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CROSSING THE **GEM** FRONTIER

Graduate Admissions Professionals' Participation in Enrollment Management

Using qualitative inquiry and professional socialization as a framework to draw meaning from the work experiences of graduate admissions professionals, this project examines individual beliefs and organizational behaviors as they relate to enrollment management.

BACKGROUND & RATIONALE: GRADUATE ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT (GEM)

For some time, admissions professionals have played a key role in advancing enrollment management as a concept and field of practice in postsecondary education. Henderson (2008) traces the history of the admissions profession and the evolution of the undergraduate admissions officer from “gatekeeper” to “recruiter” and then to strategic enrollment manager. Hossler (2004) proposes that the scope of the professional field transitioned from admissions to enrollment management, defined as a “set of activities designed to enable educational institutions to exert more influence over their student enrollments and total net tuition revenue” (p. 65). As an emerging concept, enrollment management garners attention as a process as well as an organizational philosophy. Black (2004) describes enrollment management as “an institutional commitment to reorganization” (p. 37) and a conceptual framework for the “cradle to endowment” relationship between student and institution that outlines the comprehensive, developmental nature of a mature enrollment management organization.

Affinity groups and professional societies (*e.g.*, AACRAO, NAFSA) contribute to ongoing discourse about the intersection between enrollment management and graduate admissions. Recently, the National Association of Graduate Admissions Professionals (NAGAP) added “enrollment management” to its name, signifying the importance of such activities to graduate admissions work.

These developments point to the transition from intake (*i.e.*, admissions and recruitment) as independent activities to enrollment, which functions as part of a larger matrix of activities gaining popularity among graduate and undergraduate admissions professionals.

In analyzing enrollment management at graduate institutions, Schulz (2008) identifies the pursuit of institutional quality, access, and financial stability as “pillars” or guiding priorities of many admissions professionals over the past 30 years. Williams (2008) characterizes graduate enrollment management (GEM) as being led by professionals who “work proactively to build and maintain relationships across administrative silos...assigning responsibilities based on cost efficiencies, customer service, and expertise” (p. 57). Graduate admissions professionals now spend almost 60 percent of their time on retention, leading researchers to conclude that “institutions are shifting their primary focus on retaining current students, rather than recruiting new students” (NAGAP 2011, p. 16).

In their effort to understand enrollment management, scholars apply multiple conceptual perspectives, to include resource dependency, systems, revenue, as well as cultural theories pertaining to institutional image (Barnes and Harris 2010, Hossler 2004). There is increasing interest in the study of graduate admissions professionals and how they view their work in enrollment management.

Moreover, graduate admissions is an increasingly professionalized field. Nevertheless, few empirical studies look specifically at professional administrators' day-to-day participation in graduate enrollment management. As GEM becomes increasingly significant, so will researchers' examination of the experiences of graduate admissions professionals in their quest for insight into the future of GEM.

The guiding research construct for this project is professional role development in graduate admissions professionals who describe enrollment management as part of their work. The central research question is "How do select graduate admissions professionals identify with enrollment management in their work?" The purpose of the project is to examine the work experiences of graduate admissions professionals (from their perspective) as they relate to enrollment management. Ultimately, this research makes more explicit the process of how one identifies with and promulgates graduate enrollment management.

In this project, we explore professional socialization both as a managerial strategy and as a practice as it relates to enrollment management. We explain socialization from an interactive perspective, the aim of which is to bring focus to the individual and organizational processes that contribute to role commitment as an enrollment manager. Following a review of the research methods, we present the data and emergent findings. Finally, we discuss those findings.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION WITHIN ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT

Professional socialization is the conceptual framework that analyzes acquiring and internalizing the knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and norms of a profession. Rusaw (1995) defines a professional as one who "by education, training, and experience performs work, analyzes and solves problems, makes decisions, and promotes ethics associated with a particular field of study." (p. 216). The professional characteristics researchers have used in many social and behavioral studies include:

- Full-time occupation
- Calling to a lifetime's work
- Specialized body of knowledge and skills acquired over a prolonged period of education and training
- Decisions made on behalf of the client from universal principles or standards
- Service orientation on behalf of clients

- Professional service based on objective needs of the client and independent of particular sentiments
- Professional assumed to know better than the client what is good for the client
- Professionals forming organizations that define criteria for admission, educational standards, licensing, or other formal entry mechanisms
- Professionals having great power and status in their areas of expertise
- Professionals not allowed to advertise their services (Schein 1972 in Rusaw, p. 217).

