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ANNUALS OF THE NEXT GENERATION

CONTENTS

**The Dilemma of Higher Education Reform in a Post-Affirmative Action Society:
A Review of Anti-Affirmative Action Legislation to Inform Policy Modification**

LaVar Jovan Charleston

University of Wisconsin-Madison

PAGE 10

Increasingly, state systems within the United States are reviewing admissions policies to address issues of discrimination surrounding affirmative action programs (Fischer & Massey, 2007). Furthermore, the controversy over affirmative action is creating a wide-range of responses from various states—some preemptive, some reactive— which have brought issues of access to the surface across state systems. The passing of anti-affirmative action legislation in several states including California, Washington, and more recently Michigan, have brought about new challenges for institutions with a commitment to increase diversity such as the University of Michigan. Though some programs have been implemented to respond to these challenges, most have failed to provide a substantive alternative to affirmative action programs (Flores & Horn, 2003). Thus, the purpose of this manuscript is to analyze the effectiveness of post-affirmative action legislation, evaluate its ramifications on state systems, and offer implications for policy reformation in the wake of anti-affirmative action legislation.

**Factors that Impact College Matriculation for African American Students: Implications
for Policy and Praxis**

Brandi Nicole Van Horn

University of Denver, Morgridge College of Education

PAGE 27

The purpose of this article is to determine, critically analyze, and synthesize the most salient factors that impact college matriculation for African American students. The author drew upon the extant research literature published within the last decade to determine relevant theories and effective policies and practices that correlate with college matriculation for African American students. The ultimate goal is to provide an integrative analysis and evaluation of variables that influence college access and implications useful for educational policymakers and practitioners in the fields of secondary and postsecondary education.

**Examining Academic Leadership Position Attainment in Higher Education:
Evidence from NSOPF: 99**

Raul A. Leon and Jerlando F. L. Jackson

University of Wisconsin-Madison

PAGE 46

Building on earlier work of hiring practices for administrators in higher education, this study examines the likelihood of women and people of color securing these positions. More specifically, this study examined position attainment with regard to academic leadership positions using the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF: 99). Drawing from scholarship on position attainment and administrative diversity, this study used logistic regression models to explore differences in position attainment by race/ethnicity and gender.

**Administrative Work in Higher and Postsecondary Education:
A Critical Review of Empirical Research**

Kimberly Kile and Jerlando F. L. Jackson

University of Wisconsin-Madison

PAGE 64

A critical review of research on administrative work in higher and postsecondary education revealed a historical shift in studies that initially examined the general act of administration, to a contemporary focus on administrators as the unit of analysis. It is our contention that this shift was due, in part, because researchers realized that in order to better understand the “act of administration,” focus must be placed on the “actors.” Moreover, administrative work in higher and postsecondary education has become more complex, thus requiring more attention to be placed on the challenges faced by individual administrators. Due to the rising importance of administrators to address institutional accountability requirements, expanding campus-based programs, fiscal health, and growing levels of ethnic and racial diversity on campus, a review of this nature is imperative for contemporary higher and postsecondary education. Accordingly, our review revealed several weaknesses of the literature base, including atheoretical inquiries, and findings informed by small sample sizes. This review identifies implications for practice and provides direction for future research.

Revolutionary Wishes in *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula*: Toni Morrison's Developing Anti-Capitalist Vision

Antonio Maurice Daniels

University of Wisconsin-Madison

PAGE 84

This essay uses the theoretical construct of Marxist theorist Fredric Jameson to contend that Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula* unveil Morrison's developing anti-capitalist and Utopian visions. Although characters in these aforementioned first two novels of Morrison are situated in impossible conditions, they still engage in imagining alternatives to their capitalist realities. This essay seeks to evince what is possible when we engage in Utopian thought, even when postmodern conditions attempt to place barriers on our ability to exercise Utopian thought. *Sula* is revealed to be the novel with the greatest Utopian potential of all of Morrison's novels, and Sula Peace, the protagonist, is the character with the most Utopian potential of all of Morrison's characters.

An Analysis of One State's Use of Race Neutral Policies to Achieve Diversity

Adriel A. Hilton

Public Policy Fellow, Greater Baltimore Committee

PAGE 94

This research sought to determine whether Florida has been successful in achieving greater racial diversity in its public colleges and universities without the use of racial preferences in the years after it implemented the One Florida Initiative (OFI) and opened two Minority Serving Institution (MSI) law schools. The study looked at enrollment in the state's public law schools, historically one of the more stubborn of all professional schools nationally when it comes to attempts to enroll a more racially diverse student body in order to increase diversity in America's law firms. The objective was to determine what impact the OFI and the addition of two MSI law schools, which coincided with but occurred separately from the OFI, might have had on diversity in Florida's law schools and ultimately its legal profession. The concept of Critical Race Theory was utilized to examine its role in relation to affirmative action and desegregation case law. Quantitative methodology was employed within this research. Secondary data sets from the State University System of Florida, Florida Board of Governors and the Florida Bar Association were analyzed. The data compiled included average Law School Admission Test scores and statistics on the number of students that applied, were admitted, enrolled, and ultimately graduated from Florida's public law schools between 1998 and 2006. This research was conducted using a Z-test of proportion and one-way analysis of variance using SPSS. The quantitative aspect of the research revealed that minority representation in Florida's legal profession improved after the two events studied. And, while further improvement is warranted, this study concluded that minorities were also represented in larger numbers in Florida's public law schools.

Dental Environment: Incorporating the Work Systems Approach

Renaldo Cortez Blocker

University of Wisconsin-Madison

PAGE 109

This conceptual paper argues a need for researchers to engage in research related to patient and physician safety in the dental environment, and suggests a work system approach in evaluating the dental environment. The Systems Engineering Initiative in Patient Safety (SEIPS) model is offered as a significant vehicle for ameliorating patient safety and quality in the dental environment. This paper relies upon the theoretical constructs of Smith and Carayon-Sainfort's (1989) Balance Theory of Job Design and Irwin's et al's (2009) Consolidated Flow Model.

Urban African American Male High School Students' Educational Aspirations for College: The Influence of Family, School and Peers

Kimberly A. Grieve

Lourdes College

PAGE 121

This exploratory quantitative study used the predisposition stage of the College Choice Model by Hossler and Stage (1999) as the theoretical framework to examine the effect of family, school, and peers on the educational aspirations of 60 urban African American male high school students from the Midwest. Three significant factors relating to educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students were discovered. The results of the regression and correlation analysis revealed that support from teachers and counselors, peer, and financial support were the most significant predictors of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students.

Watching from the Margins: Graduate Students in the Student Affairs Paradigm

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Teachers College, Columbia University

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Northern Illinois University

Rachael A. Barrett

Georgia Southern University

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Northern Illinois University

PAGE 136

A plethora of the literature on various aspects of the student experience focuses on undergraduate students while little research has been conducted on the educational process of graduate students. This suggests that the majority of student affairs programming focuses on activities and services for the undergraduate population. This void in the literature and in programming may cause the graduate student population to be overlooked on many campuses. Moreover, the emphasis of student preparation programs on undergraduate students contributes to the omission of graduate students within the literature and programming. Thus, this study examined the methods and type of programming utilized by student affairs administrators to offer programs and activities to graduate students at four sites representing a cross-section of institutional types (public and private; research, doctoral and comprehensive). Analysis of the data revealed two broad categories of themes with several underlying, but connected themes, across all four institutions. The two themes focused on the undergraduate population and inclusion of graduate students in campus programming. Findings of the study illuminate the need for student affairs professionals to develop knowledge about the student population in its entirety and corresponding needs, interests, and resources needed to serve various groups within the population. Moreover, the results also illustrate the need for collaborative, interdepartmental efforts at the institutional level to ensure graduate students do not have to watch from the margins.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Annals of the Next Generation is a refereed, scholarly journal that seeks to provide a venue to showcase the next generation of African American scholars by publishing the research of graduate students. This publication will highlight research from multiple disciplines and areas, and allow these young scholars to present their work to an international audience. A manuscript submitted to *Annals of the Next Generation* should be a Microsoft Word file. Manuscripts should be formatted into a 8 ½ x 11 document with one inch margins, should be Times New Roman 12 point typeface, and should not be more than 40 double-spaced pages (including references). The submission should conform to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA) (5th edition)*. The title page should contain the article name, authors' names and complete affiliations, and the address for manuscript correspondence (including e-mail address, telephone, and fax numbers). A descriptive abstract of no more than 100 double-spaced words should be included in the manuscript.

Manuscripts will be acknowledged by the Editor upon receipt. After an internal editorial review, manuscripts will be forwarded anonymously to at least two external reviewers. The review process will take anywhere from 6 weeks to 3 months. Once the manuscript has been reviewed, the author(s) will be notified about the status of the manuscript. Every effort should be made by the author(s) to remove any identifying markers from the manuscript. Manuscripts accepted for publication are subject to copyediting. Manuscript submission indicates the author's commitment to publish in *Annals of the Next Generation* and to give the journal first publication rights. No manuscript known to be under consideration by another journal will be reviewed. It is a condition of publication that author(s) vest copyright of their manuscripts, including abstracts, to **The Center for African American Research and Policy (CAARP)**.

February 1st and June 1st are the annual submission deadlines. All submissions should be submitted to the online submission system at <http://www.caarpweb.org/publications/ang.php>. If you have any questions, please contact Antonio Daniels, Editor of *The Annals of the Next Generation*, via email to adaniels@caarpweb.org.

The Dilemma of Higher Education Reform in a Post-Affirmative Action Society: A Review of Anti-Affirmative Action Legislation to Inform Policy Modification

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The implementation of affirmative action policies in higher education purpose was to fulfill a common mission among many of the United States institutions of higher learning. That is, to diversify the college campus and provide representation relative to individuals' share in the population (Fischer & Massey, 2007; Hagedorn & Tierney, 2002; Nettles, Perna, & Millet, 1998). Since affirmative action's inception, African American and Hispanic representation on college campuses has increased. Likewise, the number of African American and Hispanic degree holders has also increased (Fischer & Massey, 2007; Nettles et al., 1998). However, first generation African American and Hispanic youth still lag behind the college going rates of their White and Asian counterparts, and are underrepresented relative to their presence in the general population (Fischer & Massey, 2007; Hagedorn & Tierney, 2002). This actuality is often the source of justification for institutions' continual need for and use of affirmative action programs.

While the views on affirmative action vary, campaigns to end affirmative action have been successful in two ways: (a) effectively resolving some states' affirmative action programs; and (b) causing other state systems to conduct preemptive legislation to avoid litigation. Critics of affirmative action make the following arguments: (a) affirmative action represents reverse discrimination and lessens the opportunity of admission for better qualified White students; (b) affirmative action fosters a disparity between the skills of the student and the abilities necessary to succeed at selective universities; and (c) affirmative action stigmatizes members of the target population as unqualified (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Sowell, 2004; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1999). However, a 2006 study on *The Effects of Affirmative Action in Higher Education* found that "Affirmative action as currently practiced carries a clear benefit for minority students and that the potential to achieve even greater benefits in the future is considerable" (Fischer & Massey, 2007, p. 547).

A series of lawsuits and Supreme Court rulings have fueled the debate over the use of affirmative action in college admission policies. Consequently, it has become difficult for institutions to devise admission systems that are successful in creating group diversity, while simultaneously catering to individual fairness (Fischer & Massey, 2007). The states of Washington, Texas, and California have developed well thought out responses to anti-affirmative action legislation, while Florida took preemptive measures to elude litigation. The state of Michigan, however, is still at the beginning stages of determining its future course relative to its new legislation surrounding affirmative action.

As the wave of anti-affirmative action legislation is slowly making its way across the country, and given demands to enhance diversity by increasing the number of underrepresented students on college campuses, it is important to review data related to affirmative action in higher education to analyze the effectiveness of post affirmative action legislation and assess its impact on state systems. This manuscript will provide recommendations for future research and

assess policy implications in order to guide institutions toward realizing their diversity missions devoid of affirmative action programs. I aim to respond to the following questions: How does anti-affirmative action legislation affect a university's student body composition? What are institutions doing to counteract anti-affirmative action legislation and is it working? This manuscript will then aim to achieve the following tasks: (a) present a review of evidence detailing the factors around affirmative action in higher education; (b) synthesize and explicate literature on anti-affirmative action legislation; (c) integrate information from literature to provide an informed perspective on the results of anti-affirmative action legislation, its effect on the diversity of college campuses, and what it means for policy makers; and (d) specify an administrative agenda aimed at achieving diversity goals in the wake of anti-affirmative action legislation.

Method

The literature reviewed focuses on the use of affirmative action programs on college campuses, or additional factors within, and includes case studies relative to the elimination of affirmative action dating from 1994 to 2007. The research was gathered from a combination of sources including court cases, books, professional and scholarly journals, and individual university or other websites relevant to information about anti-affirmative action legislation. Among the journals and sources are: *The Economist*, *The Review of Educational Research*, *Social Science Research*, *The Civil Rights Project at Harvard*, *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Moreover, these articles included information, research, or studies detailing descriptions or aspects of affirmative action, diversity, higher education, admission policies or anti-affirmative action legislation. The cited materials in this manuscript were retrieved by searching scholarly journals and publications for relevant articles.

To analyze this data, I reviewed said sources to identify the core ideals related to affirmative action programs, anti-affirmative action legislation, effects of affirmative action and anti-affirmative action on higher education access, and administrative responses to anti-affirmative action legislation. This manuscript defines affirmative action programs within higher education as programs whose aim is to provide college access to underrepresented populations who otherwise might not be able to attend college, not those programs aimed at other beneficiaries of affirmative action (e.g., veterans). I extricated pertinent information relevant to affirmative action, diversity, higher education, admission policies or anti-affirmative action legislation from the sources listed. Likewise, I recorded the results of my findings in a systematic format, illustrating the current effects of anti-affirmative action legislation to the affected state systems, and its relationship to the underrepresented populations these systems sought to serve.

Brief History of Affirmative Action

The origin of affirmative action legislation dates back to 1961. President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, which prohibited government contractors from discriminating against current or future employees as a means to counteract widespread discriminatory practices being played out nation-wide. Kennedy's executive order also mandated that contractors assume "affirmative action" to not only guarantee the employment of applicants, but also to ensure that current and prospective employees were assessed without regard to their

nationality, race, creed, or color (Holzer & Neumark, 2000). When President Lyndon B. Johnson took office, he reiterated Kennedy's executive order. Later, in 1967, under Executive Order 11375, Johnson amended his previous reiteration of Kennedy's Executive Order by including women (Holzer & Neumark, 2000). Moreover, a series of additional legislative acts in the years that followed helped to shape what we now view as affirmative action.

The legislative acts that embody affirmative action were implemented as an attempt to provide corrective measures that would deter governmental and social injustices against demographic groups, such as women and minorities, which have traditionally been discriminated against in areas relative to employment and education (Tierney, 1997). Moreover, it was derived from a series of legislative acts whose aim was to counteract past, present, and future discrimination to provide for a balance of societal power that would reflect the demographics of society as a whole, ultimately creating a society of equality. To put the necessity of affirmative action into context in relation to academe, in 1960, less than five percent of senior administrators at mainstream institutions were women or minorities (Tierney, 1997). Legislation like Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 addressed issues of gender-based admission policy discrimination and permitted courts to take affirmative action to remedy these types of discrimination. This legislation and others such as Title IX of the Educational Amendments in 1972 outlawed employment discrimination based on race, gender, religion, color, or national origin (Tierney, 1997).

Historic court cases that have either affected or been the result of legislation surrounding affirmative action include: *Brown v. Board of Education, 1954*, where the court ruled against the "separate but equal" doctrine that had previously allowed nation-wide segregation; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 1971*, allowing public schools to employ methods to racially balance school districts in an effort to eliminate state-imposed segregation; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, 1978*, allowing universities to consider race as one of several factors in admissions but not create slots based solely on race; and *Grutter v. Bollinger, Gratz v. Bollinger, 2003*, allowing universities to consider race as part of an "individualized" consideration of applicants based on a university's commitment to a diverse population; however, deeming an automatic point system unconstitutional ("Historic decisions cited in current cases," 2006).

