Invisible Woman Institutional Belonging for Undergraduate Mothers of Color

Taylor CJ. Wynne

This opinion piece draws upon Goffman's (1956) Nonperson Treatment conceptualization to investigate if and how American four-year institutions of higher education foster spaces of belonging for undergraduate mothers of color at their institution. By integrating participant narrative and published works, the author drew upon Walton & Cohen's (2007) Belonging Uncertainty Theory and Goffman's (1963) Stigma Theory to frame this study. Specifically, the author examines how the integration of undergraduate mothers of color at their institution can foster belonging and inclusion while increasing retention rates for undergraduate mothers of color with the help of mindful and inclusive campus sponsored activities. Themes include challenges surrounding campus socialization, insufficient campus childcare services, loneliness and isolation, and financial barriers. Recommendations for campus climate and student involvement practices are discussed.

Keywords: Undergraduate, student mothers of color, nonperson, invisibility, belonging.

Taylor CJ. Wynne is a doctoral student in the Higher Education and Student Affairs Ph.D. program at The Ohio State University. Her research explores the intersectional experiences of Black women in higher education, racial battle fatigue, and campus racial climate.

"I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me."
– Ralph Ellison, Invisible Man, 1952

What do you do when your institution disregards your existence as a student so much so, that you are made to feel like a nonperson (Goffman, 1956)? How do you react when your institution neglects your needs as a student, whether overtly or covertly, because your identity does not fit within the narrow confines of the traditional college student? These are the questions I began asking myself as a current Higher Education Student Affairs graduate student after speaking to a close friend who is currently parenting while attempting to complete her bachelor's degree at a private, midsize institution in the Midwest. She stated, "I know my school can see that I'm enrolled as a student, but I don't think they consider students *like me* in the campus culture. There are no spaces on campus for undergraduate mothers to build community. It's even harder when you're Black, younger, low-income, and single. I receive more judgment than support it seems like." After our conversation I began to consider if and how four-year higher education institutions create spaces of belonging, engagement, and community for undergraduate mothers of color. Higher education research the focuses specifically on the mothering experiences of undergraduate mothers of color is scant at best. The research that does speak on mothering often highlights the stories of mothers at community colleges, or student mothers who are returning to higher education after taking a substantial break. Although these stories provide relevant and valuable insight into the realities of parenting as a student, there remains a dearth of empirical evidence on the intersectional experiences of undergraduate mothers of color at four-year institutions of higher education who fall between the ages of 18-25 and who still desire campus engagement. Due to the limited research, undergraduate mothers of color are often subjected to stigmatization and "nonperson treatment" by their institution. According to Goffman (1959) nonperson treatment can be understood as "a technique of diminishing the social status of a person, often foregoing all acknowledgment of a person's identity" (Goffman, 1959). By ignoring undergraduate student mothers of color, higher education positions this population of students in a lower caste than their peers who embody a more "satisfactory" representation of the university's image and values. Ironically, these are the same institutions who claim to understand the importance of diversity, equity, and inclusion, but for whom? Through this piece, my aim is to highlight ideas and implications around institutional inclusion and belonging practices for undergraduate mothers of color at four-year institutions. More specifically, how student affairs, can center equitable initiatives that engage undergraduate mothers of color in campus life. After speaking to my friend about her campus experience, I realized that, contrary to belief, undergraduate mothers of color desire involvement in their campus similar to any other student, however, it must be done in a way that is equitable for and inclusive of their unique circumstances. Until these practices are enacted at four-year institutions, there is a chance that undergraduate mothers of color will remain invisible to their campus community.

Nonperson Treatment and Institutional Belonging in Context

While higher education has progressed over the years towards liberal ideals, there still remains a noticeable hierarchy within the academy (Scarborough, 2024) that places marginalized students in a lower social caste. Similar to the broader societal context, college campuses embody their own systems

of caste amongst the student body that form explicit inequities and inequalities for minoritized students. Research indicates that students who continuously rank lowest in "campus caste" are low income, and Black and brown students (Kim, 2024), however once additional marginalized identities are factored in such as single parenting and low-income status, the exclusion and belonging struggles increase, enhancing the probability of nonperson treatment. Erving Goffman coined nonperson treatment (Goffman, 2009) as a technique of ignoring or diminishing the social status of a person, often foregoing all acknowledgment of a person's humanity beyond transactional civilities. Goffman emphasizes the harm in nonperson treatment because it allows one to completely ignore individuals in lower societal brackets, as if they do not exist (Scarborough, 2024). Acknowledging that classism and white supremacy are woven into the fabric of higher education, nonperson treatment can often be unconsciously imparted on minoritized and nontraditional students without noticing.

