online dating app that allows users to self-select through potential partners by parameters of age and distance.

Online Dating Apps Perpetuating Hook-Up Culture and Existing Gender Norms

The advent of self-selection dating apps has been said to have given rise to hookup culture, specifically on college campuses. Garcia et al.’s (2012) study of hookup culture among young adults and college students acknowledged that the

Table 1

<i>Campus Resources</i>		
<u>Resource</u>	<u>Peer Led vs. Staff Led</u>	<u>Description</u>
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS)	Staff Led	Holistic cognitive behavioral counseling center located in the IU Bloomington Health Center.
Student Advocates Office	Staff Led	Office that provides students with resources and confidential support to address personal or academic issues.
Raising Awareness of Interactions in Sexual Encounters (RAISE)	Peer Led	Student-led organization under the umbrella of IU Health Center programs that educates students on sexual assault and relationship violence.
Men Against Rape and Sexual Assault (MARS)	Peer Led	Student-led organization that educates men on consent and healthy relationships.
Safe Sisters	Peer Led	Student-led organization that serves as a peer confidential resource for Panhellenic sorority women.
Step UP!	Peer Led	Delivers bystander intervention-training sessions focused on sexual wellbeing, respect, mental health, and drugs and alcohol.
Sexual Assault Crisis Services (SACS)	Staff Led	Provides comprehensive resources for survivors of sexual assault located in the IU Bloomington Health Center.

term “hookup” can be extremely vague and may encompass a number of sexual behaviors, such as kissing, oral sex, and penetrative intercourse (Garcia et al., 2012). Although casual sex is not exclusive to young adults, a study by Garcia and Fisher (2015) found it to be much more common among college students in that age cohort than those who do not attend college.

Existing gender norms associated with heterosexual dating and hookup culture are also perpetuated through these apps. Eisenhart (1990) offered insight into the exchanges that heterosexual college men and women engage in when creating a cultural system of romance. This study found that students must develop an expertise regarding the language, norms, and expectations surrounding this culture, with inherently gendered behavior and expectations, in order to survive it (Eisenhart, 1990). Hookup culture raises many concerns for the physical and mental wellbeing of those who participate in it, and this is an important aspect to address.

Safety and Online Dating

According to the research, women who engage with online dating are more likely to experience emotional and physical abuse (Abowitz, Knox, & Zusman, 2010; Cali, Coleman, & Campbell, 2013). These studies found that dating apps present dangers to women’s safety, can lead to depression and anxiety (Abowitz et al., 2010), and may cause women to exhibit self-protective behaviors (Cali et al., 2013). This increased likelihood of emotional and physical abuse suggests that colleges may not be providing the proper intervention and education programs to prevent or address this problem (Abowitz et al., 2010; Cali et al., 2013).

The need for self-protection can be explained by gender differences in victimization. A recent survey by the Association of American Universities

(AAU) found that one in four undergraduate women experience sexual assault while in college (Cantor et al., 2015). Due to this phenomenon, women have to take responsibility for their own safety concerns in order to keep themselves safe and reduce their victimization risk (Jennings, Gover, & Pudrzynska, 2007). College responses to female victimization have been virtually absent (Jordan, 2014), despite the common perception of college campuses as safe environments.

A campus security report by the Indiana University Office of Public Safety indicated that reports of sex-related offenses, along with Violence Against Women offenses, have increased at IU in the past few years. In 2015, there were 29 reported instances of rape on campus, a marked increase over the 15 and 13 cases reported in 2013 and 2014, respectively. Additionally, there were five reported cases of domestic violence, 10 cases of dating violence, and 25 cases of stalking. The number of these incidents has also increased since 2013 (IU Office of Public Safety, 2016). The increase in reporting is consistent with a national trend among college student survivors of intimate partner violence. According to a report collaboratively published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Center for Education Statistics, and American Institutes for Research (Zhang, Musu-Gillette, & Oudekerk, 2016), reporting of forcible sex crimes on college campuses more than doubled between 2001 and 2013. Research experts and American policy makers have asserted that, while it is impossible to know if the increase in reporting is due to an increase in assaults, they strongly suspect that the combination of a national shift in perspectives on sexual violence and increased support for survivors is encouraging more students to report to authorities (Nunez, 2016).

According to Wilcox, Jordan, and Pritchard (2007), most research on the fear of crimes has focused on adults, not necessarily college students. Day's (1994) research found a critical piece of information about campus violence prevention initiatives, being that resources focused on addressing women's victimization often make women feel more uneasy and restrict their behavior (Day, 1994). As explored later, this is a critical point in the analysis of undergraduate women's perceptions of safety on online dating apps.

Racial identity adds an additional layer to the discussion of safety. Utilizing data from a national Gallup poll, research by Jordan and Gabbidon (2010) revealed an important trend: Even when controlled for geographic location, age, gender, and income, minorities feel less safe than their white counterparts. This study intentionally collected racial and ethnic demographic data in an effort to provide insight into the diversity of dating app experiences.

Theoretical Framework

Two concepts that inform this study are human aggregate and socially constructed environments. A human aggregate environment refers to how people influence and react to the space around them, while a socially constructed environment is related to perceptions and experiences of an environment (Strange & Banning, 2015).

In addition to these two environmental frameworks, this research is informed and influenced by an intersectional feminist framework. This study surveyed undergraduate students who identify as women at IUB, both users and non-users of these apps, and examined the environment that has been constructed by users' interactions with and perceptions of dating apps. Feminist theory, which sparked

massive social and political movements, asserts that women have not reached social, economic, and educational parity with men (hooks, 2000; Millett, 1970). The framework of intersectional feminism troubles the concept of feminism in that to understand a woman's experience, one cannot overlook her intersecting social identities within the systems of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991). The researchers thus operated under the assumptions that women are not always treated as equal partners by men and that troubling the intersecting identities of women is necessary to uncover their unique experiences.

Methods

The goal of this study was to gather data regarding how undergraduate women are using dating apps, as well as the potential safety concerns that may arise. In addition, this study aimed to provide information to student affairs professionals regarding their role in having conversations regarding dating application use. The research team is familiar with dating apps, having either used them personally or having learned about them from friends. Although all of the researchers have experienced firsthand both positive and negative outcomes associated with the use of dating apps, they recognize that this technology will continue to evolve and impact the lives of young adults on college campuses.

This research took place at IUB. Located in south-central Indiana, IUB is the flagship campus within the larger Indiana University statewide system (Indiana University, 2016a). It is a large, four-year, public, more selective institution with over 46,000 students (Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016), over 38,000 of which are undergraduates (Indiana University, 2016b). Indiana University has a balanced mix of liberal arts, science, and professional majors

and is a primarily residential campus (Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016).

Survey

The researchers created a 22-question survey that can be divided into three sections: Dating App Experience, Knowledge of Campus Resources, and Demographics. In the Dating App section, the students were asked what dating apps they have used, their habits in using the app(s), and their perceived sense of safety in relation to the apps. The Knowledge of Campus Resources section aimed to assess the extent to which students utilize peer led and staff supported campus resources to process dating app experiences. These resources, as described in Table 2, explicitly address topics related to dating app users, such as sexual health and wellness. Lastly, in the Demographics section, the survey collected information such as age, racial or ethnic identity, gender identity, sexual orientation, and class level to determine if there are any disparities among these identities in terms of dating app experience and feelings of safety. The researchers modeled the demographic information section after other major research instruments, including the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and the 2016 United States Census. The researchers then modified the questions regarding gender identity to be more inclusive of respondents who fall outside of the gender binary.

Since the researchers were unable to find previous data on the topic of college women's sense of safety regarding dating apps, they created a new and unique survey tool. According to Floyd J. Fowler, Jr. (1995), "[a] good survey instrument must be custom made to address a specific set of research goals" (p. 78). Because this survey instrument is an original design, it was important to evaluate the validity of the

survey before disseminating it. In order to confirm the survey's validity, six undergraduate women took the survey and provided feedback regarding clarity, timing, and functionality of the instrument prior to dissemination.

Procedures

The researchers used a purposeful cluster sampling technique (Creswell, 2015; Schuh, Biddix, Dean, & Kinzie, 2016) to select groups based on their continued involvement in discussions regarding sexuality and sexual health. A full list of campus resources and survey dissemination channels can be found in Tables 1 and 2. As these tables indicate, a majority of the student-led organizations and resources created opportunities for their peers to engage in discussions around the central themes of this research. Undergraduate women above the age of 18 were targeted for the distribution of the survey tool. The researchers coordinated with various peer-led and staff-supported resources. The authors created the survey in Qualtrics, and campus partners (see Table 2) agreed to disseminate the survey through campus listservs.

The researchers took many steps to ensure the protection of participants' rights in this survey. This study did not collect any personally identifiable information from participants that would limit their anonymity. In order to ensure that no individual participated in this survey more than once, participants were required to log into the IU server with their IU. In light of the role the researchers play as responsible employees and the obligation to report any sexual misconduct communicated to them (Fasone, 2016), the researchers chose to gather data anonymously and provide contact information for various campus resources at the end of the survey in the

event that a survey respondent was triggered by their participation.

Data Analysis

The researchers employed two separate methods for analyzing the data. First, descriptive statistics were collected from all 22 survey questions and were used to identify general tendencies in the data. Second, for the open-ended question, the researchers used a text-mining approach to sort and make sense of the data. The open-ended question was tied to a one-to-ten scale that asked respondents to rate their sense of safety while meeting up with someone from a dating app. The researchers grouped all open-ended responses together and categorized them based on common themes. In line with the intersectional feminist framework, the researchers further explored the data to investigate the ways in which responses were nuanced based on participants' identities. The researchers specifically reviewed responses for questions of safety and campus resources and how they varied based on an individual's race, sexual identity, and gender identity. By doing so, the authors were able to uncover fruitful data and gain insight into the non-dominant dating app narratives of undergraduate women at IUB.

Results

Demographics

The current IUB undergraduate body racially identifies as 79% White, International or unknown, 4.14% African American, 4.44% Asian American, 0.13% American Indian, 0.04% Pacific Islander, and 3.08% two or more races (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015b). The study had a fairly representative sample of Indiana University Bloomington as it pertains to race, ethnicity, and class year. Out of the all of the students who began the survey, 110

students completed all questions. Two respondents did not identify as cis-women, transgender-women, or demigirl and were thus eliminated from the data pool. 91.82% of those surveyed identified as not of Hispanic or Latinx origin, compared to about 95.14% of students at IUB identifying as not Hispanic or Latinx origin (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015b). Racially, respondents identified as 90.91% White, 5.45% Black or African American, 0.91% American Indian or Alaska Native, 0.91% Asian Indian, 1.82% East Asian, 1.82% Southeast Asian, and .91% Pacific Islander. 1.82% of respondents indicated they prefer not to answer, and 2.73% indicated that they identified with a race not previously mentioned.

In terms of sexual orientation, 73.64% of respondents identified as heterosexual and 26.39% as somewhere on the LGBTQ+ spectrum. The highest number of participants in the latter category, at 14.55%, identified as bisexual. 97.27% identified as cisgender woman, and three respondents, at 2.73%, indicated that their identity was not listed. From those who shared that their gender identity was not listed, two identified as demigirl and one identified as queer.

Survey respondents fell into a wide range of class years, which closely mimicked the current class level breakdown of IUB undergraduates (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2015b). In the sample, 14.55% identified as first-year students, 32.73% as sophomores, 27.27% as juniors, and 25.45% as seniors, a category that included those in their 5th year. Overall, 99.09% of respondents identified as domestic students, with just 0.91% identifying as international students. This result is not representative of IU's international student population given that the international student population currently comprises 9.17% of the total

number of undergraduates (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016; iStart, 2016).

The data indicated that just under half of all female respondents, and over 65% of respondents who identify on the LGBTQ+ spectrum, use dating apps. Across the board, Tinder was by far the most popular choice, used by 47.20% of respondents. Other popular apps included Bumble and OkCupid, used by 8.80% and 6.40% of respondents, respectively. Other apps accounted for 4.8%, primarily Her, a dating app made by and for gay women.

More than half of respondents (53.60%,) indicated that they do not currently use any dating apps, although some of those surveyed may have in the past. Of this group, 83.82% said that it was unlikely or extremely unlikely that they would use a dating app in the next six months. Although 8.82% were undecided and 7.35% indicated that they were likely or extremely likely to start using an app, most people do not plan to use dating apps in the future if they are not already utilizing them. Further, while the frequency of app usage varied widely as seen in the Graph 1.2 below, 65.30% of respondents indicated that they used an app at least a few times per week, including 30.61% who used it at least daily. For 22.45% of the respondents, app usage was much sparser, indicating they used an app “monthly” or “hardly ever.”

Internal and External Motivations

When asked why the 66 respondents did not currently use dating apps, 71.45% of the responses fell into four of the possible nine options: “I’m in a relationship” (51.47%), “I like to meet people for the first time in person” (36.76%), “Dating apps are unsafe” (22.53%), and “Other users are dishonest” (20.59%). While survey participants could check all options that applied, it is important to note that outside of already being in a relationship, college women expressed

concerns related to safety, authenticity, and initiating romantic relationships in person.

In response to the question, “How important were the following factors in deciding to use a dating app?” respondents indicated that “Entertainment” and “I am looking for casual dating” were the two highest-rated factors. In addition, 69.39% of app users ranked “Entertainment” above ‘moderately important,’ and 34.69% ranked “I am looking for casual dating” as ‘important’ or ‘very important.’ Lastly, respondents ranked “I am looking for casual sex” as a remarkably low factor when deciding to use dating apps, with a resounding 75.51% of them marking it as less than ‘moderately important’ on the scale.

User Concerns

Through survey responses, the researchers found safety to be a very important factor for undergraduate women who are deciding to use dating apps and to meet up with people. The respondents overwhelmingly rated the following concerns associated with app usage as either ‘important’ or ‘very important’: “It could lead to unsafe situations” (71.43%), “Meeting people I have never met before in person” (55.10%), and “Having a bad experience” (57.14%). The most common ‘very important’ response was “It could lead to unsafe situations,” which demonstrates that safety is an overarching concern for many undergraduate women who are using dating apps, despite the fact that 83.67% of the respondents have met up with someone at least once. This finding suggests that women are meeting up with people in real life at very high rates, even though they express safety concerns.

When the respondents were asked, “On a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being very unsafe and 10 being very safe, how did you feel when meeting up with someone from a dating

app?” 81.64% of respondents indicated a 6 or higher. In participant explanations of how safe they feel when meeting someone from a dating app, many respondents mentioned taking precautions such as meeting in public and alerting friends as to their whereabouts.

Campus Resources

Following questions regarding experiences and perceptions of dating apps, the researchers asked participants which IUB campus resources they utilize to specifically discuss online dating experiences. When asked to what degree they believe that IUB provided resources to discuss their dating app experiences, 88.69% of respondents marked ‘undecided,’ ‘disagree,’ or ‘strongly disagree.’ Next, the researchers asked about their awareness of the resources that various campus offices have available to them. Students were most aware professional resources and least aware of a peer-led resource.

When asked about their comfort level in utilizing resources, respondents indicated a mean score of 6.55 for a professional resource based on a scale from 1 (not comfortable at all) to 10 (being extremely comfortable). In contrast, respondents indicated a mean score of about 4.09 for peer-led resources. Next, the researchers asked respondents about their utilization of these resources to talk specifically about dating apps. Over 87.27% of the respondents indicated that they do not talk about their dating app experiences with any of these resources, a finding that requires further exploration through additional research.

Discussion

The findings from the study reinforce the numerous themes uncovered in previous research. As seen in this study, students did not widely use the resources available to them to discuss their experience with dating

apps. Future research should be conducted to determine how student affairs professionals can help address this trend. The themes of safety and utilization of campus resources will be discussed below, as will strategies to proactively mitigate risk.

Leveraging Social Media for Safety

Although dating apps such as Tinder or Bumble are often the foundation upon which potential friendships or relationships might form, respondents also utilized other social media apps to develop those relationships and to establish the identity of their matches prior to meeting up with them. Respondents who reported feeling the safest when meeting up with someone from a dating app frequently mentioned using other social media apps such as Facebook, Instagram, or Snapchat to verify that other person’s identity, as well as to engage in conversation with them via messaging prior to meeting in person. These comments accounted for 15% of all respondents using dating apps. One respondent commented: “Most of the time I’ve messaged and snap chatted with them enough to believe they probably won’t murder me.” This result demonstrates that the use of social media apps in conjunction with dating apps helped the respondent feel safer. When respondents could use alternate forms of social media to connect their interactions on the app with their lives outside of the app and to evaluate the other person’s identity, they felt more secure when meeting a potential partner.

Public Spaces

One recurring theme in participants’ answers was the importance of public spaces as venues for meeting people for the first time. As Jennings, Gover, and Pudrzynska (2007) found, women tend to implement self-protective measures in order to avoid victimization on campus. Several participants in this study indicated that

meeting in public spaces and utilizing other self-protective measures increased their sense of safety when meeting up with someone they met on a dating app. One participant commented: “I’m very selective in who I’ll meet up with and I have always and plan to always stay totally in public places until I know the individual well enough.” Similarly, another respondent shared this self-protective plan: “I usually meet in a public place where there are many other people, which contributes to my feeling of safety.” Meeting in public spaces that were easy to leave and making sure that someone else knew about the date were two frequent contributors to respondents’ feelings of safety.

Support and Safety Network

When looking at the ways in which identity impacted survey responses, the researchers found that women of color and those who identify as LGBTQ+ experienced safety very differently from their straight, white peers. In-depth analysis of the data revealed that the top two reasons, chosen from the survey list of options, for women of color not using dating apps were: “I like to meet people for the first time in person” and “Other users are dishonest.”

These responses are congruent with the literature on the victimization of women, specifically women of color (Jennings, Gover, & Pudrzynska, 2007; Jordan & Gabbidon, 2010). However, women who indicated that they go on dates with other women skewed the data towards an overall feeling of total safety. Of the women who identify somewhere on the LGBTQ+ spectrum, 94.12% rated their feelings of safety as a 6 or higher.

Interestingly, when looking at how responses varied based on sexual identity, the researchers found that pansexual students are comfortable and have talked to friends, family, peers, university staff, and

classmates about their dating app experiences. This point is in sharp contrast to their straight peers, who lean more towards not talking to anyone about these experiences. In line with previous research by Eisenhart (1990) on heterosexual dating culture, the researchers hypothesize that a large part of this lack of information sharing is due to the normalized narrative of heterosexuality and individuals feeling as though they do not need to share or discuss their experiences for them to be accepted. The researchers of this study would assert that pansexual students are continuing to have these conversations as an effort to process and unpack their experiences within the heteronormative culture of IUB. Further qualitative research on the experiences of pansexual students with dating apps would be beneficial in order to provide additional counter-narratives of college student dating experiences.

The quantitative findings of this study, specifically regarding feelings of safety, were given additional layers of meaning through the qualitative data collected in the survey. When asked to explain their rating of how safe they felt “when meeting up with someone from an online dating app,” students who felt more safe than not outlined specific steps taken to mitigate risk. A common theme was the creation of a support or safety network before meeting up with a date in person. Four respondents mentioned in their qualitative responses the importance of alerting friends to date plans and location, requesting timed check-ins, or, in the words of one participant, having “people I trusted nearby just in case I was in danger.” It is interesting to note that each respondent who mentioned prearranged safety networks also expressed a strong preference for having first dates in public locations. Undergraduate women are not only talking to their friendship circles about dating apps, they are leaning on such circles

to provide an added layer of safety and support in the actual dating experience. This finding begs the question: Do IUB undergraduate women know what resources are available to them if a dating app facilitated date goes south? Having friends around to help is but one step; these women, the researchers would assert, should also be equipped with the knowledge to act as a helpful bystander.

Resources

A major topic addressed in this study was the campus resources undergraduate women used to discuss their experiences with dating apps. Of all respondents, 88.69% indicated that they ‘strongly disagree,’ ‘disagree,’ or were ‘undecided’ that IUB offers resources for them to discuss these experiences. Although the data indicated that a majority of respondents were aware of the resources that the researchers asked about, an overwhelming majority had never used these resources. Of the resources respondents have used, the two most frequently utilized were both professional services, as opposed to the peer education resources. When asked to rate their level of comfort utilizing such resources, the mean ratings were very low for all resources and even lower for peer-led resources. 80.87% of respondents said that they talk to their friends about their dating app experiences; only 15.65% indicated that they talk with ‘relatives,’ 19.13% selected ‘I don’t talk to anyone,’ and 15.65% talk to ‘classmates.’ This wide margin in responses suggested to the researchers that the institution may not be getting the right information about resources to students and that even though students talk mostly to their peers about their experiences, they are not comfortable utilizing the peer education resources.

These results are troubling when the authors take into account the fact that the

Division of Student Affairs at this institution has emphasized the value and strength of its peer education programs. Peer education programs typically involve the sharing of “knowledge, experience, and emotional, social, or practical help with other students” (Olson, Koscak, Foroudi, Mitalas, & Noble, 2016). IUB is trying to reach students through a means that has been empirically proven effective (Hines & Palm Reed, 2015; Olson et al., 2016; Yan, Finn, Cardinal, & Bent, 2014), but if students are not aware of these programs or do not feel comfortable reaching out to peer educators, then these programs may not be as successful as the institution might assume. As the literature has made clear, peer educators can be more effective than professionals in addressing attitudes excusing rape against women, dating violence, bystander efficacy (Hines & Palm Reed, 2015), and health behaviors, such as nutrition knowledge, physical activity practice, and stress management practice (Yan et al., 2014).

Peer educators often connect better with students since they share similar campus experiences and use the same terminology; however, supervisors of these programs should be aware of the peer educators’ personas outside of the program and how their on-campus behaviors might influence their audiences’ perceptions of the peer educator (Hines & Palm Reed, 2015). Thus, peer educators can influence the constructed environment as it relates to healthy dating at IUB based on their social capital on campus. Still, it is important to note that peer educators might also be less prepared to address certain topics than professionals (Hines & Palm Reed, 2015), so special care should be taken when training peer educators.

Limitations

The researchers have identified several limitations of this study. Many of the students in peer educator roles are affiliated with one of the professional resources that the authors asked about and, therefore, may have had prior understanding of the issues with dating culture on campus and also knowledge of campus resources related to healthy dating. This heightened understanding may have skewed the data.

Another limitation of this study was the dissemination process. The online survey tool was sent out to a variety of campus partners and students in a specific email format. The researchers asked the participants to forward the initial outreach email with the exact content that they had provided, but were unable to track whether or not that request was followed. Although there was no incentive to take the survey, students may have felt pressured to participate due to hierarchical relationships within Culture of Care or Student Life & Learning. The researchers attempted to mitigate this issue by having the research team contact student groups that they did not directly supervise or advise.

Finally, the generalizability of this study was a limitation in terms of applying its findings to the greater population at IUB. While this study explored the experiences of undergraduate women, it cannot be conclusively state that the experiences of the respondents are representative of all women at IUB, simply because the sample size was only a small fraction of the total population. The study itself was of students at one large, public institution. It is entirely possible that the experiences of undergraduate women at smaller schools, or private institutions, would be different.

Implications for Future Research and Practice

The results of this study have implications related to community partnerships and bystander intervention and also to the promotion of sexual and mental health through peer education.

Community Partnership and Bystander Intervention

Campaigns have popped up all over the world for women in response to the rise in online dating apps and sexual violence (Fenton, 2016; Pesce, 2016). For example, a portion of these campaigns have provided an outlet or alternative for women in bars who feel unsafe on a date and feel as though they need to leave (Pesce, 2016; Fenton, 2016). A partnership between IUB and Bloomington bars and restaurants would require one-hour in-house training for staff members and would ensure that they have the necessary information to implement this low-commitment bystander intervention initiative. Further research could be done on where students are going on first dates with partners they met online to uncover the effectiveness of similar programs at Bloomington bars or social gathering spaces.

Promotion of Sexual and Mental Health through Peer Education

To continue building on peer initiatives that help students navigate their own mental and sexual well-being, the researchers of this study suggest that IUB takes the following actions: (1) train “front-line” student leaders by utilizing peer educators; (2) address social capital’s influence on peer educator leadership positions; and (3) begin assessment for first year students to better understand the messages they are getting regarding campus resources. A major implication for the IUB campus would be to empower peer educators to take a more active role in the mandatory training course taken by all orientation leaders. Peer educators should be aware of the influence

that their lives outside of their positions have on their ability to connect with peers and make a positive impact during bystander intervention training (Hines & Palm Reed, 2015). Based on the research, students seem to be missing key ways that campus resources and peer led initiatives can help them.

Finally, future research must be done in order to assess the messages first year students receive regarding mental health and sexual well-being resources. The authors suggest a pre- and post-test be implemented to gain a better understanding of what information first years are receiving and what messages they are retaining regarding resources. Clearly, students are aware of and utilizing staff resources, but the authors believe more research should be done on peer-led initiatives and why students are not utilizing these at the same rate.

Conclusion

This exploratory study sought to close a gap in the literature on undergraduate women's use and experiences of dating apps. Survey results revealed common habits in precautionary safety measures among undergraduate women, interesting app-use trends among LGBTQ+ female users of dating apps, and confirmed previous research on perceived possibilities of victimization being higher among women of color. Although female students overwhelmingly said they sought out peers to discuss their dating app experiences, they indicated shockingly low rates of comfort seeking out resources grounded in a peer educator based model.

Student affairs practitioners must conduct a thorough review of policies and programs impacting the sexual and physical well being of its' undergraduate women. The importance of proactive bystander intervention education and community

programming cannot go unaddressed when so many young women express their need to establish safety networks before meeting up with their dating app matches in person. Peer education marketing, outreach, and programming require revamping when students indicate that the very programs created to meet their needs are not adequately supporting them. With close to 50% of respondents indicating that they use dating apps, it is this research team's hope that student affairs professionals will utilize these finding to create a safer, more supportive environment for undergraduate women exploring this new addition to their student experience.

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Appendix A

Campus Research Partners		
Name	Description	Point of Survey Dissemination
Culture of Care	Campus initiative focused on creating a campus culture of respect through bystander intervention.	Sent survey to students that shared their email information after going through StepUp Bystander Intervention Training.
IU Health Center	Full-service clinic on campus.	Sent survey to professional staff members to then send to their student organizations.
School of Public Health	Academic college.	Sent survey to professor of Human Sexuality courses to then send to their students.
Social sororities	All sororities governed by the Multicultural Greek Council, National Pan-Hellenic Council, and Panhellenic Association.	Sent survey to all sorority presidents to then send to their chapter members.
Residential Programs & Services	Auxiliary unit responsible for running all housing and dining on campus.	Sent survey to HESA Graduate Assistants to then send to their RA staff.
Indiana Memorial Union Board	Student programming body, which serves as governing body of the Indiana Memorial Union.	Sent survey to students who hold leadership position through Union Board.
IUB Cultural Centers	Individual centers each supporting specific identities and promoting a climate of cultural awareness.	Sent survey to staff at Asian Culture Center, La Casa, and LGBTQ+ Culture Center to share through their listserv or student newsletter.

A History of the Chaplaincy at DePauw University

Katherine E. Smanik

Conversations about the spiritual lives of college students continue to grow within the student affairs profession. However, one area that has received little attention in this conversation is the role of chaplaincy in helping students explore their religious identities and providing spiritual care for the campus community. This paper traces the history of the chaplaincy at DePauw University as a way to look at shifts in perception of the role of religion in higher education. These shifts are significant because in a span of 70 years understandings of how one should engage religion have moved dramatically from a focus on Christian evangelism to a focus on engagement with religious pluralism. Chaplains have done this work for decades and offer a unique perspective on how to support college student religious and spiritual development in a rapidly changing environment.

In 1985 the president of Carleton College, Robert Edwards, called a committee to review the role of the chaplaincy at that institution. In his charge he asked, “Why does a non-sectarian institution concerned with the intellectual development of students enter the domain of religion - beyond that embraced by its Department of Religion?” (Colwell, 2016, p. 92). Using Edwards’ question as a starting point this paper will trace the history of the chaplaincy at DePauw University and apply a framework for understanding religious life created by a DePauw faculty member to assist in understanding the shifts that occurred in this work. In a 1960s review of the DePauw Council of Religious Life, faculty member David A. Crocker created a framework for understanding religious life in higher education by identifying a series of shifts from support for religious particularity to engagement with religious pluralism. This framework, though never published, and thus not universally acknowledged, is useful for the way it describes a move made by many institutions as they engaged with increasing cultural secularism. The shift from religious particularity to engagement with religious pluralism was embraced by all

but the most religiously conservative of institutions, with each institution engaging these shifts in its own way. Considering the way that the role of the chaplain was defined at one institution, in light of the outside forces that shaped that work, offers insight for student affairs professionals as they consider how to meet the needs for religious and spiritual development in their students, and more broadly on the campus.