Opposition to Affirmative Action

The successful elimination of affirmative action in university and state systems originated with the 1996 landmark case *Hopwood v. Texas*. In 1992, Cheryl Hopwood, a White student, was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School, though she was more qualified than were several admitted minority applicants. She consulted The Center for Individual Rights (CIR) and her lawsuit culminated in a four year battle, with a Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals victory. The court's opinion in this case was that the 14th Amendment prohibits state universities from using race as factor in their admissions policies (<http://www.cir-usa.org/cases/hopwood.html>). However, in 2003, seven years later, the Supreme Court abrogated the Hopwood decision in the *Grutter v. Bollinger (2003)* case, where the courts permitted universities to consider race as part of an individualized consideration of applicants to further the interest of fostering the educational benefits that derive from diversity among the program's students. This ruling enabled the Fifth Circuit Jurisdiction to re-institute race as a factor in their admissions processes, as long as a point or quota system was not used.

Presently, the opposition of affirmative action and the forerunner of its demise nationwide, particularly in the states of California, Washington, Michigan, and most recently Nebraska is the American Civil Rights Institute (ACRI) led by Wardell Connerly. The ACRI professes to be a civil rights organization dedicated to educating the public about racial and gender preferences (<http://www.acri.org/>). They have three areas of focus, which include: 1) assisting organizations in educating the public about racial and gender preferences, 2) assisting federal representatives with public education, and 3) overseeing the legalities of California's Proposition 209. Connerly's efforts to get his initiative on the November 2008 ballots in Arizona, Missouri, and Oklahoma failed. However, voters in Nebraska approved Connerly's initiative, while Colorado voters rejected his efforts at banning state affirmative action programs (Mooney, 2008).

While a member of the University of California Board of Regents, Ward Connerly gained national attention as he led the challenge against the race-based system of preference the university was implementing in its admissions policies. His efforts led to a vote by the Board to end the use of race as a factor in the university's admissions processes. As chairman of the California Civil Rights Initiative, also known as Proposition 209, Connerly ran a successful campaign to have this initiative placed on the November 1996 ballot. Proposition 209 was passed by California voters, outlawing affirmative action racial quotas in the state of California. Similarly, two years later, Connerly headed the efforts to impose Initiative 200 in Washington State, which outlawed the use of race or ethnicity in admissions, employment, or contract decisions within the state. Connerly's next triumph was the passing of the State of Michigan's Proposal 2 (Michigan Civil Rights Initiative) which provided legislation requiring equal treatment for all Michigan residents in public education, employment, as well as contracting on November 7, 2006, to be made law on December 22, 2006 (<http://www.acri.org/>). Furthermore, Connerly's latest victory in Nebraska follows on the heel of those victories in California in 1996, Washington State in 1998, and Michigan in 2006, with future efforts lined up in additional states for the 2010 ballot (Mooney, 2008). This anti-affirmative action legislation has had drastic affects on the states in which it was implemented as well as other states around the country concerned with lawsuits and other legislative action detailing race-based admissions or preferential treatment. Likewise, it has significantly altered the make-up of the student body at state universities within the active states with the exception of Nebraska as it is in the very early stages of legislation.

State Responses to Anti-Affirmative Action Legislation

Though several of the schools' reactions to the ending of affirmative action in their particular states were indeed similar, the dynamics of the states, the university system, as well as the language of the reactive legislation fostered a variety of repercussions for each state. In response to *Hopwood v. Texas* (1996), State Senator Gonzalo Barrientes created a task force to analyze the implications of the removal of affirmative action from the state's university systems. He also charged them to provide alternatives, later to be drafted into legislation (Flores & Horn, 2003). The legislative response came in the form of House Bill 588, which was passed in 1997 and allotted for the automatic admission of all students in the top ten percent of their class to any public university in the State of Texas, regardless of their standardized test scores.

Texas' plan failed to provide a substantive alternative to affirmative action programs proven by the low numbers of admittees among African American and Hispanic populations, and

failed to meet its own goals set through its Access and Equity 2000 plan, in which the state set as its first institutional goal “minority enrollment reflecting the population of the area it serves and from which it recruits students” (Flores & Horn, 2003, p.15). As it relates to Texas, a study involving its two top tier institutions, University of Texas and Texas A&M University, revealed significant declines in regards to applications from underrepresented groups. Likewise, these declines surfaced at a time when there was a significant trend in the growth of the college-age population (Liecht, Lloyd, Maltese, Sullivan, & Tienda, 2003).

The 10 percent policy, aimed at adding diversity, resulted in fewer African American and Hispanic admittees after the *Hopwood* decision. Likewise, the probability of underrepresented students being admitted in the top ten percent were minuscule as the system almost certainly admitted those students (not necessarily African American or Hispanic students) who ranked in the top ten percent of their high school graduating class prior to the 1996 *Hopwood* ruling. Additional ramifications included a rising Asian population that was characterized by higher admission probability and higher odds of matriculation (Liecht, Lloyd, Maltese, Sullivan, & Tienda, 2003). Ultimately, the new policy created a student body that was increasingly disproportionate to the demographics of the State of Texas. Asian Americans were a substantial population before the initiative went into effect. Yet increasing their proportion of the whole did little to address the decreasing proportion of African American and Hispanics whose presence in the population of Texas continues to increase.

Furthermore, post-affirmative action legislation has also failed to address the institutional disparities resulting from the history of racial segregation in the state. In 1997, on the eve of the passage of Bill 588, the state’s Office of Civil Rights found that the disparities in Texas’ higher education system were traceable to segregation and still existed in the following areas: the mission of the universities, the land grant status of Prairie View A&M University when compared to Texas A&M University, program duplication, facilities, funding, and the racial identifiability of public universities (Flores & Horn, 2003). What the Texas case reveals is that meeting the goal of enrolling a population of minority students proportionate to their presence in its service area will continue to challenge the creation of a race-blind admissions policy. By necessity, it must continue to address the history of racial segregation and institutional disparity in secondary and post secondary education.

California’s strategy after the passage of proposition 209 mirrored Texas’ House Bill 588. The first state response to the Proposition 209 Legislation was presented as a proposal by the 1999 California elected Governor Gray Davis. Governor Davis proposed that the top four percent of graduates from public and private high schools throughout the state be guaranteed admission to any school within the University of California system. He posited that this effort would ensure that those students who excelled would automatically be admitted, ensuring diversity within the system schools (Flores & Horn, 2003).

California’s response mirrored Texas’ House Bill 588; however, the competition for admittance to University of California system schools, particularly its flagship institutions, makes the effectiveness of its four percent plan unlikely in its efforts to diversify its institutions and make up for the loss of race-conscious affirmative action. Governor Davis’ four percent plan, known as Eligibility in Local Context (ELC), was implemented with four main intentions: 1) to increase the pool of eligible students so that the University of California system would comply to standards set by the California Master Plan for Higher Education to increase the number of eligible high school graduates from 11.1% to 12.5%, 2) to give the University of California a label of recognition in each California high school that would foster a college-going

culture not typical of those particular schools, 3) to influence low-performing elementary and high schools to implement and offer the plan’s necessary courses in an effort to foster educational reform, and 4) to recognize student achievement relative to their high school and the opportunities available to the student (Flores & Horn, 2003).

In the first year when California’s Proposition 209 (i.e., 1998) was fully enforced, the University of California’s undergraduate colleges enrolled 22% less African American students than the year prior to the proposition’s passing (1996), and at a time when the number of students enrolled increased by more than a tenth (see Table 1). Likewise, California’s top two institutions, Berkeley and UCLA, decreased its number of African American students by 47% (“Unintended Consequences,” 2006). However, in 2005, Asian-Americans made up 41.8% of the freshman class. At University of California - San Diego, African Americans made up 1% of the freshman class in that same year (Su, 2006). In March, 2005, reflecting the challenge of combining color-blind admissions with class based schematics for recruitment, the Chancellor of University of California Berkeley stated of Proposition 209 that, “because it has resulted in a dramatic diminution in numbers of California citizens, it has in fact created a system that is quite unfair” (http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2005/03/29_birgeneau.shtml).

TABLE 1

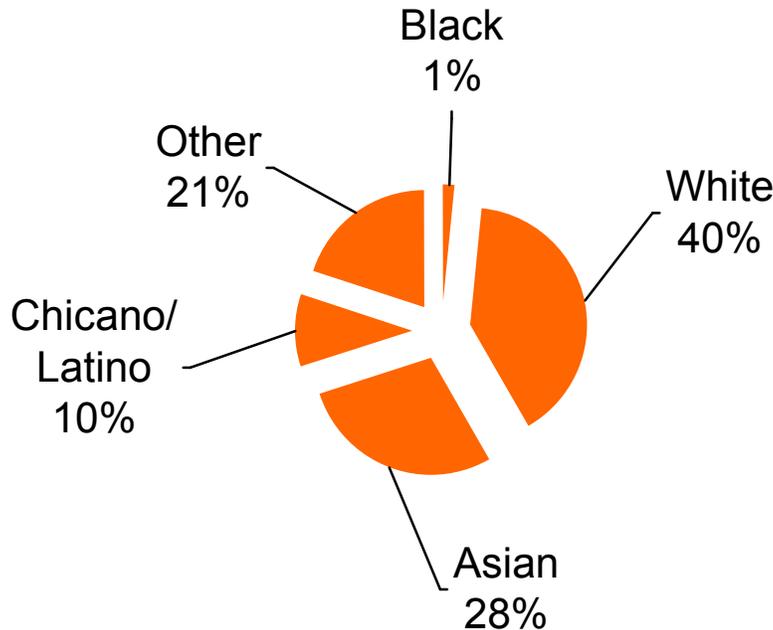
BLACK AND WHITE ENROLLMENT (UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE) 1 YEAR PRIOR TO PROPOSITION 209 LEGISLATION AND SUBSEQUENT YEARS AFTER ITS FULL ENFORCEMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SYSTEM

	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Black	6546	6023	5722	5654	5572	5807	6103	6049	6083	6281
White	71421	71009	72606	73714	75647	77833	79145	77655	77374	78453
University Total	163704	173643	178410	183355	191903	201297	208391	207909	209080	214298

Source: University of California Statistical Summary of Staff and Students 2007

FIGURE 1

1998 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA – SAN DIEGO ENROLLMENT PERCENTAGE



Source: University of California Statistical Summary of Staff and Students 2007

When Ward Connerly took his campaign to end affirmative action to Florida in 1999, Governor Jeb Bush took some preemptive measures. Governor Bush requested a review of Florida’s affirmative action plans in an effort to assess the legal viabilities thereof. Though he publicly opposed Connerly’s initiatives, deeming them divisive, he voluntarily implemented Executive Order 99-281 or the One Florida Plan in November of 1999 (Flores & Horn, 2003). This plan eliminated affirmative action policies in state employment, state contracting, as well as higher education with the exception that race consciousness was still allowed in areas of higher education relative to awarding scholarships, conducting outreach, as well as the development of pre-college enrichment programs. Bush immediately responded to the One Florida Plan by simultaneously initiating the Talented 20 policy to the Florida State University System (SUS), which guaranteed admission to the top 20 percent of public high school graduates who had completed the required course work. The plan went into immediate affect beginning with the Fall 2000 class (Flores & Horn, 2003).

Florida differed from its counterparts in California by allowing race consciousness in specific areas, but did little to rectify the lack of admittance of African Americans and Latinos to the top tier institutions in the SUS. The Talented 20 program only guarantees admission to one school within the SUS, and not the school of the applicants’ choice. Once an offer of admission has been extended, the goals of the program have been met. Moreover, very few students who qualify for this program need it in order to gain admission to the SUS because of their high academic standings (Lee & Marin, 2003). With this in mind, the Talented 20 Program does not

aid in the admission of students from underrepresented backgrounds. Likewise, this program is an ineffective and inefficient means to compensate for the diversity gaps within the SUS caused by Bush's One Florida Plan.

Washington State's response to the passing of its version of Ward Connerly's Civil Rights Initiative, Initiative-200, came in the form of The Diversity Outreach and Community Relations Program, a program mandated by former University of Washington (UW) President Richard McCormick and the Board of Regents in an effort to recruit underprivileged and minority students from around the state (Baker, 2004). The program is comprised of UW students labeled Ambassadors, whose duties are to reach out to high school students and encourage them on their path to higher education throughout their four-year matriculation through high school. The program targets specific schools throughout the state with the largest numbers of minority or underprivileged students, and schools that were not pipeline schools to the University in the past.

Despite the emphasis on outreach programs, Washington's I-200 demonstrated similar ramifications to California's plan as the plan experienced a one-third drop in enrollment in 1999, a year after the plan was implemented. However, by 2004, the state funded Diversity Outreach and Community Relations Program achieved minority enrollments comparable to their minority enrollment in 1998, before the passing of I-200. In general, while this plan initially decreased the representation of an already small minority population, its long-term success is encouraging. Moreover, the program might provide the evidence necessary to garner state support for diversity outreach initiatives as a means to offset the decrease in minority enrollment (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

**UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
AGGREGATE BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENT CHANGES FROM
AUTUMN 1998 THROUGH AUTUMN 2002**

Year	Grand Total	% Change	% of Total	Total Undergrad	% Change	% of Total
1998	984		2.8%	759		3.0%
1999	906	-7.9%	2.5%	699	-7.9%	2.7%
2000	879	-3.0%	2.4%	678	-3.0%	2.6%
2001	882	0.3%	2.4%	695	2.5%	2.6%
2002	953	8.0%	2.4%	733	5.5%	2.6%

Source: University of Washington Enrollment Percentages 2004

An Institution's Response to Unwanted Legislation

On November 7, 2006, Michigan voters accepted Proposal 2, Michigan's version of the Civil Rights Initiatives' ban on affirmative action as an amendment to the state constitution. Proposal 2 amends the Michigan state constitution to ban public institutions from discriminating against or giving preferential treatment to groups or individuals based on their race, gender, color, ethnicity, or national origin. In a response to a lawsuit filed against the three universities by the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) and others on November 8, 2006, the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, and Wayne State University filed a motion in federal court seeking a short-term delay in the implementation of Proposal 2 with respect to admissions and financial aid. The request would allow the universities to complete that year's admissions and financial aid cycles using the same criteria for admissions and financial aid that were in place at the start of the cycle.

The University of Michigan has been at the forefront of the affirmative action debate for several years, and had recently revamped its admissions and financial aid program to comply with the Supreme Courts ruling in *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.* (<http://www.admissions.umich.edu/process/review/categories>). After a seven-year battle through several lower courts, on June 23, 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.* that diversity is an imperative component within higher education, and that race, along with several other factors, is of great significance and should be taken into account in an effort to afford the educational benefits of a student body that is diverse. The court upheld the University of Michigan's law school's admissions criteria, while rejecting part of the undergraduate admissions policy. The Court held that while race is one of a number of factors that can be considered in undergraduate admissions, automatically assigning twenty (20) points to students from underrepresented minority groups did not meet the goal of narrowly tailoring its policy for admissions.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor (joined by Justices Stevens, Souter, Ginsburg, and Breyer) delivered the opinion of the court. The Court's opinion upheld Justice Powell's view in *The Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)* case, and found that diversity within the student body is a significant state interest that can validate the use of race in university admissions. As Jonathan Alger, the Assistant General Counsel for the University of Michigan noted in his description of the decision:

The Court cited social science research showing that 'student body diversity promotes learning outcomes, ... better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepare them as professionals.' It acknowledged that 'major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints,' and that high-ranking former military leaders have asserted that 'a highly qualified, racially diverse officer corps' is essential to national security. Finally, the Court noted that diversity is particularly important in the law school context because law schools 'represent the training ground for a large number of our Nation's leaders' The Court concluded that 'effective participation by members of all racial and ethnic groups in the civic life of our Nation is essential if the dream of one Nation, indivisible, is to be realized.' (Alger, 2003, p. 2)

With the recent amendment to the state constitution, the state of Michigan now joins the ranks of other states with similar prohibitions. Michigan's democratic governor, Jennifer Granholm, has called for a Civil Rights Commission to investigate the effects of this type of legislation on the other states where it had been enacted. While there has yet to be a state-wide initiative beyond the investigation, given the University of Michigan's forthright endorsement of diversity for the sake of diversity and its cogent analysis of its economic value for the state, the University of Michigan has emerged as the representative of the state and of its three leading state universities. In an address to the University community one day after the passage of Proposal 2, Mary Sue Coleman, the President of the University of Michigan, publicly declared that the university would comply with the new amendment. Nevertheless, she also vocalized her concern with the constitutionality of the amendment, suggesting the possibility of future legal and extra-legal challenges to the law, and reaffirming the University's commitment to diversity (<http://www.umich.edu/pres/speeches/061103div.html>).

