Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association

2004 Edition

Contents

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDENT PERSONNEL ASSOCIATION

Department of Higher Education and Student Affairs
School of Education
W.W. Wright Education Building, Suite 4228
Bloomington, Indiana 47405
(812) 856-8362/ 856-8364

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The Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association is published annually by the Indiana University Student Personnel Association with support from the Higher Education & Student Affairs (HESA) Program. The Journal is produced expressly to provide an opportunity for HESA master's students to publish articles pertinent to the field of student affairs. The primary source of funding for the Journal are alumni donations and student and departmental support. 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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2004 Awards and Honors

Congratulations to these members of the Indiana University family on the follow ing recognitions:

Timothy Schroer	Elizabeth A. Greenleaf Distinguished Alumni
Florence Hamrick	Robert H. Shaffer Distinguished Alumni Award
Todd Chamberlain	August and Ann Eberle Fellowship Award
Jeff McKinney	Holmstedt Fellowship
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Elizabeth Greenleaf	1960-1977	Don Hossler	1989-1990
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George Kuh	1977-1982	Teresa Hall	1997-1998
John Schuh	1983-1987	Ada Simmons	1998-2000
Don Hossler	1987-1988	Jillian Kinzie	2000-2002
Frances Stage	1988-1989	Kate Boyle	2002-2004

Call for Nominations

Nominations of individuals for the 2005 Elizabeth A. Greenleaf and Robert H. Shaffer Distinguished Alumni Awards are now being accepted. The Greenleaf Award is presented annually to the graduate of the master's degree program in Higher Education and Student Affairs who exemplifies "the sincere commitment, professional leadership and personal warmth" of Betty Greenleaf, for whom the award is named. Previous Greenleaf Award recipients include Louis Stamatakos, Phyllis Mable, James Lyons, Paula Rooney, Joanne Trow, Carol Cummins-Collier, Thomas Miller, Frank Ardaiolo, Deborah Hunter, Vernon Wall, William Bryan, Terry Williams, Marilyn McEwen, Gregory Blimling, Lawrence Miltenberger, and Jamie Washington.

The Robert H. Shaffer Award is presented to the graduate of the Indiana University Higher Education doctoral program who exemplifies outstanding service to the student affairs profession. Previous Shaffer Award recipients include L. "Sandy" McLean, Thomas Hennessy, Jimmy Lewis Ross, Robert Ackerman, Don G. Creamer, Nell Bailey, Alice Manicur, Rodger Summers, Caryl Smith, and Donald Mikesell.

Nominations for both awards close February 1, 2005. The awards will be presented at the 2005 NASPA and ACPA conferences. Please direct your nominations and supporting materials (e.g., vita) to Mary Howard-Hamilton, W.W. Wright Education Building, Room 4228, 201 N. Rose Avenue, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. Thank you.

Editor's Comments

Matthew D. Nelson, Tara L. Sherwin

We are pleased to present the 2004 edition of the Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association. Looking at this year's final submissions, we became aware of their extraordinary diversity. Far from concentrating around a common theme, the articles in this edition cover a wide range of issues central to today's world of higher education. As always with our Journal authors, we are proud of their ability to cover such important and powerful subjects in such a sensitive and insightful manner.

"Student Athlete Satisfaction at a Big Ten University" studies the difference between male and female student athletes' satisfaction with their institution. "Kate Hevner Mueller: A Retrospective Analysis" provides a thorough look at how the professional and personal experiences of one of Indiana University's most influential Deans of Women paralleled those of other female administrators and students in her time. "Asian Pacific Americans in Predominantly White Sororities" is a qualitative study that describes the experiences of Asian Pacific American women in predominantly White sororities, detailing their racial and ethnic identity development and views of racial climate. With theoretical concepts and illustrative case studies, "The Dilemma of the Church-Related University" examines the issues central to church-affiliated institutions. Finally, "Understanding Satisfaction: The Effect of Black Greek-Letter Organization Membership on African American College Students" compares the levels of satisfaction among members and non-members of Black Greek-letter organizations. Clearly, this year's articles span a wide range of significant topics in higher education.

As with all aspects of the HESA program, the 2004 IUSPA Journal could not have been completed without the guidance and support of Dr. Kate Boyle. Her presence in the editorial and production process can be seen in every page of this edition. As she prepares to leave IU Bloomington and the HESA department for her new faculty position at the University of Saint Thomas in Minneapolis, Minnesota, we would like to wish her the best of luck in all of her endeavors. We have been truly blessed to have her in our lives as professor, advisor, and friend; the students at Saint Thomas are lucky to have her. Thank you, Kate.

We would also like to thank 2003 alumnus Chris Heasley for his superb cover design, as well as the many HESA alumni and friends who continue to help us provide this wonderful service to our readers. Finally, we want to thank the extraordinary Master's and Doctoral students who served on this year's Review Board. Their countless hours of reading and dedicated editorial efforts have ensured the continued tradition of exceptional content and quality expected from our publication. Again, we would like to thank our peers for their professionalism and sincerity throughout the entire review process. We hope that you enjoy the 2004 edition of the Journal and that you continue to support and contribute to the Journal, the Indiana University Student Personnel Association, and Indiana University.

Matthew Nelson is a first year Masters student in the HESA program. He received his Bachelor of Arts from the University of Wisconsin - Stevens Point, in Philosophy and Psychology in May 2003. He works as a Graduate Assistant in the Career Development Center in the Arts and Sciences Placement Office and did his practicum in the Student Activities Office.

Tara Sherwin graduated in May of 2004 with a Master's degree from Indiana University's Higher Education and Student Affairs program. While at Indiana University, Tara worked as the Graduate Assistant for the IU Student Alumni Association. She also served as a Graduate Intern for IU's Office of Orientation Programs. Tara received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Texas Christian University in May of 2002.

State of the Program

Dr. Kate Boyle
Master's Program Coordinator

The 2003-2004 academic year has been another spectacular year working with the Higher Education & Student Affairs master's program. This fall, twenty-nine first-year students joined us at IU from across the nation. The second-year students are looking forward to graduation and are anxiously awaiting news about career opportunities after HESA!

Our faculty members continue to provide national leadership in research, teaching and service. The bi-monthly journal *Assessment Update—Progress, Trends, and Practices in Higher Education,* which is edited by HESA faculty member and IUPUI's Vice Chancellor Trudy Banta, has won the Gold Award in the subscription category of the 2003 Newsletter Awards competition. In addition, Trudy traveled to Dundee, Scotland to provide an outcomes assessment seminar for Scottish university representatives and was a featured speaker at an enhancement conference on assessment sponsored by the Scottish Higher Education Agency. Deborah Carter was named chair of the HESA program this past August and has been a fantastic leader for the 2003-2004 academic year. Nancy Chism, also one of our key faculty for the IUPUI program, continues to work with faculty development and learning environments. Don Hossler continues in his administrative role as well as doing some on-going consultation as a "Senior Consultant to the Executive Vice-President for Higher Education of The College Board." Don has also been working with current and former IU doctoral students on college choice and finance publications.

Mary Howard-Hamilton was named Associate Dean of Graduate Studies for the School of Education this past August. George Kuh has been on academic sabbatical leave this year, yet continues to expand the College Student Experience Questionnaire (CSEQ) and the National Study of Student Engagement (NSSE). Doug Priest has continued his faculty role while being asked to return in January 2004 to support Chancellor Gros Louis in Budgetary Administration and Planning. Ed St. John published *Refinancing the College Dream* and co-edited three other books this year. He also had the Indiana Project on Academic Success funded by Lumina Foundation, a project that is developing a research-based approach to improvement in collaboration with many of the state's colleges and universities. This year Vasti Torres joined the faculty at IU and is continuing her research on the Latino/a student college experience. Along with Mary Howard-Hamilton, she recently published the monograph *Identity Development of Diverse Populations: Implications for Teaching and Administration*

in Higher Education. Andrea Walton received tenure this spring and continues to add to the history, philanthropy and higher education circles. Each of our faculty continue to contribute to the field of Higher Education and Student Affairs through publications and acknowledgements, but also so much through their day-to-day interactions with the doctoral and master's students in the HESA program.

Interest in the master's program in Higher Education & Student Affairs remains high as we continue to attract new students to the program. We have received inquiries of interest from over 350 students and had approximately 100 students on campus during our two Outreach recruitment sessions in February. We expect a full class of talented master's students to join us in the fall. The second doctoral recruitment was very successful. And we have continued to participate in a number of graduate preparation fairs. Thank you to all of the alumni who have helped with these fairs!

The IUSPA Journal continues to be one of the things that sets apart IU's HESA program from other preparatory programs. The student authors have challenged themselves to submit articles that are reviewed and edited by their peers in the master's and doctoral programs. The editorial team also has a wonderful opportunity to improve their skills in reviewing, critiquing and editing the submitted works. However, this opportunity continues only via your generous contributions. Please designate donations to the annual fund drive to go towards the *Journal* so that we can continue to produce this exceptional opportunity for our students and for you to receive as alumni. On behalf of the faculty, students, and staff of the program, thank you for your support and contributions to the HESA program. Through your continued efforts to refer talented students to the program and financial support for our program, you provide the necessary elements to sustain our strong Higher Education & Student Affairs program at Indiana University!

Student Athlete Satisfaction at a Big Ten University

Beth E. Greenberg, John F. McKnight, Jr., Christopher L. Riddick, Rebecca C. Stone

This study examined the level of student athletes' satisfaction with their institution, specifically, the differences between male and female student athletes' satisfaction. The Student Athlete Satisfaction Survey was distributed to 75 student athletes at a Big Ten Midwestern university. Through factor analysis, data were separated into four factors: Interpersonal Relationships, Competence, Motivational Forces, and Student Engagement. Male and female student athletes displayed statistically significant different levels of satisfaction within Interpersonal Relationships.

Introduction

Collegiate athletics grew out of students' desires to participate in extracurricular activities of a physical nature (Andre & James, 1991). In the beginning, faculty and administrators alike discouraged participation in college sports, as they felt these contacts were improper for gentlemen and detracted from the students' intellectual pursuits (Lucas, 1994). Today, collegiate athletics, which are most often a separate entity from the university, have grown into big-time businesses, providing revenue, entertainment, institutional pride and educational benefits (Chu, Segrave & Becker, 1985). While institutions rely heavily on these by-products, little information is published about student athlete satisfaction with both athletic and academic experiences (Chelladurai & Reimer, 1997).

In addition to the basic adjustments to college, student athletes have the pressure of balancing athletic success, good health, and academic achievement (Watt & Moore, 2001). Although research has positively linked athletic participation to students' health and well-being, many detrimental factors have also been noted. Several researchers (Watt & Moore, 2001; Wittmer, Bostic, Phillips, & Waters, 1981) have addressed the conflict between the roles of student and athlete: "dumb jock" and "hero." This clash of identities calls into question the experience of student athletes. Are they getting the most out of their time in college? This study seeks to answer this question by examining the level of student athletes' satisfaction with their institution.

Another aspect of this study includes the observation of differences between male and female student athletes. While the number of women participating in college sports increased dramatically after the passage of Title IX in 1972, there is little research comparing male and female student athletes' experiences (Petrie & Stoever, 1997; Person, Benson-Quaziena, &

Rogers, 2001). For this reason, this study attempts to explore male and female athlete satisfaction, and to pinpoint the primary factors that shape athletes' college experiences. More specifically, how does athletic participation affect college students' satisfaction with their institution? Is there a difference between the experiences and satisfaction of male and female student athletes?

Literature Review

Satisfaction

Satisfaction, as it relates to student athletes, is a multifaceted concept comprised of contentment with team and individual performance, leadership, and overall team involvement (Chelladurai, 1984). The most current definition of student athlete satisfaction is "a positive affective state resulting from a complex evaluation of the structures, processes, and outcomes associated with the athletic experience" (Chelladurai & Reimer, 1997, p. 135). For the purposes of this research, athlete satisfaction is measured by aggregate levels of contentment with each of three categories: social interactions, athletic influences, and academic performance (Howard-Hamilton & Sina, 2001; Miller & Kerr, 2002)

Title IX and Gender Equality

Title IX banned sexual discrimination in any school or program that received federal funding, including college athletic programs (Burnett, 2003). The legislation also states that male and female athletes are to be given equal benefits and services, including, but not limited to: travel expenses, practice facilities, equipment and supplies, scheduling and practice times, and number and compensation of coaches and locker rooms (Burnett, 2003).

While the number of women athletes participating in a varsity level sport has tripled since the enactment of Title IX, recent studies show that participation by women in general is still lower than men (Miller, Heinrich, & Baker, 2000). The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Gender Equity Survey found that men have nearly twice as many athletic opportunities as women in Division I through III schools (Miller et al., 2000). Although Title IX called for equality between men's and women's athletic programs, gender differences still exist that cannot be controlled by the legislation.

Lantz and Schroeder (1999) examined the relationship between athlete role identification and gender role orientation. Their results suggested that masculinity was positively correlated with identification as an athlete, while femininity was negatively correlated with the traits of an athletic person (Lantz & Schroeder, 1999). Wrisberg, Draper, and Everett (1988) found a

significant difference in sex role orientations of men and women in individual sports. They further noted that females who participated in team sports showed more "masculine" traits.

Social Satisfaction

Astin (1993b) asserts that student satisfaction outcomes depend upon numerous inputs and environmental factors. The level of student social involvement serves as a positive predictor of satisfaction with the overall college experience. Through their participation in college athletics, student-athletes were more socially involved and expressed greater satisfaction with their experiences than their non-athlete peers (Howard-Hamilton & Sina, 2001). Through team sports, student-athletes achieve higher levels of self-esteem, develop leadership skills, discover concepts of teamwork, sustain their motivation, and learn discipline (Watt & Moore, 2001).

Research by Watt and Moore (2001) suggests that participation in college athletics, especially in revenue sports, places an emphasis on winning by any means necessary, thereby intensifying the antagonistic personas stereotypical of student athletes. Limited exposure to peers beyond teammates and other varsity athletes tends to promote homophobia, sexual misconduct, drug and alcohol usage, and illegal activity (Hill, Burch-Ragan & Yates, 2001; Watt & Moore, 2001). Social isolation can also further support the promotion of the athlete role over the student role resulting in lower levels of academic achievement. Other research, however, suggests that the process of developing dualistic identities can be supported by social involvement within athletic peer groups (Watt & Moore, 2001). Because student athletes seek to balance the messages they receive from non-athletes (i.e. "dumb jock" and "hero"), teammates are best prepared to relate to the stereotypical perceptions of outside groups (Watt & Moore, 2001, p. 13).

Athletic Satisfaction

Chelladurai (1978) measured athletic satisfaction by examining satisfaction with: leadership (i.e. coaching staff), individual and team performance, and overall involvement. Within team sports, athletes reported greater levels of satisfaction with leadership when they perceived that certain variables were present. These variables were training and instruction, democratic behavior, social support, and positive feedback (Chelladurai, 1978). The researchers noted a high level of satisfaction with team performance when there was positive feedback from team leadership. While no relationship was found between any of the hypothesized variables of leadership and overall athletic satisfaction, it was concluded that the three components of satisfaction were largely independent and therefore did not impact

each other (Chelladurai, 1978).

Czech, Burke, Joyner, and Hardy (2002) reported that previous studies had shown men to be more competitive and have a higher "win orientation," while women displayed higher "goal orientation" levels. Their study, however, found that men scored higher only on "win orientation," with no differences between men and women on scales of competitiveness, "goal orientation," or optimism and pessimism (Czech et al., 2002). These differences were hypothesized to stem from the different socialization processes and encouragement patterns used with boys and girls at a young age.

Academic Satisfaction

The student athlete population is the most recognized yet unacknowledged student population on many college campuses (Valentine & Taub, 1999). Athletic scandals at colleges and universities across the country contribute to the widespread perception that student athletes receive unfair privileges (Sherman, Weber, & Tegano, 1988). Student athletes not only deal with the obligations to their respective teams, but also struggle with concerns held by their non-athlete student peers (Valentine & Taub, 1999). Sedlacek and Adams-Gaston (as cited in Engstrom & Sedlacek, 1991) consider student athletes a unique group of nontraditional students.

A lack of understanding of student athletes resulted in negative perceptions of them from faculty and students, and may affect the type of treatment they receive (Sedlacek & Brooks, as cited in Engstrom & Sedlacek, 1991). Valentine and Taub (1999) believe that faculty and non-athlete students must recognize their personal biases towards student athletes and understand that this unique subculture maneuvers through a system that does not always support their academic success. Engstrom & Sedlacek's (1991) survey of freshmen students at a large Eastern university with a Division I-A NCAA athletic program showed that students distrusted student athletes who obtained As, worried about having student athletes as lab partners, and resented specific tutorial services for student athletes. These negative biases and perceptions often have an adverse effect on the personal image and self-esteem of the student athlete population (Engstrom, Sedlacek, & McEwen, 1995). Engstrom et al. (1995) believe a self-fulfilling prophecy occurs as student athletes internalize negative stereotypes, thereby decreasing their likelihood to achieve academically.

