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Special Issue Topic:
The Academic Success of African–American Students

An Overview of this Issue

This special issue addresses theoretical, institutional, student and family issues that significantly impact the academic success of African–American students today. The Kinsler article is a critique and analysis of existing theories that guide the educational process in institutions of learning, but which are often detrimental to African–American students. Carter follows with a presentation exploring the often conflictual relationship between African–American cultural variables and predominantly white colleges and universities. These articles together provide balance that is often absent in writings related to this topic. While Kinsler presents very valid points in an explanation for why African–American students might fail, Carter also effectively explores why some African–American students fail and some succeed. Both perspectives are critical to increasing readers' understanding of culture-specific differences that are often not acknowledged or attended to, but which seriously influence African–American students' progression within predominantly white educational institutions.

Logan highlights the current critical issue of increasing representation of African–Americans in the overall population in contrast to the decreasing representation of African–American students within institutions of higher education. She proposes recommendations that institutions must begin to consistently address if this imbalance is to be corrected.

Cook addresses the outcome of cultural differences between African–American students and the predominantly white university setting as indicated in the previous articles, i.e., alienation. Cook offers a valid and comprehensive overview of alienation which challenges institutions of higher education toward introspection and action. Finally, another outcome of cultural conflict is examined. McRae addresses the impact of race and gender socialization upon career choice for a specific group: African–American females.

The next section of articles systematically addresses specific areas of recommended programming that have been effective in assisting institutions in overcoming the problems related to the cultural conflicts often existing between institutions and African–American students. Wright presents an emphasis on joining with the family system as a means to decrease the tendency for development of an adversarial relationship between white institutions, the African–American family, and conjointly, the African–American student. Steward and Jackson empirically examine within-group diversity on levels of personal competency that differentiate those African–American students who persist to senior status over a five-year period. Programming recommendations are offered as a response to the findings. Richardson, Kohatsu, and Waters present a critique of how graduate school recruitment strategies discriminate against African–American students, offering concrete recommendations for change. And finally, Midgette and Stephens describe an effective, innovative program developed to enhance African–American student retention.

I sincerely hope that this issue will provide alternative perspectives and elicit reaction that will stimulate discussion, reflection, and action in order to facilitate the academic progression of African–American students in all institutions of higher education.

Robbie J. Steward, Ph.D.
Guest Editor
University of Kansas, Lawrence

Few researchers have considered the ways in which educational theories sustain negative inter-dynamic patterns between the school system and many minority group children. This article suggests that the theories with which many teacher trainees are equipped perpetuate dysfunctional causal explanations of minority underachievement and fail to provide the motivation necessary to effect change.

Psychological Theory in Educational Change: A Solution or Cause of the Problem

Kimberly Kinsler

INTRODUCTION

The national report of the Quality Education for Minorities Project (1990) recently indicated that the problems many minority children bring to and face in the classroom—racism, poverty, and language barriers—are not adequately addressed in today's schools. While a number of researchers have written on the ways in which classroom procedures conflict with the cognitive and interaction styles to which many of these students are socialized (Anderson, 1988; Hale–Benson, 1986), few theorists have considered the ways in which the educational theories with which teacher trainees are equipped sustain these negative inter-dynamic patterns. In child development and educational psychology courses, teacher candidates are given a body of theory with which to understand, control, and ultimately change student behaviors in the areas of academic performance and psychosocial development. In exploring the hypothesis that these theories do little to dispel dysfunctional causal explanations of minority underachievement, I briefly review major universal and specific theories pervasively taught in these courses in terms of their ability to address variables commonly associated with poor school performance.

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THEORIES IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

In child development and educational psychology courses, discussions of learning and psychosocial development are typically organized around grand universal theories and more narrow specific theories. Universal theories seek to systematize, describe, and explain the phenomena of a broad domain for all individuals (e.g., cognitive development); specific theories seek to address the operation of less encompassing phenomena which may qualify more global explanations (e.g., motivation).

Universal Explanatory Theories

The power and relevance of universal theories lie in their potential for generalization, i.e., their capacity to explain and predict phenomena across a wide range of situations and groups of individuals. Such theories focus on general patterns of behavior and development, i.e., change which is common between individuals, and de-emphasize "insignificant" differences. Thus, by their very nature, universal theories are not designed to explain cultural variations in development. Nonetheless, in their descriptive characterizations of normal individuals and the mechanisms postulated for change and aberration, these theories should be equally valid and generalizable to most individuals, regardless of group membership.

Five universal theories are pervasively taught in child development and educational psychology courses: psychoanalytic theory, psychosocial theory, conditioning theory, social learning theory, and genetic epistemology. Their presentation is usually structured in terms of the three domains of mind. Thus, psychoanalytic and psychosocial theories are discussed under the affective domain; conditioning and social learning theories are taught within the behavioral domain; and genetic epistemology is covered under the cognitive domain.

Theories in the Affective Domain

Psychoanalytic Theory: While Freud's theory is regarded in many circles as anachronistic and heavily bound to the culture and the time in which he wrote, it is still taught as the primary means for understanding emotional and personality development. With its stress on personal impulse control, emotional maladjustment is viewed as the inability of the individual to properly constrain and direct primitive internal urges. Personality problems may occur as the result of inadequate or excessive release of sexual energy at various stages in the child's development. As parents are largely responsible for determining the early release of this energy, causality for maladaptive behavior is placed not only in the self, but in the affective interaction between child and the parents. To the extent that most teacher trainees are exposed to Freud, the impact of forces such as race, SES, and culture are *non sequiturs*.

Psychosocial Theory: Erikson expanded upon Freudian theory by placing greater emphasis on the role of society in personality formation. Development is asserted to involve predictable and characteristic conflicts between the individual and society, (re)presented in the form of significant others, e.g., parents, teachers, and peers.

In the early stages of psychosocial development, emotional maladjustment is regarded as the result of parenting practices that conflict with the needs of the child. While based on cross cultural research, Erikson's optimal parenting practices are strongly biased in favor of those used by middle class Europeans and Americans, i.e., authoritative practices. At a later stage of development (i.e., industry versus inferiority), emotional distress can result from the child's inability to meet societal demands, especially in the

form of school, and/or parents' rigid insistence upon success in this arena. Here, Erikson assumes a linear progression from the home to the school, i.e., a uni-cultural transition in which conflict is primarily in terms of a mismatch between the individual's areas of strength and school demands (e.g., the artistic versus the logico-mathematical domains), rather than differences between culturally-based world views and/or interaction styles. During adolescence, teen rebellion is regarded as a search for identity in which mainstream values may be temporarily rejected.

At this stage, Erikson assumes that the child seeks an individual identity separate from his/her parents and their world view. Society nor its institutions are regarded as necessarily hostile nor desirous of depriving the child of his/her new identity. However, contrary to Erikson's theory, evidence indicates that, for many African–American and other minority students, the school has engaged in protracted and systematic efforts at their deculturalization (Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990), and that many of these teens in seeking their identity have moved *toward* their familial culture and away from the institutions and values of those who would deny it. Thus, at several crucial stages in psychosocial development, Erikson's assumption of a middle class Euro-American standard renders his theory inappropriate to explain such development in minority youths.

Humanism, the methodological adaptation of affective theory, advocates the externalization and sharing of feelings and beliefs in the school setting. Strongly nurtured are individualism and a respect for interpersonal differences, e.g., students are encouraged to eschew blind group conformity. However, this view is not without its drawbacks, for the unquestioning advocacy of personal independence may interfere with an understanding of the beneficial aspects of being grounded in one's culture and the recognition that, for some group members, this bond constitutes a major part of their world view. Moreover, while providing a mechanism to engage these issues, the theories upon which this approach is based ill-equips teachers to address these conflicts once they are raised. It should also be noted that in the 1980s, humanism lost popularity in the field and, consequently, a number of texts removed or greatly reduced chapters on this topic.

Theories in the Behavioral Domain

Conditioning Theory: In addressing issues of individual or group difference, the strengths of conditioning theory also constitute its weakness. In disassociating itself, except in the most general of ways, from qualitative aspects of the individual and the environment, it provides a sterile understanding of the factors that affect learning. Consistent with this model, a set of principles are postulated that hold true for all organisms, including pigeons and rats! Learning is viewed as the result of the creation of bonds that are stamped in or out by the environmental consequences of organismic actions. Accordingly, maladaptive behavior is regarded as the learning of inappropriate responses which can be unlearned without recourse to mentalistic concepts such as feelings and personal identity. While the use of such principles are effective, for example, in teaching children to walk quietly in the halls, research indicates that the indiscriminate use of behaviorally-oriented classroom management techniques may run counter to the world views of certain non Western cultures which reject the conscious manipulation of one individual by another (Jordan & Tharp, 1979). More importantly, the unquestioning use of these techniques to change student behavior without any understanding of its affective repercussions both in and outside the school raises serious ethical issues.

Social Learning Theory: Social Learning Theory, by infusing Conditioning Theory with more mentalistic concepts, provides a richer vehicle for understanding the acquisition of behaviors and attitudes that distinguish one group from another. Their principle of observational learning well accounts for group differences in interaction patterns. Moreover, the concept of situational specificity, which asserts that children can learn to behave in one way in one situation (e.g., the home) and another way in another context (e.g., the school), should inform teachers that children need not give up their familial world view to respond in ways appropriate to the classroom situation. However, textbook examples of school applications for these principles generally fail to consider SES and cultural differences—except in terms of the acquisition of dialects. While it is possible for teacher trainees to spontaneously generalize relevant behavioral concepts to the specifics of minority underachievement, they must do so on their own—despite increasing research which indicates that the transfer of information must be taught.

Social learning theorists also have postulated a mechanism for explaining achievement motivation. The determining variables are the individual's history of success and failure with the task, the specific environment's history for dispensing rewards and punishment for success and failure, and the value of the task to the individual (Bandura, 1986). Typically de-emphasized in texts and classroom discussions, this latter variable is crucial to understanding achievement motivation in African–American and other minority students. Texts seldom address the reactions to academic achievement by those outside the immediate learning environment (e.g., peers who have rejected the system) and personal expectations for long term rewards (e.g., job success). For most teacher trainees, the negative influence of these factors on minority academic achievement is poorly understood.

Theories in the Cognitive Domain

Genetic Epistemology: In Piaget's theory, the impact of environmental variation on cognitive development is very limited. It can affect the timing of stage attainment—not whether a stage is constructed nor its characterization. Contrary evidence has been found, however. In many age appropriate adults, researchers have found Piaget's last stage of development not in evidence or manifest at a rate well below the figures that would allow for the postulation of a universal stage. In fact, studies indicate that its appearance may be heavily influenced by environmental factors, particularly exposure to Western forms of school (Cole & Scribner, 1974); and even in individuals with such experience, its appearance is affected by factors such as one's course of study, e.g., science versus non-science majors (White & Festenberg, 1978). Some theorists, thus, conjecture that abstract formal reasoning may be an artifact not only of Euro-American society, but of its school system (LCHC 1982, 1983). While some educational psychology texts mention these research challenges to Piaget's theory, implications related to cultural bias in the telos of development and school as the transmitter of a Euro-American world views are almost always omitted.

Universal Theories and Minority Achievement

To the extent that children are more alike than they are different, the economy of universal theories cannot be denied. However, the qualifications to the above universal theories challenge the wisdom of indiscriminately generalizing many of these principles and postulates to minority children. Moreover, researchers in the field are increasingly

acknowledging that most of these theories were formulated and normed on sometimes very small samples of middle class Europeans and/or Americans (Berger, 1986). Nonetheless, in texts these theories are presented with few caveats related to the limits of their applicability to other groups. Where they exist, they are typically confined to the introductory chapter and almost never appear in the context of reporting the theories. Hence by default, the implications of universality and generalization remain intact.

As a meaningful understanding of minority underachievement is not to be found in universal theories due to the premises upon which they are founded and the cultural biases in their construction, specific theories in their intent and structure are for this purpose. That is, they postulate variables and operations which modify the manifestation of individual knowledge and ability.

Specific Explanatory Theories

Child development and educational psychology texts have traditionally covered issues related to minority school achievement in chapters devoted to individual differences and intelligence. In explaining these topics, two general theoretical approaches may be presented: deficit and cultural difference models.

Deficit Models

Deficit models assert that minority group members are deficient, or deficit, in their ability to successfully perform the tasks that school environments demand. Initially, causality was placed in the gene pools of various minority groups; later explanations sought causality in cultural factors associated with their socialization. Each view is briefly discussed below.

Genetic Inferiority Theory: Many genetic inferiority theorists based their beliefs on the assumption that I.Q. tests assessed an innately determined intellectual ability and cited as evidence the consistently lower mean I.Q. scores of African–Americans relative to those of Euro-Americans. This view has been discredited and, accordingly, many educational psychology textbooks offer research on intergroup adoption studies and test bias to show that these I.Q. score differences may be accounted for by environmental variation (e.g., Scarr & Weinberg, 1976). At the same time, some texts still assert that I.Q. test performance and general reasoning ability are largely determined by genetic factors. For example, Good and Brophy (1990) state that "(s)chools are less successful in developing Level II skills in part because Level II skills have a stronger genetic component than Level I skills. . . . Level II skills cannot be taught directly" (p. 593). Thus, rather than dispel dysfunctional beliefs, these conflicting messages do more to confuse and/or support the notion of the genetic determination of intelligence and its close correlate, academic performance.

Cultural Deficit Theory: There are two versions of this view. Early formulations asserted that factors associated with the language codes, child-rearing practices and home environments of many ethnic and socio-economic minorities resulted in their children's inability to do well in school; later formulations shifted the emphasis from ethnically-oriented cultural groups to SES-oriented groups. Textbooks now consistently refer to the "disadvantaged," to which they attribute all the negative variables previously cited in old deficit model research conducted during the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, for example, in defining characteristics of the disadvantaged, Biehler and Snowman (1990) cite Hess and Shipman's (1965) assertion that lower class parents are often inattentive and unresponsive to their children, use im-

poverished language, and run disorganized homes; and both this text and Good and Brophy (1990) claim that they lack the knowledge that would enable their children to do well in school. Seldom stated with these presentations are the two fallacious assumptions upon which they are based: one, that socialization and child rearing practices can be hierarchically ordered, and two, that the practices of white middle class Europeans and Americans are at the top of this hierarchy and constitute an objective model, or "standard" against which other cultures should be judged. Moreover, these portrayals of the disadvantaged fail to distinguish the effects of poverty from cultural beliefs. By focusing on what these groups lack relative to a Euro-American standard, this view negates the strengths of these cultures and their world views.

Almost all child development and educational psychology texts cite deficit explanatory models, however, far fewer texts also reflect the more recent shift in the field toward a cultural difference approach.

Cultural Difference Models

There are six cultural difference theories which seek to acknowledge the apparent disparities between cultures while minimizing valuative judgments. They differ from each other in the central variables around which conflict is engendered, e.g., cultural misunderstandings, motivation, language, and socio-politics (Jordan & Tharp, 1979). When this model is offered in texts, cultural and language misunderstandings are most often cited. While, admittedly, an improvement over deficit approaches, textbook reporting of these theories have one major shortcoming: they tend to negate history. That is, omitted from discussions of conflicts between the cultures of the school and the child are causal analyses of how these conflicts have led to the current intractable situation. If significant variables in the present dilemma are the system's efforts to deculturalize African–Americans and other minority groups and their subsequent rejection of this oppression (Ogbu, 1978, 1985; Quality Education for Minorities, 1990), by ignoring this historical reality teachers and the school system are left without a mechanism to account for this state of affairs. Moreover, by adopting the view that previous actions were the *natural consequences* of a lack of knowledge of the other cultures, the position exonerates teachers, the schools, and the mainstream society of unfair treatment and prejudice. As teachers cannot be expected to know the world views and cultural particulars of all peoples, the motivation for change also is diminished.