The anti-affirmative action legislation as well as the affirmative action lawsuits that challenged the University of Michigan's policies evoked a greater sense of responsibility "to provide continued leadership in advancing diversity and education as a means of achieving equity, democracy, and freedom in our society" among university administration and faculty (<http://www.ncid.umich.edu/about/rationale.shtml>, p. 1). As a response, Senior Vice Provost Lester Monts proposed a national diversity center that would bring together and equip leaders from various social networks to critically engage with the challenges and opportunities surrounding diversity. In December 2003, the Ford Foundation provided a grant that would support the University of Michigan's new National Center for Institutional Diversity (NCID). The NCID "aims to prepare people for active engagement in a diverse society and works toward building productive as well as inclusive communities at U-M and beyond." Moreover, the Center "promotes national exemplars of diversity scholarship, multilevel engagement, and innovation by operating as a catalyst, venture fund, incubator, clearinghouse, publisher, and think tank" (<http://www.ncid.umich.edu/about/mission.shtml>, p. 1).

Opportunities for Moving Forward

The University of Michigan and the other two top universities are positioning themselves to develop a response, and are looking at the successes and failures of others states as a model for how to proceed. The University's official response to questions concerning how it will go about adhering to the law suggests uncertainty concerning the amendment's reach, as well as its impact. University of Michigan posits that some of the amendment's provisions relative to how they will be applied to specific programs are up for interpretation. The University cites the fact that similar ballot proposals were interpreted as permitting outreach to underrepresented populations in Washington while prohibiting it in California. Moreover, the University of Michigan claims that though the law precludes discrimination and preferential treatment, that in no way means that diversity is no longer a compelling interest of the University (<http://www.vpcomm.umich.edu/diversityresources/prop2faq.html>). While the University of Michigan or the other public universities in the state have yet to lay out their responses to the program, the University's early responses suggest possible avenues in which the long time proponent of affirmative action programs might pursue as possible alternatives.

What is clear and has been consistent over time is the University of Michigan's commitment to various forms of diversity as a component of its academic excellence. Citing the

more immediate state of difficult economic transition in which the state of Michigan finds itself, and a number of reports that have identified the urgency of ensuring an “ever greater cross section of Michigan’s population is able to attain a college degree” as justification, the University argues that it must “tap available talent in our state if we are to prosper in the future” (<http://www.vpcomm.umich.edu/diversityresources/prop2faq.html> p. 2). The emphasis on the economic benefits of developing a cross section of the states’ populations is reminiscent of the rationale for diversity recruitment and outreach initiatives being employed in Washington state, for example, and may very well factor into the legal grounding for the University of Michigan’s post-Proposal 2 initiatives.

One option that the University of Michigan will not pursue, however, is replacing race and gender conscious programs with ones that focus on socioeconomic status. The University’s stance is that socioeconomic status is already considered in their admissions and financial aid programs, and that pursuing diversity through a socioeconomic focus does not assist in enrolling a racially diverse student body. Likewise, according to the University, there are far more White students from low-income families applying to the institution than minority students from low-income families. Based on an assessment of other schools that have tried to do so, the University of Michigan has found that socioeconomic status does not stand in as a proxy for race and is not helpful in addressing participation based on gender, and therefore declines to adopt this strategy for itself.

There is considerable confusion among the presidents of Michigan’s major universities over whether outreach and recruitment programs are covered under the law (Stuart, 2006). However, the University of Michigan has stated that it believes that its outreach and pipeline programs are on firm legal ground, and will continue with them (<http://www.vpcomm.umich.edu/diversityresources/prop2faq.html>). Moreover, in lieu of admissions and financial aid policies that give racial preference, the University seems poised to at least investigate the possibility of moving toward an even greater focus on recruitment and outreach initiatives. President Coleman along with Provost Teresa Sullivan has announced the creation of a University wide task force called Diversity Blueprints. The Diversity Blueprints initiative seeks input in the following areas: recruiting, pre-college/K-12 outreach, admissions, financial aid, mentoring/student success, climate, curriculum/classroom discussions, diversity research and assessment, and external funding opportunities. Coleman has vowed to commit to the necessary funds these programs may incur (Coleman, 2006). As Dr. Irvin D. Reid, the president of Wayne State University, observed in relationship to his own University: “there are now more questions than answers on how the proposal will affect the schools” (Stuart, 2006, p. 2). This uncertainty will perhaps prove to be an ally for affirmative action advocates in the next stage as they seek grounds to challenge or circumvent the law’s provisions.

One such avenue to challenge the amendment might be linked to federal and private support for racial diversity in higher education. As a state constitutional amendment, the subordination of state to federal law limits its sovereignty. Sections seven and four of the amendment contain exceptions for any actions that are mandated by federal law or that are necessary for an institution to receive federal funding (<http://www.vpcomm.umich.edu/diversityresources/prop2amend.html>). As a result, federal and private dollars might offer state universities an opportunity to sidestep some of the amendment’s provisions. If the University is chosen as a grant recipient for a federal program that seeks to promote diversity, then the University will have to comply with the terms of that grant, including

any terms that require consideration of race, ethnicity, gender, or national origin in pursuit of the goals of the project (<http://www.vpcomm.umich.edu/diversityresources/prop2faq.html>).

Where Do We Go from Here?

This manuscript does not claim to make a definitive statement about what will work in the efforts of increasing diversity post anti-affirmative action legislation, but instead will suggest a range of alternatives that may provide additional insights into future directions for institutions like the University of Michigan and other flagship institutions focused on diversifying their student body. Clearly, the reactive measures taken by California, Florida, and Texas proved ineffective as the idea of “percent systems” usually encompass those students already on target to qualify for the state institutions’ admissions standards. Though it has taken five years to do so, Washington State achieved the minority representation it maintained pre-anti-affirmative action legislation by investing its state dollars in early outreach programs. Moreover, these programs targeted those schools in Washington that encompassed the majority of underrepresented students as well as those schools that traditionally lacked representation in the Washington State school system, and followed these students throughout their four-year high school matriculation. What we can then learn from this example is that recruitment and retention programs might be a useful channel for federal and state funding and a useful avenue for rescuing some of the benefits of diversity without using race as an overtly driving consideration.

University system’s might then channel federal and state dollars by developing a strategy that will combine public engagement with strategies to rectify the underlying circumstances that cause disparities between applicants. One strategy is put forth by the University of Michigan’s Diversity Blueprints Task Force. This 55 member task force, made up of faculty, staff, administrators, students, and alumni has issued an in-depth report that provides a discussion of underlying principals and specific recommendations on how to proceed in the wake of Proposal 2 including:

- Establish fully coordinated educational and community outreach engagement activities
- Maintain and improve student admissions, conversion, and retention practices within the new legal parameters
- Address U-M’s interpersonal climate by providing structured interactions, facilitated dialogue, and opportunities to work across boundaries
- Dismantle structural impediments and increase structural support for faculty, staff, and students, especially those working on diversity-related issues
- Ensure campus-wide buy-in, engagement, and transparency with diversity efforts
- Increase accountability and sustain mechanisms for all units and departments across the university (Diversity Blueprints Final Report, 2007)

While it is still too early to evaluate the success of this initiative, the University of Michigan’s National Center for Institutional Diversity (NCID) mentioned earlier and the Diversity Blueprint recommendations serve to provide direction— a new vision of an institution of higher learning that is more publicly engaged. The initiatives detailed in the report aim to foster a welcoming environment at the university that will enrich the community and promote the success and engagement of all its members. Moreover, the University of Michigan’s initial steps

are vitally important for any institution that is seriously committed to enhancing or maintaining diversity, especially under the new legal constraints of anti-affirmative action legislation.

The second area for additional analysis and restructuring is in the realm of admissions policies and standards. One recommendation for restructuring or re-evaluating admissions policies is to allow more or equal weight to be given in the consideration of leadership, service, and citizenship, compared to only test scores or grade point average in evaluating a student's application. As evident by the success of underrepresented students who indeed matriculate through graduation, many underrepresented groups have the ability to succeed in these flagship institutions. However, in lieu of anti-affirmative action legislation, many do not possess the skills necessary to compete on standardized tests with their more affluent White counterparts.

Hence, a third area for consideration is in the realm of reform within secondary education. If the new legislation dictates that there is to be no preferential treatment, we must ensure that underrepresented communities receive the same tools to become as successful as K-12 students in more affluent communities. If we have determined that structural inequalities have rendered students whose schools have fewer resources from underrepresented communities less competitive on standardized testing, one possibility is to redirect dollars towards preparatory programs. For example, one method to ensure equal access might be to provide enrichment programs that teach minorities how to take standardized tests. Diversifying the student body can be done by a reform of secondary education and enrichment programs.

Finally, if the goal is to address low-income students, it may be beneficial to combine the proposed restructuring of admissions policies, placing less emphasis on test scores and more emphasis on overall performance, with a private institution model such as Princeton University. Princeton offers full tuition grants for families who earn less than \$40,000 dollars a year. Most importantly, its model addresses growing concerns over the problems of access and affordability that are prominent among the most important issues in higher education today.

Ultimately, the goal of reforming access to higher education will require an imaginative and integrated approach that values diversity but does not use race as its driving force. While preference in admissions is now becoming illegal in states across the country, there is growing evidence that an integrated approach to diversity in education in the aftermath of anti-affirmative action legislation might need to focus, for starters, on the outreach, recruitment, K-12 education, and socioeconomic barriers to retention and matriculation that most greatly affect admission to institutions of higher learning.

Conclusion

The findings in this manuscript demonstrate the difficulty in increasing diversity in the wake of anti-affirmative action legislation affecting state university systems within the United States. To date we have seen that the post anti-affirmative action programs in place in the states of Texas, California, and Florida are relatively ineffective and are limited in their ability to increase, or even maintain diversity within their higher education institutions. This is at least partially attributable to a lack of infrastructural revamping as well as their failure to forthrightly evaluate and address possible structural impediments to the mission of diversity within their respective universities. While the only substantive success within this manuscript was achieved by Washington's *Diversity Outreach and Community Relations Program* five years after the program was implemented, the state's major institutions only reached diversity levels comparative to where they were before the passing of Initiative 200, not achieving an increase.

What we have learned from these cases is that the diversity outcomes we need to achieve will not come as the result of poorly orchestrated legislative efforts to satisfy affirmative action advocates. Nor can diversity only be the goal or mission of a particular department. Instead, the goal of achieving diversity has to be a well-integrated mission incorporated throughout the inner workings of the entire university system. To this end, one example of how to remedy this failure can include steps such as those taken by the University of Michigan with its *Diversity Blueprints* Program. As *Diversity Blueprints* proposes, diversity endeavors should be transparent, and campus leaders and university constituents alike must strive to ensure university-wide buy-in, commitment, and engagement.

While it is too early to analyze the effects of the University of Michigan's response, including their *Diversity Blueprints* Program, their approach to increasing diversity from the inside out is poised to effectively counteract the passing of Proposal 2. By capitalizing on expanding educational outreach and increasing partnerships with university and community constituents including K-12 systems and community colleges, the University of Michigan has the ability to serve as an example to other states affected by anti-affirmative action legislation, if the implementation and outcomes of their diversity initiatives prove successful. The question is whether the effected states will adopt, implement, or continue to fund programs like those listed that consistently work toward a successfully diverse institution.

This manuscript indicates that outreach and recruitment programs for underrepresented populations is a key and heretofore underutilized component in increasing diversity in higher education systems, especially in the aftermath of anti-affirmative action legislation. Because anti-affirmative action legislation has damaged efforts to increase diversity within higher education, state systems will have to be more systematic regarding state efforts to attract, admit, and matriculate students who have historically maintained under-representation relative to their share in the population. Communication and collaboration between higher education and K-12 systems must be increased if institutions are to capitalize on already established programs under the new law that increase underrepresented student admission into higher education institutions such as Washington State's *Diversity Outreach and Community Relations Program*. As the US Supreme Court affirmed in *Grutter v. Boellinger, et. al.*, diversity is a compelling interest of the university system, and the need for increased diversity within state higher education systems is critical if the United States is going to continue to develop and maintain economic competitiveness with the steadily increasing global economy.

In closing, with the passing of anti-affirmative action legislation, it is important to actively and aggressively implement strategies that make transparent the institutions' commitment to diversity. In an effort to rectify declining numbers of underrepresented populations, policy reformation within institutions of higher education in the effected states can serve to: 1) cultivate internal and external diversity initiatives, 2) develop more comprehensive admission policies, 3) devote more resources and cultivation to early outreach, recruitment, and enrichment programs, and 4) map out a working plan and strategy to record progress in achieving their diversity initiatives. As the wave of anti-affirmative action makes its way across state systems, the challenge that higher education institutions will have to overcome is maintaining and increasing diversity in a manner that will foster individual readiness for our college students in an ever-changing global economy.

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Factors that Impact College Matriculation for African American Students: Implications for Policy and Praxis

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Access to postsecondary education is one of the most pressing current issues in higher education. Issues pertaining to postsecondary access have been listed as one of the top 10 state policy issues for higher education over the past several years by nationally recognized organizations such as the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (2008) and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (2005, 2007). Access to postsecondary education has improved since the enactment of the Montgomery GI Bill in 1944 and, according to Wimberly and Noeth (2004) over 80% of eighth graders aspire to attain postsecondary education. Although students across racial and socioeconomic backgrounds have high collegiate aspiration, minority and low-income students' ability to penetrate postsecondary doors remains relatively depressed in comparison to their peers (Freeman, 2005; Perna, 2007). The aspiration/attainment dichotomy is indicative of an overarching access issue within higher education in an era of declining affirmative action policies (Allen, 2005; Gandara, Horn, & Orfield, 2005; Teranishi & Briscoe, 2008). Researchers purport that several barriers continue to impede minority and low socio-economic status high school students. For instance, Hamrick and Stage (2004) cite inadequate fiscal and academic resources in inner-city schools as some of the barriers that hinder adequate preparation of minority students for postsecondary entry.

Postsecondary matriculation is influenced by numerous factors, such as parental education levels and involvement, socioeconomic status, student and parent expectations, ethnicity, gender, and residency (Astom & Oseguera, 2004; Charles, Roscigno, & Torres, 2007; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Hurtado, Inkelas, Briggs, & Rhee, 1997; Perna & Titus, 2005). The college entry aspiration/attainment imbalance is magnified when examining minority and low socioeconomic status students. According to Perna (2006), persisting gaps in college access and choice suggest that existing approaches fail to ameliorate barriers impeding college access for underrepresented youth. Consequently, it is imperative for policy makers and leaders in the field of higher education to understand the factors that impact college entry for underrepresented groups in order to effectively change the landscape of higher education access in America.

