THE JOURNAL OF CAMPUS ACTIVITIES PRACTICE & SCHOLARSHIP

JCAPS

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Volume 5, Issue 3, Fall 2023

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Navigating political and legal issues in working with students

Professional development for staff and faculty who work with students

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BUILDING A CULTURE OF SCHOLARSHIP IN CAMPUS ACTIVITIES UNITS

The JCAPS Advisory Board:
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A culture of scholarship might seem like an unattainable goal for busy campus activities units immersed in student life, exciting programming, organizational advising, and campus administration. In this short introduction to Volume 5, Issue 3, the JCAPS Advisory Board describes its ideas for how to think about what "scholarship" is and how to efficiently engage with the scholarship of campus activities in ways that build up, rather than enact a tax on, the energy level of campus activities professionals.

Consider 9:30am on a Monday morning in the middle of the academic year. After a weekend of coordinating well-attended programs on Friday and Saturday nights, with all the detailed planning and logistical oversight that come with them. Add a Sunday afternoon student organization meeting with its requisite planning and advising responsibilities. Include an Associate Dean who oversees several student affairs units, who has never served in the campus activities unit, who seems ambivalent to support its staff in pulling away from these responsibilities, even in part, to consistently engage in "scholarship" as part of their professional responsibilities. Does this sound like a typical campus activities unit at many colleges and universities associated with the National Association of Campus Activities? At 9:30am on a Monday morning, "scholarship," may be far from a fundamental focus in that unit. According to Kane, "practitioners' limitless availability frequently force a comparison between priorities of scholarship and the tyranny of the urgent" (2019, p. 30).

These seemingly built-in organizational barriers to creating a culture of scholarship in campus activities units can often be paired with self-created personal barriers, as well. The term "scholar," when used in higher education, often has a connotation with some degree of expertise that can only be attained through special training or preparation – through completing long and grueling coursework, attaining a credential most people do not possess, or a combination of both. Those who possess the privilege of being popularly considered "scholars" are, in this sense, specialists. They are literally "special" in their expertise, not like the "regular" folk who are engaged in the work – the daily grind – within their roles and responsibilities on campus. The Advisory Board of the *Journal of Campus Activities Practice and Scholarship,* however, believes this connotation to not only be wrong, but harmful to the continued health and growth of our field. Our goal in this short article is to address both types of barriers and provide insight on how to build a culture of scholarship in units despite them. The need for an "expanded view of scholarship" (Kane, 2019, p. 30) has been an on-going concern of the JCAPS Advisory Boad as well as the leadership of NACA.

The word "scholar" is derived from Old English (i.e., before the written word was widespread). The word *scholere* can be translated literally as "someone who learns." In this way, "scholars" are not those who have arrived at the destination of learning (e.g., someone with an acronym like "Ph.D." after their name). Rather, they are constant

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learners. The significance of this difference cannot be understated. We do not engage in professional development to *become* scholars; we engage in professional development because we are scholars. The distinction holds important practical significance for campus activities work, as well: those units engaged in actively learning about their work and the world around them will almost always over time outperform those units where there is no innovation and creativity.

It is not coincidence that the earliest documents that describe the work of student affairs (e.g., the Student Personnel Point of View, 1937) embed "learning" as a core principle in the professional work of supporting student development. More recently, the Student Learning Imperative, first drafted in 1996 (American College Personnel Association), directly ties holistic learning in students to the advancement of a culture of scholarship in student affairs administration, including within campus activities offices. The most recent draft, from 2004, begins, "higher education is in the *throes* (emphasis added) of major transformation" (p. 1) and calls for student affairs fields to respond in co-curricular settings. Such throes have not lessened in size nor significance after the Covid-19 pandemic, and require our field to be innovative, creative, open, and inclusive, which all require individual and collective learning.

Still, we recognize it is not so easy to simply change one's outlook on engaging in scholarship to build a culture where a critical mass of staff in any given campus activities unit engage as scholars in their work. Structural issues most likely exist that should be recognized. The Advisory Board believes their existence does not necessarily represent barriers to advancing a culture of scholarship, but at the least, might serve as de-motivators to such advancement.

The first barrier is related to those supervisors and administrators who oversee campus activities units, and believe that staff who are "learning" are not also "doing" – and therefore are not fulfilling the roles and responsibilities in which they were hired. These administrators might look with a cynical eye towards those staff who propose the freedom to spend two hours each week out of their office and engaged purely in "learning activities." The second barrier can often be found within employee evaluation programs that emphasize concrete and measurable outputs, such as the number of students who attend programs, or the number of dollars spent on student development, or the number of staff who are supervised. Rarely do evaluation programs like these also provide explicit space to report on and celebrate new knowledge or skills gained, and how these gains might relate to those outputs. A final barrier might be a little more subtle and resides in campus activities staff themselves – the staff who believe that "professional development" means "attending conferences." To be clear, field-wide meetings like NACA Live, the ACPA national convention, or NASPA regional conferences are often filled with opportunities for staff to engage as scholars in their field. These events are excellent avenues for growth. And, they are also expensive, time-consuming, and intermittent. After all, attending a three-day conference in another place involves spending hundreds or thousands of dollars, one or more days dedicated solely to travel, and take place over only 0.8% of the year.

These barriers are important, and can only be systemically eliminated across our field brick by brick, individual by individual, campus unit by campus unit. To support such work, we provide some ideas to think about and practice "scholarship" in campus activities units in manageable, concrete, and consistent ways.

Similar to what Kane asked in 2019, what would a commitment to scholarship look like in campus activities practice? First, to counter the connotation of "scholar" as a specialist, who has done a deep dive into knowledge in ways that separate them from most regular folks in campus activities, we believe the process of scholarship can represent dipping a toe into the swimming pool of knowledge just as much as a swan dive from 10 meters up. In other words, testing new arenas for learning is scholarship as well as writing a book. For example, spending 10-15 minutes a day reading an article during breakfast, listening to a podcast while walking, or writing reflections on a blog post all are examples of someone who learns. These become the building blocks of greater insight. The point is, all of these activities expand one's thinking, particularly when dialogue ensues. Such scholarship prompts connections between new information and previous experiences, leading to creativity, innovation, and the type of productive disruption that improves our work.

Generally, "scholarship" implies depth – learning a lot about something. But emerging research suggests that generalists outperform specialists across a variety of employment sectors (Epstein, 2019). Considering the ethos of general learning that undergirds most of higher education, it is better to know a bit about a lot than to know a lot about a bit. Moreover, because the identity of "scholar" is typically associated with faculty on many campuses and because student affairs professionals often do not see themselves as connected to academic disciplines at their own university, those in student affairs may be hesitant to consider ourselves as campus activities scholars. This is unfortunate. We see no need to stick to the same topics in learning each day and week. Scholarship can be picking a topic that you find interesting in the moment (even if it is not directly related to campus activities work). There will almost inevitably be connections you find that you can make to your own life and work. Consider not only professionally related publications such as JCAPS but also national publications like NYTimes, rigorous blog posts and podcasts, and also local outlets. Importantly, we suggest spending time reflecting on connections between this media and your campus activities work. Then, writing or talking about these connections with colleagues clarifies the meaning you make of them and how the new insights they prompt can improve your work. The process of involving colleagues seeks to create a culture within the campus activities unit, going beyond your own individual practice.

Another means to create a culture of scholarship would be to include onboarding experiences that demonstrate that scholarship is embraced and encouraged for entering professionals and professionals new to campus. For example, creating and sharing reading/listening lists and potential learning experiences available on campus and in the region can introduce new staff to a culture of scholarship (Kane, 2019). Review such lists to consider what voices may be missing or what Kane called "create the context that is missing" (p. 31). Onboarding and responding to scholarship of practice suggestions is an area in which many practitioner supervisors and supervisees have individual autonomy over what could be implemented immediately.

A final point that we wish to make in building a culture of scholarship harkens back to our early point referencing those campus activities professionals that conflate and limit "professional development" (and therefore their learning) to attending conferences or watching a screen by attending a webinar. Both can be excellent avenues for learning, but both also come with an embedded drawback; they presume an externally-driven responsibility to provide resources. They are the equivalent of a multiple-choice exam item where all the possible options have already been chosen by those in authority. Contrast this with some of the ideas just provided in previous paragraphs. In this context, deciding which article across all issues of JCAPS to read or which book to buy or rent are more like fill-in-the-blank items, where possibilities are practically endless. Ideas like these also have the added benefit of making your learning active; rather than sitting and listening, engagement requires active effort and options for when to optimally engage.

In summary, our goal is not necessarily to transform campus activities units into bastions of philosophic thinking about our collective work. Rather, we simply invite readers to think of simple, time-efficient but consistent, means by which they can continually bolster what they know and think about their work in campus activities. These include a thirty-minute podcast listened to over the course of a few days and then discussed with a colleague. They include a short editorial from the local newspaper, read while waiting for a meeting to start, and then printed to share with friends at work. It includes a written reflection in Campus Activities Programming Magazine about new initiatives. And of course, it includes that article from the *Journal of Campus Activities Practice and Scholarship* that you have been meaning to consume and then reflect on. Regardless of your specific path, however, our goal is simply for you to keep walking that path, scholar.

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BELONGING, RACIALIZING, AND PLACEMAKING IN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS FOR MULTIRACIAL COLLEGE STUDENT LEADERS

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This qualitative intersectional narrative inquiry examined how Multiracial college students find sense of belonging in student organizations by negotiating multiple racial identities and locations in traditionally monoracial spaces. Multiracial students sought membership in organizations because they felt invisible at their institutions. To find belonging within student communities, they engaged in a difficult process of placemaking in which they experienced monoracism and other racialized microaggressions within student organizations. In time, they developed a sense of belonging by curating a small cohort of friends connected through their organizational involvement. These findings reveal implications that further inform approaches for student involvement professionals and others who work with Multiracial students to increase their support and engagement across involvement contexts.

Multiraciality involves the self-identification with two or more races and exists across a broad historical narrative that has disallowed authentic representation (Harris, 2016). Multiraciality has previously been legally and structurally made invisible or established as a *limited* identity. Many Multiracial individuals had to choose one race over another, or to check a box labeled *other,* which has led to historical erasure (Renn, 2021; Sasso et al., 2023). Some research suggests that experiences related to identity and development may be a more challenging process for students who identify as Multiracial due to monoracism, whereas college is commonly viewed as a space for young adults to begin establishing an independent sense of identity (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Buchanan et al., 2009; 2018; Johnston-Guerrero & Renn, 2016; Harris, 2016; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2011). Johnston and Nadal (2010) defined monoracism as "a social system of psychological inequality in which persons who do not fit monoracial categories may be oppressed at the systemic and interpersonal levels due to underlying assumptions and beliefs in unique distinct racial categories" (p. 125). Multiracial students are developing identity and racial salience on college campuses and represent 5-10% of undergraduate students (Johnson-Guerrero & Wijesinghe, 2021). Student-constructed spaces have developed as attempts to provide visibility, identity development, and representation, which promote a sense of belonging among its participants. However, these are focused on monoracial identities and spaces (Sasso et al., 2023).

Multiracial students may find it difficult to navigate both their social and academic lives since higher education is based on the assumption that students are from separate racial groups with unique interests and demands. Multiracial students have expressed a wide variety of difficult racial experiences, such as emotions of devaluation, exclusion, exoticization, fetishization, objectification, tokenization, and sexual and racial harassment (Buchanan et al., 2009; 2018; Harris, 2016; Nadal et al., 2011). There is limited understanding of how Multiracial student leaders negotiate their identities to find belonging within monoracial student organizations (Snider et al., 2023).

Renn (2021) suggested that Multiracial identity development varies greatly from Monoracial identity development, and there is a need for more research to increase professional understanding. This narrative inquiry

Sasso, P.A., Bullington, K.E., Perry, L. (2023). Belonging, racializing, and placemaking in student organizations for multiracial student leaders. *Journal of Campus Activities Practice and Scholarship, 5*(3), 9-23. **https://doi.org/ 10.52499/2023023.**

study examined how Multiracial undergraduate student leaders negotiate their multiple racial identities and locations to find a sense of belonging in student organizations. In this article, the authors intentionally position the terms monoracial as lowercase because it refers to a generalized collective identity and whiteness because it is a system of oppression in order to "reject the grammatical representation of power" (Perez Huber, 2010, p. 93). We intentionally capitalize racial identities such as Multiracial, White, or Students of Color to acknowledge the importance of race for its salience in college identity development (Sasso et al., 2023; Snider, 2020).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Monoracism

Monoracism is the structural oppression perpetuated against Multiracial persons that reproduces the unearned benefits of whiteness (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Monoracism is responsible for hypodescent (or the one drop rule – meaning if there is as little as one drop of Black blood, a person should be considered as Black) discourses and racism against Multiracial persons as public policies have limited visibility in higher education for Multiracial students through forced monoracial identities such as whiteness (Harris, 2016; Johnston-Guerrero & Renn, 2016; Nadal et al., 2011; Pascoe, 2009). Multiracial students typically encounter racial tensions via colorism and hypodescent discourses (Nadal et al., 2011).

Multiracial students may encounter racial microaggressions as a Person of Color or in relation to their Multiracial identities. Multiracial microaggressions are "daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, enacted by monoracial persons that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights toward Multiracial individuals or groups" (Johnston & Nadal, 2010, p. 126). Multiracial students self-report that the frequency and intensity of these microaggressions increased in college, which leads to dropping courses, leaving student organizations, and avoiding peers (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012)

Other research has created a taxonomy for multiracial microaggressions that categorizes the numerous forms of microaggressions that multiracial individuals are likely to face. The taxonomy comprises the following: (a) exclusion or isolation; (b) exoticization and objectification; (c) assumption of monoracial or incorrect identification; (d) denial of Multiracial reality; and (e) pathologizing of identity and experiences (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2011). Museus et al. (2016) identified parallel domains with seven forms of bias and discrimination experienced by multiracial students, suggesting a shared set of microaggressions faced by Multiracial individuals.

Multiracial students encounter racism from their monoracial classmates (Jackson, 2009; Kellogg & Liddell, 2012; Root, 1992; 1998, 2003). Research also indicates that Multiracial students have more negative interactions than monoracial Students of Color (Brackett et al., 2006). Due to their unique position in a fixed monoracial culture, Multiracial children may have heightened awareness of racial concerns as they grow up (Binning et al., 2009). Multiracial students also experienced rejection, exclusion, and insecurity from their monoracial classmates (Jourdan, 2006; Rockquemore, 1998; Root, 1998, 2003).

Belonging

Multiracial students often feel empowered to speak out against racism because of the nuanced ways they occupy multiple racial locations (Kellogg & Liddell, 2012). This is often in contrast to consistent negative interactions, which cause them to feel out of place (Chaudhari & Pizzolato, 2008). Due to a lack of social acceptability from peers, social pressures, and a lack of a feeling of belonging, all of these negative interactions may result in lower self-esteem (Ford & Malaney, 2012; Koo, 2021).

Multiracial students may feel alienated by race-focused student programs that reinforce monoracial categories and leave Multiracial students without a feeling of safety and belonging that these services were intended to offer (Literté, 2010, 2021). Multiracial students are then forced to "appropriate space for an identity" in order to find a community against the prevailing racist beliefs that exist against them (Delgado, 2016, p. 685).

Multiracial students participate in selective invisibility or passing if they are unable to establish a feeling of belong-

ing in monoracial contexts (Sasso et al., 2023). Passing is "a deception that enables a person to adopt specific roles or identities from which prevailing social standards would otherwise bar him or her" (Kennedy, 2003, p. 283). Passing permits Multiracial individuals to disguise their race by, for example, anglicizing their name or altering their phenotype in order to control their identity (Khanna & Johnson, 2010). This may have lasting negative effects on students' academic and social integration on campus (Snider et al., 2023). Therefore, many Multiracial students may seek a sense of belonging within student groups through an individual process of placemaking.

Placemaking

Placemaking considers the individual connections between students and their immediate environmental spaces in their attempts to facilitate belonging within socially constructed spaces such as student organizations (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Sasso et al., 2023). The concept of placemaking is rooted in the campus ecology research of the 1970s, in which campuses were examined using biological and ecological lenses. These approaches were used to better understand the *fit* of students within existing campus systems and how learning environments influenced the student experience (Banning, 1978). The limitations of this research were that it used primarily majority lenses and did not consider how fit presents differently across student communities (Bohl, 2006). Multiracial students receive discrete messages about the implicitly constructed racial borders and areas on campus (Harris, 2016).

Within Communities of Color, placemaking is defined as how those in the community "…create sites of endurance, belonging, and resistance" (Hunter et al., 2016, p. 31). Individual placemaking focuses on using intentionally constructed spaces to facilitate growth and development (Moores & Papadiuk, 2011), expand social capital and community (Cicognani et al., 2008; Ozturgut, 2013), and create safe spaces (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Forbes-Mewett & Nyland, 2008). Placemaking is also used to revisit these spaces, a process of destressing and cultural renewal (Korpela & Hartig, 1996; Korpela & Ylen, 2007; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009). Placemaking is important for many Multiracial communities, such as how Multiracial Native Americans engage in homegoing to reify their cultural connections to Indigeneity (Sasso et al., 2023; Waterman, 2012).

Involvement

While colleges offer multicultural offices or identity-based centers, they are often constructed around monoracial identities and do not consider students who identify as Multiracial. As a result, those identifying as Multiracial may regard these centers as not meeting their social requirements (Narvaez & Kivlighan, 2021; Ozaki & Johnston, 2008). In particular, Multiracial students find it challenging to find student organizations or counseling groups that embrace and recognize their multiple racial identities and locations (Narvaez & Kivlighan, 2021).

When seeking involvement in student organizations, Multiracial students are more inclined to join racially-diverse organizations (Park, 2008; Snider, 2020). Multiracial students are often attracted to monoracial groups whose participation demonstrates a tangible commitment to diversity and inclusion (Snider, 2020). Multiracial students often look to sororities and fraternities, particularly culturally-based organizations. Historically, White sororities have the largest proportion of White members, while the more diverse chapters are considered lower-tier organizations (Park, 2008; Snider, 2020). However, Multiracial sorority women often experience significant cultural taxation, including racial questioning about their identities, colorism, and assumptions about their racial locations (Snider, 2020; Snider et al., 2023). They also experience the *convenient minority friend* role in which they serve as racial buffers. They are expected to translate racial issues, subjected to racial joking, and asked to recruit other Students of Color because they are assumed to be diversity magnets (Sasso et al., 2023).

Monoracial peers often presume that multiracial college students do not experience racism or see their membership in an identity-based student group as inauthentic (Harris, 2016). Members of student groups sometimes question students over their motivations for joining monoracial student organizations if they do not resemble other group members (Garcia, 2019; Snider, 2020). Multiracial students self-disclose internalized emotions about representation and visibility as often they are perceived as fractured or abstracted in joining a culturally-based organization as a result of monoracism (Johnston-Guerrero & Renn, 2016; Malaney & Danowski, 2015; Ozaki & Johnston, 2008; Renn, 2000, 2004). These student groups promote monoracial frameworks and, like sororities

and fraternities, are unnerved by multiraciality and uniformly ignorant about it (Ozaki & Johnston, 2008).

Student organizations provide places for growth and learning, but they may also restrict the expression of their identities (Garcia, 2019; Sasso et al., 2023; Snider et al., 2023). In particular, Multiracial students have developed identity negotiation and navigational capital to facilitate placemaking by locating a small group of monoracial friends who, in turn, become significant advocates (Sasso & Bullington, 2023; Snider et al., 2023). Multiracial students also find significance and seek leadership development experiences such as through Sister Circles, Women's Caucuses, or other leadership organizations providing identity development or racial salience (Croom et al., 2017; Snider, 2020). However, previous research identifies the need for more institutional engagement with Multiracial students (Harris & BrckaLorenz, 2017; Harris et al., 2018). Therefore, by exploring student organizations that offer opportunities as potential sites for placemaking, the current study attempts to understand how these spaces may facilitate a sense of belonging for Multiracial students.

METHODS

Research Design

We followed the qualitative research design of other prior Multiracial identity experience studies that used intersectional approaches for narrative methodologies (Renn, 2000, 2003, 2004; Snider, 2020). Intersectional narrative inquiry, according to Esposito and Evans-Winters (2021), is "an epistemological stance and modus operandi for the examination (and interpretation) of (a) complex relationships, (b) cultural artifacts, (c) social contexts, and (d) researcher reflexivity" (p. 21). Narrative inquiry focuses on narration and aims to record tales in order to get a comprehensive knowledge of lived experiences (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021). This was chosen because story research may be used to "defy historical and contemporary racial oppression" (Tyson, 2006, p. 24). Intersectional qualitative research seeks to elucidate "discussions of race, gender, class, and sexuality as part of a larger political and epistemological struggle for a better and just future" by sharing participant realities from the viewpoint of oppressed identities (Tyson, 2006, p. 25).