The Early Religious Landscape at DePauw

Founded in 1837 by Methodists in Indiana, DePauw University has remained affiliated with Methodism for the entirety of its history. DePauw University was established with the notion that it would be, “forever to be conducted on the most liberal principles, accessible to all religious denominations, and designed for the benefit of our citizens in general” (DePauw University, n.d.) For the first 125 years the campus had no chaplain. Prior to the creation of the position many individuals held responsibility for the ongoing religious life of the campus from the religious leadership of the local Methodist church,

Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church to the University's Council on Religious Life. The council, founded in 1948, consisted of representatives of a wide variety of Christian denomination-based groups as well as representatives from Unitarian and Jewish student organizations (Council on Religious Life, 1960) and was responsible for a wide array of religious programming.

Like many small, religiously affiliated liberal arts colleges DePauw wrestled with the role of religion on campus. Many of these institutions were founded in the mid-to-late 1800s at a moment when there was a strong voice for the protestant evangelism of the Midwest. This notion held that by simply planting Protestant Christian colleges the Protestant Christian viewpoint would remain dominant over Catholic voices, which had increased with immigration. However, these institutions could not afford to identify only with the denominations that founded them. In order to remain viable they had to educate all students who were able to attend, regardless of the religious affiliations of those students (Marsden, 1994). The rise of new forms of scholarship also forced changes in theological understanding about the role and authority of Christian teachings. Just as the structure of the curriculum changed from a prescribed model designed to educate clergy to a broader curriculum designed to elevate new forms of scholarship and scientific research so, too, did the role and understanding of religious identity change. In his history, *The Soul of the American University*, George M. Marsden argues that this gradual change came to a head in the 1950s with William F. Buckley, Jr.'s publication, *God and Man at Yale*. In this publication Buckley contended that Yale had become a, "hotbed of atheism and collectivism" (Marsden, 1994, p. 10) playing on fears of communism. Marsden contends that what is most surprising is how

little remembered the religious dimensions of Buckley's argument were just forty years later, writing that "[i]t seems almost inconceivable that there could have been a national controversy involving the question of whether a major university was sufficiently Christian" (1994, p. 10). Marsden suggested that by the 1990s no major university would want to be considered Christian at all. This change came about as a result of enlightenment thinking which proposed that, "religious viewpoints... were... unscientific and socially disruptive" and liberal Protestantism, which allowed the exclusion of religious viewpoints "on the grounds that traditional Christian beliefs were unscientific...[and]... that cultural development advanced the Kingdom of God" (Marsden, 1994, p. 429).

DePauw's chaplaincy, like many others, was born into this debate and the beginning of this chaplaincy must be read in light of responses like Buckley's to shifts in the religious identity of higher education. As higher education lost its distinctly Protestant Christian character, institutions responded to critiques that they were not properly attending to the religious needs of their students by hiring chaplains. The chaplain was to ensure that young men and women remained connected to their religious identity, or obtained the correct Protestant Christian identity, while they were in college. In addition, these positions relieved the university president of the burden of planning chapel services and often took on teaching responsibilities.

In the 1954-1955 academic year DePauw University received a grant from the Board of Education of the Methodist Church to study the religious attitudes and backgrounds of DePauw students (Riggs, 1956). This report utilized four separate survey types to consider the religious identity of students, their religious

education, the way that they understood religious and social concepts, and how they spent their time with regard to engagement with religious activities. While the author indicated that the results of each section were given without analysis, the format and questions contained within the document show a bias that responds to Buckley's challenge to Yale in 1951. Little to no attention was given to non-Christian students and the focus of the results was on the largest percentage of respondents in any category: mainline Protestants. The document affirms DePauw's continued commitment to mainline Protestant Christianity and seems to assuage any concern that this college, which still identified publicly as a Christian institution, was at risk of walking away from that heritage. However, this image of what type of religious life was most important was already shifting on campus. As DePauw began to consider adding a chaplain to its staff, the Council on Religious Life was trying to assess its purpose in an increasingly secular institution.

Crocker's Framework for Understanding Religious Life

In 1960, David A. Crocker wrote a review of DePauw's Council on Religious Life as a way to comment on the challenges facing the group. In it he states that the council had been apathetic towards its duties in the three years prior and that if it were to fulfill its role successfully it would need to have a clearer sense of its purpose (Crocker, n.d.). At the time the Council on Religious Life was responsible for oversight of all religious life on campus including programs for vocational exploration, Religious Education Week, study groups, and chapel meetings.

For Crocker there were three possibilities for how the Council might

address religious life on campus. In the first model, religious life was Protestant and Christian in character. This model represented the early stages of chaplaincy in higher education with its focus on the perpetuation of Protestant Christianity. This model was commonplace into the 1950s but was slowly being unsettled. In the second model religious life expanded, remaining Christian but broadly so by including Catholic voices. The second model reflected the transition in chaplaincy in the 1960s and 1970s, which was perceived as broadly Christian and sometimes attended to other religious traditions in an effort to engage campus pluralism. The third model embraced interfaith engagement and transformed the Council to an interfaith council. The third model was a truly interfaith chaplaincy which allows for students, faculty and staff to grow in their particular religious convictions while also encouraging them to learn about how to build healthy communities in a religiously pluralistic environment. In this model chaplains cared for all faculty, staff and students through programming designed to engage religious literacy, attend to the ritual needs of the community, encourage the faith development of individuals in the religious identity of their choosing, and support the right of individuals to identify with no religious tradition at all. This final model emerged in practice in the 1980s and 1990s where the best examples of this work include the creation of the chaplaincy at Wellesley College where Victor Kazanjian created the Education as Transformation project. Crocker's proposal of these three models is surprising when considering that Rigg's report on religious life at DePauw, with its lack of reference to religious diversity, was published just four years before Crocker's analysis. Crocker's models were important, not only for what they displayed about perceptions of religious life

at DePauw in 1960, but for the way they offered a frame for broader understandings of how to engage in chaplaincy in higher education.

Crocker's First Model of Chaplaincy at DePauw

The Methodist Campus Ministry

At the same time that the University was utilizing the Council on Religious Life to connect the religious life of the institution to the administrative work of the institution, the Methodist Student Movement was thriving at Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church (Phillips & Baughman, 2003). While the Methodist Student Movement was a campus ministry (a Christian student group hosted by an outside organization in contrast to a chaplaincy program, which would be funded by the university) it served much of the function of an early chaplaincy by providing religious education, pastoral care and counseling to students. A full time advisor to this group was hired by the congregation beginning in the 1940s and the role continued until at least the late 1960s.

In a conversation about the early days of the chaplaincy, Dr. Robert Newton, emeritus Professor of Religion and Philosophy, recalled two key figures as Chaplains to the University, the first being the Rev. Samuel Kirk (Smanik, 2016). While Kirk was not a chaplain hired by the university, he was the Advisor to the Methodist Student Movement from 1961-1966 (Phillips & Baughman, 2003). Newton remembered Kirk's work with students during the racially charged 1960's. Kirk's work with students, according to Newton, was pivotal in creating change during the civil rights movement on campus (Smanik, 2016). For him, Kirk was one of the best chaplains the university had in its history (Smanik, 2016). The blurred lines between the role of the congregation

and the institution in supporting the religious lives of the students made room for chaplaincy work to happen in a variety of ways without an official campus chaplain, and allowed for the delay of hiring the first chaplain to the university. In comparison, Carleton College hired its first university chaplain in 1946 (Colwell, 2016) at the same time that Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church was hiring the first advisors to the Methodist Student Movement (Phillips & Baughman, 2003).

In the fall of 1960 Russell Humbert, then President of DePauw University, began formal correspondence with the Reverend Elmer I. Carriker, DePauw University class of 1935, in the hopes that Carriker would accept the position of Director of Church Relations, a role vacated upon the death of the Reverend Orville Davis (Humbert, 1960). Finally, on April 13, 1962 the university issued a press release which stated, "United States Air Force Chaplain (Colonel) Elmer I. Carriker, former DePauw University alumni secretary, is returning to the university as director of church relations" (Turk, 1962).

The Chaplaincy Begins

As director of church relations, Carriker's early work focused on the relationships between the institution and the North and South Conferences of Indiana United Methodism, as well as relationships with local churches including Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church. But over time those duties shifted to include increasing amounts of work with students and it was expected that this work was Christian education (Crocker, 1960, p. 2). By 1966, just four years after his formal appointment, Carriker's title had shifted to University Chaplain, and he had begun to assume new responsibilities for the ongoing pastoral care of the university. No documents exist that definitively say why

this shift occurred. However, when Carriker left in 1967 he wrote to then President Kerstetter to share his belief that the positions of University Chaplain and Director of Church Relations should be separated as it was not possible to give both roles the time they required. This indicates the value that Carriker placed on the role of the chaplain. He writes, “The present job structure of the Chaplain Office at DePauw has mostly ‘grewed like Topsy’, and as I discern the pattern of this job title at most places, my general activities have been somewhat peculiar” (Carriker, 1967). His recommendation was that the university hire a chaplain whose main responsibility was to attend to religious life on campus, coordinate the chapel schedule, and teach (Carriker, 1967). Just one year after accepting the title University Chaplain, Carriker resigned his post to take on the position of assistant to the President at Baker University (Associated Press, 1967).

In the spring of 1968, the Reverend Marvin C. Swanson was hired to replace Carriker as University Chaplain with rank of Assistant Professor. In keeping with Carriker’s recommendations, Swanson had experience as a chaplain in a private high school and had obtained both the S.T.B. and Ph.D. degrees that Carriker felt were important to the position (Farber, 1968). Swanson was hired in part to reimagine the role of the chaplain on campus particularly as it related to the director of the Methodist Christian Action Movement, formerly the Methodist Student Movement (Phillips & Baughman, 2003). In keeping with Carriker’s recommendations, Swanson took over responsibility for the planning of chapel services and oversight of student religious life, but was also asked to continue oversight of church relations (Kerstetter, 1968).

Swanson was passionate about international studies and devoted much of

his time to this work. In 1971 his duties were changed and he became the director of international studies in addition to the role of university chaplain (Phillips & Baughman, 2003). It quickly became clear that these two roles could not be performed adequately by a single person and President Kerstetter approached the North and South conferences of the United Methodist Church in Indiana to request funding for a full time chaplain to the university. In 1974 the Rev. Dr. Fred Lamar was appointed to the position.

The start of the chaplaincy was the history of a school that claimed to be non-sectarian but functioned in a very sectarian manner, wrestling with the role of mainline Protestant Christianity on campus. The early chaplains coordinated services, attended to the spiritual nurture of the protestant students, and faculty and supported religious programs, but the question of how those roles are embraced on a non-sectarian campus was not yet part of the consideration. This would change over the next 20 years.

Crocker’s Second Model of Chaplaincy at DePauw

An Ecumenical Christian Chaplaincy

In many ways Lamar was the first chaplain to take the post with the intent to stay and create a broad ministry to the university. Carriker was hired as Director of Church Relations and only held the post of chaplain for a short period of time and while Swanson was hired to re-define the role of chaplain, he used the post as a springboard to other meaningful work within the institution. Lamar entered this work at a moment in which religion in higher education was broadening its perspective, and liberal Protestantism had taken on a particular social justice focused perspective in response to the Civil Rights Movement

and the Vietnam War. Of this period Marsden writes,

the fact that, among white Americans, more traditional religious views often correlated with racist views underscored the point that in public places religious privilege was dangerous. Hence... the more it identified itself with a social mission the less prominent should be its own identifiable social influence. (1994, p. 415)

The start of Lamar's chaplaincy also coincided with the end of the chaplaincy of the Rev. William Sloane Coffin at Yale. Coffin was one of the best known chaplains in higher education and his focus on a chaplaincy that embraces social justice continues to influence the profession. During his tenure at Yale, Coffin took a strong position as a supporter in the Civil Rights Movement and held leadership roles in clergy movements against the Vietnam War. Describing that era, Rev. Ian Oliver, the current, and first specifically Protestant, chaplain at Yale, writes that the chaplains, "imagined religion without stiffness, as an eternally radical prophetic movement always challenging authority, tradition, and puritanical morality... Radical 1960s-era chaplains destroyed their own role as the sole public moral voice of the university" (2014, p. 51).

Prior to his appointment as university chaplain, Lamar had been a pastor of a small congregation in Alabama, and the director of the Wesley Foundation at the University of Missouri-Rolla. Lamar's understanding of faith formation was born in the practical work of pastoring a southern Methodist congregation. The congregation expected a conservative pastor, focused on preaching, but in Lamar they received a dedicated Methodist who was also committed to the ideals of Christian social justice. Early in his appointment Lamar realized that preaching which focused on social justice and racial

reconciliation would not be well received by the congregation and began to offer mission programming to the youth, which would offer hands on experiences to help them understand social justice in a Christian framework. In turn, the youth advocated for social justice with their families and began to shift the focus of the congregation. Of this experience Lamar writes,

I began to discover a principle that changed my concept of ministry. In our time, radical changes in the value structures are seldom accomplished by verbal forms of communication, either by preaching about the need for change or by didactic teaching on ethical issues. In order for persons to heed the call for a significant change in their life commitments, they must have some experience which opens their minds and hearts to the need for change and encourages them to think such change is possible. (1984, p. 14)

This understanding of the role of experience in education would influence Lamar's ministry for the rest of his life.

Lamar brought his understanding of experiential Christian education to this position at University of Missouri-Rolla and immediately began working on programs of service, which in turn grew the size of the campus ministry. Over time the program was so successful that it merged with the United Campus Christian Fellowship to create the United Ministries in Higher Education (Lamar, 1983). These moves solidified Lamar's understanding of the role of experience in helping students develop their understanding of Christianity, and offered him the opportunity to explore truly ecumenical Christian work on a college campus.

Lamar brought these experiences with him to DePauw and immediately began the work of creating a similar campus ministry at the university. At his arrival on campus

Lamar inherited the work that had previously been done by Swanson, as well as a standing conversation about the role of the Methodist Student Movement the campus ministry which continued at Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church. Lamar's appointment by the Methodist bishop in response to the university's requests for a chaplain granted him the ability to work between and within the local church and university. For at least the first half of his time at DePauw, the focus of the ministry was community service. Lamar used his congregational and campus ministry experience of service as a venue for religious learning, the fundraising skills he gained in working in a campus ministry, and his experience in creating Christian communities to begin this new ministry as an ecumenical Christian project with significant external funding.

Begun in 1971, the Winter Term program at DePauw was created to allow students an opportunity to complete a project or original research. While the program was relatively new when Lamar arrived on campus, it had already received national notice in a *U.S. News & World Report* article dated January 29, 1973. This innovative program was the perfect opportunity for Lamar to expand his work in Christian experiential education. Faculty were already leading courses abroad during Winter Term and Lamar had experience leading mission trips during his time at University of Missouri-Rolla.

Lamar began the Winter Term in Mission program in 1974 and within 4 years it had attracted national attention. The Congressional Record from January 4, 1978 includes a recognition of "DePauw University's Service Program," which highlights the extensive service program being conducted in the campus ministry program through the Chaplain's Living Unit Council, Winter Term in Mission, and

names Chaplain Fred Lamar specifically. These programs were said to reach more than half the student body in any given year between one day service projects, longer term commitments in the DePauw Community Services program and Winter Term in Mission programs. The Winter Term in Mission program was so successful that students camped out in front of the offices the evening before registration for a chance at the trip of their choice.

In 1984, ten years after his appointment to DePauw University, Lamar was granted a sabbatical and during this time published, *The Role of the College Chaplain at the Church-Related College: A Personal Statement*. The text was part autobiography and part theology of chaplaincy and offered an important window into his work. In this document Lamar painted his theology as one that was purely Christian. Of his position at DePauw he wrote,

the chaplain's program with the assistance of the university should attempt to produce educated men and women whose lives have been transformed through an experience with the redeeming power of Jesus Christ and who have accepted the challenge to respond to his call for love and justice in the world by living as a changed people in our contemporary society. (Lamar, 1983, p. 25)

Lamar arrived at DePauw with the understanding that he was serving an institution with a distinctly Christian mission (Lamar, 1994). But in the late 1970s this changed and the DePauw bulletin of 1976/1978 was the last of these documents to describe religious life as a program that embraced "the ideals and objectives of Christian education" (Maloney, 1976, p. 82). It appeared that by the late 1970s DePauw embraced its non-sectarian identity in all aspects of its life, including religious life.

By the spring of 1994 shifts in the national conversation about the importance of community service led to an emphasis on secular service. At the same time it was clear that the work of the chaplain was no longer only about Christian education. In a letter to Bishop Woodie W. White, Lamar wrote that the programs for service had been separated from the work of the chaplain's office and were preparing to move into a new space on campus (Lamar, 1995). In the letter Lamar contended that these shifts were a result of the promotion of secular service and learning on the part of the Bush and Clinton administrations. While this was likely true to a degree it is also likely that these shifts were the result of changes in the broader conversation about the role of service engagement and the problematic connections to Christian missionary work. As the service programs moved out of the chaplain's office the programs of religious life expanded to include voices of increasing religious diversity and the chaplaincy embraced religious pluralism.

Crocker's Third Model of Chaplaincy at DePauw

The Chaplaincy Stumbles towards Pluralism

At the end of his tenure, Lamar's programs had shrunk considerably and his way of answering the question of what it means to be a chaplain in higher education had shifted as well. Lamar moved from a model of chaplaincy that was ecumenically Christian with an emphasis on Christian education to one that acknowledged and supported the burgeoning religious pluralism on campus.

In a memo to then President Bob Bottoms, Lamar indicated his planned retirement date of December 1997 (Lamar, 1995). Upon Lamar's departure, President Bottoms was left to answer Edward's

question anew in light of the increasing religious diversity on campus. DePauw had always been a non-sectarian institution, and by the mid-1990s was no longer considering itself a Christian college in any manner. Chapel had almost evaporated but Bottoms, who was an ordained United Methodist minister, also had a clear sense of the importance of religious life on campus.

Nationally the conversation about religious life had also changed. With his publication of *The Soul of the American University* Marsden presented a compelling case that not only had education lost its soul, it had moved to established nonbelief (1994). However, "other scholars were beginning to detect signs that the privatization of religion in America may have passed its peak" (Jacobsen & Jacobsen, 2012, p. 26). New conversations which challenged objectivity and expanded cultural viewpoints in the classroom also shifted the role of religion on campus. Of this moment in history Jacobsen and Jacobsen wrote, "Religious perspectives are unavoidably intertwined with multiculturalism and epistemological pluralism; the divergent ways that people make sense of reality are often influenced by their own religious or religion-like views of the world" (2012, p. 29).

Bottom's solution was to attempt to elevate the role of chaplain once again by changing the title and hiring a Dean of Chapel who would connect the university to Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church while also supporting the religious lives of the students. This decision was intended to benefit the university and Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church, a congregation with dwindling membership. The job description for this new position indicated that the university was looking for someone to preach on Sunday mornings to the congregation, to fulfill the role of religious leadership for the university through

oversight of the Office of Spiritual Life, and teach (Openings, 1997).

In anticipation of this change Rev. Dr. Bob Eccles, retired faculty and volunteer Associate Chaplain, wrote a thorough description of the current work of the chaplain's office, highlighting programs to support religious diversity, and the reality that two of the staff were retired volunteer Associate Chaplains (Eccles, R. S., Personal Correspondence, October 14, 1997). Eccles' main concern was whether or not a Dean of Chapel with responsibility to both a worshipping Christian congregation and a university could balance the competing needs of each community without forsaking one for the other. The chaplaincy, "successfully met students' needs and desire for ministry" up to this point and Eccles expressed a deep concern for the future (Eccles, R. S., The Encouragement of Religious Life, October 14, 1997, p. 4).

Eccles was not the only one concerned about this transition; students and faculty were also troubled by the new position. Dr. Paul B. Watt from the Asian Studies and Religious Studies Departments, wrote, "given the description of the position that I have read, I believe that the new deanship has the potential to weaken efforts made to date in the direction of diversity and to marginalize students and faculty of minority religious views" (Watt, P. B., Personal Correspondence, April 20, 1997). This concern was echoed by students who worried that the interfaith programs created by Lamar might be undone by a new Dean who was more focused on Protestant Christianity.

Into this complicated landscape the Rev. Dr. Wes Allen was hired in the winter of 1997. Allen's position was challenging in many of the ways anticipated by critics of the new position. Significant tension emerged between Allen and the pastor of the congregation, Rev. Rick Miller. In addition

to disagreements about the format of worship services and the direction in which the congregation should be headed, Allen and Miller disagreed about significant theological points such as the inclusion of women and LGBT people in leadership (Allen, 1998). The disagreements between the two were so extensive and irreconcilable that they split the church and Allen began a second worship service held on Sunday evenings.

Allen's tenure at DePauw was not without its successes. In an effort to expand interfaith engagement, he began a series of interfaith chapels, designed to gather students during pivotal moments of their college career to seek the wisdom of their various religious traditions. The diversity of religious organizations expanded to include a Muslim Student Association, a multicultural music group, and interdenominational worship experiences (Allen, 2000).

Allen also worked with a student to create the first Center for Peace and Justice named after an emeritus faculty member, Rev. Dr. Russell Compton. Compton had been a beloved professor known for a dedication to civil rights guided by his faith commitments as a United Methodist minister. Upon his retirement years earlier Compton became a volunteer chaplain along with Eccles. Taking on this role Compton connected chaplaincy to social justice in a physical way just as Coffin had done before him at Yale. Thus it was natural for the Compton Center to emerge from and remain connected to the chaplaincy in its early years. In 2001 Allen left the deanship in order to accept a faculty position at Drew Theological Seminary (Allen, 2016).

Following Dr. Allen's departure the Rev. Dr. Bill Hamilton accepted the position of Interim Dean of Chapel for one year. Hamilton, an ordained Presbyterian, was trained in conflict resolution and had

experience in interim congregational leadership. The following year he was listed in the directory as “Director, Compton Center for Peace and Justice; Part-time Assistant Professor of History and Philosophy” (*Directory*, 2003-2004, p. 22) and no one was listed as leading Religious Life on campus. In 2004 the Rev. Dr. Larry Burton was appointed by the bishop as the pastor of Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church and University Chaplain and Rev. Brad Tharpe was hired by DePauw University as Associate University Chaplain (*Directory*, 2004-2005, p. 15, 34). Both Burton’s and Tharpe’s offices were located in Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church and the expectation was that the positions would serve both the church and the university. Burton and Tharpe expanded upon Allen’s work and Bottoms’ vision of connection between the church and university by co-leading the congregation and furthering an interfaith program on campus. Only three years after his appointment, Burton was appointed by the bishop to a new position in congregational leadership.

The Rev. Dr. P.T. Wilson was appointed as University Chaplain in July of 2006 by Bishop Mike Coyner of the Indiana Conference of the United Methodist Church and took on the role as left by Burton (*Directory*, 2006-2007, p. 38). Wilson did not bring chaplaincy experience to the appointment and made little change to the established pattern of the chaplaincy as set out by Burton. Tharpe continued in the position of Associate Chaplain under Wilson until President Bottoms changed Tharpe’s appointment from Associate Chaplain to Director of Spiritual Life. This new position would report to the vice president of student life while the university chaplain continued to report to the president. This action split the chaplaincy from much of the ongoing spiritual life of the students. Additionally, as

Wilson continued to work to maintain the chaplaincy alongside pastoral leadership it became clear that no university chaplain could fulfill the functions of both chaplain and pastor.

Rev. Gretchen Person arrived in 2008 to replace Tharpe as Director of Spiritual Life and remained for nine months. From 2009-2010 the position was vacant as the university re-considered the role on campus and what kind of individual would best meet the needs of the institution. In 2010 the position was filled by Rev. Kate Smanik. In 2014 Wilson was offered a new appointment, and a clergy couple, the Rev. Bryan Langdoc and the Rev. Maureen Knudsen Langdoc, were offered the respective positions. Knudsen Langdoc accepted the role of university chaplain while Langdoc took on the role of pastor to the congregation.

The arrival of the Langdocs to campus coincided with the idea of then-President Brian Casey, to revive the university chapel and return to a vision of religious leadership similar to that outlined by Bottoms, with a Dean of Chapel who would oversee interfaith programming, community service and social justice programs for the campus. The dean would partner with the congregation as needed but have no official responsibility for leadership of the life of that community. In 2015, Casey was hired as the President of Colgate University to begin in July 2016 (DePauw University, 2015) and the idea of the university chapel was abandoned.

In this context the staff were left to re-imagine the work of chaplaincy and once again answer Edwards’ question. This work was made more complex as the university reestablished connections between the chaplaincy, community service programs and social justice programs. The university now finds itself living into religious pluralism, exploring connections between

religious commitment, community engagement and social action in an activist moment in national history, and relying on the chaplaincy to guide it through the treacherous waters. In these spaces the chaplains are continually reevaluating their work, looking to colleagues for best practices in building community and supporting religiously diverse faculty, staff and students.

Conclusion

The history of the chaplaincy at DePauw is both a unique narrative and one that mirrors the shift in the role of religion nationally. Read against the backdrop of historical texts such as David Crocker's analysis of the early Council on Religious Life at DePauw, *No Longer Invisible: Religion in University Education* and *The Soul of the American University* one can see the way that DePauw's history simply follows larger societal trends. And yet, the way that the chaplaincy gave birth to a nationally recognized, expansive community service program and later to a unique social justice program makes this story particular to DePauw. The work of the Rev. Dr. Fred Lamar and Rev. Dr. Russell Compton shaped the history of the chaplaincy in the direction of social justice, and unintentionally moved the institution from a Christian college to a secular institution through their efforts for social justice, inclusion and diversity. As Jacobsen and Jacobsen write,

paying attention to religion in higher education today is not at all a matter of imposing faith or morality on anyone; it is a matter of responding intelligently to the questions of life that students find themselves necessarily asking as they try to make sense of themselves and the world in an era of ever-increasing social,

intellectual and religious complexity. (2012, p. 30)

Like many campuses DePauw wrestles with the place and role of religion on campus, struggling between the competing demands of alumni who fondly remember the way the first model of chaplaincy shaped their religious understanding in the 1950s, faculty who wonder if religion has any place in the modern society, and students who long for deep and meaningful exploration of the religious pluralism that will shape their lives and careers.

Edwards answered his own question by stating that chaplaincy, "can provide certain resources and avenues not found elsewhere in the College: the value of reflection and calm; the idea of service to one's fellows; the beauty of liturgical music and literature; coming to terms with marriage, grief, loneliness, competitiveness, meaning and the fact of belief in faith" (Colwell, 2016, p. 92). Chaplains often embody these values on the campuses they serve by adding ritual in moments of transition from opening day to graduation and in times of grief and death. While chaplains often serve private institutions with a history of religious affiliation, other institutions are finding the value of hiring religious professionals who care for the religious needs of the community. As colleges and universities reevaluate the existing structures for religious life to better serve the needs of their students, faculty and staff, looking to the work done by chaplains may be instructive in finding new ways to engage religious diversity, support spiritual exploration, and offer faculty and staff religious council, especially on rural campuses that are often far from the religious communities where members of minority religious traditions would find support. It is in this complex new landscape that chaplaincy is once again surfacing as a

critical part of the life of intellectual communities across the country.

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Mission Accomplished?: An Analysis of Institutional Missions through Virtual Campus Tours

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This research explored how the virtual campus tours of Indiana University-Bloomington (IUB) and Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) were congruent or incongruent with their institutional missions and the Indiana University (IU) system mission. A rubric was created based on Labaree’s (1997) goals of education. Social mobility was most prevalent within both virtual tours in relation to the mission statements. The institutions should incorporate social efficiency and democratic equality within virtual tours.

When deciding to attend an institution of higher education, the first step is often to take an on-campus tour. Tours are an opportunity to express the institutional values through the highlighted traditions, locations, and “fun facts” presented to students and their families. Hartley and Morphew (2008) indicated that institutions may present a holistic image of their campus by incorporating the mission statement and values of the institution within the tours. In addition to on-campus tours, virtual campus tours also create constructed environments for students and their families. Virtual tours are “sophisticated multimedia presentations [that] recreate campuses, lecture halls, campus life and, in some cases, even visits to surrounding areas” (Schuetze, 2012). Focusing on assessing virtual tours and their relation to institutional missions demonstrates how environments are constructed and what messages are sent to prospective students.

This research took a nested approach as the Indiana University system mission was examined in relation to both the IUPUI and IUB virtual tours. The institutions of this study were selected because only the two core campuses, Indiana University-Purdue

University Indianapolis (IUPUI) and Indiana University Bloomington (IUB), had virtual campus tours at the time of our study. The virtual tours were then reviewed in relation to their respective institutional missions. To guide this study, we considered how the virtual campus tours of IUB and IUPUI were congruent or incongruent with their respective institutional missions and the Indiana University system mission.

Literature Review

In preparing to conduct our study, we sought out relevant literature about campus environments, campus tours, and institutional mission statements. We then analyzed and separated the selected literature into three sections: constructed and physical environments, evolution of campus tours, and enacted and espoused values of missions.