The higher education literature on college access is replete with information regarding postsecondary access for low socioeconomic students, yet only a few authors have honed in on how issues and barriers to college impact African American youth. Researchers (Hamrick & Stage, 1998; Hurtado, Inkelas, Briggs, & Rhee, 1997; Paulsen & St. John, 2002; Perna, 2000; Perna & Titus, 2005; Qian & Blair, 1999) have asserted that it is important to differentiate between ethnic groups when examining the factors that affect college choice as research has shown that factors diverge when analyzed by racial and/or income subgroups. Accordingly, the central purpose of this article was to analyze and synthesize the factors that impact college matriculation for African American students to fill a large gap in the literature that addresses college access specifically for African Americans. The author drew upon the extant research

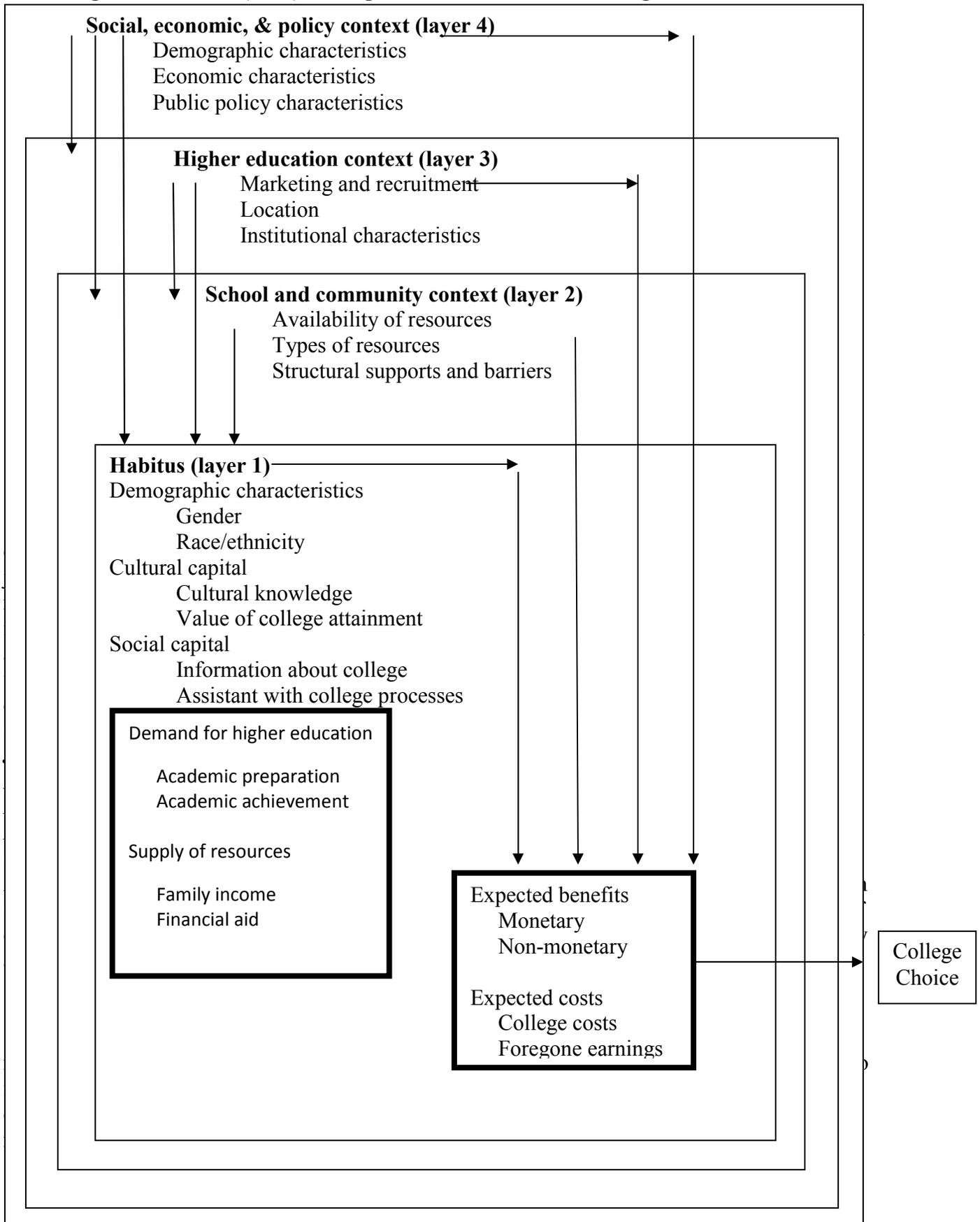
literature published within the last decade to determine relevant factors and practices that correlate with college matriculation for African American students. An integrative analysis of variables that influence college access for African American students is presented. The ultimate goal is to provide implications useful for educational policymakers and practitioners in the fields of secondary and postsecondary education.

Conceptual Framework

Perna's (2006) model of student college choice was utilized as a lens to organize and examine the factors that impact college matriculation for African American students. Perna's conceptual model was deemed most appropriate because the model integrates both economic and sociological factors which interrelate in explaining college choice. While economic models such as those that reference financial aid certainly add to understandings of barriers to college access for African American students, research has shown that financial aid is merely one piece of the college access puzzle (Perna, 2000).

Perna's (2006) model which builds upon previous research by Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper (1998) provides four layers in which to contextualize factors that impact college choice. As seen in figure one, the first layer, habitus, a system of outlooks, experiences, and beliefs about the social world (McDonough, 1997), encompasses personal factors that relate directly to the student such as demographics, cultural, and social capital. The second layer embodies school and community related factors that involve resource availability and structural supports and barriers. The higher education context, layer three, is utilized to explain how college choice is influenced by postsecondary institutions through mechanisms such as marketing and recruitment, location, and institutional characteristics. Finally, the fourth layer denotes the social, economic, and political context of college choice. Perna's student college choice model provides a multilayered and integrated conceptual lens through which to examine a complicated and multifaceted problem, college access for African American youth.

Figure 1: Perna's (2006) Conceptual Model of Student College Choice



Habitus

The habitus layer encompasses critical factors such as demographics, cultural capital, social capital, demand for education, supply of resources, and expected costs and benefits of higher education. Demographics such as ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), and even family composition (Lillard & Gerner, 1999) impact college matriculation for minority and low-income students who often lack the social and cultural capital needed to successfully navigate through the educational pipeline.

Research indicates that minorities and low-income students matriculate at lower rates than their White counterparts and portends that minority status and low-income status negatively correlate with college entry (Hamrick & Stage, 2004; Perna, 2007; Qian & Blair, 1999). African Americans' income is lower than their White counterparts which stifles their ability to buy "college knowledge" (McDonough, 1994) in the forms of the college selection guidebooks, software, and coaching and counseling services widespread among the White middle and upper classes. While demographics such as gender do not significantly impact college matriculation for the general population, research indicates that African American females matriculate at much higher rates than African American males (Choy, 2001). There is little literature that addresses the shrinkage of African American male participation in postsecondary education. Finally, research by Lillard and Gerner (1999) demonstrates that family composition plays a role in college matriculation, citing that students from disrupted families are less likely to apply to, be admitted to, or attend four-year universities. African Americans are disadvantaged by the family composition factor as most of them come from single-family homes.

Perna (2006) indicated that a student's cultural capital in the forms of cultural knowledge and value of college attainment can impact postsecondary access. Perna asserts that students who possess knowledge of the dominant culture have access to the resources that promote college entry. The value of college attainment may be captured in parental encouragement and expectation, which are both positively correlated with college entry for African American students. Furthermore, research indicates that African Americans possess similar levels of collegiate aspiration in comparison to their peers, which is a testament to their understanding of the costs and benefits associated with college attainment (Farmer-Hinton, 2008; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Hurtado, Inkelas, Briggs, & Rhee, 1997; Qian & Blair, 1999). Similarly, the parents of students of color also demonstrate high educational expectations even when they lacked postsecondary educational attainment (Farmer-Hinton, 2008; Freeman, 2005; Wimberly & Noeth, 2004). Despite their educational aspirations, African Americans are disadvantaged in other ways like in the area of cultural knowledge as most African American students are first generation college attendees and lack the knowledge beneficial to understanding the process of postsecondary entry (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2000; Choy, 2001).

Research is extremely limited in addressing direct or indirect connections between African American culture, which can be defined as behaviors and values that are learned, shared, and exhibited by a group of people (Yosso, 2005), cultural awareness, and college choice. Only a few researchers have studied the impact of culture on postsecondary attendance (Freeman, 1997; Tierney, & Jun, 2001), yet these researchers assert that culture has an effect on postsecondary entry. Tierney and Jun examined a college preparation program, the Neighborhood Academic Initiative (NAI), which incorporated cultural awareness and affirmation into its program along with academic rigor and support services and found increased college participation for the

disadvantaged participants. Much more research on the influence of culture and cultural awareness is necessary to truly understand its effects of postsecondary participation.

A significant amount of research demonstrates that social capital in the forms of access to information about college, assistance with college programs, parental education levels, parental encouragement, extended network of peers, familial and mentorship support, and parental involvement are significant indicators of college enrollment for minority students. The low rates of postsecondary entry of African Americans in comparison to Whites are attributed, in part, to their lack of social capital (Charles, Roscigno, Torres, 2007; Farmer-Hinton, 2008; Qian & Blair, 1999).

Perna and Titus (2005) and Choy (2001) concluded that parental education levels and involvement for African Americans and Hispanics were positively correlated with college enrollment regardless of the resources available to students. Perna and Titus found that African American students were unique in their response to specific types of parental involvement. Perna and Titus cited that African Americans matriculate at much higher levels when their parents initiate school contact regarding academics than when parents simply discuss education related issues. Choy's research indicated that only 59% of high school graduates whose parents did not have a college degree enrolled in some form of postsecondary education while 93% of students whose parents had at least a bachelor's degree entered college. Choy's sample included all races and ethnicities but the majority of the sample was comprised of minority and low-income students.

Information access also plays a vital role in college preparation and postsecondary entry. Because information access is derived from social, cultural, and sometimes economic capital, African Americans are at a distinct disadvantage in accessing information advantageous for college entry. Research specifies that students, minority and low-income students especially, are misinformed about the kind of preparation necessary for college entry. Some students are uneducated about college entry course requirements or the impact of grades on college entry, for example (Martinez & Klopott, 2006; Venezia, Kirst, & Antonio, 2003). According to a report by Dan Cohen-Vogel, Assistant Vice Chancellor for the Florida State University System, (as cited in the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 2009) in 2005, an estimated 22,000 needy Florida residents left \$24 million in Pell grant money untouched. African Americans make up 17% of all college students in Florida and they make up a disproportionate share of students eligible for Pell grants. Cohen-Vogel cited a lack of education regarding financial aid as the culprit. Information is vitally important to a seamless transfer from high school to higher education for African American students.

The influence of peers and adult mentors can also impact postsecondary choice for African American students. Research regarding the role of peer influence on postsecondary entry is scarce at best. In addition to the scarcity of research on peer influence, its effect on college entry is difficult to ascertain because peer influence typically functions in tandem with other strategies such as mentoring or college preparation programming (Tierney & Colyar, 2005). Therefore, it is difficult to decipher whether outcomes are associated with peer influence alone (Thompson & Kelly-Vance, 2001). Similarly, current research on mentoring is also limited and imprecise in determining its effect on postsecondary entry. In an empirical evaluation of several mentoring programs, Jekielek, Moore, Hair, and Scarupa (2002) found that one mentoring program, Career Beginnings, demonstrated a slight increase in college entry for students participating in the program. Career Beginnings participants entered college at a rate of 53% compared to 49% for students in the control group. Thompson and Kelly-Vance found positive

results in an evaluation of the mentoring program Big Brothers/Big Sisters' effect on academic achievement for at-risk students. The effects of Big Brothers/Big Sisters provide no direct connection to postsecondary entry, yet its positive effects on academic achievement indirectly influence college matriculation. Lastly, Levine and Nidiffer (1996) interviewed 24 low-income disadvantaged students who successfully accessed postsecondary education and found that almost every student referenced a mentor who played a significant role in assisting the student through the educational pipeline. Additional research is needed to gain better insight on direct linkages between mentorship and peer influence on college choice for African Americans.

The effects of psychological factors such as self motivation and intimidation influence whether or not African American students enter college and the type of institutions these students select. Freeman's (1999) research on African American student college choice demonstrates that, unlike traditional predictors of college participation, African Americans were influenced by their family members who did not receive postsecondary education yet encouraged them to surpass the achievements of their family members. African American students often mentioned themselves as motivators for college participation. The most prevalent finding from Freeman's research was the effect of intimidation on college choice whereby students attending predominately African American high schools where uncomfortable and intimidated by the predominantly White college campuses they visited. Literature surrounding how psychological factors mediate college choice for African Americans is extremely dearth.

School and Community Context

According to researchers, the K-12 environment with regard to fiscal and academic resources, curriculum, teachers, demographics, and geography have a deterministic effect on college access for high school students (Martin, Karabel, & Jaquez, 2005; Perna et al., 2008; Wolniak & Engberg, 2007; Yun & Moreno, 2006). Adelman (1999) contended that the impact of a rigorous high school curriculum is far more pronounced and positively correlated for African-American and Latino students than any other pre-college indicator. Adelman further asserted that many minority students, especially those who live in rural areas, do not have the opportunity to partake in such a rigorous curriculum. Yun and Moreno (2006) conducted a study examining K-12 school related college access disadvantages disaggregated by ethnicity and found that schools with a high percentage of African American and Latino students in California tend to have higher poverty rates, lower teacher certification, and lower advanced placement course offerings than predominately Asian and White schools. The factors analyzed by Yun and Moreno negatively correlate with postsecondary entrance and completion. Similarly, a study by Martin, Karabel, and Jaquez (2005) demonstrated that high school segregation negatively affects college access in the state of California for minority students. Substantial inequalities related to race and resources at every stage of the transition from high school to college (i.e. high school course selection, number of college applications submitted, academic preparation, etc.) were prominent in Martin, Karabel, and Jaquez's study while other researchers (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Hurtado, Inkelas, Briggs, & Rhee, 1997; Perna, 2000) reported similar findings.

Since the availability of information related to the college admissions process is critical to college enrollment, the role of high school counselors for African American students is important. In addition to a rigorous college preparatory curriculum and a college-going culture within high schools, Corwin, Venegas, Oliverrez, and Colyar (2004) cited appropriate counseling and resources committed to advising college-bound students as a reflection of factors critical to

postsecondary entry. Low-income and minority students need guidance from teachers and high school counselors regarding the process of preparation for postsecondary education the most, yet budgetary constraints, alarming counselor-to-student ratios, and in some cases a lack of caring and encouraging faculty and staff hinder their ability to successfully navigate through the postsecondary educational pipeline (Corwin et al., 2004; Freeman, 2005; Lee & Ekstrom, 1987).

Research on the impact of cocurricular and extracurricular activities is limited, yet the substantive literature indicates that cocurricular activity involvement for African Americans has both a direct and indirect effect on college entry. Hamrick and Stage (2004) asserted that school activity involvement is positively correlated with parental expectations which indirectly impacts college entry. Hearn and Holdsworth (2005) conducted a literature review of the effects of cocurricular activities and its connection to college entry and found that involvement in activities such as student government and school athletics can have positive impacts on college participation. Yet, Hearn and Holdsworth cautioned the reader that these effects tend to be modest and largely indirect, mediated through factors such as student attitudes and academic performance.

Little research exists examining the influence of high school curriculum on college choice for African American students. Freeman (2005) made an indirect connection between the lack of African American cultural history within secondary school curriculums and college choice for African American students by stating that this lack of inclusion negatively affects students' perceptions of validation at all levels of schooling, sense of self worth, and ultimately academic achievement.

Higher Education Context

Perna's (2006) higher education context, layer three, provides a space for analyzing the impact of issues such as marketing and recruitment, location, and institutional characteristics on college entrance for African Americans. Higher education institutions' role in shaping higher education access is significant as they control admission requirements, financial aid distribution, marketing and recruitment, academic programs, and community partnerships each impacting college choice (Chapman, 1981; Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989; McDonough, 1994).

The role higher education institutions play in recruiting African American students is contingent upon their value system, mission, and ultimately the strategic plan for the institution (Bontrager, 2007). Most postsecondary institutions engage in targeted recruitment efforts for students of color in the forms of high school partnerships, mentoring programs, direct mail, alumni interviews, special events relevant to multicultural students, and multicultural advisory boards (Smith, 1998; Swail, 2000). Research assessing the effectiveness of college recruitment is limited, mostly anecdotal, and mainly institution specific (Gullatt & Jan, 2002). For example, Tierney and Jun (2001) examined the Neighborhood Academic Initiative (NAI), a partnership program between California schools and the University of Southern California (USC), aimed to increase postsecondary access for minority students at USC. The program was a success with 60% of those who started the program entering a 4-year institution and 90% pursuing some form of postsecondary education. However, Tierney cautions the reader in interpreting the impact of programs such as NAI on college access as they only impact a few disadvantaged students and calls for a systemic approach. Not all college recruitment strategies like NAI promote college access for minorities. Some researchers (Avery, Fairbanks, & Zeckhauser, 2003; McDonough,

2004) have asserted that early admission programs, for example, favor White affluent applications from resource-rich high schools while hindering access for other students.

In the wake of diminishing affirmative action policies, shrinking state budgets, and increasing tuition costs, increasing minority student enrollment is laden with challenges which make it even more imperative for higher education administrators to stay abreast of the factors that promote or hinder access for African American students. Bontrager (2007) states enrollment managers have been duplicitous in their efforts to commit to access and equity while promoting prestige through college rankings and institutional profiles. Even further, Humphrey (2006) speaks of the push and pull of the enrollment manager in her study of prestigious public higher education institutions and the double-edged sword of increasing access while maintaining prestige. Despite the challenges that accompany increasing access at postsecondary institutions, researchers suggest that higher education institutions should capitalize on opportunities to help ensure that all students receive sufficient college counseling and establish recruiting relationships that promote access for all students (Perna et al., 2008; Wolniak & Engberg, 2007). Finally, McDonough (2004), Jun and Tierney (1999), and Gullat and Jan (2001) proposed the following recommendations for practitioners to adhere to when implementing outreach based programs to increase access for underrepresented students:

1. Set high standards for program students and staff.
2. Incorporate identity affirmation.
3. Provide personalized attention for students.
4. Connect with the individual, school, and family.
5. Provide adult role models and peer support.
6. Collaborate with other institutions, school districts, etc.
7. Provide better information regarding the college entry process.
8. Incorporate strategically timed interventions.
9. Make long-term investments in students.
10. Provide a school/society bridge for students.
11. Incorporate scholarship assistance.
12. Invest in evaluation designs that contribute to improved interventions.
13. Consider cost effectiveness.
14. Integrate flexibility in the approach.