Further, intersectional narrative inquiry allows for understanding the nuanced ways in which oppressed identities may negotiate their identities as forms of coping or resistance (Boylorn, 2017). Using intersectional approaches with narrative inquiry as a methodological instrument, the study of social identities is seen as individual narratives, with the assumption that individuals build their own identities via storytelling (Museus, 2007). People learn about their identities and how they are positioned within their world (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021; Reissman, 2008). Using intersectional narrative inquiry enabled the conceptualization of participants' lived experiences via storytelling, which cannot be divorced from their own storied lives (Museus, 2007). The following research questions led to this study:

1) How do Multiracial student leaders negotiate their multiple racial identities and locations within monoracial student organizations?
2) How do Multiracial student leaders engage in placemaking to find a sense of belonging within monoracial student organizations?

Positionality

We followed a reflexive process outlined by Esposito and Evans-Winters (2021) when engaging in research interrogating oppressive systems or racial identities. We used this framework in an examination of monoracism and multiraciality, which is rooted in norms of whiteness when considering our subjectivities and assumptions (Harris, 2016). We considered the sophistication of multiraciality through intersecting identities of race, gender, and social class.

The first author is a mixed-heritage Latino cisgender heterosexual male, and the second and third authors are heterosexual, cisgender Biracial females. All authors have advised diverse student organizations and supported Multiracial student leaders as either faculty or student affairs professionals, which may have initially limited our perspectives. These *a priori* professional experiences required us to continually deconstruct our own internalized monoracialism and oppression. These varied experiences shaped their identities in navigating through

otherness despite their proximity to dominant identities and the responsibility that comes with the privilege and power they hold to advocate for social justice.

We bracketed our subjectivities and understanding of systems of oppression that facilitate intersectional marginality for Multiracial college students from a MultiCrit lens (Harris, 2016). Thus, as researchers, we believe it is important to reconstruct new ways of thinking and approach Multiracial identity formation through research as a formative and fluid process of becoming. Therefore, we approached this multiraciality research with intentionality in sharing the research with our participants. We were also aware that, as researchers, multiraciality is nuanced to the specific racial locations and identities of our participants, and their lived experiences are not universal. We also assume that these processes of identity development are interconnected with systems of monoracism and other forms of racism into their socialization. However, the student leader experience offers the potential for Multiracial students to move from spaces of liminality to ones of belonging.

Participants

Snowball sampling for historically marginalized and underrepresented populations was utilized to develop a more authentic sample in which two initial participants were recruited through text message. Then, existing participants recommended additional Multiracial student leaders based on inclusion criteria (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021). These inclusion criteria included: (1) undergraduate status; (2) active participation in a recognized campus student organization of any type; (3) holding a leadership position or authority role in a recognized student organization; and (4) self-identification as Multiracial. All participants were active undergraduate students and attended different public Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) in varying regions of the United States. Participants held equivalent leadership positions such as secretary, programming role, or committee chair. Still, none held primary executive board positions because, as noted in the findings, Multiracial student leaders are relegated to administrative positions. All participants selected their own pseudonyms and defined their own multiple identities (Table 1).

Table 1
Participant Demographics

Name	Racial Identities	Academic Level	Gender Identity	Sexual Identity	Institution Type	Student Organization
Sarah	Black/ Korean	Senior	Female	Queer	Midwestern PWI	Student Government
Mandy	Black/ White	Junior	Female	Heterosexual	Southern PWI	Black Student Caucus
Sean	Black/ White	Junior	Male	Heterosexual	Midwestern PWI	College Democrats
Beth	Black/ White	Senior	Female	Heterosexual	Mid-Atlantic PWI	Service Organization
Lauren	Black/ White	Junior	Female	Lesbian	Southern PWI	Social Sorority
Scott	Filipino/ Mexican	Sophomore	Male	Heterosexual	New England PWI	Residence Hall Association
Joseph	Jamaican/ Chinese	First Year	Male	Heterosexual	Western PWI	Business Fraternity
Elizabeth	Latina/ Jewish	Senior	Female	Heterosexual	Southwest PWI	Social Sorority
Jasmine	Black/ Israeli	Junior	Female	Heterosexual	Southern PWI	Hillel
Randall	Latino/ Chinese	Sophomore	Male	Queer	Mid-Atlantic PWI	E-Sports Club

Data Collection

This research included a guide for semi-structured interviews, which included questions such as "In what possible ways, if at all, did your Multiracial identities influence your student leader experiences?" and "What are some challenges and/or benefits that you have due to your Multiracial identity?" The other subjects discussed in the interview guide were informed by earlier research relevant to the Multiracial identities of the participants and their experiences as students (Renn, 2021). We asked probing questions and varied them slightly between participants depending on comfort level and rapport. Interviews lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes and were held synchronously through an online video platform. Participants were presented with a standard informed consent form and were provided with a gift card as an incentive. Interviews ended once there was data redundancy (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021). The interviews were transcribed by a professional third party for data analysis.

Data Analysis

This study used narrative analysis in congruence with intersectional narrative inquiry in which we cannot "make sense of stories outside of the context in which they are situated," which were located within political, social, and historical contexts (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021, p. 149). Guiding questions by Gubrium and Holstein (2009) were also used for contextualization, which included: (1) who produces particular kinds of stories, (2) where they are likely to be encountered, (3) what are their purposes, (4) who are the listeners, (5) under what circumstances particular narratives are more or less accountable, (5) how do they gain acceptance, and (6) how they are challenged. Esposito and Evans-Winters (2022) also furthered this by asking, "How does this context bear witness and shape the story?" (p. 149). These questions were used to begin data analysis in which we constructed preliminary memos about salient concepts (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021; Saldaña, 2021).

In congruence with intersectional narrative inquiry, each participant was assigned an individual narrative analysis document because of the nuances and complexities of multiraciality.

An initial listing of significant patterns was completed for each participant using these narrative analysis documents. Significant focus was given to participants' meaning-making of multiraciality, monoracism, and relationships with monoracial peers (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021). This initial coding process assisted the researchers in understanding how individual lived experiences amplify the cross-cutting of themes (Josselson & Hammack, 2021).

Then, patterns that interconnected across participants pertaining to the research questions were applied, and sections of the transcripts were organized into thematic clusters (Saldaña, 2021). This process also included identifying additional narrative pieces that did not fall into these themes. Two rounds of participant analysis were conducted using this process, and we met to reconcile any potential incongruencies. Final narrative analysis documents were generated to complete thematic analysis to further refine the themes (Saldaña, 2021).

Trustworthiness

This study employed several strategies in accordance with standards of trustworthiness (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the two rounds of coding and regular co-researcher debriefings, an audit trail was used as part of a critically self-reflexive process. We discussed the research study constructs with each other to remain open to alternative interpretations of the data. Additional strategies included member checking (participants reviewed their interview transcripts) and through an external auditor who was a higher education researcher to interrogate the veracity of the themes.

FINDINGS

Findings from this study reveal the difficulties experienced by Multiracial students in their attempts to develop a sense of belonging through organizational involvement. They also experienced racialized microaggressions and monoracism through their participation in student organizations. To negotiate monoracial student organizations, Multiracial students attempted to engage in intentional placemaking. This process ultimately resulted in curating a small group of friends who became their supports and advocates, providing them with connectedness.

Belonging

Multiracial students in this study suggested that it was disorienting to them when they began college. They experienced racial questioning, colorism, and racial joking. Women experienced exotification and hypersexualization. They suggested they felt alone because there were no others like them on campus, and it was difficult to locate other Multiracial students. This made them experience a lack of visibility, and a lack of intentional engagement by their institutions made them feel embedded into invisibility. Elizabeth shared an experience:

> One time my freshman year I was in the dining hall and I saw another light-skinned Black girl. She looked like me and had my same hair texture with curls. I also heard what I thought was like her speaking Spanish too, so I got all excited. I kinda creeped on her by the salad bar and then waited until she sat down. I sat near her to try to make eye contact, hoping we would start talking. All I got was a mean mug and a stank eye. Ironically, we both joined the same sorority and she said she was stalking me on Insta [Instagram] and wanted to be my friend too, but she was showing out for her friends. But like, that's all we both wanted…friends like us [Multiracial].

Participants shared many stories like this of awkwardly trying to make friends or fit into monoracial spaces. Despite their best efforts, students were often unable to organically engage in place-making through conventional methods such as meeting at a party or their courses. Joseph clarified this experience by adding, "It's hard to make friends in college when you are Mixed because everyone just assumes you are a fraction of yourself and don't fully represent, and so all you feel is like you don't fit in or that no one likes you. Everyone is White, and not both like me."

In these difficulties with belonging, Multiracial students sought relief and friendships in student organizations. Yet, even this was fraught with challenges as they initially experienced negative transitions into locating a student organization and affiliating with existing members. Sarah had difficulty joining a student organization and eventually found a smaller, less visible service organization. Sarah offered advice:

> Make sure that they step into that and find those you know those types of support on PWI campuses that are there, they might just be hidden gems and they can make the biggest differences, so I would definitely encourage people to step into that.

Multiracial students placed significant value on-campus involvement as an opportunity to find a sense of belonging at their institutions. Many participants like Randall or Jasmine noted it was clear there were "places you know don't want you" or that were "unwelcoming to Mixed students." There were unclear spaces for them in student organizations, which they felt might be welcoming and as a place to find solace from monoracism and friendships. Joseph said, "this was not happening for Mixed students outside of student orgs, we have to join them to connect and survive a PWI, or no one knows we exist on campus." So, to the Multiracial college students in this study, student organizations were one of the remaining sites for liberation, leadership, and identity development.

Racializing

Multiracial students experienced various forms of cultural taxation in their attempts to find belonging. Participants were rejected from many other monoracial student organizations because their multiraciality was disorienting or caused disequilibrium among existing organizational members. Some organizations also had hypodescent discourses that preceded participant disinterest in affiliation. Mandy contextualized this:

> I don't feel like there's much help or conversations about like Mixed race people are like a taboo topic. Because like you know, like just like what like 56 years ago like interracial couples couldn't even marry, so I feel like it's still like a new like kind of like a merger like obviously there's more and more people who are Mixed race.

To find belonging, participants described that they were welcomed by organizations that already had above-average diversity of membership rather than more racially isolated or homogeneous ones. This diversity was chal-

lenging to Multiracial students because of what Randall styled this "double entrapment" in which he also noted was that "skinfolk ain't your kinfolk." Rather, Multiracial students experienced more racial questions or exotification from White members but unexpected racial microaggressions from other Students of Color. Scott clarified these expectations, "I knew White people would be ignorant and say some dumbass things at a PWI, but I did not expect my own people or other BIPOC to be just as ignorant."

Students talked about their own individualized racialized experiences and their need to find belonging through their campus involvement at a PWI, particularly because they were nervous about racism. Sean shared a personal example that when Donald Trump was president, he noticed a significant increase in racism, racial tensions, and hate on campus, "A Mixed girl I know was walking to an audition, and she was egged and called the N-word after men yelled Trump and she literally went through her entire audition." Also, another event Sean shared was that the art school at their PWI was graffitied with racial slurs during the most recent election period.

Sean and other participants consistently referenced the importance of the Black Lives Matter protests during the summer of 2020. They felt this movement opened the eyes of several individuals and the racial injustices of the world. They suggest this was an awkward time because it was a reflection time for many White people about their relationships with other Persons of Color. Mandy talks about the hurt they felt even before the summer of 2020:

> Back in 2016 you know when Trump was elected, like you see, like all this crazy thing like you know, on Facebook people like saying their opinions and it's kind of its hurtful you know it's very hurtful to see that, like people who are supposed to be your family just don't like you, because of your race, you know so that's also been a challenge and there's been challenges with my parents, because they also take the colorblind approach, I feel like sometimes our family can be the most hurtful.

Lauren also explained how many of the experiences Multiracial people face can be rooted to the political stance of their White peers on campus, which Elizabeth clarified, "Just because we are Mixed, White people think we are the 'safe minorities' to them and they use this to ask about race because they are afraid to ask other Persons of Color." Participants expanded that they serve as racial ambassadors and that even their assumptions about cultural differences often place them in disbelief regarding monoracial knowledge about multiraciality. Beth states, "It gets so overwhelming having to teach others about your identity and be the Person of Color in every diversity conversation." These forms of consistent racialized experiences facilitated exhaustion, and Multiracial students clarified they experienced a *racial ambassador* scenario or questioning across all of their identities and locations. Sean shared a similar perspective and highlighted, "When the faculty and staff are not being taught and trained on etiquette for not targeting Students of Color, but specifically Multiracial students, to lead diversity conversations, then you burn out so quickly."

Beth shared several examples that other White students purposefully used the "N-word" near her but did not directly speak to her at parties and would stare at her as well. Like Beth, the other Multiracial women shared experiences about exotification in that many White men asked them about the politics of race or just wanted to "hook up" with a Person of Color. These broader racialized experiences in undergraduate student life were similar to their process of placemaking within their student organizations.

Placemaking

The placemaking process for Multiracial students within a student organization was difficult. Those who sought leadership positions were often blocked or impeded from advancing into these positions by their monoracial peers. If they obtained a position, it was more managerial or administrative, such as a committee chair, treasurer, or secretary. Multiracial students suggested this process was traumatizing and shared examples of how they internalized these feelings. Lauren shared, "You don't understand that it's okay to be different. You know you just want to be like everybody [White peers] just want to fit in."

Initially, students discussed trying to fit into their student organization, often conforming to White norms. This included altering or completely changing their self-presentation and identity expression in their attempts to

gain acceptance by others. Participants shared examples, which included straightening their hair, buying new clothes, listening to new music, or code-switching. Beth shared one specific conformity example, "And this one girl talked about how she was ashamed of her curly hair and so she straightened it every day, so people wouldn't make fun of her, and I was like I did the same thing too." Similarly, other Multiracial women in this study shared examples regarding their extremely challenging experiences of placemaking within their organizations.

Mandy shared a personal experience of feeling like she did not fit with anyone in her student organizations, which she expressed as "How they [Multiracial students] don't really necessarily feel like they fit in with one race or the other, so that's like always been a challenge in my life." In particular, Multiracial students described this as a racial buffer. Randall noted that this "felt like I am between two worlds, buffering like some 90s internet video between two computers."

Eventually, Multiracial students engaged in successful placemaking by identifying a small group of monoracial peers within a student organization. Scott noted that he found friends in his student organization by going to meetings:

> When I joined RHA [Residence Hall Association], it was difficult to get others to even see me. I had voice and I felt unseen and unheard, it was as if I did not exist. Then, one day I sat next to someone who asked my major and we started talking. We eventually became friends finally after he understood I was more than just Mixed.

Lauren shared that she had to "train" her sorority sisters, and after repeated exposure, they finally understood. Lauren shared: "My sorority sisters finally understood the assignment after an entire semester of me reminding them I am Multiracial and not just Black. Now, they remind everyone else for me. They are my besties, like my ride or die bitches."

All participants identified they experienced imposter syndrome, which made them critically reflect on their racial identities. Figuring out how to fit in a space of whiteness or other monoracial identities was further magnified in their process of discovering a place in a student organization. Participants each shared a time when they felt like an imposter and as though they did not belong in the specific space. Once they gained confidence in their racial locations within the university system, they were able to engage in placemaking. However, other monoracial peers responded with disorientation or confusion to their racial identities. Through a process of educating or training their monoracial peers, a small group of friends developed who eventually became their primary social support network.

Randall clarified that he still has to educate his friends on the nuances of being Multiracial or has to explain certain aspects of his cultures but does not have to validate himself. He suggested,

> …eventually finding close friends through getting involved on campus gave me more confidence to express who I was, rather than just trying to pass as straight or Latino. I feel visible and present, and now I feel like I matter.

Participants believe their campus involvement took a significant time to develop because their institutions lack clear pathways. Mandy confirmed that: "I feel like it's kind of like I still feel like it's kind of taboo, like I haven't seen any programming for like Multiracial people at either of my institutions." Multiracial college students experienced greater cultural taxation in their attempts to facilitate placemaking, eventually identifying a small support network of close monoracial friends.

DISCUSSION

This research provides evidence that more racially diverse student organizations are open as potential sites of belonging for Multiracial students who actively seek campus involvement, but that Multiracial students must engage in this placemaking at the expense of racialized microaggressions and monoracism. Multiracial students

were subjected to severe cultural taxation, prompting them to engage in deliberate placemaking to uncover their feelings of belonging. They served as racial buffers or racial ambassadors, and occupied a liminal "safe minority" status, which also led to coping strategies of passing and code-switching to avoid these forms of cultural taxation. These findings complement and extend the boundaries of the limited existing research about Multiracial student organization involvement by contextualizing these as spaces of potential placemaking.

In *belonging,* Multiracial students attempted to discover a sense of belonging on campus. They centered student organizations as their potential space to discover community to seek refuge from monoracism experiences that are unfortunately common for them (Johnson & Nadal, 2010). They felt that these spaces were one of their singular opportunities because they described their institutions as lacking intentional engagement due to their limited visibility to others (Harris & BrckaLorenz, 2017). To them, student organizations offered opportunities for connectedness for one or more of their racial locations or identities (Malaney & Danowski, 2015; Ozaki & Johnston, 2008). Student organizations offered leadership opportunities that would give them visibility (Harris & BrckaLorenz, 2017; Ozaki & Johnston, 2008). However, the belonging found in student organizations was coupled with experiences of racial microaggressions (Harris, 2017; Ozaki & Parson, 2017).

In *racializing,* Multiracial students experienced significant cultural taxation and various forms of monoracism in student organizations. They acted as racial buffers across numerous racial and cultural contexts, especially within monoracial contexts or in closer proximity to whiteness (Harris et al., 2019). They experienced monoracism from White peers as the "safe minority friend" (Snider et al., 2023). These students felt they were racial ambassadors for all their racial identities to White peers or used to demonstrate racial diversity within student organizations (Johnston-Guerrero & Chaudhari, 2016; Literté, 2021).

Unexpectedly, they also experienced similar monoracism as racial questioning from other monoracial Students of Color, particularly related to colorism (Hunter, 2016; Museus et al., 2015; Ozaki & Parson, 2017). This hypodescence compelled them to fit into or pick a monoracial or dominant racial category (Hunter, 2016; Khanna & Johnson, 2010; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004). Other participants, particularly Multiracial women, were also hypersexualized via exotification processes and positioned into racial binaries or monoracial categories, which validates previous studies (Harris, 2017; 2019).

In *placemaking,* Multiracial students did not feel their institutions offered any programming for them and felt like they were invisible to others (Guillermo-Wann & Johnston, 2012). They attempted to initially engage in placemaking by unsuccessfully obtaining leadership positions that were stymied or limited to administrative roles. They also attempted to conform to whiteness or other monoracial norms through passing or other coping strategies (Harris et al., 2019; 2021; Sasso et al., 2023).

However, Multiracial students eventually developed a close circle of monoracial friends who became their advocates and community. Multiracial students also used a number of strategies to educate their monoracial peers about their multiple racial identities and locations. They sought to be authentically recognized beyond an abstracted identity of *Mixed* (Johnston-Guerrero & Chaudhari, 2016; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004). This process of placemaking within institutions was difficult but allowed them to ultimately assume confidence within their racial locations within their student organization and, eventually, their institution.

Limitations

We have extensive *a priori* knowledge supporting multiracial college student leaders in student organizations and academic advising contexts. This may have influenced participants to provide socially desirable responses during their interviews or filter their responses due to fear of negative reprisal. There is no universality to Multiraciality as individual identity experiences may not apply to others, and there was significant variation across participant narratives (Johnston-Guerrero & Chaudhari, 2016). These individual Multiracial differences can affect the purpose of racialized narratives, experiences, and perspectives.

The transferability of this study is limited to the participants' membership in student organizations at PWIs. However, we believe the findings can provide insight into the experiences of Multiracial student leaders in organizations. We also recognize that this research does include some, but not a significant representation of all identities in light of historically marginalized communities. Although this research has participants who identify as Queer, only heteronormative perspectives and experiences were shared by participants. Therefore, future research should continue exploring specific forms of monoracism, such as colorism or how Multiracial students negotiate whiteness.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The most salient finding in this study beyond monoracism is how Multiracial student leaders persisted in finding belonging within their chapters. They engaged in intentional placemaking to disrupt the safe minority friend status, racial buffering, or racial ambassador role by surrounding themselves with monoracial advocates. These monoracial peers enveloped them despite the forms of cultural taxation they experienced to develop this community. There are a number of recommendations for practice for student organization advisors and student involvement professionals that may facilitate increased inclusion and involvement of Multiracial student leaders in organizations.

Student Organization Advisors

This growing awareness of Multiracial persons, according to Knaus (2006), should motivate educators to examine racial classifications and racial discourse in the United States. Mohajeri and Lou (2021) suggested a four-stage process of critical praxis that can be used by student organization advisors to promote Multiraciality as a space of counterstorytelling to acknowledge powerblindness. They suggested exploring the ways in which student organization advisors' postracial ideologies about Multiraciality may influence increased pressures of "responsibility for healing labor on Multiracial individuals, thereby absolving others of involvement" (p. 185). These approaches should also consider that Multiracial students inhabit co-located, multiple identities so that other students can move toward awareness and acceptance of their identities. Student affairs professionals are crucial in motivating and teaching Multiracial students enrolled in colleges and universities to take an active role in campus life. Power relations between students, staff, and professors are always omnipotent in postsecondary educational institutions. It is critical for advisors to understand the purpose of their participation in the institution (Mohajeri & Lou, 2021).