Constructed and Physical Environments

During a campus tour, tour guides and current students provide information that influence how prospective students perceive the campus. Therefore, the information given about the institution during a campus

tour helps construct the environment of a college campus. In regards to socially constructed environments, Strange and Banning (2015) indicated that, “[c]onsensual perceptions, in the form of environmental presses, social climates, and meanings attributed to various cultural artifacts, exert a directional influence on inhabitants’ behaviors” (p. 7). Environmental presses are defined as features of a given environment as understood by individuals within that environment (Strange & Banning, 2015). These presses may be present in how information is delivered by an individual giving a tour and in how prospective students on the tour perceive these messages.

The concept of culture is related to socially constructed environments. Kuh and Hall (1993) defined culture as “the collective, mutually shaping patterns of institutional history, mission, physical settings, norms, traditions, values, practices, beliefs and assumptions which guide the behavior of individuals and groups in an institution of higher education” (p. iv). This idea is related to socially constructed environments because culture is formed through interactions between the external and internal campus community, institutional characteristics (e.g. size, location, religious affiliation, etc.), academic programs, and student subcultures, among others (Kuh & Hall, 1993). Through campus tours, certain aspects of an institution’s culture may be reinforced or diminished depending on how individuals on the tour perceived the information. Magolda (2001) explored the relationship between culture and campus tours at Miami University and recognized the power of campus tours in normalizing students. Through the campus tour, a narrative is created about the community on campus. Magolda (2001) analyzed this narrative and recommended challenging the normalizing power of the

tour by incorporating political components of community into the tours, such as students’ roles in social action and creating connections between subcultures. Prospective students can then see how they fit into the community while also understanding different perspectives and the potential for the community to facilitate social change (Magolda, 2001).

Campus tours also focus heavily on the physical environments of a college campus. The physical environment is closely tied to how students feel and think about an institution. This is explained by “landscapes,” which are symbolic environments grounded in campus culture (Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Kuh, Kinzie, & Schuh, 2005). Because campus tours are inseparable from their physical environments, it is also important to consider the various physical settings demonstrated within the virtual tours.

Evolution of Campus Tours

It is important to note that campus tours have evolved into many different forms. Magolda (2001) examined a traditional campus tour with a tour guide, yet virtual tours and self-guided tours also exist at different institutions. Bartlett (2002) explored how the self-guided walking tour at Emory University fostered connections to the physical space and increased environmental consciousness. Advances in technology have opened the door to innovation in the delivery of campus tours. Researchers have created indoor tour guide robots to give tours of buildings while providing pertinent information to engage prospective students (Yelamarthi, Sherbrook, Beckwith, Williams, & Liefief, 2012). Likewise, Thrapp, Westbrook, and Subramanian (2001) developed a robot that provided outdoor campus tours at Rice University while interacting with its touring guests. Finally, others believe that virtual

tours could be beneficial for international students to get a sense of the campus and the university community before moving to an institution with a new or different culture (Namsong, 2009). These varied campus tours are media through which students are introduced to an institution's enacted values, whether congruent or incongruent to the espoused values of the institutional mission, and are therefore worthy of further investigation.

Enacted and Espoused Values of Missions

Every academic year, student populations change, along with their goals and needs. The way students interact amongst themselves, and with the faculty and staff, is bound to be different. Student populations change, evolve, and shape the university culture as much as the university shapes them. Using Kuh and Hall's (1993) definition of culture, this reciprocity of properties makes up four levels of culture—artifacts, perspectives, values, and assumptions. Values, in particular, are often key components of an institution's mission and vision.

When compared to the other levels of culture, values are more abstract. They tend to be ideals of an institution that both shape, and are shaped, by the culture. Espoused values of an institution have been explicitly articulated and often serve as guides or norms for the institution (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). These may include an institution's vision and mission statement, its philosophy, or even its assertions about its curriculum or faculty. However, what an institution may say (espoused values) and what it may actually do (enacted values) are not always congruent (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Kuh and Hall (1993) described enacted values as those that “guide policy, decision-making, and other practices” (p. 7). Enacted values are often seen as *how things are* and, whether intended or not, we believe they are

a more accurate representation of an institution's ideals.

When comparing the enacted and espoused values of an institution, mission statements are valuable resources. Almost every university has a mission statement, and it is constantly rewritten or revised to serve two main purposes: first, to inform the general public of the institutional imperatives and secondly, “to motivate those within an institution and to communicate its characteristics, values, and history to key external constituents” (Morphew & Hartley, 2006, p. 457). Because mission statements communicate values and imperatives, one can use them to understand an institution's goals. Elements of an institution's goals are often represented within mission statements in a variety of ways, such as discussing the institution's specific approach to balancing the need for education to be both a private and public good. Nonetheless, one may question whether mission statements serve a real purpose or whether they remain consistent with an institution's practices and curriculum (Delucchi, 1997; Morphew & Hartley, 2006). Universities and their stakeholders should make an effort to connect their missions to their practices, customs, and actions; in other words, to make their espoused and enacted values congruent.

Research Design

Paradigm

A campus tour is an interactive experience between the tour medium and the participant in the tour. Therefore, we adopted a constructivist epistemology, as we wanted to experience the tour as a student might. Through a constructivist epistemology, we considered ourselves as the instruments of analysis and recognized the importance of discussing our positionalities within our research (Mertens,

2015). Four of the researchers in this study identify as White women with varying levels of knowledge of the IU system prior to this study. The fifth researcher identifies as White, Hispanic, and heterosexual. All researchers are graduate students at IU.

Theoretical Framework

The framework used to interpret the themes within virtual tours was Labaree's (1997) work in categorizing the broad goals for education. This work remains relevant today, as it is a seminal work cited in literature for both K-12 and higher education. This framework emerged while conducting the literature review, as Hartley and Morphew (2008) also used this framework to identify predominant themes related to how institutions convey their academic purposes. Labaree (1997) described three main goals of public education in the United States: democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility. The goal of democratic equality is to prepare students to be engaged civically in the larger society while striving for equality for all (Labaree, 1997). Social efficiency is a means to help students maneuver and progress within the hierarchical social structure and to adapt to the requirements of the occupational marketplace accomplished through vocationalism and educational stratification (Labaree, 1997). The final goal of education defined by Labaree (1997) is social mobility: "the purpose of which is to provide individual students with a competitive advantage in the struggle for desirable social positions" (p. 42). This study seeks to understand if the educational goals established by Labaree (1997) are evident in the IUB, IUPUI, and the IU system missions. The use of Labaree (1997) as a framework is appropriate for this study because of its saliency in higher education

and the need for this research to distill the broad goals of education.

Content Analysis

We conducted a qualitative content analysis of the virtual tours to demonstrate the ways in which they are congruent or incongruent with the missions of IUB, IUPUI, and the IU system within Labaree's (1997) framework. Krippendorff (1969) pointed out that a quantitative approach is not always fitting for a content analysis, even though the method can contain quantitative elements. Krippendorff (1980) provided steps for a content analysis, including data making, data reduction, inference, and analysis.

Using Labaree (1997) as our framework, we developed the Campus Tour Emphasis Rubric (CTER), which was created as a means to collect data by identifying the goals that emerged from the research of virtual tours and institutional missions (See Appendices A through D). Using the three goals of education – democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility, as described by Labaree (1997) – the IU system mission and the institutional missions of IUPUI and IUB were each analyzed and categorized under one of the three goals of education within the CTER. The rationale for using the CTER was to understand how the missions of each institution were presented in virtual campus tours. This was used in order to better understand where each institution explicitly and implicitly placed emphasis on the mission within the virtual tour.

Virtual Campus Tours at IUB and IUPUI

IUB's virtual campus tour was provided through the YouVisit platform where two tour guides led the viewer to 24 locations around IUB's campus. The YouVisit platform provided several additional photos, panoramas, and videos that gave additional

information at each campus tour stop. IUPUI's virtual tour was a self-guided walking tour that provides 13 short videos led by two tour guides, who did not introduce themselves, and a Google map to give additional information about the 13 locations around campus. In addition to the videos, text was available to offer more details at each location.

Methods and Data Collection

To determine the extent to which a portion of the mission was demonstrated in the tours, we incorporated Labaree's (1997) three goals of education to categorize different parts of the mission and divided them into three levels of emphasis.

Level 1: Mentions topic or keywords from the mission statement, provides a single, static visual (photo).

Level 2: Mentions keywords, goes in depth about related topics or resources on campus from the mission statement, provides multiple static visuals and/or dynamic visual/video/panoramic click and drag imagery.

Level 3: Builds on levels 1 and 2 in mentioning keywords from the mission statement and goes in depth about related topics or resources on campus.

We marked tallies each time there was evidence of the mission statement within the tour. We placed these tallies in one of the three levels of emphasis depending on the depth of the information related to the respective mission. We each watched the IUPUI and IUB virtual campus tours two times for each of the corresponding CTERs. For example, the IUPUI virtual tour was viewed a minimum of four times: twice in relation to the IU system mission and twice in relation to the IUPUI mission. These multiple viewings gave us the ability to collect data that may not have been obvious after a single viewing. In addition to the CTER, we took detailed field notes

individually while observing the virtual campus tours. Through these field notes, we sought to identify examples of how the three main goals of education were evident in the tours and also identify anything noteworthy, such as specific statements, photos, or omissions.

Data Analysis

The researchers took a methodical approach to support our qualitative research through the use of the CTERs. Because each of us had different perspectives regarding the virtual tours, our individual rubrics differed. The data collected in each CTER was averaged to provide a numerical representation of the emphasis of the mission statements within the virtual tours. These averaged rubrics illustrated the areas of congruence and incongruence between the virtual tours and the mission statements. We then analyzed our field notes collectively for themes present in the virtual tours within the context of Labaree's (1997) framework. The field notes enabled us to monitor our CTER data to ensure consistency and provided context to the tallies we collected while viewing the virtual tours. We also used our field notes to generate examples for our findings.

Trustworthiness

As a result of viewing virtual tours separately and deducing themes collectively through discussion, we considered this research to be credible (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2013; Mertens, 2015). We watched the tours multiple times to ensure credibility and confirmability in the data collection. Additionally, we demonstrated confirmability by attempting to set aside our own identities and biases to consistently check how we made meaning of our findings throughout the research process (Mertens, 2015). Confirmability was ensured by providing information about the

tours and the rubrics used to analyze them (Mertens, 2015). We established dependability through careful reporting of our procedures (Mertens, 2015). Intercoder reliability was addressed within our rubrics by clearly defining the various levels of emphasis within the virtual tours prior to beginning data collection.

Findings

Our analysis indicated that each of the goals of education were discussed within the virtual tours, although democratic equality and social efficiency were discussed less frequently than social mobility and often without much emphasis. In contrast, within both the IUB virtual tour and the IUPUI virtual tour, social mobility was discussed with the highest frequency and most emphasis (see completed rubrics in Appendices A through D).

Democratic Equality: Education for Social Diversity and Civic Engagement

Democratic equality is the notion that education must instill a sense of responsibility to future generations to carry on the democratic tradition of the United States (Labaree, 1997). Due to education being a public good, Labaree argued that social equality of citizens is a necessity for democratic equality to be an outcome of public education. The three mission statements focused on these ideas of social equality through phrases such as “culturally diverse and international educational programs and communities,” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c) and ideas of education about democracy where communicated through phrases such as “civic engagement” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016d). These phrases communicated that the IU system prepares students to be civically engaged and to

understand the importance of supporting a diverse community.

IU System Mission. The IU system mission stated, “Indiana University strives to achieve full diversity, and to maintain friendly, collegial, and humane environments, with a strong commitment to academic freedom” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). Within the IUB virtual tour, these concepts were discussed with high frequency and with moderate levels of emphasis (see Appendix A). The tour highlighted academic freedom when discussing the contributions made by former IU President Herman B. Wells (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016b). The components of the mission that point to social diversity were also evident within the IUB virtual tour during stops at Beck Chapel and the Neal Marshall Black Culture Center. At Beck Chapel, the tour discussed the chapel’s non-denominational status and its inclusion of the Bible, Koran, and Torah (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016b). Finally, the Neal Marshall Black Culture Center was mentioned as “a bridge connecting Indiana University to Black culture” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016b). The lack of emphasis on democratic equality was seen at both Beck Chapel and the Neal Marshall Black Culture Center because there were no additional videos or photos discussing IUB’s commitment to religious or racial and ethnic diversity.

Within the IUPUI tour, mission components such as “Indiana University strives to achieve full diversity, and to maintain friendly, collegial, and humane environments, with a strong commitment to academic freedom” were discussed with low frequency and with little emphasis (see Appendix B; The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). The IUPUI tour highlighted Taylor Hall as a center for resources and programs for first-year

students to help transition from high school to college. The tour only mentioned the IUPUI Multicultural Center in the additional text below the video, and it did not provide any additional information about the programs and services offered (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c).

IUB Mission. The IUB mission statement discussed democratic equality through phrases such as “culturally diverse and international educational programs and communities” and “committed to full diversity, academic freedom” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a). These ideas were again seen with frequency throughout the IUB tour but without emphasis. The ideas of international education were evident during the stop at the School of Global and International Studies, where the tour highlighted that IUB is “preparing students to become global leaders” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016b). The tour did not provide additional videos that described specific programs that support international education.

IUPUI Mission. The IUPUI mission discussed “civic engagement” and “a strong commitment to diversity” which was considered related to the ideals of democratic equality (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016d). Though discussed, it was infrequent and lacked detailed information (see Appendix D). For example, the commitment to diversity could be seen at the Office of International Affairs. The tour stated that “more than 140 countries are represented in the IUPUI student body and international students receive services here” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016e). It did not emphasize the services offered, nor did it include an international student’s perspective about IUPUI. Civic engagement was evident through discussion of the impact that the School of Public and Environmental Affairs and its alumni have

on fostering change and engagement within communities. A lack of emphasis during the tour on topics of “civic engagement” and “a strong commitment to diversity” resulted in the lowest congruence between the IUPUI mission statement and IUPUI virtual tour in regards to the ideas of democratic equality (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016d).

Social Efficiency: Education for the Common Good

Social efficiency is concerned with the idea of human capital and its power to move society forward by having a trained workforce (Labaree, 1997). Labaree (1997) specified that education “is a public good in service to the private sector” (p. 43). Statements in the IU system mission, such as “dynamic partnerships with the state and local communities in economic, social, and cultural development” and “public research institution, grounded in the liberal arts and sciences, and a world leader in professional, medical, and technological education” capture the idea that an IU education is a collaborative process with the community and prepares students to move the world forward (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). For IUB, social efficiency was demonstrated in statements such as “create, disseminate, preserve, and apply knowledge,” and “economic development in the state and region” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a). Likewise, the IUPUI mission statement espoused that the institution “promotes the educational, cultural, and economic development of central Indiana” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016d). Social efficiency was espoused in the mission statements through a commitment to the community and advancing society through knowledge.

IU System Mission. Within the IUB tour, social efficiency was demonstrated with moderate frequency in regards to the IU system mission. At the Chemistry

building, the tour guide discussed opportunities for research and future IUB scientists' potential contributions to the periodic table. However, the least frequent category was the idea of local partnerships for economic, social, and cultural development (see Appendix A). The focus within the social efficiency context was on the idea that IUB is a "public research institution, grounded in the liberal arts and sciences, and a world leader in professional, medical, and technological education" (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c).

This was also a point of congruence in the IUPUI tour due to the educational opportunities and research that set the institution apart (see Appendix A). Various sections of the tour mentioned top-ranked programs and pursuing graduate education, such as medical school. Specifically, the School of Engineering and Technology video focused on their Motorsports Engineering degree because it is the only program in North America (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016e). There was congruence with the IU system mission in regards to partnerships, such as internships with GenCon for informatics students and opportunities for motorsports engineering students at the Indianapolis Motor Speedway (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016e; see Appendix B).

IUB Mission. The IUB mission discussed statewide and regional economic development, but this appeared in the virtual tour the least frequently (see Appendix C; The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a). The mission also discussed "meeting the changing educational and research needs of the state, the nation, and the world," yet this idea was mentioned more frequently than regional economic development (see Appendix C; The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a). The virtual tour highlighted the global education opportunities at IUB by making a stop at the

School of Global and International Studies, yet there was little mention of local partnerships.

IUPUI Mission. In regards to the IUPUI mission, the virtual tour discussed research and connections to the local community, which is congruent with "Indiana's urban research and academic health sciences campus" and how it "promotes the educational, cultural, and economic development of central Indiana" (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016d). The focus on economics and the urban location was evident through comments regarding the opportunities for learning in Indianapolis – the economic core of the state (see Appendix D). Generally, the focus was on opportunities because of both the location and connections to the community (through internships, externships, etc.); however, the idea that this drives the development of the state is implied. For example, the tour guide mentioned that the IUPUI Energy Engineering program is one of only a few in North America and that students could gain experiences within the green technology movement (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016e). This information might imply that students in the Energy Engineering program have the potential to impact the world's environment in a positive way and could create economic growth for Indiana.

Social Mobility: Finding Meaningful Experiences Inside and Outside the Classroom

While social efficiency seeks to benefit the entire social system, social mobility is concerned with individual citizens' needs (Labaree, 1997). The goal of social mobility was present within the missions through statements such as "meaningful experiences outside the classroom" (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a) and "outstanding cultural and academic programs and student

services” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). Phrases such as these convey the competitiveness of IU. Labaree (1997) indicated that individuals are consumers of schools and that individual institutions need to convey “qualitative differences” to demonstrate their competitiveness against other schools.

IU System Mission. The IU system mission discussed the following in regards to social mobility: “outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services” and “undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). “Outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services” were discussed most frequently throughout the tour (see Appendix A; The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). One example of social mobility was the prestige of the Kelley School of Business which was often mentioned in the IUB tour.

Additionally, there were numerous images and panoramas in the Wells Library portion, outlining all of the services located within the library. Finally, the tour provided a detailed discussion of the IUB Arts Plaza and Musical Arts Center and noted such resources as a copy of the Gutenberg Bible, a performance hall as fine as Carnegie Hall, and the numerous performances at the IUB Auditorium. “Undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world” was also discussed in areas such as Alumni Hall and the Kelley School of Business, in which the tour guides discussed the various IUB alumni throughout the world (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c).

Within the IUPUI virtual tour, “outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services” and “undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world” were discussed often

(see Appendix B; The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). Likewise, notions related to “outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services” often occurred (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). The Campus Center, where Student Health Services, Starbucks, the IUPUI bookstore, the Financial Aid office and more are located, was one example referencing student services. Additionally, academic programs and resources were discussed at each location within the IUPUI tour. For example, during the Office of International Affairs video, the tour guide mentioned there are students from over 140 countries at IUPUI, which is congruent with the idea that IU provides “undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c).

IUB Mission. The IUB mission statement discussed “meaningful experiences outside the classroom,” which we regarded as the only portion of this mission statement related to social mobility (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a). Though it was the only phrase for social mobility, it was most recurring within the IUB virtual tour (see Appendix C). Examples included the consistent discussion of the IUB family, that students felt at home at IUB, and the IUB network. Additionally, students featured in videos discussed their ability to attend numerous shows and concerts and the learning opportunities available in living learning communities.

IUPUI Mission. The IUPUI mission discussed the following in regards to social mobility: “creative teaching and learning,” “research,” and “advance the state of Indiana and the individual growth of its citizens” (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016d). Though each of these aspects were discussed, we found that they were generally discussed with little detail

(see Appendix D). For example, “research” is discussed during the School of Science stop and noted that students could participate in research with professors. However, there were no photos of students conducting research or videos of students in labs. Most discussed in the virtual tour was “creative activity, teaching, and learning.” The tour guides frequently mentioned opportunities for internships in downtown Indianapolis, that instructors often allowed students to work with them on special projects and in the community, and that students outside of liberal arts majors could gain important language and communication skills through the School of Liberal Arts at IUPUI.

Limitations

This project discussed only two institutions within the IU system, IUB and IUPUI. The findings may not be transferable to other institutions or studies. Additionally, each of us are students within the IU system, so our interpretations and perspectives may be considered a limitation because there could be additional interpretations of the virtual tours. Additionally, it is important to note that the IUB virtual tour changed during our viewings. We acknowledged the deletions and additions and decided to continue with our data collection; however, we recognize that these modifications likely changed how the tours are congruent or incongruent with the respective mission statements.

Finally, limitations existed when thinking about espoused and enacted values only in the virtual space. It was difficult to gather information about the enacted values of an institution through a virtual tour because the tour is a filtered, official institutional communication to students. Though this served as a limitation, it did not reduce the relevance of this research. It was

important to critically examine the messages students receive from institutions through virtual spaces because these messages might influence their decision to attend or not attend an institution.

Discussion

In this study, social mobility was the most congruent goal between the mission statements and virtual tours, which was understandable because campus tours are used as a marketing tool and space to make the values of the institution known. Labaree (1997) discussed the difference between social mobility and the other two goals by describing that social mobility is less about society as a whole and more about the individual’s opportunities, or lack thereof, within society. This was consistent with the literature, as many students look to information provided within guidebooks in order to determine the prestige of school before selecting where they will attend (Hossler & Foley, 1995). As society embraces new technology, virtual tours would be used in a similar fashion. Institutions of higher education now must market how they are different or better than other institutions online in order to perpetuate their prestige and recruit the best students.

We saw less congruence in the areas of the mission statements relating to social efficiency and democratic equality. This finding was interesting because these domains of the mission statements reflect the idea that education is a public good, while social mobility implies that education is a private good (Labaree, 1997). The mission statements incorporated both the intrinsic public and private value of an education; thus, greater congruence is achieved if institutions work to involve more of the public value within their tours. Virtual tours inevitably are marketing tools.

However, institutions can simultaneously present their mission as a part of their marketing strategy.

Virtual tours can begin to include all aspects of their mission statements by framing it in such a way that allows the viewer to see how an institution benefits both the student and the public. Often, the social efficiency is demonstrated through educational partnerships with the surrounding community. Both the site of an internship and a student intern benefit from an internship. Partnerships between schools and businesses within the private sector provide opportunities for students to learn in the “real world” but also allow the private sector to influence the type of education students receive.

Recommendations

Based on our study, we recommend that both IUPUI and IUB make revisions to their current virtual tours to achieve greater congruence with the mission statements. IUPUI should incorporate more details related to civic engagement and diversity of its students. As stated in their mission statement, it is clear that civic engagement and diversity are strong values; therefore, this should be further enacted within the virtual tour to give students an accurate representation of the institution. Including more about civic engagement could mean a stop at the Center for Service and Learning for a discussion about scholarship opportunities or Democracy Plaza, a space where students engage in conversations with peers about social issues. Furthermore, it is important that the IUPUI tour incorporate the Multicultural Center verbally and in text. To emphasize this center, IUPUI could include student experiences in this space. Magolda (2001) encouraged the inclusion of democratic equality in tours because it “alters students’ roles—becoming activists

for the public good, scholars of multiple perspectives, and alliance builders in imperfect systems” (p. 8).

Similarly, IUB’s virtual tour should include more information about diversity with greater emphasis, such as discussing other cultural centers on campus. Additionally, IUB could discuss various protests that have occurred at Dunn Meadow. IUB should consider incorporating more information about their academics, as their virtual tour focuses heavily on experiences outside the classroom. However, given the focus on academics and education within the IUB and IU system missions, this aspect could be emphasized more in their virtual tour and can demonstrate how IUB has contributed to the growth of both the state and region, particularly in regards to research. As discussed in Kuh and Whitt (1988), colleges and universities are influenced by their external environment. Due to external influences on a campus, such as outside grants provided to support research, it is beneficial for virtual tours to discuss how students could contribute to these external environments. IUB should include more information about its commitment to the state and region.

Conclusion and Implications

Understanding how espoused and enacted values of the IUB, IUPUI and IU system missions are represented in virtual tours is necessary in understanding the messages sent to students and their families. This is important because the information presented in virtual tours begins to create a constructed campus environment via physical campus environments in an online setting. Therefore, our study evaluated the extent to which the IUB and IUPUI virtual

tours were congruent or incongruent with their respective institutional missions and the IU system mission. Since very few studies have examined virtual tours, we recommend future research surrounding virtual tours to determine how students in online environments engage with physical spaces that are showcased, and how students interact with the virtual tour. We recommend that campus tours reflect the

institutional values espoused within their mission statement and should incorporate all of the goals of education established by Labaree (1997). Through this study, we provided a means to evaluate both on-campus and virtual tours. We hope that IUB and IUPUI will further consider how to incorporate the goals of democratic equality and social efficiency into their tours.

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Appendix A: IU Mission – IUB Tour

	Democratic Equality	Social Efficiency		Social Mobility	
Mission Content	“full diversity, and to maintain friendly, collegial, and humane environments, with a strong commitment to academic freedom.”	“dynamic partnerships with the state and local communities in economic, social, and cultural development”	“Public research institution, grounded in the liberal arts and sciences, and a world leader in professional, medical, and technological education.”	“as well as outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services.”	“undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world.”
Level 1: single static visual (photo) provided, mentions topic or keywords	3.1	1.4	2.0	3.8	2.0
Level 2: provides multiple static visuals and/or dynamic visual/video/pan oramic click & drag image, elaborates with supporting details.	6.7	1.8	1.9	5.1	2.7
Level 3: Builds on 1 and 2. Goes in depth and includes additional information/services related to specific locations.	3.6	1.6	2.3	6.0	1.8

The Trustees of Indiana University (2016). Indiana University Mission. Retrieved from <https://www.iu.edu/about/mission-vision.html>

Appendix B: IU Mission – IUPUI Tour

	Democratic Equality	Social Efficiency		Social Mobility	
Mission Content	“full diversity, and to maintain friendly, collegial, and humane environments, with a strong commitment to academic freedom.”	“dynamic partnerships with the state and local communities in economic, social, and cultural development”	“Public research institution, grounded in the liberal arts and sciences, and a world leader in professional, medical, and technological education.”	“as well as outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services.”	“undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world.”
Level 1: single static visual (photo) provided, mentions topic or keywords	1.9	2.3	1.3	4.2	1.7
Level 2: provides multiple static visuals and/or dynamic visual/video/pan oramic click & drag image, elaborates with supporting details.	3.4	3.1	1.8	2.9	2.5
Level 3: Builds on 1 and 2. Goes in depth and includes additional information/services related to specific locations.	0.8	3.4	3.2	4.0	1.6

The Trustees of Indiana University (2016). Indiana University Mission. Retrieved from <https://www.iu.edu/about/mission-vision.html>

Appendix C: IUB Mission – IUB Tour

Mission Content	Democratic Equality		Social Efficiency			Social Mobility
	“committed to full diversity, academic freedom”	“to culturally diverse and international educational programs and communities”	“create, disseminate, preserve, and apply knowledge.”	“to economic development in the state and region”	“meeting the changing educational and research needs of the state, the nation, and the world.”	“to meaningful experiences outside the classroom.”
Level 1: single static visual (photo) provided, mentions topic or keywords	2.5	4.1	3.2	1.0	1.2	5.9
Level 2: provides multiple static visuals and/or dynamic visual/video/panoramic click & drag image, elaborates with supporting details.	2.6	3.2	3.2	0.7	3.3	6.1
Level 3: Builds on 1 and 2. Goes in depth and includes additional information/services related to specific locations.	1.4	2.7	2.7	0.7	2.1	6.6

The Trustees of Indiana University (2016). IUB Mission. Retrieved from <http://trustees.iu.edu/resources/mission-statements/iu-bloomington-mission-statement.shtml>

Appendix D: IUPUI Mission – IUPUI Tour

Mission Content	Democratic Equality		Social Efficiency		Social Mobility		
	“Civic Engagement”	“A strong commitment to diversity.”	“Promotes the educational, cultural, and economic development of central Indiana”	“Indiana’s urban research and academic health sciences campus.”	“Creative activity, teaching and learning.”	“Research”	“Advance the state of Indiana and the intellectual growth of its citizens”
Level 1: single static visual (photo) provided, mentions topic or keywords	2.1	1.1	0.2	1.0	2.5	1.4	1.3
Level 2: provides multiple static visuals and/or dynamic visual/video/panoramic click & drag image, elaborates with supporting details.	1.7	1.0	4.2	2.6	5.2	1.3	2.7
Level 3: Builds on 1 and 2. Goes in depth and includes additional information/services related to specific locations.	0.6	0.2	1.4	0.9	2.1	0.2	1.8

The Trustees of Indiana University (2016). IUPUI Mission. Retrieved from <https://www.iupui.edu/about/mission.html>

Appendix E: Mission Statements

Indiana University

Indiana University is a major multicampus public research institution, grounded in the liberal arts and sciences, and a world leader in professional, medical, and technological education. Indiana University's mission is to provide broad access to undergraduate and graduate education for students throughout Indiana, the United States, and the world, as well as outstanding academic and cultural programs and student services.

Indiana University seeks to create dynamic partnerships with the state and local communities in economic, social, and cultural development and to offer leadership in creative solutions for 21st-century problems.