Specific Theories and Minority Achievement

Specific explanatory models have improved in their ability to provide a more accurate explanation of minority achievement, although biased implications and significant gaps in knowledge remain. In light of the inextricable relationship between race, culture and SES in the United States, the continued emphasis in some texts on an SES-cultural deficit model tends to perpetuate rather than to dispel negative attitudes toward the socialization practices used in many minority members' homes. Moreover, the traditional placement in texts of discussions of the impact of culture on academic achievement with discussions of cognitive and emotional retardation gives the message that cultural factors are associated with aberrations. The present state of specific theories and their descriptions in texts thus leaves teacher trainees blind to the socio-political significance of the classroom teacher and of their pivotal role in reversing this process. As minorities will be the majority of individuals living in the United States by 2075, and al-

ready are the majority in 22 of this nation's 25 largest central city school districts (Quality Education for Minorities, 1990), specific theories and textbooks can no longer treat the effects of culture on academic achievement as aberrations, for teachers soon will have to address these factors as the norm.

Psychological Theory as a Vehicle for Change

If the purpose of theory dissemination in teacher education is to facilitate change as well as to instill a more accurate understanding of the factors that influence learning and academic performance in minority group children, current psychological theories and textbook treatments do more to sustain than to alleviate existing misconceptions. Universal theories, while trivializing cultural differences, are largely inadequate at encompassing variables associated with its manifestations. Specific theories have either actively blamed the victim or sought to ignore the consequences of the system's previous errors. As products of this instruction, teacher trainees are left bankrupt, not only of knowledge, but of the tools needed to address this serious problem.

It is my belief that to improve this situation the system's efforts to deculturalize African–Americans and other minority group members must be understood and acknowledged. Without this awareness, minority individuals' rejection of the system cannot be understood. This information also can provide an understanding of the processes and the motivation needed to change these oppressive practices. Similarly, African–Americans and other minority individuals must acknowledge their rejection of the system and the self destruction that is its product. Only with the acceptance of mutual responsibility can there be a knowledgeable dedication to the rectification of these errors and change. In light of the above discussion, the following recommendations are offered to guide theory and instruction for teacher trainees.

1. Both universal and specific theories provided to teacher trainees should be validated in a true cross-cultural arena or the limits of their ability for generalization strongly stated.

2. Texts and teacher trainers should acknowledge the previously oppressive and biased ways in which many African–American and other minority students were denied their culture and a Western world view was forced upon them.

3. Teacher trainees need to be made aware of their role as socializing agents and transmitters of a world view that is often contrary to those of many minority children.

4. Teacher trainees should be helped to understand that Western conceptualizations and attitudes are not the logical and necessary telos of affective, behavioral, and cognitive development, nor are they inherently more advanced, nor constitute an objective standard of excellence.

5. Teacher trainees should understand that unless all children are educated to become valued and contributing members of society, the nation as a whole will falter and fail.

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Black achievement measured in terms of cultural context

Culture and Black Students' Success

Robert T. Carter

The educational literature (e.g., Fleming, 1984) has suggested that Blacks have, in general, lower levels of measured academic achievement than their White counterparts (Jaynes and Williams, 1989). At the same time, few studies exist in the educational literature which examine the influence of racial/cultural variables on the educational and achievement experiences of Blacks. Most studies pertaining to Black educational achievement at predominantly White institutions have been primarily comparative with little consideration of with-in group culture-specific variations (Sedlacek, 1987). The absence of racial and cultural variables in studies of Black Americans is a serious shortcoming, and perhaps a barrier, in attempts to understand the educational performance of Black Americans (Fleming, 1984). The present article represents an initial attempt to explore the relationships between cultural variables, in particular, value-orientations (i.e., cultural values), racial/cultural identity attitudes (i.e., the extent to which one identifies with one's ascribed racial/cultural group), and Blacks' socio-political history in relation to Whites in American society. These variables are then used to discuss Black academic achievement at predominantly white colleges and universities.

Tyler, Sussewell and Williams–McCoy (1985) have clearly articulated the viewpoint that some racial differences that are obtained are a function of using practices and paradigms which are ethnocentric and represent Anglo-American cultural values. Several theorists, researchers and educators have also begun to recognize that educational models developed by white middle class social scientists and educators are bound by their cultural values or value-orientations (Sue, 1982), and, as a consequence, may have been inappropriately applied to Black students. Trimble (1976), for instance, suggested that theories based on Anglo-American cultural values such as individualism, achievement through externally measurable standards, and mastery over one's environment may have led to practices lacking sensitivity to a culture whose values emphasize emotional restraint, interpersonal cooperation and interpersonal harmony. These latter two value orientations or cultural values, some authors have argued, are characteristic of Black culture (e.g., Brown, 1975; Nobles, 1980).

I propose that a historical/cultural model should be used to understand and analyze Black Americans' academic performance and educational experiences. I believe we must consider Blacks' psychological orientations to their socially ascribed racial group (i.e., racial identity). We must also understand the cultural values which characterize Whites and Blacks who identify with their cultures, and it is important to keep in mind Blacks' current and past socio-political circumstances as important elements of American culture and history. In particular, it seems fruitless to examine Blacks' educational experiences without placing them in an historical context. Socio-political circumstances and history are the context for a group's cultural expressions of its values. Moreover, consideration of a group's social position and historical roots allows for an accurate analysis of the institutional and individual avenues for development. Furthermore, I believe that any model or study of Black educational success which excludes the socio-political context and cultural variables is doomed to confusion and contradiction.

Social-political Environment

A recent comprehensive report edited by Jaynes and Williams (1989) published by the National Research Council examines over a fifty year period life in American society for Blacks. Their report brings together extensive research and scholarship conducted from 1939 to 1989. Jaynes and Williams (1989) outline Blacks' socio-political circumstances and history. As these authors have noted, fifty years ago "most Black Americans could not work, live, shop, eat, seek entertainment or travel where they chose." Even 25 years ago, most Blacks were not in effect allowed to vote. Most blacks were poor, and were denied a basic education. Since 1939 things have changed; however, as Jaynes and Williams (1989) note, " . . . the great gulf that existed between Black and White Americans in 1939 has only been narrowed; it has not been closed (p. 3)."

Black Americans have survived admirably the hundreds of years during which their status in American society was viewed and legally classified as property and chattel. Blacks who were not held as slaves during these years were oppressed socially and economically. Black Americans have emerged from their status as objects to obtain citizenship. Blacks have and continue to fight for removal of racial barriers to housing, employment, education, and political life, and they have been struggling in the face of considerable resistance to attain equality in these sectors of American society (Jaynes and Williams, 1989).

According to Jaynes and Williams, to accomplish these goals requires government policies which provide and promote equality of opportunity. They also argue that Blacks need to maintain the behaviors and attitudes which have enabled them to benefit from the opportunities that have been provided:

"Black–White relations are important in determining the degree to which equal opportunity exists for Black Americans. Whites desire equal treatment in government policy; however, many Whites are less likely to espouse or practice equality of treatment for Blacks in their personal behavior. Thus, at the core of Black–White relations is a dynamic tension between many Whites' expectations of American institutions and their expectations of themselves . . . the divergence between social principle and individual practices frequently leads to Whites' avoidance of Blacks in those institutions in which equal treatment is most needed. The result is that American institutions do not provide the full equality of opportunity that Americans desire."

It is this discrepancy in Whites' expectations of themselves and their institutions that contributes to the continuation of

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educational inequality. I believe it is essential to be aware of this phenomenon in efforts to understand Blacks' academic success. For instance, while educators may endorse affirmative action as a goal for the institution, individuals may have difficulty implementing it because it is not their goal, rather the institution's. It is also possible that Blacks who do attempt to participate as members of the college or university may be expected to adapt to White cultural patterns and behaviors in order to be seen as successful.

It is difficult to comprehend these racial tensions unless one maintains a focus on their roots. According to Jaynes and Williams (1989):

"foremost among the reasons for the present state of Black–White relations are two continuing consequences of the nation's long and recent history of racial inequality. One is the negative attitudes held toward Blacks and the other is the actual disadvantaged conditions under which many Black Americans live. Thus, a legacy of discrimination and segregation continues to affect Black–White relations. In the context of American history, this continuing legacy is not surprising. Racial and ethnic differences have had crucial effects on the course of American history. In particular, Black American's central role in several constitutional crises—their past status as slaves and the debates over slavery during the constitutional convention of 1787; the fighting of the Civil War; the denial of black's basic citizenship until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. . . . In view of this history, race is likely to retain much of its saliency as a feature of American society for some time." (p. 5)

One way that racial inequality has been most manifest has been in educational institutions. "Black and White educational opportunities are not generally equal. Standards of academic performance for teachers and students are not equivalent in schools that serve predominantly black students and those that serve predominantly white students. Nor are equal encouragement and support provided for the educational achievement and attainment of black and white students. (p. 5)"

In summary, a major contributing factor affecting Blacks' academic success is their socio-political history. In particular, the past and current practices of racial segregation makes it particularly difficult for Blacks to be successful in predominantly white institutions. Moreover, the unquestioned application and use of standards for success and achievement drawn from Anglo-Saxon culture does not promote acceptance of cultural values.

Cultural Variables

Racial inequality in American life, while contributing to Blacks' inferior social status and their exclusion from educational and occupational sectors of American life, has also helped Blacks foster and maintain distinct Afrocentric cultural patterns that have endured for centuries (Nobles, 1980; Carter & Helms, 1990).

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) have presented a theory of variation in value orientations or cultural values which has been used (e.g., Papajohn & Spiegel, 1975) for understanding differences in racial/cultural groups' value systems. The model is intended to be universal in that Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck hold that all social and cultural groups must solve five common human problems, each of which has three possible solutions or alternatives (See Table 1). The value orientations or cultural values correspond to solutions to common problems. Posed in the form of questions

they are: (a) what is the character of human nature? (Evil, Mixed, or Good); (b) what is the relationship of people to nature? (Subjugation, Harmony, or Mastery); (c) what is the proper temporal focus? (Past, Present, or Future); (d) what is the proper mode of human expression/activity? (Being, Being-in-Becoming, or Doing); (c) what is the focus of social relations? (Lineal, Collateral, or Individual). A culture's distinctiveness is determined by the solutions it chooses to these problems. Researchers (e.g., Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Papajohn & Spiegel, 1975; Carter, 1990) have found White American cultural values to be characterized by preferences for Individual Social Relations, Activity Orientation, Master Person/Nature, and a Future Time Sense. See Table I.

In a comparative study of cultural values, Carter (1990) found that Blacks and Whites could be distinguished on the basis of their cultural values. Black college students in Carter's study indicated cultural beliefs that were consistent with theoretical descriptions of Black American culture (Nobles, 1980). The cultural values that Carter found for Blacks, when they were compared to Whites, were preferences for Evil Human Nature, Subjugation to Nature, Past Time Focus or (a social time perspective), Expressive Individualism or Being-in-Becoming Activity, and a Lineal or Authority or Kinship based social relations. These cultural value preferences seem to be reflective of Blacks' sociopolitical history and unique culture. That is, Black students seemed to be struggling to survive in an unfamiliar and perhaps hostile environment. Therefore, it seems reasonable to argue that Black students' academic achievement in predominantly White colleges and universities may be to some extent due to cultural conflict and the social-psychological consequences of Blacks' socio-political history.

However, racial group membership based on race *per se* may not be a sufficient criterion for cultural group membership. That is, it may not be appropriate to assume that all Blacks are the same or, that because of their racial category, they share a common culture. It is possible for individuals to respond differently to their socio-political environments and particular socialization experiences.

Furthermore, the legacy of racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites and their consequent behavior has affected individual Blacks' psychosocial and cultural development. While all Blacks in America are subject to similar social conditions and racial attitudes of Whites, Blacks might vary with respect to their psychological response to racial inequality. Therefore, to consider Blacks as a homogeneous group is probably as erroneous as the application of most Anglo-Saxon paradigms to racial/ethnic groups.

One of the most promising models for examining differences within racial groups is the Racial Identity Model (cf., Cross, 1978; Helms, 1990). Cross (1978) hypothesized a four stage process of racial identity development for Black Americans that begins at a stage called *Pre-Encounter* which is characterized by dependency on White society for definition and approval. Racial identity attitudes toward one's Blackness is negative and one views White culture and society as the ideal. The next stage is called *Encounter* and is entered when one has a personal and challenging experience with Black or White society. The Encounter stage is marked by feelings of confusion about the meaning and significance of race and an increasing desire to become more aligned with one's Black identity. The *Immersion–Emersion* stage follows the Encounter experience, and it is characterized by a period of idealization of Black culture and intense negative feelings toward Whites and White culture. One is absorbed in the Black experience and com-

pletely rejects the White world. Immersion is followed by *Internalization*; during the Internalization stage, one has grasped the fact that both Blacks and whites have strengths and weaknesses. In addition, one's Black identity is experienced as positive and an important and valued aspect of self. Therefore one's world view is Afrocentric. One's attitude toward whites is one of tolerance and respect for differences.

Racial identity attitudes for Blacks seem to be associated with various behavioral, affective, and cultural predispositions. Empirical research has found racial identity attitudes to be related to preference for a counselor's race (Parham & Helms, 1981), self-esteem (Parham & Helms, 1985a), affective states (Parham & Helms, 1985b), cultural values (Carter and Helms, 1987), socioeconomic status (Carter & Helms, 1988), and cognitive styles (Helms & Parham, 1990). Race has often been cited as related to demographic characteristics of students, such as their social class. It has been suggested that lower-class students do not fare well academically. However, Carter and Helms (1987) did not find racial identity attitudes for Black students to be related to traditional (i.e., education and occupation of parents) or perceived measures of socioeconomic status.

Other studies (e.g., Parham & Helms, 1981) have suggested a relationship between racial identity attitudes and a number of personality and cultural characteristics. For example, Parham and Helms (1981), in a study of preference for counselor race, found Pre-Encounter attitudes to be more predictive of preference for White counselors, whereas immersion attitudes were predictive of preference for Black counselors. They also found that persons with high levels of internalization attitudes were not concerned with counselor race and more concerned with the counselor's personal characteristics. In a similar vein, Parham and Helms (1985a) and (1985b) found racial identity attitudes to be predictive of affective states and self-esteem. Parham and Helms (1985a) found that Pre-Encounter and immersion attitudes were associated with low self-actualizing tendencies, low self-regard, and high anxiety. Persons with high levels of Immersion attitudes also were found to exhibit feelings of hostility. Encounter attitudes were associated with low anxiety, high self-actualization, and high self-regard (Parham & Helms, 1985b).

Using value-orientations theory to understand Blacks' cultural values, Carter and Helms (1987) investigated whether Black students had definable and measurable cultural characteristics and whether these characteristics varied as a function of Blacks' racial identity attitudes. Carter and Helms (1987) found in this within-group study of Black students that only those racial identity attitudes which involved identification with Black culture (i.e., immersion and internalization attitudes) were predictive of Blacks' cultural values. The cultural values that were predicted were Afrocentric (Harmony with Nature and Collateral or group social relations), i.e., Blacks who were identified with Black culture endorsed the cultural values of group cohesiveness and oneness with nature. These findings were supportive of theorists (e.g., Nobles, 1980) who suggest that such values are characteristic of Black American culture.

These studies provide evidence that Black and White psychological views of themselves may vary considerably, and their use may enhance our understanding of Black academic achievement. More importantly, these studies suggest that an individual Black person may adapt and interpret his/her socio-political environment and psychosocial development differently. Consequently characterizations of

Blacks, without consideration of these psychological differences, may lead to false or confusing results.

While many scholars point to the poor performance of Blacks on tests of cognitive abilities and focus on their need for remedial and "special" support services, much less attention seems to be directed at the complex consequences of cultural differences and similarities and Blacks' socio-political history as primary determinants of Blacks academic achievement.