Advisors personally connect with a student's growth of racial identity as part of their role responsibilities, and other times it might be informal learning as part of a conversation of happenstance (Lou, 2011). Advisors become pivotal characters in students' identity formation during their collegiate years. Working closely with an organization can be rewarding because advisors can observe and experience student leadership development (Malaney & Danowski, 2015; Ozaki & Johnston, 2008). Working closely with an organization can be rewarding because of these reasons (Mohajeri & Lou, 2021). This means increasing the training that student involvement professionals or student organization advisors receive to understand how to improve assessment chances for Multiracial students (Hamako, 2005; Herring, 1995; Wilson, 1999).

Student Involvement Professionals

As elucidated in this study, Multiracial students will independently create these spaces even within monoracial environments into which they opt in. Greater support from institutional leaders is needed to ensure Multiracial students have various outlets; their actions to create such spaces illustrate the importance of creating physical and emotional spaces to empower, develop, and build community as Multiracial students at a PWI (Allen, 2019). For example, Women of Color caucuses or Sister Circles significantly contribute to the retention and persistence of Students of Color in higher education (Allen, 2019; Commodore et al., 2018; Croom et al., 2017). Snider (2020) found that the same benefits are critical for Multiracial women even if Women of Color spaces were not their goal or intention. Student involvement professionals and advisors should support and encourage the infrastructure for Students of Color to hold positions in these powerful counter spaces.

Multiracial students within organizations should be engaged in leadership opportunities with full participation, which acknowledges the deleterious impacts of erasure. These spaces should also authentically recognize students as not monoracial and allow them to distinctively identify (Townsend et al., 2009). Racial nomenclature and colloquial language can be harmful to identity development, especially to multiracial students (Ford & Malaney, 2012).

CONCLUSION

Multiracial identities should be recognized and considered across institutional policies and decision-making, and student involvement professionals and advisors should educate themselves about the sophistication of multiraciality represented in their student organizations. Increased consciousness through greater education can provide the language and tools necessary to acknowledge and encourage greater dialogue among members across all organizations about monoracism and reveal the colorblindness pervasive in student organizations. Increased understanding may allow clearer pathways for campus involvement and leadership for Multiracial college students. Future research should further examine the experiences of Multiracial student leaders in different categories or formats of student organizations.

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JCAPS

COLLEGE STUDENT GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS AND THE ESPOUSAL OF NEOLIBERALISM IN CAMPAIGN AND PLATFORM DISCOURSE

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In this critical discourse analysis, we examined 18 college student government campaign platforms from 9 institutions in the state of Florida. We used neoliberalism as a conceptual framework to examine platforms and, in particular, the way(s) students running for office described neoliberal agendas, policies, and thought. Findings revealed concern for student finances and increasing student fees, proposed private sector solutions, an unacknowledged political climate, communications trends, and notable differences by institution type.

Each year, college students launch multifaceted campaigns in an effort to serve their student body as elected student government officials (Falvey, 1952; Goodman & Briscoe, 2022; Klopf, 1960). Because student government leaders have significant power on a college campus (Goodman, 2021; Klopf, 1960; Laosebikan-Buggs, 2006; Miles, 2011) and student government is a microcosm of U.S. politics and post-college public office (Avalos, 2019; Goodman, 2022a, 2022c), it is important to understand the role elections play in furthering students' involvement in university operations. Given the range of issues found on college campuses, it is not uncommon for students to campaign on espoused values that are neoliberal and capitalist in nature. For this study, we understand neoliberalism as a predominant Western ideology that seeks to uphold the privatization of goods and resources while enforcing individual responsibility and capitalism as the prioritization of "free markets," increased labor, and "consumer choice" (Museus & LePeau, 2019, p. 2).

Given that higher education is inherently a political enterprise (e.g., see Parker, 2019), we approached this research with an understanding that college student government, too, is anchored in politics and with related questions about non/partisanship and neutrality (Goodman, 2022b). For instance, early examples of student government and class councils were created to mirror the U.S. political system (May, 2010). Much like the political system, student governments have multiple branches of governance (May, 2010), vote on contentious initiatives and university matters (Goodman, 2022b; Goodman et al., 2021; Terrell & Cuyjet, 1994), and even have a seat on university boards of trustees (Lozano & Hughes, 2017; Templeton et al., 2018). To guide this study, we enlisted the following research questions:

1. What ideas and efforts do student government candidates espouse in campaign and election materials?
2. How do student government candidates describe neoliberal agendas, policies, or thought in campaign and election materials? How are student government candidates furthering a campus's neoliberal agenda, policy, or thought?

This study adds to the literature on student government, and, more importantly, scholarship about campaigns and elections. To further ground our study, we offer the following literature review on undergraduate student government.

Goodman, M.A., Simi Cohen, S., Arndt, A.L., & Parks, B. (2023). College student government elections and the espousal of neoliberalism in campaign and platform discourse. *Journal of Campus Activities Practice and Scholarship, 5*(3), 24-36. **https://doi.org/ 10.52499/2023024.**

LITERATURE REVIEW

Student government is a form of collegiate involvement where students maintain significant influence on campus (Goodman, 2021; May, 2010; Miles, 2010, 2011; Miles et al., 2008). Student government presidents, specifically, are often afforded heightened access to administrators and lawmakers, campus committee work, and decision-making processes in university governance (Goodman, 2021; Goodman et al., 2021; Hardaway et al., 2022; Jittrikawiphol, 2020; Laosebikan-Buggs, 2006; Smith et al., 2016; Templeton et al., 2018), as well as leadership and skill development (Goodman, 2021; Klopf, 1960; Kuh & Lund, 1994; Smith, 2018). While student body executives have been researched in different ways, there is scant recent literature on student government campaigns and elections specifically.

One notable thread among the limited volume of student government literature concerns low voter turnout. In 2018, Templeton, et al. found that, on average, 22.1% of students vote in student body elections. The low number of students voting in the campus democratic process invites questions about the legitimacy of shared governance (Laosebikan-Buggs, 2006). Miles and Miller (2006) even suggested that student governance mirrors faculty governance in terms of participation, election turnout, diversity, and decision acceptance. While student government has the potential to play a significant role in shaping student life, conflicts like internal power struggles, apathy, and disorganization often take up time and attention of officers (Laosebikan-Buggs, 2006). One challenge is that many issues taken up by student governments, particularly those impacting students, can span many student government administrations over multiple years (e.g., new buildings on campus, raising student fees) (Laosebikan-Buggs, 2006).

Low numbers might also bring to the forefront the question of what student governments actually do. Smith et al. (2016) described the work of student government to be mostly comprised of efforts involving student fees and allocations. Goodman (2022c) suggested that student fee allocations and work with major campus budgets were helpful preparation for roles in post-college public office. Goodman (2021) also found student government presidents spent time doing committee work alongside administrators (e.g., hiring, fees, building construction). More recently, student government work has involved an increased focus on issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion, and in some instances, positions students against administrators who have incongruent values as those espoused by representative leadership (Goodman et al., 2021; Goodman & Briscoe, 2022). For example, Goodman et al. (2021) described the many ways student governments address issues of social justice in local, state, and international contexts, from Emory University student government allocating funds for copies of "The New Jim Crow" in 2020 to the University of Minnesota student government president calling on the institution to sever ties with the Minneapolis Police Department after the murder of George Floyd. As such, many questions about neutrality exist for student government, as well as an inquiry around the role politics and partisanship play in these spaces (Goodman, 2022b).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Though a number of conceptual frameworks could have shaped our thinking (i.e., democracy, liberalism), neoliberalism, both a political and economic ideology and paradigm for conceptualizing U.S. policies and agendas throughout the West since the early 1980s (Duggan, 2003), was selected. Duggan (2003) posited that the global rise of neoliberalism in the West happened "primarily in the U.S., and secondarily in Europe, in response to global changes that challenged the dominance of Western institutions" (p. X11). This change resulted from the lack of functionality of Keynesian economic policies that were considered to "take away" individuals' freedom to be their own entrepreneurs. It brought forward liberal social policies such as the New Deal (Raimondi, 2012, p. 41).

Neoliberalism became prominent in the U.S. through the Reagan administration as a wave of thought that prompted dangerous ideals promoting individual, competitive work under the guise of meritocracy, resulting in social stratification (Maher & Aquanno, 2018). According to Duggan (2003), Reagan used neoliberalism as a way to push against the former Keynesian policies, like the New Deal, to lessen the government's responsibility

in social welfare programs while cutting taxes for the rich and restructuring the K-20 education system from a public to a private good. Neoliberalism seeks to uphold capitalism through interlocking systems of oppression, highlighting the ableist, classist, cis-heteronormative, and white supremacist underpinnings of our systems (Duggan, 2003; Kalish Blair, 2016; Museus & LePeau, 2019). Maher and Aquanno (2018) identified how U.S. education systems are organized and suggested that it is "not merely a state policy paradigm or corporate asset portfolio, but rather a trend in the institutional organization of power" (p. 33); this speaks to the ways hegemonic socialization impacts and effects neoliberalism within higher education institutions.

Higher education institutions use neoliberalism as a tool to recreate hegemonic norms, often stifling work that falls out of line within these ideals (Museus & LePeau, 2019). Student governments, specifically, are not void of neoliberal effects. They echo the political system in the U.S. as well as the politics of higher education (e.g., see Avalos, 2019; Goodman et al., 2021). Aside from political ideologies, student government candidates are tasked with navigating their college's neoliberal sphere. Furthermore, student government presidents have a large task of living up to campaign promises, which, as seen in the broader political context, can be problematized, as neoliberal agendas appear to be more promise than action (Duggan, 2003; Museus & LePeau, 2019). We use neoliberalism as a framework to uncover how student government elections are used as tools to further perpetuate the ideals neoliberalism espouses and examine how students are affected and used as tools of neoliberal agendas.

METHODOLOGY

This study was guided by critical discourse analysis (CDA) tenants, which focuses on how language constitutes and reproduces relations of power and inequality (Blackledge, 2012). As such, our work and analyses critically examine how student government campaign platforms name or fail to name oppressive systems they are attempting to address in both explicit and implicit ways. Fairclough (2010) described, "Discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them, to reproducing and transforming them" (p. 59). It mattered to us to explore the relationship between ideology and language (Fairclough, 2010), as well as what the tickets (claimed to) say and (hoped to) do (Graham, 2011). To do this through the lens of CDA, we also draw from Woodside-Jiron's (2011) work on CDA and policy-making and policy documents; the author posited, "Critical analyses of policy include inquiry into underlying issues of power and ideology embedded within the definition of the perceived problem and solution" (p. 155). Specifically, we attempt to show how power is generated, as well as the role of individuals within that power structure (Woodside-Jiron, 2011) in Florida, specifically with neoliberalism in mind.

Florida

Florida as a site is a unique case with a range of institution types and political implications for student government elections. For example, student government presidents in Florida gain a seat on their institution's board of trustees (Lozano & Hughes, 2017; see State of Florida Regulations of the Florida Board of Governors). Further, the relevance of college student government has also bled into large state elections. For example, Florida's Commissioner of Agriculture, Nikki Fried, was student government president at the University of Florida in 2002 (Florida Department of Agriculture, n. d.) and even referred back to that experience while campaigning for Florida Governor (e.g., see Fried, 2021).

Examining student government platform discourse in Florida provides higher education administrators and student government advisors with a better understanding of how students describe challenges on campus and, subsequently, their leadership vision to address those challenges. After all, Florida is the locale of the Parkland High School and PULSE Night Club shootings and the recent "Don't Say Gay" Bill legislation on how schools and workplaces teach about race and identity. These challenges, bedrocks of social "culture wars," are platforms upon which students can campaign and champion, even when doing so gives colleges and universities an "out" from institutional leadership or responsibility–particularly in a state context with a significant level of political discourse.

In 2022, *Politico's* Fineout and Atterbury titled an op-ed declaring Florida as "ground zero for America's 'culture war.'" Such framing is not uncommon in states with extreme political turmoil and state officials legislating

college and university matters. For example, in Idaho, Boise State University leadership rescinded a 2020 land acknowledgment as a part of first-year convocation. The speech, set to be delivered three days before a special budgeting legislative session for higher education, was deemed "too long and too provocative to roll out in a politically precarious climate" (Golden & Berg, 2022, para 5). Similar infringements of academic freedom are not unfamiliar to Floridians; since 2020, Governor Ron DeSantis signed into law various (politically-motivated) pieces of legislation such as the Parental Rights in Education Senate Bill (S.B.) 1834, Stop WOKE Act House Bill 7, and SB 7044 regarding post-tenure reviews in postsecondary education. These recent legislative efforts–intended to remove freedoms–were made possible as the result of conservative stewardship within Florida's government; since 1999, Republicans have controlled the Governorship, House, and Senate.

Methods

In January 2022, the researchers established an approach for this study. We selected Florida as a state context that maintains a politically relevant experience regarding student government (e.g., Lozano & Hughes, 2017). Considering researcher capacity, we engaged in random sampling for seven institutions, in which institutions had an equal chance of being selected as a site (Given, 2008; Marshall, 1996). We organized Florida colleges and universities by "public," "private," and "at large." We then randomly selected five public schools, two private, and two at-large. The two additional at-large schools were selected through purposeful selection (Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2015) based on one being the largest in the state and one being a private school with a notable athletic conference. Our total sample of nine institutions included religious-affiliated, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, and a Historically Black University. We recognize the differing experiences of students based on institution type (e.g., see Harper & Gasman, 2008; Hardaway et al., 2021; Miles, 2010), and yet still believe students more broadly are guided by seeking change on campus–which is reflected in our findings. There were 18 platforms across the nine institutions, with each platform attached to "tickets" of presidential and vice presidential candidates. Nine of these platforms represented "parties," which included a slate of students running together for executive branch positions. One school had an unopposed election.

We created four categories of possible data sources, including platform websites, campus newspapers, other election materials (e.g., transcribed candidate debates), and social media (Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, Twitter). We then collected data as a group for one test site in order to demonstrate consistency in collecting publicly available data. Of the 18 platforms, we collected campus newspaper data for 18, social media content for 12, debate transcripts for 9, and website materials for 4. Data were collected from campaign platforms between January and April 2022, and researchers memoed throughout the data collection process, which included reflexivity and follow-up researcher debriefing. Memoing and researcher debriefing meetings strengthened the trustworthiness of our research (Jones et al., 2014).

We engaged with CDA, understanding that meaning is produced in texts and that interpretations are diverse (Fairclough, 2010). To code and analyze, we adopted elements from Ziskin's (2019) analysis approach in that we first read through the materials multiple times individually and coded excerpts (low-inference thematic coding, selection). Specifically, we found meaningful statements across multiple sections of our data to begin the process of further coding and eventual analysis (Ziskin, 2019). As we continued to (re)construct codes across our entire dataset, we memoed and annotated about discourses and styles of the selected excerpts and eventually identified the key themes (Ziskin, 2019) that are presented in a subsequent section. Doing CDA as critical scholars, interpretations can be difficult to convey, and "we need analytical methods that can take [on] multiple meanings and pragmatic structures" (Ziskin, 2019, p. 616). In addition to memoing, we conferred as a research collective at multiple points during coding and analyses, as well as through the interpreting and writing processes.

Positionality

As scholar-practitioners determined to critique current cultural power structures, we approached this research with a range of experience with and exposure to college student government elections. For example, Goodman is a former undergraduate and graduate student government president and has advised and researched student government in multiple capacities over many years. Simi Cohen is a former undergraduate and graduate president of

a queer and trans section of student government and continues to be involved in student government affairs today. Parks is a former undergraduate student government president who advises and researches student government, and Arndt is a former student government advisor who has remained engaged in student government research. None of the researchers have worked in or attended school in Florida, and thus, approached this investigation from an outsider perspective. At the same time, with such rich and diverse experiences with student governance, there becomes an outsider-insider point-of-view that enabled us to do this research with unique intentionality.

As scholar-practitioners, we care deeply about the role of student engagement, leadership, and activism on campus. We are also politically engaged, whole humans involved in our local communities across the United States. As progressive, "left-leaning" people, we acknowledge that we bring passionate views with us into this research. At the same time, we are not "neutral," per se, and rather, have been intentional to hold each other accountable for how we view(ed) data and write about our research. We understand the rapid changes in higher education that force students to take up issues in the absence of the campus (e.g., three of the four authors are doctoral students studying higher education and/or student affairs). Kauffman and Schuster (1994) suggested that student government contributes to student life and features "predictions of the likely impact of the changing student population and the streamlining of the academic enterprise as consumerism and accountability become the watchwords of the 90s" (p. 1). We have each seen this occur through scholarship and practice and wonder–and worry–about the road ahead. As such, we write with practitioners in mind, in that we aim to make our research and writing applicable to the efforts of those on the frontlines of student government and student leadership work in higher education.

Limitations

No study is without limitations, and we know that methods such as these and a location such as Florida do not ensure generalizability across institutions or states. Yet, to generalize is not the purpose of the study. In terms of data collection, we only engaged with publicly available data. For example, an institution may have had a debate; however, if it was unavailable online, we did not include it in our dataset. Further, there may be institutions where some information is kept behind a campus-specific portal, and as such, we did not use that information. As a result, we recognize that there is additional context that we may be missing, such as campus-specific election guidelines on platforms, budgets, and campaigning. In addition, we are unaware of the political leanings of student government advisors or the climate and culture of specific campuses, which almost certainly influence the development of platforms and the availability of materials online. Finally, we are aware that we did not have community college representation in our sample; future studies will include this campus type. Aside from these limitations, we found ourselves immersed in the rich available data, allowing us to interpret these discourse(s) thoroughly and critically.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Our findings identified elements of neoliberal agendas, policies, and thought present in almost every platform and at every institution. Specifically, findings revealed significant concern and attention to student finances in most platforms, but only a few focused on decreased state funding and increasing student fees. In a related way, nearly all campaigns proposed outsourcing and private-sector solutions. A particularly surprising finding was how the political climate in Florida in Spring 2022 went unacknowledged by tickets. We also noted trends in campaign communications, particularly around Instagram. Finally, our findings pointed to notable differences by institution type.

Concern for Student Finances

Of the 18 campaigns, eight explicitly acknowledged concern for student finances in some capacity. Specifically, five tickets campaigned on promises of freezing tuition, finding funding outside their institution for scholarships, and enabling ways to promote institutional scholarships more effectively. Other tickets considered student fees and the increasing utilization of institutional revenue; for example, one ticket promised a "breakdown of [institution's] student fees to give students a better understanding of how their fee dollars are spent," while another simply promised to lower the already existing student activity fee. Two tickets from two different institutions

campaigned on the promise to implement student textbook stipends to offset increasing financial costs. In these instances, student government candidates were tuned into the fiscal realities faced by their peers.

Although eight student government tickets explicitly recognized the financial burden placed on students, ten tickets advocated for increases in institutional services such as counseling, parking, transportation, and food options while also desiring an increase in hours at recreation centers, dining halls, and libraries. Though most of the ten campaign promises utilized general language such as "increase or reevaluate on-campus dining options" or "expand late-night shuttle service hours," some platform promises were explicit. For example, one ticket ran on the promise of introducing a graduate student-specific bus line onto campus, while another promised to implement a transportation service to allow students from multiple campuses to attend football games. Only one ticket promoted its own self-generated data supporting the campaign's initiative to redraw campus parking maps. Such platform points reveal a disconnect between the desire for additional or expanded services and individual student financing.

Most noticeably, only one student government ticket explicitly acknowledged or questioned decreased state funding (resulting in increasing tuition/fee costs) as a neoliberal consequence. Within its platform notice, this ticket announced it would "advocate to state legislatures to provide more funding to the university to increase the ratio of counselors to students and counseling services for students overall." So, although this single ticket's candidates were both aware of the strain placed on fellow students/themselves and could articulate solutions that would benefit the student body, the explicit connection to neoliberalism as a driving force of student financial burden was not visible in the materials reviewed.

Private Sector Solutions

A second major finding concerned the number of student government campaigns advocating for outsourcing student services. This showed up in several different ways. Four student government tickets expressed an openness to outsourcing campus services like dining and parking. Additionally, four tickets campaigned on developing specific and presumably popular third-party partnerships. For instance, at one large public institution, one ticket ran on a pilot program offering students free Spotify and Hulu services, following the logic that premium television services such as HBO and Showtime were already being offered to students. Three additional tickets proposed corporate partnerships with rideshare services such as Lyft, food delivery agreements with Grubhub, and promoting local businesses at Food Truck Fridays. Two tickets at two different institutions explicitly promised to promote Black-owned businesses, presumably to expose students to and support and uplift racially diverse business owners at events and farmers markets.

Again, although student government tickets articulated student needs and provided solutions to filling gaps, instead of advocating to state legislatures for additional funding, six student government campaigns suggested that the private sector remedy the shortcomings of their institution's services. Outsourcing student services to private businesses and establishing campus relationships with specific corporations serves the neoliberal agenda, where exogenous privatization is championed as the solution to market-driven insufficiencies (Ball, 2016). Although some campaign promises concerning outsourcing were surely to be popular with students (e.g., Spotify, Hulu), other advocacies for essential services (i.e., food delivery, transportation) may serve as institutional critiques of unmet student needs. Instead of campaigning for improved institutional support (and subsequent additional funding), one-third of the tickets advocated for a solution sourced from the private sector.