Social, Economic, & Policy Context

The research that is categorized by the fourth layer of Perna's (2006) student college choice model entitled, social, economic, and policy context, covers how the following factors influence postsecondary access for African American students: a) financial aid (to include tuition costs and merit-based/need-based aid), b) the alignment of K-12 and postsecondary policy (also known as P-16/P-20 initiatives), and c) the role of local, federal, and state government role in increasing college access. Each of the factors represented in layer four present pressing current issues debated within higher education today.

Tuition Costs

The literature is profuse with information regarding financial aid and tuition costs and their impact on college choice for students overall and specifically for African American students. Current research indicates that increases in college tuition rates have a negative correlation with college entrance for African American and low-income students (Heller, 1999; Long & Riley, 2007; Paulsen & St. John, 2002; St. John et al., 2004; St. John, Paulsen, & Carter, 2005). For example, Donald Heller (1999) sought to determine the extent to which divergent tuition levels and financial aid spending impact college undergraduate enrollment rates and if the effect differed by ethnic groups. Heller found that tuition rate increases lead to declines in college enrollment at both 2-year and 4-year institutions for African Americans, Whites, and Hispanics. Additionally, Heller determined that African Americans were slightly more sensitive to tuition increases than Whites but Hispanics were most sensitive of all. Similarly, Paulsen and St. John (2002) found that low-income and lower-middle-income students were far more responsive to college tuition prices than students from upper-middle-income and upper-income families. Paulsen and St. John further asserted that the current high-tuition, high-loan approach to higher education finance does not appear to be working and that sufficient funding for access to postsecondary education is still lacking for poor and working-class students in our nation.

Merit-based vs. Need-based Aid

A panoramic view of the financial aid landscape in America reflects a continuous decline in the federal Pell grant, which serves as the primary source of need-based aid, and the proliferation of state level merit-based financial aid such as the Georgia's Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally (HOPE) scholarship program (Ehrenberg, Zhang, & Levin, 2006; Mumper, 2003). HOPE launched a national shift in financial aid funding where 14 other states and the federal government followed suit by adopting similar merit-based aid policies (Doyle, 2006). In fact, Doyle asserted that the shift to merit-based aid represented one of the most pronounced policy shifts in higher education in the last 20 years. Since the inception of the HOPE scholarship program, researchers have published articles analyzing the impact of merit-based aid on college enrollment and access for underrepresented groups. For instance, research by Doyle and Cornwell, Mustard, and Sridhar (2003) show statistically significant increases in overall college enrollment as a result of the HOPE scholarship program. While Doyle did not disaggregate data by ethnicity, Cornwell, Mustard, and Sridhar found that Black student enrollment rates at 4-year public and private colleges increased by 27% and 14% percent respectively because of HOPE. Cornwell, Mustard, and Sridhar asserted that part of the explanation for such an increase for Black students is that "Blacks have much lower enrollment rates to begin with; therefore, a relatively small increase in enrollment rates can account for a large percentage change" (p. 24).

While Cornwell, Mustard, and Sridhar's (2003) study appears to be one of the rare cases that points to benefits for African Americans due to merit-based aid programs like HOPE, several other authors (Long, 2004; Long & Riley, 2007; Ness & Tucker, 2008; St. John, Musoba, & Simmons, 2003) purport that merit-based aid programs disadvantage low-income and minority students. For example, Dynarski's (2000) research denoted that while Georgia's HOPE scholarship program increased middle-class and high-income student college attendance, it widened the gap in college attendance between African American and White students and between students from low-income and high-income families. Similarly, Heller (2004) cited how merit-based scholarships increased by 36% in 12 states while need-based aid only increased by

7%. Long (2004) and Heller assert that merit-based aid programs not only take away funding from low-income students, but college tuition costs in predominately merit-based states have increased in response to scholarship programs, such as HOPE, which also negatively effects non-merit-based aid recipients. A literature analysis by Ness and Tucker (2008) revealed that merit-based scholarship programs in some states, specifically New Mexico, Michigan, and Florida, awarded merit-based scholarships to a disproportionately lower percentage of racial/ethnic minorities. Some of the merit-based scholarship programs take into account ACT/SAT scores on which ethnic minorities tend to score lower (Fleming & Garcia, 1998; *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 2006) and have no income limits which provide more affluent students with an advantage.

P-20 Initiatives

Several states have P-20 initiatives either through some form of legislation or council formation in response to the disconnection between K-12 and postsecondary educational systems from a public policy, structural and organizational perspective. Each educational system has its own set of assessments, standards, and curriculum, which can harm students when there is a discrepancy among such elements, particularly students whose parents did not complete postsecondary education. Venezia and Kirst (2005) conducted a study to examine K-16 policies and practices and how they contribute to college access and success. The findings from their Stanford University Bridge Project demonstrate that access to college preparation related policy information follow racial, ethnic, income, and curricular tracking lines. Because of the misalignment between the K-12 and postsecondary educational policy, requirements for graduation at the high school level, in many cases, is completely different than college entrance requirements. For example, Venezia and Kirst demonstrated that student knowledge of curricular requirements was sporadic and vague and that students were unclear about the different information and skills necessary for transition between K-12 and postsecondary education sectors. Students whose parents did not attend college or had limited resources of information (i.e. low-income and minority students) were at a distinct disadvantage when it came to navigating between two different educational systems (Choy, 2001; Perna & Titus, 2005; Venezia & Kirst, 2005; Wimberly & Noeth, 2004). Stampen and Hansen (1999) call for K-12 education reform and hail the critical importance of a systems approach to improving access to postsecondary education. The alignment of K-12 policy and practice along with effective implementation of these initiatives is critical to advancing postsecondary access for African American students.

Local, State & Federal Programs

In addition to the collaboration between higher education institutions and the K-12 educational system as a systems approach to improving access, the states play a critical role in facilitating a culture of equal access for all students (Perna & Titus, 2004). While all states have forms of need-based financial aid to provide access to low-income students, few state higher education boards have policy specifically designed to improve access for minority students. For instance, Welsh (2004) analyzed a study conducted by the State Higher Education Executive Officers (SHEEO) which sought to determine if state higher education boards within the United States had created policies specifically related to improving minority access and success in higher education. The findings from the study exhibit that only a small minority of state higher education boards have articulated policy objectives and implemented initiatives intended to

improve minority student access and achievement in higher education. For the few state boards that have policy objectives in place, only a small number of them utilize their dataset systems to measure their own progress in creating equitable higher education systems in their states.

With an overabundance of federal and state level programs designed to increase college access, Perna, Rowan-Kenyon, Bell, Thomas, and Li (2008) sought to create a typology of these programs in an effort to provide a better framework for policy makers to understand why policies and programs are not effective in increasing access for underrepresented students. Researchers purport that the strongest predictors of college enrollment for underrepresented students are parental involvement, academic rigor, access to information, and social support (Adelman, 1999; Cabrera & LaNasa, 2000; Choy, 2001; Perna & Titus, 2005). Yet, 90% of the 103 programs analyzed in Perna's et al.'s study only provide financial aid funding to students, while less than 6% focus on any combination of academic preparation or knowledge about college. Perna's et al.'s typology displays that both federal and state college access programs are saturated with financial support, which is merely one of several factors that impact college entry for minority and low-income students.

College preparation programs such as the Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) program and the Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs (GEAR UP) were created to assist and support underrepresented students in achieving postsecondary education entry (Martinez & Klopott, 2005). Programs like AVID and GEAR UP have been deemed successful at increasing college preparedness with student participants but not all students participate in these programs. For example, many programs are available in specific states such as Project GRAD, while others such as AVID cover more states but students are selected to participate by their teachers (Martinez & Klopott, 2005; Tierney & Jun, 2001). While college preparation programs are vital to increasing access, not all of them take into account all the factors that researchers have shown to positively correlate with postsecondary entry for minority and low-income students. For instance, a detailed literature review conducted by Martinez and Klopott denoted that not a single college preparation program encompassed all the major tenets researchers cited as essential to increasing college access. Although Project GRAD provides academic and social supports, aligns secondary and postsecondary sectors, and has a parental involvement component, it does not involve a rigorous high school curriculum which positively correlates with college entry (Adelman, 1999). Similarly, Tierney (2002) conducted research on the presence of parental and family components in college preparation programs and found that even for programs that boast of a parental involvement component that interaction with parents was typically minimal. Other researchers have pointed to how incorporating culture into college preparation programs is vitally important yet missing from most college preparation programs (Freeman, 1997; Tierney & Jun, 2001). While individuals leading college preparation programs are well intentioned and base their program structures on some research, in many cases, a disconnect between research and practice still persists.

Policy Implications & Conclusion

As a result of this integrative literature review on factors that impact postsecondary matriculation for African American students, several pertinent factors emerged. Yet, the current body of research on factors that influence college matriculation for African Americans demonstrates major gaps in the literature and a lack of connection between theory and practice.

The literature reviewed in this study inadequately addresses how postsecondary based college preparation programs, high school curriculum, African American culture, mentorship, peer influence, and psychological factors impact postsecondary participation for African American youth. Based on the gaps presented in the literature, the following questions serve as a basis for further research:

1. How might college preparation programs sponsored by colleges and universities effectively impact African American college entry?
2. To what extent does high school curriculum impact African American viewpoints on education and postsecondary educational attainment?
3. To what extent does the integration of cultural elements in college preparation programming enhance college entry rates for African American students?
4. What are the measured the effects of mentoring on college entry for African American youth after controlling for all other factors?
5. How might psychological factors such as resilience, self-motivation, or intimidation be supported or overcome to increase postsecondary entry for African Americans?

Because current systems and programs fail to ameliorate gaps between college entry rates of Whites and African Americans (Perna, 2007), research addressing the aforementioned gaps in the literature may provide critical information necessary to improve current systems geared toward improving postsecondary access.

Based on the factors impacting the matriculation of African American students, it is important that policy makers and educational leaders at all levels consider all of the factors that impact college entry for African American youth. While the awareness of all factors influencing college participation is vital, integrating a balanced approach to policy and praxis is paramount as the overwhelming majority of state and federal programs fail to account for most of the factors deemed critically important to improving college access. A review of college preparation programs and federal and state programs demonstrate that while programs may focus on one, two, or even three aspects of college entry, they fall short of implementing essential factors pertinent to successful postsecondary entry for African Americans. For instance, Perna (2008) pointed out that 90% of state and federal programs are solely focused on financial aid. Similarly, Tierney and Jun (2001) asserted that parental involvement and cultural relevance was absent from most college preparation programs. However, current research indicates that factors such as parental involvement, information access, rigorous K-12 curriculum, and culturally relevant programming have a significant and relevant impact on postsecondary enrollment for African American students beyond financial aid. Below is a list the factors derived from this integrative review that impact postsecondary participation for African Americans in important ways:

Layer	Factors/Prevalence in Literature
Social, economic, & policy context (layer 4)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Financial aid policy b. P-20 initiatives c. Federal and state access programs d. Parental Involvement
Higher education context (layer 3)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Postsecondary college preparation programs b. Marketing and recruiting efforts c. Institution financial aid policy

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> d. High school/community partnerships
School and community context (layer 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e. High school community partnerships f. Administrator, teacher, counselor influence g. Rigorous K-12 curriculum, academic preparation and resources h. High school fiscal and personnel resources i. High school segregation by race/ethnicity j. High school curriculum
Habitus (layer 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Demographic characteristics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Race/ethnicity ii. Gender iii. Residence iv. SES b. Cultural capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> v. Cultural knowledge vi. Value of college attainment vii. Educational aspirations viii. Cultural history/customs c. Social capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ix. Information about college preparation/entry x. Resources/assistance with college preparation xi. Parental education levels xii. Parental involvement and encouragement xiii. Peer and familial influence xiv. Mentorship d. Demand for higher education/supply of resources e. Costs and benefits of higher education f. Psychological Factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Self motivation ii. Resilience iii. Intimidation

The continuation of policies disconnected from proven research strategies will continue to have damaging effects on minority students and their ability to gain college entrance. Within the current landscape of higher education policy and practice lies great opportunity to increase postsecondary entry for African Americans through the integration of all factors deemed critically important for postsecondary attainment for African American youth.

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Examining Academic Leadership Position Attainment in Higher Education: Evidence from NSOPF: 99

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This study, like many others in the field of higher education literature is concerned with diversity in our nation's colleges and universities, especially, in light of the growing number of people of color in the United States, and their advancement in the U.S. workforce overall. Unfortunately, data reveals that this particular trend is not reflected in most senior-level positions (Athey, Avery, & Zemsky, 2000; Burbridge 1994; Jackson & Daniels, 2007; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994b). Above all, studies that focus on employment trends for women and administrators of color in colleges and universities provide a metric of progress to examine whether society is accommodating these groups in higher education (Harvey, 2001; Harvey, 2003; Johnsrud, 1991; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994b).

Since the 1960s, the concepts of access and diversity have been grappled with regarding students and faculty, but only minor attention has been given to administrators (Jackson, 2004a). Largely based on anecdotes and accounts from other sectors in society (e.g., business and public administration), it was a widely accepted belief that women and people of color are disproportionately located in lower-level administrative positions, while White males are disproportionately located in upper-level positions (e.g., Bluedorn, 1982; Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). In particular, however, comparing trends from these underrepresented groups across the employment sector, the number of people of color in senior-level positions in higher education remains low (Jackson 2004b; Jackson & Daniels, 2007).

Over a decade ago, Konrad and Pfeffer (1991) tested this assertion and found that in fact women and people of color were more likely to be hired in lower-level positions at less complex and prestigious organizations. While this benchmark work has been widely cited, the findings clearly need to be revisited for two reasons. First, Konrad and Pfeffer collapsed all types of administrators (i.e., student affairs, academic affairs, and administrative affairs) within a single sample. In so doing, they assumed the findings applied uniformly across all types of administrators. Second, the study was based on data collected several decades ago, namely, in 1978 and 1983. Accordingly, this research was aimed at re-examining the conventional wisdom in light of these concerns.

Therefore, the present study focused on just one category of administrators (i.e., academic leadership) with more recent data. Accordingly, the research questions guiding this study were: (a) To what extent, if at all, are women and people of color underrepresented in academic leadership positions?; and (b) To what extent, are women and people of color who attain these leadership positions underrepresented in upper-level positions?

Leadership Positions Typically Held by Faculty

The pathways or trajectories to academic leadership positions are seldomly discussed. Simply because for most faculty, academic leadership positions are an “after thought” and not an aspiration, because assuming administrative positions is seen as changing careers (Moore 1983; Moore & Sagaria, 1982). However, others view the work of the academy (university’s business) as the work of the intellect, thus believing that faculty and administrators share the same work and career (Martin, 1988). This is embodied by the notion of the “first among equals” concept and that administrators should come from the ranks of faculty.

The administration of higher education institutions is broken down into at least three specialty areas: (a) academic affairs (academic leadership positions); (b) student affairs; and (c) administrative affairs (Sagaria, 1988). Academic affairs or academic leadership positions include positions such as: president, academic deans, vice president or provost of research, and department chairs. Student affairs include: vice president for student affairs, dean of students, and director of financial aid. Administrative affairs encompass positions such as vice president for finance, director of alumni affairs, and the director of computer services. Career mobility differs among the three specialty areas (Moore & Sagaria, 1982); however, the focus of this study is on the area of academic leadership positions which are typically held by faculty. It is critical to note that the intent is not to suggest that all faculty want to pursue academic leadership positions, but rather to understand the position attainment process.

Administrative and Managerial Selection Process

In order to understand who successfully obtains certain key positions, insight into the selection process is needed. Accordingly, the body of literature examining the administrative and managerial selection process in higher education was explored. Previous research on administrative and managerial selection can be delineated in two approaches: (a) rational and (b) representational (Sagaria, 2002). The rational approach is based on the premise that the selection process is objective, logical, and predictable, while focusing on quantifiable characteristics of the candidate and job. According to this approach, search committees employ a series of clearly defined steps for the search process (e.g., Kalpowitz, 1986; Twombly, 1992). Within this line of inquiry, research has focused on gender and racial inequity (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). The aggregate of this work suggests that the search chair’s characteristics (e.g., race, gender, and attitudes) influence hiring decisions (Sagaria, 2002).