Indiana University strives to achieve full diversity, and to maintain friendly, collegial, and humane environments, with a strong commitment to academic freedom (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016)

Indiana University Bloomington

Bloomington is the flagship residential, doctoral-extensive campus of Indiana University. Its mission is to create, disseminate, preserve, and apply knowledge. It does so through its commitments to cutting-edge research, scholarship, arts, and creative activity; to challenging and inspired undergraduate, graduate, professional, and lifelong education; to culturally diverse and international educational programs and communities; to first-rate library and museum collections; to economic development in the state and region; and to meaningful experiences outside the classroom. The Bloomington campus is committed to full diversity, academic freedom, and meeting the changing educational and research needs of the state, the nation, and the world.

Indiana University - Purdue University Indianapolis

Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI), a partnership between Indiana and Purdue universities, is Indiana's urban research and academic health sciences campus. IUPUI's mission is to advance the state of Indiana and the intellectual growth of its citizens to the highest levels nationally and internationally through research and creative activity, teaching and learning, and civic engagement.

By offering a distinctive range of bachelor's, master's, professional, and Ph.D. degrees, IUPUI promotes the educational, cultural, and economic development of central Indiana and beyond through innovative collaborations, external partnerships, and a strong commitment to diversity.

In-State Tuition for Undocumented Students: A Policy Analysis

Amy Núñez & Gretchen Holthaus

Approximately 65,000 undocumented students graduate from high school in the U.S. each year (Gonzales, 2008; Perez, 2015). These students often face a multitude of challenges in pursuing higher education, especially with regard to financing it (Abrego, 2006; Buenavista & Chen, 2013; Perez et al., 2010; Contreras, 2009). Scholars have determined that one policy which positively impacts undocumented students' access to higher education is offering in-state tuition, as opposed to charging higher fees (Bozick & Miller, 2014; Potochnik, 2014; Flores, 2010; Darolia & Potochnik, 2015; Kaushnik, 2008). This policy analysis explores the social and economic impacts of increasing access to higher education among undocumented populations through in-state tuition policies.

A growing number of undocumented students who qualify for college admission are unable to access higher education because of their legal status and financial situation. There are an estimated 11.2 million undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. (Gitis & Collins, 2015) constituting 3.5% of the U.S. population (Passel & Cohn, 2014). Of undocumented immigrants in the United States, more than 680,000 undocumented young people have received Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which has made significant improvements in the lives of undocumented youth both educationally and economically (Resource Guide: Supporting Undocumented Youth, 2015). Given these demographics, this policy analysis will explore the impact of state tuition policies on undocumented students' abilities to access higher education in the United States and the potential economic impact for our country. The analysis ends with a strong recommendation for implementing in-state tuition policies for undocumented students in the United States.

Problem Identification: Undocumented Students' Limited Access to Higher Education

Because many undocumented students come from low socioeconomic backgrounds, acquiring the financial resources needed to attend college is one of the major challenges in accessing higher education (Abrego & Gonzalez, 2010; Crawford & Arnold, 2016; Williams, 2016). This is an especially difficult task as current government policy prohibits undocumented students from qualifying for federal and most state-based financial aid, including grants, work-study jobs, or loan programs (Educators for Fair Consideration, 2012). Many scholarships and grants also require U.S. citizenship in order to apply. Undocumented students living in the U.S. who choose to pursue higher education, therefore, often cover the costs without the help of any federal aid (Gildersleeve, Rumann, & Mondragon, 2010). While some states have implemented policies which slightly alleviate access to higher education for undocumented students (Gonzales, 2007; Seif, 2011; Abrego 2008), others have hindered access for these students by implementing policies which require them to pay out-of-state tuition. Many scholars oppose out-of-state tuition policies and instead stress the importance of supporting undocumented students for economic benefits, as well as the ability to

pursue a college education along with their peers (Contreras, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Katsiaficas, Birchall, Alcantar, Hernandez, Garcia, Michikyan, Cerda, & Teranishi, 2015). The following section will describe federal and state-level policies which directly affect undocumented students' access to higher education in the United States.

Federal-Level Policies

In 1982, the Supreme Court ruled that undocumented immigrants have the right to access K-12 educational institutions throughout the U.S. in the *Plyler vs. Doe* case (Plyler v. Doe, 1982). This case was a historical landmark because it allowed undocumented students to have educational rights in the U.S. However, this ruling only allowed undocumented students access to education through high school. Consequently, the ruling does not guarantee undocumented students permission to enroll in higher education institutions (Glenn, 2011).

Another federal mandate, Section 505 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996, prohibited states from providing a postsecondary education benefit to an undocumented immigrant unless any citizen or national was eligible for such benefits (Section 505, 1996). Without federal directives regarding in-state tuition and admission for undocumented students, multiple interpretations of Section 505 have been made by state and higher education administrators. For example, some states allow undocumented students to attend higher education institutions with in-state tuition, since citizens and nationals are eligible for this benefit as well, while other states do not allow undocumented students to enroll in higher education institutions at all. Inclusive and exclusive interpretations

are often shaped by the political and social climate within individual states (Russell, 2007).

In 2001, the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was introduced to Congress, and aimed to provide a pathway to citizenship for undocumented students (DREAM Act, 2001). In order to qualify for the DREAM Act, immigrants were to have lived in the U.S. before the age of 16 and have graduated from a U.S. high school, among several other requirements (National Immigration Law Center, 2007). Though the DREAM Act was debated in Congress several times, it consistently failed to pass both the House of Representatives and the Senate (American Immigration Council, 2011). Because of the difficulty in passing this bill, the DREAM Act has faded in the national political discourse and recently overshadowed by the implementation of DACA.

DACA is an executive action taken by President Barack Obama in 2012, which allows undocumented immigrants between the ages of 15 and 30, who meet several outlined requirements, to work legally in the U.S. with a temporary visa and to have temporary protection from deportation (DACA, 2012). The visa must be paid for and renewed every two years. Before the implementation of DACA, undocumented students who made it through higher education institutions faced challenges to apply their college degrees in their field of study. DACA has allowed approximately 665,000 undocumented immigrants to obtain employment and to legally work in their respected fields (Center for American Progress, 2015). Because DACA was recently enacted, studies that analyze the outcomes of this temporary visa for undocumented students have been limited.

Though DACA has allowed undocumented students to work across the

nation, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations of this policy. First, the policy is only beneficial for a restricted number of undocumented students due to the age limitations and other requirements that must be fulfilled in order to qualify. Second, DACA is only a temporary and fragile solution to the broader immigration issue. Because it was an executive order from President Obama, any successive president could choose to dismantle the policy. Though the future status of DACA is uncertain, it has not been repealed under the current administration, and therefore still stands as a federal mandate.

Undocumented students are often barred from accessing higher education because they do not have the financial means to pursue college (Abrego, 2006; Buenavista & Chen, 2013; Perez et al., 2010; Contreras, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Diaz Strong, Gómez, Luna-Duarte, & Meiners, 2011). Given the national political context, these students do not qualify for the FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) and often have difficulties securing scholarships which fully cover the costs of college (Gildersleeve, Rumann, & Mondragon, 2010; Perez et al., 2010; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Because many U.S. voters and legislators are not in favor of and have not passed a comprehensive immigration reform law, many undocumented immigrants are unable to become U.S. citizens in order to access federal funding for a postsecondary education. Furthermore, Congress and U.S. presidents have yet to allow the use of federal funding for undocumented students' access to higher education. Currently there are 17 states in the U.S. that are working to mitigate this barrier by allowing undocumented students to qualify for in-state tuition (National Conference of State Legislators, 2015). In states where this policy is not in place, undocumented

students are required to pay out-of-state tuition rates. This is a significant barrier for undocumented students coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds because no financial aid is available to those wishing to pursue higher education.

State-Level Policies

Twenty states currently have policies that allow undocumented students to pay in-state tuition rates at public and private institutions in their state of residence. Three of these states only allow in-state tuition for DACA students (uLEAD Network, 2016). In addition, there are four other states, Hawaii, Michigan, Oklahoma, and Rhode Island, where the Higher Education Board of Regents has unanimously agreed to allow in-state tuition for undocumented students. States with in-state tuition policies allow undocumented students greater access to higher education by increasing the likelihood that they will be able to pay for tuition. This is an important policy consideration, as out-of-state students pay significantly more for tuition, which may be prohibitive to undocumented students wishing to further their education.

There are currently five states which have passed laws to prohibit in-state tuition rates for undocumented students, including: Arizona, Indiana, Georgia, Missouri, and North Carolina. To expand on one example of a state policy, in 2011 the Indiana legislature ruled that undocumented students were not eligible to receive in-state tuition. Two years later, Senate Bill 207 was passed which allowed undocumented students who had enrolled in a college or university within the state before 2011 to receive in-state tuition (SB 207, 2013). This policy excludes the majority of undocumented students from postsecondary institutions due to financial constraints, especially those students enrolling after 2011. Additionally, Alabama

and South Carolina prohibit undocumented students’ enrollment at any public postsecondary institution. In states where specific tuition policies have not been proposed, undocumented students are required to pay out-of-state tuition rates.

Alternatively, there are currently six states, California, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, and Washington, that have implemented policies to diminish financial barriers for undocumented students by allowing them to access state financial aid (uLEAD Network, 2016). In doing so, these states have increased access to higher education among undocumented students

living in the United States wishing to advance their education. Washington state grants in-state tuition for undocumented students who attended a Washington state high school for three years and graduated or earned a GED prior to attending college (HB 1079, 2003). These requirements are similar in states such as Utah, Texas, Nebraska, Kansas, Illinois, and California (Frum, 2007), and are put in place to avoid abuse of the policy. Table 1 provides more information regarding state tuition policies for undocumented students in the United States.

Table 1
State-Level Tuition Policies for Undocumented and DACA Students in Higher Education

State Policy	States
States offering in-state tuition through legislation	California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington
States offering state financial aid	California, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Washington
States offering in-state tuition through their Higher Education Board of Regents	Hawaii, Michigan, Oklahoma, Rhode Island
States offering in-state tuition solely to undocumented students who have DACA	Ohio, Virginia, Massachusetts
States barring in-state tuition	Arizona, Georgia, Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina
States barring enrollment to public universities	Alabama, South Carolina
States without explicit legislation on tuition or state financial aid	Alaska, Arkansas, Delaware, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming

Table 1. An overview of state tuition policies for undocumented and DACA students in the United States. Data retrieved from: <http://uleadnet.org/issue/map>.

Impact of In-State Tuition on Undocumented Student Success

Studies have shown that in-state tuition policies significantly impact high school graduation rates among undocumented students. In a study conducted by Bozick & Miller (2014), researchers found that undocumented students are more likely to graduate from high school in states that allow for in-state tuition rates to be granted. On the contrary, states that do not have in-state tuition policies in place experience lower high school graduation rates (Bozick & Miller, 2014). Researchers posit that in-state tuition policies encourage students to graduate from high school because they perceive a better chance of attending college in the future (Bozick & Miller, 2014). In a similar study, Potochnik (2014) found that the implementation of in-state tuition policies had a positive relationship with undocumented Latino/a high school graduation rates (Potochnik, 2014). The authors in each of these articles conclude that the implementation of policies which deny and/or permit in-state tuition policies send clear messages to the immigrant communities who live in those states and consequently impact students' aspirations to obtain a college education.

Aside from high school graduation rates, college enrollment rates also vary depending on specific state tuition policies regarding undocumented students. Research demonstrates that states who deny in-state tuition to undocumented Mexican students have significantly lower college enrollment rates among this population (Bozick & Miller, 2015). While Bozick & Miller (2015) found a negative impact among states that barred undocumented students from accessing in-state tuition, they did not find

increased enrollment among states implementing in-state tuition policies. Other research has demonstrated, however, that states which have implemented in-state tuition policies have experienced a significant increase of college enrollment among undocumented Latino/a students (Flores, 2010; Darolia & Potochnik, 2015). Kaushal (2008) also found higher college enrollment rates among Mexican undocumented students in states implementing in-state tuition policies. Notably, after implementing in-state tuition for undocumented students in the state of Washington, the number of undocumented students enrolled in college increased from 25 students in 2003 to 645 students in 2012 (Sanchez, 2013). This policy accounts for a significant increase of college enrollment among undocumented students over a period of nine years. Researchers conclude that the public and state endorsement of restrictive or supportive in-state tuition policies matter a great deal when undocumented students reflect on their ability to attend college. One of the limitations of current research is the long-term impact of these policies regarding college graduation rates and job outcomes among undocumented students. This is an important consideration for further analyses assessing the impact of in-state tuition on college completion.

Undocumented Student Success

While financial factors have a large impact on access to higher education for undocumented students, it is important to note that they are not the only factors that impact this population's success. Upon entering college, Muñoz and Maldonado (2012) found through interviews with undocumented students that, "a multitude of

factors including class, gender, language, phenotype, geographical location, and immigration status results in ‘cultural layers’ with implications for college persistence” (Muñoz & Maldonado, 2012). Enriquez (2011) also finds that undocumented students often receive emotional support from their families which is critical to their success. Undocumented students also acquire social networks and informational resources from teachers and peers which can facilitate their academic success in college (Enriquez, 2011). While a variety of factors may impact undocumented students’ success, interviews reveal that these students do not view themselves as a marginalized population headed toward failure, but rather as resourceful and capable of success (Muñoz & Maldonado, 2012). Additional factors that impact student success are important to note as scholars continue to examine policies which can serve to enhance the academic attainment of these students.

The Need for a More Educated Workforce in the United States

It is estimated that at current rates, by 2025, 24.2 million Americans will have earned postsecondary degrees or certificates. To meet economic demands, the Lumina Foundation posits that an additional 16.4 million degrees will need to be awarded during this time (Lumina Foundation Strategic Plan for 2017-2020, 2016). With 44% of young adults going on to complete some form of postsecondary education in the United States, countries such as Korea are quickly outpacing the U.S., with 66% of citizens aged 25-34 now completing tertiary education (Schleicher, 2014). Higher education completion rates increased by an average of 11% between 2000 and 2012 among all other developed countries, while the United States’ has risen by just 7% during this time (Schleicher, 2014). To

increase global competitiveness, it is clear that the United States needs to produce more college graduates. Undocumented students who do not currently have the financial resources to go to college but do have the desire to complete higher education could help increase the United States’ rate of postsecondary attainment if out-of-state tuition costs were not prohibitive in doing so.

Although the U.S. has maintained, and even slightly increased, college graduation rates in recent years, the growing demand for technology has heightened the need for skilled laborers beyond previous levels. A recent study by Georgetown University reports that virtually all job growth following the 2007 recession was in fields requiring higher levels of education (Anderson Weathers, 2012). Since the early 1970s, it is reported that jobs requiring some form of postsecondary education have nearly quadrupled (Carnevale, Smith, & Strohl, 2010).

While half of individuals from high-income backgrounds will earn a bachelor’s degree by age 25, just 1 in 10 from low-income backgrounds will (Bailey & Dynarski, 2011). Out of all of the barriers to first generation or minority students in college, cost seems to have the greatest impact (Envisioning the Future of Student Affairs, 2010). Indeed, seventy percent of students who withdrew from college reported that they did so in order to “work to support themselves”, and 52% of students stated that they were not able to afford the tuition and fees (Johnson, Rochkind, Ott, & DuPont, 2009). Because many undocumented students come from low-income, minority, and/or first-generation backgrounds, these students are directly affected by financial constraints associated with earning a college degree.

Economic Benefits of Advanced Education

Students who graduate from college will make an estimated million dollars more over their lifetime than their counterparts (Carnevale, Cheah, & Hanson, 2015). This can have a profound impact on individuals' earnings, as well as on the U.S. economy. Students from low-income families that earn their degree are almost four times more likely to advance to the top income distribution level than their peers and are 50% more likely to move out of the lowest income level (Isaacs, Sawhill, & Haskins, 2008).

Increased earnings generally lead to higher tax contributions over one's life course as well. The net public return is estimated to be \$232,779 for each man, and \$84,313 for each woman achieving postsecondary education in the United States (Schleicher, 2012). With average costs to support a college student for one year in instruction, student services, academic support, operations, and institutional support at of \$17,300 for public research institutions and \$14,000 for public bachelor's institutions (Desrochers & Hurlburt, 2016), higher education proves to be a worthwhile investment for the country.

Preventing undocumented immigrants from accessing higher education can have a detrimental impact on future salaries, as well as tax revenues generated. For example, in Georgia, where undocumented students are prohibited from attending the state's top five research universities, it is estimated that state and local tax revenues could increase by \$10 million through a more skilled, higher earning workforce by lifting the bans on undocumented students (Downey, 2016).

While providing undocumented students opportunities to access higher education does have an associated cost, consideration should be given to the amount previously

invested in the K-12 education of undocumented students, as well as economic gains that may be made through increased college attainment. Since the *Plyler v. Doe* ruling, the United States has invested an estimated 30 billion dollars into the K-12 education of undocumented students (S&P Study: Costs and Benefits of Illegal Immigrants, 2009). One of the ways that the U.S. may seek a return on this investment is by offering opportunities for undocumented students to access higher education, thereby establishing employment opportunities for these individuals to contribute at a higher level to the economy. Alternatively, if states choose to hinder access to higher education for these students, the investment in their K-12 education will not be fully realized. Based on Schleicher's analysis on the economic contributions of college and high school graduates, undocumented students would be able to contribute significantly more money into the economy with a college degree than with a high school diploma (Gonzalez, 2007). An increase in the number of undocumented college graduates would also significantly benefit the economy (Schleicher, 2012; Reich & Mendoza, 2008).

While providing access to higher education among undocumented populations may require an additional investment from both the state and federal government, it is important to note that undocumented immigrants are already contributing taxes, and therefore likely subsidizing the cost of higher education in the U.S. Undocumented immigrants' effective tax rate is currently estimated to be eight percent, compared to just 5.4% for the top one percent of earners (Soergel, 2016). In total, undocumented immigrants contribute nearly \$12 billion to state and local tax coffers each year (Soergel, 2016). Although paying a greater proportion of their income in taxes, undocumented populations have been

limited in the amount of taxes they are able to contribute due to a history of traditionally lower earnings. In 2010, the average undocumented immigrant household received around \$24,721 in government benefits and services while paying about \$10,334 in taxes (Rector & Richwine, 2013). If undocumented immigrants were allowed to access higher education, they would likely be able to contribute a greater amount to state and federal tax revenues through higher earnings.

Access to DACA currently allows undocumented immigrants the ability to work legally in the United States, contributing to the economy and tax coffers at higher rates than previously able. While DACA helps address current levels of tax contributions, increased access to higher education may promote higher future salaries that enable undocumented immigrants to contribute more fully to our tax systems.

While some may argue that providing undocumented immigrants opportunities to access higher education is not a state's responsibility, the cost of not providing these opportunities seems to be far greater. Without the ability to earn higher degrees and contribute to tax systems at greater rates, undocumented populations may cost more to support than they are able to contribute. This financial burden cannot be easily resolved through other measures that may be proposed, such as deportation. The cost of deporting undocumented immigrants in the United States is estimated to be between 400 and 600 billion dollars (Gitis & Collins, 2015). Additionally, if deportation were to be enacted, an anticipated 1.6 trillion dollars would be lost in real GDP with the loss of an estimated 11 million workers (Gitis & Collins, 2015). While deportation does not appear to be a viable solution, deportation relief programs, on the contrary, are estimated to contribute 90 to

210 billion dollars to domestic economic growth over a ten-year period (Soergel, 2016). While mass deportation would lead to an economic decline for the country, investments in education for undocumented populations may result in increased economic gains for the United States.

Social Benefits to Offering In-State Tuition to Undocumented Students

In addition to economic benefits that undocumented populations may be able to contribute through increased educational opportunities, there are also social gains to consider for the U.S. as well. The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that 63% of unauthorized migrants have lived in the United States for at least 10 years, and approximately 35% have been in the U.S. for more than 15 years (Krogstad, Passel, & Cohn, 2016). Many undocumented students identify the U.S. as their home and aspire to give back to their communities. When given the opportunity to access higher education, many of these students are actively and politically engaged on their college campuses, and they often continue to be after graduating (Gonzales, 2008). Many of these students also excel academically and have the potential to matriculate into higher education, but are not given the opportunity to do so because of their economic background and legal status (Williams, 2016; Banks, 2013). This barrier in accessing higher education may lead to unrealized potential among undocumented students, detrimental to states in the production of doctors, teachers, engineers, as well as other careers requiring advanced degrees. Furthermore, when undocumented students are able to access higher education, they consequently pave the way for other undocumented students to apply and ultimately graduate from college. By working to increase access to higher

education among undocumented populations, the United States may achieve greater global market competition, while providing students the opportunity to achieve economic mobility alongside their peers. Overall, these social benefits are important to consider because thousands of undocumented students graduate from high schools each year with the potential to generate new insights in the college setting, but this knowledge cannot be shared without creating avenues to higher education for these students.

Policy Recommendations

In conclusion, we strongly recommend the implementation of a federal in-state tuition policy for undocumented students across the United States. In order to implement this policy, successful state models currently in place may be emulated. Most states that currently offer in-state tuition to undocumented students require them to complete an affidavit which affirms “that the individual has already submitted an application to legalize his or her immigration status or will file such an application upon being eligible to do so” (Nienhusser, 2015, p. 286). This affidavit allows the state to effectively waive out-of-state tuition for undocumented students.

All states which currently have in-state tuition policies for undocumented students have additional specifications that students must meet in order to qualify for in-state tuition. Again, this would be an important consideration in the adoption of a national in-state tuition policy. For example, undocumented students who have resided in their respective state for less than one year may not be able to benefit from an in-state tuition policy. Similar to in-state tuition policies for U.S. citizens, these specifications would work to prevent system abuse. These state guidelines would be

beneficial to examine when implementing in-state tuition policies.

In assisting undocumented students in the process of accessing higher education, researchers stress the importance of school officials remaining up-to-date with financial aid policies that affect undocumented students, as well as working to understand the experiences of these students, including barriers they face in achieving a college education (Contreras, 2009; Gildersleeve & Vigil, 2015; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Perez et al., 2010; Crawford & Arnold, 2016). Researchers note that educational staff, faculty, and administrators who are knowledgeable about the issues, challenges, and needs of undocumented students can serve as institutional agents and greatly assist students navigating the college-going process (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015).

For example, it would be important for K-12 teachers and administrators, as well as higher education institutional staff and faculty, to be aware of in-state tuition policies in order to assist undocumented students with the qualifying process. If staff members are not aware of the policies in place, students may be forced to navigate this process on their own, which can ultimately deter students from pursuing higher education. Given this information, it would be important to provide training for staff at both the high school and collegiate level in order to ensure that they are knowledgeable regarding tuition policies affecting undocumented students. These trainings would ideally provide institutional personnel with tools to assist undocumented students undergoing the process of qualifying for in-state tuition. Personnel trainings might also be combined with workshops for undocumented students to assist them in the college application process. Some excellent examples of universities who have already established undocumented student ally programs on

their campus include Loyola University and the University of California at Berkeley, Irvine, and Davis. According to these university websites, the ally trainings “aim to inform faculty and staff how to create a welcoming and supportive campus environment for immigrant students” and “provide their communities with skills to understand the value and importance of exploring the experiences and perspectives of undocumented students,” among several other objectives (Dreamers Ally Training, 2017; Share the DREAM Undocumented Student Ally Training, 2017). These ally programs provide university personnel with information, services, and resources pertinent to undocumented students.

Considering Policy Alternatives

A potential alternative to offering in-state tuition for undocumented students might be to reduce tuition rates for these students, though not at the same rate as in-state tuition. In this way, undocumented students would not be required to pay out-of-state tuition, but would also not pay the same tuition rates as legal residents. For example, some states have adopted out-of-state tuition agreements at 150% the cost of in-state tuition (Sheehy, 2013). Though this alternative would still hinder access to higher education for many undocumented students, it could potentially increase the number of students able to acquire the financial resources needed to pay tuition for a postsecondary education.

Another alternative may be to provide more scholarships and/or grants specifically aimed towards these students so that they may acquire the financial capital needed to attend college. This alternative would be the most difficult to implement because it would require the use of state funds rather than simply decreasing the cost that undocumented students need to pay for

college. There is currently limited funding for the number of students who apply for financial assistance within the general populace. Therefore, opening these opportunities up to undocumented students could restrict funding to legal residents. Instead of setting aside a separate pool of money for undocumented students, some states have included undocumented students within the pool of financial aid that is offered to legal residents. However, this has led some policymakers to address the issue that this poses for U.S. citizens who hope to pursue a higher education and who also come from low-income backgrounds. Given this analysis, it would be less of a burden on the states to offer in-state tuition for undocumented students, rather than commit to state funding.

Students may also be advised to attend community colleges before transferring to four year institutions as a less expensive alternative as well (Darolia & Potochnick, 2015). Though this route is currently a more viable option for undocumented students, many scholars point out the difficulties that these students face when transferring to a four-year university (Keller & Tillman, 2008). These challenges are due largely to the dramatic increase in tuition costs, as well as the unfamiliarity with transferring to four-year institutions, as some students come from first-generation backgrounds (Diaz-Strong et. al., 2011). Given these constraints, if schools were to utilize this alternative to increase access to higher education for undocumented students, there would also be a need for institutional agents in high schools and colleges who could assist these students with the transferring process. However, limited finances would still pose an issue for students considering attending a four-year university.

Though continuing the out-of-state tuition policy for undocumented students is also an option, scholars have dismissed this

alternative as economically draining and socially unjust (Contreras, 2009; Diaz-Strong et. al., 2011). Out-of-state tuition policies do not allow states to achieve equitable routes to higher education for all students. Though some may argue that the state should not invest in the education of undocumented students because the future of DACA is vulnerable, others argue that there are still economic benefits to the college graduation rates of undocumented students. For example, if DACA is extended and/or immigration reform is passed, the state would have students ready to enter the workforce, rather than a pool of students who have not been able to access higher education. In-state tuition would still require undocumented students to pay for their education, thereby increasing university revenue systems. If DACA was discontinued, and undocumented students were barred from legally working in the U.S., scholars argue that access to higher education should remain a priority because of the economic drain of students dropping out of high school and/or increasing unemployment rates (Reich & Mendoza, 2008; McLendon, Mokher, & Flores, 2011).

According to research conducted by Marable, students who are forced to drop out of school are more likely to enter the criminal justice system (2008). Marable also argues that it costs more to imprison an individual than to educate them in the United States. If states invest in the higher education of undocumented students, not only might the state avoid a future economic strain, but they may also gain a net benefit from students pursuing high-skilled careers. Additionally, Reich & Mendoza (2008) theorize that even if undocumented immigrants cannot legally work, the majority will remain living in the U.S. Therefore, creating pathways to access higher education for these students would

create a more powerful economic system with a well-educated populace.

Addressing State Concerns

Though some legislators have expressed concern for a potential increase of undocumented immigrants relocating to their states to take advantage of in-state tuition policies, this has not yet occurred in states with these policies currently in place (Gonzalez, 2007). States that have implemented in-state tuition for undocumented students have not experienced unintended consequences detrimental to their state largely due to the list of requirements that students need to meet in order to qualify for in-state tuition.

Additionally, some legislators who oppose in-state tuition policies have expressed their concern in allowing undocumented students to take the place of legal residents in university seats (Sanders, 2010). However, there is a strong argument for permitting undocumented students to access higher education because current economic outlooks project a need for increased college graduates in the United States, and these current residents may help meet labor needs with more skilled degrees. To date, the number of students who have taken advantage of these policies is often miniscule compared to the overall college-admitted population (Romero, 2002). At the University of Connecticut, for example, only 33 undocumented students benefitted from in-state tuition in 2014 compared to a total of 18,000 college enrolled students at that time (Nguyen & Serna, 2014). Similarly, at the University of California, Berkeley, only 250 undocumented students have benefitted from in-state tuition compared to the overall population of 25,000 undergraduate students (Nguyen & Serna, 2014). The National Immigration Law Center reports that in-state tuition policies tend to increase school

revenues since they allow students who would not normally attend college to start paying tuition (2014). Lastly, not all students who are accepted to a higher education institution attend that institution. Therefore, this divergence in university seats available creates a space for undocumented students to potentially fill.

Limitations

One major limitation in offering in-state tuition for undocumented students is that it still requires students to pay tuition rates which may be out of their financial realm (Chin & Juhn, 2010). In-state tuition policies do not currently require states to offer state financial aid for undocumented students. Therefore, it is projected that there would still be a large population of undocumented students unable to access higher education due to the prohibitive costs (Chin & Juhn, 2010). Providing opportunities to pay in-state tuition to attend institutions of higher education, however, is a positive step to take in ensuring the success of our country and current residents (Contreras, 2009).

Secondly, it is important to recognize that the implementation of a national in-state tuition policy for undocumented students will be a difficult endeavor. Though some states have already taken the lead in implementing this policy, others have yet to express support for financial access to higher education for undocumented students. Furthermore, the process of implementation would take a substantial amount of organizing and time. Despite these challenges, scholars continue to advocate for in-state tuition policies because research continually highlights positive outcomes associated with these policies (Gildersleeve & Vigil, 2015; Flores, 2010; Darolia & Potochnik, 2015; Kaushal, 2008).