Acknowledged and Unacknowledged Political Climate

A third finding is the acknowledged and unacknowledged political realities in Florida and federal politics. As previously discussed, we intentionally selected Florida because of its unique political climate. Three political issues were indirectly observed in the eighteen campaigns' materials: diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) support (four tickets), various responses to COVID-19 vaccines (three tickets), and election-related initiatives (two tickets). As a part of their platform, four tickets advocated for increased DEI initiatives; however, each lacked explicit connections to any Florida or federal legislation. For example, one ticket promised to advocate for a mandatory diversity course for all first-year students concerning Seminole Tribe history. Another ticket prom-

ised to advocate for mandatory faculty anti-racism training. But neither connected these efforts to political or social movements. The few platforms that addressed COVID-19 ran the gamut from calls for "personal freedom" to others advocating for incentives for students to be vaccinated. Concerning election-related initiatives, two tickets (from the same institution) campaigned on the promise to advocate for election days to be institutional holidays, presumably to increase voter access. Despite these few platform promises, overwhelmingly (and concerningly), a general disconnect between state and federal laws and student government campaigns was observed (e.g., throughout the data collection period of this study, federal laws were publicly drafted, debated, reconsidered, and implemented). For instance, noticeably absent from any materials reviewed was the mention of explicit abortion access (*Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*). However, four tickets promised to increase access to menstrual hygiene products and reproductive health resources (e.g., "Sexual Health is Wealth - free STD testing, self-defense, and safe sex materials during Sexual Health Awareness Week").

Despite the fact that it was being debated at the same time as many student government campaigns (January-April 2022), no explicit mention of the Parental Rights in Education law (2022) nor the "Stop WOKE Act" (2022) was present in any of the eighteen tickets' materials reviewed. Many pundits in higher education have feared that such legislation (currently being challenged in a Florida court) will have a chilling effect on postsecondary education, as the law was designed to restrict speech, add limits on tenure for professors, and change public college and university accreditation within the state. The "Stop WOKE Act" was introduced following two 2021 laws: Florida House Bill 223 and Florida Senate Bill 1028, the "Fairness in Women's Sports Act." SB 1028 bans transgender women from participating in female sports at public institutions. This Florida-specific legislation was not acknowledged at all in the materials and platforms reviewed. Beyond higher education-specific legislation, this void is interesting when considering the state's recent history. For example, despite several tragedies within the state, no ticket promised to address or even acknowledge gun violence.

Communication Practices/Methods

A fourth emergent finding involves the communication platforms and strategies tickets utilized to share their messages. Across the 18 tickets, we found just four candidate or ticket websites. Instead, we discovered a number of outdated student government websites that did not include information on current elections or candidates. Campus student media coverage was more widespread, but the amount varied widely. At almost all of the institutions in our sample, we found "meet the candidates" features, general news articles on student government elections, and/or op-eds by candidates in advance of elections. Several campus media entities reported stories on historically low voter turnout, and in some cases, we only found news coverage on elections/results and not the campaigns specifically. Media coverage also included reporting on the few debates and forums between candidates, which we found present in discourse at five institutions. There are connections here between neoliberalism and communication in that student media organizations face many of the headwinds of other local media, including decreasing the audience for printed media, shifting to digital products to offset increasing costs, fewer resources and staff members, and a consolidation of media sources.

In place of extensive campus media coverage, websites, or debates, we discovered the vast majority of information and content for the 18 tickets on social media platforms. Specifically, we found Instagram to be the most commonly used platform by almost every ticket, with fewer tickets utilizing Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok. The significant use of Instagram showed up in a number of different ways. First, Instagram is designed to be visually appealing. In order to stand out on the platform, tickets displayed images of candidates and campus, as well as brightly-colored word art. We found many tickets that presented their platform pillars through multiple Instagram images that could be shared on Twitter and Facebook. Instagram also encourages the use of memes, and we saw candidates displaying various levels of creativity. At one institution, we found tickets that advertised events with sponsorships by local businesses. Second, in a related way, Instagram encourages using short-form video that allows tickets to "speak" directly to students, bypassing campus media or sanctioned debates. Third, many tickets utilized Instagram stories, which only appear for 24 hours unless they are saved. As a result, we recognize that there is likely an amount of content we may not have seen during the data collection process. This raises questions about accountability and transparency in student government campaigns if content "disappears." Finally, in utilizing social media platforms in lieu of their own websites, students are sharing all of their data with

a few major corporations, which is a by-product of neoliberal consolidation. Conversely, some students are not even on social media platforms, which inherently limits the reach and engagement of campaigns that choose to use only these forms of communication.

Institutional Comparisons

A fifth and final finding concerns a comparison of tickets by institution type and demonstrates the diversity of student populations, as well as the variety and breadth of experiences for students in the state of Florida. For instance, one institution in our sample is one of the largest historically-Black universities (HBCU) in the United States. Both tickets from this institution notably highlighted the importance of mental health and financial aid. Notably, one of the few tickets advocating for increased state funding was found at an HBCU. However, the bulk of both platforms focused on enhancing and increasing services for students on campus by working with the institution. In addition, while the campus newspaper had limited coverage of the campaign, a student media entity exclusively on Instagram with over 40,000 followers provided extensive coverage, including re-posting stories from both tickets. Each ticket at this HBCU emphasized promotional giveaways to capture student interest, with one ticket offering brunch with Black-owned businesses and a "Barbershop Talk," and the other ticket offering "Taco Tuesday" and a "trap and paint" event.

Two institutions in our sample are classified as Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), with over 25% of their student population identifying as Hispanic. Both institutions were founded in the 1960s and located in a major city. The lone ticket from one institution detailed a platform including "accountable governance," "financial transparency," and the novel ideas of hiring a lobbyist for student government and holding regular press conferences. The other institution, on the other hand, had four very different tickets. One ticket featured students from Campus Republicans and a focus on funding and budgetary issues. Another ticket featured the current student body vice president, who spearheaded a drive to pay students $150 for being vaccinated since Florida state law does not allow institutions to mandate vaccines. A final ticket featured–and described–a white man and a Hispanic woman, and offered striking appeals to financial benefits, such as allocating $48,000 to offer free Spotify for 1,000 students, offering students $100 textbook stipends, sharing unused meal swipes with other students, and a reimbursement program for graduate exams like the GRE and MCAT.

Four additional institutions in our sample are all on the cusp of HSI status. However, they are all still predominantly white institutions (PWI), though two are just below the technical definition of a PWI. We found competitive elections at the three public PWIs, including debates, websites, and robust social media among the tickets. At one of these institutions, standing parties compete from year to year. During the election cycle, both tickets focused on DEI efforts, while one proposed a financial audit of student government. However, at another, we found students focused on tangible and easily accessible ways to implement change, including support of international students and advocacy for Title IX training. Finally, we found both tickets at the third of these institutions to have platforms engaging financial issues at the institutional level, including bus, food, and library services.

The final type we reviewed included private institutions. At one institution, in addition to mental health and sexual assault resources, both tickets focused on updating campus dining options, with one ticket advocating for a partnership with Grubhub. One ticket even had one pillar connecting the school with local city major league sports teams. At the second private institution, the lone ticket focused on strengthening community and DEI initiatives. However, perhaps as a consequence of neoliberal norms, both tickets at the third private institution focused on neoliberal logics like "financial transparency" and "accountability." Instead of questioning neoliberal practices, one ticket embraced the idea of austerity and auditing to practice efficiency, an increasingly common practice forced upon state services by legislatures who are asked to do more with less.

DISCUSSION

The spectrum of neoliberalism influence was wide-reaching in these student government tickets. While some campaign platforms sought to engage third-party companies and vendors, others promised to advocate for in-

creased on-campus auxiliary services. Such campaign promises align, fit, and morph into neoliberal tendencies at a time when Florida public institutions continue to operate on close but still lower than pre-Great Recession (2008) per-student appropriation funding levels (SHEEO, 2020) and as COVID-19-related higher education labor shortages remain (Bauman, 2022). Though these campaign promises concerning the outsourcing of student services are intended to fill a perceived gap, they also feed privatized, neoliberal tenets. Much like higher education more broadly, student governments, in turn, are complicit in upholding neoliberalism and capitalism in higher education.

Neoliberalism remained prevalent throughout these findings. The desire for tickets to appear apolitical to increase the chances of winning an election seems to be a typical response at first glance. However, viewing the data through the neoliberal lens and under our methodological approach, we see that there is perhaps more purpose behind this palatability. One of the most shocking was student government campaigns' universal lack of acknowledgment of the political climate. Across the board, campaigns did not recognize the harsh political climate many of their constituents are living and fighting through daily, especially in Florida with bills such as the notorious *Don't Say Gay Bill* and the countless anti-transgender and anti-Critical Race Theory-esque policies being eschewed and enforced. The lack of attention to these Florida-specific policies demonstrates how neoliberalism demands people (students) to portray a picture-perfect campaign that seeks to uplift certain social justice efforts without acknowledging some of the deeper-rooted issues. This allows candidates room to then only address what seems, perhaps, palatable to appease and approach more constituents than they would if they addressed the overarching political climate in Florida. This may also relate to the assumption or adoption that student government is a non-partisan entity (e.g., see Goodman, 2022b), serving students–and administrators–at a broad level.

One of the central tenets of neoliberalism is to increase and support the free-market economy. The high focus of these campaigns to meet students' financial needs and address institutional financial barriers could also be attributed to a desire to remain palatable. Within the realm of student governments in higher education, support for a free-market economy can appear in many ways, including the promise to address some of the main financial concerns brought up by students and making promises, many being empty, on how they would bring forth financial security for their constituents. Museus and LePeau (2019) state, "exploitation is at the core of the neoliberalism regime" and that understanding consumerism as a core of neoliberalism helps us see how "consumer choice" is vital to that regime (p. 2). As the campaigns focused on promoting solutions that centered many of their financial concerns, it prompts a deeper question surrounding how we understand student governments' dialogue and their intention to promote these ideals. Related, CDA centers questions of power relations and dynamics, including who can say what. To be critical of these campaigns is not as much about the campaigns as the system in which these students operate as leaders and institutional agents. As many campaigns chose to prioritize financial burdens put on by the university, they attempt to demonstrate their power relationship to the university by promising to alleviate constituents' barriers, all while continuing to be an entity aligning its values within institutions' values. Therefore, student governments are not laden with connection to their institution, embracing the neoliberal goals to gain as much revenue as possible from their constituents.

Overall, it appears that many student government campaigns attempt to promise things that are appeasing to what students immediately need and desire. Many of these promises seem out of reach for what one student government might achieve within one year's work; however, the mere promise and mindset aligned with neoliberal thinking often negates the thought process of what it would take to achieve these lengthy promises. For example, the positioning of campaigns to offer free or subsidized services such as Hulu, Spotify, Lyft, and Grubhub with no recognition of *how* they were going to achieve such goals puts the idea that so long as we promise things we do not need to have a means to an end. These almost bring a performative aspect to the campaigns, where student governments utilize knowledge about their constituents to act and say what they seek.

Glass (2020) cited how neoliberalism is enmeshed within concepts of political performativity. Glass (2020) shared how those who are "proponents of neoliberalism" often use performative methods through "policies and practices that can convince stakeholders of the merits of free market capitalism and limited government regulation" (pp. 353-354). Glass's (2020) recognition of how elected officials shape policies through their interpersonal reactions aligns with how college student governments function, primarily through the needs and desires of

their constituents. Understanding neoliberalism through this performative lens can provide context into how some student government campaigns neglected to consider ways they might actualize the promises promoted through their campaigns.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research prompts several implications related to higher education and college student government. Further, many recommendations can be gleaned from this study's findings through the lens of both practice and research.

Practice

Several recommendations exist for improved and intentional practice by campus administrators, student government advisors, and individual students and campaigns. First, administrators and advisors should note what student government tickets are advocating for and against and consider the role(s) they play in those declarations. These individuals might engage students in a deeper political understanding of their role and the society and system they operate within. For example, local and state happenings that reverberate onto campus may show up in specific ways on campus and impact students/faculty/staff differently. Advisors and administrators can engage students in understanding the nuances between those decisions and constituent-based leadership like student government. Next, "election onboarding" activities coordinated by student government advisors could be a way to orient all candidates to student government leadership–this is particularly important for those students running for office who do not have the within-system experience or knowledge about power dynamics associated with decision-making and student government leadership (e.g., incumbent elections).

When students are elected, incoming/outgoing officers and advisors should work to map and connect institutional values with platform promises; aligning institutional and campaign values/vision may be a low-effort opportunity to at least educate unaware students of neoliberal resistance. At a bare minimum, administrators and advisors should consider the ways their values and vision align with that of student leaders on campus, including those who do not win their student government election–and then be open and up front about that. Administrators and advisors can play a role in campus elections by engaging with platform discourse as it relates specifically to systems of oppression (e.g., see Museus & LePeau, 2019) and perhaps include these types of data points in professional development spaces in student government (e.g., "advisor updates," through a student government internship or onboarding program).

Research

First, future critical discourse analyses on college student government campaigns can include how students communicate (or not) amid the ever-changing media landscape (e.g., via TikTok to Instagram; canvassing electronically or in-person; how money is spent on communications). Next, future research can be done to better and more deeply understand the application of student government promises throughout their elections, as well as if or how higher educational leaders' agendas are in line with student government election platforms. For example, future research could include focus groups or interviews with students/candidates, and students/candidates based on their legacy in student government (e.g., how long they have been part of the student government system of leadership). Further, researchers can engage with a particular student body regarding an understanding of who makes specific decisions on campus and how voting (or not) plays into students' belief in campus change (e.g., are they voting because they believe the students can bring Lyft or Black-owned businesses to campus?). Finally, future research should involve student government leaders' feelings of "representation" and who they represent. Do students see themselves as leaders for their peers, or do their responsibilities lie in institutional change that includes faculty, staff, and the local community of today and tomorrow? Further, what repercussions exist when students speak outside of those campus-specific goals that might be incongruent with student needs? Researchers can explore these questions in multiple ways through multiple qualitative methods.

CONCLUSION

As they take on myriad challenges through campaign platforms, student government leaders demonstrate the level of persistence and resilience needed to serve in their critical roles. In these 18 campaign platforms, students assumed the responsibility that would otherwise be on the institution itself, thus furthering the neoliberal ideals of upholding power dynamics through capitalism and less labor on those whom the responsibility should lay. Higher educational leaders' inherent lack of responsibility further complicates the necessity of student government and elections but proposes a new structure to the power these elections hold on achieving goals the student body desires. This leaves room for the student body to shift the blame when promises remain unfulfilled from the higher education leaders to those in the executive branch positions. In line with Museus and LePeau's (2019) recognition that neoliberalism stifles our ability to achieve various social justice efforts, we see student government elections being used as tools to imagine new directions for the institution without having accountability practices in place.

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JCAPS

THAT'S YOUR CUE: COMPARING MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL NORMS AROUND INVOLVEMENT ON CAMPUS

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Co-curricular activities have been shown to impact many measures of academic success, such as academic self-confidence, leadership abilities, identity development, personal development, and student thriving. Borrowing from established research paradigms on pluralistic ignorance, the current study sought to explore whether first-year and senior students' perceptions of themselves and others vary when it comes to attending and participating in campus activities and whether sex has an impact on those perceptions. Using data from the 2018 National Survey of Student Engagement, the study included 10,512 students attending 33 institutions. The results suggest significant differences across the sexes and within reference group (self vs. other) for attending campus activities and participating in co-curricular activities. These findings can help guide faculty, advisors, and administrators to better understand how students' perceptions of peer co-curricular activities might relate to their own, and how those perceptions might affect their behavior positively and negatively.

The positive influence of out-of-class experiences on student development is well-documented in the higher education literature (Astin, 1993; Chickering, 1969; Kuh, 1993, 1995; Mayhew et al., 2016; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). In particular, co-curricular activities have been shown to impact many measures of academic success, such as academic self-confidence (Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Kim & Sax, 2014); leadership abilities (Dugan et al., 2012, 2013; Hurtado, 2005; O'Neill, 2012; Park & Millora, 2012; Sax, 2008); identity development (Hurtado et al., 2011); personal development (Astin et al., 2011; Lee, 2002); and student thriving (Vetter et al., 2019). Much of the research examines particular types of co-curricular engagement. For instance, a meta-analysis of 40 studies found that service learning positively affected students' holistic development (Yorio & Ye, 2012). In another example, Smith and Chenoweth (2015) found that for college graduates, extracurricular leadership roles positively impacted their development of leadership skills and interpersonal abilities, which ultimately improved their ability to succeed in their careers.

More holistically, studies continue to show that students who engage with peers beyond the classroom accrue feelings of social inclusion and belonging (Nunn, 2021), which correspond with a variety of positive outcomes, including more extensive academic engagement and improved academic performance (Deil-Amen, 2011; Walton & Cohen, 2007), therefore benefitting a student's collegiate career and transcript. Many universities aim to create better citizens and prepare students for the job force. Stuber (2009) observed that extracurricular participation can provide students with valuable sociocultural resources, which can be utilized as soft skills in the workforce, granting them extra traction in interviews and interpersonal relationships. Rivera (2011) confirms these findings by acknowledging that extracurricular activities may serve as a new credential for job candidates' social and moral character in the hiring process to supplement missing years of professional work experience during an average student's college years.

Dumford, A.D., Miller, A.L., & Rijo, A.A. (2023). That's your cue: Comparing male and female students' perceptions of social norms around involvement on campus. *Journal of Campus Activities Practice and Scholarship, 5*(3), 37-50. **https://doi.org/10.52499/2023025.**

But Can Students Be Too Involved on Campus?

If the benefits of co-curricular activities are always positive, one might assume that faculty, administrators, student affairs professionals, and staff should invest time in encouraging students to engage in these worthwhile activities. While most of the research suggests many benefits of co-curricular engagement, on the other hand, there are still critics that argue students are spending too much time in all these activities and that there is a trade-off with the time pursuing academics (Babcock & Marks, 2010; Taylor et al., 2020). Some studies have even found that participation in co-curricular activities detracts from subject matter learning and cognitive skill development (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Clotfelter, 2011; Nathan, 2005). Perhaps it is a curvilinear relationship, as Zacherman and Foubert (2014) suggested, where a low amount of participation was beneficial to grades, but high participation actually had a negative impact. A recent study continued to question how campus involvement impacts academic progress for students and found through a latent class analysis that varying levels of involvement influence academics (Lingo & Chen, 2022). Students who were predicted to spend more time involved in co-curricular and leadership activities scored higher in their academic coursework during the first semester of their first year. They then earned lower GPAs later in their collegiate career after becoming more involved.

Additionally, students who exhibit the highest levels of involvement in co-curricular and leadership positions (orientation leaders/peer educators), also exhibit the same patterns (Lingo & Chen, 2022). If the relationship between campus involvement and student success is not linear, how can students know the "right" amount of time to spend in worthwhile co-curricular activities? Additionally, are there certain student groups we should encourage more or less than others?

Demographic Differences in Campus Involvement

Many students find involvement opportunities as safe spaces to develop an affinity with their campus and feel connected to their social identities. Still, existing studies have suggested differences in co-curricular engagement by some key demographics. In particular, research has suggested that both female and racial/ethnic minority student involvement requires navigating a more complex process in order to find groups of familiarity amongst their peers and cultures, thus allowing them to gain affinity to their universities and social groups (Silver, 2020). Also, in Silver's (2020) research, students from lower socio-economic backgrounds struggle to find opportunities to get involved because they lack knowledge about how to find clubs and organizations based on their interests. Many of these students highlighted that they join organizations their peers referred them to due to the lack of knowledge of other organizations, regardless of whether or not they were fully interested in their peer's organization.

As for time participating in co-curricular activities, research shows a gap between the involvement of female and male students, with females spending more time on these activities (Kwon et al., 2020; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). One recent study found that women were more likely than their male counterparts to participate in multiple co-curricular learning opportunities, but the roles within these organizations also differed. Women were more likely to plan or promote an event, recruit new members, conduct a research presentation, write a research report, or mentor others, while men were more likely to engage in creating by-laws or to design products (Kwon et al., 2020). Findings on gender differences also show that women seeking leadership opportunities in co-curricular activities have common themes of collaboration and positivity, based on Haber's (2012) study on leadership themes amongst students.

Some research has also shown that the benefit from co-curricular involvement differs by gender. In particular, one study found gender differences in the impacts on academic performance (Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). Women perform better academically when they are involved in co-curriculars. While men also show increases in their academic performance when they are involved in up to 10 hours of co-curricular involvement per week, participation hurts men's GPA if they are involved in more than 10 hours. Zacherman and Foubert (2014) concluded that men may be more susceptible to becoming overwhelmed by their co-curricular commitments when compared to their female counterparts. These gender differences suggest the need to understand how students perceive the "right" number of hours to spend in co-curricular activities and their potential time management strategies.