Nonperson treatment is closely related to feelings of belonging. Higher Education scholarship that addresses issues of campus belonging reports that 35% of Black and Latino students report experiencing some form of racial discrimination or bias on the campus of their predominantly white institution (Hurtado & Ruiz Alvarado, 2015). Perpetual discrimination inflicted on students of color while in college has been linked to reduced rates of college persistence and success (Hurtado & Ruiz Alvarado, 2015) lower academic motivation (Alfaro et al., 2009), poor psychological well-being (Lee & Ahn, 2012) and stress. When compounded together, these collective outcomes serve as contributing factors that undermine students of color sense of belonging in college. For years, higher education research has emphasized the connection between sense of belonging and campus involvement as a catalyst for academic achievement and student belonging on campus (Astin, 1998; Strayhorn, 2018). Acknowledging that students with marginalized identities experience sense of belonging differently than peers (Vaccaro & Newman, 2016) who are in the privileged majority, it prompts the question around institutional initiatives for minoritized and marginalized students at four-year institutions. Undergraduate mothers of colors who undergo difficulty locating community and a sense of belonging on their campus experience college life on the margins due to othering and stigmatization from students, faculty, and staff.

Undergraduate mothers of color and invisibility

According to data gathered from the Association of College Unions International, one-fifth of undergraduate students are parents (Snyder & Chaplin, 2024). Confirmed through empirical research findings, Higher Education scholarship has struggled to provide a "home" for undergraduate student mothers, rendering them invisible on their campus. Pregnant college students have been described as the "invisible students on campus" even though they represent between 22% and 27% of the overall collegiate population (Snyder & Chaplin, 2024). Most higher education scholarships that examine student belonging on four-year college campuses center traditional students (Gopalan & Brady, 2020; Strayhorn, 2018) creating a gap in research between traditional and non-traditional students. Nevertheless, previous research has revealed that postsecondary students with dependents often navigate academia with needs unmet by their campus policies, practices, and programs (Alvarez, 2024; Manze et al., 2021; Sallee & Cox, 2019). Undergraduate mothers of color also face nuanced challenges with feelings of disconnection, and increased financial, food, and housing security barriers (Synder &

Chaplin, 2024). Compounding marginalized identities such as these creates a higher likelihood of student mothers feeling undervalued and invisible by their institution when support is not extended to them. While four-year campuses may have resources, not all are intentionally developed with student-parents in mind and therefore lack policies, processes, and practices to equitably support students who identify as parents among other salient identities (Alvarez, 2024). Additionally, four-year higher education institutions benefit from the quantitative diversity data derived from the percentage of undergraduate student mothers on their campus without actual attempts to create a welcoming environment for this population of students. Although undergraduate students of color raising children may be accounted for in the persistence and retention rates in institutional data markings, their voices, stories, and experiences regarding their persistence, and feelings of belonging remain silent.

Findings

While there is still a dearth of research that uncovers the authentic experiences and narratives of undergraduate student mothers of color at four-year institutions, the few studies that are available to the public indicate unfortunate truths about the belonging and socialization experiences of undergraduate student mothers of color. In the study, *Underrepresented Parents of Color Raising Children and Persisting in Higher Education*, undergraduate student mothers of color at Portland State University participated in semi-structured interviews about their socialization experience as mothers. Participants noted that, while there are online parent support groups on campus, because of conflicting schedules and outside responsibilities often tied to mothering, they cannot attend events that would allow them to meet other student parents (Alvarez, 2024, p. 66-68). Participant Shania explains that "there is not a place where I can just go and like hang out and talk to other student parents. It's never been that way for me all five years" (2024, p. 68). Here, the participant is describing her difficulty in finding time to participant in campus activities because of her responsibilities as a student mother. This causes Shania to feel isolated from community on campus and has further complicated her ability to find community amongst other student mothers. The lack of institutional space allotted for this student group creates feelings of isolation and belonging uncertainty among undergraduate student mothers of color. In relation to affordable childcare service, another participant in the study indicates that student resources are not equitably supportive of underrepresented student parents and participation in campus events will require additional funding for sufficient childcare if they decide to attend campus events without their child (Alvarez, 2024). Nevertheless, all participants in the study expressed an interest in expanding their campus involvement as a way of resisting loneliness (Alvarez, 2024, p. 69). Lastly, when considering the additional challenges of racism and stigmatization, student mothers become even more marginalized, enhancing their belonging uncertainty on campus at the nexus of their race, gender, and positionality.