Cultural Variables and Academic Achievement

Consider the fact that American educational institutions reflect White American cultural values (Future Time, Doing Form of self-expression, Mastery over Nature, Individual Social Relations) and that measurement systems and methods have been developed from their cultural perspective. Furthermore, styles of teaching and achieving may also be culture-bound. In addition, Whites' perceptions and exceptions of Black students are influenced by the socio-political history of racial inequality. According to Jaynes and Williams (1989), while Blacks may have fewer socio-economic resources than Whites when they enter schools: "American schools do not compensate for these disadvantages in background; on average, students leave the schools with black–white gaps not having been appreciably diminished (p. 19)."

Segregation and differential treatment of blacks continue to be widespread in the elementary and secondary schools. Differences in the schooling experienced by black and white students are linked to black–white differences in achievement. These differences are closely tied to teacher behavior, social climate, and the content, quality, and organization of instruction (p. 19)." There is little evidence to suggest that Blacks' experiences in post-secondary institutions are any different than their experiences in elementary and secondary schools. In fact some empirical investigations suggest that what any be most salient for Blacks in colleges and universities may be their socio-cultural fit.

In an examination of the educational performance of Black students on White campuses, Sowa, Thomson, and Bennett (1989) investigated traditional and non-traditional predictors of academic performance for Black students at predominantly White colleges and universities. These researchers concluded that the traditional and non-traditional predictors did not account for racial differences in GPA. These authors suggest that "A difference in the social adjustment process of Black students in comparison to White students on predominantly white campuses is supported in the literature. To the extent that Black students experience identity and social adjustment crises on White campuses, they encounter predictable academic stress at an important developmental stage (p. 19)." Other researchers (e.g., Gibbs, 1974; Kysar 1966; Fleming, 1984) have reported similar findings. Therefore, it may be more beneficial for educators to consider the complex interplay of cultural variables in their attempts to understand Black academic success.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the historical-cultural model may prove to be a useful and fruitful framework for analyzing the apparently complex interplay of socio-political events, racial awareness or identity, and culture as they affect Black students' educational experiences and performance on predominantly White campuses. Employing the historical-cultural framework might allow administrators, faculty, staff, and students to develop educational programs and services that would be psychologically appropriate by tak-

ing into account within-group differences and culturally relevant differences in cultural values.

In effect, I propose that we increase the level of complexity employed in addressing issues of racial harmony. For instance, when college and university officials begin to develop plans to increase the presence of Blacks on campus and they consider the historical-cultural model, I would hope they would understand the need to follow the guidelines offered by the American Council on Education in their publication Minorities on Campus. Green (1989) further suggests that the readiness of the institution be accessed. I would add the need to take stock of the attitudes and views of the members of the institution who would be expected to participate in such an effort. Moreover, it would be important for the institution to examine whether and if it engages in practices and uses procedures which have contributed to racial inequality. Also the model suggests the need for educators to redress the history of the exclusion of Blacks' contributions to American life. Furthermore, program and department faculty might be encouraged to begin to be racially inclusive in their teaching and scholarship. Professional staff might begin to design programs with within-group differences in mind and to include White student bodies in efforts to increase racial harmony. In these ways, predominantly White colleges and universities might begin to create educational and campus environments which are genuinely accepting of racial/cultural differences and similarities. I suspect that the socio-cultural and psychological stress experienced by many Black students would be diminished and we would witness gains in their academic performance.

The price we pay for ignoring America's racial history and current cultural norms regarding race is high. When Blacks ignore or avoid considering these historical-cultural issues, and Whites try to convince themselves that these matters no longer exist or they are not important, they only perpetuate racial problems and the insanity of a society founded on liberty and freedom which denies to its members the same fundamental rights. It is imperative that we recognize that the fortunes of Black Americans are intertwined with those of White Americans. As the National Research Council report points out, we share a common destiny.

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TABLE I
Value Orientations and Alternative Solutions

Value Orientations	Alternative Solutions		
Human Nature	**Evil:** Humans are by nature evil.	**Mixed:** Humans are by nature both good and evil.	**Good:** Humans are by nature good.
Activity	**Being:** Mode of activity characterized by spontaneous expression of needs and impulses.	**Being-in-Becoming:** Mode of activity which emphasizes containment, preparation, and meditation in the service of personal growth.	**Doing:** Mode of activity directed toward personal accomplishments and achievements evaluated by external criteria.
Time	**Past:** Focus is on events in the past, historical customs and traditions.	**Present:** Focus is on events occurring in the immediate present.	**Future:** Focus is on events which will or may occur in the future.
Person—Nature	**Subjugation:** Belief that humans have little influence over the forces of nature.	**Harmony:** Belief that humans should live in communion with the forces of nature.	**Mastery:** Belief that humans should control the forces of nature to suit their purposes.
Social Relations	**Lineality:** Group goals are considered more important than individual goals; relationships are based on the principle of hierarchy.	**Collaterality:** Group goals are considered more important than individual goals; relationships are based on the principle of equality.	**Individualism:** Individual goals are considered more important than group goals; relationships are based on individual autonomy and choice.

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Given the declining college enrollment of Black students, strategies are outlined to promote excellence and educational growth.

Promoting Academic Excellence of African-American Students: Issues and Strategies

Sadye L. Logan

During the 1980s the challenge in higher education was to deliver quality education. Current reports suggest that the challenge for the 1990s remains the same (Nelson, 1989; One Third of A Nation, 1988). Any institution, says Beal (1987), that can help students to find their talents and help those talents grow may be viewed as a quality institution. However, the implication of this charge holds unique challenges for colleges and universities attempting to understand and meet the needs of ethnic/racial students in the decades ahead.

With respect to ethnic/racial students, the past three decades have witnessed interesting trends in American public institutions. Perhaps the trend that created the greatest impact on the educational system was the equality movement of the 1960s. This movement supported the concept of access to higher education for disadvantaged or oppressed groups within society. The decade of the seventies witnessed an increase in the number of underrepresented or unrepresented ethnic or racial groups in higher education. However, by the mid-eighties participation rate of blacks (enrolled in college) showed a remarkable decrease. According to Wilson (1989), despite the slight increase in black enrollment from 1984 to 1986 (by about 5,000 students), this rate did not appreciably make up for the loss of over 30,000 black students from the peak of 1980. He further points out that this increase was at the graduate level, whereas blacks at the undergraduate level showed little or no increase during this period. It follows that the recruitment drives of the sixties coupled with reenrollment (retention) efforts of the seventies have not resulted in black student academic achievement and growth in the eighties.

In view of the current needs of blacks in higher education, such declining college enrollments and low participation in teacher education, science, and math and the prediction that more than 80 percent of black students will continue to attend predominantly white schools in the future (Wilson 1989), this article identifies and discusses issues and concerns related to promoting the academic excellence of black students. This discussion of the issues thus serves a twofold function. First, it establishes a framework for examining the current levels of program effectiveness. Second, it provides underlying principles and guidelines for promoting academic excellence.

Black Students and Academic Success

The academically successful student is one who experiences learning as a fulfillment of intellectual and personal development. Not only is learning exciting to such students, but they demonstrate evidence of this learning in terms of new knowledge and skills. Current reports indicate that for some black students, academic success is elusive if not totally non-existent (Carmody, 1988). This mixed picture of success extends from high school, if not earlier, to college. According to the Seventh Annual Report of Blacks in Higher Education, between 1976 and 1986 the percentage of young adults between 18 to 24 years of age who completed high school has improved more for blacks than any other group. Moreover, according to this report, black females completed high school at a higher rate than black males, although black males experienced a greater gain in high school completion. However, approximately one-fourth of all blacks continue to leave high school before graduation. Juxtaposed against this background are reported increases in the numbers of blacks participating in the Scholastic Test, the Advanced Placement Test, the American College Test, and the Annual Report National Assessment Educational Progress as well as their test scores (Wilson, 1989). Additionally, it is said that the 1988 cohort of black high school graduates is the largest and best prepared of any black group in history (Seventh Annual Status Report, 1988). Yet despite these optimistic changes, black college enrollment declined steadily from 1976 to 1986. This decline in enrollment is compounded by the loss of blacks in four-year colleges (Wilson, 1989). However, black enrollment in professional schools has maintained a steady improvement from 1977 to 1986. This cohort enrolled in professional schools includes only 14,000 students or 5.2 percent of the total enrollment. The implication of this untenable situation is that colleges and universities must find creative solutions to promoting the academic success of blacks currently enrolled, as well as those not yet enrolled.

Issues in Black Academic Success

Much has been written about factors or conditions impacting the quality of higher education for blacks. In part, some of the issues are unique to blacks and some are shared in degrees by all college students. Those issues reported in the literature and anecdotally as having the greatest impact on the education growth of black college students are (1) social and academic adjustment, (2) negative stereotypes, and (3) lack of financial resources.

Academic and Social Adjustment

Much has been written about black students' transition from a close, supportive home environment to an often unfriendly, predominantly white school environment that projects the unspoken message: "We are not sure we want you here, but we had to recruit you." Several studies about black students' adjustment to college life have simply affirmed what is generally known about the impact of racial rejection on social, emotional, and intellectual capacities (Astin, 1982: Fleming, 1984). It is a given, regardless of racial overtones, that if students are placed in environments that

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do not acknowledge them fully, they will begin to feel lonely and isolated. The situation is simply compounded when the environment is predominantly white and unfriendly or hostile. Oftentimes students remain in such non-nurturing environments, but at a severe price. James Comber, an award winning child psychiatrist and brilliant educator, spoke of this predicament in the context of his educational experience:

> . . . it was crystal-clear to me that being a good student could save me from some of the indignities that my black friends experienced in school. The word was out. White equaled good and smart. Black equaled bad and dumb. If you were smart and black you might salvage a little. For this reason, being the best, being perfect, became very important—too important. Too many black students work under this pressure even today (Comer, p. 113–114).

It seems clear from the above situation that it is natural for black students to want to excel academically. However, when the process of excelling consumes the product, the question of whether it is worth it becomes paramount. In other words, is the psychological distress and interpersonal conflict experienced worth it? Several have observed that too much anxiety, stress and tension can lead to severe emotional and physical disturbances (depression, schizophrenia, ulcers, migraine headaches).

The learning styles of black students are another critical factor that plays an important part in academic adjustment. Although a great deal of caution must be exercised in generalizing about black students' learning styles, some evidence exists that supports a field-sensitive style of learning or cooperative learning (Rodriguez, 1983). Within the context of an environment experienced as hostile or unfriendly, black students have isolated themselves and are not connected to their most effective and natural resource, a collaborative/cooperative learning style. It follows that a non-nurturing campus environment and unsupportive instructors will lead to lower satisfaction with college, poor academic performance, and a premature exit from college without a degree.

Negative Stereotypes

The negative stereotypes connected with education and learning begin at the elementary and secondary school levels and continue beyond college. Black children attend schools where most of their peers, if not themselves, are labeled by the professionals as "culturally deprived," "high risk," "learning disabled," "stupid" and "crazy" by their classmates (Comer, 1988; Keniston, 1977). Their parents are referred to as uncooperative, a disgrace to the community, or as problem parents (Logan, 1990). Even when such descriptors do not fit students and their parents, the prevailing attitudes still affect their well-being. The negative stereotypes continue and are reinforced through the curriculum and by the school's faculty. The U.S. educational system is Eurocentric and does not in any appreciable way educate its student body to fully explore and appreciate their ethnic and racial differences as well as their traits (Rodriguez, 1983). More specifically, such diversity is not incorporated and infused throughout the curriculum as a given. From the perspective of the faculty, the tendency is to expect less academically from the black student and to assume that nearly every black student does not meet the standard academic requirements of the university (Brookover, Beamer, Efthim, Hathaway, Legatte, Miller, Passalacqua and Tornatzky, 1979; Forrest, 1987). This view of

black students as well as students from other racial or ethnic groups is subtly reinforced by certain organizational programs that are designed to "compensate for deficiencies in earlier education" (see, for example, Weisman, 1968). Oftentimes students are earmarked for these programs simply because they meet the criteria of being black, and also because the program must attract certain numbers of black and other racial or ethnic students in order to be funded. As a result, these students resent these specific university initiatives that are designed, according to most universities, to "improve the academic performance of ethnic minorities."

Lack of Financial Resources

As previously indicated, numerous factors impact the educational progress of black students. However, a very significant factor in the reduced black college enrollment rates is the lack of availability of financial aid. Between 1980 and 1988, there was a 4.1 percent drop in student aid from all federally supported programs. Additionally, between 1980 and 1983 there was an 18 percent drop. Although federal aid has been increasing since 1983 it is still less than it was in 1980. Overall, the loss in federal aid has increased the importance of supplemental grants, college work study, direct loans and state student incentive grants.

These changes in financing for college education have a disproportionate impact on black and low-income students. For example, according to Current Population Reports (1988), in 1985 more than one-fifth of black college students came from families with an annual income of less than $10,000, compared to less than six percent of their white peers.

It seems obvious that the issues discussed so far are interrelated, and must be addressed as a unified whole. The next section of this article addresses these issues in the context of critical conditions that are needed for ensuring black academic excellence.

Conditions For Academic Excellence

The necessary conditions for excellence in educational growth have been identified as student involvement, high expectations and evaluation and feedback (Involvement in Learning, 1984). A creative learning environment is an additional aspect that has often not been considered.

Student Involvement. Student involvement has been defined in terms of the amount of time, energy and effort which students devote to the learning process. This process is generally operationalized in a variety of ways and describes students who devote a great deal of time to study, participate actively in student activities, interact frequently in a constructive manner with faculty and peers, and work at on-campus jobs.

Of course, student involvement requires quality time and energy—precious resources that must also take into consideration families and involvement with social activities. According to the National Institute of Education (1984), colleges and universities can help students to become better managers of their time by:

1. Altering the learning/teaching environment. For example, the faculty should be encouraged to adapt and incorporate teaching methods that require greater student responsibility for their learning. Additionally, such teaching methods must also address the learning styles of blacks and other ethnic or racial groups.

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2. Suggesting and providing significant opportunities for trade-off. For example, provide greater opportunities through part-time work or other activities that connects the students' lives in a substantive way to the campus community.

High Expectations

The second condition of academic excellence is concerned with the educational outcomes sought by students and institutions. From the perspective of black students, this is a very complex condition. On the one hand we are talking about what students learn and how well they learn it. Also we are talking about whether what is expected of students is realistic. As indicated earlier, discrepancies sometimes exist between what faculty expect of blacks and other ethnic or racial groups of students and the general student body. In other words, the expectations are that black students may need remedial help or simply cannot perform at the same level as their white peers. Ultimately there must be a match between what students expect and need and what faculty expect and require. Expectations cannot be too high or too low, but need to be interesting and challenging.

Evaluation and Feedback

The third condition of academic excellence is concerned with the overall effectiveness with which students, faculty, and institutions carry out their learning and teaching goals and objectives. Essentially, this condition dictates that institutions be accountable for what they expect students to learn as well as for how well they have learned. Finally, provisions must be made for utilizing the new information gained through this process for enhancing the overall quality of the learning process, and the effects of certain courses and the impact of services and programs must be considered.

Creative Learning Environment

Implicit in the above conditions of academic excellence is the need for a creative learning environment. The foundation for such an environment consists of humanistic values, unconditional support, mutual respect and nurturance of differences. Available evidence suggests that students within a creative learning environment are provided the necessary opportunities and resources for thinking through their futures, discovering their talents, and growing emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually (Noel, 1987; Pounds, 1987; Wright, 1989). Noel (1987) describes this process as talent identification and talent development. This suggests that learning and growth can take place in a variety of arenas. These may include academics, dramatics, sports, or leadership and social activities, or any means that the university finds necessary to ensure students' growth and development. Of course, such an environment demands a radical redefinition of what is meant by quality and excellence in education as well as a creative vision. The focus must of necessity be concerned with individual student needs, and the ultimate preparation of students to become informed and fully functioning adults.