Pluralistic Ignorance

A construct that can give insight into how students choose to spend their time on activities such as involvement on campus is pluralistic ignorance. Students often look to their peers on how they should behave in various situations (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Glynn et al., 2009). Initially introduced in the 1930s as part of the emerging social psychology literature, pluralistic ignorance refers to "erroneous cognitive beliefs shared by two or more individuals about the ideas, feelings, and actions of others" (O'Gorman, 1986, p. 333). Relatively more recently, within the past 30 years there has been a revival in research dedicated to this topic, particularly exploring several negative or risky behaviors among college students. Research has found that there are misperceptions of social norms when it comes to alcohol use (Perkins, 2002; Suls & Green, 2003), sexual behaviors (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2017; Lambert et al., 2003; Paul et al., 2000), smoking and illegal drug use (Hines et al., 2002), and binge eating (Crandall, 1988) among undergraduates. These misperceptions of social norms can contribute to negative outcomes, and individuals may then regret or debate the decisions that led to those outcomes (Sargent & Newman, 2021).

Regarding classroom behaviors and pluralistic ignorance, Buzinski and colleagues (2018) found that misperceptions of how much other students spent studying negatively influenced exam scores. However, using an intervention to refute pluralistic ignorance moderately mitigated the negative impact on students' scores (Buzinksi et al., 2018). Furthermore, the research indicates that gender differences can play a notable role in the emergence of pluralistic ignorance, with women showing more concern about campus alcohol practices and norms than their perceptions of concern from both same- and opposite-sex peers (Suls & Green, 2003). On a related note, research findings also demonstrate an expected double standard of men conveying more comfort with casual sexual behaviors than women, but both groups overestimate the comfort of their peers concerning these behaviors (Lambert et al., 2003).

Social norms are often developed with a specific reference group in mind. Some research has further explored how individuals can "recalibrate" in reference to perceptions of who is even considered part of one's peer group in given situations. Wänke (2002) examined the effect of manipulating reference groups on a survey and found this could affect responses about the frequency of movie attendance. For instance, the results of the study suggested that students considered themselves as more frequent movie-goers in comparison with the general population but not in comparison to their college peers. Another study indicated that part-time students may be using other part-time students as their reference group, and thus their interpretation of vague quantifiers (such as "sometimes" or "very often") on self-report surveys of academic behaviors differs from their full-time student counterparts (Rocconi et al., 2020). Thus, the research suggests that when people estimate their frequency of engaging in a particular activity, they do it within a comparison framework of others, including college peers (Wänke, 2002), part-time enrolled peers (Rocconi et al., 2020), and race, education, and age group (Schaeffer, 1991).

The Current Study

While much of the literature supports the positive outcomes of campus involvement (Astin et al., 2011; Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Dugan et al., 2012, 2013; Hurtado, 2005; Hurtado et al., 2011; Kim & Sax, 2014; O'Neill, 2012; Park & Millora, 2012; Sax, 2008; Vetter et al., 2019), there is literature that suggests that these positive relationships are not linear. While increasing campus involvement has positive outcomes at first, student participation at the highest levels may lead to negative outcomes for cognitive skill development and academic success (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Babcock & Marks, 2010; Clotfelter, 2011; Lingo & Chen, 2022; Nathan, 2005; Taylor et al., 2020; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). Applying the concept of pluralistic ignorance, the current study wanted to explore whether students have realistic perceptions of how much time their peers spend attending campus activities and events and participating in co-curricular activities. If students do not understand the "social norms" around time spent in these activities, they may spend more time involved in these campus activities to "keep up" with their peers.

Given the previous research, it seems that conceptually, student perceptions of their own and others' behaviors concerning campus involvement may also differ. Additionally, the gender or sex of the student may play a role. The current study sought to explore whether first-year and senior students' perceptions of themselves and oth-

ers vary when it comes to attending and participating in campus activities and whether sex has an impact on these perceptions. Borrowing from established research paradigms on pluralistic ignorance, this study explores whether there are within-group (self vs. other) and between-group (sex) differences for a sample of college students concerning their perceptions of 1) frequency of attending campus activities and events and 2) time spent participating in co-curricular activities. This study also addressed potential interactions, exploring whether patterns are more or less pronounced for particular groups. The research questions guiding this study are:

1. Do within-group (self vs. other) differences exist among college students concerning their perceptions of a) frequency of attending campus activities and events and b) time spent participating in co-curricular activities?
2. Do between-group (e.g., sex) differences exist among college students concerning their perceptions of a) frequency of attending campus activities and events and b) time spent participating in co-curricular activities?

METHOD

The dataset utilized in this study is derived from the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) 2018 administration. NSSE is an annual survey administered to first-year and senior students every spring at four-year colleges and universities across the United States and Canada. The goal of NSSE is to assess college students' exposure to and participation in a variety of effective educational activities. Participating institutions opt to administer NSSE for several reasons, including but not limited to national, regional, and disciplinary accreditation; cross-disciplinary curricular improvement efforts; program and departmental evaluation; and institutional efforts such as measuring the effectiveness of First-Year Experience programming or high-impact practices. The items on NSSE address many different types of student experiences, student time use, and perceptions of institutional climate and encouragement.

Since its inaugural administration in 2000, NSSE has always concentrated on first-year and senior students, as these groups of students are at two essential points in their postsecondary education, with first-year students putting down a foundation and seniors holding the most undergraduate experience (NSSE, 2013). Data suggest that the experiences and makeup of these groups are diverse. Thus, it is best to keep them separate when examining their engagement, aiming to account for their different enrollment patterns, transfer status, retention, and persistence (NSSE, 2015). Due to these important differences between first-year and senior students, NSSE has a rigorous requirement to retain separate groups of students in reporting and data analysis, and this was applied to the groupings in the current study.

Sample

Survey responses from the overall 2018 administration were gathered from over 275,000 first-year and senior students at 476 colleges and universities. In general, the NSSE participating institutions and survey respondents are representative of the characteristics of all U.S. undergraduate students at 4-year institutions. However, there are a few exceptions (for instance, full-time, female, and White students are slightly overrepresented; see NSSE, 2018 for details). The main survey instrument is termed the NSSE "core" survey. Still, each year, NSSE also appends extra "experimental" items to the end of the survey for research and development purposes. Five experimental item sets were written and administered to a randomly selected subset of institutions participating in the 2018 administration. The current study uses responses to one of these experimental item sets. Data were available from 5,025 first-year students and 5,487 seniors attending 33 institutions who responded to this experimental item set after completing the core NSSE survey. There were 23 private and ten public institutions. In terms of institutional enrollment size, there were seven schools with fewer than 1,000 students, 14 schools in the 1,000 - 2,500 range, five schools in the 2,500 – 4,999 range, five schools in the 5,000 – 9,999 range, and two schools with over 10,000 students. Regarding Carnegie classification, 5 were Doctoral universities, 15 were Master's colleges and universities, 10 were Baccalaureate colleges, and three had an "Other" Carnegie classification.

Around 68% of the students were female, 91% were enrolled full-time, and 81% were traditional age (i.e., less than 24 years old). For self-reported race/ethnicity, about 60% of respondents were White, 4% were Asian, 13% were Latino, 9% were African-American, 9% were multiracial, and 3% identified with another racial/eth-

nic group (e.g., Native American, Pacific Islander, or an unspecified "Other" category). Students were asked to self-report their academic major, which was then collapsed into ten fields: Arts & Humanities (12%); Biological Sciences (11%); Physical Sciences, Mathematics, & Computer Science (6%); Social Sciences (10%); Business (16%); Communications, Media, & Public Relations (4%); Education (8%); Engineering (5%); Health Professions (17%); and Social Service Professions (5%). This recoding of majors paralleled the standard major field groupings used by NSSE staff for reporting. These demographic characteristics for the subsample are mostly consistent with the overall patterns for NSSE respondents (NSSE, 2018).

Data Collection Procedures

Eligible students received an invitation to participate in NSSE via an email contact, which included a unique link to the survey instrument. All first-year and senior students at the participating institutions received this email invitation. Survey administration took place online, and the browser sessions were untimed so students could take as much time as necessary to complete the survey. The NSSE data collection period is during the spring semester of each year, ranging from February to May, depending on the institution's academic calendar. Students receive a maximum of five email contacts per the institutional participation agreements and the IRB stipulations. For the 2018 administration, the average institutional response rate was 30% (NSSE, 2018).

Measures

The key independent variables for this study were sex and reference type (self vs. other). The dependent variables were two items from the core and two from the experimental item set, which asked about the frequency of engagement in several different behaviors. The first item from the core is framed from a "self" perspective and asks, "During the current school year, about how often have you done the following?" with the ordinal response options of Never, Sometimes, Often, and Very Often. Included in this item group was "Attended campus activities and events." Another item group on the core survey focuses on the use of time regarding several types of activities, asking students to estimate how many hours per week they spend participating in co-curricular activities, with response options of 0, 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, 26-30, and more than 30. The experimental set then asked respondents about these same behaviors but from an "other" perspective, with "During the current school year, about how often do you think *most other students at your institution* have done the following?" and "About how many hours per week do you think *most other students at your institution* spend:" as the stems, with the same response options as in the previous stems (attended campus activities and events, participating in co-curricular activities). The wording for these "other" perspective items was based on previous pluralistic ignorance research (Suls & Green, 2003).

The core survey instrument also collected information on demographic characteristics from respondents, such as enrollment status, transfer status, first-generation status, race/ethnicity, age, and major. For this study, the variable measuring sex was reported by the institution, and responses included male and female. The student-level survey data was then merged with publicly available institution-level data, such as institutional enrollment size, institution control status (public vs. private), and Carnegie classification.

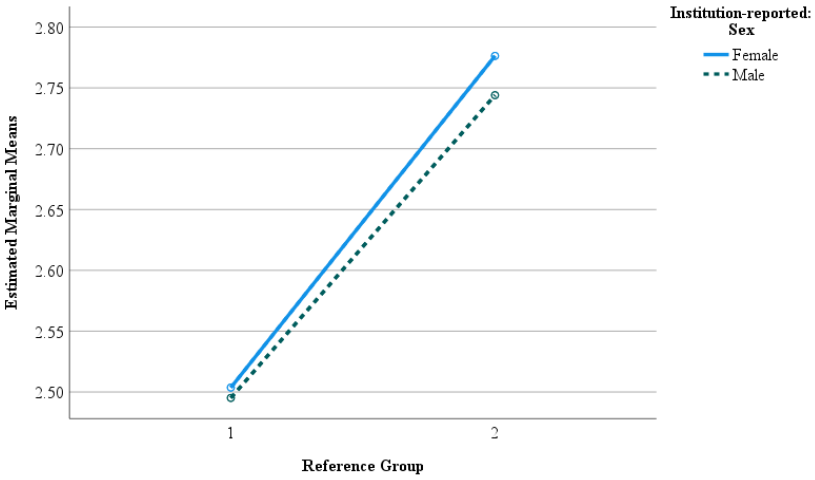
Analyses

To address the research questions, the four items regarding campus activities served as the dependent variables in a series of two-way mixed ANOVAs to examine differences between sex, reference type (self vs. other), and interaction effects. This analysis was selected because there are two independent variables, and one of them (self vs. other reference) was measured using the same participants, while the other (sex) was measured using different participants (Field, 2009). Following NSSE's recommended analytic practices, separate analyses were conducted for first-year and senior students. Sex was treated as a between-subjects (i.e., independent samples) factor, and reference type was treated as a within-subjects (i.e., dependent samples) factor. Partial $\eta 2$ was used as an estimate of effect size. Interaction effects were investigated first, and Bonferroni adjustments were made for any interpreted main effects (Field, 2009).

RESULTS

Perceived frequency of campus activity participation was examined with a series of four separate 2 (sex) x 2 (reference group: self, most other students) analyses of variance (ANOVAs), with repeated measures on the second factor. For first-year students, results concerning the frequency of attending campus activities and events suggest significant main effects for reference group, $F(1, 4970)=215.46$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.042$, which indicated that students perceived other students as attending campus activities more frequently than themselves. However, this difference was small in magnitude. In contrast, there were no significant differences for the main effect of sex or the interaction effect (Figure 1).

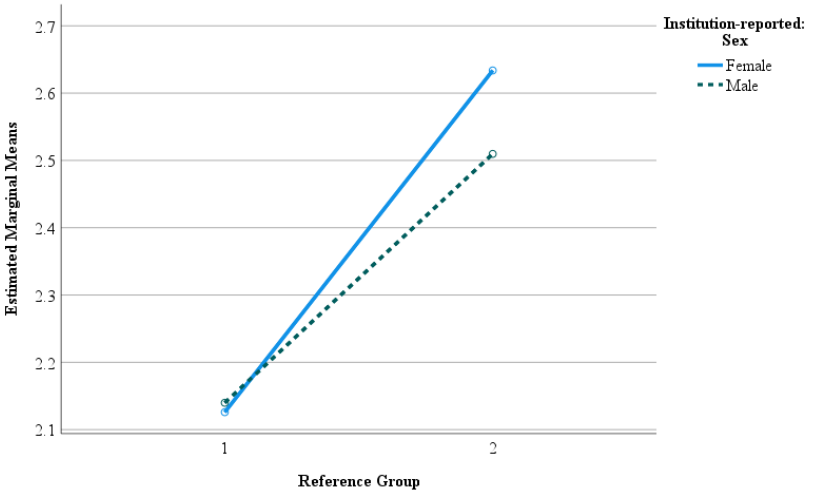
Figure 1. *Interaction Effects for First-year Perceptions of Attended Campus Activities and Events*



Note. Reference Group = reference type; 1 = self; 2 = other.

For seniors, there were significant main effects for sex, $F(1, 5405)=8.295$, $p=.004$, partial $\eta 2=.002$, which were very small in magnitude, and reference group, $F(1, 5405)=659.625$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.109$, which were more moderate in magnitude. The sex x referent interaction was also significant, $F(1, 5405)=16.302$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.003$, but also very small in magnitude. Main effects analyses indicated that females perceived more frequently attending campus activities than males and that students perceived other students as attending campus activities more frequently than themselves. The significant interaction effect suggested that this self-other discrepancy was more pronounced for females (Figure 2).

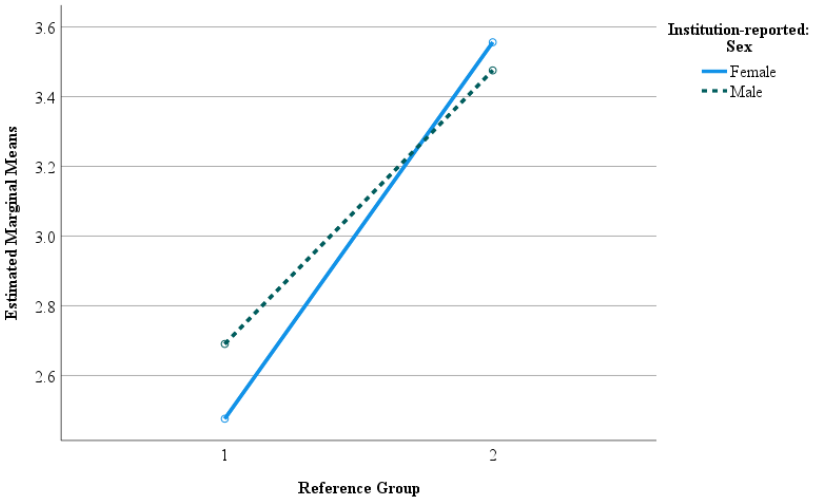
Figure 2. *Interaction Effects for Senior Perceptions of Attended Campus Activities and Events*



Note. Reference Group = reference type; 1 = self; 2 = other.

For time spent participating in co-curricular activities, results were somewhat comparable regarding self-other discrepancies. For first-year students, there was a significant main effect for reference group, $F(1, 4843)=1096.4405$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.185$, which is a large difference in magnitude, but no significant main effect for sex. The sex x referent interaction was also significant, $F(1, 4843)=27.488$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.006$, albeit much smaller in magnitude. Main effects analyses indicated that students perceived other students as spending more time participating in co-curricular activities than themselves. The significant interaction effect suggested that this self-other discrepancy was more pronounced for females (Figure 3).

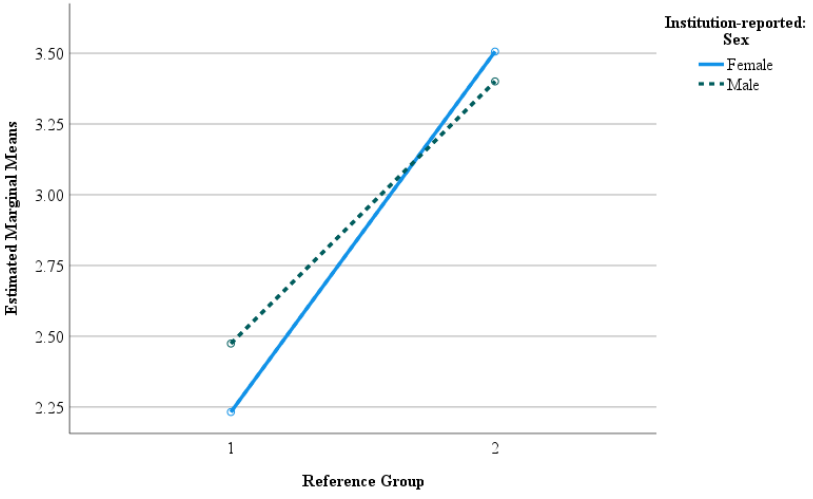
Figure 3. *Interaction Effects for First-year Perceptions of Time Spent in Co-curricular Activities*



Note. Reference Group = reference type; 1 = self; 2 = other.

A similar pattern emerged for the seniors, with a significant main effect for reference group, $F(1, 5272)=1512.932$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.223$, and also very large in magnitude, and a significant sex x referent interaction, $F(1, 5272)=37.730$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta 2=.007$, and much smaller in magnitude. Main effects analyses indicated that students perceived other students as spending more time in co-curricular activities than themselves. Again, the significant interaction effect suggested this self-other discrepancy was more pronounced for females (Figure 4).

Figure 4. *Interaction Effects for Senior Perceptions of Time Spent in Co-curricular Activities*



Note. Reference Group = reference type; 1 = self; 2 = other.

Lastly, there is also some variation by sex in campus involvement. For both first-year and senior students, males and females report similar attendance rates to campus activities and events. In contrast, males report spending more time participating in co-curricular activities than their female counterparts (statistically significant difference at $p < .001$). For more details, all group means and standard deviations can be found in Tables 1 (for first-year students) & 2 (for senior students).

Table 1. *First-year Group Means and Standard Deviations for Campus Activities*

	Attended campus activities and events		Time spent participating in co-curricular activities	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Self reference group	2.50	.979	2.54	1.577
Other reference group	2.77	.760	3.53	1.321
Female self reference group	2.50	.970	2.48	1.535
Female other reference group	2.78	.760	3.56	1.335
Male self reference group	2.50	1.00	2.69	1.657
Male other reference group	2.74	.758	3.48	1.288

Table 2. *Senior Group Means and Standard Deviations for Campus Activities*

	Attended campus activities and events		Time spent participating in co-curricular activities	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Self reference group	2.13	1.013	2.31	1.628
Other reference group	2.59	.747	3.47	1.383
Female self reference group	2.13	1.011	2.23	1.548
Female other reference group	2.63	.752	3.51	1.381
Male self reference group	2.14	1.017	2.47	1.767
Male other reference group	2.51	.729	3.40	1.386

DISCUSSION

Research Question 1: *Do within-group (self vs. other) differences exist among college students concerning their perceptions of a) frequency of attending campus activities and events and b) time spent participating in co-curricular activities?*

As with other behaviors (such as sexual behaviors, alcohol and drug use, and binge eating) that were explored in past literature using the concept of pluralistic ignorance (e.g., Hines et al., 2002; Kuperberg & Padgett, 2017; Suls & Green, 2003), students believe that their own behaviors are less frequent than those of their college peers. Thus, the current study extends the idea of pluralistic ignorance to more socially positive behaviors like participating in campus activities. This study also added nuance to the gap between their own perceptions of their campus involvement and those of their peers as being larger for female students.

The results of this study would suggest that students do not have realistic perceptions of how much time their peers spend attending campus activities and events and participating in co-curricular activities, which also indicates that they do not understand the norms around these activities. These misunderstandings may, in fact, then lead to students spending more time involved in these campus activities to "keep up" with their peers. While this may not seem like a bad thing because most of the literature supports the positive outcomes of campus involve-

ment (Astin et al., 2011; Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Dugan et al., 2012, 2013; Hurtado, 2005; Hurtado et al., 2011; Kim & Sax, 2014; O'Neill, 2012; Park & Millora, 2012; Sax, 2008; Vetter et al., 2019), there is literature that suggests that these positive relationships are not so linear and clear cut. The positive effects may, in fact, turn to negative effects when students participate in higher levels of co-curricular involvement because of the time taken away from academic endeavors (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Babcock & Marks, 2010; Clotfelter, 2011; Lingo & Chen, 2022; Nathan, 2005; Taylor et al., 2020; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). If this curvilinear relationship is true, students spending more time in these activities to mistakenly "keep up" with their peers could be doing harm. Given the large effect sizes for the reference group found in this study, this warrants further exploration of the potential negative impacts of the self-other discrepancy.

Research Question 2: *Do between-group (e.g., sex) differences exist among college students concerning their perceptions of a) frequency of attending campus activities and events and b) time spent participating in co-curricular activities?*

While this study did not find any differences by sex in the frequency with which students attend college activities and events, it did uncover differences by sex in time spent participating in co-curricular activities. Surprisingly, in contrast to some previous studies (Kwon et al., 2020; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014), the results of this study, for both first-year and senior students, suggest that males, on average, spend more time than their female counterparts in co-curricular activities. This is cause for concern as previous research has suggested that for males, in particular, spending too much time in co-curricular activities was detrimental to their academic performance (Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). While this was not the focus of this study, it does provide evidence for a continued need to look at this area in future studies.