Monica, another participant in the study, identified the tokenism that she underwent from her institution during her orientation because of her identity as an undergraduate mother of color. Monica became increasingly uncomfortable after overhearing her peer orientation mentor say to the campus photographer, "Oh yeah, they probably need more brown faces because they're tired of the old white faces on the website". Then proceeded to tell the photographer, "I hope you find more brownies!" (Alvarez, 2024, p. 71) after taking Monica's picture. Overt racial microaggressions such as these

enhance feelings of racial battle fatigue for students of color (Smith et al., 2011) which describes the psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses that students of color experience as a result of battling ongoing racialized slights and discrimination. Ongoing encounters with racial microaggressions over time are likely to result in racial battle fatigue for student mothers of color.

In the study*, Undergraduate Collegiate Experiences of African American Single Mother Students and a Sense of Belonging*, Thompson-Miller (2023) centers the voices of Black student mothers ages, 18-35 enrolled in bachelor's degree programs across the United States. One participant, Alexis, recognized that her professors provided her with support and flexibility in the classroom which made her feel welcomed, however, campus activities and engagement is where she felt marginalized. Because of her identity as a young mother, this participant mentioned that she was not able to enjoy campus activities like most college students. She specifically notes that she did not hang out in the student union on her campus or have many opportunities to socialize with other single student mothers on her campus. Carrie, who similar to Alexis, experienced great support and motivation from her faculty, identified a shift when it came to campus support. Carrie explicates that her institution did not provide sufficient support for her as a single mother. In her interview, Carrie mentioned going to Student Support Services, after having her baby to get information about campus resources for student mothers. Instead of receiving support, Carrie left feeling unwelcomed by student support services on her campus because of how they made her feel as a student mother, stating, "That was a learning experience for me. That everyone may not provide you support" (Thompson-Miller, 2023, p. 92). Carrie contributes this unwelcoming experience to the office's lack of knowledge on how to support undergraduate mothers of color, and their complex needs as students. Participant Ellie, also mentioned that her faculty members, instilled in her a sense of belonging in her classes (Thompson-Miller, 2023, p. 106), however campus involvement is where socialization decreased – stating that she did not participate in campus sponsored events at all (Thompson-Miller, 2023, p. 109). Ellie mentioned that her strongest campus support consisted of two friends that she made during her undergraduate program, that remained by her side throughout her time in college. Ellie's avoidance of campus activities, due to her motherhood status, validates the reoccurring theme amongst participants that implies that there's a level of belonging in the classroom that is not being transferred into the campus activities and involvement space.

Consistent themes from both studies acknowledge that undergraduate mothers of color experience most of their "othering" during campus sponsored events that are geared toward traditional college students, which may enable a lack of campus belonging and overall invisibility.

Invisible Woman

In Ralph Ellison's critically acclaimed work of literature *Invisible Man*, the reader has insight into the socio-psychological challenges of the main character and narrator. The story follows the main character who is a southern Black college student navigating his way through Harlem in the 1940's. Throughout *Invisible Man*, the main character wrestles with the realities of his identity as a Black man while also finding space for himself in a never-ending world of racism, classism, and social power dynamics. While navigating the bigoted social structures of his environment, the main character finds himself to be invisible to the world around him, similar to the identity of a "non-person". Notably,

Ellison strategically leaves the name of the main character ambiguous to the reader, symbolizing his physical and metaphorical invisibility throughout the story. The reader can acknowledge that the main character is present in the story, but "because of the particular disposition of the eyes of whom I [the main character] come in contact with" (Ellison, 1952, p. 3), the main character is rendered invisible. According to Ellison (1952), the main character is:

> A man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids – and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me the see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination – indeed, everything and anything except *me* (p. 3).