A final limitation worth noting in this policy analysis is that undocumented immigrants are often difficult to access due to vulnerabilities associated with their legal status. Given this, securing reliable data for research can be challenging (Cornelius, 1982; De Genova, 2002). Regardless, it is important that scholars continue to study the experiences of these student populations to ensure that educational institutions know how to best serve their needs as they pursue their postsecondary educational endeavors.

Conclusion

While the United States has a need for a more college-educated workforce, and undocumented immigrants largely seem to be remaining in the states, access to higher education for undocumented students has become increasingly difficult in recent years. Laws preventing undocumented students from receiving in-state tuition rates have proved to be challenging for those wishing to advance their education. These laws have had, and will likely continue to have, a negative impact on the workforce and advancement of the country if steps are not taken to advance policy decisions in this area.

The overarching literature on undocumented students emphasizes recommendations for easing access to higher education by offering in-state tuition and/or providing state financial resources to these students. Policy analysts also emphasize the role of legislators and school administrators in helping to foster a financial pathway to higher education for these students (Contreras, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). In alignment with recommendations from previous research, we believe that one of the most efficient ways in which the U.S. can create a postsecondary avenue for undocumented students is by implementing a national in-state tuition policy for these

students. Our analysis overwhelmingly demonstrates that facilitating access to higher education via in-state tuition policies

Alternative proposals related to barring access to higher education or promoting deportation prove to be detrimental to the economic growth of the country. Conversely, providing educational opportunities for undocumented students is a policy that appears to be economically beneficial. From a policy analysis perspective, we believe that it is in the best

would ultimately create a positive economic impact and would work towards dismantling societal inequities.

interest of the country to expand access to educational opportunities to meet growing demands for a more skilled workforce. Undocumented students wishing to pursue higher education may help meet this need, as well as contribute more greatly to the economy with higher earnings and increased tax contributions beneficial to the country.

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Do You See What I See?: Undergraduate Students' Perceptions of IUPUI Campus Viewbooks and Experiences

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Universities may show various cultures at their institution through viewbooks. The researchers in this approved study administered a qualitative and quantitative questionnaire to 225 undergraduate students at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) to gauge student perceptions of institutional viewbooks as they relate to students' cultural backgrounds and identities. The researchers utilized Tinto's (1993) model of Institutional Departure and Museus' (2014) Cultural Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) model to frame this study. Findings suggest that most IUPUI students' perceptions of viewbooks aligned with their cultural backgrounds, identities, and lived experiences.

Twenty-first century students applying to higher education programs have access to information at the tips of their fingers using resources like websites, blogs, and social media. However, many students and their families claim that campus viewbooks are important in their initial perception of an institution of higher education (Hartley & Morpew, 2008). High school seniors ranked "publications and written information sent to [them] from colleges as most important" when it came to receiving institutional information during their college search (Hartley & Morpew, 2008, p. 673). Viewbooks are defined as "promotional admissions brochures created by marketing professionals to 'sell' institutions to prospective students and their families" (Osei-Kofi, Torres, & Lui, 2013, p. 386). Viewbooks, and the information they contain, play an integral role in shaping students' perspectives of a university's values and culture (Osei-Kofi et al., 2013).

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) espoused in its most recent strategic plan that it will "create a strategic and coordinated enrollment management plan to attract, retain, and graduate better prepared, more diverse students who choose IUPUI" (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016c). However, diversity is often not clearly defined by institutions, leaving the task of interpretation

to students (Hartley & Morpew, 2008). This lack of clear support and definition of diversity can leave students feeling undervalued at their institution (Museus, 2014). In other cases, institutions saturate their campuses with messages of the various cultures present on campus, but the reality of campus diversity does not align with the picturesque viewbook (Pippert, Essenburg, & Matchett, 2013). Many studies (see Osei-Kofi et al., 2013; Hartley & Morpew, 2008) have reviewed the content of viewbooks to better grasp institutions' overall messages surrounding culture. However, there is a need to better understand how viewbooks construct IUPUI students' perceptions of their cultural backgrounds and identities and how this compares to their realities once they arrive on campus. This approved study investigated these questions by asking the following:

1. How do IUPUI viewbooks shape undergraduate student perceptions as they relate to their cultural backgrounds and identities?
2. How do students' perceptions of IUPUI viewbooks compare to their lived realities on IUPUI's campus as it relates to their cultural backgrounds and identities?
3. Are students' cultural backgrounds and identities validated?

The researchers utilized Museum's (2014) Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) model, influenced by Tinto's (1993) model of Institutional Departure, as a framework for this study. The CECE model examines an institution's level of cultural engagement through nine indicators and posits that students from diverse backgrounds who are part of a culturally engaging campus environment will be more likely to possess a greater sense of belonging, have a positive disposition towards their academics, perform at higher levels academically, and graduate (Museum, 2014). Through this lens, the researchers gained a better sense of IUPUI students' perceptions of cultural validation as they relate to institutional viewbooks and students' lived realities.

Literature Review

Shaping Perceptions Using Viewbooks

Viewbooks are one of the first sources of information for students and parents seeking to learn more about an institution and get a feel for the campus culture (Hartley & Morphew, 2008). Starting in the 1980s, institutions of higher education began receiving more applications than ever before, and competition for a coveted spot in a prestigious university increased (McDonough, 1994). In the 1990s, viewbooks evolved from black-and-white fact books to colorful, picturesque ideals (Thacker, 2005). These viewbooks used photographs, charts, graphs, and other graphic illustrations to convey information and values (Osei-Kofi et al., 2013). Now, as admissions offices have larger budgets and increasing enrollment pressures, prospective students are seen as commodities to admissions and enrollment managers (Hawkins & Clinesdinst, 2007; McDonough, 1994). For this reason, these managers try to

carefully craft images of their student body in the most positive light.

However, the level of student identities displayed within viewbooks may not meet the actual proportion of diversity on campus, thus tokenizing students (Pippert et al., 2013). Tokenism, as understood by Fletcher (2012), is when students appear to be given a voice but "have little or no choice about what they do or how they participate" (p. 9). The commodification of diverse students in institutional marketing materials can have a negative impact on both prospective students and those who have been selected to be placed on these materials, as they are likened to "tokens." This representation of students as institutional tokens was one of the first concepts that led the researchers to take a critical look at the content of campus viewbooks.

In addition to using visuals to help recruit qualified and diverse students, viewbooks also help portray a specific institutional environment and "educate individuals about [the] institution's values" (Bauer et al., 2013, p. 15). Thus, the images in viewbooks and other promotional materials that institutions create are artifacts of the institutions themselves. The use of viewbooks to promote campus culture simultaneously works to shape campus culture, as students who may become a part of the institution are already beginning to form their opinions and attitudes about the campus based on these materials. When the campus environment promoted in institutional viewbooks is not accurately portrayed, the perceived and lived realities of students are less likely to match (Pippert et al., 2013). Universities are beginning to recognize that it is not enough to simply recruit students through the use of campus viewbooks because students must also be retained and successful on their path to graduation. As a result, higher education scholars have begun developing theories

centered on college student retention and success.

Theoretical Framework

Tinto's (1993) scholarship on student success is well recognized in higher education and contributes to the framework of this study. Tinto's (1993) model of Institutional Departure, based on Tinto's theory of college student persistence and degree completion, posits that students entering an institution of higher education are influenced by their family backgrounds, prior educational experiences, and a variety of pre-entry attributes. Therefore, students' success is dependent on their adherence to collegial norms and commitment to their personal goals (Tinto, 1993).

Culturally Engaging Campuses. As Museus (2014) has noted, Tinto's model of Institutional Departure does not accurately describe the experiences of racially diverse students on a college campus and, therefore, does not explain all students' success. While all students could encounter an unwelcoming campus environment, students of color have reported that they experience such an environment more frequently than White students and that they face additional cultural barriers (Museus, 2014). According to the CECE model, students also come to college with a variety of external indicators (i.e., financial circumstances and family influences) and pre-college inputs (i.e., academic influences and social identities) that "shape individual influences...and successes among racially diverse college populations" (Museus, 2014, p. 207). Due to these and other obstacles, Museus (2014) asserted that it is of paramount importance that universities recognize the cultural differences that students of color bring to institutions.

Cultural Validation. It is critical that campuses be culturally engaging to support student success (Museus, 2014). The CECE

model suggests that "students who encounter more culturally engaging campus environments are more likely to (1) exhibit a greater sense of belonging, more positive academic dispositions, and higher levels of academic performance and ultimately (2) be more likely to persist to graduation" (Museus, 2014, p. 210). The CECE model is meant to be inclusive of diverse social identities such as ethnic backgrounds and socioeconomic levels (Museus, 2014).

Further, the CECE model posits that culturally engaging campuses display nine indicators: "cultural familiarity, cultural relevant knowledge, cultural community service, opportunities for meaningful cross-cultural engagement, collectivist cultural orientations, culturally validating environments, humanized educational environments, pro-active philosophies, and availability of holistic supports" (Museus, 2014, pp. 210-214). This study focused on the sixth indicator of the CECE model, which states that students who are at an institution that "validates their cultural background and identities... will be more likely to succeed" (Museus, 2014, p. 212). When campuses focus on validating students' cultures and backgrounds, students have a greater sense of belonging to their institution (Gloria & Robinson Kurpis, 1996; Kuh & Love, 2000; Museus, 2014; Tierney, 1999).

Figure 1 represents the researchers' use of Tinto's model of Institutional Departure and Museus' CECE model. Although the diagram does not encompass the complexities of each model, it does allow for a visual explanation of how these theories are connected and used as the theoretical framework of this study.

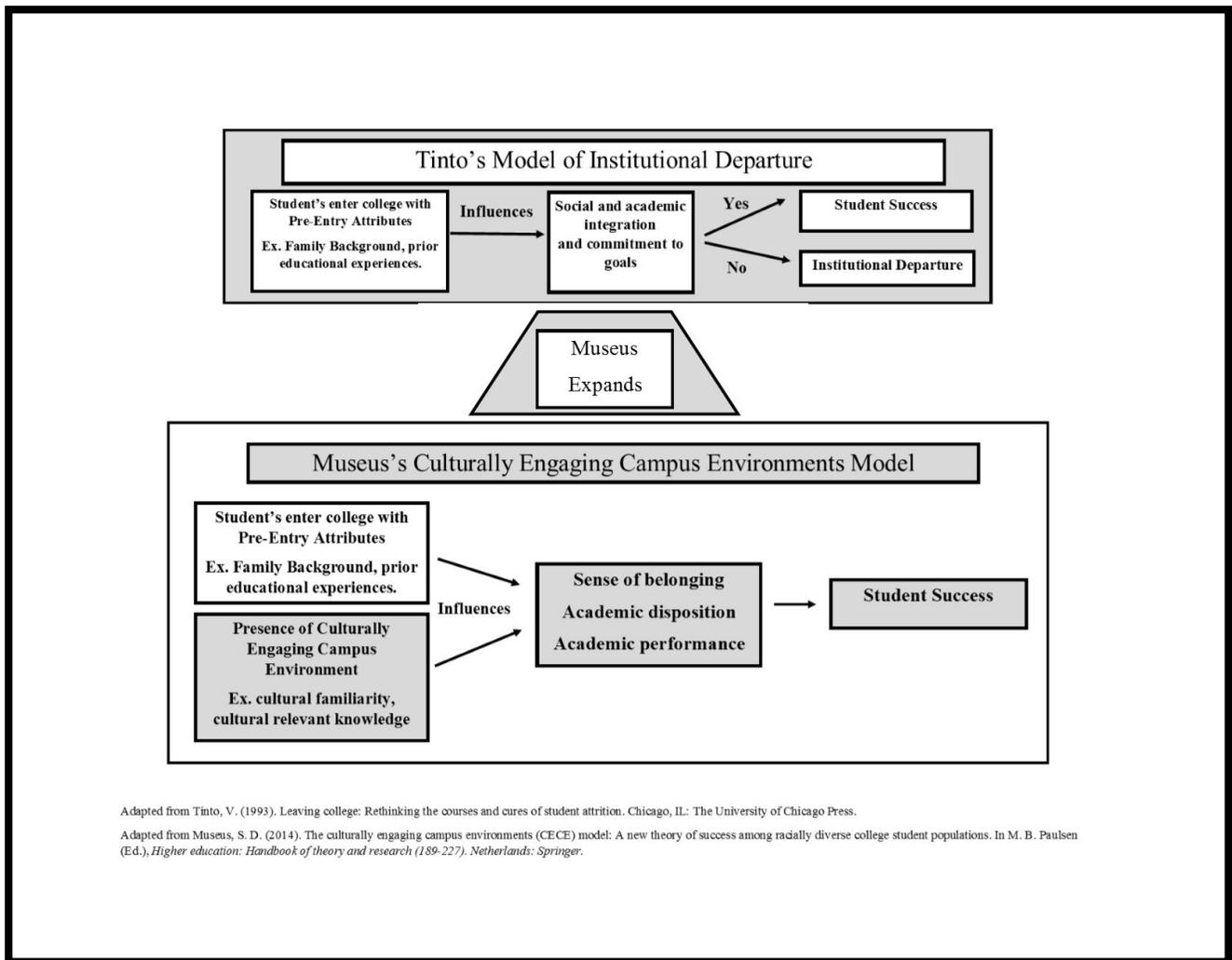


Figure 1. This figure illustrates the integration of Tinto's (1994) model of Institutional Departure and Museus' (2014) CECE model used to form the theoretical framework of this research.

Methodology

This qualitative, constructivist study is set at IUPUI in Indianapolis, Indiana. IUPUI's institutional mission includes "a strong commitment to diversity" (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016b), and its strategic plan includes a commitment to "an inclusive campus climate that seeks, values, and cultivates diversity" (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a, para. 36). This mission and strategic plan detail IUPUI's intended focus on diversity. In addition, to better understand institutional climate, IUPUI's Department of Institutional

Research and Decision Support (IRDS) administers a campus climate survey every four to five years that gauges how students, faculty, and staff feel about the institution's commitment to diversity (IUPUI Institutional Research and Decision Support, 2014). In line with these guiding principles and measures of campus diversity and climate, IUPUI's publications and marketing materials aim to address the mission and strategic plan of the institution.

For additional context, Table 1 contains IUPUI's demographic profile of its undergraduate students, graduate students, and full-time academic faculty. Knowledge of the setting and population of IUPUI was

Table 1

Demographics of IUPUI Population, Fall 2015

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Undergraduates</u>	<u>Graduates</u>	<u>Full-Time Academic Faculty</u>
Black/African American	10%	8%	5%
Asian American	4%	6%	15%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	<1%	<1%	<1%
Hispanic/Latino	6%	4%	2%
American Indian/Native American	<1%	<1%	<1%
Two or more races	4%	2%	2%
International	4%	14%	7%
White	71%	64%	69%
Unknown	1%	1%	N/A
Women	56%	55%	42%
LGBTQ+	14%	10%	8%
With Disability	5%	4%	4%

Note. The total undergraduate population was 21,985, the total graduate population was 8,210, and the total Full-time Academic Faculty was 3,148. Statistics for faculty identified as LGBTQ+ or with disability include all faculty, not just Full-Time Academic Faculty. Religion and socioeconomic status demographic data of the campus was not available for the researchers.

important when collecting and analyzing data as it helped inform the research team of the campus environment and student profile.

Constructivism

The researchers operated under the assumption that knowledge is constructed on a personal level, where everyone constructs reality in their own mind and defines their personal reality (Lueddeke, 1999). Like Brooks and Brooks (1999), the researchers recognized that knowledge and learning are less linear and more developmentally, socially, and culturally fluid. The researchers also recognized that people are “individuals whose life experiences have shaped singular sets of cognitive needs” (p. x), where truths are incomplete or influenced based on individual identities (Lueddeke, 1999). Moreover, the researchers shared Vygotsky’s (1978) view that an individual cannot be taken out of themselves or understand the world without

their experiences, backgrounds, and identities.

Positionality

The research team consisted of four master’s students and one doctoral student in the Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) program at Indiana University (IU). The researchers each identify as cisgender and heterosexual. Four researchers identify as female and one as male. The researchers come from multiple regions of the United States, including the South, the Northern East Coast, and the Midwest. Three of the researchers are White and noted that they often see their cultures represented in campus viewbooks. One researcher identifies as South Asian/Desi American and immigrated to the United States at the age of five. This researcher noted that she often does not see her culture represented in campus marketing materials. One researcher identifies as Black and noted that while he

sees people in campus viewbooks that physically look like they might represent his culture, he does not see as many students on campus as originally represented in the viewbooks. These identities and perceptions of campus marketing materials shaped how the research team examined data from this study. For instance, the researchers with more privileged racial identities had a more limited understanding of the responses of students who stated that they do not feel as if their culture is validated through viewbooks or on campus.

As a group, the researchers added multiple perspectives to this study based on their different cultural and regional backgrounds, identities, undergraduate experiences, and learning styles. The researchers intentionally reflected on their socially- and culturally-constructed values, which helped in grounding their complex interpretations of the data. The researchers were also deliberate about acknowledging their personal perspectives to ensure that they were as inclusive and thoughtful as possible.

Research Design

To ensure validity and trustworthiness of this study, the researchers rooted their inquiry in a constructivist epistemological approach that guided data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007). Data were collected on the campus of IUPUI using a self-created questionnaire (Appendix A) that was influenced by the theoretical frameworks of Tinto (1993) and Museus (2014). The researchers surveyed IUPUI undergraduate students by distributing paper questionnaires. This method was used to access a larger number of student participants, rather than conducting in-person interviews or focus groups.

Participants and Sampling

To intentionally select student participants for this study, purposeful sampling was utilized. First-year students were the most likely to have seen the Fall 2016 viewbook prior to attending IUPUI and were thus the primary individuals selected to participate in this study. The research team surveyed 225 IUPUI undergraduate students, roughly 1% of the IUPUI undergraduate student population (IUPUI, 2016). The final analysis included 223 student participants; two responses were excluded because they were not complete. Questionnaires were disseminated to students enrolled in optional First Year Experience (FYE) courses and to members of the Undergraduate Student Government. The sample is not entirely representative of all first-year students, though most questionnaires were distributed in FYE courses that were comprised of only first-year students.

The final sample consisted of 82% (183) first-year students and 18% (40) non-first-year students. Within this sample, 78% (174) of students identified as belonging to the middle class, 55% (124) identified as female, and 46% (102) identified as Christians. The average age of student participants was 19. This sample was representative of the IUPUI campus population (see Table 1). Disaggregated demographic data on student participants can be found in Appendix B.

Data Collection

Museus' (2014) sixth CECE Indicator of Cultural Validation informed the questionnaire employed in this study. The researchers intentionally asked students if they feel valued on campus based on their cultural backgrounds and identities. The researchers aligned their verbiage with Museus' (2014) definition of cultural validation: "The extent to which

postsecondary institutions and educators convey that they value the cultural backgrounds and identities of their diverse college student populations” (p. 212). In the questionnaire, the term “brochure” was used in place of “viewbook” to utilize a more colloquial, familiar term. The questionnaire was piloted among fellow master’s and doctoral level classmates, as recommended by Schuh, Biddix, Dean, & Kinzie (2016). This piloting allowed the research team to test response time, identify inconsistencies with wording or questions, and ensure clarity among the test group.

Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative measures were exercised so that open-ended responses could add depth to Likert-scale responses. All responses were compiled into a spreadsheet with each respondent and their responses represented in a single row. Data were cleaned to ensure that all values were entered correctly and coded consistently (Cooper & Shelley, 2009, p. 142). Additional notes regarding responses (i.e., if students included qualitative information in quantitative sections, underlined or capitalized words, etc.) were noted to account for any respondent emphasis that the data alone could not show.

Quantitative. The researchers applied simple descriptive statistics to pull meaning from all quantitative data collected and to identify central tendency and dispersion. This analysis provided data regarding how students most commonly understand the perceived and lived environment of IUPUI as related to the viewbook, as well as how students’ experiences vary or align with the most commonly cited values among the entire group surveyed.

Qualitative. Noting that social identities influence culture (Museus, 2014), the researchers coded qualitative results by acknowledging the many social identities of the student participants. Thus, data were

analyzed alongside the demographic data collected, including students’ race, ethnicity, gender, religion, socioeconomic status, and age.

When analyzing each of the qualitative responses, each researcher independently noted any significant findings they saw within the data and completed one round of individual coding. The researchers independently grouped their codes into major themes and then came together to note discrepancies, look for evidence to support each code, and identify salient themes collectively as a group (Weston et al., 2001). When discrepancies arose, the researchers discussed and established a theme that aligned with the majority perspective for consistency, credibility, and trustworthiness (Cooper & Shelley, 2009). Within each theme, every response was coded as positive, negative, or neutral. For example, if a student noted that IUPUI did not make them feel welcome, their response was coded as negative. Demographic data was analyzed within both the positive and negative response categories to identify trends within each theme.

Lastly, the researchers compared quantitative and qualitative responses to crosscheck all data collected and explain more fully the entire rich, complex data set (Cohen & Manion, 2000). Student quotations were used to authenticate findings and apply rich descriptions for enhanced credibility and trustworthiness.

Findings

In the first portion of the questionnaire, students were asked to give their initial impressions of the viewbook by responding to the following question, “According to the brochure, what does IUPUI value?” The top 10 responses are shown in Table 2. The word “diversity” was noted in 38.1% of the responses, showing that students are

internalizing, on a basic level, that diversity is valued by the institution based on the viewbook.

Table 2

Top 10 words mentioned in regards to IUPUI values observed in the viewbook

<u>Word</u>	<u>Number of times responded</u>
Students	100
Diversity	85
Community	56
Involvement	46
Education	42
Life	42
Academic	39
Opportunity	37
Campus	30
City	30

Note. N=223. These are the top 10 words repeated in response to the question “According to the brochure, what does IUPUI value?” Each respondent was given the opportunity to write up to three lines.

Quantitative

The questionnaire asked four Likert-scale questions to assess students’ perceptions of cultural background and identity validation at IUPUI. Gauging students’ responses to their perceptions of the viewbook in terms of perceived cultural background validation, the researchers saw an average response of 4.05 on a 5-point scale (see Table 3). This result indicated that students felt strongly that their cultural background would be valued per the viewbook’s representation of IUPUI. Responses were similar in terms of students’ perceived validation of cultural identity validation as researchers saw an average response of 4.04 on a 5-point scale (see Table 4). This result indicated that students

felt strongly that their cultural identities would be valued based on the viewbook’s representation of IUPUI. Table 3 and Table 4 display these results.

Table 3

Question 1

<u>Likert Scale Response</u>	<u>%</u>
1 – Strongly Disagree	0%
2 – Disagree	4%
3 – Neutral	24%
4 – Agree	33.5%
5 – Strongly Agree	38.5%

Note. N=223. Question 1: “Based on the brochure I feel like my cultural background would be valued at IUPUI.”

The second set of Likert-scale questions gauged students’ lived experiences on IUPUI’s campus as they relate to their cultural backgrounds and identities. Average responses for both questions were 4.1 on a 5-point scale. These results indicated that students felt strongly that their cultural backgrounds and identities are valued at IUPUI. Table 5 and Table 6 display these results.

Table 4

Question 2

<u>Likert Scale Response</u>	<u>%</u>
1 – Strongly Disagree	0%
2 – Disagree	4.5%
3 – Neutral	24.5%
4 – Agree	32%
5 – Strongly Agree	39%

Note. N=223. Question 2: “Based on the brochure I feel like my cultural identity would be valued at IUPUI.”

Table 5

<i>Question 3</i>	
<u>Likert Scale Response</u>	<u>%</u>
1 – Strongly Disagree	0%
2 – Disagree	6%
3 – Neutral	19%
4 – Agree	33%
5 – Strongly Agree	41%

Note. N=223. Question 3: “In my experience, I believe my cultural background is valued at IUPUI.”

Overall, more positive responses on the second set of questions showed that students felt more validated by their campus experience than their perceptions of the viewbook. Qualitative data was used to further explore this finding.

Table 6

<i>Percent of Responses to Question 4</i>	
<u>Likert Scale Response</u>	<u>%</u>
1 – Strongly Disagree	0%
2 – Disagree	6%
3 – Neutral	21.5%
4 – Agree	30%
5 – Strongly Agree	42.5%

Note. N=223. Question 4: “In my experience, I believe my cultural identity is valued at IUPUI”.

Qualitative

Four major themes emerged from the qualitative data: Fitting-In, Opportunity for Involvement, Types of Opportunities for Involvement, and Visible Diversity. Within these four themes, the researchers coded for positive, negative, and neutral responses. Neutral responses were noted but not included in the findings.

Fitting-In. In this theme, responses indicated that students felt respected, valued, and/or accepted by their campus environment. Fitting-In was the largest theme, with a total of 99 student responses. Of the total responses, 36.3% were positive. Among the positive responses, 68% of

respondents identified as White/Caucasian, 11% as Black/African-American, 6% as Asian, 2% as Hispanic/Latino/a, and 10% as Other/Unspecified. One student supported her belief that her cultural backgrounds and identities were validated by the viewbook, saying, “The brochure tells me IUPUI is a welcoming environment where all ethnicities, religions, and cultures are able to go” (Participant 114: First-Year, Middle Class, White, Female). On the contrary, seven of the 223 students responded that they believe the viewbook did not exemplify a welcoming environment and did not feel validated. Looking deeper into these seven responses, 57.1% identified as Black/African-American and 42.9% as White/Caucasian. One student noted, “When deciding to come [to IUPUI], I was very excited because the campus seemed so welcoming and vibrant. For the most part it’s been welcoming, but not necessarily welcoming for culture” (Participant 202: First-Year, Middle Class, Black, Christian, Male).

Opportunities for Involvement.

Responses in this theme reflected the events, organizations, or programs students said helped them feel that they were a part of the IUPUI campus. Many respondents did not specify a specific program but knew cultural programs and/or organizations were available on campus. Of the 37 total responses in this theme, 12 were positive. 66.7% of respondents identified as White/Caucasian, 8.3% as Black/African-American, 8.3% as Hispanic/Latino/a., 8.3% as Multiracial, and 8.3% as Other/Unspecified. One student said that “there are clubs for literally everything for everyone” (Participant 12: Unknown). There were no negative responses in this category.

Types of Opportunities for Involvement. The researchers delved deeper into the second theme by identifying specific ways students felt culturally validated by the

IUPUI campus. The researchers felt it was valuable to separate this theme from the second to more clearly illustrate the significance and impact of specific IUPUI offices and organizations on students' feelings of cultural validation. This theme was categorized by a total of 27 student responses that identified specific organizations, offices, or centers that are culturally validating. In this theme were 11 positive responses; 36.4% of respondents identified as White/Caucasian, 18.2% as Hispanic/Latino/a, 18.2% as Multiracial, 18.2% as Other/Unknown, and 9.1% as Asian. Students identified participation in multicultural clubs and organizations as the primary way they felt that their cultural backgrounds and identities were validated by the institution. One student noted, "at first, I didn't feel too welcome, but then I started to get involved with the diversity events here at IUPUI and felt more included" (Participant 112: First-Year, Middle Class, Asian, Filipino, Catholic, Male). There were two negative responses within the third theme that noted a lack of opportunities to get involved.

Visible Diversity. The researchers identified 48 responses that discussed ways students connected to visual representations of cultural validation, whether on campus or in the viewbook. There were seven positive responses that mentioned visible diversity on campus or in the viewbook; of these responses, 71.4% of respondents identified as White/Caucasian, 14.3% as Hispanic/Latino/a, and 14.3% as Other/Unspecified. One student positively noted that, "the campus brochure include[d] a lot of images featuring people of color this to me signifies a welcoming environment" (Participant 61: First-Year, Middle Class, Caucasian, Catholic, Male). Of the 11 negative responses within this theme, 45.5% of respondents identified as White/Caucasian, 36.4% Black/African-

American, 9.1% Asian, and 9.1% Other/Unspecified. One student felt that "there are several organizations that are based on different cultures. The brochure doesn't include these specific organizations or clubs, and it should so that people can see how IUPUI values culture" (Participant 148: First-Year, Upper Class, Asian, Hindu, Female). Many students compared their lived experiences to what they saw within the viewbook, some noting discrepancies. One student highlighted the fact that "[she] ha[s] seen some diversity but its [sic] not as widely diverse as what [she] see[s] on the brochure" (Participant 200: First-Year, Middle Class, African-American, Christian, Female). Overall, the researchers found that the data gave a generally positive picture of how student experiences with the viewbook relate to students' perceived and experienced cultural validation. However, within these themes, responses varied among students based on their multiple identities, as each student perceived their reality differently.