As for the discrepancy between the perception of self and peer involvement on campus, the results of this study would suggest that there are also differences by sex in the realistic perceptions of how much time their peers are spending attending campus activities and events and participating in co-curricular activities. However, these were relatively small in magnitude. The discrepancy is more pronounced for females, suggesting they are more likely to have an unrealistic understanding of peer norms than their male counterparts. That this difference by sex is not reversed could be a good thing when combined with the previous findings by Zacherman and Foubert (2014) since they found that females participating in higher numbers of hours of co-curricular activities were not damaging to their GPA, although it was for male students. Male students having a more realistic perception of peer norms might keep them from overextending themselves.

Implications for Practice

These findings can help guide faculty, advisors, student affairs professionals, and administrators in understanding how students' perceptions of peers' campus involvement might relate to their own participation and considering how those perceptions of their classmates might affect their own behavior in both positive and negative ways. This insight might help higher education administrators, faculty, and staff advise students on how much time they should spend outside the classroom in co-curricular activities and perhaps even which activities to prioritize with time management strategies. For instance, in fields where females are underrepresented, like engineering, this might encourage faculty and administrators to recognize the participation of female students in activities like undergraduate research, as the females in that field may think that everyone but them is having these experiences. This research will hopefully invite faculty, advisors, and administrators to discuss and even counter the misconceptions of social cues and norms that students may have.

In addition to faculty recognizing involvement gaps between the sexes regarding research and involvement in their major, administrators and practitioners may also specify marketing and outreach of certain involvement opportunities to particular identity groups to mitigate the gaps and ensure longevity and continuity. As the literature has shown, addressing the gaps directly could influence development to align with student success post-graduation in their fields. Understanding the highs and lows of a collegiate career, we suggest advisors and administrators (especially those who oversee involvement of organizations and groups) carefully evaluate student's academic achievements and rankings often within their groups to keep students who dedicate too many relative hours to co-curriculars from falling behind in their academic achievements.

Students tend to compare their successes to those of their peers and those around them. Thus, reminders that they are providing valuable service to their co-curricular organizations and involvements are important implications for practice as we enter an era where students' awareness of mental health and self-esteem is at an all-time high. Encouragement and support from their faculty and administration can go a long way.

Limitations

Although this study boasts various strengths, it is also important to note a few limitations. One limitation is due to the utilization of self-reported measures. Research using self-report instruments is popular because of the ease of online data collection and the possibility of large sample sizes. Still, responses to the measures are not guaranteed to be entirely objective. However, many studies using self-reports of postsecondary students indicate that self-reports and actual abilities are positively related (Anaya, 1999; Hayek et al., 2002; Pike, 1995), and social desirability bias does not have a major influence on their responses to items regarding straightforward cognitive and academic behaviors (Miller, 2012). Moreover, this is the most conventional method for measuring pluralistic ignorance in higher education student populations (Suls & Green, 2003). Another related limitation is that the survey items from this study include vague quantifier response options, and there is potential concern regarding differences in the interpretation of these vague quantifiers for men and women. While numerous studies have investigated gender differences in vague quantifier responses, many of these studies have found the gender difference to be small to nontrivial (Cole & Korkmaz, 2013; Nelson Laird et al., 2008; Rocconi et al., 2020; Schaeffer, 1991).

Additionally, it is worth pointing out that because the study took place in the context of a larger survey project, a counterbalanced design of the reference group items was not an option. Furthermore, institution-reported sex was a binary measure in this study. In 2019, NSSE requested that institutions start identifying students on more than just male/female, but this data was collected in 2018, so we only had male/female as an option. This was consistent with FAFSA and IPEDs language, but still not inclusive. Future research should include nonbinary students' perspectives and perhaps consider looking at gender identity as well.

The response rate could also be considered a limitation of the study. However, prior research using NSSE data indicates that studies with lower response rates can still provide adequate response representativeness in comparison to simulations with subsamples of data (Fosnacht et al., 2017) as well as comparisons of student and alumni responses (Lambert & Miller, 2014). Furthermore, even though the sample includes a wide range of postsecondary students from multiple universities, these institutions choose to administer NSSE to their students for various reasons (most often for institutional improvement). This institutional motivation could influence the overall context of the undergraduate student experience. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that there is generally more variance within any given institution than between institutions (NSSE, 2008). Yet even with this caveat, the participating institutions and the survey respondents themselves, by and large, represent the diversity of postsecondary students in the United States (NSSE, 2020). In summary, although the results found in this study should be interpreted with relative caution, the strengths and contributions of the findings seem to outweigh the limitations above.

CONCLUSIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

This study adds to the research supporting the need to provide college students with a more realistic understanding of their peers. Additionally, these findings illuminate the nonacademic activities of college students, a topic that is expanding as the needs of students continually shift with changing demographics. Our findings suggest that students are more likely to perceive their peers as more frequently attending and participating in campus activities than they themselves do, and this effect is more pronounced in females. As campus involvement is recognized as a positive element of the student experience but perhaps only within certain limits, continued attention should be given to this aspect in higher education research and practice. Faculty, advisors, student affairs professionals, and administrators might use this study to help them recognize how students' perceptions of peers' campus involvement might relate to their own participation and consider how those perceptions of their classmates might affect their own behavior in both positive and negative ways. To ensure the full participation of

all students in meaningful experiences both inside and outside of the classroom on college campuses, we must disrupt the misconceptions that often come with social cues and norms.

Future Research

This study's findings suggest that future research needs to connect how gaps between what students think their peers are doing and what they are actually doing affect the amount of time they spend on campus involvement outside of the classroom, and then how that influences student success. Past research has suggested that a misalignment of these perceptions could lead to increased participation in activities. How that increased attendance of campus events and activities and participation in co-curricular activities relates to student success is the question, though. Other studies could explore further the roles that students take on in campus involvement activities, as well as motivations and goals when participating, to interpret the impact of the differences by sex that we found. This would extend the work done by other recent studies (Kwon et al., 2020; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). Finally, future research could delve deeper into why the gap between their own perceptions of their participation and those of their peers is larger for females and how to align student perceptions with reality better when it comes to campus involvement, such as through the development and testing of intervention programs for students early on in their undergraduate careers.

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JCAPS

ACTIVISM TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: SNAPSHOT FROM 2018 AND 2021

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Throughout the history of higher education, students have engaged in activism, demanding that institutions become more and more equitable. This study shares data collected across Big10 institutions through the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership regarding trends in activism involvement, activism behaviors, and social issues around which those behaviors were focused. Findings indicate that 1) overall, activism-related behaviors increased, and 2) issues about social identities and policies increased. By better understanding student activism, student affairs educators can adapt, change, and grow with student needs, especially working with and for student activists.

Throughout the history of higher education, students have engaged in activism, demanding institutions to change, adapt, and become more equitable. Student activism is "efforts to create change on or off-campus related to a broad range of social, political, and economic issues, often using techniques outside institutional channels (Kezar, 2010, p. 451). The literature also describes activism as mobilizing groups, coalition building, and actions that lead to social change (Hamrick, 1998; Linder et al., 2020; Mendes & Chang, 2019). This paper aims to share activism involvement trends, activism behaviors, and issues in which student activists engage. By connecting the historical importance and context in understanding activism, this paper utilizes Linder's (2019) Power-Conscious Framework. By sharing these data, student affairs educators can adapt, change, and grow with the student needs, especially working with and for student activists.

CONTEXT: 2018 AND 2021

In the years leading up to 2018, the political context in the U.S. was hostile toward minoritized people. It highlighted the importance of fighting for fundamental human rights under the Trump Administration (Columbia Law School-Human Rights Institute, 2019). Several events during 2018 further highlighted the divisive politics, including the polarized responses to the Parkland Shooting, the migrant family separation policy enactment, and voter suppression in Georgia during midterm elections (Montanaro, 2018). Within the broader context, national and campus-based activism was rising (Cudé, 2021). Regarding racial justice issues, the continued #BlackLivesMatter activism and organizing in response to the #MuslimBan were visibly on the rise (Washington Post, 2018). In 2018, the national increase around the #MeToo movement and campus-based activism challenged the dominant narratives about sexual assault (e.g., boys will be boys or victim-blaming) and raised awareness of the mishandling of sexual violence cases (Clark & Pino, 2016; Linder, Myers, Riggle, & Lacy, 2016; Rhoads, 2016). Additionally, the years leading up to 2018 were the deadliest for the transgender community, with most victims being people of color (Christensen, 2019; HRC, 2018). After decades of environmental activism, scientists ringing alarms around the climate crisis, and more recent protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline at Standing Rock, youth organizing around climate change caught global attention with school strikes becoming more prominent (Crouch, 2018; Hersher, 2017; Marris, 2019).

Since 2018, many social issues have continued to draw student engagement and activism nationally. In 2019, 46% of Americans said climate change was a critical problem, while 40% and 26% perceived racism and sexism

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as critical issues (Dimock & Gramlich, 2021). The political division in the U.S. continued to peak during the 2020 Presidential Elections (Dimock & Wike, 2020). Although students of color voting rates remain lower than their white counterparts, student voting reached a record high in 2020 (Carrasco, 2021). By the Spring of 2021, college students and our larger society had experienced almost a year of a global COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to the pandemic amplifying the college student mental health challenges, the continued racial injustices Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) have been facing in the U.S. for centuries were difficult to ignore (Cudé, 2021; Hoyt et al., 2021). George Floyd's videotaped killing sparked national and international protests and increased support for the #BlackLivesMatter among two-thirds of adults in the U.S. (Dimock & Gramlich, 2021). Environmental activism visibility increased, including Greta Thunberg's address at the U.N. Climate Action Summit in 2019. This visibility continued with the perceivable decrease in fossil fuel rates connected to the quarantines during the COVID-19 pandemic (Smith, Tarui, & Yamagata, 2021). Misinformation about the COVID-19 pandemic fueled hate crimes targeting Asian Americans, which rose 76% in 2020 (Ong, 2021; Barr, 2021). Additionally, hate crimes against transgender people reached another peak, with 350 transgender people murdered in 2020 (HRC, 2020).

HISTORY AND CURRENT STATUS OF ACTIVISM IN U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION

Since the start of colonial colleges, white supremacist ideology, colonization, genocide of Indigenous populations, and chattel slavery were directly connected to creating America's higher education (Clair & Denis, 2015; paperson, 2017). The economic benefits slavery produced encouraged the first colonial colleges to maintain slavery, and today's higher education institutions still stand on Indigenous lands (Mustaffa, 2017; paperson, 2017; Wilder, 2013). Since higher education began, students have expressed dissent on college campuses regarding the issues affecting them at their institutions, communities, and nationally (Broadhurst, 2014). In the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, students advocated against restrictive policies, the classical curriculum, and harsh disciplinary actions (Burton, 2007; Moore, 1976; Novack, 1977). In the 20th century, student activists engaged in many social issues that affected the national population (Broadhurst, 2014). Issues that arose were class mobility challenges, war protests, and a greater interest in socialism and communism (Broadhurst, 2014). In the post-war era, higher education saw an enrollment increase. After this, the Civil Rights movement gained momentum. Correspondingly, student activists participated in sit-ins, voter registrations, and freedom rides to end segregation and promote equal rights (Bartley, 1995; Broadhurst, 2014; Lawson, 1991).

One of the most diverse generations yet, Generation Z (Gen Z), born in 1995 or later, is incredibly savvy with technology and vocal about world issues (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). Those in Gen Z are also described as "digital natives" (Kubaryk, 2020, para. 5). Not surprisingly, campus activism in the 21st century has shifted to incorporate emerging technologies. While traditional tactics such as sit-ins, marches, boycotts, and protests are still utilized, student activists are now expanding their strategies to include information and communication technologies (ICT) such as social media (Biddix, 2010; Kezar, 2010). For example, Bryne et al. (2021) found that students who were already organizing used social media to broaden their campus movement as a form of counter-storytelling and to avoid violent interactions.

Some social issues student activists in the 21st century advocate for mirror issues that have existed since colonial colleges began, especially hostile climates toward underrepresented students (Broadhurst, 2014). Broadhurst (2014) details the similarities between these issues. For example, in 2013, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank led student activists at the University of California, Berkley, to challenge their institution to divest business from Israel. This movement at Berkley is similar to the 1980s divestment movements from South Africa during apartheid (Broadhurst, 2014; Hallward & Shaver, 2012). Furthermore, with over 500 activism data points, the Education Advisory Board reported that between 2015-2020, the largest motivation for participation in activism was racial justice (55%), with political events/external speakers (19%), and the COVID-19 institutional response well behind (7%; Cudé, 2020).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Our present society, with oppressive policies, an increasing need for climate action, violence against those with marginalized identities, and continued efforts to address these national cultural aspects warrants an increased understanding of how college students are engaged in actions and behaviors to influence change. This study employs Linder's Power-Conscious Framework (2019) to understand better how student activism, societal oppression, and our role as college educators may intersect to promote change and develop our student leaders.

Power-Conscious Framework (PCF) requires addressing both the symptoms and causes of oppression (Linder, 2019). The framework makes three key assumptions: "(1) power is omnipresent, (2) power and identity are inextricably linked, and (3) identity is socially constructed" (Linder, 2018, p. 21). Six tenets make up Linder's (2019) power-conscious framework. This model requires one to: "(1) engage in critical consciousness and self-awareness; (2) consider history and context when examining issues of oppression; (3) change behaviors based on reflection and awareness; (4) name and call attention to dominant group members' investment in and benefit from systems of domination and divest from privilege; (5) name and interrogate the role of power in individual interactions, policy development, and implementation of practice; and (6) work in solidarity to address oppression" (Linder, 2018, p. 25). While all tenets were not enacted in this paper, the authors utilized both assumptions and tenets to create a lens to understand the findings. Understanding student activist behaviors is facilitated through this framework, the national context's impact, and how educators can engage with student activists. Linder (2019) recommends using a power-conscious framework for engaging with student activists.

DATA & METHODS

Data Source & Participants

Data for this study were collected through the 2018 and 2021 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) from the following "Big Ten" institutions: Indiana University, Northwestern University, Purdue University, Rutgers University, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, University of Maryland, University of Minnesota, University of Michigan (2018 only), and University of Wisconsin (2021 only). Most, but not all, universities included in the study are the public flagship institutions in their respective state and have similarly large student body sizes. The MSL primarily measures undergraduates' socially responsible leadership development (Dugan, 2015). The Big Ten institutions participated as a Coalition, providing the opportunity to identify topics of interest around which custom items were developed, including the activism items analyzed here, to provide more context around the broader leadership items. Each institution drew a random sample of 4,000 undergraduate students, to which the MSL instrument was administered online. In 2018, 5,141 students responded to the activism-related items across all Big Ten institutions. In 2021, 4,637 students responded to these items. Sample demographics are provided in Table 1. For the present study, the research team was interested in respondents' activism-related behaviors and associated topical areas of interest by racial/ethnic, gender, and sexual orientations.

Table 1. *Sample Demographics*

		2018		2021	
		N	%	N	%
Age					
	18	548	11%	706	15%
	19	1170	23%	1148	25%
	20	1187	23%	1095	24%
	21	1216	24%	985	21%
	22	600	12%	444	10%
	23+	402	8%	228	5%

Table continues on the next page

		2018		2021	
		N	%	N	%
Gender					
	Man	1969	39%	1688	37%
	Woman	3059	60%	2781	61%
	Non-Binary	53	1%	93	2%
Sexual Orientation					
	Heterosexual	4065	80%	3349	73%
	LGBQ+	998	20%	1179	26%
	Preferred Response Not Listed	44	1%	37	1%
Racial Group Membership					
	White/Caucasian	2959	58%	2672	58%
	Middle Eastern/Northern African	63	1%	36	1%
	African American/Black	239	5%	157	3%
	American Indian/Alaska Native	4	0%	1	0%
	Asian American	845	17%	816	18%
	Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	3	0%	3	0%
	Latino/Hispanic	258	5%	180	4%
	Multiracial	515	10%	525	11%
	Race Not Listed	230	4%	203	4%

Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Study Purpose

To explore changing patterns in student activism, the authors devised three research questions through which the authors examined student responses. The questions center on two related topics: 1) reported engagement in activism behaviors and 2) the social issues on which those activism behaviors were focused. The specific research questions guiding this study are:

1. How did the overall rate of student involvement in at least one activism behavior change from 2018 to 2021?
2. Did the types of activism-related behaviors in which respondents indicated they engaged change between 2018 and 2021?
3. Did the issues or social movements change from 2018 to 2021 for students who reported engaging in activism-related behaviors?

Measures & Data Analysis

Two survey items were used as the variables of interest in this investigation. The first item asked students to indicate which "activism-related activities" they had participated in in the past year; respondents could check all that apply. Responses were recoded into a new variable to indicate if a student had participated in any activism-related behaviors in the previous year. The second item was a follow-up question. For the different behaviors respondents endorsed in the previous question, they were asked to indicate the issues or social movements those issues addressed; respondents were again allowed to select all that apply. To answer each research question, the authors conducted chi-square goodness-of-fit tests to determine if there were statistically significant changes from 2018 to 2021.

Limitations

Although the questions included in the present study were the same in both administrations, some response option wording changed slightly between the two administrations. For example, in 2018, one response option

to the question regarding what issues or social movements respondents were involved in was "education access," while in 2021, this response option was changed to "education access and reform (e.g., higher education)." These wording changes may have affected how students responded to these items differently between the years, more so than a change in issue interest or behavior preference. A complete listing of language and wording changes is noted in Table 2.

Table 2. *Language Differences in Administrations*

	2018	**2021**
Activism Related Behaviors		
	Contacting elected officials (e.g., emails, phone calls)	Contacting elected officials (e.g., emails, texting, phone calls)
	Organizing	Organizing/Canvassing (e.g., door knocking, assisting with Census efforts)
	Demonstrations/Marching	Demonstrations/Marching/Protesting
	Voting	Exercising your right to vote
Issues/Social Movements		
	Black Lives Matter	Not included (for the present analyses, the respondents selecting this response option in 2018 were merged with those who selected "racial issues/racial justice," which was asked in both years)
	Education Access	Education access and reform (e.g., higher education)
	Immigration	Immigration Reform

In addition to these wording changes, the 2021 administration included additional activist behaviors for respondents to consider (e.g., helping others register to vote) and additional issues and social movements (e.g., health care reform). The present study did not include these new response options; however, their presence on the instrument may have influenced how students responded.

RESULTS

Research Question 1: Rate of Involvement

The authors were primarily interested in the students' broad behaviors and how these may have changed over time; thus, our first research question of interest was: How did the overall rate of student involvement in at least one activism behavior change from 2018 to 2021? The activism behaviors included as options were: boycotts, contacting elected officials, organizing demonstrations, petitions, and voting. Our analysis determined there was a significant difference in the number of students engaging in at least one activism-related behavior in 2021 (71%) as compared to 2018 (61%), $\chi 2(1, n = 4637) = 179.3, p < 0.0001$.

Research Question 2: Types of Activism-Related Behaviors

Our second research question investigated whether the types of activism-related behaviors in which respondents indicated they engaged changed from 2018 to 2021. Our second research question was: Did the types of activism-related behaviors in which respondents indicated they engaged change between 2018 and 2021? Activism-related behaviors were essential to observe as they could signify the format in which activists engage and the issues in which they are involved. Results are presented in Table 3. Our analysis found that for most activism-related behaviors, there was a significant difference in the proportion of students who reported engaging in each behavior. Specifically, there was a significant difference (increase) in the proportion of students reporting they engaged in (a) boycotts in 2021 (9%) as compared to the 6% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 4637) = 81.01, p < 0.0001$, (b) contacting their elected officials in 2021 (23%) as compared to the 19% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1,$

n =4637) =54.35, p <0.0001, (c) protests, marches, and demonstrations in 2021 (24%) as compared to the 17% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 4637) = 171.23$, p <0.0001, and (d) voting in 2021 (61%) as compared to the 44% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 4637) = 569.36$, p <0.0001. There was also a significant decrease in the proportion of respondents indicating that they engaged in organizing-type behaviors in 2021 (6%) as compared to the 15% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 4637) = 335.54$, p <0.0001.