While situated in a different historical period, the same sentiment of invisibility can be said for undergraduate mothers of color at predominantly white four-year institutions. Since four-year institutions traditionally cater their student involvement initiatives to "traditional" college students, it is no surprise that undergraduate student mothers of color feel a lack of belonging on, and invisibility to, their campus community. The invisibility of undergraduate student mothers of color is also prevalent throughout higher education scholarship, speculating a lack of interest in the experiences and concerns of this specific student demographic. This absence in literature is a direct symbolization of the invisibility and perhaps the nonperson treatment experienced by student mothers on campus. Understanding and addressing the experiences of undergraduate mothers of color is essential to fostering an inclusive and supportive campus environment that enables undergraduate mothers of color to thrive in higher education (Strayhorn, 2018), in shared spaces of belonging.

Discussion

The experiences and findings from both studies indicate a jarring conclusion – that *perhaps* the classroom is creating more inclusive spaces for non-traditional student demographics than campus activities and programming according to the stories shared by participants. Campus activities and programming is a domain in higher education that is tasked with engaging students in the campus experience, however, is their lack of inclusive programming pushing non-traditional students away from campus engagement opportunities? The field of higher education has historically functioned on the foundation of normative thinking, White supremacy, patriarchal hegemony classism, and sexism. This linear thinking only acknowledges normative identities and discourse, excluding any identity on the margin. When campus programming and activities do not consider the belonging of undergraduate student mothers of color in the planning phases of campus events, they disregard the presence of student mothers of color, literally rendering them invisible in the planning stages of events. Furthermore, campuses are adopting a programming model that implies normative students deserve one type of robust college experience, while non-traditional students (e.g., student mothers of color) are expected to settle for a different experience, one with fewer opportunities for campus socialization and involvement. This implicit bias can lead to treating undergraduate student mothers of color as invisible nonpersons at four-year institutions which does not align with some institution's alleged inclusion efforts for *all* students. The problem then lies within institutional performance of DEI that

further harms this population of students. As mentioned in Monica's excerpt, institutions will plaster a false depiction of diversity on institution websites and recruitment pamphlets but then marginalize those same diverse students once they enroll as students by not providing a space or voice for them on campus. Being an undergraduate mother already comes with its own challenges, but when race is factored in, undergraduate mothers face unique difficulties at the intersection of their race and gender that further marginalizes and complicates their identity (e.g. the hyper (in)visibility that comes with being a student mother of color on campus). In Carrie's story we noticed how offices ironically labeled, student support services, are not equipped with services to support all students. This lack of knowledge around holistic and diverse student support can further harm undergraduate mothers of color in spaces that were meant to support them. Many undergraduate mothers of color expressed hesitation in their responses when discussing how they navigate their mixed feelings about belonging in social spaces on campus, as if they recognized that being a mother and feeling a sense of belonging on campus didn't necessarily go hand in hand.

In *Invisible Man*, the main character (1952) adjacently speaks to his feeling of invisibility noting, I remember I am invisible and walk softly so as not to awaken the sleeping ones. The "sleeping ones", in this context, speak to white individuals – the dominant and privileged group. Ironically, the opposite of sleeping is to be awake or "woke". Recently in popular culture, entertainment, and critical conscious discourse, we see the term(s) "Woke" and "Stay Woke" being used to describe someone who is "informed, educated, and conscious of social injustice, power dynamics, and racial inequalities within society" (Alfonseca, 2024) or an "expression that means to be aware of and actively attentive to important societal issues, especially those related to racial and social justice" (Ng, 2021). The modern sociopolitical interpretation of the term "woke" and "stay woke" can be interpreted through Ellison's text; the idea that because a person is asleep, not only can they physically not see the main character, they also cannot metaphorically *see* the positionality and identity of the main character which has rendered him invisible to the world around him. Nevertheless, I wonder what would transpire if "the sleeping ones" woke up? A similar sentiment can be speculated upon when examining the belonging experiences of undergraduate mothers of color. How can the "sleeping ones" being student affairs practitioners do better in acknowledging the invisible group on campus – in this case, student mothers of color? With conversative leaning states adopting bills that oppose "woke agendas" in curriculum and campus engagement, how can "sleeping" student affairs practitioners develop a woke consciousness that serves invisible student demographics on their campus? One can argue that the key sociopolitical influence that is guiding the invisible treatment in *Invisible Man* and undergraduate mothers of color is discrimination. However, it is appropriate to note that the intersectional discrimination against undergraduate student mothers of color is deeply rooted in characteristics of gendered racism (Essed, 1991), sexism, age discrimination, and class. It is essential that student affairs practitioners re-examine their approach to programming in a way that considers the critical perspectives impeding on a student's belonging.