Due to the perceptions of faculty and student peers, the developmental needs of student athletes may be neglected (Valentine & Taub, 1999). Viewing them only as athletes overlooks any academic needs that they may possess. Bandura (1977) stated that people's choice of activities and the degree to which they pursue them are based on beliefs of their own ability.

Student athletes treated as "dumb jocks" may develop a sense of alienation in the classroom and believe that they cannot perform (Heyman, 1986, as cited in Valentine & Taub, 1999). Similarly, if praised for a game or a match, athletes may internalize their role of "campus hero" and focus more on their athletics.

An important factor in observing academic satisfaction is student athletes' academic motivation. In most sports programs, regardless of revenue or non-revenue producing status, student athletes are recruited based on the coaching staff's desire to win games. In many cases, coaches place little emphasis on the players' academic ability, study habits, intelligence, or character (Wittmer et al., 1981). Student athletes may focus on their athletic prowess just as much as their coaches do and choose simple courses that do not interfere with their pursuit of professional athletic careers (Sparent, 1988).

Traditionally, men have had more opportunities to pursue a professional career in various sports, including those on non-revenue producing teams in college (such as baseball, soccer, and golf). Women have not had as many opportunities and, subsequently, may enter college knowing that they have to prepare for an alternative career (Sparent, 1988; Simons, Van Rheenen, & Covington, 1999). Academic majors are more significant to female athletes, as their future opportunities are predicated more on their academic performance than on their athletic performance.

Methodology

Participants

The participants of this study consisted of the student athletes listed on the rosters of four NCAA Division I athletic programs at a Big Ten Midwestern institution. The available population included 114 athletes (44 freshmen, 28 sophomores, 18 juniors, and 24 seniors) taken from a total population of 585. The researchers wanted to study athletes that participate in a team sport, in which members play as a group, rather than a more individualized sport such as golf. This aspect is important to the research because of the dimension of satisfaction with social interactions. A team environment promotes interdependence between players, as well as a sense of connection that could translate into a supportive social atmosphere (Chelladurai & Reimer, 1997).

In addition, both men's and women's varsity teams are represented in this study. Watt & Moore (2001) list gender as one of the many factors that shape the experiences of a student athlete. Research shows varied developmental outcomes for male and female athletes, such as poor academic

performance by first year male athletes, and higher fall semester grade point averages (GPA) for freshmen female athletes (Petrie & Stoever, 1997).

Instrument

Athlete satisfaction was measured using a survey instrument developed for the purpose of this study. Historically, researchers examined student athlete satisfaction with their athletic programs and performance, rather than satisfaction with their institutions. Chelladurai and Reimer (1997) studied facets of athlete satisfaction based on team outcomes and improvement, individual outcomes, and team processes. Gravely and Cochran (1995) created a student athlete survey to measure satisfaction in areas such as recruitment efforts, strengths of coaching staff, perceptions of treatment by athletic departments, and conflict between practice times and dining hall schedules. These studies neglected to examine the athletes' satisfaction with their overall college experiences. Therefore, the current researchers designed the instrument to capture this missing element.

The survey used in this study was adapted from the Student Satisfaction Inventory (Juillerat & Schreiner, 1999) and the Athlete Satisfaction Questionnaire (Reimer & Chelladurai, 1998) to more accurately reflect the overall collegiate experience. The Student Athlete Satisfaction Survey (SASS) consisted of 42 items that assess levels of satisfaction among three general dimensions: academic participation, social relationships, and athletic involvement, with nine to ten questions for each area. Participants answered the statements on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree. The SASS includes example statements such as: "I am comfortable approaching my professors," "I have close friends outside of my team," "I feel that people form impressions about me because I am an athlete," and "I feel supported by my coach."

Procedure

In order to recruit participants, the researchers contacted the coaches of each respective team to request permission to survey the student athletes. Within one month of receiving a coach's permission, each individual team participated in a structured distribution of the instrument by at least one of the researchers. Surveys were collected from each team as the participants finished, and the researchers began data analysis. Of the 75 surveys administered, 75 were returned and deemed usable instruments.

Data Analysis

The first steps in data analysis were to reverse-score the negatively worded items and enter all data into SPSS, a data analysis program. The

questions were coded based on the original three categories and means and standard deviations were computed for each question. A factor analysis determined how many categories existed between the original variables and the answers given by the participants. As a result of this analysis, four new factors emerged and were analyzed by the researchers. The new factors were named based on the relationship between variables within the new categories. Descriptive data analysis compiled the individual scores of each factor, including mean and standard deviation. All four new factors were tested for reliability and correlated with each other. A *t*-test for means was used to determine if the differences between the male and female student athletes' levels of satisfaction were statistically significant at either the 0.05 or the 0.01 level.

Limitations

The SASS was created intentionally for the purpose of this study because the researchers were unable to obtain prior instruments assessing student athlete satisfaction. The researchers composed questions they believed would accurately assess student athlete satisfaction based on research, but without viewing a prior survey. The SASS was designed to assess three components of satisfaction, but a factor analysis revealed four different facets. While these four factors did correspond to the initial three categories, it brings into question what the SASS was really able to measure.

Moreover, this instrument was based on self-report by the participants, in which participants might be inclined to select responses they believe to be socially desirable. In this study, students reported their own feelings, levels of activity, and perceptions of involvement and support. Further studies should be conducted to test in more detail the validity of students' self-reported attitudes and behaviors.

Most of the student athletes who participated in the current study were first or second year students. The level of satisfaction reported by the student participants may have shifted if they were surveyed later in their college careers or if more upper-class students were represented in the study. In addition, many athletes were surveyed prior to participating in their first collegiate game and therefore had no indication of the levels of university or team support. Another shift in student satisfaction may have been reflected in the responses based on the number of wins or losses accrued during the season. Of the four teams surveyed, two of one particular sport have recently had winning seasons, which may have greatly enhanced their overall satisfaction. Finally, many of these students were in their first academic semester of college and may have responded to the survey questions without adequate understanding of their academic experience.

Results

The respondents included 31 female student athletes and 44 male student athletes, with 30 in their first year, 20 sophomores, 10 juniors, 11 seniors, and three fifth year students. The factor analysis found four factors in which to categorize the data. The four areas were analyzed and named according to the similarities between variables within: Interpersonal Relationships, Competence, Motivational Forces, and Student Engagement (see Table 1). Three questions that did not load to any single factor were removed.

Among the four factors, the Interpersonal Relationship variables had a significant correlation with the Competence variables (r=.30, p<.01), and to a lesser degree, the Interpersonal Relationship factor was also correlated (r=.271, p<.05) with the Student Engagement factor (see Table 2). Cronbach's Alphas (α) were run for the four factors. The results were Interpersonal Relationships α=.74, Competence α=.64, Motivational Forces α=.65, and Student Engagement α=.58. In order to determine the mean difference in male and female student athletes' level of satisfaction within these four new factors, each was compared in an independent t-test with gender.

Interpersonal Relationships

Interpersonal Relationships focused on a sense of belonging and interactions with teammates and peers. The mean of this factor was tested against gender to determine if there was a statistically significant difference between male and female student athletes' data. For interpersonal relationships, male student athletes (M=15.86, SD=4.20) averaged greater satisfaction than female student athletes (M=18.73, SD=4.51). This was found to be statistically significant at the p<.05 level.

Competence

The Competence factor was so named because the questions explored the student athlete's personal level of comfort or satisfaction with their performance as an athlete and a student. There were no significant findings between men and women in this item.

Motivational Forces

The third category, Motivational Forces, contained variables that asked the participants to question what, if any, pressures they faced from outside sources, and if these pressures drove them to succeed. Male student athletes (M=24.02, SD=4.65) did not report a statistically significant difference in satisfaction with this variable compared to their female student athlete peers

Table 1
Factor Loading

Variable	Components			
	I	II	III	IV
Sense of belonging with teammates	0.69	0.29		0.37
Comfortable discussing personal issues with members team	0.63			0.21
Associate with teammates outside practice/team events	0.58			0.27
Satisfied with living arrangements	0.54		-0.33	0.21
Chose university because of athletic opportunities	0.54		0.21	
Would like to play professionally	0.47			-0.35
Comfortable approaching coach for advice about non-athletic issues	0.46			
Comfortable around my teammates	0.46	0.41		
Plan on playing this sport recreationally after college	0.44			
Satisfied with my college experience	0.42			
Feel connected to university	0.42			
Satisfied with athletic participation and performance	0.24	0.66		
Comfortable approaching professors		0.62		
Achieving personal athletic goals	0.26	0.59		-0.20
Contacted/have contact with professor outside of class		0.57		0.38
Able to develop athletic skills during practice		0.56		-0.32
Satisfied by level of class participation		0.50		

Table 1
Continued

Variable	Components			
	I	II	III	IV
Supported by coach	0.26	0.48	-0.25	-0.29
Involved in romantic relationship		0.41		
Have same level of team support no matter how I play	0.36	0.38	-0.23	
Satisfied with academic performance		0.34		
People form negative impressions about me because I am an athlete		-0.32	0.27	
Spend a lot of time socializing outside of my residence		0.29		
Feel pressure from my hometown to perform well			0.84	
Feel pressure from my high school to perform well			0.78	
Feel pressure from my family to perform well			0.67	
Feel less supported by university when I don't play well			0.46	-0.40
Feel torn between athletic dept and other academic & social pursuits	-0.23		0.44	
Feel that I have to prove my intelligence in classroom			0.42	
My athletic ability is not maximized on the playing field		-0.24	0.39	
Primary reason for attending college was to receive a degree			-0.21	
I would seek help from an academic advisor		0.36		0.56
Get advantages that other people don't because I'm an athlete			0.24	0.31

Table 2
Correlation between Factors

		Interpersonal Relationships	Competence	Motivational Forces	Student Engagement
Interpersonal Relationships	Pearson Correlation	1	.303**	-.084	.271*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.010	.479	.022
	N		72	74	71
Competence	Pearson Correlation		1	-.070	.225
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.558	.062
	N			73	70
Motivational Forces	Pearson Correlation			1	-.124
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.301
	N				72
Student Engagement	Pearson Correlation				1
	Sig. (2-tailed)				
	N				

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

(M=25.02, SD=4.75) at the $p<.05$ level. However, there was a statistically significant difference (see Table 3) between men and women for the items "My primary reason for attending college was to receive a degree," "I feel pressure from my hometown to perform well," and "I feel pressure from my high school to perform well."

Student Engagement

Finally, Student Engagement focused on the participants' ability to engage him/herself in the everyday rigors of academic pursuits. No statistically significant items between men and women were noted on this item.

Gender

Overall, there was very little statistically significant difference between men's and women's levels of satisfaction in the four factors. Table 3 contains significant findings with regard to gender differences among individual questions for student athlete satisfaction. These results are represented on a scale from one to five (1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = uncertain, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree). While many of the questions revealed great levels of satisfaction among both genders, males were more likely to strongly agree with all but two of these questions that demonstrated statistical significance. Each of

these questions was significant at the $p < 0.05$ and $p < 0.01$ levels.

Among the questions that had originally been classified as relating to academic satisfaction, male and female student athletes differed in their reasons for attending the university. Females (M=1.65, SD=0.71) were more likely than males (M=2.27, SD=1.19) to report that they are attending college in order to receive a degree. In contrast, males (M =1.89, SD=0.87) were more likely than females (M=2.61, SD=0.88) to have chosen the university because of the athletic opportunities available to them.

Satisfaction with social experiences displayed differences in living arrangements and campus event participation. Overall, males (M=1.82, SD=0.50) felt more connected to their university than females (M=2.19, SD=0.70), even though females (M=2.55, SD=0.85) were more likely to attend campus-sponsored events than males (M=3.09, SD=1.16). Male student athletes reported greater satisfaction with their living arrangements (M=1.82, SD=0.69) than their female peers (M=2.30, SD=1.24), and also demonstrated a stronger level of agreement (M=2.11, SD=2.95) with the statement that they spend a lot of time socializing outside their place of residence than females (M=2.74, SD=1.21).

Of the athletically focused questions, male student athletes exhibited stronger agreement with regard to matters of external pressure to succeed and level of contentment with the sport. Males felt more pressure to perform well from both their hometown (M=2.91, SD=1.16) and high school (M=3.16, SD=1.16). Men (M=1.48, SD=0.90) were also more likely than their female peers (M=1.94, SD=1.03) to strongly agree that they are happy playing their sport and hope to play at the professional level (Male M=1.41, SD=0.79; Female M=3.68, SD=1.50).

Discussion

This study examined student athletes' overall satisfaction with their collegiate experience, as well as the relationship between gender and satisfaction. Consistent with Astin's (1993a) findings, involvement with university activities appears to increase students' satisfaction with their university. The results of this study found that student athletes are satisfied with their time in college.

The data shows that males are more likely to strongly agree with the variables in Interpersonal Relationships. This finding is contrary to research showing that women are more concerned with relationships and interpersonal interactions (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Jones & Watt, 2001). It is possible that male student athletes scored higher in this variable because of their greater aspirations to play professionally. Astin (1993a) notes that when men and women associate in gender-specific peer groups,

they are more likely to take on the characteristics of those around them. According to Sparent (1988), male athletes are aware that they have more possibilities to play professionally, and this knowledge might push them to associate and form stronger bonds with like-minded male athletes.

In regard to athletic and academic competence, student athletes' responses may be similar between genders because of their own perceptions of academic and athletic achievement (Watt & Moore, 2001). If male student athletes focus more on their athletic goals, then they would be less concerned with the quantifiable results they produce in the classroom; therefore, they would be satisfied with their academic achievements no matter what they may be (Hill et al., 2001). Conversely, female student athletes are aware that a professional athletic career is unlikely. As a result, they might invest more time into their academics and have fun with their sport. On both levels, student athletes feel satisfied with their experience because they are achieving competency within their area of interest (Simons et al., 1999).

According to Simons et al. (1999), student athletes begin their athletic activities with support from a number of external sources, including friends,

Table 3

Statistically Significant Results by Gender

Responses by Gender	Female		Male		
Question	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*
I am satisfied with my college experience	1.87	.62	1.45	.73	-2.58**
I would like to play this sport professionally	3.68	1.50	1.41	.79	-8.55**
I feel pressure from my hometown to perform well	3.48	1.29	2.91	1.16	-2.02*
I feel pressure from my high school to perform well	3.74	1.10	3.16	1.16	-2.19*
I am happy playing this sport	1.94	1.03	1.48	.90	-2.04*
I feel connected to the university	2.19	.70	1.82	.50	-2.71**
I attend campus sponsored events	2.55	.85	3.09	1.16	2.22*
I am satisfied with my living arrangements	2.30	1.24	1.82	.69	-2.14*
I spend a lot of time socializing outside my residence	2.74	1.21	2.11	.95	-2.52*
My primary reason for attending college was to receive a degree	1.65	.71	2.27	1.19	2.63*
I chose this university because of the athletic opportunities	2.61	.88	1.89	.87	-3.53**

Note. Negative numbers reflect five-point Likert-scale values (1=*strongly agree,* 5=*strongly disagree*)

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

family, and coaches. The findings of the present study further support the notion that motivational forces, such as hometown and high school pressure drive both male and female college student athletes. Thus, it is not surprising that statistical differences were not observed between males' and females' level of agreement with this variable and its related questions.

Though not statistically significant, female student athletes are more likely to strongly agree with the statement in the Student Engagement factor. This category consisted of questions that pertained to a student's academic goals. Previous research found that female athletes are more likely than males to be "success-oriented" in regards to their academic goals (Simons et al., 1999).

In addition to the factor analysis variables, there were several interesting observations that resulted from the research findings. Male student athletes were more likely than females to want to play their sports at the professional level (Sparent, 1988). This could be attributed to the greater amount of opportunities for males to pursue professional athletic careers. If the same opportunities existed for female athletes, perhaps there would be an increased desire to play professionally, thereby affecting their overall college expectations and experiences.

Implications

This study underlines several practical implications for student affairs professionals, college administrators, and university athletic departments. High levels of student athlete satisfaction are correlated with positive interactions between faculty, staff, and student athletes (Engstrom et al., 1995). The prejudicial beliefs and personal biases held by faculty and staff members have been shown to negatively affect student athletes' academic performance, social competence, and overall satisfaction (Engstrom et al., 1995). Faculty and administrators alike must be conscious of their internal perceptions of student athletes and avoid the potentially ostracizing effects of categorizing the population.