As a means of identifying factors characteristic of a supportive learning environment, in 1985 a survey of twenty-five black graduate social work students was done. Several factors were identified as contributing to students' academic success (Logan, 1985). The factors consisted of four broad categories. These were:

1. **Educational**
   1. On admission, special evaluation of skills in basic academic prerequisites: reading, writing, and speech;
   2. Appraisal of educational gap;
   3. Varied course loads arrangements.
2. **Tutorial**
   1. Faculty mentorship relationships;
   2. Buddy system with a higher level student;
   3. Writing workshops;
   4. Independent study;
   5. Collaborative learning.
3. **Financial**
   1. Tuition;
   2. Cost of living expenses;
   3. Extra expenses.
4. **Emotional**
   1. Support group;
   2. Networking;
   3. Individual counseling.

Coupled with these areas of concerns are campus climate and commitment of colleges and universities in terms of human and financial resources and leadership. Universities must actively and unequivocally promote the goals of building and sustaining a multicultural/multiracial campus community, and to prepare all of its students for effective roles as adults in a multicultural society. This goal must become an integral part of University educational mission.

Conclusion

It is obvious that entire university communities must make new commitments to ensure enduring growth and developments of all students, especially black students. An environment must be created in which a variety of cultural, and learning styles are embraced and students' talents are identified and developed. Such an approach to higher education will not only promote quality education, but everyone will be beneficiaries.

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A study of why Black females remain over-represented in traditional female oriented occupations.

Sex Role Socialization and Perception of Opportunity Structure: Impact on Educational and Occupational Decisions of Black Females

Mary B. McRae

Introduction

Some scholars have examined the ways in which parental socialization, teacher/student interactions and peer interactions correlate with academic success of Black females. Others have studied the educational aspirations, motivations and expectations of Black females as they relate to educational and occupational attainment. However, few studies have examined the influence of sex role socialization and perceptions of the opportunity structure on the educational and occupational decisions of Black females. Growing up in a patriarchal society that has clearly defined gender roles and in a society with distinct racial boundaries must at least in some ways influence the educational decisions and occupational choices of Black females. The purpose of this article is to explore the influence of sex role socialization and the perceptions of opportunity structure on the expectations for academic achievement and career choices of Black females. For Black females the influence of sex role socialization is most evident in their continued over representation in traditional occupations. It is proposed in this article that this overrepresentation is related to Black females' perceptions of the educational and occupational opportunities available to them as a race gender group.

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Selected Views of Sex Roles

As a race gender group, Black females are socialized as females in the American culture with distinct masculine and feminine delineations. As Black females living in a sub-culture of African–Americans, they experience a different sex role socialization process where the delineation of masculine and feminine roles is not always distinct. There is considerable literature describing the differential socialization of men and women in American culture. Briefly, men are socialized to be emotionally inhibited, powerful, assertive and independent. Women are socialized to be emotional, nuturant and to direct achievement through affiliation with others (Gilbert, 1987; Kaplan, 1979). Studies (Hershey, 1978; Rao & Rao, 1985) on sex role identities and attitudes indicate that Black men see themselves in more traditional masculine terms, and Black women tend to identify more with feminine qualities. Rao and Rao (1985) studied both White and Black males and females and found that race was not a predictor of sex role attitudes.

Within the African–American subculture, sex role attitudes are influenced by social and political forces that may prevent Black males and females from actualizing the gender roles ascribed by the society. Lyson (1986) found that although Black and White males and females shared similar sex role orientations, both Black men and women were more likely to sanction work as appropriate for women with school age children, and African–Americans viewed motherhood as a more ideal role than Whites. These findings correspond with other studies (Gackenbach, 1978, Gump, 1975) that have also suggested that unfavorable social and economic conditions have forced Black females into the labor force. The race of Black females and males has limited their ability to become acculturated and accepted in the American mainstream. Thus, Black females have historically played the traditional role of wife and mother as well as contributors to the economic survival of their families. While Black females identify with the traditional feminine role, they are aware of the limitations and restrictions placed on them because of their race. Their awareness of these limitations is clearly manifested in their educational and occupational expectations and choices.

The socialization process and the opportunity structure are major determinants of an individual's education and work expectations (Astin, 1984). Moreover, the socialization process and the opportunity structure are interactive, each influencing the other. For Black females the socialization process involves expectations of the role of homemaker and worker (Malson, 1983), whereas the structure of opportunity influences the occupations chosen. The socialization process begins at home where masculine and feminine roles are modeled and delineated. In a review of the literature on family socialization of Black females, Smith (1983) identified a built-in bias of many of the studies which have tended to examine maternal rather than paternal influence. She found little or no empirical data to support the assumption and myth that Black females have been socialized by their parents to achieve higher levels of educational attainment. In fact, another review of the literature on this topic (Scott–Jones & Clark, 1986) suggests that African–American families are egalitarian in their socialization practices.

There may be other factors that influence the socialization process in Black families. Fleming (1978) found that the socialization process differs for Black females according to their social class. She found that working class college females high in need for achievement were socialized with more emphasis on femininity than middle-class college females. Females who are socialized with a strong sex-typed

emphasis seem to gain more gratification in traditionally feminine occupations. It seems that social class may be an important and often unexamined variable in sex role socialization. While sex role socialization does not appear to limit levels of educational achievement in Black females, it does seem to limit their options of college major and career choice.

While it is important to understand the socioeconomic and cultural factors that influence the socialization process, it is also important to consider the perceptions and attitudes that shape the sex role socialization of Black females. Burlew (1977) suggests that there are three attitudes about future directions that Black females may consider: (1) educational and career aspirations; (2) educational and career expectations; and (3) attitudes about the social consequences of achievement in education and career. She also identifies a second set of factors that indirectly influence educational and occupational outcomes as: (1) same sex role models (i.e., mothers); (2) information and awareness of the world of world; (3) attitudes about women's roles; and (4) perceptions about significant others' sex role attitudes. In other words, Black females' sex role socialization is based on a constellation of personal experiences which contribute to attitudes about sex roles along with the influence of significant others' views of appropriate sex role behaviors. Black females obtain knowledge and exposure to the opportunity structure through observations and evaluations of what happens to their female role models. These observations and evaluations may vary in impact depending on the individual female.

In a comprehensive review of the literature, Smith (1982) found that the educational and career aspirations of Black female adolescents exceeded those of Black males. She also posits that Black females held greater expectations for completing their goals. In a similar review of the literature, Scott–Jones and Clark (1986) posit that at the college level, the aspirations of Black females drop below those of Black males. They attribute this drop to the adherence to sex role stereotypes of both White and Black college age females. This change in aspirations of Black females was apparent in a study of educational attainment of Black male and female undergraduates done by Epps and Jackson (1987). They found that social-psychological factors such as aspirations and influential others accounted more for the educational attainment of Black males, while school factors (i.e., grades and track) and background factors (i.e., socioeconomic status and ability) were more important for females. These findings suggest that what goes on in schools, especially at the college level, as well as what the female students brings to the college environment, becomes more important than social psychological factors such as aspirations for success. Other studies (Chester, 1983) have also indicated that Black females experience environments differently than do Black males.

Black females at the college level may become more pragmatic in their expectation of educational and occupational goals. This pragmatism seems to include decisions about college majors and occupations that are traditional and non-threatening to societal perceptions of stereotypic sex and race roles. It is suggested by Burlew (1977) that perceptions about appropriate sex role behavior may bias Black females' expectations about the social consequences of stepping out of stereotypic roles. For some Black females, the social consequences of pursuing higher levels of education and nontraditional careers is to be perceived as being masculine and ultimately as an unlikely marital candidate. Thus perceptions of appropriate sex roles, as well as acknowledged racial discrimination in em-

ployment, may cause Black females to limit career options. Black females choose traditional careers more often than do White females and tend to perceive more occupational barriers than Black males (Howell, Freese, Sollie, 1984, Ogbu, 1978).

The combined and independent effects of racism and sexism may be manifested in the academic and occupational expectations of Black females. The sex role socialization process for Black females includes the traditional feminine role as well as the role of a person of color in this society. Black females must deal with the negative stereotype of being a matriarch, as well as the socialization of the majority culture for females to be weak and dependent. Settling for traditional occupations may be one way of coping with the educational and occupational stress of making decisions that may have perceived negative social consequences. Some literature (Bridges, 1988, Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974, Wolfe & Betz, 1981) indicates that Black females seem to be more influenced by sex stereotyping and by traditional occupational models in their educational and occupational aspirations than males.

While Black females have surpassed their male counterparts in educational attainment at the high school and college level, they tend to pursue traditional fields of study and are predominantly employed in traditional occupations (Malveaux, 1986, Moore, 1987, Sutherland, 1988, Thomas, 1987). Malveaux (1986) found that not only were Black females occupationally separated into jobs that are "typically female," but also "typically Black female." She defined "typically Black female" occupations as those in which Black women's representation is more than twice their representation in the labor force. For example, 41 percent of the Black women who work in service occupations were employed in four types of jobs: chambermaids, welfare service aides, cleaners, or nurse's aides. In addition, about one-quarter of all Black women were concentrated in 6 of 48 clerical occupations: file clerks, typists, teacher's aides, key-punch operators, calculating machine operators, and social-welfare clerical assistants. Black females with college degrees tended to choose traditional occupations such as teaching, nursing, social work, etc.

Many Black females may experience conflicts between the sex role socialization process of the American society and that of their subculture. Some of the norms for sex role socialization of their subculture are a survival reaction to the discriminatory actions of the American society. Black females have similar motivations for education and careers as do other females and males. This motivation has been clearly demonstrated in the pursuit of higher levels of education and professional careers on the part of Black females. However, they continue to be confronted by the limitations of race and sex discrimination that play an integral role in the structure of opportunity. While this paper has focused on Black females' perceptions of the opportunity structure, their perceptions are formulated from knowledge and awareness of the discrimination that has occurred against others who have ventured out before them. Perhaps the message learned by many Black females has been to play it safe and not venture beyond acknowledged race and sex boundaries.

Conclusion

If we are to understand why Black females are overrepresented in traditional occupations, we need to understand the emotions, cognitions, and environmental factors that contribute to their career decision-making process. It seems that sex role socialization issues for Black females are more complex due to their unique experience and posi-

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tion in American society. It has been found that discrimination is more prevalent when females apply for out-of-role positions (Martinko & Garner, 1983), and the research on sex and race discrimination in employment indicates that Black females continuously are the least favored group in hiring decisions (McRae, 1990).

The direction and paths taken by Black females and perceptions of self in this process is an area that calls for increased attention from educators and counselors. While several Black females have been involved in the women's liberation struggle, for many their primary struggle has been against racism. By not focusing on issues of gender in education and employment, Black females have limited their career options, which seem to be guided by negative race and sex stereotypes and societal discrimination. Perhaps Black females perceive the stereotypes of being strong as more of a deterrent than a benefit with respect to family and marriage, especially since strong Black women are often portrayed as and destined to remain that way.

Educators and counselors can help by exploring nontraditional career options and by advising Black female students on how to manage the personal, social and career aspects of their lives. Issues of education, work and family are important in the lives of Black females. Learning how to manage family and career roles within their subculture and that of the American society is a necessary skill for success, especially in nontraditional careers. Black females also need to understand the environments of the various educational and occupational institutions in which they must function and to develop adequate skills to cope and strive in different types of settings. Educators and counselors can also help Black females to develop strategies that allow them to pursue educational and career goals that have previously been limited by the race and sex of the applicant. Breaking through the boundaries will send out a message to Black females that a broader scope of career options can be realized.

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Recommendations are presented for both university-centered and student-centered interventions for the problems of adjustment due to alienation of Black students on White campuses.

Alienation of Black College Students on White Campuses: University-Centered and Student-Centered Interventions

Donelda A. Cook

Introduction

Sociocultural alienation is a factor in the adjustment of Black students attending predominantly White institutions (Fleming, 1984; Loo and Rolison, 1986; Sedlacek, 1987; Suen, 1983). Sociocultural alienation occurs when the social subsystem of the university, i.e., peer groups, faculty, administrators, policies, procedures, and academic curricula fail to communicate acceptance, support, encouragement, respect, and celebration of the values and cultural characteristics of culturally diverse groups that attend the university (Loo and Rolison, 1986). Black college students have long been denied their cultural heritage, as institutions of higher education have not recognized the contribution of Blacks in shaping the history of the country; nor have they recognized the gain in learning from the values, practices, and outlooks of African cultures. Consequently, Black students have been socialized that in order to be successful in higher education, they must master the language, values, attitudes and behavior of Eurocentric cul-

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tures. Furthermore, many Black students are unaware that the characteristics of their cultural heritage, such as spirituality, harmony, emotional expressiveness, communalism, expressive individualism, and oral and aural modes of communication (Boykin & Toms, 1985) were assets to the successful lives of their ancestors in West Africa. In addition, these characteristics have endured the physical and psychological abuse of slavery in America, and can serve as a source of strength for students in succeeding in higher education.

In many instances, Black students are penalized for exhibiting Afrocentric cultural characteristics. This is exemplified by (1) reluctance to integrate spiritual development into student development programming (Styles–Hughes, 1987); (2) interference by campus police at Black parties due to students' emotional expressiveness; (3) intolerance for the expressive individualism of Black fraternities and sororities; and (4) academic biases regarding individual achievement motivation versus affiliative motivation and written communication versus oral and aural modes of communication.

Black students have historically been oppressed by covert racial cues within the university environment such as (1) culturally-biased admissions standards; (2) "institutional constraints" of limited funding for African–American studies and academic retention programs; (3) scarcity of Black faculty to serve as role models; (4) high attrition rates due to financial pressures; (5) social isolation in campus housing; and (6) culturally-insensitive and biased academic curricula and social programming (Farrell, 1988). The overall neglect of racial diversity exhibited on White campuses relays a message that "Black presence" and Afrocentric culture are not valued. Additionally, overt acts and subtle forms of sociocultural alienation inherent in institutional and cultural racism have served to undermine self-esteem and confidence, and to confuse the racial identities of Black students which ultimately influences their successful matriculation (Oliver, Rodriguez, and Mickelson, 1985; Parham and Helms, 1985; Sedlacek, 1987).

Empirical Studies

In a review of twenty years of research on the adjustment of Black students on White campuses, Sedlacek (1987) cited numerous studies which reported evidence that Blacks have continuously struggled with difficulties with self-concept, racism, developing a community, and other "noncognitive variables" in relation to the inhospitable climate found on White campuses. The importance of these studies is that they depart from research which blamed the victims; rather, these studies acknowledge the responsibility of the institutions for alienating Black students.

Comparison Studies of Black and White Students

Comparison studies of Black and White students on white campuses have found that "social estrangement" is a contributing factor to Black student attrition (Suen, 1983) and academic progress (e.g., earned fewer credits, stayed fewer quarters). These were not critical issues for White students (Lunnenborg and Lunnenborg, 1985). More specifically, Black students have reported that the university did not adequately reflect their values and that they felt pressured to conform to dominant White middle class values on the campus and to reject those of their own cultural group (Loo and Rolison, 1986).

Studies have consistently shown that Black students appear to be significantly less satisfied with their college experiences than Whites, including relative dissatisfaction with their own grades, social lives, level of interaction with

faculty (Nettles and Johnson, 1987; Wesley and Abston, 1983) and dissatisfaction with the institution due to ignorance of African-American culture, attitudes of Whites, and lack of positive role models (Oliver, et al., 1985 Styles-Hughes, 1987). Communication with faculty is particularly pertinent in that faculty contact outside of the classroom has been found to be significantly predictive of GPA for Black students (Nettles, Thoeny, and Gosman, 1984; Braddock, 1981; Styles-Hughes, 1987). Styles-Hughes (1987) relates the importance of informal interactions with faculty to the African values of kinship and extended family.