Broadly defined, socialization is "the processes by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less effective members of their society" (Weidman, Twale and Leahy Stein 2001). Professional socialization, then, is grounded in symbolic interactionism in which one actively and continuously interacts with others and the environment while transitioning into professional life. Symbolic interactionism emphasizes human interaction that informs human conduct (Attinasi 1989). Similarly, postmodern perspectives of organizational socialization emphasize an individual's interpretation of the structure, including its "contradictions, ambiguities, and oppositions" (Tierney 1997) to determine organizational effectiveness. Collectively, these definitions converge on the idea that a socialization process prepares an aspiring professional to assume a new role within a professional community.

Interactive frameworks of socialization emphasize normative and individually defined personal commitment to a professional role. The sociology of everyday life considers the individual's background as active in shaping present and future behavior (Douglas 1980). Socialization in graduate enrollment management entails dynamic, personal interaction with the institution and its professional communities as well as extramural professional associations and the graduate department. The symbolic interactionism perspective provides a framework for understanding inter-office collaboration through which socialization occurs in the everyday work experiences of graduate admissions professionals, particularly through the thoughts, beliefs, and emotions of those individuals involved in the social construction of meaning for enrollment management. Because this perspective incorporates

both professional identity and organizational role development through reciprocal social interaction, symbolic interactionism is relevant to socialization research. We describe two components of the socialization process that are central to explaining admissions professionals' participation in enrollment management.

Professional Identity as Enrollment Manager

Role development in professional socialization includes three dimensions: anticipatory, informal, and personal (Thornton and Nardi 1975). The anticipatory dimension comprises the "preparatory and recruitment" phases as the admissions professional begins a career working with traditionally defined job responsibilities, including recruitment, admissions counseling, telephone prospecting, etc. The professional role a GEM professional assumes within the anticipatory dimension includes an idealized professional identity to which a novice enrollment manager aspires. Conversely, anticipatory role development may view the professional role as incongruent with the novice's aspirations. During role acquisition, the novice learns about informal expectations which "tend to be implicit and refer to the attitudinal and cognitive feature of role performance" (Weidman, Twale, and Leahy Stein 2001). Individuals have the freedom to base their own meanings for a role and its performance on social interactions rather than having to internalize formal, prescribed expectations. Professional peers at regional association meetings, extramural committees of colleagues from peer universities, and graduate faculty and students encountered in daily activities are primary sources of informal expectations. The third dimension—personal—entails the confluence of personality, past experiences, unique abilities and skills, and culturally defined values and beliefs in affecting how an individual enacts the target role in his life (Thornton and Nardi 1975). Graduate admissions professionals who think and act like enrollment management professionals—regardless of position hierarchy or office locale (*e.g.*, academic or student affairs)—have personalized enrollment management into their professional identities.

Organizational Participation in Enrollment Management

Structural approaches to professional socialization emphasize individual interaction with the social setting as opposed

to individual psychologically constructed processes dealing with socializing influences. Organizational researchers Van Maanen and Schein (1979) define organizational socialization as "the experiences of individuals in transition from one role to another structured for them by others in the organization." (p.232). Williams (2008) maintains that GEM professionals "build and maintain relationships across administrative silos, connecting admissions, student services, dean's offices, academic departments, international services, and institutional research, and assigning responsibilities based on cost efficiencies, customer service, and expertise." Structural characteristics of organizations that relate to GEM include organizational levels (faculty vs. staff), span of control (office, department, and division), sub-unit size, institutional size, and centralized or decentralized graduate operation (Berger and Cummings 1979).

Although GEM has emerged as a potential explanatory concept for organizational effectiveness, additional research is needed to explore its relationship to socialization processes. This study aims to describe the process of professional role development within enrollment management from the viewpoint of those who construct GEM. We determine on the basis of this perspective how administrators are socialized to a professional role.

METHODS

Data were collected between November 2011 and March 2012 through semi-structured telephone interviews of 23 graduate admissions professionals. We prepared a set of interview questions based on enrollment management and socialization literature and piloted the protocol with non-participants to better gauge how understandable the questions would be for participants (Glogowska, Young, and Lockyer 2010).