Student athletes, particularly those in team sports, rarely engage in activities with non-athletes due to the complexity of balancing practice times, coaches' requirements, and class schedules (Howard-Hamilton & Sina, 2001). Faculty and administrators could greatly contribute to the socialization of student athletes by encouraging the formation of friendships with students other than their teammates. Student athletes should be challenged to cultivate these relationships to assist in their cognitive development (Howard-Hamilton & Sina, 2001). Student affairs practitioners should also recognize and continually assess their roles as leaders in the lives of student athletes in order to better serve this student population.

This study emphasizes the need for further research in order to apply the findings to a broader range of student athletes. Revenue sports (e.g. basketball, football) as well as more individualized sports (e.g. track and field, gymnastics) should be included in the study to gain insight into student athletes' experiences throughout the various genres of intercollegiate athletics.

Qualitative studies might provide a more comprehensive representation of student athlete satisfaction, as researchers could expand upon student responses to learn more about underlying themes. In quantitative research, it is difficult to accurately separate questions into the three areas of student athlete satisfaction due to the interrelatedness of the three aspects. With an abstract concept such as satisfaction, researchers would be more successful identifying themes from participants' answers, rather than attempting to prescribe them from the outset. In addition, longitudinal research would provide information as to behavioral and attitudinal changes over the span of the student athletes' college experience.

Further studies should also include the perspectives of non-athlete students in order to compare and contrast levels of satisfaction. In addition to gender, other demographic variables, such as racial identity, socioeconomic status, and recruitment status (i.e. recruit or walk-on), should be controlled to reduce any potentially confounding effects. Continuous research in the area of student athlete satisfaction will allow university administrators to assess the changing needs of this population.

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Beth E. Greenberg graduated from the Higher Education Student Affairs program at Indiana University in May, 2004. Previously, she received her Bachelor of Arts in Psychology from the University of Maryland at College Park in 2002. While at IUB, Beth worked as the Greek Life Graduate Assistant at DePauw University in Greencastle.

John F. McKnight, Jr. received a Bachelor's of Science degree in Advertising from the University of Florida in December of 2002. He will graduate from the Indiana University Higher Education and Student Affairs master's program in December of 2004.

Christopher L. Riddick is a 2004 graduate of the Higher Education and Student Affairs program at Indiana University-Bloomington. He received a BA in Public Policy Analysis from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Prior to attending IU, he worked at Duke Clinical Research Institute. Christopher will attend the University of Georgia in the fall of 2004 to begin studies towards his Ph.D. in higher education.

Rebecca C. Stone received her Masters degree from Indiana University's Higher Education Student Affairs program in 2004. She received her Bachelor of Arts from Tufts University in Psychology in 2002. During her time at IU, Rebecca served as the Graduate Assistant for Student Organizations & Leadership in the Student Activities Office.

Kate Hevner Mueller: A Retrospective Analysis of a Dean of Women and Exploration of White Women's Gender Identity in the Interwar and World War II Generations

Jennifer Buckley

This historical analysis describes events that led to Kate Hevner Mueller's appointment as Dean of Women at Indiana University in 1938, her administrative responsibilities regarding women undergraduate students, and issues surrounding her removal in 1946. By highlighting both Mueller's professional life and undergraduate students' experiences, this paper provides a retrospective analysis of gender identity and societal expectations for White female administrators and undergraduate students in the Interwar and World War II generations.

By analyzing and describing the education and professional life of Kate Hevner Mueller, Dean of Women at Indiana University (IU) from 1938 to 1946, this study considers the role of gender identity and societal expectations for White female administrators and undergraduate students of the Interwar and World War II generations. This paper also explores the context of Mueller's removal as Dean of Women in 1946, a phenomenon that transpired on numerous campuses after World War II when the student personnel movement prompted consolidations that subsumed Dean of Women positions.

An Academic Achiever among Interwar Generation Women

An academic achiever of her generation, Kate Hevner Mueller demonstrated exceptional scholarship throughout college and graduate school (Coomes, Whitt, & Kuh, 1987). In 1920, she completed a Bachelor of Arts degree with honors from Wilson College, thus joining a small population of female graduates, approximately one-third of women at that time (Coomes et al., 1987; Solomon, 1985). After graduation, she taught high school like many unmarried women graduates (Chafe, 1991). Mueller subsequently pursued a Master's degree in Psychology from Columbia University. After Columbia, she returned to Wilson to teach psychology and mathematics. When teaching statistics, she used a text authored by a faculty member from the University of Chicago, who encouraged her to pursue a doctorate at Chicago. Once admitted, she taught general psychology and researched aesthetics (Coomes et al., 1987). Matriculating to Chicago and becoming an instructor were significant accomplishments for a woman, as evidenced by Chafe's (1991) discovery that women at Chicago protested about the disproportionately

fewer academic opportunities as compared with men at that time. After earning her doctorate, Mueller distinguished herself again by joining the University of Minnesota faculty in 1929 (Coomes et al., 1987). This was another remarkable achievement for this era, as only 18% of women earned doctorates and women represented only 27% of faculty members (Solomon, 1985).

In The Shadow of Her Husband

While at Minnesota, Mueller spent a fateful summer researching aesthetics at the University of Oregon and met her future husband, John Mueller, a sociologist and musician (Coomes et al., 1987). Like other White women of the Interwar Generation, marriage dramatically altered her career (Glazer & Slater, 1987). She resigned from Minnesota in 1935 after six years of service and joined Mueller at Indiana University (IU) for his appointment as an Associate Professor. Two years after arriving in Indiana, Mueller became the Dean of Women, an unintended consequence of being the best choice when the position was vacant (Mueller, personal memoir, 1971). In her memoir, Mueller described how Agnes Well, the then Dean of Women, coordinated this serendipitous appointment:

> In 1937 Miss Wells was requested by her physician to give up her position as Dean of Women, and she called one day to tell me that she had recommended me as her successor. Although I knew nothing about the functions of the Dean of Women, I saw no reason why I could not do as well as the deans I had known in action ... My argument then, as always, was that when a woman married she would have to take any old job that came her way and make the best of it (as cited in Coomes et al., 1987, p. 411).

One might question how, after attaining a doctoral degree from a prestigious research institution and becoming a faculty member at another well-reputed university, Mueller took "any old job" simply because she married. Although incredulous by current standards, this reaction was commonplace in that era. Chafe (1991) reported that only 12% of married White women worked in 1930, as compared to more than 70% of unmarried White women. A 1936 Gallup pole highlighted public disapproval of married women's employment when 82% of respondents opposed women working if they were married and their husbands had jobs (Chafe, 1991). America's slow recovery from the Depression in the 1930s accentuated the traditional male role of breadwinner and the supposed threat that women's employment posed (Chafe, 1977). More specifically in Mueller's field of higher education, women typically stopped working when married, even if this meant ending a promising academic career (Glazer & Slater, 1987). As a consequence of women's temporary employment status, female academicians posed an

economic risk (Solomon, 1985).

As such, Mueller fit the prototype of Interwar Generation White women who did not question the underlying assumption that matrimony would, and should, eliminate their professional ambitions (Chafe, 1977). Only relatively few women thought work should lead to career advancement or self-fulfillment. Working White women considered their employment experimental and tentative (Solomon, 1985). If White women had careers after marriage, their status and traditional gender definitions would significantly change. This social revolution would alter women's exclusive association with marriage and motherhood and men's identification as economic competitors and providers of material success in the outside world (Chafe, 1991). This conventional standard of men as primary financial providers justified lower wages for women, rationalized discriminatory hiring practices (particularly for married women), and limited female career aspirations (Hartmann, 1982).

Mueller's recount of why she was hired supports the contention that men's careers were most prominent in families and that wives achieved vicariously through them. In her memoir, Mueller recorded:

> I well remember my interview with Herman B Wells [no relation to Dean Agnes Wells], the new president of Indiana University, who began by telling me that Agnes Wells had briefed him as follows, "She has a good husband and a PhD, and psychology is the new thing for these jobs, and also she has ten years experience at five different places" ... We talked for a while about my work in Psychology, and I offered to have the Columbia and Chicago placement files sent to him for his official records. He inquired about my salary, and when I told him it was $2,700 at Minnesota he allowed he could meet that. We did not talk of specific programs or plans, which was not surprising because neither of us could have had too much to say on the subject (as cited in Coomes et al., 1987, p. 411).

This passage displays that Mueller's education and professional experience were secondary to her husband's career. Thus, she became Dean of Women with little investigation of her experience or consideration of the position's responsibilities. The minimal job description provided by Wells was consistent with Nidiffer's (2000) findings that Progressive Era women deans had limited guidance and pioneered their way through their positions.

A Guardian of Women's Welfare and Morality

Once hired, Mueller received a letter from her predecessor, Agnes Wells, that provided a scant position description as planning for female students' development "through good housing, good management of housing, good social conditions, good direction of social conditions" (letter to K.H. Mueller, June 27, 1938). These brief comments demonstrated archetypal

values for Deans of Women who guarded women's moral, physical, and social lives after coeducation (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001; Schwartz, 1997b; Tuttle, 1996).[1] Acting as such guardians embodied the early American college philosophy of "in loco parentis" (acting in place of parents) that equally emphasized students' intellectual, social, moral, and spiritual development as supervised by the college (Delworth & Hanson, 1989).

Evidence of "in loco parentis" was apparent in administrative practices during Mueller's tenure as dean. Mueller often worked directly with parents, as exemplified by securing parental approval prior to issuing students' loans to guarantee repayment (letter from W.G. Biddle to K.H. Mueller, May 29, 1939). At one semester's end, Mueller wrote to parents, rather than students, congratulating them on their daughters' "fine attitude and good citizenship displayed" (letter from K.H. Mueller, February 8, 1945).

Stemming from changing gender relations, women of the 1930s experienced greater scrutiny about their morality (Solomon, 1985). As a result, college administrators of this era focused particular attention on regulating undergraduate women's behaviors (Mueller, 1949). Occasionally the obligation to regulate students' behaviors caused exasperation, particularly when administrators disapproved of students' choices. Mueller, for instance, complained about retrieving a student at midnight because the girl could not "manage her affairs with ordinary prudence," and got "into very bad company" (letter from K.H. Mueller, March 8, 1940). Likewise, President Wells remarked feeling greatly embarrassed to observe senior women smoking during Commencement, declaring, "this must not occur again under any circumstances," and called for increased courteousness and proper conduct (letter from H.B Wells, June 19, 1939).

Administrators also sought control over students' access to automobiles to limit perceived misconduct (Solomon, 1985). Mueller recommended that car permits become a special senior privilege because of the "greatly increased hazard to proper student conduct when large groups of students have free use of their cars" (letter from K.H. Mueller, May 3, 1939). While Mueller did not outline specifically how cars endangered student behavior, her concerns may have been "with the growing popularity and availability of automobiles, the 'back seat' provided a place for intimacy beyond the purview of chaperones" (Solomon, 1985, p. 161). Mueller's later correspondence criticized the slack enforcement of driving regulations, noting that this transportation allowed students access to drinking and dancing establishments in neighboring towns (letter from K.H. Mueller, October 12, 1939).

During Mueller's tenure as dean, IU had gender-specific campus regulations. Women's rules, as outlined in "The Chimes for 1947," explained curfew hours and the implementation of a sign-out book to indicate evening

destinations, men's limited visiting hours, women's prohibited entrance to men's residence rooms and fraternity houses, and weekend away restrictions. Additionally, women could not smoke, wear shorts, sunbathe, or consume alcohol ("The Chimes for 1947").[2] Comparatively, the men's rules imposed no limitations on curfews, weekends away, or nighttime destinations, but forbade firearms or other weapons, soliciting, pets, gambling, and alcohol. Curiously, only the men's handbook outlined regulations prohibiting women from attending dances in town or without proper chaperones, perhaps a reflection of the customary practice that men invited women to dances ("Official Handbook – 1947-48").[3] "Official Handbook of Procedures, Rules and Regulations 1947-48, Halls of Residence for Men," indicated that sorority houses and women's residence halls permitted dances with permission on limited days. Furthermore, it clarified that the university contacted parents about all disciplinary cases involving any student under 21, as "...such student is a "ward" of the Halls of Residence when away from home." As a parallel, Radcliffe College, an all-female institution, also strictly regulated students' behavior in the 1930s, as women were never to appear in Harvard Square without wearing a hat and gloves, fearing that students would draw unfavorable attention to themselves and, by extension, the college (Solomon, 1985).

Mueller explicitly supported and perpetuated this double standard of sex-based campus regulations, as evidenced in her writing, "Sex Differences in Campus Regulations," published in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* (Mueller, 1954). Mueller (1954) defended sex-differentiated expectations by explaining that women should be "always aware of the society that will eventually sit in judgment on her personal qualifications and determine her future success" (p. 528). Reinforcing stereotypes, Mueller (1954) described women's success as based on social relationships, attractiveness, manners, and ethical standards, rather than the categorically more masculine business skills, technical proficiency, and earning potential. Because Mueller (1954) believed that women should be more concerned with their social relationships and ethical standards, she confirmed that women's regulations determined "the necessary good morale and high standards of the campus ... for men as well as for women" (p. 529).

Horowitz (1987) concluded that most Interwar Generation college women did not rebel against strict moral codes. Two research studies from the 1930s found college women more likely to hold conservative political beliefs, maintain specific moral standards, and follow the views of their parents or public opinion (Horowitz, 1987). However, to the women deans' apprehension, Interwar college women also increasingly focused on dating to meet potential suitors and ensure social prestige (Mueller, 1949). College

women's absorption with romance caused intergenerational conflicts between administrators and students, as administrators wanted to regulate women's dating to protect their moral standing, while students hoped to increase their dating to establish their social standing (Mueller, 1954).

A Practitioner and Scholar

As Dean of Women, Mueller did more than regulate undergraduates' behavior, since she managed all aspects of student services for women. She coordinated student loans and scholarships, hired residence life staff, inspected boarding houses, planned an annual career conference, advised sororities and the Association of Women Students, and represented women's interests on various student service committees (Mueller, personal memoir, 1971). Additionally, during Mueller's tenure, two female residence halls opened, the IU's Board of Trustees mandated on-campus residence for all first-year women, and women's enrollment grew by almost 50% (Indiana University Archives General Reference Files, n.d.).

Mueller also distinguished herself among the women dean scholar-practitioners, a select group of professionals who anchored their work in rigorous research (Schwartz, 1997b). She completed three empirical studies, noting that she preferred research to "hearsay and anecdotal methods, which are not only unfair to the worker, but detrimental to the success of personnel work" (letter from K.H. Mueller, June 3, 1941). To compare various learning environments, one of her studies evaluated the academic performance of first-year women living in residence halls, sororities, and boarding rooms (letter from H.B Wells, November 8, 1940). A separate investigation responded to President Wells' written complaints about noise in the women's residence halls. For this, Mueller and her staff designed a qualitative study of 100 women's perceptions of residential life (Residence Hall Study, 1941-42). Following a proposal from the Committee on Women's Education, Mueller completed a quantitative study of all graduates and 1000 non-graduates to ascertain women's work history, marriage and family status, and appraisals of the college curriculum (Report on Women Graduates, 1942-43).

Conservative and Conformist Regarding Racial and Gender Issues

Socially and politically conservative, Mueller supported the "separate but equal" policy regarding African American students. As segregation prevented African American women from living in the new residence halls, they resided in the Dargan House, a substandard boarding house that Mueller described as:

> Students must go through each other's rooms to bathrooms, or to the hall. There are curtains instead of doors. Closets are not properly located. The furniture is drab. The furnace smokes. Also the repairs surveyed and

general upkeep and supervision are sub-standard (letter from K.H. Mueller, February 15, 1940).

Rather than object to these conditions, Mueller instead sought to renegotiate a $.50 reduction in the weekly fees. She also sought another African American boarding house, noting the overcrowded conditions of Dargan House, reporting that one student slept on a hallway couch (letter from K.H. Mueller, December 2, 1940).