Investigations of Psychological Adjustment of Black Students

More specific evidence of the psychological impact of sociocultural alienation on Black students has also been revealed. For instance, it has been shown that Black students perceived that they faced more academic difficulties than their White counterparts, in part because of the energy required to adapt to a different cultural situation which takes time and mental concentration from academic pursuits (Loo & Rolison, 1986). One study reported that Black students responded to racist attitudes or actions by isolating themselves socially and feeling discouraged from seeking help from faculty and teaching assistants or working cooperatively with White students (Lewis, 1987). Often, Black students find themselves conceding that social, personal, emotional, and cultural development will be delayed or postponed while they are attending White institutions due to the unpreparedness of the university environment in planning for and responding to their social and developmental needs (Styles Hughes, 1987). In addition to the generally stressful circumstances of college life, stressful stimuli for Blacks include prejudice, discrimination, and hostility encountered from the social environment as a result of racism (Smith, 1985). Fleming (1984) pointed out that predominantly White institutions have not succeeded in combating Black students' social isolation, perceptions of classroom biases, and perceptions of hostile interpersonal climates.

Studies of Coping Style, Racial Identity, and Gender Differences

Some researchers have examined differences within groups of black students, rather than comparing them to Whites as a standard. Fleming (1984) found that within the group of Black students attending White colleges, some students responded to the inhospitable climate by becoming rebellious, some acquiesced, and others coped with the conflict through increased involvement in cultural and political activities. In examining racial identity, Parham and Helms (1985) found that Black students who displayed extreme pro-White-anti-Black or pro-Black-anti-White attitudes exhibited lower levels of self-esteem. Other studies suggest: (1) an increased level of affirmation in one's cultural identity influences effective coping patterns (Gibbs, 1974); (2) interpersonally accomplished students are more involved with the general (and Black student-specific) campus life and create and maintain favorable social relationships with Blacks and Whites (faculty and students) on the campus (Allen, 1985); and (3) increased prior interracial experience (e.g., neighborhood, high school, friends) as an influence on effective adjustment to predominantly White campuses (Graham, Baker, & Wapner, 1984).

Gender differences have also been found in the adjustment of Black students. Nettles and Johnson (1987) examined gender differences in college socialization. Socialization was defined as students' satisfaction with their peer

group relations, their institution, and academic integration. For Black women, five variables were found to be significant predictors for good peer relations: (1) frequent contact with faculty; (2) living on campus; (3) high degree aspirations; (4) high socioeconomic status; and (5) high grades in high school. In contrast, contact with faculty was the only significant predictor of Black men's peer relations. However, Black men who were most satisfied with their university attended a relatively selective university, had frequent contact with faculty, and attended a college with a racial composition similar to that of their high school. Black women who were most satisfied had frequent contact with faculty and also attended the more selective universities. Black men who attended small universities and had high grades had a high degree of academic integration, while Black women with high academic integration were likely to have high grades, be single, attend a college with a different racial composition from that of their high schools and, interestingly enough, had relatively low high school grades.

Similarly, Styles-Hughes (1987) found that when compared to Black women, Black men were: (1) less likely to consider a change of major; (2) less expressive of inner strength; (3) less self-confident; (4) less capable of withstanding negative external stimuli; (5) more externally controlled; (6) less clear of their sense of identity; and (7) more resistant of adopting compensatory coping styles. The results of both studies reflect the social trends which suggest that Black men face extreme difficulty in coping with a racist society. The gender differences in coping styles may be a reflection of the more overt and aggressive discriminatory tactics Black men are subject to, coupled with possible differences in socialization practices of Black women and men.

The research shows that it is not enough to allow Black students to attend predominantly White institutions; rather, if higher education is to be responsive to all students, much work still needs to be done to create campuses that achieve multiculturalism in academic, social, and administrative practices. Institutional administrators, faculty, and students must collaborate to develop both university-centered and student-centered solutions to sociocultural alienation (Lunnenborg & Lunnenborg, 1985).

Effective interventions can only be developed and instituted if voice is given to the very students who are being alienated. That is, Black students must be involved in needs assessments, studies of the nature and extent of racism on the campus, university committees and task forces for implementing environmental changes, recruitment of Black faculty and administrative staff, and the development of student-centered service delivery strategies. Student involvement serves to empower Black students as a legitimate campus entity, as well as ensuring that accurate representation of their cultures are reflected in all solutions. It is most important that campus administration demonstrate receptiveness and valuing of the cultural attributes of African-Americans, rather than a stance of compromise or appeasement typically displayed in response to student unrest.

University-Centered Interventions

Higher education administrators must examine the person-environment interaction and become educated as to the sociocultural implications of institutional, individual and cultural racism on the campus. That is, they must understand the social and psychological manifestations of racism from the perspectives of the oppressor and the oppressed. Once university administrators are able to comprehend the socialization process of institutional racism and

recognize their own fears of being called "racist" and feelings of guilt in acknowledging their racist attitudes, they can then move beyond the affective response and begin to develop effective problem-solving strategies. External consultants can be invited to conduct ongoing racism sensitivity and cultural awareness interventions for administrators, faculty, and students. It is not enough to conduct "one-shot" workshops to increase awareness; consultants can work in a contractual relationship to assess the environment, develop social interventions and curricula reform, and conduct program evaluations.

Many of the sociopolitical and environmental interventions can assist Black students in developing a positive racial identity to grow and succeed within the university, and beyond. To the degree that Black students can see Black professionals in positions of authority on their campuses and can interact with Black faculty; to the degree that coursework reflects a multicultural perspective; to the degree that they have a physical "home" on their campus which reflects their cultural backgrounds; to the degree that they can contribute to the college in some meaningful way; that is the degree to which they can experience self-affirmation and racial pride. Once self-affirmation and positive racial identity are established and the necessity for racial activism or passivity is diminished, Black students will be free to focus on more traditional aspects of student development.

Student-Centered Intervention

Outreach Strategies

Outreach approaches can be effective in broadening the cultural community for Black students. Both formal and informal mentoring experiences fulfill the kinship bond which may be reminiscent of their home communities. Many Black students are motivated by the affiliative motive due to the "collective" orientation of their cultural background. They may be more highly motivated to succeed for their family, or their community, or a significant member of their campus environment, than for their own self-achievement. (Styles–Hughes, 1987). Particularly for first generation college students, their parents may have done all that they are capable of to get their child to college, so it becomes imperative that members of the campus community establish relationships and teach them to survive and to succeed.

The mentoring role is multi-faceted. Mentors can provide students with support, reality testing, and guidance needed to nurture their growth and development. Mentors need to support Black students in their "right" to be active members of the campus and communicate faith in their ability to succeed. Students also need to be confronted with the consequences of their self-defeating behaviors, such as socially isolating themselves, poor study habits, or cutting classes. Mentors must also intervene in using their positions on the campus to negotiate some of the external obstacles for students. The mentors' power within the environment can serve to empower the students.

Additional programs can be developed including support services for academic, adjustment, racial, and social problems (Lewis, 1987); peer counseling programs (Locke & Zimmerman, 1987); community service activities (Sedlacek, 1987); campus ministries programs (Styles–Hughes, 1987); colloquia series; career mentoring programs; student professional organizations; and intramural athletic activities. Collectively, Black students have much to gain from one another, and they are in a position to contribute greatly to the academic, social, and cultural climate of the campus.

Counseling Strategies

When counseling services are developed and delivered from an Afrocentric cultural perspective, Black students are very amenable to seeking help. Both individual and group counseling approaches can be adapted to the needs of Black students. In general, many Black students tend to be more trusting of counselors when they are able to observe them in other capacities on campus (e.g., cultural functions, student organizational meetings) or when the counselors are recommended by some other professional whom the students trust on the campus.

In addition to the counseling concerns students generally present to counselors, Black students sometimes have further complications due to the sociocultural alienation exhibited on the campus. Some Black students are blind to the external circumstances of racism; consequently they internalize the oppression. That is, they may not recognize that they are being treated unjustly due to their race, thus they blame themselves for the circumstances, often leading to depression, withdrawal, avoidance, misdirected anger, or generally self-defeating and maladaptive problem-solving behaviors for surviving in an alienating environment. These students may seek counseling for problems of lack of motivation, test anxiety, stress, physical symptoms, or other academic problems emanating from maladaptive coping strategies. The counselor should explore the circumstances of the presenting problem in specific detail to determine whether the problem stems from a racial incident. If it is so determined, the counselor must help the student to understand the problem from a sociocultural perspective rather than one of self-blame. It may be necessary to teach the student how to recognize and cope with racial issues and how to determine if one should confront the issue, and if so, how to do so.

Counselors can also be helpful in serving as advocates for their clients. In instances of a traumatic racial incident, it may be effective for the counselor to intervene with faculty or academic advisors on behalf of the student. Many students respond to harassment or discrimination through denial. Consequently by the time the student seeks counseling, maladaptive coping behaviors may have affected academic performance. Counselors should view the psychological stress of coping with racism as they would any other forms of victimization. That is, if a counselor would intervene in helping a student to withdraw from a class, taking an "incomplete," or make-up an exam due to the psychological trauma of being a victim of other societal ills (e.g., sexual harassment, psychological abuse), so should be the case with victims of traumatic incidents of racism. Even though racial harassment is a difficult issue to confirm legally, counselors must not let it interfere with their responsiveness to the psychological impact on their client, and they should use their power within the university to support Black students in their efforts to cope with racism.

Group interventions can be helpful in facilitating a sense of unity among Black students and provide a cathartic experience for them, thus combating feelings of social isolation. Open-ended support groups, discussion groups, and theme-oriented groups focusing on aspects of African–American cultures can help students to develop a positive racial identity. Finally, skills-oriented groups can be conducted to teach students survival skills, including how to distinguish between isolated acts of racism and generalizations of the entire campus as racist; thus, enabling Black students to utilize the campus resources that are available to them.

Conclusion

In conclusion, caution is rendered in generalizing to all Black college students. There is great variability in the experiences of African-Americans; however, alienation on White campuses is a problem common to all culturally diverse students. It is a problem which is created and maintained by numerous facets of the campus system, individually, interpersonally, academically, and politically. While the problem appears overwhelming and sometimes abstract, administrators, educators, and students must examine their own roles in perpetuating sociocultural alienation, both individually and institutionally. The time has come for multicultural education to become an environmental, administrative, pedagogical, and social reality in higher education.

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A close association of African-American parents and universities can benefit the parents, the universities, and African-American students.

African-American Parents: A New Partnership with Higher Education

Doris J. Wright

Introduction

African-American parents have sought partnership with institutions of higher education for years. This partnership, when it has occurred, has involved several areas of university life. In general it has meant parental provision of emotional, spiritual, and financial support for their children during college attendance. While it is commonplace for institutions to involve parents and acknowledge their participation, African-American parents have been silent, unrecognized partners. Because they have not been recognized fully by institutions, African-American parents' partnership has been an adversarial one fraught with conflicts, condescension, and disagreements. Sadly, it has been an inequitable one with institutions receiving the most visible benefit while African-American parents received little gain. These parents have found it difficult to be accepted as full partners in higher education, unless they were financial donors, alumni, or have produced student-athletes.

This unbalanced partnership has not existed without some pain and hurt for African-American parents who sometimes have experienced negative feelings and hurt emotions from their attempts to become involved with colleges and universities. Some may even experience psychological distress, depression, anxiety and other behavioral or affective symptoms as well as a loss of psychological self-esteem. These emotional concerns can be communicated to students, thereby lowering self-esteem and jeopardizing motivation.

Failing to adequately respond to African-American parents can affect colleges' efforts to attract African-American students and thereby college enrollment. Colleges can not afford to alienate prospective supporters. Neither is it positive public relations to be unsupportive of parents' participation in their [minority] children's educational endeavors.

It is possible for colleges and universities to mature and grow themselves as a result of their partnership with African-American parents *if* institutions recognize and respond to African-American parents' needs. This paper ar-

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ticulates African-American parents' roles as partners in predominantly white universities. Development needs of African-American parents are described, and suggestions are made as to how institutions may respond to those needs appropriately. Lastly, recommendations for future parental involvement are outlined.

Characteristics of African-American Parents

A rainbow coalition

African-American parents represent an aggregate of American ethnic minority cultures who have diverse family constellations, cultural and linguistic styles, economic backgrounds, and emotional needs. African-Americans, like other minority students, [and their parents] are from diverse living environments: inner city urban areas; rural or migrant communities; and from suburbia (Wright, 1984). Not only are their living environments diverse, but they are diverse in their linguistic styles, social customs, daily behavioral practices and interactional patterns. No longer can it be said that African-Americans are a monolithic cultural group with one set of beliefs, practices, and customs. A perusal of our top ten American cities would reveal considerable variations in African-American traditions as you travel from Seattle to Miami, New York to Los Angeles, from Port Arthur, Texas to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In the truest sense, we are a "rainbow coalition," with all hues in the "color" spectrum represented.

Yet despite these variations on an African theme, one value has remained constant throughout the years: African-Americans continue to place a high premium upon education, even when it is not readily affordable nor accessible to them. Universally across this country and across all classes of African-Americans, the importance of education, including higher education, is a message parents instill within their children early. It has been perceived as a means of social mobility (Porter, 1974), a way out of impoverished surroundings, and a means for improving family circumstances.

Family composition

African-Americans coming to college vary in their family constellation patterns. While African-American students do come from traditional two-parent families, other family constellations have emerged in recent years. They may include grandparents, stepchildren, godchildren, non-kin members, nieces or nephews living in one household. Similarly, parents come in all sizes and shapes ranging from a single, unmarried person having primary child care responsibilities; a single parent with a "live-in" partner (same or opposite sex); step-parents; a divorced single parent with co-parenting responsibilities; godparent (non-kin); grandparent, aunt or uncle. Given this diversity in family composition and "parent roles," it is difficult to create one profile of the "typical" African-American parent, creating new challenges for colleges who are dedicated to involving parents in the college educational process.

Most parents or guardians have never had the pleasure of attending college; only a select few African-American parents have children who are second-generation college enrollees. That reality has never stopped them from promoting college opportunities for their offspring students. Of course, parents' support for their children's college has meant many were forced to work long hours and sacrifice many personal comforts so that their children, stepchildren, godchildren, nieces, and nephews could attend college. African-American parents often have worked two or three jobs to support their children financially. They have

washed dishes, picked cotton and sweet potatoes, and operated small business while working two and three jobs to finance their children's college educations. African–American students enter college feeling strong support from parents, guardians, and other family members.

Cohorts of the 1960s

African–American parents may have been cohorts of the 1960s civil rights and other reform movements. These persons were among those who staged sit-ins at Southern lunch counters, participated in Vietnam demonstrations and fought there too, and were the "first" to integrate northern suburbs. They grew into early adulthood on the heels of the Vietnam conflict and were disciples of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, and Angela Davis. Still others relocated here from developing nations such as Haiti, Cuba, Panama, and Puerto Rico who have established themselves firmly in the U.S. through "blood, sweat, and tears."

If these African–American parents attended college, they were probably among the first to integrate the universities of Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas, or they continued the proud traditions of historically black colleges (HBC's) by attending Morehouse, Spellman, and Howard University. Often their primary and college educations were obtained under presidential mandate with national guard intervention. More often than not, an education was not without fear for one's personal safety. Despite the personal and emotional risks of attending white institutions, African–American parents have valued a college education highly and have become accustomed to fighting to obtain it.

Research on African–American Parents

The research literature on African–American parents' roles in colleges and universities is sparse. A recent unpublished literature search revealed fewer than twenty citations about African–American parents' participation in universities. Most of the literature which has been written described parents' financial contributions to their children's enrollment at predominantly white institutions or discussed the significance of parents' educational level to student persistence. Rarely has the literature discussed parents' roles on university governing boards, *ad hoc* advisory committees, alumni associations, or athletic policy committees. Rarely have parents' developmental or psychological needs as they relate to their involvement in college been defined or investigated.

One book which illustrates this shortcoming is *Minorities in American Higher Education* by Alexander Astin (1982). In this treatise, Astin makes casual reference to parents and describes them as moderator variables related to student persistence in college. Nowhere in his discussion does he speculate as to the importance of college to the parents. Neither does he highlight ways in which parents may become involved in white universities so that they and the campus can mutually benefit. Another example, a published sourcebook on college parents, (Robert Cohen, 1985), makes no mention of African–American parents, in spite of the fact that it was intended to be the definitive work on the subject. Imagine a state-of-the art book which entirely neglects an entire group of college parents!