Discussion

The responses that the research team uncovered build upon existing knowledge surrounding student success, cultural validation, and institutional marketing material. Using the lens of Museus' (2014) CECE model and Tinto's (1993) model of Institutional Departure, the researchers derived meaning from the students' voices, offering timely implications for higher education professionals. For example, when students were asked to name IUPUI's top values, the word 'culture' did not emerge in the top ten responses (see Table 1), although "student" and "diversity" were listed. As Museus' (2014) work has outlined, cultural validation is imperative to college students' success; thus, its lack of perceived presence within the IUPUI viewbook should be noted.

The overwhelmingly positive quantitative results are similar to those uncovered by IUPUI's 2014 campus climate survey, which found that 94.4% of students feel that "IUPUI has a commitment to diversity" and 94.3% believe "IUPUI has a diverse student population" (IUPUI Institutional Research and Decision Support, 2014, p. 1). Overall, students saw their perceptions of the viewbook and lived experiences to be positive and congruent. This is crucial because when students' perceptions and expectations before entering college align with their experiences once on campus, their commitment to success at that institution is strengthened (Museus, 2014; Tinto, 1993). Ultimately, IUPUI's efforts to ensure that "all students have opportunities to develop cross-cultural knowledge" appears effective (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2016a, para. 36).

When analyzing the qualitative responses, it is imperative to note that culture is a complex concept and institutions can interact with students' cultures in a multitude of ways (Museus, 2014; Tierney, 1999). Students reflected this complexity through their open-ended responses. In each theme, there was a small percentage of negative responses. Although these responses were a small fraction of the data, these voices tended to disproportionately represent students of marginalized identities. Highlighting these voices through qualitative means was important as they can easily be overlooked in quantitative data (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Overall, students who saw themselves and their culture reflected in the viewbook reported stronger feelings of cultural validation. These results further strengthen the existing literature linking students' sense of belonging to feelings of cultural validation on campus (Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 1996; Museus, 2014; Tierney, 1999). Students also spoke to campus

involvement. The results indicated that higher levels of involvement correlated with increased feelings of cultural validation and sense of belonging. This finding builds upon the existing literature surrounding student involvement (Astin, 1999; Museus 2014; Tinto, 1993) and exemplifies Astin's (1999) suggestion that student involvement is tightly associated with overall satisfaction with the institution and student success.

Students who mentioned culturally validating groups such as the Multicultural Center and LGBTQ+ Center reflected Museus' (2014) notion that there is an increased likelihood of student success when students have opportunities to "create, maintain, and strengthen epistemological connections to their home communities through spaces that allow them to acquire knowledge about their communities of origin" (p. 210). However, some students felt that specific organizations celebrating different cultures created silos of students or excluded dominant groups of students on campus. The researchers understood this finding through the literature regarding White students' racial identity development, which explains that as students begin to understand their race and the privileges they hold, they often start in a place of naivety (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2011).

It was also clear in the responses that the viewbook's failure to mention specific programs and cultural organizations (e.g., the Multicultural Center) gave students the perception that the viewbook did not validate their culture because the places they believe to be culturally validating on campus were not highlighted in the material. A small percentage of responses also showed that some students felt the viewbook promoted more diversity than what they saw on campus. The notion of including culturally relevant items in marketing materials that go beyond the simple placement of culturally

diverse pictures speaks to the concept of tokenism. As discussed, tokenism has a negative effect on marginalized students' cultural validation and occurs when students are treated as token students for institutional gain (Fletcher, 2012; Pippert et al., 2013). These findings reflect the existing literature and highlight the fact that a disproportionate number of students of color spoke to the notion that the visible diversity in the viewbook did not validate their lived experiences. As such, institutions must display an honest representation of campus diversity in their viewbooks. Institutions must also dive deeper than simple visible representations of diverse cultures to validate students' cultures on campus (Fletcher, 2012; Pippert et al., 2013).

This study's findings again echo those identified by the 2014 IUPUI campus climate survey, which found that a small percentage of students (13.7%) believe "IUPUI has a lot of tension around diversity issues" (IUPUI Institutional Research and Decision Support, 2014, p. 1). The students who identified tension within the campus climate survey were disproportionately students of marginalized racial identities. More specifically, this study helps to inform knowledge regarding cultural validation in Museus' (2014) CECE model as it showed that students of color disproportionately do not feel culturally validated when compared to their White peers. When examining the conclusions above through the lens of Museus' (2014) sixth indicator, implications begin to manifest for higher education professionals. Because cultural validation is so closely tied to student success, it is imperative that professionals work to create more inclusive and culturally engaging campus environments while listening to the voices of those who feel that their cultures are not validated.

Implications

The findings generated by this study have implications for admissions and communication departments within institutions of higher education that produce institutional viewbooks, as well as faculty and staff who interact with students and student programs.

Admissions and Communications

This study was constructed with the knowledge that validating students' cultural backgrounds and identities is highly important. The more students feel welcomed and accepted on their campuses, the more successful they are in terms of grades, retention, etc. (Museus, 2014; Tinto, 1993). This study was also founded on the knowledge that institutional viewbooks are an important tool used to shape students' perceptions before they set foot on campus (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Bauer et al., 2013). It is thus problematic that students within this study did not identify culture as one of the top three values promoted in the IUPUI viewbook. The researchers suggest to admissions and communication departments, specifically those at IUPUI, that the representation of the various cultures that are prevalent on their campuses should be made more visible within the viewbook. Many students noted that the viewbook was void of any mention of certain organizations and clubs of which they were currently a member. Visually and textually highlighting these culturally sensitive organizations would be highly advantageous for IUPUI.

However, when highlighting marginalized populations, individuals, or organizations, it is important that those creating campus promotional materials do not misrepresent these groups by making it appear that they are more prominent on campus than they truly are. Several students of marginalized identities commented that they noticed many racially and religiously diverse students within the viewbooks, but

their experiences on campus did not fully align with what was portrayed in the viewbook. This incongruence between students' lived and perceived environments was regarded negatively. Those creating institutional viewbooks and promotional materials must be sensitive not to misrepresent students of marginalized identities or their cultures while identifying ways to truthfully highlight students' diverse cultures and backgrounds.

Faculty and Staff

Student responses indicated that the primary ways they acknowledge their cultural backgrounds and identities to be validated both through the viewbook and on campus are through co-curricular activities, experiences, and organizations. Only two students noted feelings of cultural validation through curricular activities. It is firmly established in the literature that culturally enriching curricular activities effectively validate students' cultures and increase success and retention (Museus, 2014; Tinto, 1993). As such, it is surprising that students gave little mention to curricular activities. Faculty must be aware of how their students experience cultural validation or lack thereof. Students overwhelmingly stated that they felt culturally validated through their interactions and involvements with various clubs and organizations such as the Multicultural Center, LGBTQ+ Center, and other cultural programs and events. Faculty may wish to capitalize on the ways their students are experiencing campus life outside of the classroom and work in conjunction with the programs and organizations that effectively celebrate and validate students' cultural backgrounds and identities. Additionally, it is important that IUPUI and other institutions of higher education continue to support such culturally validating programs by providing resources, funding, and space on campus.

Limitations

There is a limit to the depth of information that can be collected in a questionnaire, specifically as the concepts of culture and cultural validation are complex and require a certain level of nuance to describe or evaluate in detail. The researchers acknowledge that the research methods, questionnaire, and participant selection may have been impacted by such limitations. Although the researchers took steps to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the study, they acknowledge that the self-created questionnaire is limited to measuring only certain components of students' cultural backgrounds and identities.

Within the questionnaire, the research team made the conscious decision to give very brief examples of components that could constitute an individual's cultural identity and background (e.g., race/ethnicity, religion, and gender). In doing so, the research team acknowledges that students might have only referred to these characteristics when thinking about their cultural backgrounds and identities, not considering other influences. However, the researchers thought it best to provide students with this background information to ensure they were informed about the questions being asked.

To be considerate of students' and instructors' class time, students were allowed only ten to fifteen minutes to complete the questionnaire. This could have affected a few aspects of student responses. For example, the researchers did not include additional measurements for cultural background and identity traits such as disability status or sexual orientation to allow students to complete the questionnaire in a timely manner. Additionally, the research team acknowledges the power

dynamic that can be present in a classroom between a student and a professor. Some responses could have been skewed based on perceived classroom expectations and the nature of the course.

Another acknowledged limitation is that only certain groups of undergraduate students were asked to participate. Working within a tight schedule, the research team chose to survey student groups that were readily available and willing to participate. The questionnaires were also administered by multiple members of the research team at different times, as the task of data collection was shared among all members. Thus, the instructions and style of questionnaire administration may have differed slightly among the various groups surveyed.

Finally, the researchers recognize that the generalizability of the study's findings is somewhat limited by the nature of the study. Since the researchers situated the study within IUPUI and utilized only one of the institution's marketing materials, results may not successfully apply to other universities based on the unique nature of institutional marketing materials and the variety of recruitment methods institutions employ.

Future Research

There are several areas in which to apply future research based on this study. As this research used a survey questionnaire to gather data, findings were limited to Likert-scale and short written responses to two open-ended questions. More in-depth qualitative research could better highlight the ways students construct their cultural backgrounds and identities and delve into how these constructions are either aided or disrupted by IUPUI viewbooks. Individual interviews with students or focus groups could garner more in-depth responses and uncover deeper understandings of how

students' perceptions and lived experiences align with IUPUI viewbooks. Because there was some variation in students' qualitative and quantitative responses in regards to cultural validation, the research team believes additional in-depth, qualitative methods (i.e. individual interviews, focus groups, etc.) would provide more accurate responses.

Additionally, this study could be broadened by including other university marketing materials (i.e. online tours, promotional videos, etc.). As viewbooks are not the only source of information presented to prospective students, it would be beneficial to identify how other marketing tools and techniques affect students' feelings of cultural validation. This study could also be expanded to include both graduate and international students' perspectives. The study's participants were primarily first-year students in their first semester at IUPUI. While the perspectives of first-year students are greatly valued, further research could consider the attitudes and beliefs of more seasoned students who have been on their campus for multiple semesters and have more experiences from which to draw. Given that graduate and international students bring diverse perspectives, backgrounds, and identities to their institutions, it would be interesting to gain further understanding of how, if at all, such students' cultural backgrounds and identities are perceived and validated in relation to campus marketing materials.

As previously noted, this study surveyed roughly 1% of the total IUPUI undergraduate student population. Although surveying this number of students was an intentional effort to give focus to dissenting voices and acknowledge those who do not feel marketing materials are culturally validating, surveying a wider scope of students would allow for more reliable transferability both at IUPUI and other like

institutions. Future research may wish to increase the number of students participating in similar studies to increase both the generalizability of findings and relevance of the study to other institutions.

Conclusion

Utilizing both Tinto's (1993) model of Institutional Departure and Museus' (2014) CECE model, the research team administered a questionnaire to 225 undergraduate students to assess perceptions of cultural validation and the alignment of these perceptions to students lived realities on campus. Students indicated mostly positive responses that their perception of IUPUI viewbooks aligned with their cultural

background and identities. Students also indicated that the IUPUI viewbook largely supported their lived realities on the IUPUI campus as related to their cultural backgrounds and identities. However, there was a small group of students that did not feel their cultural identities and backgrounds were validated in the viewbook and/or in their experiences on campus. Understanding that this study represents roughly one percent of the IUPUI undergraduate population, the research team posits that IUPUI viewbook materials are largely comparable with undergraduate students' perceptions and lived realities on campus and thus mostly validates the majority of students' cultural backgrounds and identities.

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Appendix A

Please view the provided IUPUI campus brochure and answer the following questions. The survey will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes. Please answer the questions openly and honestly. You may stop the survey at any point with no penalization.

The terms *cultural identity* and *cultural background* can refer, **but are not limited to**, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, etc. Please consider the cultural backgrounds and identities with which *you* most identify.

Based on the brochure, what do you think IUPUI values most?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

The brochure made me feel like my cultural background would be valued at IUPUI.

STRONGLY DISAGREE		NEUTRAL		STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5

The brochure made me feel like my cultural identity would be valued at IUPUI.

STRONGLY DISAGREE		NEUTRAL		STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5

What do the brochures tell you about the campus as it relates to your cultural backgrounds and identities?

Continued on Back

In my experience, I believe my cultural background is valued at IUPUI.

STRONGLY DISAGREE		NEUTRAL		STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5

In my experience, I believe my cultural identity is valued at IUPUI

STRONGLY DISAGREE		NEUTRAL		STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5

How does your experience on IUPUI's campus compare to what is displayed on the brochure as it relates to your cultural backgrounds and identities?

You are not obligated to provide any demographic information that you do not feel comfortable with. If you do not wish to answer, leave the question blank.

Which of the following best describes your student status at IUPUI?

- First year
- Second year
- Third year
- Fourth year
- Beyond the Fourth year

Please specify your socioeconomic status.

- Lower Class
- Middle Class
- Upper Class

Please specify your age

- 18-20
- 20-25
- 25-30
- 30-40
- 40+
- Prefer not to answer

Please specify your race _____

Please specify your ethnicity _____

Please specify your gender _____

Please specify your age _____

Please specify what religion, if any, you identify with _____

Appendix B

Table 7

Sample Demographics

<u>Race</u>	<u># of Participants</u>	<u>% of Participants</u>
Caucasian/White	133	59.6%
Black/African American	32	14.3%
Asian	16	7.2%
Hispanic/Latino/a	9	4.0%
Multiracial	6	2.7%
Other/Unspecified	27	12.1%
<u>Gender</u>		
Female	124	56%
Male	84	38%
<u>Year at IUPUI</u>		
First year	183	82%
Second year	20	9%
Third year	6	3%
Fourth year	1	0%
Didn't Identify	9	4%
<u>Religion</u>		
Christianity (Protestant +)	107	48%
Agnostic/Atheist	12	5.4%
Buddhism	3	1.3%
Judaism	2	0.9%
Catholicism	18	8.1%
Hinduism	3	1.3%
Islam	5	2.2%
Sikhism	3	1.3%
Taoism	1	0.4%
Other/Didn't Identify	69	30.9%

Note. N=223. Not all participants responded to the demographic data questions or all the demographic data questions.

Asian American Pacific Islander College Choice: Literature Review

Stephanie T. X. Nguyen

Despite the fact that the Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) population is growing faster both nationally and within higher education, AAPIs are one of the most understudied racial groups in college-choice scholarship (Poon & Byrd, 2013; U.S. Census, 2016a). Guided by Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) three-phase college choice model, this literature review will synthesize AAPI research to inform strategic enrollment managers on what factors influence AAPI students on their college choice, address gaps in AAPI college choice literature, and suggest future directions in research.

Since the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s, access and equity have been central goals of higher education institutions, resulting in an increase of college participation rates from all racial and ethnic groups (Hurtado, Inkelas, Briggs, & Rhee, 1997). The field of enrollment management focuses on creating strategies, practices, and perspectives that can help an institution more effectively achieve its mission and goals, which often include access and equity (Hossler & Kalsbeek, 2013). Strategic enrollment managers, particularly those in the admissions departments, are charged with increasing socioeconomic diversity and balancing complex cross-subsidies between and among different populations of students (Hossler & Kalsbeek, 2013). However, research has shown that there are vast differences, including socioeconomic, cultural, and academic factors, among recruiting major racial groups (Hurtado et al., 1997; Park & Hossler, 2015). Thus, strategic enrollment managers should understand how to recruit different students from ethnic and racial backgrounds, most specifically Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI). This literature review aims to synthesize AAPI research to inform strategic enrollment managers on what factors influence AAPI students on their college choice through

Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) three-phase college choice model, address gaps in AAPI college choice literature, and suggest future directions in research.

Literature Review

The AAPI racial group consists of two distinct categories including Asian Americans and Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander. The U.S. Census Bureau had defined Asian Americans as people with origins in the Far East, Southeast Asian, and the Indian subcontinent (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) include people with origins from Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands (Hoeffel et al., 2012). In total, the U.S. Census has recognized 48 AAPI ethnic groups (CARE, 2008; 2010).

Compared to the total U.S. population, the AAPI population is growing faster both nationally and within higher education (Park & Hossler, 2015). On the national level, the AAPI community is the fastest growing racial group in the U.S., increasing four times faster than other racial groups (U.S. Census, 2016a). Currently, the AAPI population is 20.3 million (U.S. Census, 2016a), constituting about 5.6 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2016b). By 2060, the AAPI racial group is expected to

double to over 47 million (WHIAAPI, 2016). Within this racial group, postsecondary enrollment has increased in the last 20 years (Park & Hossler, 2015), with an estimated 40% of AAPIs enrolled in higher education (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991).

Despite this tremendous growth, AAPIs are one of the most understudied racial groups in college-choice scholarship because of the model minority myth (Teranishi, Ceja, Antonio, Allen, & McDonough 2004; Kim & Gasman, 2011). Created in the 1960s by mainstream American media, the model minority myth generalizes all AAPI students as academic high-achievers and models for other racial groups to emulate (Wu, 2014). In higher education specifically, the model minority myth has perpetuated the assumption that a disproportionate amount of AAPI students enroll in highly selective, four-year institutions, and major in science, technology, engineering, and mathematic fields (CARE, 2010). This assumption has led to two critical issues in college choice literature. First, AAPI have either been coupled with white students due to their aggregate achievement status (Poon & Byrd, 2013) or rarely included in studies on the college choice processes of secondary school students (Teranishi, 2002). Second, the model minority myth has masked staggering academic disparities and college access rates within the AAPI group, yet little research has been done on disaggregated college choice outcomes for different AAPI ethnic groups (Teranishi et al., 2004).

As college-bound student populations are becoming increasingly diverse, there is a need to explain the differences in college choice among various racial and ethnic groups (Kim & Gasman, 2011). Even though the U.S. government defines all 48 AAPI ethnic groups within one racial group, there are more differences than there are

similarities in regards to historical, cultural, and sociological characteristics (CARE, 2008). Thus, continued research is needed to counter the model minority myth and to understand why different AAPI ethnic groups choose to go to college and what characteristics influence them in their college outcomes.

College Choice: Student and Institutional Characteristics

To understand AAPI college-going outcomes, the college choice model is an important foundational framework (Poon & Byrd, 2013). Considerable study has focused on understanding college choice, the processes on how students make decisions about their college opportunities (Teranishi et al., 2004). College choice refers to students' decisions to a) attend higher education, b) attend a four-year institution, c) attend a selective institution, or d) attend a specific institution (Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989). Furthermore, students' college choice factors are rank ordered by their individual priorities and not necessarily by a university's prestige or its status as public versus private (Kim, 2004).

College choice research has identified numerous factors that influence the decision for choosing a specific institution. Han (2014) explained that student college-choice is determined by a combination of factors that are associated with student and institutional characteristics. Student characteristics include academic achievement, aspirations, and expectations (Chapman, 1981; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). Socioeconomic status (SES), particularly family income and parents' educational background, also have a strong influence on the college selection process (Han, 2014). For institutional factors, cost, financial aid, location, and reputation were consistently identified as critical components for student college choice (Han,

2014). Other institutional factors such as major, program, and college environment are relevant to college choice as well (Chapman, 1981).

The College-Choice Conceptual Model

Since the 1960s, researchers have attempted to organize and conceptualize both the student and institutional characteristics into a college choice model using various approaches: economic, sociological, informational, and developmental (Park & Hossler, 2015). Though there are various college choice models (Chapman, 1981; Jackson, 1982; Litten, 1982; Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989), this paper uses Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) three-phase college choice because it successfully synthesizes and simplifies previous theoretical models. As a result, this model has been widely accepted as the foundation of empirical college choice studies (Park & Hossler, 2015).

At the same time, Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) model is complex in that it organizes and sequences both student and institutional factors that impact the decision-making process while considering multiple decision-makers such as students, parents, and school agents in the college choice process (Teranishi et al., 2004). Furthermore, it illustrates students' progress towards an increased understanding of their educational options while giving weight to the interaction between individual and organizational factors that influence students' college choice (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987).

Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) model is comprised of the predisposition, search, and choice phases. In the predisposition phase, students first develop their college aspirations, deciding whether they will go to college or take other status-attainment paths such as work or military service (Hossler &

Gallagher, 1987). If students choose to pursue the college pathway, the search phase begins. This phase is when students seek additional information on institutions, take entrance exams, and prioritize their college list (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). The choice phase is when students apply to several institutions and enroll at a particular college based on personal and institutional characteristics (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). Even though Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) conceptual model is general in nature, it can be used to help understand AAPI students' college choice through student and organizational factors.

Asian American and Pacific Islander College Choice

College-choice theory and models have helped scholars understand the process of college choice and have served as a conceptual framework for empirical studies (Park & Hossler, 2015). To date, a large body of college choice empirical studies have explored multiple factors influencing students' college choice, yet the exploration of sub-populations is a recent phenomenon (Park & Hossler, 2015). Organized by Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) three phases, the following sections of this paper summarize the AAPI college choice research.

Predisposition. Within this developmental phase, certain students' background characteristics, such as SES, parental expectations, and academic ability, have a positive correlation on whether or not they want to continue into higher education (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). SES is one of the most important background characteristics that influence college choice. Parent income has a cumulative effect on students' college enrollment plans that begins in preschool and continues through secondary school (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Desjardins et al., 2006). Earlier

studies have concluded that high SES students across all racial groups are more likely to go to college than low SES students (Peters, 1977; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Carnevale & Rose, 2003). As for AAPI students, Goyette and Xie (1999) found that background characteristics, particularly SES, explained most of the differences in college access rates among various AAPI ethnic groups (Goyette & Xie, 1999). Further, they found that Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students have higher college access rates compared to South Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and other AAPI students (Goyette & Xie, 1999).

While earlier empirical studies mostly compared AAPIs to other racial groups, Teranishi et al. (2004) examined how class and ethnicity impact the college-decision making process specifically among different AAPI ethnic sub-populations. A significant finding from this study was that students from different ethnic and SES backgrounds attended college at differential rates. In general, AAPIs in the highest income brackets were more likely to attend the most selective institutions than students in lower SES (Teranishi et al., 2004). However, college-attendance patterns emerged among ethnic groups controlling for SES. Chinese and Korean Americans had a higher representation in both four-year and selective institutions than Japanese and Southeast Asians from both the lowest and highest income bracket (Teranishi et al., 2004).

The attitudes of parents are also said to influence college choice. Conklin and Dailey (1981) reported a positive linear relationship between the amount of parental encouragement students receive to attend college and their college attendance. Compared to other racial groups, AAPI parents showed higher educational expectations (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Goyette & Xie, 1999) as well as higher

involvement in their children's academic studies (Kim & Gasman, 2011). Higher parental expectations and involvement might explain why AAPI students have higher academic expectations and achievement (Goyette & Xie, 1999). In comparison to other racial groups, AAPI students have the highest expectations for degree attainment (Hurtado et al., 1997). One possible reason that AAPI students and their families place significant emphasis on educational attainment is because college degree attainment is one of the only realistic pathways to upward mobility (Xie & Goyette, 2003; An, 2010).

Along with SES and parental expectations, academic ability has also been shown to positively correlate with college attendance (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). In the predisposition phase, AAPI students are considered best prepared for college because they are more likely to take standardized tests on time and take college-prep coursework in high school (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991; Hurtado et al., 1997). Studies have indicated that because of their college preparation, AAPI students are 39% more likely than students from other racial groups to enter higher education immediately after high school and almost 43% of AAPIs expect to finish college (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991; Hurtado et al., 1997). Further, Kim and Gasman (2011) found that academically successful AAPI students value institutions with good academic reputations, prestige, and the academic and professional opportunities that colleges provide. AAPI students have also been found to consider future employment and transition to graduate programs as important factors when they select a college (Teranishi et al., 2004). Thus, AAPI academic ability is a driving factor when choosing a college (Hurtado et al., 1997).

Compared to all racial groups, AAPIs are believed to have higher academic

abilities (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991; Hsin & Xie, 2014; Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). Yet there are staggering academic disparities between ethnic groups. Though the mean score was found to be higher for AAPI standardized tests, AAPIs were found to have the widest distribution of scores that deviate from the average (CARE, 2008). The variation of test scores among AAPI ethnic groups can be explained by differences in social and cultural capital (CARE, 2008). In terms of high school completion within the AAPI group, Southeast Asian Americans have had a significant high school dropout rate, with 40% of Hmong, 38% of Laotian, and 35% of Cambodian student populations not completing high school (WHIAAPI, 2016a).

Search. During the search phase, high school students begin to seek out more information about colleges and universities. Aside from gathering information through static forms of communication such as print publications and web-surfing, students also rely on a network of external influences such as parents, siblings, peers, teachers, and educators (Kim & Gasman, 2011; Poon & Byrd, 2013; Han, 2014). Additionally, social networks are believed to play significant roles in AAPI college choice processes (Kim & Gasman, 2011). In general, AAPI students valued their parents' thoughts, feelings, and opinions in the college-decision process while still trying to balance their own aspirations (Kim & Gasman, 2011). However, certain AAPI ethnicities rely on different factors in the decision-making process. For instance, Poon and Byrd (2013) found that for East Asian Americans students (Chinese, Korean, and Japanese), college rankings were more important than being close to home. Filipino and Southeast Asian Americans were found to be more heavily influenced by their relatives' views and the proximity of colleges to home (Teranishi et al., 2004).

More so than other AAPI students, Filipino Americans identified that advice from teachers was important to them (Poon & Byrd, 2013).

Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) model assumes that the search phase is when parents and students increasingly interact with higher education institutions. However, given that more than 42% of AAPI college students are first-generation (Saenz et al., 2007), most AAPI students found that their parents' limited knowledge about the American college process and English fluency prevented them from being involved as college-educated parents (Kim & Gasman, 2011; Poon & Byrd, 2013). In these cases, teachers and high school counselors played more significant roles in the college search process (Poon & Byrd, 2013).

Gender also plays a role in the search phase of college choice for AAPIs. Female AAPI students acknowledged that parents played important roles in their college choice while male students were less likely to name their parents as important influences (Poon & Byrd, 2013). Although some AAPI managed their college searches on their own, their decisions were collectively made with their parents and older siblings (Kim & Gasman, 2011). This finding shows that college choice may be more connected to gender and cultural differences than SES (Kim & Gasman, 2011).

Lastly, academic ability was found to play a significant role in determining the number of college applications that a student submits (Hurtado et al., 1997). Generally, students with higher SAT scores and GPAs were more likely to submit more applications across most racial and ethnic groups (Hurtadeo et al., 1997). Hurtadeo et al. (1997) has suggested that because of their higher expectations for college attainment and their academic ability, AAPI students apply to a higher number of colleges

compared to other racial groups (Hurtado et al., 1997). However, despite these high application rates, AAPIs were not found to be significantly more likely than white students to attend their first choice institution (Hurtado et al., 1997).

Choice. This final phase involves admission, college enrollment, and actual attendance. This phase enables students to narrow their college list and to determine which offers to accept and which offers to decline (Hossler & Gallagher, 1986). Once students apply, institutions decide on which students to admit, and the student must decide whether to accept the offer or attend another institution (Desjardin et al., 2006). The enrollment profile for AAPI students was found to be quite diverse and contrary to the stereotypes created by the model minority myth, which assumes AAPI students are only concentrated in selective, private four-year universities (CARE, 2008). In general, statistics have shown that AAPI students enroll primarily in public institutions (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991), and their enrollment is equally distributed in two-year and four-year institutions (CARE, 2008). In 1985, 41.7% of AAPIs were enrolled in a public two-year college while 41.8% were enrolled in a public four-year institution (CARE, 2010). However, AAPI enrollment in public two-year community colleges is said to be increasing at a faster rate than their enrollment in four-year institutions (CARE, 2008). Between 1990 and 2000, AAPI enrollment in public two-year colleges increased by 73.3%, compared to a 42.2% increase in public four-year colleges and a 53.4% increase in private four-year colleges (CARE, 2008). This increase in public two-year enrollment can be partially explained by SES and limited English-language ability within the AAPI community (CARE, 2008).

Certain ethnicities among the AAPI enrollment profile have had greater

representation and greater likelihood in attending specific types of institutions. For example, research has suggested that Chinese and Korean Americans have greater likelihood of being admitted in selective, four-year, private institutions because of certain behaviors and resources (Teranishi et al., 2004; Kim, 2014). Parental income, parental educational levels, and high school achievement are all believed to be strongly associated with a student attending more selective institution (Teranishi et al., 2004; Kim 2014). However, when controlling for SES, studies revealed that Chinese and Korean American students had greater representation in selective, private four-year institutions (Kim 2014; Park & Hossler, 2015). In contrast, some AAPI ethnic groups, especially Filipino and Southeast Asian Americans, were more likely to attend less selective colleges because of personal preferences of living closer to home or for lower tuition (Teranishi et al., 2004; Tran, 2012).

During the choice phase, students also decide whether to apply for financial aid to help defray the costs of attendance (Desjardins et al., 2006). Financial aid, at this phase, makes a difference and is particularly influential for AAPI students (Han, 2014; Kim, 2004; Poon & Byrd, 2013). However, while studies have demonstrated that economic factors have an effect in college enrollment, there is little scholarship on the financial challenges that AAPI students encounter due to the model minority stereotype that assumes that AAPI students do not need financial resources compared to their black and Latino counterparts (Museus & Buenavista, 2016). As a result, evolving literature and empirical studies often have contradictory findings concerning AAPI financial aid, parental contribution, and debt-sensitivity.