Yet, during the same year, Mueller discouraged an initiative to create a new African American student residence, as proposed by a professor from Prairie View State College, a historically Black college (letter from H.L. Owen, May 6, 1940). Mueller questioned whether the professor could endow this project and why the professor would give up "such a good position ... in the Foods Department of Prairie View College for such a precarious and unremunerative project" (letter from K.H. Mueller, May 27, 1940). Defending the Dargan House, Mueller described it as comparable to other rooming houses that charged similar fees, as well as clean and supervised by University-funded counselors. She further explained that the University was negotiating for an improved boarding house with accommodations and costs equivalent to the residence halls, but doubted whether there were "no more than three girls who could afford to pay more than the present price of $2.50 per week for their rooms" (letter from K.H. Mueller, May 27, 1940). Unfortunately, Mueller accurately depicted the financial challenges facing African Americans at that time. A study of Black collegians at Howard University in 1929 found that African American students' median income was only about half that of White students at comparable institutions (Solomon, 1985). In addition to legal segregation that prevented African American women from living on campus, financial challenges created another impasse.

Further evidence suggests that Mueller was noncommittal about equity in female employment. When considering University labor problems, she noted, "In the University, girls get $.25 an hour and men get $.30 an hour for general housework and other unskilled labor." Mueller also remarked that Bloomington labor was less costly, which diminished students' opportunities because, "A woman will do general housework all day ... for a dollar" (letter from K.H. Mueller, n.d.). Unfortunately, at that time, conservative opinions about gender issues were widespread (Chafe, 1977). Rossiter's (1995) study of women scientists noted that before Affirmative Action White professional women "lacked the vocabulary ... and the civil rights concepts to recognize systematic patterns, identify the responsible parties, and plan how to correct the situations," and because "they were either grateful for their current status or desperate not to lose even that, they were reluctant to criticize the powerful and successful" (p. xvii).

Women's Opportunities at IU Grow during World War II

It would take the onset of World War II and the ensuing labor needs for women to achieve, although temporarily, equal remuneration and career opportunities (Hartmann, 1982). The beginning of World War II also brought unique academic and career opportunities for IU female students, as demonstrated in changes to the women's career conference and curricular options from 1938 to 1944. In spring of 1939, Mueller received $200 for the first women's career conference that featured nine professionals (letter from K.H. Mueller, April 3, 1939). By comparison, the 1942 women's career conference received $1000, featured twenty speakers, distributed 7400 career booklets, and announced a shortened wartime curriculum for women (letter from W.G. Biddle, November 3, 1942). Mueller coordinated this highly vocational curriculum that offered training for thirty different careers. Career fields for which women could receive training included eight in civil service, five in hard sciences (Chemistry, Engineering, Laboratory Technician, Meteorology, and Physics), three in war-related fields (Map Making, Social Statistics, and Languages), and three in business careers, plus the more female-associated employment of teaching, nursing, and child care ("Careers for Women," 1942).

IU's educational campaign for women to enter male-dominated professions was not unique. In the early 1940s Vassar College for women also saw the proportion of students majoring in sciences rise to 26% (Hartmann, 1982; Solomon, 1985). Shortages in the male-dominated field of engineering resulted in twenty-nine engineering schools enrolling women between 1940 and 1945. These institutions included Carnegie Institute of Technology, Columbia University, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (Rossiter, 1995).

These new opportunities for women stemmed from an unprecedented demand for workers generated by the war (Hartmann, 1982). From 1940 to 1944, six million women joined the work force, increasing the female labor market by 50%, and decreasing the nationwide female college enrollment (Chafe, 1991; Solomon, 1985). Faced with declining student enrollments from the war effort, IU sought to stabilize its enrollment by attracting and retaining female students and by developing cooperative educational arrangements with local industries (letter from K.H. Mueller, February 12, 1943). Propaganda was evident in the women's career booklets that encouraged women to complete degree programs. The booklet posed a question about whether students should work in factories. The booklet's reply indicated:

> If you have those talents plus an intellectual interest and skill, you owe it both to your country and yourself to develop your ability to meet the pressing demands for laboratory technicians, for laboratory teachers and supervisors ... you fail to do your whole duty if you drop out of school

> now for a job which demands of you less than you are capable of doing" ("Careers for Women," 1942-43).

However much women's employment opportunities grew during World War II, the career booklet also foreshadowed the temporary nature of these changes. One question posed in the booklet inquired whether college women should sacrifice cultural subjects for the war effort. The booklet's reply cemented women's domestic and cultural responsibilities:

> The men of this college generation are receiving education and training in very limited and technical fields ... The burden of responsibility placed on women now in college is therefore doubled ... Men will provide the business enterprise and the income of the American high standards of living, but they will expect their women folk to maintain those home standards and to promote the cultural values of the community ("Careers for Women," 1942-43).

This reminded women students that their familiar roles would take precedence at the war's end (Hartmann, 1982).

The 1942-43 "Report of the Dean of Women" underscored the apparent manic state of the university during World War II. During the summer, soldiers occupied the White women's residence hall and their departure prior to the start of school was uncertain. In response, Mueller and her staff canvassed the Bloomington community to secure prospective boarding houses, although many out-of-town defense workers had obtained the available rooms. In desperation, White women students lived on two converted floors of the Union Building. These uncertainties created significant challenges for the residence life staff, which struggled to secure employees, as women previously attracted to this field pursued new work opportunities. During this very intense year, Mueller nevertheless supervised two research studies, published predictions of women's enrollment in *The New York Times,* and received an appointment to the state and national divisions of the National Association of Women Deans ("Report of the Dean of Women," 1942-43). These accomplishments demonstrated how Mueller, like many women, recognized her leadership potential during World War II (Eisenmann, 2002).

After Japan's surrender in August 1945, Americans rejoiced at the war's end and families prepared for loved ones to return (Chafe, 1991). In light of closing munitions factories and eleven million soldiers returning home, many experts questioned whether there were enough jobs for both women and the returning veterans (Rossiter, 1995). Fearing a recession and massive unemployment, there was a desire to restore gender-based economic and social patterns of responsibility (Eisenman, 2002). For example, Frederick Crawford, from the National Association of Manufacturers, who supported

women's war efforts, afterwards declared, "from a humanitarian point of view, too many women should not stay in the labor force; The home is the basic American institution" (as cited in Chafe, 1991, p. 156).

Apprehension of widespread unemployment also motivated the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (Eisenmann, 1998). This program allowed numerous veterans to attend college; at its peak, veterans represented 50% of the nationwide college population (Tuttle, 1996). More specifically, for IU in 1945, the male enrollment increased by 5,332 students and the total student enrollment more than doubled the previous year's (Indiana University Archives General Reference Files, n.d.).

The Student Personnel Movement and Reorganization at IU

World War II and its aftermath precipitated institutional reorganizations among many colleges and universities, as high-level administrators, in response to surging enrollments, sought to streamline student personnel functions and increase efficiency (Tuttle, 1996). The personnel movement stemmed from Walter Dill Scott's "personnel psychology," established at Northwestern University as a battery of vocational tests to support development (Schwartz, 1997a). These student personnel functions united with an efficiency movement that resulted in a single director, coordinating different personnel offices, and eliminating duplicate efforts in different offices (Nidiffer, 2000). Accordingly, IU's plan for efficiency recommended consolidating the offices of Dean of Women and Men and centralizing first-year advising (Tuttle, 1996). Mueller opposed both initiatives, as she did not want to separate students' academic and personal experiences and she feared losing supervision of the women's residence halls, sororities, and leadership groups to the newly created Dean of Students office (letter from K.H. Mueller, September 19, 1945).

Yet in 1946, IU centralized student personnel functions and dissolved the Dean of Women's office (memorandum from R.H. Shaffer, September 18, 1946). President Wells appointed Colonel Shoemaker as Dean of Students because Wells perceived Shoemaker capable of responding to the housing and enrollment demands from the veterans' return to campus. Reportedly the "right man for that era," Shoemaker knew the University as a previous Professor of Military Science and Tactics and as the Commandant of the Army Specialized Training Program (Tuttle, 1996).

As Mueller described the reorganization, Shoemaker convened the student personnel staff and distributed a new organizational chart, already endorsed by the Board of Trustees. Like a military order, he directed the staff to relocate to their new offices and dismissed them without discussion (letter from K.H. Mueller, January 14, 1947). After the reorganization, Mueller's title changed to Assistant Dean of Students – Educational Advisor

for Women, and she advised women students and taught graduate student personnel classes (Rossiter, 1995). To Eunice Hilton, Dean of Women at Syracuse University, Mueller complained that no one sought her opinion, and that she no longer served on any committees, even those she previously chaired. More personally, she lamented that Shoemaker never asked for her opinion regarding reorganizing the division, women students' needs, or strengths and weaknesses of her staff. Although she considered resignation or protest, Mueller acquiesced to her new situation, as she feared being conspicuous in the University community and embarrassing Shoemaker (letter from K.H. Mueller, January 14, 1947).

The Phenomena of Disappearing Deans of Women

Unfortunately, Mueller was not alone in her demotion. By the mid-1940s, more male deans became Deans of Students, steadily removing or displacing female deans (Nidiffer, 2000). Schwartz (1997a) confirmed this widespread phenomenon as campuses adopted the student personnel movement and "the Deans of Men were realigned into such positions as Dean for Student Personnel, Dean of Students and Vice President for Student Personnel Services," and "Deans of Women were given lesser positions, dismissed, or allowed to retire quietly" (p. 434). Hartmann (1982) observed that through such reorganizations, women deans lost direct access to institutional leaders, control over their budgets, and a voice in institutional leadership and policy-making. In 1946, Alice Lloyd, Dean of Women for University of Michigan, summed up the problem succinctly:

> Still more disquieting has been a trend on many coeducational campuses to abolish the office of the Dean of Women in favor of a Dean of Students (always a man) with a Counselor of Women under him. In every instance where this has occurred and there have been many, the position of the women has diminished in salary and in prestige. There are not many women on university faculties and in university administration to defend the position of women (Nidiffer, 2000).

Not only did women deans lose their positions and leadership roles on campus, but women students lost their advocates (Tuttle, 1996).

As World War II ended, working women in the general populace, like Deans of Women, also experienced a dilemma of diminishing employment. Chafe (1991) documented that after the war, women made up 60% of all workers released from positions and were laid off at a rate of 75% more frequently than men.

Retrospective Analysis of Gender Identity and Societal Expectations

Clearly, Mueller experienced a devastating professional and personal blow, as she dedicated eight years to IU's Dean of Women's office, gained a

national reputation, and excelled throughout the challenges of World War II. Additionally, Rossiter (1995) observed that Mueller possessed superior credentials in comparison to Shoemaker, as she had a doctorate in Psychology and a diploma in counseling from the American Board of Examiners in Psychology. Mueller acknowledged the personal injury and feelings of helplessness to her colleague, Hilton:

> Sometimes I wish that there would be just one person, anyone, anywhere, who would say to the President that it is too bad to lose my services! But as I have often looked at all my friends, colleagues, acquaintances, I have been forced to realize that there will never be anybody to do that (letter from K.H. Mueller, January 14, 1947).

In light of Mueller's many accomplishments, one could rightly question why she did not speak for herself to protest the demotion. However, for Mueller to question the reorganization and her removal would involve confronting the conventional norm of men as natural leaders and women as categorically less assertive. Recall that Mueller observed that President Wells offered her the Dean of Women's positions because of her husband. It was also Mueller's belief that married women should sacrifice career ambitions for their husband's success (Coomes et al., 1987).

Rossiter (1995) discovered that during and after World War II, women scientists, like Mueller, struggled to believe in their potential and articulate their professional ambitions. She observed that these women considered themselves less capable than men, and doubted whether to advocate for themselves. These women scientists were often female academicians, who succeeded in a conservative profession and tended to be more cautious. These academicians saw little value or possible gain in political activitism and believed that, to measure up, women should work harder, with more discipline and achievement (Rossiter, 1995).

Mueller fit this depiction of such a conservative and cautious leader, as evidenced in her ambivalence towards racial and gender equity. Moreover, for Mueller to outwardly object to her demotion would require combating and abandoning her strongly internalized gender identity, which conceived female success as deeply embedded in social relationships, attractiveness, and manners. She strongly believed that society would "eventually sit in judgment on her personal qualifications and determine her future success" (Mueller, 1954, p. 528). Thus, a public confrontation appeared too great a challenge to her female identity, as it risked her 'good morale' and 'high standards.' Nevertheless, in 1947 Mueller privately articulated to Hilton her observations that working women formed a uniquely discriminated class:

> Women (professional or career women) are a typical minority group, just

> like Negroes or Jews. But they are in a much worse position really, because every housewife is on the husband's side and against them. ... she wants her husband to have the advantage in competition. She subscribes to the male superiority legend. She is the professional woman's worst enemy (letter from K.H. Mueller, January 20, 1947).

Conclusion

Examining the professional and personal history of Kate Hevner Mueller and her role as Dean of Women from 1938 to 1947 provides insight to powerful forces that shaped White female identity at this time. From this history, one considers how White women's career ambitions were limited so to augment men's professional opportunities. As Mueller internalized societal expectations for White women, one understands how women maintained behavior patterns that deferred to men. In her role as an educator, one sees how Mueller socialized younger White women for success in a patriarchal system by maintaining the norms, values, and identities that limited women's potential and unquestioningly accepted their secondary status. However, Mueller does not deserve blame for the larger patriarchal culture at this time. Mueller was a single actor among many that reinforced White women's secondary status in American society. Furthermore, Mueller seemingly sought to assist younger White women to succeed in a society that did not perceive them as equally capable to make choices about employment, family, morality, and personal fulfillment (Chafe, 1991).

Notes

[1] Nidiffer reported that when the University of Michigan contemplated coeducation the Board of Trustees sought recommendations from Charles Grandison Finney, president of Oberlin College, the first institution to enroll women. Reportedly, Finney indicated, "You will need a wise and pious matron with such lady assistants as to keep up supervision." Schwartz claimed as coeducation became more common in the late nineteenth century, many college presidents appointed female faculty members as Deans of Women to advise, assist, and counsel women students, as a new minority population on campus.

[2] "The Chimes for 1947," indicated that the Association of Women Students created women's visitation hours. Women's housing units closed at 10:30pm except on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday nights. On Wednesday, women's housing units closed at 11:30pm, and on Friday and Saturday nights they closed at 12:30pm. Men were limited to visit women on Wednesday

and Friday from 4pm until closing and on Saturdays and Sundays from noon until closing. On other nights, men could be in women's residences from 10pm to 10:30pm. No woman could go to a fraternity or men's dorm without a chaperone approved by the Student Activities Office. Women were to utilize a sign-out book to indicate their nighttime destinations in case of an emergency. Women students needed to complete over-night slips with the house chaperone, and if a woman wanted to go out of town with a male student, the Dean of Women needed to grant permission. Women received five "out-in-town" permits per semester.

[3] "Official Handbook of Procedures, Rules and Regulations 1947-48, Halls of Residence for Men," indicated that sorority houses and women's residence halls permitted dances with permission on limited days. Furthermore, it clarified that the university contacted parents about all disciplinary cases involving any student under 21, as "...such student is a "ward" of the Halls of Residence when away from home."

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Jennifer Buckley is a first-year doctoral student in Higher Education and Student Affairs at Indiana University Bloomington. She earned her B.A. in Political Science from Gettysburg College and her M.S. is College Student Personnel from Miami University of Ohio. Before pursing her doctorate, she worked for eleven years in student affairs. Send correspondence about this article to the author at jeabuckl@indiana.edu

Asian Pacific Americans in Predominantly White Sororities: Perceptions of Racial Climate

Michelle Bernstein, Jackie Jones, Marianne Scott, Tara Sherwin

This qualitative study examines the experiences of Asian Pacific American (APA) women in predominantly White sororities at a large, public, predominantly White institution. It reveals the racial and ethnic identity development of APAs in these organizations, as well as their perceptions of racial climate in both their sororities and on the campus at large.

Introduction

The Asian Pacific American (APA) student population is both the largest and the fastest growing minority group in higher education today. In 1998, the APAs represented 5.8% of all college students, an 83.8% rise in population since 1986 (Escueta & O'Brien, 1995). Yet, in spite of their significant representation on college and university campuses, APAs receive considerably less attention as a racial/ethnic group compared to existing research on other minorities (Kodama, McEwen, Liang, & Lee, 2002). Much of the research that does exist focuses on the "model minority" myth, which depicts APA students as both highly achieved academically and easily assimilated into the White American culture (Kawaguchi, 2003). Few studies actually examine the conception of easy assimilation to determine if APAs really do blend in seamlessly with their White peers.