We obtained permission from a leading professional association for graduate admissions professionals to e-mail its members an invitation to participate in the study. We followed institutional IRB protocol to obtain participants' informed consent to use interview data. We used maximum variation sampling and randomly selected participants to attain balanced study participation by gender, geography, institutional size, and years of experience in the profession (Patton 1987).

Data for this article largely derive from participants' responses to open-ended analytical questions about en-

rollment practices and professional preparation. We used typological analysis to search systematically for meaning in the data, particularly for information related to categories based on the literature (Hatch 2002). We reviewed interview transcripts, looking especially for comments relevant to enrollment management, and identified emergent categories. Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest that all interviews be examined word by word and that any idea or concept that is mentioned should be coded. We recorded interviewees' exact quotes to facilitate grouping by theme or concept (Rubin and Rubin 1995). We then sorted the data into three main themes: gatekeeping, handing off, and promise keeping.

One limitation of our analytical approach is that we center on figures or quotes about the relationship between recruitment and retention in selected professionals' work. That is, we focus on a speaker's perception of enrollment management rather than on direct observation of enrollment management. Again, our goal is to discover how individuals develop an individual and organizational role within GEM as an emerging strategy.

FINDINGS

Participants talked about professional responsibilities in ways that often appeared consistent, even across institutions that varied in size, geography, and mission. Three emergent themes speak to the way in which graduate admissions professionals identify with enrollment management at the individual and organizational level: priming, gatekeeping, and promise keeping.

Priming through Prior Admissions Experiences

Graduate admissions professionals described two kinds of pre-socialization experiences: college admissions work and graduate student experience. This section reports on themes in participants' responses to the question "How did you first become interested in graduate admissions professionally?"

When discussing their start in GEM, graduate admissions professionals identified previous experience in undergraduate admissions. One director of graduate admissions at a professional school in the humanities recounted:

Going way back in my history, I went to an arts high school and worked in its admissions office. Then I was a student worker in the admissions office as an undergrad and grad student, and that seemed

to naturally progress into positions into entry-level counselor positions at colleges... [My first interest] was the "road warrior" school visits—that sort thing, the constant contact [with prospective students]...

Another graduate professional explained that an internship in the undergraduate admissions office first exposed her to "admissions in general" but that she did not consider work in graduate admissions until she "cast a wide net in admissions." She now works with a "wider variety of folks, workforce returners, working professionals." An associate dean recalled that he began working in undergraduate admissions early in his career, prior to returning to a position in graduate admissions that required certain technical expertise that he acquired subsequently.

First-hand experience as a graduate student was another significant factor that led participants to pursue work in graduate admissions. Such experience indicates informal and formal pre-socialization to admissions. One participant at a public midwestern institution said that her graduate degree in marketing and public relations inspired her to pursue her interests in education—particularly when she saw the job description for her current position. Another mid-level professional described graduate school as facilitating her career shift:

I had been working with undergraduate students at that time so I was purposeful within my master's program to seek a graduate assistantship within the graduate school... I had been working with freshmen getting into college...and didn't enjoy working with parents who were pushing students one way or another... I wanted to work with students who had already made decisions academically about directions they were going to pursue.

An assistant dean in graduate studies clarified, "I didn't go into [admissions] because it was a part of graduate enrollment; I went into it because this part of the job is what I enjoy doing." Previously, this professional had completed her graduate degree at the same institution where she had served as a teaching assistant before taking a full-time position (subordinate to the present one) that also was closely related to her field of graduate study.

Participants spoke positively about their work as graduate enrollment professionals. It is arguable whether all

participants were committed to a career in GEM; one indicated an interest in attending graduate school after only a year's work in the field. No two participants in this study had identical pre-socialization pathways to their work in GEM, but overall, the data suggest that pre-socialization experiences were favorable to productive careers in the field.