Among minority researchers, African–American (or other minority) parents' contributions to colleges have been ignored, too. Researchers have not regarded African–American parents as a central ingredient in the college process and, thus have not written about this group. Clearly, African–American parents have been neglected in the research literature. There is a tremendous need to research these and other minority parents' involvement on college campuses more thoroughly. A beginning step would be to understand African–American parents' needs.

Developmental Needs of Parents

College parents experience apprehension and concern as their children grow into young adulthood, separate from them, and leave home. This transition results in lifelong changes for parents and children. Healthy parents may experience some initial sadness and grieve for the "growth" of their "little child." They will experience all the stages of grief before finally reacquainting themselves with the young adult college student. Questions such as "Will my child continue to need me once she/he goes to college?" are common among college parents at this stage.

Similarly, African–American parents must learn to manage these life transitions. For African–American parents these developmental tasks may be expressed as ethnic or cultural identity concerns. African–American parents may wonder "Will those cultural values and attitudes which I have taught my children change as a result of their attending a white college? Will I continue to have anything in common with my children once they have resided on white campuses away from our African–American neighborhoods? Will my children lose his/her cultural or ethnic identity if he/she lives in a predominantly white campus environment? Will I be able to converse with my child if they become more literate than I? These and other thoughts are believed to be representative of adults in the developmental stage of generativity. In discussing parents, it is important to understand adult development at this stage.

Generativity

The noted psychologist Erik Erikson characterized the middle adult period, roughly between the ages of 30–45, as the stage of generativity. During this stage, adults experience the greatest level of productivity and reach full work potential. They engage in activities which require sustained application and utilization of skills and abilities; they invest new energy and ideas into new pursuits. Adults at this stage develop a sense of continuity with future generations (Troll, 1982, p. 18–19). The rearing of children is an integral task accomplishment during this stage. Work productivity and altruistic concern for future generations are characteristic of this period.

Failing to achieve generativity may result in emotional stagnation, which may be described as a sense of personal impoverishment and failure. An adult in stagnation may do little more than one's normal daily routine of work and is unusually preoccupied with self. When stagnation occurs, the adult ceases to develop emotionally. African–American parents in generativity may desire active involvement in their children's education at college. Fulfilling their developmental needs may be complicated by the fact that their children are entering an environment which may be unfamiliar to some parents. For others it may resemble a past learning environment in which they may have experienced some emotional distress. Sharing their children's excitement and exuberance toward college may be difficult for these parents. This unresolved emotional distress may lead to role stagnation unless colleges help African–American parents to become involved in the college experience in age-appropriate ways.

Culture-Specific Developmental Needs

Awareness of and sensitivity to the development needs of African–American parents is an important consideration for predominantly white colleges. Culture-specific needs of

these parents which colleges should be aware of include the following:

a) Sense of commitment to an institution.

b) Sense of concern for the welfare of others, especially one's own ethnic or cultural group members.

c) Recognition that their contributions are valued by institutions.

d) Sense of personal respect, e.g., "I am valued [as a person] by the institution."

e) Sense of altruistic concern for equitable social conditions, e.g., advocacy to eradicate racism, sexism, or institutional injustices.

f) Affirmation of entitlement. "I have a right to participate in my child's education."

g) Renewal of personal self-identity. "I am proud to be African–American."

h) Affirmation of culture-specific parental roles.

i) Desire to continue cultural traditions via children.

Once these minority parent needs have been identified, the next step is for institutions to decide how best to meet them. If African–American parent involvement in college is a desirable goal as several educators have argued (Dept. of Education, 1980), then corrective action may be necessary now to ensure that parents become involved, active partners in the college educational process.

Healing Past Mistakes

For those parents who suffered from the denial of full access to predominantly white institutions and whose opinions, ideas, and thoughts were never heard, some healing is needed. These parents may have experienced grief reaction, including [justified] anger and hurt which has remained unaddressed even today. Institutions should help African–American parents grieve for their lost self-esteem, self-respect, and missed learning opportunities. In addition, parents may need to grieve for other losses:

a) familiar cultural surroundings

b) intergenerational families reared in traditional customs

c) language and linguistic tradition

d) educational opportunities.

Before parents can benefit fully from their participation in college, they may have to complete their grieving process.

One way to facilitate parents "grieving" might be to provide them with a forum from which they can express these past frustrations, anger, and hurts. It might be an open meeting with small group discussion where parents may discuss present and past issues regarding their child's college. As a result, African–American parents may find renewed energy which they may reinvest in predominantly white institutions later. The following example illustrates how this healing may provide constructive feedback to institutions.

During a 1982 centennial celebration at the University of Texas at Austin, an African–American alumni weekend was held—the first ever. Attending were parents who were among the first African–Americans to attend the university; many had children attending the university currently. The weekend included panel discussions where parents recounted their personal experiences on the then-segregated campus. Throughout the weekend, parents recounted the fears, anger, frustration, and sadness which accompanied attending a university not fully accessible to African–Americans. It was also a time for reflecting upon the many successes of African–American alumni. The weekend was a catharsis time for some parents, allowing them to grieve for lost learning opportunities and to express unresolved anger, hurt, and feelings of betrayal. Simultane-

ously, it provided the university administration with a chance to hear parents' suggestions and ideas clearly. Programs similar to this weekend event can provide parents with an avenue to express past and current feelings, ideas, or suggestions. The result for both parents and administration at the University of Texas was a mutually gratifying and beneficial experience.

Of course, an alumni weekend is not the only way in which African–American parents can become involved with colleges and universities. Parents can play important roles across the entire campus.

Strategies for Minority Parent Involvement

How then might institutions benefit from the involvement and participation of African–American parents in their learning process? What unique knowledge and skills will they offer to colleges and universities? Cohen and Halsey (1985) write that when parents are informed about colleges, they are more likely to participate in several ways. First, parents can become ambassadors and loyal supporters of institutions during good and bad times. Secondly, parents can serve as volunteers in several settings: recruiters, sponsors, hosts, advisors, and solicitors. Lastly, parents make significant contributions as financial donors, especially in capital and annual giving campaigns (p. 95).

While these traditional roles have been among those suggested earlier, there may be other academic roles for African–American parents to play:

(a) *As active financial contributors*, especially to scholarship and financial aid programs. African–American parents should be encouraged to contribute to alumni and endowment associations especially, and target their contributions to ethnic minority students and minority-related research activities.

(b) *On policy and decision-making committees*, especially those committees concerned with student admissions, readmission, graduation criteria, athletics, student affairs, financial aid, etc.

(c) *On curricula advisory committees*, especially in disciplines where minority communities are impacted, such as law, business, allied health, nursing and medicine.

(d) *On building and facilities committees*, especially where capital construction may involve land acquisition in minority communities.

(e) *On campus recruitment and retention committees*, especially in departments where minority participation is particularly low.

(f) *On athletic policy-making boards*, especially for men/women's athletic programs.

(g) *On homecoming and other campus-wide celebrations*. Celebrations on college campuses are an opportunity for students, alumni, and parents alike to join together in appreciating those who have supported the university and its programs and service offerings. Parents can take a key role in these celebrations.

While all the benefits have not been realized yet, one thing appears certain. The parent-institutional partnership can work, and it can be one of mutual benefit to parents and institutions alike. Before the partnership can grow, institutions must accept it as a legitimate learning tool. Then, the relationship between institutions and African–American parents can only mature. To best nurture the partnership, colleges and universities might investigate how other types of institutions interface with African–American parents.

One setting is especially important to examine in this regard as African–American parents have been partners with historically Black colleges since their inception. In those colleges, they have been involved in several areas of

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campus life, from orientation to corporate fund-raising. Their participation has been essential to the survival of Black colleges in recent years, as several have come under severe economic and enrollment shortages. African–American parents have become ardent financial contributors, recruiters, and supporters to legislative and political boards whose lobbying efforts have saved several black colleges from serious cuts. Clearly, African–American parents represent the "backbone" to the success of these colleges. Other colleges may learn about the resources parents offer to a campus from their success rates with Black colleges.

Summary

Colleges and universities have failed to recognize African–American parents and their potential contributions to the entire university community. In their omission they have shortchanged everyone: students, faculty, administration, and parents. African–American parents can provide a new energy on college campuses, the extent of which has not been seen for over two decades. The "new energy" of African–American parents consists of unique learning experiences they can provide, and their strong commitment to higher education. African–American parents possess multiple viewpoints and opinions, and the transfusion of their "new energy," i.e., ideas, suggestions, and views, may facilitate the resolution of numerous problems facing today's institutions, including those of declining resources and revenue and changing student demographics. African–American parents who become involved in colleges and universities renew themselves and ensure their continued development as productive, active, and caring adults.

The conclusion is simple: African–American parents and colleges can form a meaningful, productive partnership which will be mutually beneficial to all, particularly African–American students on predominantly White campuses.

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The present study examines the contribution of Black students' perceived personal competencies to both a four-year academic persistence and freshman GPA. Results indicate that students who obtain higher first year GPAs and who perceive themselves as being more competent in areas of adapting, planning, exercising self-control, coping with failures, managing anxiety, and differentiating feelings persist more often than those who do not.

Academic Performance vs. Academic Persistence: A Study of Black Students' Perceived Personal Competency

Robbie J. Steward and James D. Jackson

Introduction

Typically, studies which have attempted to differentiate achievers from underachievers by examining global self-concept have found conflicting results. Some researchers have found that underachievers have more immature or lower self-concept than do achievers (Bailey 1971; Kanoy, Johnson, and Kanoy, 1980; Paschel, 1968). Using self-report measures, Matsunaga (1972) found that the achievers had a higher self-concept of ability, a concern with good relationships, more self-confidence and responsibility, and a greater awareness of the needs of others.

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On the other hand, some studies have not found a strong relationship between self-concept and underachievement. Such have found that achievers and underachievers could not be differentiated by any particular personality characteristics (Johnson, 1967; Peters, 1968; Reisel, 1971). The conclusions have questioned the legitimacy of the underachievement concept.

This conflict in the literature exists also for the study of Black student achievement and self-concept. For Black students, Jordan (1981) found a significant relationship between the two variables and attributed these conflicting findings in the literature to the fact that early researchers usually limited sampling to only students from low-income backgrounds. With this sample, other variables (such as unmet economic needs, insufficient intellectual stimulation in class, insufficient academic stimulation, relationship with family members) which were not examined may have a much stronger impact on academic achievement than self-concept.

Banks (1984) suggested that future researchers addressing Black student achievement and self-concept should carefully control for variables reflecting within-group diversity existing among Black students. It would seem at least critical to note the demographical information of the sample examined. Few studies actually noted the existing within-group diversity in the sample, and presently a valid conclusion about a clear, consistent empirical relationship between the two (Black student self-concept and academic persistence) remains nonexistent.

Some researchers argue that the inconsistencies in the literature exist due to the use of the global concept of self-concept in the research design. Rogers, Smith, and Coleman (1978) and Jhaj and Grewal (1983) found significant relationships between academic success and specific aspects of self-concept, but not the overall construct. Matsunaga (1972) theorized that the conflict in the literature existed due to the continued use of self-concept as a global construct because researchers have consistently chosen instruments that result in an overall global measure of self-concept. He suggested that different aspects of self-concept such as the individual's opinions of his or her ability to carry out particular tasks successfully would have a stronger relationship with academic achievement than overall self-concept. This aspect of self-concept is known as self-efficacy (Brookover, 1979; Nowicki, Jr., and Strickland, 1973). Matsunaga's (1972) findings suggested that studies should focus more on specific aspects of self-efficacy, as opposed to the overall construct of self-concept.

The present study examines the contribution of specific aspects of self-efficacy to academic performance (as indicated by first year GPA), and four-year academic persistence of African–American freshmen on a large, midwestern, predominantly White university campus.

Method

Participants

All entering 18-year old, American-born Black freshmen who lived in dormitories on a large predominantly White university in the central United States received a questionnaire packet (N = 115). Only those students who completed the entire packet were selected for inclusion in this study (n = 40). A follow-up study examining student enrollment status was done immediately after the first semester of the participants' fourth academic year.

Procedure

The researchers made necessary contacts to obtain names of potential participants. Each participant received a packet containing a letter of introduction, a research participation consent form, a copy of each of the measures, and a demographic sheet with instructions. Each instrument was a pencil-and-paper test and self-administered.

Information gained regarding individual subjects was held in strict confidence. Code numbers were assigned to each participant and only this number was used to identify participants on the instruments and demographic information sheets. The code was kept in a secure location under the control of the experimenter.

Instruments

Each survey packet contained the letter of introduction and explanation, Consent for Research Participation Form (requested permission to check students' first year GPA from university records), the Student Demographic Questionnaire (SDQ), and the Personal Competency Rating Scale (PCR; Paul, Pulton, Ostrow, Morrill, and Kochenor, 1981):

(a) **Student Demographic Questionnaire (SDQ):** The SDQ was designed by the author and consisted of twelve items addressing participants' personal and academic backgrounds.

(b) **Personal Competency Rating Scale (PCR):** The PCR consisted of thirty 5-point Likert-type items designed to assess the extent to which individuals perceive themselves to possess competencies in four general areas: social, personal, problem-solving and functional. The PCR was used to measure the construct of self-efficacy in several different areas. The instrument resulted in a total score as well as subscale scores.

(c) **The social subscale:** addressed interpersonal relationship abilities, including communication, assertiveness, interpersonal problem-solving, and intimacy. The personal subscale contained items reflecting an individual's abilities to adapt, plan, exercise self-control, cope with failures, manage anxiety, differentiate feelings, and enhance physical attractiveness.

(d) **The problem-solving subscale:** examined problem-solving abilities including aspects of problem-definition, alternative exploration, and resource organization.

(e) **The functional subscale:** measured the functional competencies involving computational, reasoning, reading, writing, and time-use.

Each of the subscales has been found to add to the overall measure. The instrument has content validity, and reliability has been found to be .85.

Data Analysis

T-tests were used to examine persisters and non-persisters' mean total PCR scores and freshmen GPA differences. Two multiple regression analyses were used to examine the contribution of the PCR subscale scores to academic persistence and freshmen GPA. In the first multiple regression, four-year academic persistence was designated as the dependent variable, while in the second freshmen GPA was the dependent variable.

Results

Forty freshmen returned the survey packets. The sample was comprised of 60% (24) females and 40% (16) males. The largest group of students had fathers (39%) and mothers (43.6%) with at least a high school education and were from cities with a population in the range of 100,000–500,000 (48.7%). Table 1 presents parental educational backgrounds and population of cities of origin. These demographic results closely reflected that of the total Black freshmen population (N = 120). This was also true for the four-year attrition follow-up in which a 62.5% (25) attrition rate was found, closely resembling that of the total Black population over a four-year span (62%). Participants' mean high school GPA was 3.2 on a 4.0 scale. The mean ACT score was found to be 15.8.

Table 1
Demographic Information

Table 1a
Frequencies of parents of student sample levels of varying education

Level	Father #	Father %	Mother #	Mother %
1	2	4.9	1	2.6
2	16	39.0	17	43.6
3	2	4.9	6	15.4
4	7	17.1	10	25.6
5	6	14.6	2	5.1
6	0	0	0	0
7	8	19.5	3	7.7

Level 1 = Elementary
2 = High School
3 = Some College
4 = Bachelors
5 = Masters
6 = Ph.D.
7 = No Response

Table 1b
Hometown Population sizes of student sample

Population	#	%
0 – 50,000	14	35.8
50,001 – 100,000	2	5.1
100,001 – 500,000	19	48.7
500,001 – 1,000,000	0	0
1,000,000 +	4	10.2

Table 2 presents comparisons between means and standard deviations for students who had persisted and those who had not at the time of the four-year follow-up. Results indicated significant (p < .01) differences between grade point averages of students who persisted and those who did not. No significant differences were found between the mean total perceived personal competency scores when scores of persisters and nonpersisters were compared.