The second approach embedded in the administrative and managerial selection literature is representational view. Studies anchored in this perspective examine the hiring process from a symbolic and serendipitous standpoint (Birnbaum, 1988a; McLaughlin & Riesman, 1985). For the most part, these studies are aimed at unearthing the unpredictable and intangible elements of the search processes. Sagaria (2002) advances this body of work by proposing four filters used by decision makers to screen candidates in administrative searches. First, the normative filter focuses on the candidate’s qualifications (e.g., education, experience, credentials, and academic accomplishments). Second, the valuative filter looks at the administrative behavior of the candidate (e.g., leadership and decision making style), while at the same time considering fit and image. Third, the personal filter scrutinizes the candidate’s personality traits (e.g., character, habits, family composition, and sexual orientation). Fourth, the debasement filter was used solely

for candidates of color which exercised a form of institutional racism that focused on stereotypical views of people of color in administrative positions.

Conceptualizing Position Attainment

Empirically reducing position attainment to a subset of variables may be premature; however, it is equally risky to permit the aggregation of potential variables to a level of abstraction that renders them meaningless. In developing and testing theory, it is important to reduce the complexity of numerous variables of interest to those that capture reality in the simplest way while maintaining fidelity to what is meaningful. For purposes of this study, two broad frameworks show promise for providing expression to position attainment: (a) human capital and (b) person-environment fit. These frameworks are believed to be relevant to successfully securing academic leadership positions. Academic leadership positions are the focus of this study because they are the ones that tend to lead to the college presidency.

Human Capital

The notion of human beings as capital was introduced by the 18th century economist Adam Smith in his classic work *Wealth of Nations* (Smith, 1776/1937); myriad researchers (e.g., Marshall, 1890/1930; Fisher, 1906; and Walsh, 1935) have kept the idea alive. Notwithstanding its long history, the theory of humans as capital remained undeveloped into the 20th century. Human capital refers to knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are developed and valued primarily for their economic productive potential (Baptiste, 2001). Human capital has two fundamental assumptions: (a) there is an unqualified causal effect of human capital on economic productivity; and (b) differences in workers' earnings are due entirely to differences in their capital investments (e.g., education and experiences) (Sweetland, 1996).

Previous research has found that an investment in education increases an individual's income after controlling for important variables (e.g., cost of schooling, ability, and family background) (Carnevale & Desrochers, 2003; Psacharopoulos, 1985; Cohn & Hughes, 1994). In addition, some human capital theorists (e.g., Becker, 1993; Shultz, 1981) have used education as the prime human capital investment for empirical analysis. Becker (1992) further argued that differential investments in education alone explain the income disparities that exist between ethnic groups in the United States. Further, he drew the same conclusion when examining disparities by gender and social class. As such, in higher education literature, an individual's status and rewards in the academic labor market are determined primarily by his or her investment in themselves (e.g., type of education, professional experiences, and mobility) (Perna, 2001a, 2001b). For these reasons, human capital theory provides for a solid construct to inform a study on position attainment.

Person-Environment Fit - (P-E) fit

The idea that person-environment (P-E) fit is an important mediator of outcomes is a central theoretical construct in vocational, counseling, educational, social, industrial/organizational, and management psychology (Tinsley, 2000). For the most part, research reveals that the P-E fit model is valid (e.g., Dawis, 2000; Hesketh, 2000). Plato was the first theorist to propose a person-environment fit model; in *The Republic* he argued for wisdom

of assigning persons to jobs in accordance with their temperaments and abilities (Kaplan, 1950). Parsons' (1909) model of vocational choice represents the earliest application of P-E fit theory in academe. During the Great Depression, Patterson, Darley, and Associates established the usefulness of P-E fit models in vocational psychology. Their students (e.g., Lofquist, Dawis, and Holland) further refined the P-E model in the 1950s and 1960s.

While P-E fit models were first shown to be effective during the Great Depression (Patterson & Darley, 1936), more recently, industrial/organizational psychologist and organizational behavior researchers have investigated a wide range of P-E fit models with a strong connection to Holland's (1997) theory. His approach of characterizing and comparing persons and environments, in research and practice, is based on vocational interests (Holland, 1985; Meir, 1995). More specifically, this approach is based on the concepts of congruence and job satisfaction as suggested by Holland (1997), with congruence inversely related to the distance between the individual's vocational interests and the characteristics of their work environment. Further, this theory emphasizes the concept of correspondence. As Rounds, Dawis, and Lofquist (1987) define it: "Correspondence is a reciprocal relationship in which the work personality and work environment are mutually responsive, with the individual fulfilling the requirements of the work environment and the work environment fulfilling the requirements of the individual" (p. 298). Therefore, P-E fit was an appropriate construct to help conceptualize position attainment. Collectively, the two aforementioned frameworks provided a clear yet simple method to conceptualize position attainment for this study.

Method

Data Source

Data for this study were drawn from the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF: 99)¹. The National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF) was developed in response to a continuing need for data on faculty and instructors. The NSOPF was designed to provide data about faculty to postsecondary education researchers, planners, and policymakers. NSOPF is currently the most comprehensive study of faculty in postsecondary educational institutions. The NSOPF is a survey of faculty in 2-year or higher accredited postsecondary institutions, institution-level representatives, and department chairpersons. The survey was initially conducted during the 1987-88 school year and was repeated in 1992-93 and 1998-99. The 1999 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF: 99) indicated that in the Fall of 1998, there were about 1.1 million (1,074,000) faculty and instructional staff employed by public and private not-for-profit 2-year-and-above postsecondary institutions in the United States.

Unlike NSOPF: 88, which was limited to faculty whose assignment included instruction, the faculty universes for NSOPF: 93 and NSOPF: 99 were expanded to include all those who were designated as faculty, whether or not their responsibilities included instruction, and other (non-faculty) personnel with instructional responsibilities. Under this definition, researchers, administrators, and other institutional staff who held faculty positions, but who did not teach, were included in the samples. Instructional staff without faculty status also were included. Teaching assistants were not included in any cycle of NSOPF. In sum, a defining feature of this study is that administrators had to hold faculty rank in order to be included.

¹ At the time of data analyses, the authors did not have access to restricted-level NSOPF:04 data.

Sample

The sample for this study was limited to cases with complete individual and institutional level data. Once individual and institutional level data were merged, only 7,226 cases had complete data. The NSOPF: 99 weight (WEIGHT) is appropriate for approximating the population of college and university faculty from the sample. In order to correct for the non-simple random sample design and to minimize the influence of large sample sizes on standard errors, the effective sample size was altered by adjusting the relative weight downward as a function of the overall design effect (Thomas, Heck, & Bauer, 2005). This was achieved by multiplying the relative weight by the reciprocal of the DEFF value and then re-weighting the data with the DEFF adjusted relative weight. The adjusted weighted sample included 7,226 cases and represents 957,767 faculty nationwide.

Variables

Dependent Variables. Two dependent variables were used in this study: (a) academic leadership position attainment; and (b) upper-level administrative position attainment. Academic leadership position attainment was measured by using each primary activity designation to distinguish between faculty who hold joint administrative appointment statuses versus those who do not. For example, faculty could select four primary activities: (a) teaching; (b) research; (c) administration; and (d) other. Upper-level administrative position attainment was measured using each principal activity title to distinguish between upper-level versus lower-level positions. Upper-level positions were at the dean level and above (e.g., vice president), while other positions were coded as lower-level positions (e.g., department chair).

Independent Variables. Based on previous research of administrators in higher education, this study incorporated a number of independent variables grouped in three categories. The first set of independent variables relevant to successfully securing academic leadership positions were based upon the human and social capital frameworks consisting of administrators' demographic characteristics: race, gender, age, and highest degree. The second set of variables were characteristics of person-environment fit included: overall job satisfaction, likelihood to accept another higher education job within 3 years, and opinions about treatment of minority faculty.

The last set of independent variables focused on institutional characteristics and were used as controls: region, classification, type (e.g., two-year and four-year), and institutional control. Precedent for using these independent or predictor variables to control for the influence of the institution can be found in other research investigations on administrators in higher education (e.g., Bluedorn, 1982; Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser, 1999; Johnsrud & Des Jarlais, 1994; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994a; Lee & Mowday, 1987; McCain, O'Reilly, & Pfeffer, 1983; Price, 1977; Smart, 1990; Steers & Mowday, 1981; Weiler, 1985).

Data Analysis

Due to the dichotomous nature of the dependent variables, logistic regression was used to assess the effects of individual and institutional-level characteristics on the probability of individual faculty becoming an academic leader or an upper-level administrator (Cabrera, 1994). Several measures of fit were used when judging the significance of each logistic regression

model; these include the X^2 of the model, Pseudo R^2 , and PCPs. A significant X^2 indicates that the independent variable as a group correlate with the dependent variable. At most, the Pseudo R^2 represents the proportion of error variance in relation to a null model. PCP represents the percent of cases predicted by the model. PCPs higher than 55% signify a good fit for the model (Cabrera, 1994). As a measure of the magnitude of effect, Delta-ps were used. Delta-p represents the change in the probability in the dependent variable due to a change in the factor variable under consideration. For example, a Delta-p value of 0.045 indicates that a one unit change in the predictor is related to a 4.5 percentage point increase in the likelihood that a faculty member would become an academic leader.

Results

As earlier discussed, the effects of individual and institutional-level characteristics on the probability of faculty securing academic leadership positions were examined in three ways. First, descriptive distribution of faculty and their primary activity was provided (see Table 1). Second, a logistic regression model was fit to determine who from the faculty ranks had a higher probability of becoming an academic leader. Third, another model was fit to determine of those assuming academic leadership positions, who had a higher probability of securing upper-level versus lower level positions. In this study, both set of analyses show that individual and institutional-level characteristics have important effects on faculty going into academic leadership positions, even though the coefficients are small in many cases.

Table 1. Observed Representation of the Primary Activity for Faculty by Race/Ethnicity and Sex: Fall 1998

Characteristic	Teaching	Research	Admin	Other	Total
Total	72%	7%	8%	13%	7,226
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>					
Hispanic	73%	7%	6%	14%	
African American	72%	3%	10%	15%	
Asian	57%	21%	5%	17%	
American Indian	73%	8%	6%	13%	
Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	64%	24%	6%	6%	
White	73%	7%	8%	12%	
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	70%	9%	9%	12%	
Female	74%	5%	7%	14%	

Notes. Sample for this study is limited to faculty who were employed at 2-year, 4-year, public, and private institutions, whose primary responsibility was administration. Observed representation was based on the adjusted weighted sample.

Academic Leadership Position Attainment

Table 2 summarizes the logistic regression results for academic leadership position attainment for faculty. Delta-ps are presented for variables that are statistically significant (Cabrera, 1994; St. John, 1991). For the variables representing human and social capital, the results show that one racial and ethnic group was statistically different from Whites in obtaining academic leadership positions. Asian faculty were 6.96% more likely than Whites to assume academic leadership positions. When considering age, older faculty were 0.22% more likely than younger faculty to be administrators. When examining educational level, faculty with higher degrees (e.g., Ph.D.) were 1.07% more likely to be academic leaders.

Table 2. Logistic Regression Results for Academic Leadership Position Attainment for Faculty

Variable	Academic Leadership
Individual Level Characteristics	
<i>Human and Social Capital Variables</i>	
American Indian (White)	
Asian	.0696*
African American	
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	
Hispanic	
Gender (Male)	
Age	.0022***
Degree Level	.0107***
<i>Person Environment Fit Variables</i>	
Overall Job Satisfaction	.0231***
Likelihood to Accept H.E. Job W/3 Years	.0133*
Opin About Treatment of Min. Faculty	-.0094*
Institutional Level Characteristics	
<i>Control Variables</i>	
New England Region	
Mid East Region	
Plains Region	
South East Region	
South West Region	
Rocky Mountain Region	
Far West Region	
Doctoral Institutions	
Comprehensive Institutions	
Liberal Arts Institutions	
Two Year (Four Year)	.0467***
Institutional Control (Public)	
Adjusted Weighted Sample	7,226
Estimated Population Size	957,767
P _o	.082
Model X ² , df	154.209, 23***
Pseudo R ²	.049
PCP	91.8%

Note: Delta-p statistics are shown only for those variables whose coefficients were significant: *p< .05
 p<.01 *p<.001

For the person-environment fit set of variables, faculty with higher overall job satisfaction were 2.31% more likely to pursue academic leadership positions. As it relates to faculty with a higher likelihood to accept another higher education job within 3 years, they were

1.33% more likely to obtain academic leadership positions. For faculty that considered their opinion about treatment of minority faculty as important, they were 0.94% less likely to assume administrative duties. Institutional characteristics provided additional insights into which faculty had a higher probability of becoming academic leaders. Individuals employed at two year institutions were 4.67 % more likely to secure academic leadership positions.

Upper-Level Position Attainment

Table 3 summarizes the logistic regression results for upper-level position attainment for faculty. Delta-ps are presented for variables that are statistically significant (Cabrera, 1994; St. John, 1991). It is worth noting that no racial and ethnic group variable was significantly different. Regarding gender, females are 1.01% more likely to hold upper-level administrative positions. Likewise, older faculty were 0.06% more likely to hold upper-level administrative positions. According to the level of education, those with higher degrees were 1.10% more likely to secure upper-level academic leadership status. Considering the person-environment fit set of variables, faculty with higher overall job satisfaction were 1.30% more likely to obtain upper-level academic leadership positions. In relation to faculty with a higher likelihood to accept another higher education job within 3 years, they were 1.05% more likely to secure upper-level administration positions.

Table 3. Logistic Regression Results for Upper-Level Administrative Position Attainment for Faculty

Variable	Upper-Level Administrator
Individual Level Characteristics	
<i>Human and Social Capital Variables</i>	
American Indian (White)	
Asian	
African American	
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	
Hispanic	
Gender (Male)	.0101*
Age	.0110***
Degree Level	.0172***
<i>Person Environment Fit Variables</i>	
Overall Job Satisfaction	.0130*
Likelihood to Accept H.E. Job W/3 Years	.0103***
Opin About Treatment of Min. Faculty	
Institutional Level Characteristics	
<i>Control Variables</i>	
New England Region (Mid West)	
Mid East Region	.0356**
Plains Region	
South East Region	
South West Region	
Rocky Mountain Region	
Far West Region	
Doctoral Institutions	
Comprehensive Institutions	
Liberal Arts Institutions	
Two Year (Four Year)	
Institutional Control (Public)	-.0097***
Adjusted Weighted Sample	593
Estimated Population Size	78,599
P _o	.0184
Model X ² , df	145.147, 23***
Pseudo R ²	.170
PCP	98.2%

Note: Delta-p statistics are shown only for those variables whose coefficients were significant: *p< .05
 p<.01 *p.<.001

Institutional characteristics provided yet another layer of understanding on who were more likely to be in upper-level versus lower-level leadership positions. One institutional location affected the probability of securing upper-level positions. Faculty serving in institutions

located in the Mid East region, compared to the referent group (Mid West), were 3.80% more likely to assume upper-level positions. Lastly, in regard to institutional control, public institutions were 1.11% more likely to increase the probability of academic leaders holding upper-level positions.

Discussion

The results of this study show that significant differences in personal and institutional characteristics exist for those who hold academic leadership positions. While differences exist, overall these differences were small between groups. Still, several conclusions can be drawn, but caution should be used when interpreting these results.

Individual-Level Characteristics

First, of all the racial and ethnic groups, Asian faculty were most likely to become academic leaders. As is widely known, Asians have tended to perform well on success indicators within the education system (from K-12 education to graduate school to faculty ranks). Second, women were more likely to hold upper-level positions. Therefore, suggesting that although women still lag behind men in total representation in academic leadership positions, they are making small gains moving up the administrative ascension. In relation to these advancements, the past decade has seen an increase in women securing the college presidency (Lively, 2000a, 2000b; Nicklin, 2001). Consequently, for those women who became academic leaders, they fared better than men in obtaining upper-level positions.

Third, an increase in age augmented the likelihood that the individual would secure an academic leadership position. This finding seems to be straight forward in that with increased age a person has more time to build human capital which is positively connected to higher probabilities of being successful in the work place. Fourth, likewise individuals with higher degrees (e.g., Ph.D.) were more likely to assume academic leadership positions and upper-level positions.

Person-Environment Fit Characteristics

First, faculty with higher overall job satisfaction were more likely to obtain academic leadership positions and upper-level positions. One explanation may be that faculty who benefit from a work environment that provides opportunities for personal and professional development will seek institutional positions that will allow them to grow within the work environment. Academic leadership positions could offer new challenges that align with those expectations, and further promote advancement within the academic leadership hierarchy. In turn, there is a desire to contribute to and build upon this positive work environment.