Table 3. *Activism Engagement*

	2018		2021	
	N	%	N	%
Engaged in at least one Activism Behavior* **				
Yes	3158	61%	3291	71%
No	1983	39%	1346	29%
During the past academic year, in which of the following activism-related behaviors have you participated? (those selecting "Yes")				
Boycotts***	303	6%	418	9%
Contacting elected officials (e.g., emails, texting, phone calls)***	982	19%	1083	23%
Organizing***	783	15%	257	6%
Demonstrations/Marching***	876	17%	1123	24%
Signing Petitions***	1609	31%	2261	49%
Exercising your right to vote***	2256	44%	2842	61%
Other	47	1%	52	1%
Which of the following issues or social movements did those efforts address?				
Education***	791	25%	964	29%
Environmental Causes***	988	31%	1359	41%
Housing Reform**	235	7%	325	10%
Immigration Reform***	914	29%	732	22%
Labor Laws*	236	7%	285	9%
LGBQ Issues***	721	23%	1051	32%
Racial Issues/Racial Injustice***	1127	36%	2259	69%
Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming Rights***	434	14%	747	23%
Voting Rights***	648	21%	1419	43%
Women's Rights	1150	36%	1209	37%

***$p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Research Question 3: Social Issues in Which Activists Engaged

Finally, the last research question in this investigation concerns the issues and social movements with which these activism-related behaviors corresponded and whether the primary topics of interest changed from 2018 to 2021. Our third research question was: Did the issues or social movements change from 2018 to 2021 for students who reported engaging in activism-related behaviors? The analysis identified differences between the two-time points in the percentage of respondents indicating they engaged in activism behaviors around social identity issues. Analysis showed a significant increase in the proportion of students reporting they engaged in activism-related behaviors regarding (a) Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Queer (LGBQ) issues in 2021 (32%) as compared to the 23% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 156.04$, p <0.0001, (b) racial injustice in 2021 (69%) as compared to the 36% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 1555.76$, p <0.0001, and (c) transgender and gender non-conforming issues in 2021 (23%) as compared to the 14% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 225.38$, p <0.0001. Results are presented in Table 3.

Our analysis also found differences within policy-related issues, although the pattern is inconsistent. First, there was a significant increase in the proportion of students reporting they engaged in activism-related behaviors regarding (a) education in 2021 (29%) as compared to the 25% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 32.33$, $p < 0.0001$, (b) environment in 2021 (41%) as compared to the 31% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 152.88$, $p < 0.0001$, (c) housing reform in 2021 (10%) as compared to the 7% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 29.43$, $p < 0.0001$, (d) labor laws in 2021 (9%) as compared to the 7% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 6.383$, $p = 0.012$, and (e) voting rights in 2021 (43%) as compared to the 21% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 1033.00$, $p < 0.0001$. Second, there was a significant decrease in the proportion of students reporting they engaged in activism-related behaviors regarding immigration in 2021 (22%) as compared to the 29% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 70.99$, $p < 0.0001$. Finally, there was not a significant difference in the proportion of students reporting they engaged in activism-related behaviors around women's rights in 2021 (37%) as compared to the 36% observed in 2018, $\chi 2(1, n = 3291) = 0.16$, $p = 0.688$.

IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDENT AFFAIRS PRACTICE & CONCLUSION

Reflecting on these findings produced several recommendations for staff engaged in programming efforts. These recommendations span how one might consider their behavior and learning, who is brought to the table for collaboration, how programs are provided to students and the role of technology, and the intentionality with which programming is provided for student activists focusing on their learning and development.

Recommendation #1: Stay Informed

When considering the statistically significant increase in activism engagement and related social issues, there appears to be a connection to a current national context, which is vital to understand when planning engagement opportunities with and for students. In alignment with Linder's (2019) PCF, this implication asserts the historical and contextual importance when examining the changes in activism engagement and the necessity of being self-aware. For example, with knowledge about the xenophobic changes to national immigration policy by the Trump administration and the perceptions that the Biden administration has more inclusive policies, the decrease in focus on immigration rights activism from 2018 to 2021 is understood. As such, it is recommended that student affairs educators stay informed and up to date on current events. Beyond individually being informed by subscribing to newspapers and periodicals, educators can host discussion groups and professional development sessions that feature books, articles, or resources focused on current events and contested issues. While these conversations could be challenging for some practitioners, staff must first be familiar with these issues and manage difficult conversations to have meaningful conversations with student activists.

Recommendation #2: Infuse Social Justice into Campus Programming through Partnerships

As Generation Z enters higher education, the profession needs to investigate how to best support these students; collaboration with others is critical in this work. How can student affairs educators provide programs and engagement opportunities connected to students' social identities and interest in activism? In alignment with Linder's (2019) PCF, these efforts must be connected to and informed by awareness regarding how the student experience is influenced by power, privilege, and oppression. This first requires concerted efforts to understand the demographics and characteristics of Generation Z, the traditionally aged students currently on college campuses. Based on the Generation Z literature and this study, it is evident current students are involved in advocating for social issues and asking critical questions (Kubaryk, 2020; Rue, 2018; Seemiller & Grace, 2016).

Student affairs educators should embrace this generation and their social issue involvement, thus helping them make a difference on campus and in the world. To do so, staff should center social justice and issues that student activists care about into campus programming, allowing institutions to live out existing diversity statements and foster a sense of belonging among the most marginalized communities. For example, during Spring 2022 at the University of Maryland, College Park (UMD), the Multicultural Involvement and Community Advocacy (MICA) office collaborated with student activists to create the "Say Gay Parade" program in response to state legislatures' increase in passing policies focused on the erasure of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and

Queer (LGBTQ+) identities from K-12 educational settings. In collaboration with LGBTQ+ students, a traditional paint-and-sip style event was hosted. Rather than simply creating art, this common program type used for community building and well-being added a purposeful layer: to make protest posters for the upcoming parade. Attendees could glean the traditional art program outcomes while feeling seen and having their broader societal concerns validated by those organizing the event. How could other existing programs be adapted to appeal to and support activist students? Offering leadership development training applicable to student activists may allow students to directly apply their learning and press for deeper understanding, much like a semester-long community service series that offers training and reflection around students' service. Additional programming ideas may be to host speakers, listening sessions, activist-centered wellness programs, or debrief sessions on current events, partnering with campus counseling and health centers with expertise in processing trauma and attending to student activists' mental health.

It is crucial to note that identity and politics are thoroughly embedded in student affairs work, whether hosting controversial speakers or over-policing certain student events (e.g., cultural organizations or Black and Latinx-/a/o fraternity and sorority events). Student affairs professionals are urged to pay attention to what events are happening on campus, what voices are missing from programming efforts, and observe what events campus police or security chooses to monitor. Consider starting the process to change it by asking hard questions! When working alongside student activists, listening to their concerns, and acting in a manner that aligns with social justice, big problems like re-examining campus policies become more manageable.

Recommendation #3: Embrace Technology

By recognizing Gen Z as "digital natives," contemporary forms of activism expand to include information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Kubaryk, 2020, para. 5), and incorporating these forms of activism into our understanding of student engagement is needed. ICTs such as computers, cell phones, text messaging, and social media sites have allowed activists to connect, garner support, even worldwide solidarity, and organize like no other time in history (Biddix, 2010). The data explored in this study indicate a decrease in organizing efforts. The decrease in organizing efforts could result from the item wording, suggesting in-person activities, which may have been few due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Still, using and monitoring activity on ICTs moving forward is an important action. For example, in May 2017, 2nd Lt. Richard Collins III, a Bowie State University student, was murdered at a bus stop at the University of Maryland, College Park. This tragic murder fueled outrage on Twitter, with BIPOC students taking over an official athletics hashtag, #FearTheTurtle, to verbally express their experiences with racism and anti-Blackness on campus (Byrne et al., 2021). From this example, it is clear that social media activism may be used to enhance and broaden in-person movements, provide a counter-story, and potentially avoid violent interactions with authorities, such as the #FearTheTurtle campaign (Byrne et al., 2021). Thus, student affairs educators need to expand activism definitions to include ICTs. Working with student activists to strategize how to use ICTs to their advantage should be considered since social media can be a venue for activism, aligning with PCF's (Linder, 2019) call to educate students regarding how to navigate institutional rules.

Beyond ICTs, incorporating technology into programming efforts to make more events accessible through hybrid and asynchronous formats should be considered. Living and working through the COVID-19 pandemic has enhanced our ability to utilize technology; as a field, student affairs should continue to provide opportunities for student development centered on activist engagement that allows students to participate using various engagement methods.

Recommendation #4: Center Student Learning and Development

These opportunities to engage students, whether in person or online, synchronously or asynchronously, will result in student learning, growth, and development. Embracing student learning and intentionally designing activism-related programs to foster specific outcomes, such as socially responsible leadership or effective organizing, are essential to developing critically conscious citizens. Educators engage with students power-consciously by highlighting and supporting learning and development in connection to student activism (Linder, 2019).

The increase in students engaging in at least one activism behavior from 2018 to 2021, along with the historical context of activism in higher education and the current divisive climate within the United States, indicates that student activism is here to stay. As such, student affairs educators should invest in student activist development and view engagement in activism as an essential leadership skill. Investing in activism also requires a shift in how administrators and educators perceive identity-based activism, which should be viewed as positive civic and campus engagement (Linder, Quaye, Stewart, Okello, & Roberts, 2019). With this paradigm shift comes the opportunity to intentionally develop and foster these activism behaviors on college campuses, starting with self-identified student activists and groups.

To accomplish this, partnerships with community organizations and other campus departments with a long history of developing activists, organizers, or leaders should be explored. For example, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU, 2021) does a week-long National Advocacy Institute for high school and college students, encouraging participants to be social justice advocates and learn more about grassroots organizing, policy, and legal advocacy. At the University of Maryland, College Park, the Multicultural Involvement and Community Advocacy Office and the Leadership Community Service-Learning Office have a long-standing collaborative program called Mosaic: Leadership and Identity Retreat. In addition to providing skill-building workshops focused on creating social change, this partnership addressed the perception differences between organizing workshops held by identity-based units compared to leadership units. Imagine a possibility where institution partners with an organization like the ACLU to bring a similar program to their campus.

Understanding demographics and characteristics is a start. Using PCF, student affairs staff should also name and interrogate power in student affairs practice. Rather than coordinating programs *for* students as a field, can the field take a more collaborative approach? Kezar (2010) suggests that when staff and faculty foster deep student collaboration, deepened education, mediation, and mentoring are provided. An example is at Holyoke High School, where members of Pa'lante Restorative Justice (Pa'lante Restorative Justice, 2021) partner with teachers and community members to engage in youth participatory action research (PAR) that address issues facing students of color within their school, such as racism. The Pa'lante Restorative Justice Program provides excellent examples of how to apply PCF by encouraging critical consciousness and self-awareness development and modeling solidarity work with its PAR approach. Several scholars have called for creating partnerships with student activists (Linder et al., 2019; Kezar, 2010), but only a few institutions have taken this call into action within higher education. Consider ways in which student affairs, particularly programming units, can work with and for student activists to make lasting changes on our college campuses.

DISCUSSION

While activism on college and university campuses is not new, how higher education professionals adapt, support, and develop student activists needs to be reimagined. Scholars and practitioners must understand that context, time, and place matter when working with student activists. Higher education and campus activism history in the United States should be considered, and collectively, acknowledgment of the systems of power and privilege that exist and permeate our society needs to be expanded. In addition, with the rise of technology and student activism, higher education needs to address how it responds to critical issues. Much qualitative work has been done on the experiences of student activists, and there is anecdotal evidence regarding how students engage in these behaviors. This study, however, provides a broader, multi-institutional quantitative perspective on activism popularity.

Activists are often viewed and labeled as "trouble-makers" by the media and, sometimes, campus administrators. Given that 71% of the present sample engaged in at least one activism behavior in 2021, this perspective needs a drastic change: activism is a valuable learning and leadership experience for students (Barnhardt & Reyes, 2016; Biddix, 2014; Linder, 2019), and in fact, most students are already engaging in these behaviors. Who is perceived as "trouble-makers" could be related to identity or issue (Linder, 2015; Linder et al., 2020). Linder (2015) stated that students engaged in identity-based activism related to their race or immigration status, for example, are often labeled as trouble-makers by university members instead of activists engaging in issues like labor laws (e.g.,

not closely related to university matters). Future research may investigate activism behavior predictors such as identities, their intersections, and campus experiences or investigate the extent to which engagement in activism is related to other co-curricular outcomes such as socially responsible leadership.

Similarly, for those staff members supporting student activists, student affairs educators may struggle to understand how to support student activists when activism is viewed by institutional leadership as a disruption (Harrison, 2010; Stewart et al., 2022). First, the consideration to partner with other units across the institution bears repeating. The more staff involved in engaging student activists, the more credibility and support these events will have. A partnership can provide more credibility and support for student affairs educators, who are expected to mediate tensions between student activists and upper-level administration (Gaston-Gayles et al., 2005). It also sends a message that multiple stakeholders across campus see this as a need rather than a single office or individual, further increasing the initiative's credibility. Second, share data! As this paper suggests, students are likely engaged in activism whether or not the administration wants them to be. Engaging students through relevant programming and, as such, providing ways in which students can engage on campus around these behaviors and beliefs is prudent. Finally, echoing Linder's (2019) suggestion that as college and university employees, reflection on personal and professional values is needed, the authors suggest determining what actions or inactions by an institution may lead one to make the challenging decision to seek new employment.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, campuses do not function in siloes separate from national and global contexts. All staff must be familiar with this context when working with current and future student activists. Future students and democratic society will benefit when student activists are presented as student leaders, and their development is supported. Student affairs educators must remain familiar with current technology and understand its use as an effective form of activism and facilitate accessibility for student engagement and learning. How the lessons learned are applied will shift with time, and the professional should be prepared to adapt.

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JCAPS

USING THE LEADERSHIP IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT (LID) MODEL TO FRAME COLLEGE STUDENT LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

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Student affairs practitioners need to use theory or models to provide a framework for their work with college students. This article shows how a college campus practices leadership development within the Leadership Identity Development (LID) Model framework. In addition to providing steps for using the model in practice, some challenges are noted in its use.

Student leadership development is an important part of the undergraduate experience that allows students to learn and practice a number of skills that they may not be able to hone in class. Plus, with the amount of virtual learning since March 2020, students may have had few out-of-class experiences. In order to provide students with different experiences and help them develop incrementally, it is important to utilize a framework as a basis for those leadership development experiences.

Leadership can be defined in many ways. St. Norbert College uses a definition similar to Komives et al. (1998, 2007) that says it is a relational construct not limited to formal or elected positions where anyone can be a leader. Therefore, how a college student develops their leadership identity is a salient way to organize leadership development programs.

Leadership development involves a mix of behavioral, intellectual, and social skills that are all required for leadership in a particular organization (Lord & Hall, 2005). As university staff, the particular organizations we've identified are our campuses. For leadership to be sustained over the 4-5 years that a student is on campus, this variety of skills must become a part of a student's identity (Lord & Hall, 2005).

LEADERSHIP THEORY

From that relational leadership definition, Komives et al. identified the leadership identity development (LID) model (2005). The model includes six stages that an individual moves through as their leadership identity becomes more complex. With each stage comes a deeper understanding of leadership and in relation to others. (Muir, 2014)

Leadership Identity Development Model

The LID Model shows a six-stage process through which every student moves. The stages are: awareness, exploration/engagement, leader identified, leadership differentiated, generatitvity, and internationalization/synthesis (Komives et al., 2005). Figure 1 summarizes the model. The awareness stage recognizes that leaders exist, and students are inactive followers (Komives et al., 2005). These are usually younger children. Exploration and engagement result in students becoming involved and active followers (Komives et al., 2005). Students in the leader

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identified stage believe that leadership is positional (Komives et al., 2005). These are often first-year students. The generativity stage results in an active commitment to a larger purpose (Komives et al., 2005). Older college students begin to help younger students transition into leadership roles and actively think about and work on how the organization will continue after they graduate. The internalization and synthesis stage means commitment and involvement with leadership is a daily course of action (Komives et al., 2005). Group and developmental influences are essential in understanding how the individual changes across the stages of a category (Shehane, et al., 2012). These influences include adult influences, peer influences, meaningful involvement, and reflective learning (Komives et al., 2005). In order to help students discover their own leadership identity, we can provide these developmental influences on our campuses.

Figure 1. *Leadership Identity Development Model*

"Stage" →	**1 Awareness**		**2 Exploration/ Engagement**		**3 Leader Identified**	
Key Categories		*Transition*		*Transition*	*Emerging*	*Immersion*
Stage Dscription	• Recognizing that leader-ship is happening around you• Getting exposure to involvements		•Intentional involvements [sports, church, service, scouts, dance, SGA] • Experiencing groups for first time •Taking on responsibilities		•Trying on new roles •Identifying skills needed. •Taking on individual responsibility •Individual accomplishments important	•Getting things done •Managing others •Practicing different approaches/styles *Leadership seen largely as positional roles held by self or others; Leaders do leadership*
View of Leadership	"Other people are leaders; leaders are out there somewhere"	"I am not a leader; other people do that"	"I want to be involved"	"I want to do more"	"A leader gets things done"	" I am the leader and others follow me" or "I am a follower looking to the leader for direction"
Individual factors	• Becomes aware of national leaders and authority figures (e.g. the principal)	•Want to make friends	•Develop personal skills • Identify personal strengths/ weaknesses • Prepare for leadership • Build self confidence	•Recognize personal leadership potential •Motivation to change some- thing	•Positional leadership roles or group member roles •Narrow down to mean-ingful experiences (e.g. church, sports, clubs, yearbook, scouts, class projects)	• Models others • Leader struggles with delegation • Moves in and out of leadership roles and member roles but still believes the leader is in charge • Appreciates individual recognition
roup factors	• Uninvolved or "inactive" follower	•Want to get involved	• "Active" follower or member • Engage in diverse con-texts (e.g. church, sports, clubs, class projects)	Narrow interests	• Leader has to get things done •Group has a job to do; organize to get tasks done	•Involve members to get the job done •Stick with a primary group as an identity base; explore other groups
Developmental Components	Affirmation by adults (parents, teachers, coaches, scout leaders, church elders)	•Observation/ watching •Recognition •adult sponsors	Affirmation of adults •Attributions (others see me as a leader)	•Role models •Older peers as sponsors • Adult sponsors • Assume positional roles •Reflection/ retreat	Take on responsibilities	• Model older peers and adults • Observe older peers • Adults as mentors, guides, coaches
View of Self with others	**Dependent**				**Independent** / **Dependent**	

From Komives, S. R., Longerbeam, S., Owen, J. E., Mainella, F. C., & Osteen, L. (2006). A leadership identity development model: Applications from a grounded theory. Journal of College Student Development, 47, 401-42.

Figure continues on next page

The KEY ***Transition***	**4** **Leader*ship*** **Differentiated**			**5** **Generativity**		**6** **Internalization/ Synthesis**
	Emerging	**Immersion**	*Transition*		***Transition***	
• **Shifting order of consciousness;** •Take on more complex leadership challenges	•Joining with others in shared tasks/ goals from positional or non-position-al group roles • Need to learn group skills *New belief that leadership can come from anywhere in the group (non positional)*	•Seeks to facilitate a good group process whether in position-al or non positional leader role •Commitment to community of the group *Awareness that leadership is a group process*		• Active commitment to a personal passion; • Accepting responsibility for the development of others, • Promotes team learning, • Responsible for sustaining organizations		• Continued self development and life long learning, • Striving for congruence and internal confidence
"Holding a position does not mean I am a leader"	"I need to lead in a participatory way and I can contribute to leadership from anywhere in the organization"; "I can be a leader without a title"; "I am *a* leader even if I am not *the* leader"	"Leadership is happening everywhere; we are doing leadership together; we are all responsible"	"Who's coming after me?"	"I am responsible as a member of my communities to facilitate the development of others as leaders and enrich the life of our groups"	"I need to be true to myself in all situations and open to grow"	"I know I am able to work effectively with others to accomplish change from any place in the organization"; "I am *a* leader"
• Recognition that I cannot do it all myself •Learn to value the importance/ talent of others	•Learn to trust and value others & their involvement •Openness other perspectives•Develop comfort with being an active member •Let go control	•Learns about personal influence• Effective in both positional and non-positional roles• Practices being engaged member• Values servant leadership	•Focus on passion, vision, & commitments •Want to serve society	•Sponsor and develop others; • transforming leadership •Concern for leadership pipeline •Concerned with sustainability of ideas	• Openness to ideas • Learning from others	•Sees leadership as a life long developmental process •Want to leave things better • Am trustworthy and value that I have credibility •Recognition of role modeling to others
• Meaningfully engage with others • Look to group resource	• Seeing the collective whole; the big picture • Learn group and team skills/	•Value teams• Value connectedness to others, inter-dependence •Learns how system works	•Value process • Seek fit with org. vision	•Sustaining the organization •Ensuring continuity in areas of passion/ focus	•Anticipating transition to new roles	Sees organizational complexity across contexts • Can imagine how to engage with different organizations
•Older peers as sponsors/ & mentors •Adults as mentors & meaning makers • learning about leadership	• Practicing leadership in ongoing peer relationships	• Responds to meaning makers (student affairs staff, key faculty, same-age peer mentors)	•Begins coaching others	• Responds to meaning makers (student affairs staff, same-age peer mentors)	•Shared learning •Reflection/ retreat	• Re-cycle when context changes or is uncertain (contextual uncertainty), enables continual recycling through leadership stages
	Interdependent					

In a 2015 study, Sessa et al. found that most college students saw leadership as a position and that leadership is a personal characteristic of individuals. This means that most college students see their leadership identity in the leader identified stage of the LID model. Sessa's study provided evidence that leader identity develops before their understanding of leadership (2015). That means we're communicating information about positional vs. non-positional leadership before the student realizes their understanding of leadership may change.

When considering group and developmental influences, college and university staff can provide influence as they plan and implement leadership development programs, as well as work with college students in many ways. By selecting or hiring older students to hold formal mentor roles, they can role model different ways to lead. Meaningful involvement allows students to clarify personal values and interests, learn about themselves, and develop new skills (Komives et al., 2005). Including structured reflection opportunities as part of leadership development programs helps students intentionally learn about leadership (Komives et al., 2005).