Table 2
Comparisons between means and standard deviations for students who were and no longer enrolled at the four-year follow-up

	Enrolled (N = 25)		No longer (N = 15)	
	X	SD	X	SD
Total PCR Score	3.95	.45	3.77	.56
Freshmen GPA 1**	2.53	.79	1.91	.88

**means that were significantly different at .01 level
GPA 1 = the first year grade point averages

Table 3 presents the results of the multiple regression with four-year academic persistence as the dependent variable and each of the PCR subscales as the independent variables. In order to examine relationships with academic persistence, students were assigned numbers to indicate enrollment status after 3 1/2 years. The number *one* was assigned to those students who continued to be enrolled, while the number *two* was assigned to those who were no longer enrolled. The freshmen GPA and the PCR Personal subscale scores were found to be the only variables to significantly and uniquely contribute to the variance in academic persistence ($F = 3.16$; significant $F = .05$). Results indicated that students who perceived themselves to be more competent in areas of adapting, planning, exercising self-control, coping with failures, managing anxiety, and differentiating feelings persisted more often.

Table 3
Results of the Stepwise Multiple Regression
Using 4-year academic persistence
as the dependent variable

Variables in Equation	Beta	R square	F	Significant F
Freshmen GPA	-.1549	.1533	3.16	.05
Personal Subscale Scores	-.1870			
Constant	2.7164			

Table 4 presents the results of the multiple regression with freshmen GPA as the dependent variable and the PCR subscales as the independent variables. The PCR Functional subscale was found to be the only subscale that uniquely and significantly contributed to the variance in freshmen GPA ($F = 4.216$; Significant $F = .04$). Results indicated that those students who perceived themselves to be more competent in areas of competencies involving computational ability, reasoning, reading, writing, and time-use also tended to have higher freshmen GPAs than those who did not.

Table 4
Results of the Stepwise Multiple Regression
Using Freshmen GPA as the dependent variable

Variable in the equation	Beta	R square	F	Significant F
Functional Subscale Scores	.4478	.1060	4.268	.04
Constant	.6199			

Discussion

The data tended to support previous studies identifying the importance of self-efficacy in students' academic persistence on university campuses. Burlew (1980) and Tracey and Sedlacek (1984) had also noted that personal characteristics of Black youth, such as self-perceptions, could also be used to predict educational attainment. Tracey and Sedlacek (1984) found positive self-concept to be predictive of the academic success of both Black and White students during the first semester.

Given that no significant differences were found between the overall total personal competency mean scores of persisters and nonpersisters, findings supported the premise that Matsunaga (1972) purported. In fact, only one aspect of self-efficacy as measured by the PCR was found to contribute significantly and uniquely to academic persistence and only one to freshmen GPA.

The significant contribution of first-year GPA and personal skills (as measured by the PCR personal subscale) to academic persistence appeared to indicate the importance of early assessment of Black freshmen's levels of academic skills (as related to freshmen coursework) and personal skill abilities as perceived by the student. For example, Black freshmen's previous performance in coursework similar to that required during the freshmen year would be closely scrutinized with strong recommendations for tutoring in those areas where students appear to be experiencing difficulty. Students would also be requested to self-assess ability levels in areas of adapting, planning, exercising self-control, coping with failures, managing anxiety, and differentiating feelings. The importance of acquiring such skills in surviving to matriculation might be presented during student orientation and/or periodically scheduled programming addressing all areas. Balancing programs addressing both academic skills and personal skills seems critical.

It is also important to note that the results of this study support the notion that academic success and academic persistence are two different entities which require two different interventions if Black student academic achievement is to be enhanced on predominantly White university campuses. In spite of age-old recommendations advocating the teaching of skills measured by the PCR Personal subscale to Black students (Coelho, Hamburg, and Murphey, 1963; Haettenschwiller, 1971; Sedlacek and Brooks, 1976; Vontress, 1968), university program development traditionally has addressed only students' academic skill deficits, not skills associated with self-perceived personal competencies. The acquirement of the necessary interpersonal skills has consistently been ignored as a primary contributor to dropouts. This negligence might offer some explanation for the quite stable attrition rate for the overall university student population (50%), and for the consistently higher and stable attrition rate of Black students on predominantly White university campuses. It would seem that it is time for the focus of university program developers to be expanded to include another important aspect of what is necessary in order to survive campus life.

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How student retention relates to advisor–advisee relationships and/or curriculum.

Recruitment and Retention of Black Students in Graduate Programs

Tina Q. Richardson

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Introduction

Colleges and universities are becoming increasingly concerned with recruiting Black students for admission into graduate programs. Pruitt and Isaac (1985) suggest that institutions of higher education have recognized that enrolling students with different cultural, experiential, and cognitive styles into graduate programs increases the diversity in graduate education. The diversity of graduate education can be enhanced by including a culturally diverse student population and/or by incorporating multicultural perspectives into graduate curriculum. Thus, increases in recruitment efforts targeting Black graduate students is one of the ways universities demonstrate commitment to diversity. While recruiting and admitting Blacks are important steps for programs committed to diversity, it is important to realize that additional steps must also be taken to increase the likelihood of successful completion. A total commitment to cultural diversity includes an awareness of the unique issues involved in recruiting and retaining Black graduate students. Some alternative approaches to recruiting Black graduate students and issues related to Black student retention in graduate programs are discussed in this article.

Recruiting

Many university departments tend to establish rather stable recruitment channels. Pruitt and Isaac (1985) suggest that the most prominent channels of recruitment include the "old boy network" and alumni who refer relatives and friends. Other channels include recruiting at a select group of undergraduate colleges and using a limited advertising media (e.g., brochures). Reliance upon these channels has proven quite advantageous for White students.

Using these channels in order to recruit Black graduate students, however, may not result in the same advantages for this group. Historically the "old boy network" has not in-

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cluded Blacks and it is rare when this tradition is broken. Students who are most likely to benefit from this network are those students who have access to the network. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Black graduate students will be identified in significant numbers via this channel.

Recommendations from alumni of institutions have a great potential for aiding in the recruitment of Black graduate students. However, this channel often fails to be a viable resource for identifying potential Black graduate students. A contributing factor to this negative outcome may be due to the poor retention rate of Blacks in predominantly White undergraduate institutions (Olson, 1988). Also, there may be few alumni who can identify potential Black graduate students from the pool of undergraduates who complete bachelor degrees.

Recruiting at a few select undergraduate colleges may also fail to produce Black graduate student applicants. Perhaps this failure can be better understood if one examines what is meant by the words "select colleges." Typically, select colleges are limited to predominantly White institutions in which the enrollment of Black undergraduate students is minimal and the percentage of Blacks from these institutions pursuing graduate training is even lower (Heller, 1986).

Given these realities, how can universities improve their recruitment of Black students at the graduate level? Graduate programs that are committed to recruiting Black graduate students must establish new approaches to attract Black students. A prolonged period of investment may be necessary before the new approaches become as efficient as the channels used to recruit White students (Pruitt & Isaac, 1985).

Administrators of graduate institutions must realize that the recruitment of Black students will be greatly enhanced if positive relationships are established and maintained with Black professionals. For example, many graduate institutions have Black administrators and/or faculty who may be willing to recruit Black students. Black professionals at universities are potentially valuable resources for identifying prospective applicants through community networks or as a result of affiliation with predominantly Black institutions. Black administrators and faculty may be more willing to recruit Black students if the respective recruiting institution treats them as respected professionals. In addition, the way in which Black administrators and faculty are treated may influence Black applicants' desire to attend a graduate institution. For instance, if the contributions of Black faculty are not respected or valued by an institution, Black applicants have very little reason to believe that their work or contributions will be respected. Thus, it seems important for graduate institutions to realize the significance of establishing positive working relationships with its Black administrators and faculty.

Another approach to recruiting Black graduate students involves establishing a positive working relationship with institutions that have a high success rate for producing Black graduates who are interested in pursuing graduate degrees. Traditionally, predominantly Black institutions have been successful in producing black students who go on to complete graduate degrees (Pruitt & Isaac, 1985). Overlooking these valuable resources (i.e., Black administrators and faculty, predominantly Black colleges and universities) represents a very limited commitment to recruitment and cultural diversity.

Retention

Broadening the existing recruiting strategies at graduate institutions only partially addresses some of the issues

Black students face. Graduate programs must be able to retain and graduate Black students who can contribute to their respective fields of study. If the commitment to recruiting is carried out to its fullest, the graduate environment must be conducive to, appreciative, and accepting of the cultural diversity that Black graduate students may bring (Phelps, 1989).

There seems to be a variety of factors which influence Black student success in graduate programs. A growing number of studies have indicated that nonacademic factors, such as interpersonal relationships, social and academic integration, and the ability to deal with racism are important in predicting achievement for Black undergraduate students (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1985; Williams & Leonard, 1988). Perhaps these studies identify some of the unique issues Black graduate students may confront while pursuing degrees.

With respect to interpersonal relationships, the advisor–advisee relationship may be one of the most important alliances a student forms in graduate school. In general, advisors have several critical responsibilities where students are concerned such as (a) assisting in curriculum selection, (b) providing research guidance, (c) enhancing professional development and (d) serving as an advocate and friend. In addition, advisors must be aware of and sensitive to some of the unique cultural issues which influence the advisor–advisee relationship. The advisor should also be prepared to help the Black student filter through racial overtones which influence academic performance. If the advisor is unable to address these issues, it is likely that cultural differences will negatively impact the advisor–advisee relationship. Difficulties in this kind of relationship may adversely affect the achievement and retention of a student.

In addition, most graduate programs have low Black student enrollments and few, if any, Black faculty members. A Black student is likely to be isolated in a program that lacks both formal and informal support systems. White professors and students frequently expect Black students to adhere to all the same cultural norms as Whites. For some Black students, expression of their own cultural norms (i.e., values, communication styles) results in disapproval by faculty and White students. The irony of this situation is that talented Black students are often accepted into graduate programs under the pretense that programs want to demonstrate their commitment to diversity. However, Black students are often penalized for being culturally different. This situation may at the very least frustrate the Black student.

The manner in which cultural issues are dealt with in graduate program curriculum is also problematic. Most graduate disciplines are the product of the Euro-American cultural world view. For example, Katz (1985) suggests that the Euro-American world view is the foundation of the discipline of psychology. The paradigms of science and/or practice that students are trained in are rooted in a perspective that does not account for or respect culturally different conceptualizations. The underlying White cultural views are consistently imparted through curriculum, texts, and training experiences with very little recognition of alternative perspectives. It is frequently the case that the significant contributions of Black researchers and scholars are not incorporated into the standard curriculum. This very often communicates a devaluing of diversity and/or a lack of awareness of other cultural perspectives. White faculty and administrators need to take into consideration the cultural biases inherent in the graduate curriculum and the impact these biases may have on Black students. Sensitivity to cultural issues in this aspect of graduate training may have a positive effect on Black student retention.

Research training/requirements is another area where sensitivity and receptivity are necessary. Conducting research may present a number of hurdles for the Black student. For instance, research topics that focus on minority issues are not well received by the academic community. White faculty commonly characterize such interests as unworthy, an attitude that when compounded with the usual environmental pressures, makes graduate school intolerable. In situations where attention to minority issues are respected, there may not be faculty in the department who are qualified to mentor student's research on such topics. This may result in the student feeling frustrated and stifled. These experiences and feelings may lead to psychological and possibly physical withdrawal from the program. Thus, considerable attention must be given to how faculty support and foster student interest in conducting research.

Conclusion

If colleges and universities have as goals increasing cultural diversity and recruiting Black students in disciplines requiring graduate education, new channels of recruitment must be established and maintained. Also a total commitment to cultural diversity and recruitment must address the retention issue as well. Considerable attention must be given to the graduate student environment. Graduate education at predominantly White universities is a product of White cultural values which are communicated through advisory relationships, curriculum requirements, and research training. While this is not a criticism of White values, it can become problematic for non-White students when alternative cultural styles are not acknowledged and respected.

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The High Risk Minority Student Retention Program (HRMS) was developed to enhance Black student retention at a large, urban Ohio university.

High Risk Minority Student Retention Model: A Collaborative Program for Black Students

Thomas E. Midgette
Charles Stephens

Introduction

Institutions of higher learning must greatly expand their efforts to increase significantly the number and proportion of minority graduates. Furthermore, they must create an academic atmosphere that nourishes minority students and encourage them to succeed . . . and a campus culture that values the diversity minorities bring to institutional life.

One-Third of a Nation, 1988

The need for institutions of higher education to be more effective for minorities and the poor is imperative. Changing demographics suggest that the nation can ill-afford to waste valuable resources by ignoring students of color. Educators and economists have suggested that the nation's future will depend on Black students' success, thus influencing the social, economic, and political stature of this country.

Our society in the 1990s depends on our institutions of higher education being able to attract and graduate a sufficient number of minorities. Left unchecked, the declining participation of minorities in higher education will have severe repercussions for future generations of Americans (Wilson, 1989; 1988). In addition, we risk developing an educational and economic underclass and creating a culture that ignores the talents of a significantly large number of individuals.

Since a great majority of Blacks are attending predominantly White institutions, it becomes even more critical for

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these institutions to adopt policies that are innovative in recruiting, retaining, and graduating a greater number of minorities. More importantly, educational institutions must play a pivotal role in developing more sensitive programs and strategies to improve the quality of life of minority students, thus increasing the probability that they graduate (O'Brien, 1988; Penn, 1988).

The High Risk Minority Student Retention Model (HRMS)

The High Risk Minority Student Retention model was developed to address concerns about:

a. The declining pool of minority students who enroll in the urban university described below;

b. The high attrition rates of Black students in this predominantly White university;

c. The low graduation rates of Black students in this predominantly White university.

The HRMS Model was implemented in a large (+30,000) northeastern Ohio university. This model was developed for "high risk" students, which consisted of 100% African–American individuals. This model allows African–American students who have been academically dismissed to return to school the next semester if they agree to participate in a highly structured program. The HRMS Program is a contractual arrangement between the student and staff which facilitates skill acquisition and social development.

The American Council on Education suggests that only one out of every four Black high school graduates will enroll in college, despite the fact that high school graduation rates for Black students are at an all time high (Hodgkinson, 1985; Astin, 1982). By the year 2020, it is predicted that minorities will represent about 35% of the population of the U.S. Given this demographic shift, the highly negative impact of the disproportionate representation of minorities in college takes on alarming significance.

According to Bureau of Census data, college enrollment for Black students dropped from 33.5% of high school graduates in 1976 to 26.1% in 1985. U.S. Department of Education figures indicate that only 5.9% of recipients of bachelor degrees were Black, representing a 9.26% decline from the high reached in 1980–81.

Traditionally Black Institutions (TBI) have produced the majority of Black college graduates. However, according to current estimates about two-thirds to three-fourths of the Black students in college are now in predominantly White educational settings (Fleming, 1984).

Operation of the HRMS Program

The program staff pairs each participant selected for the program with a minority faculty mentor, a peer counselor, and an academic adviser. All faculty and staff are chosen for their sensitivity and concern for the needs of minority students. Program participants must attend a college survival skills class. In the fall, students begin participating in a counseling group to enhance student quality of life and self esteem. This personal growth group is conducted in collaboration with the University Counseling Center and the Department of Counseling and Special Education. Students who participate in the HRMS Program have their academic dismissal rescinded and are allowed to return to the university the semester following their dismissal.

Selection Process

Listed below are the steps to implement the program:

(a) Initial retention decisions are made in the usual fashion (i.e., folders of students whose grade point aver-

ages are in the dismissal categories are reviewed by the Dean of the University College, or one of his/her designates, along with students' assigned academic advisors).

(b) At the end of each day's retention meeting, a small group of academic advisers selected by the Director of Minority Retention and the Director of Afro-American Studies, reviews the files of dismissed minority students for the purpose of selecting students who might benefit by continued enrollment in a highly structured program for high risk students. The group examines students' high school background, extracurricular activities in high school and college, and ACT/SAT scores and college grades.