As a significant means of student involvement in many campus environments, Greek organizations can play a major role in shaping the social and academic experiences of their members (Anson & Marchesani, 1991; Hayek, Carini, O'Day, & Kuh, 2002; Kuh & Lyons, 1990; Malaney, 1990; McKee, 1987; Winston & Saunders, 1987). While they maintain a long history of exclusionary practices against non-White students, fraternities and sororities claim to be incorporating more diversity in their memberships (Chang, 1996). As a part of higher education culture, which more and more endorses the importance of diverse representation in student enrollments, Greek organizations' assertions of diversity could be a reflection of the influence of their respective institutions (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Because of the perception that APAs easily assimilate into White American culture and the importance of Greek life to university culture, the researchers chose to study APA women in predominantly White sororities. Specifically, they hoped to answer the following questions: Why would an APA woman choose to join a predominantly White sorority? What, if

anything, does that imply about her racial identity development? How do APA women perceive the racial climate of their predominantly White sororities? What, if anything, does the racial climate suggest about the racial climate of the campus?

Literature Review

Asian Pacific American Identity Development

Hune and Chan (1997) defined APAs as people "who call the United States their home and trace their ancestry to countries from the Asian continent and sub-continent and islands within the Pacific Rim" (p. 39). With this definition, the APA population encompasses individuals from over 30 ethnicities, all with variations in migration history and cultural experiences, values, and beliefs. Furthermore, individual APA students can have different experiences based on their generation in the United States. These variables can and do affect these students' identity development (Kodama et al., 2002).

As stated above, the "model minority" myth serves as the basis for much of the existing research on APA students (Kawaguchi, 2003). Society expects APAs, as "model minorities," to perform as well as, if not better than, White students in the classroom, while simultaneously blending in with them in the social environment as well (Kodama et al., 2002). The combination of these expectations creates the misconception that APA students experience little or no difficulty gaining acceptance from their White peers at predominantly White institutions (Liang, 2003). In reality, the sense of being simultaneously different from and similar to the majority can create significant dissonance in the identity development of APA students (Kodama et al., 2002). However, while many APAs do experience the effects of the "model minority" myth, others, because of the individual differences among APA students noted above, do not. This needs to be considered when examining the racial identity development of APA students.

Several existing models of racial and ethnic identity development can also be used to help understand the personal growth of APA students. Helms's People of Color Racial Identity Model presents five racial identity schemas that show how APA students respond to and internalize race-related societal messages, particularly regarding racism and oppression (Alvarez & Helms, 2001). The schemas proceed from least to most complex, describing the level of comfort APAs feel with their Asian Pacific American identity. The first and least complex schema is Conformity, which is characterized by denial or minimization of the importance of race. APAs who operate from this schema prefer the standards and norms of White

American culture to Asian culture. Dissonance, the second schema, involves a sense of confusion or ambivalence about identifying as Asian Pacific American. The third, Immersion-Emersion, includes the psychological immersion in and idealization of the Asian Pacific American racial group. Students in this schema reject the White American culture. Internalization is marked by the ability to objectively analyze the strengths and weaknesses of both White and Asian Pacific Americans. Finally, Integrative Awareness involves developing a personal definition of racial identity, usually incorporating aspects of both groups (Alvarez & Helms, 2001). These schemas determine how APAs internalize messages about their race; students in the less complex schemas tend to perceive messages as negative, while those in the more complex schemas perceive messages as positive (Alvarez & Helms, 2001).

While Helms's model helps to understand APAs' racial identity, Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development outlines three phases that describe how APAs process their ethnic identity as it relates to culture, religion, geography, and language (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). The first phase, Diffusion-Foreclosure, describes APA students who have not explored their feelings and attitudes toward their ethnicity. Most students in Diffusion-Foreclosure are uninterested in their Asian Pacific American ethnicity. Moratorium, the second stage, is marked by an increasing awareness of ethnicity and an emotional intensity toward the dominant culture. A strong bicultural identity characterizes the third stage, Identity Achievement. APA students in this stage accept and welcome both the White and Asian cultures (Evans et al., 1998). Both Phinney's model and Helms's model provide guidelines for understanding the ethnic and racial identity of APA students in the context of the co-curricular college environment.

Asian Pacific Americans in Predominantly Greek Organizations

Extensive research notes the potential benefits of membership in Greek fraternities and sororities (Anson & Marchesani, 1991; Chang, 1995; Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Hayek et al., 2002; Kuh & Lyons, 1990; Malaney, 1990; McKee, 1987; Winston & Saunders, 1987). Social integration, college persistence, leadership development, career networking, and community service opportunities are all apparent advantages of Greek participation (Hayek et al., 2002; Malaney, 1990; McKee, 1987; Winston & Saunders, 1987). However, predominantly White fraternities and sororities exhibit deficiencies in significant areas of student development, specifically, exposure to and acceptance of student diversity (Chang, 1995; Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Malaney, 1990). In spite of claims of increased diversity in membership, most Greek organizations select students who adhere to the

White, politically conservative, affluent, and less racially tolerant profile that has long characterized their members (Chang, 1996).

Chang (1995) noted that minority members who cross the lines of race and ethnicity to become members of predominantly White Greek organizations often share their White peers' interests and views of society, as well as values, ideologies, and political beliefs. Minority members in these fraternities and sororities seem to be more integrated into White American culture and less likely to identify with their racial/ethnic group (Chang, 1995). These findings correspond with Astin's theory of peer groups, in which individuals identify and affiliate with others who they feel are like them in significant ways (Hurtado et al., 1999). If minority members feel more comfortable with and similar to their White peers, they will want to surround themselves with White peers, rather than other minority members.

Kuh and Whitt (1988) described the distinction of fraternities and sororities as an interesting type of subculture. While they maintain many characteristics of a subculture, including regular contact among members, strong group loyalty, clear distinction between members and nonmembers, and shared values, they also reflect many of the values and beliefs of the dominant culture of the college or university. Because Greek organizations must abide by the rules and regulations of the institution, they automatically adopt some of the institution's values. It is therefore likely that some of the practices, principles and beliefs of the institution can be seen in the practices, principles, and beliefs of its fraternities and sororities (Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Racial and Ethnic Climate on College Campuses

As defined by Hurtado et al. (1999), campus climate is the combination of the historical legacy of inclusion/exclusion, structural diversity in numerical representation on campus, psychological climate of perceptions and attitudes between and among groups, and the behavioral climate dimension (intergroup relations). Campus climate varies from institution to institution, as well as from different individual perspectives; it is often a subjective view. For example, a faculty member might view the campus racial climate differently than a student or a staff member (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996). However, in research regarding campus racial and ethnic climate, students have reported that more could be done about improving the campus climate for diversity (Arnold, 1995).

The level of racial and ethnic diversity and integration on campus can greatly influence the behavior of the student body. Kanter (as cited in Hurtado et al., 1998) stated that a campus with any kind of significant majority of one racial or ethnic group will negatively affect the amount of social interaction among White students and students of color. Campuses

that have such skewed numbers create barriers for student interaction and learning from different perspectives (Hurtado et al., 1998). In contrast, Arnold (1995) mentioned that visual representations on campus can promote positive awareness of and interaction between diverse cultures. Students also benefit academically and socially from having diverse peers; students are more open to diversity and can learn from different perspectives (Hurtado et al., 1998; Pascarella et al., 1996).

Methodology

Participants

The sample consisted of eight female members of two predominantly White sororities at a large, public, research institution in the Midwest. According to University statistics, women comprise 52.5% of the campus population. Three percent of the University's population is Asian American—a percentage that has remained constant for nearly a decade (Brehm, 2003). In contrast, the White, non-international student population is 82%, which indicates that the majority of the University student population is White.

Four participants were White; four were Asian Pacific American. The four APA participants included two Koreans, one Singhalese, and one Thai. As noted in the literature review, significant cultural differences exist among various APA sub-groups (Hune & Chan, 1997). While the researchers recognize and appreciate these differences, the small sample size and minimal time allowed for the study prohibited the researchers from effectively drawing conclusions specific to those sub-groups.

The participants ranged in age from 19 to 21 years and represented sophomore, junior, and senior class standings. Of the women interviewed, more than half held leadership positions in their sororities. Both sororities represented had at least 100 members.

Participant Biographies

<u>White women:</u>

Jamie was a senior from a small, predominantly White town in the Midwest. She held a leadership position in a sorority composed of approximately 105 members.

Sally was a junior from a predominantly White Midwestern suburb and held multiple leadership positions in a sorority of approximately 110 women.

Felicity was a junior from a small, predominantly White town in the Midwest. Felicity held a leadership position in her sorority of about 105 women.

Katie was a junior from a large, diverse Southeastern city. Although a White woman, Katie was a minority in her sorority of approximately 105 women because of her Jewish faith. She held a leadership position in her sorority.

APA women:

Taylor was a junior who identified as Korean-American. Born in Seoul, Korea, she was adopted by White parents in the United States. Taylor grew up in a mid-sized, moderately diverse college town in the Midwest. Her sorority housed almost 110 women.

Tina was a senior in a sorority of approximately 105 women. She held multiple leadership positions, including president of her chapter. She identified as Thai and was a first-generation U.S. citizen. Tina grew up in a small, predominantly White Midwestern town.

Tanya was a junior from Sri Lanka who grew up in a mid-sized, predominantly White Midwestern college town. She held a leadership position in her sorority of about 105 women.

Jackie, a sophomore from a mid-sized, moderately diverse, Midwestern suburb, was born in South Korea and was adopted by White parents in the United States. Her sorority consisted of approximately 105 women.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through organization solicitation via email. Each participant was thoroughly informed of the intent of the research and subsequently gave verbal consent to participate in the study. Research guidelines set by the University's Human Subjects Committee were carefully followed. Each participant chose a pseudonym, and names of sororities have been omitted in order to further ensure the anonymity of participants.

Because individual differences are essential to the study, the researchers employed a qualitative research method. At the beginning of each interview session, the researchers asked participants to complete a short survey. The survey contained questions about demographics, sorority, family background, and perceptions of high school, hometown, and campus racial/ethnic diversity.

After completing the survey, participants were interviewed for about one hour each. All interviews were tape-recorded with the express consent of each participant in order to ensure accurate transcription. The interview

questions were open-ended and designed to help the researchers understand the participants' perceptions and experiences in their sororities and on campus in relation to their racial/ethnic identity.

Data Analysis

In order to stay true to the voices of the participants, each interview was transcribed verbatim. Data collected from the transcriptions were analyzed to identify key concepts and themes. Themes emerged in three categories: racial identity, sorority racial climate, and campus racial climate. These themes will be discussed at greater length in the Findings section.

Limitations

This study, like all research, includes limitations that should be considered when evaluating the scope of the findings. While the goal of qualitative research is not broad generalizability, it is important to mention that the relatively small number of participants and sororities represented do not allow assumptions to be made about the experiences or perceptions of members of all sororities on the campus studied or about the campus at large. The findings may not be applicable to non-Greek students, nor to other Greek or non-Greek organizations. Furthermore, due to the racial makeup of the institution used in the study, results cannot be transferred to campuses that have a different composition and/or racial climate.

Findings

After coding the interviews, three themes emerged revolving around racial identity, sorority racial and ethnic climate, and campus racial and ethnic climate. These themes include: the APA identification with White race and culture; the misperception of diversity in predominantly White sororities; and the perceived lack of diversity and integration on campus.

Identification with White Race and Culture

In all of the interviews, the APA women were quick to assert their identity as American. They felt no different from their sorority sisters. Tina, an APA with Thai heritage, stated, "I tell everyone that I am as American as it gets, just like everyone else." Not only did the participants emphasize their American identity, but they also rarely spoke, of their own accord, of their Asian identity. More often the interviewers had to draw this information out of the participants with probing questions.

When asked specifically about their Asian heritage, three out of the four participants admitted that they did not know much about it. Jackie, a Korean participant adopted by a White family, mentioned that she did not

know or identify with the Korean culture, as the first culture she learned was American. She said, "I'm extremely American; I eat hamburgers." She further explained that she did not have the time or desire to investigate her cultural heritage:

> I took Korean first semester to learn the language and I liked it, but it was really complicated to learn it this late in life. It was a good culture class because I got to understand more about South Korea. I do want to go back eventually, but now is not the time.

With little to no interest in either her Asian race or culture, the researchers placed Jackie in Conformity and Diffusion-Foreclosure, the least complex and developed levels of Helms's People of Color Racial Identity Model and Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Evans et al., 1998).

While Taylor, also adopted by White parents, acknowledged her native Korean race, she, similarly to Jackie, did not identify with the Asian culture. She said, "Obviously, I'm genetically Asian, but I'm not familiar with the culture. I can't speak the language." However, unlike Jackie, Taylor did express some interest in learning more about the Korean culture and discovering what being an Asian American meant to her: "I went to the Asian Culture Center a few times, I got some books on Korea. I was on this huge Asian thing, but it faded." With her current ambivalence in developing her APA identity, the researchers placed Taylor in Helms's Dissonance schema and between Phinney's Diffusion-Foreclusure and Moratorium stages (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Evans et al., 1998). The researchers identified, Tina, an APA with Thai heritage, at the same levels of development as Taylor. Although she expressed some interest in her culture, describing infrequent visits to Thailand, she also claimed, "Half the people I know probably know more about Thailand than I do. It's horrible, but it's so true!"

Out of the four APA participants, Tanya, an APA from Sri Lanka, seemed the most comfortable with an Asian Pacific American identity, although more culturally than racially. Tanya appreciates her Asian culture; she fluently speaks the Singhalese language and travels often to her native country. Accordingly, the researchers placed her in Phinney's Identity Achieved stage; she enjoys both her White American and Asian Pacific American cultures (Evans et al., 1998). Racially, however, Tanya seemed less developed. In her interview, she noted that she feels like an outsider when she travels to Sri Lanka, but in the United States, she feels like everyone else: "When I go there [Sri Lanka], I just feel like the American. But when I'm here, I don't feel like that at all. I just feel like me." Tanya did not necessarily prefer the standards of the White race, but neither did she

feel completely Asian Pacific American. Because of Tanya's racial ambivalence, the researchers placed her in Helms's Dissonance schema (Alvarez & Helms, 2001).

Even though the APA participants had experienced varying levels of exposure to their Asian race and culture, the researchers found that they shared similar levels of identity development, both racially and culturally. Racially, the women all fell within the first two schemas of Helms's model, Conformity or Dissonance; they either clearly preferred the White portion of their identity to their Asian one or felt ambivalent about their Asian race. Racial identity was not salient for these women. They preferred to self-identify as simply "American" more than anything else. Culturally, only one participant felt truly connected to her Asian culture; the others had little to no interest in learning more about their heritage. Overall, their remarks indicated that these APA women in predominantly White sororities had lesser developed racial and ethnic identities.

Misperception of Diversity in Predominantly White Sororities

Both the APA and the White women interviewed mentioned that they viewed minority women in their organizations "just like everyone else." The APA participants felt that their race and ethnicity played no role in their relationships with their White sisters. For example, when asked how she thought her sisters perceived her, Taylor, stated, "As far as how they perceive me as far as any Asian aspect goes, I don't think that's an issue, it's not like I feel ostracized in any way." An APA in a different sorority, Jackie, said, "I feel everyone is accepting. We [minority sisters] are very much involved in the sorority – we aren't ousted at all." Tina noted, "I don't think a lot of them [White sisters] see a huge difference . . . because I'm so much like them . . . They don't really make a distinction between them and myself." Similarly, the White participants said that they did not look at their minority sisters as different from themselves. One White member, Jamie, noted:

> They joke that they have brown love, our minority members say they have brown love, they just joke about it because most of us don't look at them that way. I don't look at them as a minority, she's still my pledge sister . . . I don't think about them as a minority except when people ask, 'Do you have someone in your sorority that's like this?' . . . and then, yeah, I do. I don't pay attention to it until then.

Sally, a White member from different sorority, added, "We view the minority women in the sorority the same as every other sister."

While some of the APA women did notice the minorities within the different predominantly White sororities when going through recruitment,

they based their decisions to join their respective chapters primarily on shared interests and values. For example, Taylor acknowledged that the one minority member in her chosen sorority might have subconsciously made her feel more comfortable during recruitment, but she ultimately joined for other reasons. She said:

> I chose to join my sorority because — there's several reasons I did, like I've said, academics are really important to me and I knew that I didn't want to go to a house where that wasn't like stressed. . . But I liked [my sorority] because I had a really good friend in there also from my high school and just the fact that I knew they promoted academics, but they also knew how to have fun. They weren't like dorks or anything [laugh].

Similarly, Tanya noted, "I had [my sorority] number one the whole time, just because I saw a lot of casual, laid-back personalities that I would get along with." For Tina, race was slightly more prevalent in her decision. She revealed that she would not have fit in with the organizations that were "all blonde," but felt drawn to her chosen sorority because "there were brown people." However, she also admitted that she felt similar to her chosen sisters, which helped her decision: "I don't know, I was rushed by a girl who I had the best conversation . . . I'm so much like them." While seeing other minority women helped somewhat in making the participants feel welcome in their sororities, other factors played a more important role.