Gatekeeping is Managing Applicants

Admissions professionals in the study articulated rationales that further explained the balance between gatekeeping and recruiting. A popular image of gatekeeping depicts one person as deciding who is accepted and who is rejected for admission. In fact, the admissions professional does little to cultivate the pool of prospective applicants to graduate programs. This may be due to the popularity of particular graduate programs and/or the institution, limited competition, or other factors that pertain to the comparative effort exerted by the admissions professional on gatekeeping as compared to recruiting and/or marketing. One director who worked with professional master's programs at a large research university indicated that the proven track record of graduates' job placement had a profound influence on gatekeeping:

[T]hey come in and they have great job opportunities.... [In] about 18 months, they leave with about \$75K in pay. Very rarely do we have anybody leave the program. So recruitment—it's not really that much of an issue. It's more once they get here—what do they need to make them successful?

One professional described his role as connecting gatekeeping to recruitment. The criteria upon which he determines applicants' admissibility was evident:

What we look at is the quality of their preparedness. If the students don't have a strong enough background, they're just not going to have the capacity to take on the challenges that graduate school encompasses. We definitely are looking for students who have research experiences and who have done these types of activities so they are coming in prepared...so we look at that piece from the recruitment side.

These clearly defined characteristics (*i.e.*, research experience, independence, fortitude, etc.) also help those in the gatekeeping role determine whom they should recruit

(though it is not clear from this particular response how a gatekeeper might identify prospects having these qualities).

Another dimension of gatekeeping that was evident in participants' responses was its relationship to personal networks. The admissions professional's role as gatekeeper is reinforced according to the strength of personal networks that attract strong applicants to the programs he oversees. As one professional from a large, public research university explained:

We have a very high percentage of international graduate students on our campus, and we can tie that directly to word of mouth. A lot of our students will go back and tell their friends, so nearly every day I get a phone call or e-mail that says "my uncle went to your school" or "my cousin went to your school" or "I'm interested in this program because my brother did it." So we know that works.

This response also suggests that in some cases, there is little distinction between gatekeeping for international and for domestic admissions. At least according to this professional, the pathway that highly qualified graduate admissions candidates take to a particular institution is shaped more by what others (including alumni and current students) have experienced than by an independent search. "We know that works" suggests that the value of word-of-mouth and referral activities, though informal, nevertheless have a significant impact on graduate admissions.

Participants' responses depicted the relationship between recruitment and retention as sequential, beginning with active recruitment that results in admitting students who are the best fit for the program. One professional said, "We take pre-admission advisement very seriously so students have a strong understanding...whether or not the program is a good fit for them." He went on to say that the "recruiting process is really trying to get the students as best prepared as possible" such that their admission will lead ultimately to graduation.

Promise-Keeping is an Aspirational Ideal

Some graduate admissions professionals used language emblematic of promise-keeping. One described the ways in which her work as a diversity officer involved coordinating various offices' efforts to better ensure retention of students of color. She said, "They are not only seeing me

but a number of faculty and staff of color to be someone they know for support across the university.” Building institutional capacity to achieve the organizational goal of enhancing diversity was critical in “building community” for underrepresented students and proving the graduate program’s commitment to that group.

A second admissions professional talked about the timing of retention activities as having a direct impact on graduate recruitment. In describing the importance of connecting current students with prospects at planned events during the recruitment process, he said,

I’ve always operated under the contention that retention starts with recruitment.... We focus a lot on things like social events, professional development events, access to networking opportunities. [We are] trying to maintain basically everything and execute everything that was promised [during] the recruitment process.

Current students not only demonstrate the promise of networking and professional development to prospective students, but they also experience each of these activities by being active participants themselves. This view of promise-keeping reflects multiple retention activities concentrated at one point in the recruitment process rather than multiple activities throughout the student life cycle.

Another graduate administrator spoke from a normative standpoint, articulating what promise-keeping should be. Still other professionals described day-to-day activities

and/or experiences that served as examples of promise-keeping. A senior-level administrator explained:

In recruitment we tell a story, and we basically promote a product.... But alumni who leave the institution and then don’t feed back into the institution—or they find that the promise is not there, and they don’t stay—they go elsewhere.

This view of retention and recruitment drew on the perspective of the alumni community and included an evaluation of the institutional promise through their eyes. Alumni who deemed the promise as poorly kept eventually spoke with their feet and either withdrew or simply failed to return to the institution for future study. Even though no organizational structure or strategy was described, the response reflected graduate admissions professionals’ tying together of recruitment and retention.

Having set out to determine how professional identity and enrollment management develop, we now examine participants’ responses through a lens that reveals their personal identification and structural interaction with enrollment management. That is, we examine how graduate admissions professionals think and act like enrollment managers and in what ways the social context contributes to the making of a GEM professional.