(c) The files for students selected for the program are forwarded to the Dean for his approval. Each file includes a written rationale to support the decision, and the name of the High Risk Minority student's (HRMS) adviser to whom the student is assigned.

(d) Letters are sent to approved students by the Director of Minority Affairs explaining the program and encouraging them to participate.

(e) A student who decides to participate in the program makes an appointment with his/her adviser to establish the written contract.

(f) The following activities are mandatory for all participants:

1. Monthly contact with HRMS adviser;
2. Participation in a special Survival Skills Forum;
3. Monthly contact with HRMS mentor;
4. Weekly meetings with a minority peer counselor;
5. Continuous monitoring of grades by faculty/staff;
6. Attendance at social support groups conducted by the University Counseling Center and Department of Counseling and Special Education;
7. Attend Career Planning Seminar conducted by the Department of Counseling and Special Education and University Counseling Center;
8. Other requirements as established by the HRMS adviser.

The HRMS program is evaluated at the end of each semester. Success is measured by students' questionnaire results, adviser satisfaction, grades received in academic courses and mentor-mentee feedback gathered at various points throughout the semester.

Identified Trends

The program began in Fall 1989 with 23 students of African-American descent. Preliminary findings follow:

(a) Twenty-one of the 23 (91%) students have improved their cumulative grade point average;

(b) Nine out of 23 (39%) have received a 2.0 or better grade point average after one semester in the program;

(c) Six out of 23 (28%) students moved out of the dismissal category;

(d) Two students improved enough (after only one semester) to come off probation;

(e) Two students did not enroll Spring Semester because of low grade point average (.5);

(f) Three students elected not to return Spring Semester;

(g) One student initiated a total withdrawal from the university;

(h) The range of the GPAs received after one semester in the High Risk Minority Student Program was 00.0 to 2.9.

Future Implications: A Final Word

Clearly there is a need for more systematic programs that confront the devastating problem of high attrition rates for African-American students enrolled in predominantly White universities. The High Risk Minority Student Retention Program demonstrates that academically dismissed students placed in a highly structured program of skill acquisition and personal attention can be successful in improving their academic performance over a sixteen week period. Future consideration should be given to conducting the HRMS Program for two terms (32 weeks). Two terms of the HRMS Program should produce greater academic improvement and allow stronger mentoring relations to develop and increase the probability that these students will reach their academic and personal goals.

More systematic and longitudinal examination of student data is needed to implement responsive programs for "high risk" African-American students. The faculty and staff who participate in this program should be compensated with appropriate load or release time for making such an investment of time and energy with "high risk" students. The success of many predominantly White institutions may depend not only on how well they recruit these new students, but in the development of innovative programs to retain students of color experiencing academic, personal, and environmental difficulties.

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An Editorial Comment

Robbie J. Steward, Ph.D.

Recommendations for change in increased access and equity in education for African-American individuals: What do we do while we wait?

In reviewing the literature addressing African-American student success, researchers and theoreticians often open articles by describing institutions of higher education as racist, culturally biased, and/or multiculturally ignorant. Maybe not in these words specifically, but I often hear this message in conversation and see it in literature. I must also admit that I have collected many experiences in the role of student, counselor, and professor that reinforce these perceptions. What is intriguing to me is that these same articles and discussions often close with a presentation of what should be done by these racist, biased, and/or ignorant institutions of higher education in order to more effectively help African-American students.

I have been and will continue to be one of these researchers who attempt to objectively identify both the positive and negative impact of campus life upon African-American students (in fact upon all students) and I will continue to propose recommendations for change and remain hopeful that change is possible. I have lived long enough to see that institutions and systems can and do change. However, I also recognize that institutional and systematic change occurs slowly. For example, at this time in the history of the overall discipline of psychology, the premise that testing is culturally biased and discriminates against those from cultural heritages that differ from the Eurocentric perspective is well documented in the literature. However, the use of testing for purposes of selection for those who access the most attractive educational institutions and thereby gain an opportunity for positions of power and influence has not been significantly daunted by this current literature. The status quo has remained intact, and although some Caucasian individuals are negatively impacted by such practices, many more African-Americans have found themselves to be at the mercy of a "test," and then by an uninformed test interpreter who does not accommodate cultural diversity in its descriptive interpretations. Change is slow, but how long can we afford to wait for the social and political structure within the United States to change? This is a system which has not only been historically insensitive to those citizens of African heritage, but at times has actively denigrated any characteristic associated with our group. Can we afford to wait? And if so, at what cost?

This article addresses the implications of waiting for institutional changes, as well as the cost for doing so. The article will close with a list of suggestions developed by the special issue editor and the associate editor of *Educational Considerations*, G. Daniel Harden that aim to offer alternatives to the anxiety, anger and frustration that can result while the change slowly unfolds. We as African-Americans must attempt to maintain a healthy and productive focus as we wait for institutions to "do the right thing."

Can we afford to wait?

Just as we have applauded the acknowledgement of the cultural bias of testing, we have also found ourselves waiting for this knowledge to be implemented on a scale large enough to impact societal barriers that have hindered and/or discouraged African-Americans in engaging in upwardly mobile behaviors. As the decades have passed, we have watched and waited as African-American student enrollment on university campuses has decreased. We have watched and waited as the African-American male has become labelled an "endangered species." We have watched and waited as discouraged, disillusioned and disheartened African-Americans have increasingly moved toward substance abuse and Black-on-Black violence. We have watched and waited as a resurfacing of overt racist attitudes and behaviors by White Americans escalates. My fear is that the systematic change will occur at a time when the damage resulting from these current events will be so great that many African-American people will be unable to immediately respond to the long delayed change. The boat to the promised land may have finally arrived, but many African-Americans may be so tired, hurt, and suspicious that they are incapable or unwilling to board. It is my belief that we cannot afford to only watch and wait.

Another reason that we cannot afford to wait is that doing so reinforces the belief that we are fully dependent upon White Americans for whomever and whatever we are. This is a belief that is held by many White Americans today: that the African-Americans who have succeeded academically or professionally have done so only because of "affirmative action" programs or special consideration. African-Americans might in fact find themselves struggling with the identification of what successes can be attributed to competence and what successes can be attributed to minority status. Waiting for systematic change alone appears to reinforce faulty beliefs about African-Americans, feeding stereotypical thinking. Engaging in "only" waiting behaviors comes at a high cost.

What then?

The following alternatives have been generated only in the form of suggestions and do not in any way remove the necessity of systematic change in how institutions respond to African-Americans. Blaming the victim is not the intent, nor is discounting the unique experience of being objects of individual and systemic racism. The intent is to share some general guidelines that might be useful to all African-American individuals.

(1) Identify one's personhood with some stable transcendent moral order that: (a) provides the basis for objective decision-making; and (b) results in the development and maintenance of an optimistic and hopeful attitude. This requires the recognition that a functional, healthy self/self-image (physical and emotional) is at least as important as the struggle for a responsive political structure.

(2) Develop independent study programs that increase the knowledge base relating to the history and cross-cultural traditions of Africa and America.

(3) Acknowledge gains and opportunities that have come to this generation of African-Americans through the efforts of previous generations. Develop a responsible attitude toward future generations of African-Americans. "What I do and how I behave affects my people, whom I value, and it is my goal to affect those who follow me in a positive manner."

(4) Work diligently to identify all sources of support (emotional, financial, educational, etc.) and encouragement toward engaging in productive and validating efforts. Such

support can come from individuals independent of racial or ethnic divisions. Check personal biases and prejudices that might limit access to viable resources.

(5) Challenge and question unfair practices, beliefs, and barriers (interpersonal and systematic) that reinforce both positive and negative cultural myths regarding African-American and other racial/ethnic groups.

(6) Increase one's understanding of the dynamics of cross-cultural interaction, prejudices, and racism. Develop effective interpersonal styles that incorporate this knowledge into everyday life.

(7) Share what you know with someone else, particularly other African-Americans, and value learning (by observing and/or requested instruction). Watch and listen in order to better identify clearer connections between actions and consequences. Avoid rejecting contributions from any source, because everyone has something of value to teach.

African-American university students should find these ideas helpful in adapting to the sometimes alienating environment of campus life. Being aware of these alternatives might not decrease the waiting time, but they could make the waiting time easier.

Book Review

Truths from Women about Leadership

A review of *The Female Advantage: Women's Way of Leadership*. Sally Helgesen. New York: Doubleday Currency, 1990.

By Joan L. Curcio, Assistant Professor, University of Florida

With Nietzsche's words "Suppose Truth is a woman, what then?," Sally Helgesen begins her timely and powerful work on *The Female Advantage: Women's Ways of Leadership*. Male leaders, don't reject this book; you're going to learn something more helpful than *Theory Z*. This book is not theory, hypothesizing on the differences between men and women in leadership positions; this is not psychology, explaining away why women may not be comfortable with warrior strategies; this is not an angry diatribe, or an *apologia* for the fact that many women lead differently then men. These are meticulously researched diary studies of four successful women leaders; the studies replicate Mintzberg's work on male leaders reported in *The Nature of Managerial Work*. The achievement of Helgesen's women is enviable enough to be studied. The four include: Frances Hesselbein, National Executive Director of the Girl Scouts ($26 million operating budget); Barbara Grogan, President of Western Industrial Contractors ($6 million annually); Nancy Badore, Director of Ford Motor Company's Executive Development Center ($5 million budget); and Dorothy Brunson, President of Brunson Communications (company is worth $15 million).

The real question Helgesen should have posed at the beginning of her book was not Nietzsche's but this one: Suppose Truth (about leadership) came in the form of a woman, would we listen to her voice? Sally Helgesen has chose to study the behavior of four women who have found their own leadership voices, and are using them to lead in ways that work. Each of the women, as Helgesen underscores, speaks with a distinctive voice that is "both a unique expression of her own personality and an instrument for conveying and guiding her vision of how her organization should be run . . . Each woman's management style finds expression in her voice" (p. 224). This "voice" that Helgesen alludes to is much more than words and sounds: it is dialogue and interaction; it is the tone that is set in the organization; it is the way of presenting and expressing oneself as the leader; it is modeling, encouraging rather than giving orders, teaching "lessons" and communicating values of responsibility and interconnection. "Implicit in the use of voice as an instrument of leadership is the notion that care and empowerment are leadership tasks," Helgesen says.

This book was written because of the author's realization (through her own experiences in the corporate world as well as her recognition of the corporate restructuring that is occurring at the same time that women are flooding the marketplace) that the days of women fitting into the corporate mold are over. Helgesen notes that the old hierarchial-chain of command structures in which women felt "least at home" are crumbling. Significant change is taking place. So she has written a book that would discuss not what women should learn to make it in the corprate world, but what that world could learn from women. Specifically, she portrays four women in action, achieving success at this very moment, whose leadership is already having an effect on how business is being conducted in this country.

What are the values that these women hold that are the source of their success? They include:

an attention to process instead of a focus on the bottom line; a willingness to look at how an action will affect other people . . . a concern for the wider needs of the community; a disposition to draw on personal, private sphere experience when dealing in the public realm; an appreciation of diversity; an outsider's impatience with rituals and symbols of status that divide people who work together and so reinforce hierarchies. (p. xxi)

These are not values which belong to women alone, but they *are* values which in the past have been regarded as weaknesses in the work world, and not strengths. Specifically how do the women executives in Helgesen's book manifest these values, each in their own voice?—for they are very different women, and their voices are distinctive.

Frances Hesselbein, CEO of a large nonprofit organization, speaks calmly and carefully chooses her words. The leader of 750,000 volunteers will not motivate with an authoritarian style—hers must be "the voice of welcome" (p. 71). Yet she has instituted a management system that has united hundreds of local councils, put out management monographs that have been adopted by major corporations, and molded Girl Scouts USA into what Peter Drucker has described as the best-managed organization around. How has this "tough, hardworking" woman pulled this off? With caring (sympathy flowers to a young employee), attention to detail (every piece of mail in the organization answered within three days), and meticulous preparation; by constant reading and sharing ideas and information, listening, communicating respect, and building the corporate culture. Primarily she has done it with a circular organizational management structure, referred to by her staff as the "Bubble chart" and by Helgesen as a "web," and one other piece: strategic and tactical plans, which, combined with annual performance appraisals, comprise an overall corporate planning system. These are the tools through which Frances Hesselbein's "unflappable" leadership functions.

Helgesen describes the leadership approach of Barbara Grogan, who emerging from being devastated by divorce at 35 to being founder and president of Western Industrial Contractors eight years later, as a "structure of spontaneity." She plans her heavy schedule to the minute, then proceeds through the day with enjoyment and "unusual responsiveness." One of less than a dozen women among thousands of millwrighting contractors in the country, she built her business in a tough market during Denver's oil-recession days. She succeeded, Helgesen says, "because of her company's commitment to excellence, attentive service, and a policy of nurturing client relationships with the long term in mind." The bottom line is not the goal; getting the job done and maintaining a high level of integrity are. The warmth and enthusiasm of this woman pulls those around her in and belies her meticulous organizational abilities: greeting colleagues with hugs and kisses, proclaiming her successes to be triumphs for everyone, encouraging, pushing, teaching, "flowing . . . not stuffy and by-the-book." She lives the mantra on the dashboard of her van, "I am powerful, beautiful, creative, and I can handle it!"

Different still, the style of Nancy Badore in directing Ford's Executive Development Center offers a prototype for leading today's organization, given the changing nature of work and of people who work. In Helgesen's words:

> Nancy Badore is constantly modeling behavior that breaks down status distinctions and confounds expectations of executive attitudes and comportment. She seeks to empower those around her by being direct and natural in a way that minimizes her own ego and strips herself of the trappings of power that emphasize boundaries and hierarchical divisions.

She is responsible for training top company managers internally in Ford's "new culture" values based on quality and customer orientation. She played a significant role in Ford's turn-around, and created the model for the Development Center which trains executives to "talk up the ladder." She is confident enough to bring her baby to work, serve health foods to the executives, be "crazy," and to trust her staff. She recognizes her weaknesses: intuitive and extroverted, she has trouble bringing closure and imposing structure. So she works on them and compensates with the staff she chooses, but doesn't try to "fit in." Realizing she has something important to contribute, she glories in her difference.

Dorothy Brunson, owner of Brunson Communications, sees herself as a transmitter, "gathering information from everywhere, making sense of it, rearranging it in patterns, and then beaming it to wherever it needs to go" (p. 179). Brunson succeeds in a business where constant change is the norm by adapting to the occasion while maintaining a strong, direct image; by taking risks like buying a radio station in a dire financial state and turning it around; by equalizing the pecking order in her business ("this is a black orga-

nization, so it's common for people to have a strong need for self-esteem" (p. 182); by teasing, cajoling, and above all, negotiating with relish and obvious enjoyment. She works out of two adjoining offices, carrying a large paper coffee cup, dressed simply; she drives an old Escort. What she values are her three radio towers on prime real estate behind her station, her clients, and her staff. For employees she wants thinking people who will make a commitment and bring their whole self to a problem. In return, she will give time, freedom to think, honesty, and respect.

For male leaders, Helgesen's book is a fresh look at leadership, another perspective, another opportunity to learn new strategies at a time when leadership abilities are being challenged from every direction. For female leaders, it is an affirmation and an invitation to continue the search for their "voice," remembering Sally Helgesen's admonition:

> *Leading* with a voice is only possible when one has reached a certain level of development as a person; otherwise the voice will not ring true. (p. 230)

This book is about power, persuasion, empowerment, and negotiation. The analogies that can be drawn from this book of the business world to schools are unmistakable. As Helgesen points out, "Given the changing nature both of work and of people who work, there emerges a need for leaders who can stimulate employees to work with zest and spirit" (p. 235). There is something is this book that speaks to help in easing the public's loss of confidence in schools, to the threat of choice, and waves and waves of reform,—something to enrich all leaders who can hear its "voice."

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