Furthermore, although both APA and White participants emphasized that their sororities appreciated the importance of diversity, their comments often indicated otherwise. One White member, Felicity, commented, "I wouldn't say our house is extremely diverse. In each pledge class there are probably two or three girls who are of minority." When asked if her sorority endorsed culturally diverse events, Katie, a White member, explained, "We go to cultural events if a member is a part of it. We are more likely to support the member than just randomly go to something like a soul food dinner." Cultural events were not valued so much for the enriching experience as for the opportunity to spend time with sorority sisters.

In response to questions about the emphasis on diversity in recruitment strategies, all of the women, including the APA members, felt that a diverse membership was more of an accidental benefit than a concerted effort. Jackie said:

> It kind of happened that way that we have a lot of different races. We're not looking for those types of girls, but we're accepting of everyone. If she has a cool personality, if she's [the sorority name] material. . . We're always looking for the girl who can bring something extra. She doesn't have to bring that through her race, she can be White too.

A White member of the same sorority, Jamie, added, "I don't know if it's necessarily our mission, but we try to make it known we don't care what ethnicity people are in, but if you're a cool person then, if we like you, if you're involved in things, it doesn't matter to us what color you are." Ultimately, Taylor, an APA member, was the only participant to openly acknowledge the inconsistencies in her sorority's claims of diversity and actual practices: "They stress all the time that we're a diverse chapter, although racially, I'm the only minority. So maybe they are talking about other things, but they do promote diversity." Clearly, although the participants claimed diversity as a priority in their sororities, their follow-up statements indicated otherwise.

None of the APA women interviewed felt their minority status in any way affected their experiences in the sororities or their relationships with their sisters. The White members agreed that race and ethnicity made no difference in how they viewed the minority members. In fact, race and/or ethnicity seemed virtually ignored by most of the participants, indicating that both the APA and White women saw each other as being more similar than different. These claims were substantiated by the fact that diversity and multicultural events held little importance in either recruitment strategies or chapter activities. The APA women in these sororities did feel comfortable and accepted by their sisters, but that comfort and acceptance had little to do with the organizations' value of diversity. The literature review noted that, while predominantly White Greek organizations have been criticized, both historically and currently, for being organizations that shun diversity in chapter membership, racial and ethnic lines can be crossed if members share similar values and beliefs and fit in with the homogeneous environment (Chang, 1995; Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Malaney, 1990). Similarly, because the APA members in this study felt so at home with the White American values and beliefs of their White sisters, they neither saw nor felt any racial or ethnic tension within their sororities.

Perceived Lack of Campus Diversity and Integration

The participants, both APA and White, shared similar feelings about the campus racial and ethnic climate. Most of the women thought that diversity was not a reality on their campus. Taylor said, "When I am walking through campus or in a classroom it's not as diverse as Orientation or other people want to promote it. They're skewing the reality, because in reality it's not as diverse as they say it is." Tanya stated, "[The institution] culture is accepting, but it's still predominantly White." The White participants also reported that they felt the campus was not as diverse as it could or should be. Sally said, "For me it is very diverse, but from working in Orientation, I have

learned that for others it is not diverse at all." Felicity noted, "I don't think that the campus is diverse . . . but it gets better year by year." Katie added, "The campus is pretty White unless you actively seek out diversity. It does not come to you."

Furthermore, the participants also agreed on the lack of racial and ethnic integration on campus. Tina said, "We [the university] have students from everywhere, every culture, every state, but as far as relationships between those people, I don't think it's as great and as wonderful as we make it out to be." Tanya also commented on the lack of integration between races and ethnicities: "We have so many organizations for different groups of people, but the different groups don't do anything together." A White participant, Felicity, noted, ". . . even though we have people from different places and from different religions, groups don't interact as much as they should."

When asked if they had ever faced discrimination on campus, only two of the four APA participants reported examples of discrimination. Both of the participants felt discrimination when people mistakenly assumed that they were Chinese. Tina said, "I hear people say 'that Chinese guy'- well, just because he is Asian does not mean that he is Chinese. And that gets frustrating. It really does. I constantly find myself correcting people." Taylor had a similar comment:

> I hate how people use Chinese as the default Asian race, like when during sorority recruitment my freshman year, this one girl...and I mean it is such a random thing but it sticks out in my mind because it really bothered me...this girl was talking to her friend and she said, 'I almost got ran over today by a Chinese girl on a bike.' She doesn't know if she was Chinese. She could have been Korean. She could have been Japanese. She could have been any Asian race.

The participants' responses revealed an interesting parallel between the campus racial and ethnic climate and that of the predominantly White sororities. All of the women felt that there needed to be more representation and appreciation of diversity on campus. They noted that while the University promoted diversity through programming and marketing, actual diversity was not a reality on the campus at large. The participants perceived a lack of racial and ethnic diversity on campus, but failed to notice a similar environment in their own organizations. Just as the institution seemed to value diversity, so did the sororities, but the actual homogeneity and segregation of the institution was reflected in the chapters as well.

Implications

The results of this study have several implications for student affairs practitioners. Greek advisors need to be aware of the racial and ethnic

inconsistencies present in predominantly White sororities. Although the women claimed to value diversity, that value was rarely seen in their actual activities. This could potentially have a negative effect on the racial and ethnic identity development of the APA members, who already indicated either a preference for White race and culture or an ambivalence toward Asian race and culture.

According to Hurtado et al. (1999), Greek advisors could help improve the racial and ethnic climate in these organizations by mandating cross-programming between the predominantly White Greek organizations and the minority-serving Greek organizations. Members of Greek organizations need diversity programs that help them understand the value of differences rather than placing such a high value on sameness. Seeing firsthand the other fraternities' and sororities' value of diversity could help the White members see the lack thereof in their own groups. Furthermore, the advisors could stress the importance of diverse membership in predominantly White Greek organizations and encourage those groups to actively pursue that diversity in recruitment (Hurtado et al., 1999).

However, practitioners also need to realize that change in the racial and ethnic climate in the Greek organizations is dependent, in part, on change in the campus's racial and ethnic climate (Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Hurtado et al., 1999; Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Conservative, homogeneous membership in predominantly White fraternities and sororities can only change if the campus demographics and integration practices change (Chang & DeAngelo, 2002). Campus administrators need to develop concrete plans to increase minority representation, as well as racial and ethnic integration at their institutions (Hurtado et al., 1999). As some of the participants in this study noted, while a campus might have diversity in numbers, integration in practice is another issue. Both aggressive recruitment strategies and administration-supported, campus-wide multicultural events could help improve institutional racial and ethnic climate (Hurtado et al., 1999).

Future Research

Overall, the findings of this study support the previous literature. The researchers found that APA women who joined predominantly White sororities displayed low levels of both racial and ethnic identity development. Although some more than others, the participants identified more with the White American race and culture than with the Asian Pacific American race and culture. As a result, they felt comfortable as members in predominantly White sororities. Both APA and White members agreed that shared interests and values were more important than shared race or ethnicity. The researchers saw an interesting contradiction in the women's claim of diver-

sity as important, when they neither celebrated nor appreciated it in recruitment strategies or social events. Their comments supported prior research that indicated that the racial and ethnic climate in the predominantly White sororities would parallel that on the predominantly White campus. Indeed, just like the sororities, while the University promoted diversity as important and prevalent, the campus, as viewed by the participants, seemed neither diverse nor integrated. As Kuh and Whitt (1988) noted, the dominant culture of the institution can often be reflected in that of its subcultures.

However, more research should be done to increase the understanding of these issues. Research that examines the experiences of APA members in both predominantly White sororities and Asian-interest sororities would lend insight to the identity development process of APA women, as well as provide interesting comparisons of the racial and ethnic climates in the two different environments. Additionally, while this study focuses on female APA students, more research is needed on APA men and how involvement in predominantly White fraternities and other predominantly White organizations affects their involvement and identity development. Studies could also examine the relationship of APA identity development and racial/ethnic climates with involvement in other co-curricular activities, such as campus religious organizations, student governments, and athletic teams. Finally, when asked about the racial climate of their campus, several participants commented on the lack of interaction between the different cultural and ethnic groups. Future research should assess the amount of both the formal and informal interactions of these groups and what effect these interactions have on the identity development of both the APA and White students.

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Michelle Bernstein graduated from Indiana University in May 2004 with a Master's degree in Higher Education and Student Affairs. She also completed her undergraduate work at Indiana University in 2002, receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in Apparel Merchandising. During graduate school, Michelle worked as a Graduate Assistant for Academic Initiatives and Services. She also completed a practicum at the Indiana University Upward Bound Project and an internship with Ivy Tech State College.

Jackie Jones graduated from Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Michigan in 2002 with a B.S. in Psychology and minors in Marketing and Communications. Jackie also graduated in May of 2004 from the Indiana University Higher Education and Student Affairs program in Bloomington, Indiana. While at Indiana University, Jackie was employed as a Graduate Assistant and Graduate Supervisor with Residential Programs and Services.

Marianne L. Scott graduated from Indiana University in June 2004 with a Master's degree in Higher Education and Student Affairs. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in Journalism from Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. While at IU, Marianne worked as the Program Coordinator for the LL.M (Master of Laws) Program at the IU School of Law in Indianapolis.

Tara Sherwin graduated in May of 2004 with a Master's degree from Indiana University's Higher Education and Student Affairs program. While at Indiana University, Tara worked as the Graduate Assistant for the IU Student Alumni Association. She also served as a Graduate Intern for IU's Office of Orientation Programs. Tara received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Texas Christian University in May of 2002.

The Dilemma of the Church-Related University

Brian Estrada

This paper introduces and explores the issues and problems inherent to the administration of church-related colleges and universities. It includes a discussion of theoretical concepts that shed light on the issues and decisions that occur in this realm of higher education administration. An examination of two cases of these concepts at work reveals that different institutions will handle the issue of religion and church relationship distinctly, based on their own history and situation.

Introduction and Classification of Church-Related Institutions

It is impossible to consider the origins of American higher education without considering the role of religion and church affiliation in the university. Most of the first generation of university builders in North America were active Protestants and ardent believers dedicated to liberal Christianity (Marsden, 1994). Indeed, in 1636, well before the birth of the United States, the first North American church-related institution of higher education appeared in Newtown, Massachusetts (Lucas, 1994). The name of the town later changed to Cambridge, and the chosen name of the college was Harvard. The chief aim of the institution was for every student to "consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life" (Lucas, 1994, p. 104). In antebellum America, the nation's most prestigious universities began with a firmly rooted religious identity (Lyon, Beaty, & Mixon, 2002).

Denominational and religious origins maintained a paramount position on American campuses until the late nineteenth century, when elite universities began quietly turning away from their denominations in search of the spoils of modern science, German standards of scholarship, and the attraction of a broader spectrum of faculty and students (Wolfe, 1997). By either neglect or design, the relationship between many institutions and their sponsoring denominations changed or diminished over time (Dovre, 2001; Marsden, 1994). Over one hundred years ago, Harvard discontinued mandatory chapel and removed the motto "*Christo et Ecclesiae*" from its seal (Lyon, Beaty, & Mixon, 2002). This secularization took place throughout the elite institutions of the Ivy League and, later, similar institutions like originally-Methodist Northwestern or Duke Universities. Secularization was lasting, as today one would need to look very closely to see any discernible difference between Princeton, established by the Presbyterians, and Yale, which was founded by the Congregational Church (Wolfe, 1997).

Conversely, other schools have remained diligently faithful to their

founding denominations and religious missions and continue to operate under that control. A rather notorious example of such an institution is Bob Jones University, which proclaims to "stand without apology for the old-time religion and the absolute authority of the Bible" ('Bob Jones,' n.d.). At Indiana Wesleyan University, which is affiliated with the Wesleyan church, students must attend chapel three times per week and sign statements agreeing to abstain from alcohol, drugs, tobacco, and social dancing, while also avoiding behavior specifically forbidden by Scripture such as lying, gossiping, homosexuality, and premarital sex (Reisberg, 1999). Other institutions take a more moderate route. For instance, Charleston Southern (formerly known as Baptist College at Charleston) and Wingate University (NC) hold tightly to their Southern Baptist ties and heritage, but are also taking steps to achieve a more ecumenical campus climate, especially with the influx of non-Baptists into their student bodies (McMurtrie, 2000).

In the middle of the spectrum, anchored at one end by fully secularized universities and on the other by church-controlled schools, falls another kind of institution, which seeks to simultaneously acknowledge its historical affiliation with a religious denomination while also moving away from direct ties and governance by the church. Wake Forest, Baylor, and Furman Universities, three historically-Baptist institutions, have all recently undergone public severances and/or alterations of their relationship with their state's Baptist Convention (Burtchaell, 1998; Blumenstyk, 1992; 'Baptists,' 1991).

Catholic universities, such as Georgetown and Marquette, present an interesting sub-category. They are in most cases still directly led by ordained priests of their founding orders (such as the Jesuits), but they too face the ecumenical challenge. Recognizing the shifting religious climate and the management needs of the modern university, Georgetown named its first lay president, John J. DeGioia, in February 2001 (Borrego, 2001).

Church-related universities present an interesting array of issues to study. At state universities and the fully secularized elite private schools, the issue of religion need not be raised. At the other end of the religious continuum, institutions with explicit and definite ties to their founding denomination do not face many religious issues because the role of religion remains clear and evident on those campuses. Those institutions that fall in the middle, however, must deal with questions about their religious identity every day. These are universities that "attempt to hold on to a serious commitment to the church while simultaneously striving for . . . academic excellence" (Lyon, Beaty, & Mixon, 2002, p. 326).

The question of religious identity affects how these universities recruit students, how they help students from traditionally absent or underrepresented groups feel comfortable on campus, and how they plan

strategically for the future. One example of the interaction between the religious identity of an institution and a contemporary issue in higher education is the question of how such campuses address the issue of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) students. As Love (1997) pointed out, some common approaches to this issue may indeed be counter-cultural at a church-related institution. GLBT advocates must often operate without vocal support from the administration because of the need to be sensitive to varied constituencies (e.g. Trustees, alumni, church leaders, etc).

For some universities, these questions carry financial consequences if a sponsoring denomination chooses to withdraw monetary support. Even in cases when funding directly from the church is modest or mainly symbolic, contributions from individual members of the denominations can be quite significant and the financial consequences sizeable if they become disenchanted with the institution's focus with respect to the church relationship (Tucker, 2001). For other institutions, the danger lies in the loss of historical identity and distinctiveness in the increasingly competitive marketplace of higher education (Dovre, 2001; Wolfe, 1997).

As religious colleges and universities undergo revitalization and growth and the question of the place of religion in the academy is revisited (Wolfe, 1997; Dovre, 2001; Marsden, 1994), so too grows the need to understand these institutions. This paper serves as an introduction to and a discussion of some of the factors affecting the administration of church-related (but not governed) colleges and universities. It includes a summary of some useful contributions from theoretical literature, as well as an examination of two specific cases from this area of higher education administration.

Saga and Janusian Thinking at Church-Related Universities

Culture at American colleges and universities manifests itself in many forms (Kuh & Whitt, 2000). Of these, organizational saga is defined as a historical narrative describing the unique accomplishments of an established group and its leaders, sometimes in heroic terms (Kuh & Whitt, 2000; Clark, 2000). Organizational sagas have either a low or high durability. A low durability saga results from a relatively unstructured social setting, and is created and controlled not within the organization, but by outsiders, such as the mass media (Clark, 2000). In most higher education settings, however, organizational sagas are highly durable because they are built slowly in structured social contexts (Clark, 2000). In short, they are part of what turns a formal place into a beloved institution to which people can be passionately devoted (Clark, 2000). Sagas often originate from the actions of a single person or small cadre, and usually are entwined with the founding of an institution. They are usually buoyed by personnel, unique programs, a social

base, a student subculture, and imagery (Clark, 2000).

Sagas play a particularly key role at private, church-related institutions because such an institution usually only exists due to the determination and convictions of a small group of people involved in its founding. The typical saga is one that tells of humble, uncertain beginnings for an institution that, through perseverance and visionary leadership, grew into a mature university. Texas Christian University boasts such a saga, in which the founders, Addison and Randolph Clark, "set out from Fort Worth . . . to pursue [the] dream of establishing a strong, lasting institution dedicated to education within the context of a Christian way of life" (Swaim, 1992). Today, this saga is passed on to visitors and new students on campus, who hear that the school was among the first coeducational institutions west of the Mississippi River and that it survived a ruinous fire on one of its first campuses (Swaim, 1992).