Museus and Buenavista (2016) have found that demographic factors such as

ethnicity shape students' access to resources and college opportunities. Specifically, AAPI students and their families demonstrated different perspectives around college financing than other racial groups (Cunningham & Santiago, 2008; Museus & Buenavista, 2016). In his study of the effect of financial aid on college-choice, Kim (2004) compared AAPI students with their white, black, and Latino counterparts. Compared to other racial groups, AAPI students showed a stronger tendency to attend their first choice of colleges when offered financial aid loans or a combination of loans and grants. This effect of financial aid is stronger for AAPI students because of their parents' perception on education. Compared to other parents from racial groups, it has been suggested that AAPI parents place more value on education and consider it a worthwhile investment in their children's future (Kim, 2004). Thus, regardless of family income, AAPI parents are believed to be more willing to take out several loans to pay for college, thereby demonstrating a relative lack of price-sensitivity to college tuition.

Kim's (2004) finding of AAPI parents' willingness to pay for college was verified by a study from the U.S. Department of Education that examined the differences in parents' intention to pay for college expenses by racial identity (Lippman et al., 2008). This study found that, after white students, AAPI students were the second highest racial group who reported that their parents were willing to pay for their college expenses (Lippman et al., 2008). However, certain ethnicities were found to be more price-sensitive than others. Southeast Asian and Filipino students have higher financial concerns than that of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students (Teranishi et. al, 2004). Reasons for this ethnic difference can be connected to SES and rates of poverty between the ethnic groups.

More recent studies have contrasted Kim's (2004) finding on AAPI students' ability to attend their first-choice institution. In a study on financial barriers for AAPI college access, Museus and Buenavista (2016) found that 55% of AAPI student respondents were unable to attend their institution of choice. Approximately 70% of these respondents reported that their choice of institutions was limited by some way of financial constraints (Museus & Buenavista, 2016). Thus, these studies have suggested that regardless of income quartile, attendance patterns, and institutional types, AAPI students and their parents are price-sensitive and loan-averse (Cunningham & Santiago, 2008; Museus & Buenavista, 2016). Even if they had substantial unmet financial need, AAPI students had the lowest rates of borrowing than their white, black, and Latino counterparts (Cunningham & Santiago, 2008). Certain characteristics and cultural contexts might account for this higher rate of debt aversion, as AAPI parents reported a negative perception to debt and would often use alternative financing methods to minimize college debt (Cunningham & Santiago, 2008). For example, a common practice was for AAPI families to band together to financially support a student in college (Cunningham & Santiago, 2008). Other strategies that AAPI families commonly used to minimize college expenses included attending a lower cost institution, living with parents rather than on-campus, and working while in college (Cunningham & Santiago, 2008; Museus & Buenavista, 2016).

One of the largest barriers to college access and financial aid is the lack of information for the AAPI group. Compared to other racial groups, AAPI students were the second highest, after white students, to report that their parents had enough information about financial aid (Lippman et al., 2008). However, when disaggregating

by SES, a large segment of AAPI students, particularly historically lower income, reported not receiving adequate or reliable information and support about financial aid and college options in high school (Museus & Buenavista, 2016). For example, many AAPI students were unaware that grants and scholarships do not have to be paid back. This lack of understanding on the college application and financial aid process can be attributed to a number of factors, including lack of access to high-quality and fast technology, overly complex language used in college and financial aid applications, and their parents' limited English proficiency and understanding of the American college process (Museus & Buenavista, 2016).

Despite these racially comparative studies, the conflicting findings on AAPI perception on financial aid reveal two issues. First, AAPI students and their families' lives are far more complex than any racial stereotype suggests, and their financial decisions are interlaced with demographic, cultural, and structural factors. Second, their pathways to college enrollment are filled with many financial barriers, which indicates a need for more focused studies within this area.

Future Directions on AAPI College Choice Research

With decades of research, the models of student choice have become richer in specification (Desjardin et al., 2006). College-choice models have been created to predict student behavior in choosing a particular school as a function of students' individual characteristics, perceptions, and preferences about the school (Desjardins et al., 2006). However, one of the most prevalent assumptions of Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) model is that the college search process is an individual endeavor rather than a collective decision. This

widely-accepted model thus reinforces the notion that students who are academically capable are also engaged and self-motivated to seek information about college. However, as Kim and Gasman (2011) have claimed, Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) model does not examine college choice processes outside the dominant culture and fails to consider cultural and familial influences. For example, Freeman's (2005) college-choice model reflected the important influences of family and culture through his study of African Americans' college-choice process (Kim & Gasman, 2011). Similar to their black peers, AAPI students also demonstrated some reliance on a network of external influences such as parents, siblings, peers, teachers, and educators (Teranishi et al., 2004; Kim & Gasman, 2011; Poon & Byrd, 2013; Han, 2014). Thus, future research on AAPI college choice should expand in theorizing and including cultural components within different racial groups and in examining the influence of students' family, peers, friends, and high school educators (Hurtado et al., 1997).

Another recommendation is the disaggregation of the AAPI racial group in the college choice scholarship (Teranishi et al., 2004; Kim & Gasman, 2011). The lack of disaggregated data is a key civil rights issue for the AAPI community because it prevents federal, state, and local governments from understanding the civil and social needs of specific AAPI communities (CARE 2008; 2010; WHIAAPI, 2016b). Most college choice studies have examined factors of choice between the four major racial groups: African American, Latino, Asians, and white (Peters, 1977; Hurtado et al., 1997; Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Carnevale & Rose, 2003). Yet, all of these studies have treated the AAPI group as monolithic by assuming shared ethnic backgrounds and decision-making

processes. In the few studies that have examined ethnic differences within the AAPI group, subtle but important nuances between ethnicities were found. For instance, in a study examining the influence of social networks and SES, Southeast Asians and Filipinos were found to be more likely to remain closer to home because of family and finances while East Asian Americans were more likely to go further for college (Teranishi et al., 2004; Poon & Byrd, 2013).

Financial aid is also a field that needs disaggregated AAPI data, especially since cost is a major factor in AAPI college choice. Overall, the research has suggested that AAPIs are price-sensitive and loan-averse, but there is still evidence that each ethnicity responds to cost differently (Teranishi et al., 2004; Cunningham & Santiago, 2008). Additional studies are needed to explain why certain ethnicities respond to college costs differently, specifically in relation to SES, parental college attainment, and social network. In addition, research has revealed that many AAPI students, especially from historically underserved ethnic groups and lower SES, face invisible financial aid barriers to college access due to complex financial aid applications, lack of access to high-quality and fast technology, and hindered parental involvement because English is not spoken at home (Museus & Bonavista, 2016). Yet research also needs to address how early phases of college awareness and financial aid is developed and whether results hold across various AAPI ethnicities (Hurtado et al., 1997).

Along with the call for disaggregated data for AAPI ethnicities, all available empirical studies examining race and ethnicity have excluded NHPI students, who, as a group, have historically had one of the lowest rates of college-attainment compared to other AAPI ethnicities

(WHIAAPI, 2016b). Only 14% of Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders have at least a bachelor's degree, compared to 49% of the total AAPI population (WHIAAPI, 2016a). Excluding NHPI students from the discussion of college access raises the issue of invisibility of an entire ethnicity within the existing AAPI scholarship. Failing to examine NHPI college choice continues to mask the significant disparities in college attainment and access within a large racial group (CARE, 2008). Furthermore, their exclusion from scholarship prevents delivery of appropriate educational, financial, and academic policies and programs to ensure equitable access to college (CARE, 2010).

Finally, additional research is needed on AAPI college choice into two-year institutions. With 47.3% of all AAPI college students enrolled in community colleges, more data is needed to understand why they chose to attend a two-year versus a four-year institution (CARE, 2010; Kim & Gasman, 2011). Also, with evidence that different ethnicities demonstrate different levels of academic achievement, research should examine where academically weaker AAPI students go (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991). Are they more likely to attend four-year, two-year, for-profit or vocational institutions? Once AAPI students are enrolled in a post-secondary institution, Kim and Gasman (2011) have called for more research in the AAPI experiences at various higher education institutions such as public and private universities, small liberal arts colleges, online education programs, and for-profit organizations to explore possible differences in the college-choice processes of students whose experiences vary in terms of secondary school education, family structures, and college and career aspirations.

Conclusion

Overall, research has moved towards understanding AAPI college choice as a whole and in comparison to the four other racial groups. Moreover, studies have examined the vast racial differences in terms of SES, academic ability, parental encouragement, and loan-to-debt aversion. In the college choice scholarship, Teranishi et al. (2004) was the only study found that attempted to disaggregate data among the different AAPI ethnicities. Since then, a few empirical studies have examined the college choice process of individual ethnicities (Kim, 2011; Kim, 2014; Tran, 2012), and some government and non-profit reports have disaggregated AAPI post-secondary enrollment trends (CARE 2008, 2010; Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). These recent studies signify a small shift towards

disaggregating data for AAPI ethnicities. However, AAPI college choice scholarship is a field that still represents the AAPI population through an aggregated lens. With the diversification of college-bound students and enrollment decisions relying more on data, it is necessary to understand the vast differences in immigration history, ethnicities, language complexities, and SES backgrounds of the AAPI population and how it affects college choice (CARE, 2010). Because the number of AAPI college enrollment is projected to increase dramatically in the next 20 years, strategic enrollment managers need accurate, disaggregated data that present real assets, needs, and challenges to recruit and retain AAPI students (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991; CARE 2010).

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Life in the ‘Kelley Bubble’: Examining Help-Seeking

Behaviors Among Kelley Men

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This qualitative study explored help-seeking behaviors among undergraduate men in the Kelley School of Business at Indiana University. Data were collected through semi-structured individual interviews with nine participants. Through a narrative inquiry and intersectional feminist framework, results were categorized into three overarching themes: dominant narratives of Kelley, engagement in help-seeking behaviors, and perceptions of help seeking. Key findings reveal that while men in Kelley recognize the resources available to them, they prefer to be independent and engage in informal help-seeking behaviors. Recommendations for de-stigmatizing help seeking among men in Kelley are provided.

At Indiana University Bloomington (IUB), it would be challenging to find a student, professor, or community member who is unfamiliar with the Kelley School of Business (Kelley) and its prestige not only on campus, but nationwide. Ranked fourth in the nation by Bloomberg Businessweek with more than 6,000 undergraduate students enrolled, Kelley strives to “transform the lives of students, organizations, and society through management education and research” (Indiana University, 2017; Indiana University, 2016a). Given that this mission statement explicitly centers students and implicitly alludes to offering students a holistic education, it is interesting to note that the “About Us” webpage does not provide information about the resources or services available to support students throughout their time in Kelley, with the exception of Kelley’s career services (Indiana University, 2016a). Little mention of such support services on the website is notable because it may reflect an environment in which students in Kelley are not encouraged to seek help.

Indeed, as students matriculate into college, the onus is largely on them to ask for help. Help-seeking behaviors, defined as going out of one’s way to request assistance from others (Rickwood, Deane, Wilson, & Ciarrochi, 2005), can have a significant influence on a student’s experience during their undergraduate career. In higher education settings, help seeking manifests itself in a myriad of ways, ranging from asking for further clarification on a difficult concept in class to pursuing counseling services on campus (Blanco, Okuda, Wright, Hasin, Grant, Liu, & Olfson, 2008; Winograd & Rust, 2014). Despite research on the benefits of help-seeking behaviors, college students may not engage in such behaviors due to the misconception that asking for assistance is a sign of weakness. In particular, studies have shown that male students are especially unlikely to engage in help-seeking behaviors in fear of being emasculated or perceived as incompetent (Boldero & Fallon, 1995; Jennings, Cheung, Britt, Goguen, Jeffirs, Peasley, & Lee, 2015; Rickwood et al., 2005).

Given the high population of men in Kelley (Indiana University, 2016b) and

Kelley's overall reputation, whether and to what extent self-identifying men in Kelley engage in help-seeking behaviors was of interest to the research team. As such, this study explored the engagement and perceptions of help-seeking behaviors among self-identifying men in Kelley as well as the constructed environment that influences such behaviors. Specifically, the researchers aimed to examine the influence of masculinity in promoting or discouraging help-seeking behaviors in Kelley. The following questions guided this study:

1. In what ways do men in Kelley engage in help-seeking behaviors?
2. What are the dominant perceptions of help seeking among men in Kelley?
 - a. How do these perceptions reflect the constructed environment of Kelley?

By developing a greater understanding of help-seeking behaviors among self-identifying men in Kelley and the impact of the Kelley's environment on their behaviors, the researchers hope that reformed support strategies can be established for students, ultimately dismantling barriers to and assumptions about utilizing help seeking resources.

Literature Review

Help-Seeking Behaviors

Rickwood et al. (2005) defined help seeking as "the behaviour of actively seeking help from other people" (p. 4), noting further that help seeking varies in formality since informal help seeking involves guidance from friends or family, while formal help seeking involves assistance from a trained professional. The extant literature has identified factors that influence help-seeking behaviors, although scholars often disagree about which factors most influence help seeking. While some

studies have established that help seeking is a reasoned and intentional decision-making process (Ajzen, 1991; Hess & Tracey, 2013), others have suggested that help-seeking behaviors are more heavily influenced by environmental factors, such as peer stigma (Jennings et al., 2015), cultural variety in perceptions of help seeking (Barletta & Kobayashi, 2007; Muna Abdullah, 2014), and prior experiences with help seeking, particularly counseling (Kahn & Williams, 2003). Despite the limited agreement on the factors that influence help seeking overall, research specific to the higher education environment has demonstrated that help seeking influences the student experience.

Help Seeking in Higher Education

Much of the literature regarding help-seeking behaviors in higher education has examined psychological or mental health related help seeking among college students. This topic is significant as nearly half of college-aged students meet the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)* criteria for a psychiatric disorder, according to the 2001-2002 National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions (NESARC) (Blanco et al., 2008). However, college students were found to be significantly less likely than their non-college attending peers to have sought treatment for any disorder in the preceding year (Blanco et al., 2008). Resistance to mental health help-seeking behaviors among college students has been attributed to factors such as mental health stigma (Li, Dorstyn, & Denson, 2014; Mendoza, Masuda, & Swartout, 2015), anticipated risk (Li et al., 2014), and low self-efficacy (Mesidor & Sly, 2014).

Academic help seeking is another focus area within the help seeking in higher education literature. One study found that male students who felt a low sense of

belonging in the university environment were more likely to perceive academic help seeking as representative of personal inferiority or inadequacy, creating a self-stigma around help seeking (Winograd & Rust, 2014). Additionally, Viandan (2009) found that men tended to avoid seeking academic assistance from faculty as a result of social pressure to succeed independently, as they did not perceive that their peers needed academic assistance. Aversion to academic help seeking is detrimental to retention and engagement and is also compounded by the fact that academically struggling students are the least likely to seek help (Karabenick & Knapp, 1988).

Gender is also an important consideration in relation to help seeking in higher education. Existing research has indicated that, among young people, men are less likely than women to engage in help-seeking behaviors (Boldero & Fallon, 1995; Rickwood et al., 2005). One study concluded that male students “associate academic help seeking with personal feelings of inadequacy and inferiority to a greater extent than female students” (Winograd & Rust, 2014, p. 32). Similarly, in their study about the impact of masculinity on academic help seeking tendencies amongst college men, Wimer & Levant (2011) suggested that “conformity to masculine norms predicted avoidance of academic help seeking” (p. 266), indicating that men who are socialized in traditional masculine norms are less likely to seek help in the college setting. Addressing the differences in approach and likelihood of college men to seek help may assist them in coping with academic challenges (Wimer & Levant, 2011).

Masculinity and Help Seeking Behaviors

For the purpose of this study, the term masculinity was operationalized as a socially constructed and “constantly

changing collection of meanings that we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with each other, and with our world” (Kimmel, 2004, p. 82). Scholars have asserted that the conceptualization of maleness and masculinity in the U.S. implies toughness, independence, dismissal of any need of help, displays of aggressive behavior and physical dominance, denial of weakness or vulnerability, and a ceaseless interest in sex (Courtenay, 2000; Garfield, Isacco, & Rogers, 2008).

According to Addis and Mahalik (2003), conforming to these traditional masculine norms prevents men from engaging in help-seeking behaviors. Stanton and Courtenay (2003) have identified that men respond to stress in unhealthy ways, such as avoidant coping strategies. It has also been suggested that men are less likely to find informal support from friends, family members, and community resources (Courtenay, 2000). Scholars have speculated further that the stigmas surrounding help seeking and help referring serve as a deterrent for men seeking support (Vogel, Wester, Hammer, & Downing-Matibag, 2014). Though health concerns, both physical and mental, are a growing concern for men in the U.S., it has been found that the likelihood of men engaging in help seeking still remains slim (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). These attitudes towards help seeking influenced the chosen framework of this study.

Conceptual Framework

This study utilized an intersectional feminist framework. The researchers recognized that men inherently hold privilege through their maleness, and this understanding influenced the decision to approach the study with a feminist framework. At its core, the feminist lens employed in this study acknowledges that men inherently have more privilege than

women (hooks, 2000). For the purpose of this study, the research team defined feminism through the work of author bell hooks (2000):

Simply put, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression. [...] Practically, it is a definition which implies that all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult. It is also broad enough to include an understanding of systemic institutionalized sexism. As a definition it is open-ended. To understand feminism it implies one has to necessarily understand sexism. (p. 13)

The experiences of the undergraduate men highlighted in the study may not be comparable to those of students with other identities. For this reason, the researchers layered intersectionality into their feminist framework. Through intersectionality, it is acknowledged that “oppressions, and movements to combat them, are not apportioned singularly; of necessity, organizations as well as individuals are multiply positioned in regard to social relations of power and injustice” (Deely, 2010, p. 578). It is important to note that this is based on the socially constructed understanding of what it means to be a man, which may look different for other identities such as queer or transgender men.

In addition to framing the ways that the data was perceived, interpreted, and reported, the conceptual framework allowed the researchers to anticipate emergent themes in the data. Based on personal experiences, anecdotal evidence, and the foundational principles of an intersectional feminist perspective, the researchers anticipated the following: First, that self-identifying men in Kelley will feel a need to

protect or defend their gender performance, given that Kelley is a space dominated by men; and second, that themes of hypermasculinity within participants’ narratives would be discovered.

Narrative Inquiry: A Methodological Approach

As a methodological approach, narrative inquiry positions narratives—defined loosely as constructions or articulations of knowledge—as its primary research tool for gathering and analyzing qualitative data (Leggo, 2008). Connelly and Clandinin (1990) have cautioned that researchers conducting narrative inquiries must first consider their “negotiation of entry” (p. 3), the figurative space in which the researchers acknowledge their relationship to the narratives shared by participants in a particular environment. The researchers acknowledged that a common thread among their narratives is the perception that Kelley is a highly-competitive and hypermasculine environment that is not necessarily conducive to promoting help-seeking behaviors. This commonality served as the researchers’ “negotiation of entry” into this study (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 3). Through its layering of narrative inquiry and an intersectional feminist lens, this study sought to uncover themes that reflected participants’ engagement in and perceptions of help-seeking behaviors.

Methods

Sampling

For this approved study, participants were recruited using a purposeful sampling technique. Each researcher contacted one to three undergraduate students that they knew through personal or professional arenas to gauge initial interest. To be eligible for participation in the study, students had to

meet the following requirements: (1) identify as a man, (2) be enrolled as a student in the Kelley School of Business, (3) have completed at least one year of college-level academic coursework, and (4) be at least 18 years of age. All potential

participants received a recruitment email explaining the study and requesting their participation. As seen in Table 1, a total of nine participants agreed to participate in the study.

Table 1

<i>Participant Information</i>			
<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Class Standing</u>	<u>Major</u>	<u>Race or Ethnicity*</u>
Jack	Junior	Finance/Technology Management	White, Caucasian
Daniel	Senior	Management/Sustainable Business	Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese
Gabriel	Sophomore	Finance/Real Estate	Black, American
Colin	Sophomore	Undecided [Within Kelley]	White
Derek	Senior	Professional Sales	Black, African American
John	Sophomore	Finance/Accounting	White, Caucasian
T	Junior	Finance/Economic Consulting/Business Analytics	White
Jason	Junior	Entrepreneurship/Marketing/Sales	Caucasian, Armenian
Tim	Sophomore	Business Economics/Public Policy Analysis	White

*Terms in table are terms students used to self-identify

Data Collection

Data for this study were collected through semi-structured interviews (for questions, see Appendix). This method was chosen to receive insight into the experiences of participants, as well as how they made and continue to make meaning out of those experiences. The interviews were powerful because they allowed participants to use their own language to describe and contextualize their experiences (Seidman, 2006). To keep the interviews personal, only two researchers were present per interview, with one acting as the primary interviewer and the other as a note-taker. When scheduling interviews, the team ensured that the interviewers that would be present had not previously met the student. The interviews were audio recorded and then manually transcribed prior to the coding process.

Data Analysis

Raw data from the interview transcripts were read and coded by two separate research team members. The first coder identified emergent themes based on phrases they found to be salient. The second coder reviewed the transcript, confirmed these themes, and added additional themes that emerged in their reading of the transcript. Neither coder had been present for the interview and, therefore, had no preconceived notions about the transcripts or participants when coding. Once all of the interviews had been coded, the research team came together, discussed the themes, and decided how to interpret the data.

Throughout the data analysis process, efforts were made to ensure trustworthiness. For instance, discrepancies between the first and second round coders were addressed among the researchers. When differing interpretations of the data arose, the team

turned to relevant literature and grounded their analyses in the research. In addition, member checks were conducted by providing participants with a list of emergent themes following data analysis. Allowing participants to analyze and provide feedback on the findings was a conscious effort made to enhance trustworthiness.

Researcher positionalities. The researchers recognized that their individual narratives, formed through experiences and identities, shaped their interpretation of the data. Of the six researchers, one identifies as an African American woman, three as White women, and two as White men. These identities were taken into consideration given the researchers' selected intersectional feminist lens and interest in understanding how masculinity influences help-seeking behaviors. By naming positionalities and preexisting narratives explicitly, the researchers were able to better understand and make meaning of the data.

Results

Dominant Narratives of Kelley

The Kelley bubble. Each of the participants alluded to feeling that Kelley is distinct from other schools at IUB. When asked to reflect on their experiences in Kelley and utilization of help seeking resources on campus, four of the nine participants referenced the "Kelley Bubble." This term, which participants explained is commonly used among students at IUB, refers to the notion that Kelley is a self-contained environment marked by its emphasis on professionalism, its competitive environment, and its academic rigor. Some participants spoke positively of Kelley's apparent separation from IUB, characterizing it as a "microcosm of the real world" (Colin), a professional environment with an enormous amount of resources

(Derek), and a space of collaboration (T). As evidenced by their repeated use of phrases such as "other schools," "outside Kelley," and "non-Kelley"—and also by their difficulty in recalling campus resources outside of Kelley—it was clear that participants experience Kelley as an insulated environment. Jason admitted that he feels very disconnected from campus as a Kelley student, adding that "people are very proud to be in Kelley and it's like it's almost as if that's your school." Likewise, Gabriel expressed concern that, unless they actively seek out additional opportunities, Kelley students often get "engulfed in the Kelley Bubble" since professors and staff in Kelley tend to only promote organizations and events that are Kelley specific.

Kelley bots. In reference to the Kelley Bubble, participants described a model of success within Kelley defined by a specific appearance and set of behaviors that follow a prescribed formula. Some participants described individuals who embody this formula as a "Kelley Bot." This term suggests that there is a robotic sense to being successful as a Kelley student, which is marked by conformity. Derek relayed the commonly held perception that Kelley men "have everything figured out," while Jason explained that "the goal is just to get a job," particularly with one of the "Big Four" accounting firms. Daniel also described the expectations of a successful Kelley student as being able to portray that they "have their lives together" and explained that there is an unspoken expectation that Kelley students can push through challenges on their own to maintain this image. Tim elaborated on this image, describing the Kelley Bot as "unnecessarily polished" and "always in presentation mode." While only three participants (Gabriel, Tim, and Jack) directly used the term "Kelley Bot" or "Kelley Robot," this theme emerged in

many descriptions of successful Kelley students.

The narratives shared regarding the Kelley Bot related to not only behavior, but also physical appearance. Colin shared that, within his Kelley classes, “everyone is relatively clean cut... everyone’s hair is pretty much in line in a basic, generic style.” Colin elaborated that an appearance inconsistent with the Kelley Bot image would draw unwanted, negative attention from professors in Kelley. Daniel also reflected on his own, more casual, appearance as breaking the mold of expectations within Kelley, as he perceived himself as being more approachable when compared to his peers who are “all dressed up in suits.” The physical descriptions of Kelley Bots revealed that the expectations for conformity are perceived not only by students, but also by others in the Kelley community. Within the Kelley Bubble, the expectation that men in Kelley become Kelley Bots was a defining feature of the ways that participants described their peers.

Masculinity in Kelley. An overarching pattern in participant interviews was how masculinity and hypermasculine tendencies show up within Kelley. While participants had no trouble explaining the “Kelley Bot” in reference to other students, they had a difficult time parsing out gendered experiences on a personal level. Many participants had trouble relaying their thoughts about what it meant to be a man in Kelley, implying that they had not engaged in much self-reflection about the ways in which gender influences their experiences within the business school. However, participants revealed that they often interpreted their leadership roles as examples of stereotypically masculine behaviors. Specifically, John presented an example of his own masculinity when working with other leaders in the Investment Banking Club: “it’s me and two other guys

and there have been sometimes that I’ve had to push for my idea because I thought it was the best one, but I kinda had to do that. Cause I thought it would be best for the whole club.” Another example of leadership and masculinity being intertwined came from Daniel, who points to a leadership requirement to fulfill what it means to be a man in Kelley.

These masculine norms and ways of being may prevent men within Kelley from engaging in help-seeking behaviors when they find something to be challenging. Many men who were interviewed stated that they did not seek out help or campus resources when they were struggling with a class or their own mental health. Certain norms, such as that men should be able to handle difficult situations on their own and should be able to reach a resolution independently, are at play within Kelley.

Engagement in Help-Seeking Behaviors

Career advising. When asked about resources that are popular for Kelley students, every participant referenced the Undergraduate Career Services Office (UCSO), a career advising center in the Kelley School of Business, and some participants even mentioned this as the first resource that resonated with them. Derek described the popularity of the UCSO, explaining, “many people will turn to that office for on-campus interviews, job seeking advice, internship seeking advice, whatever career aspect they’re looking at.” Several students mentioned that internships and job placement following graduation are important to success as a Kelley student and in the construction of the “Kelley Bot”; their heavy use of the UCSO supports and reinforces the importance of these aspects of the Kelley experience.

Academic advising. In addition to career advising, seven out of nine participants referred to academic advising

services as a significant resource for Kelley students. Participants reflected academic excellence as being critical to success in Kelley, supporting the notion that academic advising is a popular resource. As a well-known and established resource, academic advising seems to be a resource that participants were comfortable using regularly. Yet, as Gabriel put it, “I really enjoy my academic advisor so I can go in there once a month maybe, just to talk to them. But I never really use him for academics.” Gabriel’s experience with academic advising highlights an important pattern of students using resources in Kelley for reasons other than their intended purpose.

Familial support. Participants also expressed that they leaned toward familial support during times of difficulty. Of the nine participants, seven expressed that they reached out to family members, specifically their parents, when having a difficult experience. Participants had two main reasons for why they chose to use family members as a resource. First, participants expressed admiration for their parents who had been successful in business, with six being business professionals, two of whom are Kelley graduates. Second, participants admired their parents’ ability to remain in business while retaining their morals. This theme was especially salient when participants talked about their mothers. Daniel named his mother as a role model for her success as an entrepreneur who donates most of her earnings to local non-profits. While Tim mentioned both of his parents as sources of support, he specifically mentioned the admirable qualities of his mother. Tim admired that while his mother was a successful professional, she was willing to place her career on hold to care for her family.

Professor assistance. All participants mentioned meeting with professors as a

form of help seeking in Kelley. However, only three participants indicated that they have met with professors for help with academic concerns, such as not understanding course material or an assignment. Despite identifying Kelley professors as resources, most participants admitted that when they visited during office hours, it was with the intent of obtaining career advice and networking. For example, Colin expressed that Kelley professors are “the people you look like and they’re so impressive and I want them to like me.” In contrast, two participants shared that meeting with professors can be intimidating. This intimidation, in Jack’s words, is because “they’re a university professor and you’re a student [and] maybe they’re more intelligent than you.” While participants spoke highly of their professors, Derek shared that he wishes professors would be more involved with “how students are doing on their mental well-being,” suggesting that faculty support is an area needing improvement.