Second, as it relates to both models, faculty were more likely to obtain academic leadership positions and an upper level position if they had a higher likelihood to accept another higher education job within 3 years. This could be explained by assumptions that describe administrative positions as changing careers (Moore 1983; Moore & Sagaria, 1982). Therefore, accepting a new job might be the perfect scenario to explore a new field within the academic life, and academic leadership and upper level positions could be seen as an appealing path. Further, it may be necessary to move to another institution to assume the desired administrative position.

Third, faculty with higher opinions regarding the treatment of minority faculty were less likely to secure academic leadership positions. This could be explained by the fact that among higher education administrators, some recognize that people of color are not equal in terms of their professional standing compared to White males (Ards, Brintnall & Woodward, 1997; Harvey, 2001; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994b), and opinions that encourage the development of fair hiring and work practices for minorities directly become a threat to faculty and the institution itself, when they do not support similar views.

Institutional-Level Characteristics

First, faculty interested in administrative roles fared better in regions of the country with more colleges and universities (Mid East), where having a diverse range of institutional opportunities might allow for the attainment of academic leadership positions. Second, faculty were more likely to become academic leaders at institutions with teaching as their primary mission and are small enough to build a strong sense of belonging. An interpretation of this finding is that faculty in smaller institutions (e.g., two year) that are small enough to build a strong sense of belonging and positive relationships with their colleagues might find it rewarding to take academic leadership roles. Third, of those holding academic leadership positions, faculty at public institutions had a higher probability of securing upper-level administrative positions. This could simply be due to the inherent complexity of public institutions, public institutions are held accountable by multiple constituents that require senior-level administrators to lead those efforts.

Conclusion

Konrad and Pfeffer (1991) found that women and people of color are less likely to be hired in administrative and managerial positions, but if hired, assume lower level positions. The findings from this study suggest that while these findings hold true for the most part, some gains appear to have been made by women and Asians in academic leadership positions. However, as Ebert (2005) states: “The belief that America is meritocratic, egalitarian, and colorblind requires that we ignore current inequalities that fall primarily along racial lines” (p. 174). Therefore, White men still hold the majority of academic leadership positions and upper-level positions in higher education. However, some unexpected surprises arose from this study.

Race and Gender Matters

There has been little discussion in the literature about the role Asians play as it relates to administration in higher education. Nonetheless, the results from this study show that Asians have a higher probability than other ethnic categories of holding an academic leadership position. Unfortunately, we do not have a comparative baseline, since most research on administrators in higher education lumped all minority groups together. Therefore, this occurrence may have gone undetected due to past study designs. Lastly, there is a growing body of research that argues that Asians are the “model minority” and fair much better in higher education (Freeman & Morss, 1993; Hirshman & Wong, 1986; Kim & Chun, 1994; Ying, Lee, Tsai, Hung, Lin, & Wan, 2001).

The results of this study in relation to gender both verified and refuted in part the findings of Konrad and Pfeffer (1991). While women faculty were less likely than men to assume

academic leadership positions, the gap is much smaller than the one reported by Konrad and Pfeffer. Achieving gender equity in the administrative levels is a challenge, even in fields that are dominated by women. Of those assuming upper-level positions, women were more likely than men to secure these positions. Once in the ranks of administration, women were chosen more often than men to assume upper-level positions. Therefore, suggesting that women are making gains in the ranks of upper-level positions.

Implications for Theory, Practice, and Research

This study was grounded in two broad frameworks: (1) human capital and (2) person-environment fit. Several implications of this research and speculations are worth noting based on these frameworks.

Human Capital

The accumulation of human capital is clearly an important aspect of position attainment, as evidenced by the increased effect due to age. At the present time, however, it appears that the human capital possessed by women and people of color in higher education is less valued than that possessed by White men and Asians. In turn, higher education institutions clearly should develop programs and opportunities to help women and people of color build critical forms of human capital. To wit, search committee members should be sensitized to value different forms of human capital. Moreover, it is important for future research to examine which types of human capital can contribute to administrative position attainment in higher education.

Person-Environment Fit

Clearly, fit is important in any process to determine who will be hired to fill a position. Candidates should be aware that building human capital is important, but doing so in the appropriate environment is more important. Developing work environments that provide employees with opportunities that increase overall job satisfaction that contribute to the advancement along the administrative hierarchy becomes a priority. The ability for the search committee to see how a candidate's skills transfer is paramount. Additionally, faculty interested in administrative work may have to be flexible enough to move to institutions that present more opportunities as evidenced by the analyses of institutional characteristics. Building on the principles of person-environment fit research, decision makers at institutions may need to re-examine whether they hire internal or external candidates for administrative positions. Thus, leading to the following research question: to what degree does fit predict whether a faculty member will be successful in an administrative position?

Administrative and Managerial Selection

Institutional search processes and personnel should be examined in light of the findings from this study. One of the most important activities done at colleges and universities is the hiring of personnel. Therefore, appropriate resources should be invested in this process to ensure sound decisions. The composition of the search committee, and the chair in particular, impact the type of person eventually chosen (Sagaria, 2002). Consequently, care should be given to who

serves on the search committee and who serves as chair. Particular attention should be given to ensure a diverse group of participants. Considering this, it is important to know whether a connection exists between the characteristics of the committee and/or chair with the chosen candidate.

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Administrative Work in Higher and Postsecondary Education: A Critical Review of Empirical Research

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Researchers have long acknowledged the complexity of performing administrative work² in American organizations (e.g., Burns, 1954; Carlson, 1951; Dublin & Spray, 1964; Fayol, 1949). They have examined important questions surrounding administrative work in various sectors: business (e.g., Luthans, Hodgetts, & Rosenkrantz, 1988; Mintzberg, 1983); government (e.g., Shafritz, Riccucci, Rosenbloom, & Hyde, 1992; Starling, 1998); not-for-profit (e.g., Myers & Sacks, 2003); hospital (e.g., Pfeffer & Salencik, 1977); and education (e.g., Bright & Richards, 2001; Peterson, 1998). Within colleges and universities, the challenging and complex process of administrative work has been well studied (e.g., Dill, 1984; Moore, 1983). Emerging from this research is an understanding of the central role that administrators play in the strategic operations of colleges and universities (Bess, 2003; Birnbaum, 1988). More specifically, this research has situated administrators as the core group responsible for guiding their respective institution through contemporary challenges. In the past 15 years, a body of literature has emerged that has focused on administrators as a unit of analysis (e.g., Bensimon, 1991; Carroll, James, Gmelch, 1994; Jackson & Kile, 2004; Lindsay, 1999). Studies arising from these research-based articles are the primary focus of this research review.

To frame the contribution and rationale for this review, the contemporary context of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education³ suggests that college and university leaders must address two major challenges: (a) enhancing institutional effectiveness; and (b) deepening student engagement. Once the importance of this investigation is established, previous research is examined. The examination provided a historical perspective and contemporary views. Next, the method section details the search procedures and analyses. The findings section provides a critical analysis of the research studies contained within this review. Finally, the manuscript concludes with implications for practice and future research.

Contemporary Challenges for Administrative Work in Higher and Postsecondary Education

Empirically and practically there are at least two significant challenges facing administrators at the contemporary American college and university. First, most applications of administrative science to the study of higher education administrators have focused on the connection of administrative work to institutional effectiveness (Del Favero, 2002; Heck,

² In the context of this study, administrative work refers to the daily tasks and responsibilities of higher and postsecondary administrators (e.g., planning, organizations, and directing).

³ Postsecondary education is any form of education that is taken after first attending a secondary school. Higher education is also education beyond the secondary level, but specifically education at the college level.

Johnsrud, & Rosser, 2000; Scoby, 1993). Moreover, in a recent study examining outcome-based results⁴ of administrative work in higher education, Jackson and Kile (2004) found that 60.3% of the 87 empirical research journal articles generated during the last decade that focused on administrators as a unit of analysis, linked their work to institutional related outcomes (e.g., financial planning). Thus, providing support that administrators are responsible for organizational productivity through the depiction of their day-to-day work patterns (Helgesen, 1990; Jackson & Peterson, 2004; Mintzberg, 1973). Accordingly, a large portion of the work-related roles of administrators is dedicated to establishing organizational frameworks and monitoring institutional effectiveness on a wide range of performance indicators (Baldrige National Quality Program, 2002).

Second, current institutional initiatives have focused on student learning, and in turn, what institutional responses should be in place to improve student engagement. Albeit researchers have established the important role of academic and social engagement by students in the learning process over the past 40 years (Astin, 1977; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991), a resurgence of institutional focus has been prompted by the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) (Kuh et al., 2001). NSSE annually collects student perception data directly from undergraduate students that colleges and universities can use to improve student learning. The College Student Report, NSSE's survey instrument, gathers data in five domains: (a) level of academic challenge; (b) student interaction with faculty members; (c) active and collaborative learning; (d) enriching educational experiences; and (e) supportive campus environment.

These five domains have been linked to previous research detailing desired outcomes in college. NSSE provides comparative benchmarks for determining how effectively colleges are contributing to learning in these areas for individual campuses, thus arming key decision-makers with data for improving their institutions. At the core of decision-makers leading efforts to improve student engagement are administrators who are central to garnering institutional support and resources to improve the conditions for student learning at their respective campuses. Accordingly, the aim of this analysis was to provide a systematic critique of empirical investigations on administrative work in higher and postsecondary education.

Previous Research on Administrative Work

In a pioneering article in the mid-1950s, Thompson (1956) acknowledged that administrative science was just beginning to be taken seriously. He asserted that the recognition of administration as an art form was beginning to be combined with the application of scientific methods for the study of administration, and the training of administrators (Thompson, 1956). Additionally, Litchfield (1956) credits the fields of mathematics, engineering, anthropology, and sociology with significant contributions to generating new knowledge related to the study of administration. However, he also notes that the examination of administration by these disciplines explored only selected aspects of administration. In other words, these disciplines did not examine the study of administration in its entirety, but rather through narrowly tailored inquiries (e.g., group dynamics, policy formulation, and decision making). Therefore, from the conception of the idea of administrative science, researchers have identified pieces (e.g., administrative decision making) of the "whole" for in-depth investigation (Litchfield, 1956).

⁴ In the context of this study, outcomes-based results refer to the impact, benefits, or changes to the educational environment and operational efficiency of institutions of higher and postsecondary education.

Historical Developments

The earliest accounts of research on the work of administrators in higher and postsecondary education can be traced back to the early 1900s (e.g., Hutchins, 1946; Uhrbrock, 1935). Uhrbrock (1935) criticized the daily operations of institutions of higher and postsecondary education. However, he also provided personal views on how administrators could perform their daily duties better. Hutchins (1946) discussed the qualities of a stellar administrator and sound administrative work. Later, Peterson (1974) engaged in a systematic review of literature pertaining to the organization and administration of higher and postsecondary education. Peterson was inspired by two articles (i.e., Henderson, 1963; McConnell, 1963) that exposed a deficiency in the research regarding American colleges and universities. Peterson found that while there had been advancements in knowledge since the two earlier studies (i.e., Henderson, 1963; McConnell, 1963) in the research on organization and administration in higher and postsecondary education, several significant gaps still existed.

In 1984, David Dill continued this research by synthesizing the advancements in research pertaining to administrators in higher and postsecondary education. Dill conducted a review of literature on administrative behavior in higher and postsecondary education. Dill found that “[t]he available research on higher education suggests that the use and allocation of time among academic administrators is not untypical of managers in general” (p. 105). However, due to their prior roles as professors, they tended to maintain significant “academic activities” (e.g., teaching, research, and publishing) and are less comfortable with the activities associated with full-time administrative work. Additionally, Dill discovered that much of this literature (e.g., Lewis & Dahl, 1976; Neumann & Boris, 1978; Peterson, 1975) in the 1970s addressed colleges and universities as organizations (e.g., organizational climate, governance structure, and processes of conflict). Apparently higher and postsecondary education researchers prior to the mid-1970s were either uninterested in or simply overlooked the work of administrators in higher and postsecondary education.

Hence, Dill (1984) decided to review literature published after Peterson’s work in an effort to determine whether subsequent research addressed Peterson’s particular concern with the lack of empirical studies addressing administrative actions and administrative behaviors. Dill found that many of the gaps in research on administrative behavior identified by Peterson had been addressed by 1984. The administrative behavior research reviewed by Dill included: (a) managerial time in academia; (b) human relations skills; (c) peer-related behavior; (d) conceptual skills; and (e) information-related behavior. Dill characterized the subsequent research as modest in quantity and limited in approach.

Contemporary Views

Contemporary views of administrative science research in higher and postsecondary education have moved from the historical approaches of simply examining “the general act” of administration, to examining the individual challenges of administrators in their positions (Gmelch, 2002; Toch, 2003). Administrators are often viewed as cogs in the bureaucratic wheel within the broader field of education (Birnbuam, 1988). However, more recently, administrators have been identified as institutional builders, academic, and civic leaders (Bornstein, 2002), cheerleaders and crisis counselors (Blankinship, 1994/1995), liaisons to off-campus agents or

external suppliers (Rosser, 2000), and economic developers (Brand, 2002). These more optimistic views may be due to the increasing interest and research related to administrative work in higher and postsecondary education.

Substantial diversity exists among jobs classified as administrative positions in higher and postsecondary education (see Table 1). Administrative positions can be differentiated by their functional specialization, skills, and training (Rosser, 2000). Further differentiation occurs when examining administrators' work environment: student services (Jackson, 2003); academic leadership (Jackson, 2004); and business and administrative services (Rosser, 2000). Some administrative positions (e.g., the academic deanship) are "the least studied and most misunderstood positions in the academy" (Gmelch, Wolverton, Wolverton, & Sarros, 1999, p. 717) and mid-level administrators who "[d]espite their significant numbers...they lack visibility...and have been of little concern to educational researchers" (Rosser, 2000, p. 5). In contrast, other positions like the college president are the focus of numerous articles and books. For example, at the time of this writing, a cursory ERIC search will yield approximately 1200 journal articles when the term "College Presidents" is used as a descriptor.

Table 1. Examples of Administrative Job Titles by Function

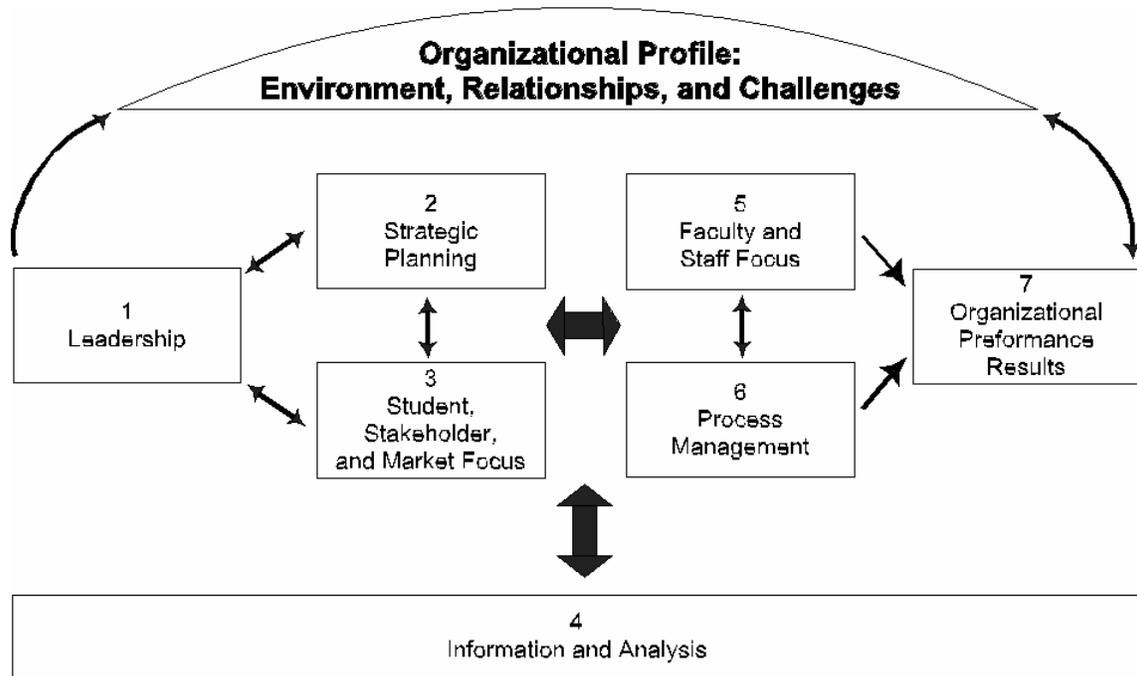
Student Affairs	Academic Affairs	Administrative Affairs
Greek Affairs Advisor	President	Vice President for Administration
Residence Hall Director	Provost	Vice President for Financial Affairs
Director of Multicultural Center	Associate Dean for Research	Director of Facilities Management
Director of Financial Aid	Business School Dean	Director of the Physical Plant
Registrar	Department Chair	Director of Public Safety

Guiding Framework

Two concepts were used to process and analyze data for this study: (a) institutional outcomes; and (b) student outcomes. Institutional outcomes provide a valuable framework to help assess and measure performance on a wide range of key performance indicators (Baldrige National Quality Program, 2002), while student outcomes examine the impact of colleges and universities on the academic and social development of students. The confluence of these two areas helps to crystallize the importance of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education.