Recommendations

With an influx of DEI rhetoric flooding higher education discourse, higher education professionals must begin to interrogate how DEI is being understood within the academy and the

context in which student affairs practitioners utilize DEI. In this section, I will provide two recommendations for student affairs practitioners to apply in the future to ensure that DEI considerations are a part of their planning process. Instead of simply performing diversity, equity and inclusion as means of recruitment, how can institutions provide spaces of belonging that give voice to the needs of undergraduate mothers of color on campus?

First, institutions can create a communal space/center for undergraduate mothers on their campus where they can feel supported and affirmed. Within these affinity spaces for student mothers, intentional programming can happen that target the specific needs of student mothers, and the specific needs of young undergraduate mothers of color. Creating this space not only resists the non-person treatment narrative, but it also removes the stigma that is placed on undergraduate student mothers of color. Implementing these spaces on campus can also foster community amongst other student mothers and limit the feelings of isolation and invisibility that is often felt.

Secondly, I challenge campus activity and student involvement departments to truly consider what they mean by inclusion, and what message they are sending, implicitly, about the kind of students they are attracting to their events. There is something to be said about each participant in the study resisting campus sponsored programming because of not feeling welcomed as a student mother. What messages are being sent to undergraduate mothers of color about their belonging by the programming that's being sponsored? Whose voice is being centered? What times are programming events being held? Are elements like accessible parking and free childcare being considered in the event planning? Does this program take into consideration the financial constraints of undergraduate mothers? Factors such as these should be taken into consideration if institutions are to truly live up to their mission of inclusion.

Conclusion

When reflecting on the experiences shared by undergraduate student mothers across different American higher education institutions, I can't help but to consider how their identity development is being shaped by the social norms, expectations, and influences projected on them by their institutions. I challenge practitioners to consider what covert messages are being portrayed to undergraduate mothers of color by their university when their needs are not factored into campus activity and engagement planning. Throughout this opinion piece, the aim was to draw upon Goffman's Nonperson Theory (1956) to examine the belonging experiences of undergraduate mothers at four-year institutions of higher education while leaning on Walton and Cohen's (2007) Belonging Uncertainty Theory and Goffman's (1963) Stigma Theory. Through a synthesis of current literature, two themes were revealed. First, undergraduate mothers of color experience most of their belonging uncertainty in campus wide events for students rather than in the classroom space. Secondly, undergraduate mothers of color often feel as though there are no places on campus where they truly belong without facing stigma and marginalization. In this way, undergraduate mothers of color may experience hyper (in)visibility simultaneously as did the main character in *Invisible Man*. While undergraduate mothers of color experience intersectional oppressions that do not apply to the main character in *Invisible Man*, they both exist in a society where they are members of a larger community that refuses to see them.

When institutions and systems, such as higher education, resist normative thinking and truly embrace diverse student demographics, the illusion of the ideal college student will begin to fade away. Part of resisting this normative thinking is by structuring student activities and involvement initiatives that account for all student demographics. While this level of restructuring may present difficulties for some campuses, a pivot will have to occur eventually because of the changes in college student demographics. Inclusion and belonging for all students on college campuses can no longer be a debatable topic of conversation in higher education. Part of adopting a DEI centered mission is acknowledging how subconscious normative thinking about college students can interfere with how you serve the nuanced needs of non-traditional college students in a way that fosters belonging. No student should feel like a nonperson or invisible on their campus. How are we going to change this?

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