Saga matters to church-related institutions because an institution that moves away from its founding denomination risks undermining its organizational saga. Changing the nature of the institution's church relationship can affect many of the components mentioned above that support the saga, such as personnel, social base, and imagery. It can change the nature of personnel if, for instance, a college ceases to require that its faculty profess to following the Christian faith. It also can affect the social base, which consists of those outsiders that are devoted to the organization, such as alumni and members of the founding church. The removal, relocation, or addition of religious artifacts or symbols to the campus due to a shift in affiliation can affect the imagery of organizational saga.

Along with organizational saga, the theoretical concept of Janusian thinking also applies to the administration of church-related universities. The term Janusian derives from the Roman god Janus, who was depicted as having two faces looking in different directions at the same time (Cameron, 2000). Thus, Janusian thinking results when two seemingly contradictory thoughts are held to be true simultaneously (Cameron, 2000). In other words, it is a justified paradox. Institutions that attempt to occupy both sides of the fence when it comes to religious affiliation inevitably engage in Janusian thinking. They look backward by acknowledging their history as, oftentimes, a sectarian religious university. Concomitantly, they look forward, striving to become a welcoming campus with an ecumenical view. This type of thinking is necessary, because, as Wolfe (1997) and Marsden (1994) pointed out, institutions that choose to remain strictly faithful to their denominations are frequently marginalized in the realm of academia. Institutions that choose to secularize, however, risk losing their distinctiveness (Wolfe, 1997).

Janusian thinking permits institutions in this predicament to have it both ways, or at least to appear as if they do. They can simultaneously appease the more conservative elements of their constituency, such as older, more affluent alumni who attended the institution when the church relationship was stronger, while also improving their standing according to the secular values of the research academy. An apt example of Janusian thinking at work is the strategic plan at Baptist-affiliated Baylor University, entitled 'Baylor 2012' (Mangan, 2003). Under this plan, Baylor president Robert Sloan intends for Baylor to move into the top tier of American universities, while at the same time strengthening its Christian identity (Mangan, 2003; Hall, 2003). The initiative includes plans to recruit faculty who both affirm their Christian faith and produce significant research (Hall, 2003). This is at odds with the history of most religiously affiliated institutions, which in the past have had to loosen their ties to their denominations on their way to becoming leading research universities (Mangan, 2003; Marsden, 1994).

Only through the application of Janusian thinking can institutions like Baylor pursue seemingly contradictory goals at the same time. The downside to such an approach, however, is that, before long, an institution is likely to end up with a conservative, more religious constituency in its trustees and alumni and a more liberal, secular constituency in its faculty (and those students that are not strongly religious). This leaves the university president caught in the middle of two dichotomous groups. In the end, it is likely that neither constituency will be pleased with the decisions of the university, as evidenced by the recent no-confidence vote by Baylor's faculty against President Sloan, and a letter signed by several trustees indicating the same (Mangan, 2003).

Case Studies

The following examination of how religious identity has informed institutional decision-making at Georgetown and Wake Forest Universities illustrates how a variety of considerations affect and complicate religion-based questions at church-related institutions. Both cases demonstrate the ways in which religious institutions defer to organizational saga and employ Janusian thinking when navigating through issues that strike at the heart of the school's church relationship.

Crucifixes at Georgetown.

An issue centered around religious identity emerged at Georgetown University, the nation's oldest Catholic institution of higher education, when a group of students called for the administration to place crucifixes in every classroom in 1997. This sparked a campus debate at precisely the time that

many Catholic universities were struggling to define their Catholic identity (Lively, 1997). Adding crucifixes to every classroom was not necessarily a radical move, nor was it inherently unpopular among non-Catholic students. Other Catholic universities, such as the University of Notre Dame and Catholic University of America, had crucifixes in their classrooms. It is worth noting, however, that their student bodies were 85 percent Catholic, while Catholic students at Georgetown constituted only 60 percent of student enrollment (Lively, 1997).

In considering a course of action, the Georgetown administration had to weigh several factors. In response to the debate, the head of the Archdiocese of Washington issued an essay encouraging the university to respond affirmatively to its professed Catholic identity (Lively, 1997). Georgetown's leaders would also make this decision in the wake of the papal document *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, in which the Vatican called for Catholic colleges to strengthen the presence of Church teaching on campus (Borrego, 2001). Lastly, the university also had to consider this issue in light of the work it had done to diversify its student body, and be wary of straying from the ideals of open-mindedness and acceptance that drew non-Catholics and non-Christians to the university. The administration wanted to use the crucifix debate as an introduction to a larger conversation about its Catholic identity and academic goals (Lively, 1997).

Ultimately, the administration decided to go forward with placing crucifixes in most of the campus classrooms (Lively, 1998). The eventual solution called for the placement of crucifixes from a variety of eras, along with a plaque explaining the historical significance of each piece. The one campus building consciously excluded from this action was the Intercultural Center, home to the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding (Lively, 1998). University officials also resolved to place more Catholic-themed art on the grounds of the campus, in an attempt to strengthen the imagery of its saga as a Catholic institution. Thus, Georgetown resolved the controversy by conscientiously choosing to make its religious identity more visible on campus. The decision was Janusian in nature because the institution's Catholic identity and its commitment to its diverse, non-Catholic population were held to be true at the same time.

Wake Forest versus the Baptist Convention

The case of Wake Forest University is perhaps one of the most public and heated instances of an institution severing its ties with a founding denomination. Wake Forest, located in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is the state's oldest Baptist university (Burtchaell, 1998). Wake Forest's relationship with the state Baptist convention had been unraveling for some time

when its administration made the formal decision to break ties in 1986. As early as the 1930s, the university rankled the state convention by having chapel only twice a week, with student attendance voluntary (Burtchaell, 1998). In 1957, the trustees approved of dancing on campus under proper supervision, which sent local congregations into an uproar and prompted the convention to override the trustees' ruling (Burtchaell, 1998). The decision to accept an annual subsidy from the Reynolds Foundation (related to the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco company) and move the campus from Wake Forest, NC to Winston-Salem also provoked concern in the state convention (Burtchaell, 1998).

By the mid-sixties, there was talk among Wake Forest trustees about removing the "millstone" of its Baptist ties from around the institution's neck. The university had advanced enormously both academically and financially, while at the same time experiencing a reduction in Baptist faculty and students (Burtchaell, 1998). In fact, Baptist leaders were alarmed to discover that enrollment trends indicated that Catholic students would outnumber Baptists by the 1993-1994 academic year (Burtchaell, 1998). Eventually, open hostilities with the state convention commenced, and in 1986 Wake Forest became the first Baptist university to end its formal affiliation with the founding denomination, out of concern for issues of academic freedom and governance (Lively, 1996).

The severance of ties meant that the state convention would no longer provide financial support for the university, nor would it have a say in the choosing of trustees. The University, however, continues to acknowledge its saga by referring to itself as "historically Baptist" (McMurtrie, 2000). It is telling that, while the leaders of Wake Forest were willing to break its formal link to the founding denomination, they did not desire to completely abandon their organizational saga. They pursued the Janusian concept of both dropping their formal affiliation while retaining what they felt to be the most positive elements of that identity. The University has gone even further in its protest of the increasingly fundamentalist nature of the state Baptist convention by starting its own divinity school in 2000 to attract moderate Baptists, who are quickly becoming out of step at the older Baptist seminaries in the state (Lively, 1996).

As religious fundamentalists gradually took control of the Southern Baptist Convention in the 1980s and 1990s, other universities followed Wake Forest's lead in severing or reducing ties to the state convention. In South Carolina, Furman University moved in 1990 to give itself the authority to appoint its own governing board. This action led to an attempted lawsuit by the state convention, the severing of official ties to the organization, and the withdrawal of the annual $1.1 million dollar appropriation to the university

(Blumenstyk, 1992). In 1991, Baylor University reached an agreement with the Baptist General Convention of Texas to appoint 75 percent of its governing board itself and to become more independent in its decision-making, in spite of a campaign by conservatives to block the move ('Baptists,' 1991).

Conclusion

The challenge for many church-related institutions lies in determining how many of their traditions and/or governances they are willing to shed or alter in order to accommodate (or attract) an increasingly diverse student body (McMurtrie, 2000). Particularly, historically Protestant universities in the South, due to shifting demographics, are finding that, for the first time, Catholic students represent a plurality of the students on campus. Some universities have made adjustments to their religious requirements and to the nature of the speakers invited to campus, but others cling more tightly to their traditions, even at the risk of alienating some of their students (McMurtrie, 2000).

For administrators at these institutions, an even more fundamental issue remains. They must determine how to manage the balance between, first, valuing the institution's denominational legacy, which is inextricably linked with the school's identity and saga; and second, steering the institution's movement toward the world of the secular research university out of a desire for increased prestige and influence in the realm of academia. Marsden (1994) observed that many university builders and leaders, in the midst of these competing forces, attempt to steer this middle course, only to discover how difficult it is. Deference to organizational saga and Janusian thinking can help to strike this balance, but situations where these two elements come into direct conflict often result in difficult decisions. Father Michael Walsh, former president at Boston College (a Jesuit institution), summed up the dilemma quite well when he asked the question, "Should we acknowledge that there is no distinctiveness, that Boston College is no different than Harvard or the University of Massachusetts?" (Burtchaell, 1998, p. 604).

Different institutions will ask themselves that kind of question and answer it differently based on their particular situations and goals. According to Dovre (2001), church-related universities are marked by their variety, "variety in the ways in which they relate to their sponsoring religious bodies, variety in their histories, and variety in the constituencies they serve and the expectations of those constituencies" (p. 23). Each institution will walk the line between the distinctiveness of a denominational relationship and engagement with the broader society in its own highly individualized way (Dovre, 2001).

In the cases discussed above, both Georgetown and Wake Forest reached a crossroads where they had to choose between affirming their historic religious affiliation or move further down the path of secularization. Georgetown's course of action in placing crucifixes and Catholic art on campus constituted a thoughtful strengthening of its Catholic identity, while, on the other hand, Wake Forest's choice was ultimately a severance of official ties to the state Baptist convention. These two distinct decisions were undoubtedly difficult ones for the administrations involved and the university communities, but in that sense they seem to be merely par for the course when it comes to leading the contemporary church-related university.

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Brian Estrada graduated from Indiana University in May 2004 with a masters degree in Higher Education and Student Affairs. He received a B.A. in Political Science from Texas Christian University in 2002. While at IU, Brian worked for Residential Programs and Services as a Graduate Supervisor in Read Residence Center. He also served as an Admissions Counselor for the IU Office of Admissions.

Understanding Satisfaction: The Effect of Black Greek-Letter Organization Membership on African American College Students at a Predominantly White Institution

Erin Erwin, Camille Jones, Tom Kilian, Lisa Woodie

This study compares the levels of satisfaction of African American students in Black Greek letter Organizations (BGLOs) to those who are not in BGLOs at a predominantly White university. The researchers found that Black Greek membership played a positive role in students' social integration, leadership, spirituality, academic satisfaction, and overall satisfaction with the institution. The study concludes with implications as to how student affairs practitioners can help African American students adjust to campus life at predominantly White institutions.

Introduction

Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) have been part of American colleges and universities since the beginning of the 20th century. The first BGLO, Alpha Phi Alpha, began as a social literary club in 1905 at Cornell University and became the first fraternity primarily for Black men in December of 1906 (McKenzie, 1990). The first sorority for African American women began shortly thereafter, in 1908, at Howard University (McKenzie, 1990). Six of the remaining seven BGLOs were established on various campuses during the next 14 years, and the final BGLO, Iota Phi Theta, was founded in 1963 on the Morgan State University campus (McKenzie, 1990). The National Pan-Hellenic Council, the coordinating body for BGLOs, lists 1.5 million members since the founding of the first BGLO (Ruffins & Roach, 1997).

The focus of this research study is to examine how BGLOs at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) affect Black students' overall satisfaction with college, including academic, spiritual, and psychosocial development. The research question the authors seek to answer is: How do Black Greek students feel their letter organizations have affected their satisfaction with the college experience? Because Black students' satisfaction is a critical determinant of their persistence, particularly at PWIs, it is critical to examine how involvement affects satisfaction (Astin, 1993; Brown, 2000). While much research has focused on the leadership development of Black Greeks (Kimbrough, 1995, 1998; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001), student satisfaction is frequently overlooked (Astin, 1993). According to Brown (2000), between 1982 and 2000, only three studies have focused on African American students' satisfaction with college. More research should be

conducted to determine how BGLOs and other ethnic student organizations affect students' level of satisfaction while at higher education institutions (Guiffrida, 2003).

Literature Review

In studying the satisfaction of Black Greek students, many aspects must be examined, including how student involvement affects satisfaction in the general college student population, the unique experiences African American students encounter at a PWI, and finally, Black student membership in BGLOs.

Student Involvement

In his assessment of student involvement in higher education, Astin (1984) created a theory that defines student involvement as the "quantity and quality of the physical and psychological energy that students invest in the college experience" (p. 307). His theory correlates increased student involvement with an increase in student learning and personal development. Chickering and Reisser (1993) support the notion that students' participation in college activities is key in their development. They state that higher education institutions can promote human development by creating proper educational environments. Student involvement is an important aspect in studying student satisfaction because student involvement, as measured by academics, social integration, and spiritual activity, is shown to increase retention (Tinto, 1993; Walker & Dixon, 2002). Because student satisfaction is also shown to increase retention (Astin, 1993), it logically follows that student involvement and student satisfaction may also be related.

African American Undergraduate Student Involvement on Predominantly White Campuses

In addition to understanding how student involvement relates to satisfaction and retention, one must look specifically at how the culture of a PWI affects African American students. Overall, only approximately 40% of African American students persist to graduation in six years (Padilla, Trevino, Trevino, & Gonzalez, 1997). The statistics worsen at PWIs (Brown, 2000; Guiffrida, 2003), which may be due to African American students' experience of PWIs as chilly and unwelcoming to students of color (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001). Aspects that will be examined include academic, social, and spiritual, all of which specifically affect African American students' satisfaction with the college experience (Beil, Reisen, Zea, & Caplan, 1999; Constantine, Wilton, Gainor, & Lewis, 2002; Pike, 2003).

Academics

Kuh, Pace, and Vesper (1997) and Tinto (1993) found that students' academic integration through active learning and cooperative activities increases their engagement, involvement, and retention. In their study of academic and social integration, Beil et al. (1999) stated in their findings that academics served as a specific factor in retention because academic integration relates to a student's commitment to his/her education and institution. African American students in particular show gains in learning and personal development when involved in academic related activities at PWIs (MacKay & Kuh, 1994).

At PWIs, research shows that African Americans struggle to integrate academically (Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984), resulting in the experience of alienation and unfair treatment in the classroom (Fleming, 1984). Compared with students at historically Black institutions, African American students at PWIs perceive greater levels of discrimination from faculty, administrators, and peers (Sedlacek, 1987). According to Allen (1992), African American students struggle academically because they have difficulty adjusting to college, particularly at PWIs.

Social Interaction

DeSousa and Kuh (1996) reported that outside of the classroom experiences and interactions with peers are imperative to student learning and development amongst African American students. The social component focuses on the "daily life and personal needs" (Tinto, 1993, p. 106) of members of the higher education institution, including formal and informal social gatherings. Pike's (2003) findings stated that students who socially engaged in their college campus through predominantly White Greek organizations reported being more involved academically with the campus, felt the campus was supportive, and interacted more regularly with other students and with faculty.

Because the social environment of PWIs can be unwelcoming, African American students report marginal participation within traditional campus organizations, feeling the social climate of PWIs is "exclusive and insensitive to their social needs" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 30). Due to the fact that their values may be dissimilar with those of the White majority, African Americans might have a more difficult time integrating (Tinto, 1993). For this reason, establishing a support group at a PWI is of utmost importance. Guiffrida (2003) commented that African American students who do not set up supportive peer groups at PWIs often express feelings of being uncomfortable, isolated, and stressed, which can cause them to leave the institution.

Students of color find support groups through the formation of enclaves, which usually evolve from membership in formal, multicultural associations (predominantly underrepresented student populations) (Guiffrida, 2003).

Spirituality and Religion

People often use *spirituality* and *religion* synonymously in literature related to the social sciences, yet they have distinct characteristics (Mattis, 2000). Spirituality is an individual's relationship with or belief in a "higher creational force or Supreme Being," (Constantine, Wilton, Gainor, & Lewis, 2002; Jagers & Smith, 1996, p. 605). In contrast, religion is defined as, "the routine and pragmatic demonstrations of spirituality" (Constantine et al., 2002, p. 605). Mattis (2000) proposed that individuals use religion to express their spirituality.