In what follows, we outline a model (see Figure 1) of the graduate admissions professional socialized into enrollment management. Next, we offer a typology of three roles that admissions professionals assume within enrollment

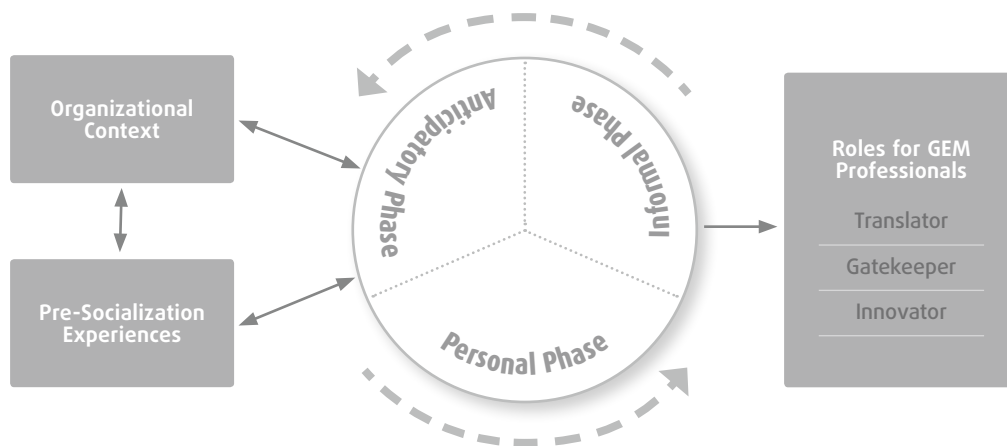


FIGURE 1. Professional Identity Development for Graduate Enrollment Management

management. While other admissions professionals have suggested similar role changes (*see* Henderson 2008), these roles have not been examined empirically at the graduate level. We then offer some preliminary conclusions.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study is to examine how graduate admissions professionals are socialized into enrollment management. We highlighted the day-to-day work experiences of a select group of individuals, all of whom self-identified with the graduate admissions profession through their membership in a major professional society. Collectively, the professionals in this study exhibited different phases of professional identification within enrollment management. Collectively, these phases suggest that professional experiences contribute to a larger socialization process. While the findings for such distinct phases (anticipatory, informal, personal) do not point to socialization as a linear or chronological process (Weidman, Twale, and Leahy Stein 2001), the data within each category suggest that the phases differ from one another.

Professionals in this study described an array of personal experiences which they defined collectively as a starting point in graduate admissions. Many began their careers before the concept of graduate enrollment management even existed. In fact, one participant remarked, “No one ever grows up thinking ‘I want to be a graduate admissions professional!’” Another could not recall having heard the term “GEM” in the 1980s or 1990s. Indeed, the predominant themes were that undergraduate admission and experience as a graduate student provided the most direct pre-socialization for work in graduate admissions. This relates to professionals’ informal role identification (as opposed to their assumption of predefined roles) through interactions with colleagues who enriched their professional lives. Related identification with the graduate admissions profession was equally salient for senior-level administrators (*e.g.*, deans, associate deans, vice presidents) who valued participation in graduate admissions work by those in their charge, either by participation in professional association meetings or networking with other colleagues in the field. The gatekeeping admissions professional views enrollment management through the lens of matriculation. In the words of a graduate admissions peer, “It is easy to take a passive role in the admissions arena and allow the compo-

sition of the admitted student cohort to be determined by accident or chance rather than design” (Dimminie 2012).

Participants in this study talked about gatekeeping resulting from active and passive involvement. Active involvement included narrowly defining and selecting the admissions criteria used to filter prospective students (in this case, considering only those suited for the institutional research culture characteristic of the graduate program’s university setting) as well as intentional pre-advisement during the admissions process. Passive involvement included matriculation factors beyond the control of the admissions professional—for example, the promise of employment and of key referrals provided by former and current students. Collectively, these facets of gatekeeping suggest how graduate admissions professionals describe their work in an area traditionally considered a core facet of enrollment management.