For college students, these developmental influences either produce a new view of oneself or dissonance with the stage one is in. This is how a student gains a new view of leadership and, therefore, transitions to a new stage (Komives et al., 2005). As campus activities professionals, it's our job to help students through that dissonance to their new view of themselves.

If our goal is to help college students develop systemic thinking, it behooves us to help students develop from the leader identified stage to the leadership differentiated stage. The grounded theory that produced the LID Model showed that one experiences hierarchical thinking before developing systemic thinking (Komives et al., 2005). Students in the leader identified stage used hierarchical thinking and systemic thinking emerged in the leadership differentiated stage (Komives et al., 2005). Systemic thinking allows people to focus on a system as a whole and, ultimately, helps with creative problem-solving.

As seen in Figure One, five influences contribute to the development of a leadership identity: 1) broadening view of leadership, 2) developing self, 3) group influences, 4) developmental influences, and 5) a changing view of one's self with others (Komives et al., 2005).

Shehane et al. (2012) stated, "As educators, it is our role to provide a venue for students to explore connections between their leadership experiences within a formal leadership program and their academic experiences in the classroom" (p. 151). Besides looking at leadership experiences as college students, it is important to help students reflect on earlier leadership experiences during formal leadership programs (Dugan, 2011). Formal leadership programs should have a curriculum with student learning and development outcomes (Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education [CAS], 2009). Focusing learning outcomes on ways to develop from the leader identified stage to the leadership differentiated stage helps move students toward systemic thinking. At St. Norbert College, one of the college-wide learning outcomes is to problem-solve creatively. Being able to set learning outcomes that directly tie to an overall college goal helps campus activities actively contribute to the important learning that takes place both inside and outside the classroom.

Challenge and Support

In addition to the model, assessment, challenge, and support are important components of leadership development (McCauley & Van Velsor, 2004). Assessment allows us to understand the effectiveness of the leadership development experience, but it could also help a student become more self-aware (McCauley & Van Velsor, 2004). A challenge can help a student stretch beyond their comfort zone and allow them to learn something new (Sanford, 1966). Students can get support from college/university staff or each other, allowing them to lean into a challenge (Sanford, 1966). A mentor (student or staff) can support and inspire the student with confidence (Muir, 2014). The balance between challenge and support is where development happens, and in a leadership experience that may provide the dissonance where a student begins to progress to the next stage of leadership identity development.

Importance of Learning Outcomes

Komives et al. (2009) assert that each stage of the LID model encompasses a set of leadership learning outcomes and that a student's transition from one stage to the next indicates their leadership identity development. "A holistic leadership development program may seek to move all students and groups of students in student organizations from their current understanding and practice of leadership to more complex, integrated understanding and practice" (Komives et al., 2009, p. 33).

In short, students' views of leadership identity will grow and change during their time at college. It is the responsibility of an individual campus to help students move through the stages and to track that through programs that challenge and support students and assess student learning.

ST. NORBERT COLLEGE LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS

For St. Norbert College students, one of the first leadership development experiences available is specifically for first-year students and is called Emerging Leaders. It is specifically marketed as an opportunity to help learn what is needed to become an executive board member for a student organization. When the marketing for this program has not focused on positional leadership, it has decreased the number of students who want to participate. That response correlates to first-year students being more likely to be in the leader identified Leadership Identity Development Model stage.

The Emerging Leaders program allows participants to learn new skills, better understand leadership on campus, and become familiar with at least one student organization. The program breaks the first-year students into small groups with an older mentor. The mentor is a student from a recognized student organization (RSO). There are typically about ten different RSOs represented. The participating RSOs self-select at the college staff's invitation, and each provides a project for the Emerging Leaders group to work on. The project could be a program for members or other students to attend, a fundraiser, or implementing a survey to the greater student body, etc. The mentor helps with each step and is the liaison between the RSO and the Emerging Leader group. In addition to the project, the Emerging Leaders and the mentors attend an overnight retreat (this was modified due to health and safety reasons in 2020 and 2021). At the retreat, the mentors interview a portion of the first-year students to help determine their team. Plus, there are team-building activities and some developmental sessions about leadership and engagement on campus. After the retreat, there are 4 - 5 workshops on a variety of developmental topics. Completing the project, the retreat, and at least three workshops earn a certificate for each participant. This cohort-based program creates an environment where participants develop long-term relationships that are viewed as more meaningful than a random group of students for coursework (Eifler, Potthoff, & Dinsmore, 2004). Some of the learning outcomes include:

- Students will apply the five components of the relational leadership model in a small group while completing a campus project.
- Students will understand how a person might be considered a leader when they don't hold a formal leadership position.
- Students will develop a group project that assists a student organization in attaining one of their goals.

College staff also work with the mentors to check in with them to see how they're doing, assist them in considering communication with their group, and offer advice as they go through the process as well. Mentors are also told about the importance of "tapping" the new students for leadership positions in the RSO. These students often appear to consider leadership as a role beyond holding a position. Typically, those students are juniors or seniors. If sophomores are mentors, they may still be thinking about leadership as a position, and this may be the first time they ever consider leadership roles beyond a formal position. Some of the learning outcomes for mentors include:

- Student mentors will apply the five components of the relational leadership model in a small group while overseeing the completion of a campus project.
- Student mentors will explain how to complete a campus project to the emerging leaders.
- Student mentors will appraise the completed campus project and offer feedback to the emerging leaders.

Another annual leadership development program is the Student Leadership Development Conference. This is a day-long conference that is open to all students to attend. Typically, the students who attend are already in positional leadership roles across campus. The theme for the conference changes every year, but it focuses on developmental topics. For example, topics have focused on equity, diversity and inclusion, self-care, change, civility, etc. Student responses to each year's topic can tell us which stage of the LID Model they may be in. Those students who are firmly in the leader identified stage tend to say they don't see the topic as leadership. They expect workshops about how to create an agenda, how to run a meeting, or how to delegate. The students who have already moved beyond the third stage of the model seem to be more likely to understand that these topics are

about leadership and use the information learned at the conference to challenge systemic thinking on campus. In order to help the students who still see leadership as positional, college staff have used this as an opportunity to introduce the idea that leadership may be about more than position. This helps students consider leadership from a different perspective. Learning outcomes for the student leadership development conference include:

- Participants will recognize the importance of *that year's topic* (e.g., equity, diversity and inclusion) as a leader.
- Participants will share at least three concepts learned at the conference with other participants.

St. Norbert College provides a number of other leadership workshops. Those topics run the gamut from topics that seem to lean towards positional leadership - how to run a meeting - to considering how students may interact with the world after graduation - adulting 101 (leasing an apartment, understanding credit). Workshops are advertised to the entire student body, focusing on RSO executive board members. RSO executive members are somewhat of a captive audience. The way the workshops are advertised allows students to self-select the topics that are top of mind in a given semester or year. These workshops can support students who are in different stages of the Leadership Identity Development model. Those students in Stage 3 tend to gravitate towards those topics that teach skills (e.g., how to run a meeting). Those students who have moved beyond Stage 3 are more likely to attend sessions about recruiting new members and/or executive board members or how to transition a new president into their role. Learning outcomes for these workshops vary greatly depending on the topic.

In addition to these programs, there are a number of one-off leadership programs or training sessions that focus on students in positional roles across campus. By their very definition, these sessions are focused on leader identified topics, but may edge into introducing those participants to Stage 4 (leadership differentiated). These learning outcomes also vary greatly depending on the audience and context.

APPLICATION OF THE LID MODEL

Komives et al. made ten recommendations for the application of the LID Model (2009, p. 38-39)

- **Know your personal LID path.** As a staff member, sharing your personal story of leadership development in your undergraduate experience is important. In the Emerging Leaders program, student mentors are asked to consider and share (if they're comfortable) their leadership development path.
- **Ask students to reflect.** The Emerging Leaders program and the Student Leadership Conference include structured ways to reflect on those particular experiences as well as previous experiences.
- **Teach group process.** The Emerging Leaders curriculum and other training programs for student employees teach students about group process.
- **Teach the language of leadership.** Every St. Norbert College leadership program discusses the definition of leadership and introduces students to some basic leadership theories.
- **Encourage students to stay committed to a group over time.** The Emerging Leaders program encourages first-year students to continue to work with the RSO with which they had been paired after the program's conclusion. Leadership programs focused on members or executive board members of RSOs explain the importance of their commitment to the organization they're representing.
- **Help students connect their LID stage and the dynamics of their organizations.** When working with older students, office staff teach them about the LID model and discuss how the model fits their experiences.
- **Use mentors.** Mentors are used in the Emerging Leaders program. The executive board members for RSOs are often mentors for younger members of the organization.
- **View the role of educator as coach.** While St. Norbert College doesn't typically use the language of coaching, college staff view themselves as mentors or coaches to help undergraduates grow and develop.
- **Establish partnerships among leadership educators (student affairs and faculty).** The student leadership conference often includes faculty and other staff as presenters throughout the day. This is an area that could

be improved with all leadership programs.

- **Establish a K-20 development model.** Since the college doesn't work with K-12 students, the model used doesn't start before enrollment in college. However, using the LID model to frame leadership development experiences has helped create a framework for undergraduate students and their entire collegiate experience.

Overall, college staff decided to use the Leadership Identity Development model to help think through the types of leadership that would meet students where they are at and challenge them to view leadership differently. College staff ultimately want students to understand that they can create change in their communities - campus and beyond - and want them to discern how to do that as alumni in their new communities after graduation.

Challenges

Intersectionality

Leader identity is similar to other social identities and leadership educators must recognize that it intersects with other dimensions of identity (Komives et al., 2009). Komives et al. (2009) assert that a challenge in using the LID model is recognizing intersectionality and how students' multiple identities shift in importance based on the situation. "Students of color may experience the LID stages differently than their White peers" (Komives et al., 2009, p. 24). Gender and sexual orientation can also impact how one experiences the LID stages (Komives et al., 2009).

Gender Identity

A study in 2018 found that female study participants showed limited awareness of their own gender identity (McKenzie). McKenzie recommended that an exploration of gender identity and stereotypes should be included in leadership development programs for both men and women (2018). McKenzie also recommended leadership education initiatives focusing specifically on women (2018).

Racial and Ethnic Identity

In a study of the leadership identity of faculty/staff of color, participants' navigation of the cultural context of their predominantly white (PWI) campuses showed a significant challenge (Longman, et al., 2021). One participant in particular noted, "I don't fit the leadership mold that exists at my institution" (Longman, et al., 2021, p. 272). We can conclude that if faculty/staff of color are having difficulty with self-confidence in this campus context, undergraduate students would also have difficulty. The cohort-based program provided participants the opportunity to support one another (Longman, et al., 2021).

When considering leadership development experiences for students of color or other minoritized social identities on a PWI campus, this study provides support to consider at least two propositions. First, it could be helpful to include faculty/staff from offices that provide support for students of color or other minoritized social identities. Showing students that faculty/staff with similar social identities are leaders and can help teach leadership could help them see themselves as leaders on campus. Second, participation in a cohort-based program could specifically assist students with minoritized identities by helping them support one another throughout the experience.

Student Organization Type

As campus activities professionals, different types of student organizations must be considered and how their history or culture might impact student leadership development. Cory (2011) found that membership in a fraternity or sorority provided considerable leadership identity development opportunities. The close-knit and, sometimes residential, nature of fraternities and sororities may provide leadership identity development opportunities not found in other student organizations. While it's unrealistic to change all student organizations to mimic the structure and culture of fraternities and sororities, student organization faculty/staff advisors and the older students in those organizations can be utilized to help provide the adult and peer developmental influences that are more readily available in Greek organizations.

Broaden Participation

Campus activities professionals must determine who is involved with their leadership development programs and find ways to make those programs attractive to a broader audience of students (Sessa et al., 2015). In considering these additional challenges, understanding the social identities of those students who do not participate in current leadership development offerings may help us consider new programs that help focus on the intersection(s) of different social identities.

CONCLUSION

Using the Leadership Identity Development model can assist leadership educators to understand how college students understand leadership at different points in their development. While there are a number of ways to apply the model, there are still some challenges to work through. However, this model is an excellent way to frame a leadership development program and tie together the various leadership programs that are planned on a college campus.

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JCAPS

ZEN AND THE ART OF ADVISING STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Advisors of student organizations face many challenges, including holding students accountable while respecting their autonomy, dealing with challenges of diversity, equity, and inclusion, and navigating their lack of training. Coupled with other professional obligations, it is common for advisors to feel stressed and under-prepared in their advising role. Given the increased interest in mindfulness, this article provides context on the practice of mindfulness meditation and explores how advisors can apply mindfulness principles in handling the challenges they face in their student organization advising role. Mindfulness meditation offers an opportunity for advisors of student organizations to incorporate best practices in reflection, emotional regulation, and handling uncertainty. Since the practice of mindfulness meditation requires no additional tools, costs, or formal training, it is a suitable option for busy professionals.

> We're in such a hurry most of the time we never get much chance to talk.
> The result is a kind of endless day-to-day shallowness, a monotony that leaves a person wondering years later where all the time went, and sorry it's all gone.
> —Robert Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*

Finishing up another late day, Oliver felt exhausted. His student affairs job keeps him busy, and he has more to do since the other assistant director left. With a late-night event for the student group he advises, he wonders how he can be present with so much going on. The practice of mindfulness meditation has been applied to everything from archery to motorcycle maintenance. This article provides recommendations for student organization advisors to incorporate mindfulness meditation into their professional lives.

Student organizations are a popular way to get involved; more than 25% of first-year students joined a student organization during their first year of university (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2015). The National Association of Colleges and Employers (2018) stated that students develop essential job skills by developing their leadership capacity through co- and extracurricular organizations. Through student organizations, students establish structured relationships with their advisors (e.g., faculty, staff, and student affairs professionals) that often span the undergraduate experience. These connections transcend traditional academic and professional divisions and allow advisors to connect authentically with their interests and the student organization.

Studies show that effective advising of student organizations can help students connect personally with leadership theories and concepts (Rosch & Anthony, 2012), promote self-awareness through multiculturalism (Dungy, 2003), and keep students focused on their academic goals (Dunkel et al., 2014). For the general field of advising in higher education, student affairs organizations identify "advising and supporting" as a core competency for development (ACPA: College Student Educators International & NASPA: Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education, 2015, p. 33). Texts meant for advisors of student organizations also echo related competencies and roles (e.g., Dunkel et al., 2014).

Though there are benefits for students and their advisors, less than half of student organization advisors felt prepared and competent in their roles advising student organizations (DeSawal, 2007), and 87% of faculty ad-

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vising student organizations did not receive any training to advise their organization (Myers & Dyer, 2005). As organizations become more central to the student experience, more student affairs jobs require some element of advising student organizations. However, not all advisors face the same responsibilities; advising for highly structured student organizations (e.g., student government, fraternities, and sororities) is a more extensive and potentially more stress-inducing process than advising a smaller interest group.

In the context of larger advising commitments and those requiring balance with a full-time job, advisors of student organizations could benefit from a self-taught practice that increases their capacity for interpersonal communication and reflection. The literature has identified a few challenges that correspond well to this paper's recommendations for practicing mindfulness meditation: holding students accountable while respecting their autonomy (Miles, 2011) through acting with intention, dealing with challenges of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI; Harper & Quaye, 2007) through listening non-judgmentally, and navigating their lack of training (Myers & Dyer, 2005) through being in the present moment. The practice of mindfulness meditation helps people develop their ability to pay attention, regulate their emotions, relieve distress, and cultivate well-being (Davis & Hayes, 2011) and could remedy the above challenges. The definitions of mindfulness and mindfulness meditation are presented next.

MINDFULNESS MEDITATION IN CONTEXT

While mindfulness meditation is historically associated with Buddhism, the practice is inherently non-denominational and is practiced by religious and secular people. Mindfulness is "the awareness that emerges from paying attention in a particular way: on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgmentally" (Kabat-Zinn, 1994, p. 4). These mindfulness principles are practiced through mindfulness meditation, where an individual focuses on an action; mindfulness meditation brings forth a state of mindfulness. Mindfulness meditation is popular because of its simplicity, as children and adults can readily start a practice. Since there are many definitions and experiences of mindfulness, the Kabat-Zinn (1994) definition will guide the recommendations presented here.

Mindfulness meditation first requires purpose or intention. To practice, the mind is intentionally focused on an action (e.g., mindfulness of breathing, mindfulness of walking, mindfulness of thinking). Each small act of intention builds a store of mindfulness that brings an individual to the present moment. In the mindfulness literature, the present moment is being here and now. Csikszentmihalyi et al. (2005) describe this experience as being in a flow state or being totally engrossed in an action, requiring an intense degree of presence. Existing without thought or judgment gives rise to the present moment by creating distance between the individual and a problem or situation. Experiencing non-judgment is like watching passing clouds; one recognizes the cloud and its characteristics and allows the cloud to pass. The practitioner does not influence the shape of the clouds, the speed at which they pass, or whether they bring rain or snow. Treating thoughts as clouds encourages a healthy distance and a clear mind. A busy mind is less able to respond thoughtfully or intentionally (Davis & Hayes, 2011).

MINDFULNESS PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO ADVISING STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

While most Westerners acknowledge that exercise and diet are essential for physical health, the importance of mental health and mindfulness is new. In its simplest form, mindfulness meditation is attention brought to an activity; it takes no time away and gives time by bringing the practitioner into the present moment. Noticing when the mind wanders and redirecting it to the present activity takes less than a second. The recommendations presented here support an advisor's mindfulness practice and their practice while advising student organizations.

Balancing Accountability and Autonomy

As a mentor, the advisor of student organizations must guide their students toward independence while instilling a sense of accountability. Creating this balance is a central role of the advisor (Dunkel et al., 2014; Miles, 2011). While the advisor might default to the traditional role of the adult in the room, they should be aware of

how they influence their students. Beyond providing guidance, the advisor must also create a conducive learning environment for their students' personal and academic growth. Advisors might find the mindfulness meditation practice of setting an intention helpful. Engaging with this practice can re-center their focus, increase their ability to communicate interpersonally, and encourage deeper reflection. Before a meeting with students, the advisor can set an intention such as "I want to listen deeply to their concerns" or "I want to help without getting in the way." By clarifying their actions and building a store of mindfulness, advisors can strengthen their subsequent interactions and better serve their students.

Navigating Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI)

With the increasing diversity of higher education, advisors of student organizations are expected to navigate challenges related to DEI (Harper & Quaye, 2007). The mindfulness principle of non-judgment informs the awareness of thoughts as they enter the mind. Particularly, the advisor should be aware of their judgments that lead to bias and action based on bias. For example, negative bias toward a specific racial group might lead to action that inadvertently disadvantages that group. In a university context, students experiencing prejudice in intergroup contexts often experience negative emotional states, leading to further discomfort with outgroup members (Tropp, 2003). The advisor must recognize and become aware of their judgments to help better serve their students.

Within mindfulness literature, a recommended way to practice non-judgment is to realize when the mind is judgmental. This metacognitive process brings attention to the thousands of thoughts that flood the mind. When a judgmental thought arises about an individual and their identity, the thought should be recognized. It might be helpful to think, "a judgmental thought has arisen." Recognizing the thought creates a gap between the initial thought and another thought or action. The advisor might find that letting go of the thought by metaphorically allowing it to pass by like a cloud is enough to return to a state of non-judgment. Through repetition, judgmental thoughts become easier to recognize, let go of, and help bring the advisor into the present moment to deal with the current situation.

Ambiguity and Lack of Training

Since a majority of advisors of student organizations do not receive training, they often face situations they are unprepared for (Myers & Dyer, 2005). This ambiguity encourages us to respond with mindfulness in the present moment. Responding in the present moment is easier when there is a historical record of behavior, thoughts, and feelings. Journaling addresses these concerns. The advisor can begin by keeping a record of their advising experiences. While the advisor can evaluate their feelings or thoughts, the focus should be non-judgment and detachment. Shifting the focus from "I feel angry" to "there was a feeling of anger" encourages a healthy distance from strong emotions. Distance is not avoidance; cultivating distance means experiencing the emotion fully and intentionally letting it go or "getting on with it." As journaling progresses and the advisor feels an increasing presence, they can behave flexibly. A flexible advisor recognizes that the challenges of last year, last week, or even yesterday might differ from today's challenges. For example, COVID-19 has impacted how students gather for events and in-person initiatives. The flexible advisor can approach this situation with fresh eyes and propose new strategies for engaging the community, as the uncertainty makes it difficult to rely on past experience. The advisor can encourage students to collaborate with other organizations on campus, create engaging online events, and create online spaces for continued engagement.

CONCLUSION

While there is scholarship that helps advisors of student organizations develop their advising capacity, introducing mindfulness principles is a novel approach. Kabat-Zinn (1994) identifies three components of mindfulness (i.e., intention, presence, and non-judgment) developed through mindfulness meditation. Mindfulness meditation contains a series of techniques and perspectives that can be practiced without any religious affiliation or formal training. Through activities like journaling, setting intentions, and becoming aware of thought patterns, advisors of student organizations can incorporate the helpful and relevant practice of mindfulness meditation into their advising work.

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