Peer support. Peers proved to be a strong source of support. Nearly all participants indicated that they were more comfortable seeking help or support from their peers than from professors or other formal resources within Kelley or the larger IUB campus. Two participants spoke of being tutored by their friends rather than by formal campus resources; one student even stated that he had cancelled his scheduled tutoring appointment to be tutored by a peer instead. Additionally, upperclassmen advised participants on what classes to take, how to maximize their success, and how to connect with professionals and alumni. Not all peer resources were informal, however, as multiple participants mentioned using the peer tutoring service offered by Kelley. Although this resource provided by IUB, it is perceived as more accessible because it is between peers.

Perceptions of Help Seeking

Independence is key. It was clear that the participants valued having a strong sense of independence. When asked who they rely on in difficult times, Colin responded, “No one. I don’t know, if it’s my problem, it’s my problem. I don’t need anyone else.” Seeking help was perceived as undermining the students’ sense of independence. By admitting that they cannot persist on their own—that they must lean on others to succeed—the Kelley man perceives that he risks compromising his identity as a man and as a professional. Gabriel discussed this behavior as a façade, advocating for a mental health resource within Kelley:

[The Kelley image] is that business students are committed and that they don’t need help. They can do things on their own... They are very hard and can do [everything] by themselves, which is not true, because at the end of the day we are people who have emotions.

This mentality that students should manage their own mental health concerns reflected the overarching theme that independence is highly valued, and seeking help compromises one’s ability to maintain the Kelley image.

Networking as help seeking. Although help seeking may be stigmatized among Kelley men, seeking support under the guise of networking was less taboo among the participants. Most of the participants discussed reaching out to peers, teaching assistants, and professors on a regular basis. Several students discussed reaching out to their alumni network as well. Although the researchers identify these behaviors as help seeking, Kelley men do not necessarily see it that way. Instead, they see themselves as leveraging their network. This behavior is not only encouraged in Kelley, but carefully

crafted and polished throughout a student’s academic career. In these instances, Kelley men do not have to sacrifice their sense of professionalism and masculinity, as networking aligns with both.

Discussion

Throughout the nine interviews, it became clear that there was incongruence between the behaviors men in Kelley were exhibiting and perceptions of their experiences. With the concept of the “Kelley Bot,” and the masculine norms that came with this concept, participants were easily able to explain how gender influenced the behavior of their peers. However, they had a harder time when they were asked to talk about how their gender influenced their personal experiences as a Kelley student. Participants often saw these two concepts as separate; they observed Kelley Bots in the Kelley atmosphere but did not see themselves reflected in these behaviors, even when they did exhibit these behaviors.

Another point of incongruence was how men perceived help seeking versus how they engaged in help seeking. The perception was that independence was pivotal to success within Kelley and that men should be able to face challenges independently. However, all participants reported engaging in multiple forms of help seeking. It became clear that while participants were seeking assistance, doing so was stigmatized. This theme is consistent with Vianden’s (2009) finding that “[a] stigma seemed to be associated with interacting with faculty outside of class and participants did not want to engage in behaviors perceived by their peers as socially unacceptable” (p. 236). Boldero & Fallon (1995) and Rickwood et al. (2005) also corroborate these findings in their assertions that men are less likely than women to seek assistance.

Students are being provided with Kelley resources but are not taking advantage of them. Several participants expressed that they had failed courses because they had not reached out for help, which is consistent with literature that suggests that academic help seeking can be perceived as representing inferiority or inadequacy (Winograd & Rust, 2014). The researchers would assert that this pattern is a component of the overall environment of Kelley. The research team suspects that in this constructed environment, where students are preparing to enter a masculine field, students feel influenced to present themselves as hypermasculine to appear as a stronger leader or more competitive.

Limitations

The study was not without limitations. The accelerated timeline and circumstances limited the research team's ability to interview a larger group of students. This small sample size prevented the researchers from gaining insight into the full breadth of experiences among men in Kelly. Data collection occurred during I-CORE, a rigorous academic experience for Kelley students; because many potential participants indicated that they did not have time to participate in an interview due to I-CORE, the sample size was limited and potentially skewed. Due to these factors, the group of participants could have been a more accurate reflection and microcosm of the demographics of Kelley.

As graduate students, the research team only had access to certain populations of students. The recruiting was centered in groups that research team members advised or the departments that they worked within. Any students that were asked to participate, then, were involved in groups or positions outside of Kelley. As shown through the interviews, students that are engaged outside

of the "Kelley Bubble" are relatively rare; the experiences that were examined may have been skewed based on the experiences of the participants.

The nine students who were interviewed were high-achieving. Most participants were chosen for merit scholarships, honors programs, or to participate in the Kelley Living-Learning Center, to name a few examples. These opportunities allowed them access to a variety of resources and networks that increased their likelihood of success. Thus, the participants in this study might have been more aware of the resources available relative to their peers.

The method of data collection was another potential limitation. Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to describe their experiences in their own words and allowed the interviewers to ask follow-up questions for clarification or elaboration purposes. Despite this strength, Kelley students are trained to excel in interview settings, as reflected in their heavy use of the UCSO. It was evident that some students went into 'interview mode' during the interviews; this pressure to always be 'on' may have prevented some from being completely honest throughout the interview. The interviewers had to remind multiple participants that none of the researchers were associated with Kelley, and that their responses would remain anonymous.

It should also be noted that the Kelley culture is obvious to those within Kelley, but not to those outside of it. The researchers' lack of insider knowledge of Kelley may have influenced what they selected as salient or not throughout the data coding and analysis processes. It is possible that the team may have overlooked critical information without recognizing it as such. However, as outsiders of Kelley, the researchers were able to be more objective when interpreting participant narratives.

Implications

As a result of this study, the research team identified multiple implications for student affairs professionals and faculty within Kelley. Several participants mentioned using resources such as the UCSO in Kelley as a part of their curriculum. Professors who require their students to visit these offices for exercises such as resume critiques and mock interviews are doing so to make sure that their students are ready to be competitive in the workforce. The researchers hypothesized that due to the stigma surrounding help seeking, particularly for men (Vianden, 2009), as well as the gender dynamic of being a man in Kelley, many students would not have sought out these resources independent of an academic requirement. More professors should incorporate these types of interactive requirements in their classes to familiarize students with resources and normalize help seeking.

Although not directly addressed by the research questions, overall well-being was a theme that emerged as well. Both Tim and Gabriel stated in their interviews that there were times in which they should have sought help from Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) on campus when they felt stressed, overwhelmed, or otherwise in need of assistance. Unfortunately, both students told interviewers that they had not pursued this assistance. None of the seven other participants disclosed using CAPS either, despite some naming it as a campus resource. Multiple participants shared with interviewers that Kelley had recently declined a proposal from CAPS to have an on-site location within Kelley. The research team strongly urges reconsideration of this proposal, as both Tim and Gabriel explicitly said that they likely would have gone to CAPS had it been in Kelley. Other

participants, including Daniel and Derek, shared their desire for Kelley to be more focused on the holistic development of their students.

The third implication for this study is the need for a stronger cultural competence focus within Kelley. Half of the participants relayed the stereotype that Kelley students are largely unaware of those unlike them. Additionally, participants who hold marginalized identities, such as Gabriel and T, indicated that the Kelley environment is not always welcoming. The team recommends that Kelley, particularly members of the faculty, incorporate more cross-cultural and identity awareness topics and inclusion within their courses. This will undoubtedly serve Kelley students well following graduation and should therefore be a focus within the curriculum. It is also notable that many students admit to strongly admiring their professors. If students see the faculty members making a commitment to inclusion, the research team predicts they will be more likely to adopt inclusive attitudes themselves.

A final implication for these findings is educating campus stakeholders about the constructed environment within Kelley and how this could inform working with men in Kelley in arenas outside of the School. If faculty members, instructors, and student affairs professionals across campus are aware of the perceived need for independence and the ways masculinity influences how men interact with their peers, it will allow these individuals to better serve the students. Additionally, understanding the process of socialization that occurs within Kelley will inform higher education practitioners' approach in working with this population.

Areas for Further Research

As a result of this study, the research team recognizes several areas where further

work can be done to better understand the experiences of undergraduate men in the Kelley School of Business and in business programs generally. Because overall student well-being emerged as a salient topic for the participants that was not being addressed within their culture, the team encourages future work in this area, as mental health and well-being are critical to student success (Blanco et al., 2008). This research also revealed an important need to further study the ways in which Kelley School of Business students engage with resources at the university level, as most participants discussed using only resources available within Kelley. Lastly, the constructed stereotypes and concepts of what it means to be a successful business student emerged as a potential area for future research, as the scope of the study was unable to address which forces create and maintain these expectations within the environment.

Conclusion

This study explored help-seeking behaviors among undergraduate men in the Kelley School of Business at Indiana University Bloomington. Based on the data collected from nine semi-structured

individual interviews, participant responses were categorized in three core themes: dominant narratives of Kelley, engagement in help-seeking behaviors, and perceptions of help seeking. Key findings reveal that while men in Kelley recognize the resources available to them, they prefer to be independent and to engage in informal help-seeking behaviors. These findings are consistent with the literature on help seeking in college, especially among college men (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Vogel et al., 2014). Further, by employing a narrative inquiry and intersectional feminist framework, participants' responses were treated as narratives that both shape and are shaped by the constructed environment of Kelley and, in doing so, greater insight into how masculinity and masculine norms show up in Kelley was gained. The research team hopes that this study will further the ability of the Kelley to serve students by destigmatizing help-seeking behaviors, especially among undergraduate men.

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Appendix

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Topic 1: Demographic Questions

- What is your current year in school?
- What is your major?
- Are you a Direct-Admit or a Standard-Admit Kelley student?
- Where is your hometown?
- Are you a first-generation student?
- What is your racial and/or ethnic identity?

Topic 2: Introductory Questions

- Why did you choose to attend Kelley?
- How did you make friends within Kelley? Outside of Kelley?
- Describe a successful Kelley Student.
- Describe an unsuccessful Kelley Student.
- Do you have any role models for what it means to be a successful professional?
 - If yes, describe. What have they taught you?
 - If no, what attributes do you look for in a role model?

Topic 3: Help-Seeking

- How has your experience in Kelley been so far overall?
- Describe a time in which you found class challenging.
- What actions did you take?
- Describe a time in which you sought help for something unrelated to academics.
- Who do you reach out to when you are experiencing difficulty?
- Which resources do you see being popular for Kelley students?
- What are some of the resources on campus you've utilized? (if they need examples, offer academic advising, CAPS, career advising, faculty, culture centers, etc.)
- How did you find out about these resources?
- What was your experience with these resources?
- How often do you use these resources?
- Would you recommend them to a friend?

Topic 4: Masculinity in Kelley

- What does it mean to you to be a man in Kelley?
- What assumptions do you think people have about men in Kelley?
 - What distinguishes men in Kelley from other men on campus?
- Describe a time you did not behave stereotypically "like a man"? What about a time you acted "like a man"?
- What makes you proud to be a Kelley student?
- What about Kelley do you not like?
- Have you learned anything about yourself as a result of this conversation?

Privatization in Mexican Higher Education

Jimmy Hicks

Private institutions of higher education in Mexico have experienced explosive growth over the last thirty years. However, research in regards to the classification, success, and history of such institutions is still difficult to come by. To better understand the landscape of private higher education in Mexico, and to begin the consolidation of the existing research, this article investigates the recent explosive growth in private higher education institutions in Mexico along with their cost and purpose, their neoliberal and globalized development, and their quality and regulation.

Mexico has a storied tradition of higher education. Colleges and universities in Mexico were founded after Spanish colonization efforts in the sixteenth century by the Catholic Church long before the nation's independence in 1821 (Gonzalez y Gonzalez & Lincoln, 2004). This history has resulted in the claim that Mexico has two of the first universities in the Americas: the Royal and Pontifical University of New Spain founded in 1551, and the Real Universidad de Mexico, authorized by King Carlos of Spain in 1551 (Brunner, Santiago, Guadilla, Gerlach, & Velho, 2006). As the nation developed, these institutions became the path through which the state reduced the human capital gap in its youth, and thus reaped the full benefits of its populace to push for modernization through neoliberalism alongside countries such as the United States (Bernasconi, 2007; Brunner et al., 2006; Guichard, 2005). In the last 50 years, Mexico's system of higher education has grown drastically. Between 1950 and 2000, the total number of students enrolled in education increased from less than a million to more than 30 million (Brunner et al., 2006). This growth included tertiary education as well; by 1990, 15% of the population aged 20-24 was enrolled in some form of higher education and was expected to grow beyond 11 million after

2012 (Kent, 1993; Brunner et al., 2006). As of 2014, 34.45% of the country's population, approximately 42 million people, were enrolled in tertiary education (World Bank, Gross enrollment ration, tertiary; World Bank, Population total).

With the desire for social change, a growing population, and greater enrollment in tertiary education, changes quickly came to the higher education landscape (Bernasconi, 2007). As a result, universities were pushed for enrollment by students and public policies (Ornelas & Post, 1992). No longer could large institutions such as the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) house all potential students, thus opening the door for other institutional types, most specifically, the private institution (Gregorutti, 2011).

The current Mexican higher education system is the result of economic growth through industry, which has impacted social policy, welfare, and educational access (Varela, 2006). Latin America, specifically Mexico, has been a part of an international trend of rapid and expansive growth in private tertiary education (Gregorutti, 2011). As governments and state institutions have become unable to absorb increasing demand for higher education, an abundance of new private universities have begun to flourish (Gregorutti, 2011; Kent, 2005; Varela,

2006). By 2009, 33.1% of students enrolled in higher education attended private institutions, totaling to approximately 896,000 students spread across 1,573 universities. Quickly, private institutions have gone from being a minority to one of the key players in the educational landscape (Gregorutti, 2011).

While this unprecedented growth has benefitted many, concerns have arisen around the cost and the purpose of private higher education, the globalization and neoliberal development of private institutions, and the need to address the quality of institutions that many feel are taking advantage of hundreds of students. Unfortunately, while private higher education has experienced growth, assessment and research of these institutions has not followed the same path; much of the research surrounding this topic stems from work done sometimes more than ten years ago. In an attempt to begin consolidating the existing research, and to begin a conversation for further assessment and research, this article will explore the history of Mexico's private institutions, their use in national development, and the quality issues they pose for students.

Private Education

Beginning in the 1990s, Mexico's incentives for growth encouraged entrepreneurial activity in higher education (Kent, 2004). With low barriers such as simple legal requirements for accreditation, minimal supervision from government, no distinction between for and not-for-profit entities, and low investment in proper facilities for entry into the emerging higher education market, many institutions of questionable quality and intent have emerged (Kent, 2004; Gregorutti, 2011). Most of the demand-absorbing institutions (the largest growing and most populace

category of institution) can be classified as for-profit based on an analysis of their administration and funding (Gregorutti, 2011). These entities have given rise to fraudulent practices in academics that have resulted in negative consequences for students and families throughout the country (Fielden & Varghese, 2009).

Private institutions consist of traditional private schools, teacher training schools, and other various institutions (Gacel-Avila, 2005). Private schools focus on the transmission of knowledge, rather than the development of research (Gacel-Avila, 2005). Private education, specifically at the undergraduate level, has grown rapidly over the last 20 years, representing more than 65% of all institutions in Mexico by 2009 (Gacel-Avila, 2005; Gregorutti, 2011). But, with rapid growth comes challenges. The delegation of responsibility within private institutions has resulted in a period of deregulation and minimal oversight of the establishment of institutions, enabling a wide variety a small institutions to arise across the country (Torres & Schuguresnsky, 2002; Gacel-Avila, 2005). These institutions have brought questions of quality, equity, and low standards affecting students; similarly, for-profit universities have spread across the country, operating without recognition from the government at the cost of hundreds of students (Verla-Petito, 2010; Gregorutti, 2011). With minimal oversight and expansive growth, it is necessary to distinguish the types of institutions present within the private institutional landscape of Mexico, best defined by Levy's (2009) institutional typology.

Institutional Types

Elite institutions are sometimes seen for its privileged students or its academic and intellectual leadership (Levy, 2009). This view, however, is a United States-focused

lens; public institutions rank as the most prominent amongst all other countries across the world (Levy, 2009). However, as the state institutions in Mexico became locations for the education of the new masses of students, many claimed that the quality of the education being received had fallen (Varela, 2006; Levy, 1985). The fall in prestige pushed many of the elite and wealthy attending what was once perceived to be the most elite institutions in the country to look to other institutions to complete their education in what came to be known as the elite flight (Kent, 2004). As these elites dispersed, several of the larger private institutions began to develop social prestige (Gacel-Avila, 2005). This increased social prestige has resulted in the attraction of many well-to-do students and families to specific private institutions (Canton & Blom, 2010). These “elite” private institutions became known for charging high tuition and fees to students, and for providing little support outside of the already low government support efforts (Canton & Blom, 2010).

Semi-elite schools, while unable to compete with the largest public schools in terms of financing and academic excellence, are sometimes nationally ranked and considered nationally elite (Levy, 2009). These institutions focus on good teaching and transmission of knowledge rather than research and are thus not often regarded with much prestige (Gacel-Avila, 2005). As such, many of the students enrolled at one of these schools are in the social or administrative sciences rather than in a health or exact science field (Gacel-Avila, 2005). The social class of a student attending a semi-elite institution may still be quite high, including talented graduates of the secondary education system, and those capable of paying the expensive tuition rates for a private institution (Levy, 2009). A variety of factors led to these institutions to

be classified as Western-oriented: the income for these schools is almost exclusively private payment on the part of students, and thus necessitates strong business models on the part of the institution; the Master of Business Administration (MBA) is a sought-after degree; and the goal of the institution is often job-oriented (Levy, 2009).

Demand-absorbing institutions, or those of lower quality, were quickly created to ensure access to higher education as students demand for education exceeded spots at public institutions. These institutions have had the largest growth rate in Mexico (Levy, 2009). The majority of these institutions are small schools with only a few programs offered to students (Kent, 1993). They are staffed by poorly trained educators on an hourly basis, they produce no research, and their admission has little to no regulation (Kent, 1993). Additionally, lax regulation on the part of the government has allowed exponential growth for these institutions across the country (Levy, 2009).

Public versus private is not the only way to distinguish between universities in this new wave of enrollment. Beginning in Mexico in the 1980s, a new section of the educational system has quickly emerged in the for-profit institution market (Gregorutti, 2011). A for-profit institution is one that uses the payment of students for tuition, fees, etc. for distribution to stakeholders beyond what would be considered normal distribution (things such as salary or health benefits, for example) (Gregorutti, 2011). While many other countries have had a similar increase in the number of for-profit institutions over a similar time period, Mexico is of specific importance due to its lack of a legal definition of a “for-profit” university (Gregorutti, 2011). This lack of definition makes the accreditation process difficult as regulatory agencies that screen for what is a for- or not-for-profit institution

are often unable to distinguish between the two (Gregorutti, 2011). Without this definition, for-profit universities are able to operate under the description of a not-for-profit university, often in the classification of a private institution thereby avoiding the taxes and regulations associated with what is, in actuality, a business (Gregorutti, 2011). As such, many of the new demand-absorbing institutions are operating as for-profit institutions to the disadvantage of their students (Gregorutti, 2011).

Financial Barriers and Burdens

As private institutions of all kinds now represent a large portion of all enrollments in higher education, concern has arisen on the cost of attending these institutions. Much like many of their other Latin American counterparts, Mexican private institutions are funded predominately by the tuition and fees applied to students and families (de Fanelli, 2014). This is done as private institutions, based on free-market theories and “American ideas,” receive little, if any, financial support from the Mexican government for students (Gonzalez y Gonzalez & Lincoln, 2004). This lack of funding is concerning for many reasons. First, public expenditure in higher education often favors non-poor students from urban areas, limiting the ability of rural and poor students from entering tertiary institutions (Lopez-Acevedo & Salinas, 2000). Second, while public institutions are able to host students at either no cost or with large amounts of government funding to cover costs, their massive enrollment rates have forced many students, often those without the social acumen or qualifications to be accepted at the institution, to find a place in the private sector (Canton & Blom, 2004). With some estimates stating that 80% of applicants to public institutions are denied, this means a substantial number of students are being pushed into high costs and fees

with no public support (Canton & Blom, 2010). For students, this means that they are unable to continue their education with the financial backing of their families alone.

While there is little to no support from the Mexican government for students to attend private institutions, a group of 40 universities have banded together to create a credit program for students of need or talent (Canton & Blom, 2004). This system, through a loan by the World Bank and the Association of Private Universities & Provincial Public Agency, is implemented through SOFES, the Sociedad de Fomento a la Educacion Superior (The Society for the Promotion of Higher Education) (Canton & Blom, 2004; Salmi, 1999). SOFES provides students attending private institutions funds based on need and merit through specific equations that then equate need to points for loan disbursement. But, even SOFES does not fully guarantee a student will receive funding. SOFES’ disbursement strategy shows that it prefers low-risk students to ensure repayment of loans given; this includes students whose parents own real estate and students from middle- or higher-income families who can receive a larger loan than students from low-income families (Canton & Blom, 2010). Thus, SOFES must balance its goal of being an equitable option for students to attend colleges and universities while ensuring repayment of funds given (Canton & Blom, 2010). In addressing the cost and funding of higher education for students attending private institutions, Mexico will also be able to further its goals in educating its populace.

Globalization and Neoliberal Development

Globalization is “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring

many miles away” (Torres et al., 2002, p. 430). These forces, when applied to higher education institutions, are the reasons for which higher education institutions have chosen to become involved internationally (Altbach & Knight, 2007). This process has led to the blurring of national boundaries and has deeply affected the identities of peoples and nations (Torres et al., 2002). As Mexico has entered into international policies such as NAFTA in 1994, and partnered with the European union and countries such as Canada and the United States, the nation’s identity has shifted to incorporate new philosophies around development, most specifically, neoliberalism (Torres, 2002; Gonzalez y Gonzalez & Lincoln, 2004).

Neoliberalism, and the neoliberal state, emerged in Latin American in the last two decades as a part of the globalization process (Torres, 2002; Levy, 2015). These neoliberal states promote open-markets, free trade, and decreased state intervention in the public market (Torres, 2002). In this new global context, a country’s ability to compete in the knowledge economy is based on its ability to produce knowledge, utilize new knowledge for innovation, utilize scientific and technological advantages, and increase the human capital of its citizens (Naidoo, 2010). The ability to take advantage of this knowledge is considered, fundamentally, to require skills and training beyond traditional or basic education (Naidoo, 2010; Canton & Blom, 2010; Lopez-Acevedo, Tinajero, & Rubio, 2005). Beyond the need for these new skills, education has also been found to impact the effectiveness of the workforce; individuals receiving some form of tertiary education have been shown to be 282% more productive than those with some or no education beyond a secondary level (Lopez-Acevedo et al., 2005).

Over the last 15 years, the wages of these more educated and highly trained individuals has grown while the wages of less educated individuals has declined (Lopez-Acevedo, 2006). The growing importance of knowledge, knowledge production, and its central role in neoliberal national development has made higher education the vehicle for economic growth (Naidoo, 2010; Canton & Blom, 2004; Canton & Blom, 2010). And, in Mexico, the result has been a drastic increase in the supply of tertiary-educated workers (Lopez-Acevedo, 2006; Canton & Blom, 2004).

In order to compete with other countries in the Americas in this new neoliberal model, Mexico has moved towards greater expansion of the educational system and coverage at the tertiary level (Varela-Petito, 2010). While this policy targeted public institutions, the biggest growth has been seen in the private sector. National and local policies focusing on the development of neoliberal and international partnership with leading countries has favored the private and for-profit institution (Verla-Petito, 2010; Gacel-Avila, 2005). Between 1980 and 2007, the percentage of total enrollments in private tertiary education in Mexico rose from 16% to 33.2% of all students in higher education (Verla-Petito, 2010). Additionally, private institutions have proven to be leaders in student’s mobility in an international context, given that “private schools have twice as many travel agreements then public institutions, seven times as many students abroad, and five times as many foreign students” (Gacel-Avila, 2005, p. 254). At a time of great educational growth, members of the Mexican educational landscape are now focused on clarifying the country’s position within the new, globalized world (Varela-Petito, 2010).

Private Education Quality

In a highly neoliberal economy where private higher education is free to fight and position itself as an alternative, there remains the important issue of quality as a key factor for differentiation in a setting with a growing number of new private universities (Gergorutti, 2011, p. 12). Until recently, the State's role in the regulation and analysis of these institutions has been absent; state agencies have, for the most part, been involved in the regulatory process in the limited capacity of issuing licenses to institutions at their moment of founding to allow them to conduct classes (Kent, 1993). Beyond that, no further regulation on the part of the government to protect its students could be seen. An unregulated market for higher education, though, could allow for further low-quality institutions to arise (Fielden & Varghese, 2009).

Reacting to this new wave of commercial education, the government has begun to set new standards for institutions, not only for when they open, but for continued evaluation as well (Gregorutti, 2011). Four possible motives for the creation of regulations in the part of the State align with the work of Fielden & Varghese (2009). First and chief among them is the protection of the student consumer of higher education. Second, the ability to track and document information (such as enrollment rates, admissions policies, and degree programs) regarding private institutions is to the benefit of all; students will be able to have current information about schools to allow them to make the best choice for their future, and educational providers will be able to demonstrate what they have to offer to the public (Fielden & Varghese, 2009).

The third motive is to ensure accurate knowledge regarding the activities of the private sector (Fieldman & Varghese, 2009). While there are generalized ideas of the programs, areas of study, and purposes of

institutions of private tertiary education, there is no current system for tracking what these institutions are offering, who is teaching, and how effective they are. To document these programs is to the benefit of all. Additionally, while the line between for-profit and nonprofit private can become blurry, it has become increasingly easier to distinguish between the two (Levy, 2015). The documentation of enrollment rates, admissions policies, and degree programs will allow students to make the best choice for their education, as well as to aid in the distinction of institutions that are for-profit or nonprofit.

The final motive for regulation is to monitor the financial markets within the private sector. If for-profit providers receive excessive profits from the students they educate, and or are using funding to evade regulation, then monitoring their actions will allow the State to evaluate the tax exemptions and incentives they have been granted as educational organizations, as well as to adapt policy enforcement to address any concerns that arise (Fielden & Varghese, 2009; Pedro, Francesc, Gabrielle Leroux, and Megumi Watanabe, 2015).

Accreditation is another key component of the regulatory process. In 2003, the Independent Federation of Private Universities stated that 75% of all private universities and colleges in Mexico were not accredited (Kent, 2004). Another report in 2003, released by the Federal Agency for the Consumer Protection, stated that 74 out of more than 1,000 private entities were universities, the rest were "educational businesses out to defraud the incautious customer" (Kent, 2004). The creation of independent accreditation mechanisms is a good step forward, but in a region where evaluation has been "ritual for obtaining approval for new institutions or programs," there is still work to be done (de Moura & Levy, 1997).

Conclusion

What is evident from the last 30 years is that private institutions of tertiary education have solidified their place within the higher education landscape of Mexico. As of 2009, of the total enrollment in higher education, 33.1% attend private institutions, totaling approximately 896,000 students spread across 1,573 universities (with 65.6% of all universities in Mexico) (Gregorutti, 2011). As of 2014, 34.45% of the country's population, approximately 42 million people, were enrolled in tertiary education (World Bank, Gross enrollment ration, tertiary, 2016; World Bank, Population total, 2016). The desire of the State to take part in the global knowledge economy has brought about the need for greater enrollment in tertiary education, thus making the growth of the private sector necessary. While this unprecedented growth has benefitted many, concerns have arisen around the cost and the purpose of private higher education, the globalization and neoliberal development of private institutions, and the need to address the quality of institutions that many feel are taking advantage of hundreds of students by providing unaccredited educational programs at high costs. Additionally, after years of little regulation and oversight, the State is finally taking part in the regulation and structure of the private sector. This includes the creation of regulations to track protect students, track programs offered, and monitor the income of each institution, as well as the founding of accreditation

agencies to analyze the education being received by the students.

These regulations and new agencies are critical for the future of private education in Mexico. Without the existence of regulatory procedures and agencies to evaluate the effectiveness, practices, and goals of private education, students will always be at risk. As such, Mexico must move forward in creating these regulatory policies and agencies, and to ensure that all institutions within not only the private sector, but the public sphere as well, must also adhere to their policies to ensure that not only are students protected from fraudulent practices or ill intent, but to help further their attainment of an educated populace to advance their part in the global knowledge economy.

It is thus critical that future assessment of regulatory policies, as well as research into the nature of Mexican private education to continue. While research does exist on the topic at hand, the rapidly changing landscape of private Mexican private institutions must not go without evaluation. Further research can and should address the new regulatory issues and accreditation process as to how it has effected for-profit and nonprofit private institutions. Additionally, researchers should continue research into the growth of the private educational movement. Much of the research of this movement now dates from ten or more years ago. Evaluation of the movement, as well as projections for the future of the private educational landscape will aid in addressing gaps current research, and management of future concerns.

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