Gatekeeping among study participants was largely a function of the position in so far as it did not require the individual to engage actively in cross- or inter-office collaboration in order to recruit students to the institution. We maintain that the anticipatory phase of role development is salient within gatekeeping: Many professionals in this phase have few or no formal responsibilities or professional identity related to enrollment management beyond what is traditionally considered admissions and recruitment or intake. In some cases, this anticipatory phase helps clarify for the newcomer what is expected in terms of the division of labor. Graduate programs that are highly tuition and revenue dependent emphasize “placing warm bodies in classroom seats” or designating a professional to serve as the “face” of graduate programs and travel the graduate fair recruitment circuit. Such experiences have served to prepare many admissions professionals for future enrollment management positions.

Within the promise-keeping theme, we found evidence of the personal phase or personalization of enrollment management. Graduate admissions professionals engaged in efforts to advance diversity spoke of the importance of having face to face contact with students at every phase of enrollment in order to build trust and communicate a welcoming environment. Maintaining this kind of personal contact required personal commitment beyond the formal responsibilities assigned to the admissions professional to ensuring student success. Admissions professionals who

viewed their work through the eyes of alumni spoke as well of the need to adjust to the extraordinary expectations of individuals focused on enrollment management.

A TYPOLOGY: GRADUATE ENROLLMENT MANAGER PROFESSIONAL ROLES

A key implication for GEM is that this study contributes the insider perspective—that is, the thoughts, opinions, and professional experiences of those engaged in the social construction of GEM. We described ideal types (see figure, above). Although an individual may identify with a combination of phases, it is instructive to consider how socialization takes place. Future research on professional identity development into enrollment management might examine the interplay among the anticipatory, informal, and personal phases.

Graduate admissions professionals identify with enrollment management in at least three ways that are consistent with their roles as members of their institution and of their professional society of peers. Behaviors and attitudes related to gatekeeping, handing off, and promise-keeping are socially constructed and lend insight into how admissions professionals identify with enrollment management. An important assumption is that norms and behaviors within a professional community are socially constructed and may change as individuals and the organizations in which they work evolve.

Institutional setting and individual experiences contribute to the social construction of the following professional roles. Like the phases of professional identity development described above, the roles are ideal types; one individual may assume combinations of roles given the context.

Gatekeeper. Admitting students remains a significant barometer of the health of admissions professionals' identification with enrollment management. Many graduate institutions, for example, include use of standardized admissions exams such as the GRE or GMAT to screen for high-potential applicants. Graduate admissions professionals share best practices based on their experiences with a handful of electronic application management system vendors as they process large volumes of graduate applications.

Translator. Graduate admissions professionals translate relevant skills, aptitudes, and knowledge from related areas to GEM. Graduate admissions professionals and their

institutions constitute the objects of this work. Many institutions have created graduate admissions positions staffed by personnel from enrollment management offices on campus. New and early career graduate enrollment managers invest significant resources translating the enrollment management philosophy for campus stakeholders and others unfamiliar with the GEM paradigm.

Innovator. The third role in which graduate admissions professionals serve as enrollment managers is through personal identification with the priorities espoused by GEM as a management philosophy. Admissions professionals understand GEM as the primary lens of their work, whether or not the institution has reorganized itself formally for graduate enrollment management. Such professionals “think like” GEM professionals: They look beyond formal admissions responsibilities and value cross-departmental outcomes, including retention and graduation and high levels of academic achievement and student satisfaction.

CONCLUSION

Our research supports the use of professional socialization as a framework for examining graduate admissions professionals' identification with enrollment management. Interviews are flexible research designs that better enable GEM practitioners and policy makers to examine the process of individual and organizational role development in the objectives of graduate enrollment management. Collectively, GEM professionals vary in their individual commitment to enrollment management. Some are committed individually to the objectives espoused by enrollment management but work at institutions that are not organized to pursue enrollment management formally. Researchers may build upon the professional experiences examined in the present study as they further investigate professional role development in graduate enrollment management.

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About the Authors

DEAN CAMPBELL, ED.D., is Assistant Dean for Academic Services at The Graduate School at North Carolina A&T State University.

JAHMAINE SMITH, MBA, is Graduate Recruitment and Admission Coordinator for the School of Graduate Studies at Morgan State University. The authors thank Dr. Mark Garrison, Dean of The School of Graduate Studies at Morgan State University, for research funding, and Dr. Scott Schultz, Dean of Enrollment at St. Martin's University, for reviewing early drafts.

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