From the research conducted by Taylor, Chatters, Jayakody, and Levin (1996), African Americans involve themselves in religious activities (attending services, reading material, watching or listening to broadcasts, and finding comfort in their spirituality through religion) more than Whites. African American culture values religiosity, which can be attributed to the ways in which African Americans related to one another for survival purposes during the years of slavery (Phillips, 2000). Spirituality and religion help African American college students cope and create social support systems (Constantine et al., 2002). In regards to survival (e.g., coping and adjustment) for African Americans, their affiliation with a religious group and/or the practice of their spirituality positively impacts their adjustment to college and increases academic success (Constantine et al., 2002; Jager & Smith, 1996). Walker and Dixon (2002) believed that in terms of academics, students consider their spirituality to be correlated with their academic achievement. Students who self-reported to be more spiritual in their behaviors and beliefs earned higher grade point averages and academic honors (Walker & Dixon, 2002).

African American Undergraduate Involvement in Multicultural Organizations

Academic, social, and spiritual integration play crucial roles in African American students' satisfaction and retention at college (Allen, 1992; Constantine et al., 2002; Guiffrida, 2003). Multicultural organizations can provide the needed support for the unique experiences of African American students at PWIs (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001). African American students participate in multicultural organizations because these organizations affirm their presence at PWIs and foster a sense of mattering, a sense "that others depend upon us, are interested in us, are concerned with our fate, or experience us as an ego extension which exercises a powerful influence on our actions" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 30).

Several reports assert why and how multicultural organizations promote mattering in underrepresented groups. African American college students who participated in Person and Christensen's (1996) study on Black student culture stated that multicultural organizations provide assistance and assurance to students who feel marginalized and desolate. Multicultural organizations also provide comfort and an opportunity to serve in the African American community (Guiffrida, 2003). They supply opportunities for African American students to connect with peers similar to them, offer a forum to discuss experiences and frustrations with being a minority student, and provide a place where African Americans feel comfortable and accepted (Guiffrida, 2003).

One genre of multicultural organizations that may help students integrate is the traditionally Black Greek system. The founding BGLO members were seen as racial leaders and "were expected to assist in advancing the political, economic, and educational strivings of the Black community" (McKenzie, 1990, p. 30). Research shows that BGLOs continue to successfully provide these leadership and involvement opportunities for which they were created. Pike and Askew (1990) reported BGLO students as having higher levels of academic effort, campus involvement, and peer interaction. Specifically, BGLO students hold more leadership positions than Black students not involved in BGLOs (Kimbrough, 1995, 1998). Furthermore, Kimbrough (1998) found that BGLOs offer exceptional leadership opportunities for their members. Not only do BGLO members hold more leadership positions in multicultural organizations, but they also show more involvement in the larger campus culture and traditional campus organizations (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001).

Methods

This study examines satisfaction of BGLO students at a predominantly White public research institution compared to African American students not involved in BGLOs. Twenty-nine BGLO students participated in this study. Fifty non-Greek African American were used as the comparison group. BGLO members are in their sophomore, junior, and senior years of college. For this reason, upperclassmen were targeted for the comparison group.

Two quantitative surveys provided the data for this study – one for BGLO members and one for non-Greek students. Both surveys measured three areas of satisfaction: academic, social, and spiritual. Academic satisfaction included students' feelings regarding faculty interaction, academic peer interaction, their major and their classes, and other significant elements

related to the satisfaction of their academic life on campus. Social satisfaction included the frequency and nature of students' extracurricular involvement, as well as the racial/ethnic composition of the students' peer groups. Spiritual and religious satisfaction included students' perceptions of the importance of their spirituality and religion and how their spirituality and religion fit into their college life. In the BGLO survey, an overall satisfaction section probed information regarding how one's BGLO affected one's level of satisfaction. Additionally this section investigated the individual's relationship to the university and the greater community. The non-Greek survey simply asked students to reflect on their overall satisfaction with their college experience.

Each section of the survey, excluding demographics, utilized Likert-type questions. Surveys were distributed at each fraternity and sorority chapter meeting or gathering with the permission of each chapter president. During the same time period, students in attendance at two courses in the Department of Afro-American and African Diaspora Studies were given a similar survey, with approval from the professor. The data was analyzed using SPSS to determine t-values. Cohen's d determined effect sizes.

Limitations

Several limitations of this study should be noted. Because this study was conducted only on one campus and yielded a small sample size, the findings do not necessarily hold constant for BGLO members at PWIs in different regions, different student bodies, or different racial/ethnic contributions. Furthermore, the sample populations were not equal. Whereas only 29 BGLO members were surveyed, 50 non-Greek students participated in the study. Additionally, all participants for the study were selected through convenience sampling.

Results

Table 1 contains significant findings regarding differences in satisfaction between BGLO members and non-members. Table 2 represents the BGLO members responses to satisfaction related to their BGLO membership. These results are represented on a scale from one to five. All results are mentioned are at the $p < .05$ significance level and have a moderate to high effect size.

Demographics

The researchers asked participants to report on various aspects of their demographic background, including but not limited to college class, grade point average (GPA), financial background, parents' educational background, and high school involvement, so that the researchers could determine if

Table 1
Greek Members versus Non-Greek Members Results

Social	Greek Members			Non-Greek Members				
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	t	d
I participate in 2 or more organizations	3.62	1.01	29	2.78	1.47	50	2.72	0.57
I have held 2 or more leadership positions in college	2.45	1.02	29	1.88	1.06	50	2.33	0.54
I am satisfied with my social life at college	4.38	0.86	29	3.64	1.16	50	2.99	0.64
I am involved in campus activities during my free time	4.21	0.82	29	3.6	1.14	50	2.74	0.53
There are planned activities that fit my interests	4.24	0.51	29	3.6	1.05	50	3.64	0.61
I have at least one close friend at my university	4.69	0.54	29	2.28	0.97	50	2.41	0.42
There are a multitude of culturally diverse activities at my university	3.66	1.26	29	2.92	1.21	50	2.5	0.61
Spirituality	**Greek Members**			**Non-Greek Members**				
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	t	d
My spirituality is a component of my organizations	3.69	0.89	29	3.12	1.07	49	2.4	0.53
To what degree does your organizations share in your spirituality	3.41	0.91	29	3.13	0.98	48	3.92	0.87

Table 1
Continued

Religion	Greek Members M	SD	N	Non-Greek Members M	SD	N	t	d
My religion is a component of my student organizations	3.71	0.76	28	2.9	1.07	49	3.89	0.77
To what degree do your organizations share in your religion	2.17	0.6	29	1.51	0.62	49	4.63	1.07
Overall	**Greek Members**			**Non-Greek Members**				
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	t	d
I am satisfied with my overall institution	4.21	0.73	29	3.46	1.05	50	3.72	0.71

Note: All values of t are noted to be at the significance level of p<.05.

factors besides membership or lack thereof in a BGLO affected the study's findings. With one exception, BGLO members and non-Greek students reported comparable findings to these demographic questions. Non-Greek students reported higher GPAs in both high school and college than did BGLO members.

Academics

No significant differences existed between BGLO members and non-Greek students regarding their academic satisfaction.

Social Interaction

Social interaction encompassed campus organizational involvement, social life, and friendships. More BGLO than non-Greek students reported having at least one close friend at their university (t = 2.409) (d = 0.4224). BGLO members reported being a part of more student organizations than non-Greek students (t = 2.716) (d = 0.5700). Additionally, they held more leadership positions than their non-Greek counterparts (t = 2.325) (d = 0.5350). BGLO members involved themselves more in campus activities during their free time (t = 2.735) (d = 0.5310) and felt more strongly that the campus offered planned activities that fit their interests (t = 3.640) (d = 0.6110). Furthermore, students involved in BGLOs agreed more so than non-Greek students that the campus offered a multitude of culturally diverse

activities (t = 2.564) (d = 0.6078). Lastly, when asked to respond to the statement, "I am satisfied with my social life at college," BGLO students reported greater levels of satisfaction (t = 2.991) (d = 0.6393).

Spirituality/Religion

Significant differences existed between BGLO and non-Greek students regarding the role spirituality and religion play in their respective campus organizations. BGLO students felt that spirituality (t = 2.398) (d = 5286) and religion (t = 3.562) (d = 0.7662) were components of their BGLOs, whereas non-Greek students did not agree that spirituality and religion were components of their campus organizations. Similarly, BGLO members felt that the degree their BGLO shared their spirituality (t = 3.921) (d = 0.8656) and religion (t = 4.625) (d = 1.074) was higher than the degree non-Greek students felt their campus organizations shared their spirituality and religion.

Overall Satisfaction

The researchers noted significant differences between BGLO members and non-Greek members when responding to the statement "I am satisfied with my institution overall." BGLO members were more satisfied with their overall experience at the university than non-Greek members (t = 3.717) (d = .7087). BGLO members were asked a series of questions concerning the relationship between their BGLO involvement and their satisfaction in academics, social interaction, spirituality, religion, and overall satisfaction with the university. In all areas, BGLO membership increased

Table 2
Overall Satisfaction of BGLO Members

My Greek Letter Organization has increased my satisfaction...	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree
...with my academics	79.30%	13.80%	6.90%
...with my social life	96.50%	0%	3.40%
...with my spirituality	62%	24.10%	13.70%
...with my religious beliefs	55.10%	34.50%	10.30%
My Greek Letter Organization has promoted my overall satisfaction at IU	93.10%	3.40%	3.40%
I am satisfied with my Greek Letter Organization	93.10%	0%	6.90%
I am satisfied with my institution overall	89.70%	6.90%	3.40%

students' satisfaction. 79.3% of BGLO students felt that their BGLO had increased their satisfaction with their academics; 96.5% felt the BGLO increased their social satisfaction; 62% said their BGLO increased their spiritual satisfaction; and 62.1% agreed or strongly agreed that their BGLO increased their religious satisfaction. Finally, 93.1% of the sampled BGLO members said that their BGLO increased their overall satisfaction with the university.

Discussion

The researchers' intent of this study was to understand how membership in a BGLO at a PWI affects the overall satisfaction of African American students. The results of the research provided insight as to how these organizations contribute to African American students' academic, social, spiritual and religious satisfaction.

Academics

Interestingly, no significant differences existed between BGLO members and non-Greek students regarding academics. Both BGLO members and non-Greek students reported being moderately satisfied with their academic life at college. Both groups reported the most negative results when responding to the statements, "I find my classes difficult," "I am bored in my classes," and "How often do you interact with faculty outside of class?" Because of the difficulties African American students have in the classroom, in regards to integrating with other students and interactions with peers and faculty members (Fleming, 1984), these are important aspects in examining their academic satisfaction.

BGLOs were founded with values of academics and service (McKenzie, 1990). Because African American students struggle academically at PWIs, the founders of BGLOs believed the organizations could support African Americans academically (Fleming, 1984). Although BGLO members reported their organization as increasing their academic satisfaction, the results show no difference between the satisfaction level of students who are or are not involved in BGLOs. Furthermore, BGLO members report a lower average GPA than their non-Greek counterparts, which may be attributed to more focus on social and service activities among BGLO members, rather than on academics.

Social

BGLOs do a good job of socially integrating African American students into the African American subculture and the larger university community. Socially, BGLOs serve as an avenue for leadership, organizational involvement, and awareness of other campus activities, which may help with adjustment to college and satisfaction with campus life. Noteworthy, BGLOs provided their members with the majority of their social activities. Both BGLO members and non-Greek students feel that having friends with whom they identify and having a racially diverse group of friends increases their social satisfaction.

BGLOs help African American students find friends at PWIs with whom they identify, specifically providing them an environment that is predominantly African American. Since BGLO members are more satisfied with their social life than non-Greeks and they largely attribute their social satisfaction to their BGLO, these organizations seem to be providing social support and campus involvement components of student development which Guiffrida (2003) and Kimbrough (1998) note as important to adjustment at PWIs.

Spirituality/Religion

High numbers of both BGLO members and non-Greek students considered themselves to be spiritual and religious. The majority of BGLO members stated that their spirituality and religion increased while at college, whereas the majority of non-Greek students reported that their spirituality and religion has not changed while at the college. Because of the large role spirituality and religion play in the African American community (Constantine et al., 2002), this can be an important aspect to African American student adjustment at PWIs. BGLOs integrate spirituality and religion into their organizations more so than other campus organizations in which African American students are involved. Because most students indicated that they do not attend religious services while at college, through ritual prayers and spiritual activities, BGLOs can serve as a substitute to a traditional religious service, helping students have a place to express their spiritual and religious beliefs.

Implications

Implications for Black Greek-Letter Organizations

BGLOs need to return to their academic roots to improve upon their current academic performance. Each member needs to understand the mission and goals of her/his organization when he/she joins the chapter. A stronger commitment to scholastic achievement by the BGLOs may increase the satisfaction and success in the members' academic lives. Having a graduate advisor who is an active member of the organization can assist the members of the BGLO to maintain the academic standards outlined by the

founding members and of the institution. Through increasing their academic commitment and satisfaction, BGLO members can serve as academic leaders for the African American community.

Socially, BGLOs should continue to cultivate the social, leadership, and campus integration opportunities they promote. As the majority of all surveyed students agreed that it was important to have friends with whom they identified, BGLOs provide a context where students can find friends with whom they identify racially. The majority of both groups also reported that having a racially diverse group of friends increased their satisfaction. BGLO members should proactively involve themselves socially in campus wide organizations, becoming leaders amongst the entire campus population. The researchers, however, did not examine the social aspect of service, yet recommend that BGLO members integrate themselves in order to increase their satisfaction with their, as they reported.

Because of the importance of spirituality and religion in regards to BGLO membership, BGLO members feel these aspects serve an important role in their organizations. They indicated that their spirituality and religion increased while at college, unlike non-Greek students. Because spirituality and religion are important elements of BGLOs, the organizations may want to examine their missions to ensure that these aspects are clearly defined in the mission statement. Furthermore, the organization members need to be aware of how affiliation with a particular religion may limit who pledges their organization. Although affiliation with a particular religion is acceptable, this affiliation should be apparent to students when recruitment begins.

Implications for Higher Education and Student Affairs Practitioners

Practitioners in higher education institutions should realize the importance BGLOs have for African American students. These organizations should be promoted in a way by which students can become more integrated in the African American community and the overall campus. By doing so, students will be more aware of campus events which include cultural and diverse activities and educational opportunities. Additionally, practitioners may consider how BGLOs promote an individual student's spiritual and religious identity development.

Future Research

Because academic satisfaction between BGLO members and non-Greek students did not differ and because academic satisfaction was not strong amongst either group, future research should look at the aspects affecting academic satisfaction at PWIs amongst the entire African American population. Furthermore, research should examine how BGLOs are

attributing to academic satisfaction amongst their members. The relationship between academic integration and academic satisfaction should be studied to help individuals better understand what aspects contribute to academic satisfaction.

Since a founding purpose of BGLOs was service (McKenzie, 1990), future researchers may want to focus on how BGLOs cultivate service and social engagement amongst African Americans and how these aspects contribute to social satisfaction. Researchers may want to study whether active involvement in other multicultural organizations fosters the same increases in satisfaction. Comparisons can be made to indicate if these types of organizations affect academic satisfaction more significantly than BGLOs.

Future research should look at how BGLO involvement affects students' development as it relates to spirituality and religion. Another interesting line of research might be to examine if spiritual/religious involvement affects overall satisfaction with the college experience.

In conclusion, BGLOs serve as an avenue for increasing satisfaction for African Americans at PWIs. Members of BGLOs conveyed greater satisfaction with the institution as a whole than non-Greeks and attributed increases in satisfaction in academics, social involvement, and spirituality/religion at least partially to their BGLO. Organizations such as BGLOs are needed on the campuses of PWIs to continue to assist African American students with their overall college experience

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Erin Erwin is a 2004 graduate from the Higher Education and Student Affairs program. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology from Indiana University in 2002. While in the HESA program, Erin worked at the Education Placement Office as a Career Advisor.

Camille Jones received her Master of Science degree in Student Affairs with a minor in Counseling in May 2004. She is a 2002 graduate of Indiana University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Speech-Language Pathology. As a Master's student, Camille worked at the Career Development Center in the Career Counseling Services unit and has been very active with the Office of Admissions.

Tom Kilian graduated from the HESA program in 2004. He received a B.S. in Sports Management from Indiana State University in 1999. At Indiana University, Tom served as the Judicial and Risk Management Advisor for the Greek community.

Lisa Woodie graduated from the HESA program in May 2004. She received a B.A. in sociology from Valparaiso University in December 2001. At IUB, Lisa served as a student advisor and recruiter for the Hudson & Holland Scholars Program.

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