The Baldrige model is salient because it does not ignore the fact that most of what may be found could be institutional in nature, and simultaneously maintains a degree of flexibility to accommodate the identification of studies focused on student outcomes. Briefly, the major core values and concepts of the Baldrige organizational framework are: (a) leadership; (b) strategic planning; (c) student, stakeholder, and market focus; (d) information and analysis; (e) faculty and staff focus; (f) process management; and (g) organizational performance results (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Baldrige Organizational Framework



Source: Baldrige National Quality Program (2002). *Educational criteria for performance excellence*. Milwaukee, WI: Author.

Leadership explores how senior leaders guide the organization, including how they review organizational performance. *Strategic planning* examines how organizations establish their strategic objectives and action plans. *Student, stakeholder, and market focus* is how organizations determine requirements, expectations, and preferences of students, stakeholders, and markets. *Information and analysis* examines the information management and performance measurement system and how the organization analyzes performance data and information. *Faculty and staff focus* looks at how organizations enable faculty and staff to develop their full potential. *Process management* examines the key aspects of organizations' process management (e.g., learning-focused education and student services). *Organization performance results* include the usual institutional outcome measures, but it also focuses on key student learning results.

Method

Search Procedures

To begin the review process of studies that focused on administrators as subjects (i.e., unit of analysis) in higher and postsecondary education, we conducted a computerized advanced literature search of the ERIC database. Three descriptors and keywords were searched in the

titles and abstracts of documents published between 1991 and 2001: (a) administrator(s); (b) higher education; and (c) postsecondary education. Additionally, the review was delimited to refereed journal articles⁵ published in the United States.

The search initially yielded 866 journal articles for consideration. Next full abstracts were printed and screened by the researchers using the required inclusion criteria (i.e., administrator focus, journal article, and 1991-2001). The abstracts that were deemed appropriate were identified, and the full articles were read for potential inclusion. One-hundred and eighty-two articles were read, and studies that did not meet the aforementioned standards for inclusion were removed. To ensure full inclusion of relevant journal articles, five experts who have published widely on administrative work were consulted for the next phase. During this phase, the panelists were sent the comprehensive list of journal articles and were asked to identify studies that may have been overlooked. Collectively, this search strategy resulted in a total of 78 useable journal articles for this analysis.

Analysis Procedures

The articles were classified in three stages using the taxonomies and classification schemes elaborated in an earlier study using these data (Jackson & Kile, 2004). First, we conducted preliminary sorting of these articles in three broad categories (i.e., academic affairs, student affairs, and administrative affairs)⁶. Next, we analyzed the research articles by substantive topic, purpose, scope, theoretical framework, and research design. In the evaluation of these articles, deliberate attempts were made to ascertain specific implications and outcomes of each journal article. In addition, special efforts were made to develop categorical domains for these articles, and synthesize any uniform weaknesses or criticisms for these journal articles. The analysis procedures were managed using traditional approaches for empirical reviews (Galvan, 2004; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Sample Description

Table 2 presents the results of the searches. There were 78 research articles used for this study, including recommendations from the panel of experts. The type of administrators studied varied by administrative focus. Approximately 42.3% examined administrators in academic affairs, 23.1% in student affairs, 16.7% in administrative affairs, and 17.9% used a mix of the three aforementioned areas. While 69.2% of these studies did not focus on any aspect of diversity⁷, the remaining 30.8% did. Of the 30.8% that focused on diversity, 17.9% examined gender related issues, 2.6% explored topics associated with race/ethnicity, and 10.3% focused on the intersection between gender and race/ethnicity. As it relates to methodological approach, 76.9% employed quantitative techniques, 20.5% used qualitative procedures, and 2.6% were mixed methods.

⁵ Non-refereed materials were excluded from this review for one main reason: (1) we wanted to delimit materials that had been peer-reviewed.

⁶ Academic affairs include positions such as president, academic deans, and vice president or provost of research. Student affairs include positions such as vice president for student affairs, dean of students, and director of financial aid. Administrative affairs encompass positions such as vice president for finance, director of alumni affairs, and director of computer services.

⁷ Studies that focused on gender or ethnic and racial diversity.

Table 2. Empirical Studies on Administrator Work from 1991 - 2001

Author(s)	Sector	Scope of the Study	Diversity	Method	Outcomes
Aaron & Georgia	2	National Random Sample N=257	N/A	1	2
Andrews & Licata	4	N=199	N/A	1	1
Ball	3	N=60	N/A	1	1
Banaszak-Holl & Greer	1	N=862	N/A	1	1
Banaszak-Holl & Greer	1	N=703	N/A	1	1
Belch & Strange	2	N=6	N/A	2	1
Bensimon	1	Longitudinal – 5 yrs N=15	N/A	2	1
Berwick	2	1 State N=240	N/A	1	3
Blackhurst, Brandt, & Kalinowski	2	Stratified Random Sample N=140	1	1	3
Blackhurst	2	Random Sample N=307	1	1	1
Blackhurst, Brandt, & Kalinowski	2	Random Sample N=140	1	1	1
Blackhurst	2	National Random Sample N=307	2	2	3
Blix & Lee	1	1 State N=575	N/A	1	3
Brown & Golbetti	2	N=57	2	1	1
Burns & Gmelch	1	Random Sample N=800	N/A	1	3
Cano & Ludwig	3	1 Institution N=127	N/A	1	1
Carroll & Gmelch	1	Random Sample N=800	N/A	1	3
Cooper & Dunlap	4	Purposeful Sample N=12	N/A	2	3
Cronin & Crawford	1	N=20	N/A	1	1
Cullen & Luna	4	2 States N=24	1	2	1
Deekle & Klerk	3	N=256	N/A	1	1
Dickman, Fugua,	4	Random Sample	N/A	1	3

Coombs, & Seals		N=205			
Donaldson & Kuhne	3	N=6	N/A	3	3
Dooley	3	1 Institution	N/A	2	1
Eitel	3	Random Sample N=285	N/A	1	1
Fairweather	1	N=904	N/A	1	1
Franklin	1	N=50	N/A	2	1
Glick	1	Random Sample N=253	N/A	1	3
Gmelch & Burns	1	National Random Sample N=564	N/A	1	3
Graber, Bellack, Musham, & O'Neil	1	N=100	N/A	1	1
Guido-DiBrito	2	N=54	N/A	2	1
Hardesty	3	N=39	N/A	2	1
Heck, Johnsrud, & Rosser	1	1 Institution N=235	N/A	1	1
Henry & Nixon	3	1 Institution N=29	N/A	1	1
Hickson, Stacks, & Amsbary	1	19 Journals	N/A	1	3
Hollis	3	N=86	3	1	1
Howard-Hamilton, Palmer, Johnson, & Kicklighter	2	N=344	N/A	1	3
Hubbard & Robinson	1	Random Sample N=370	1	1	3
Hurst & Peterson	1	N=3333	N/A	1	1
Johnsrud	4	1 Institution N=454	1	1	1
Johnsrud & Heck	4	1 Institution N=1108	1	1	1
Johnsrud & Rosser	4	1 State N=901	N/A	1	1
Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser	4	1 State N=869	N/A	1	1
Konrad & Pfeffer	4	Random Sample N=11,412	3	1	1
Krager & Brown	2	N=168	N/A	1	3
Lamborn	1	N=335	N/A	1	3
Lindsay	1	N=4	3	2	3
Marcus	2	1 Institution	N/A	2	1

		N=21			
McGown, Eichelberger, & Nelson	1	N=38	N/A	3	4
Mokuau & Hull	1	Stratified Random Sample N=85	N/A	1	1
Mondschein	1	1 Institution N=6	1	2	3
Munn	2	N=169	N/A	1	1
Munson	1	N=53	N/A	1	1
Newman	2	1 State N=176	N/A	1	3
Palestini	1	Random Sample N=114	N/A	1	3
Pastore & Meacci	3	N=136	1	1	1
Peyronel	3	1 State N=26	N/A	1	1
Piper & Rodger	2	N=56	N/A	1	3
Ramey	4	1 State N=80	3	1	3
Rank & Hutchinson	1	Random Sample N=150	N/A	2	3
Regan	3	N=8	N/A	2	3
Robinson, Butler, & Glennen	2	N=152	N/A	1	1
Sagara & Johnsrud	4	1 Institution N=350	N/A	1	1
Scoby	3	N=111/118	N/A	1	1
Scott	2	Random Sample N=100	N/A	1	3
Smith	1	Random Sample N=172	N/A	1	1
Smolen	1	N=271	N/A	1	1
Stover	4	2 Institutions N=99	1	1	1
Street & Kimmel	2	N=321	N/A	1	3
Travis, Higgs, & Mathews	1	N=275	N/A	1	1
Twombly & Moore	1	Stratified Random Sample N=4408	N/A	1	1
Vozzola, Hatfield, & Hatfield	1	N=9	N/A	2	1

Warner	1	N=6	3	2	1
Watts & Wernsman		N=510	N/A	1	2
Wessel & Keim	1	Stratified Random Sample N=270	N/A	1	3
Townsend & Wiese	2	Random Sample N=695	N/A	1	3
Wolverton, Wolverton, & Gmelch	1	National Sample N=1370	N/A	1	3
Woodard, Hayman, von Destinon, & Jamison	2	N=821	N/A	1	2

Key: Sector: 1=academic affairs; 2=student affairs; 3=administrative affairs; and 4=mixed
Diversity: 0=none; 1=gender; 2=race/ethnic; and 3=combination
Method: 1=quantitative; 2=qualitative; and 3=mixed methods
Outcomes: 1=institutional outcomes; 2=student outcomes; and 3=personal outcomes

The scope of these studies varied greatly. Approximately 14.1% were single-institution studies, 7.7% were studies of state higher education systems, 25.6% were random non-national samples, 16.7% employed purposeful sampling, 32.1% were national random samples, and 3.8% used national datasets for secondary analyses. Of the studies used for this analysis, 52.6% were not guided by a framework, while 47.4% did use a framework (e.g., Biglan’s dichotomies) to guide data analysis. When examining the espoused purpose for these studies, the documents reviewed were placed into six categories that were aligned with the Baldrige model: (a) leadership – 28.2%; (b) strategic planning – 2.6%; (c) student, stakeholder, and market focus – 3.8%; (d) information and analysis – 11.5%; (e) faculty and staff focus – 37.2%; and (f) process management – 16.7%.

Limitations and Delimitations

The identification of limitations and delimitations for this study is particularly salient. First, identifying only articles that used administrators as a unit of analysis delimited this study. Perhaps additional studies have made the connection between the student outcomes and the work of administrators, but do not use administrators as the unit of analysis. Thus, they would not be included in this study. Second, the search procedures for this study were conducted using ERIC. Thus, the articles are limited to those listed in the ERIC database. We tried to include all relevant articles by consulting with five subject matter experts. As stated earlier, the widely published scholars were sent a comprehensive listing of all articles that were to be included in this investigation. The experts were then asked to identify any articles that should be considered for inclusion. Still, the study is limited by the search procedures employed and the knowledge of the subject matter experts.

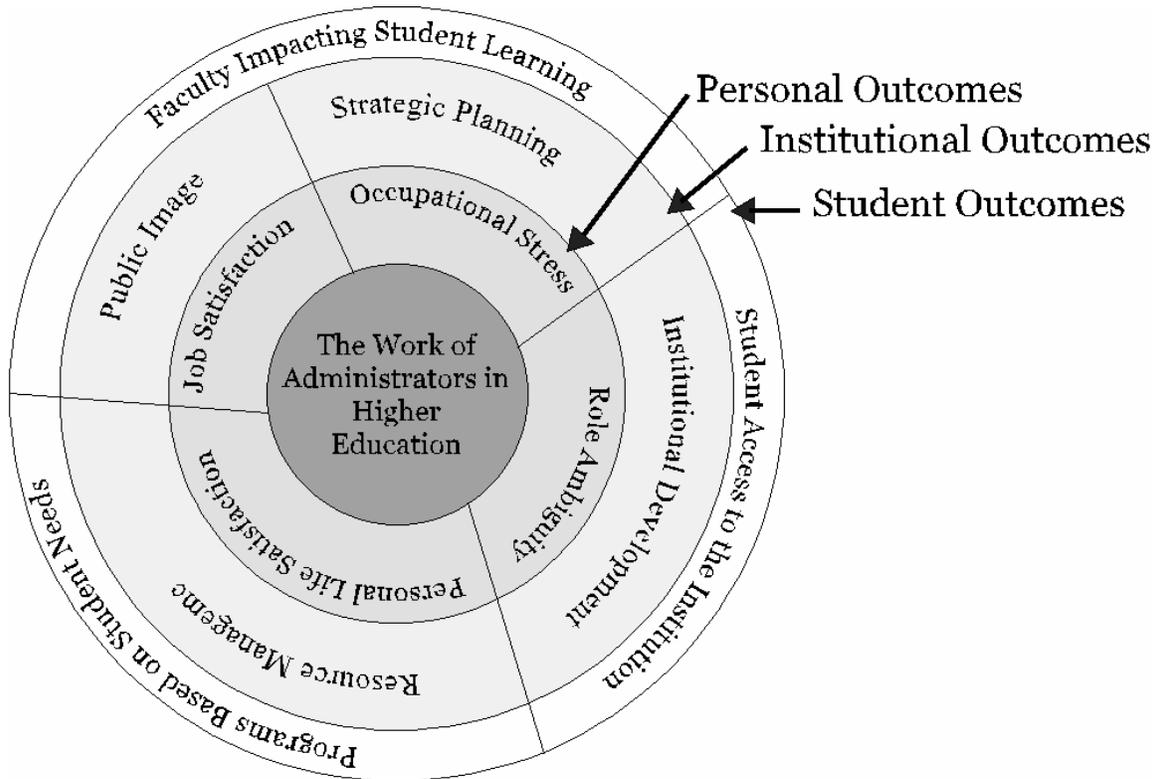
Third, only peer-reviewed journal articles were included. It was the researchers desire to delimit the included articles to only refereed articles. While, we believe that excellent research can be found in non-refereed journals, it was decided not to make that type of judgment on the

articles included in this study. Delimiting the included literature to peer-reviewed articles leaves the assessment of quality to discipline specific scholars. Finally, the study delimited the articles included in this study to those published in the United States. This delimiting factor was chosen to sharply focus this investigation on the higher and postsecondary educational system of one country. The researchers wanted to minimize the ambiguity and confounding factors that can be introduced to an investigation by cultural influences and factors.

Findings - Categorizing Administrative Work Studies

Findings based on the review of the literature revealed three outcomes from administrative work: (a) institutional outcomes; (b) personal outcomes; and (c) student outcomes. An outcomes-based model was developed for administrative work in higher and postsecondary education based on a preliminary review of the literature (Jackson & Kile, 2004) (see Figure 2). Located in the center of the model is the administrator and his or her work. Surrounding the administrator are three spheres representing the three major themes that emerged from the literature: (a) personal outcomes; (b) institutional outcomes; and (c) student outcomes. The spheres are in order from the most tangible to the least tangible (i.e., from the center out), from the administrator's perspective. In other words, the model illustrates the relationship between administrative work and major outcomes.

Figure 2. Outcomes-Based Model for the Work of Administrators in Higher Education



Source: Jackson, J. F. L., & Kile, K. S. (2004). Does a nexus exist between the work of administrators and student outcomes in higher education?: An answer from a systematic review of research. *Innovative higher education*, 28(4), 285-301.

For example, an administrator readily sees personal outcomes from the work that he or she does. Further, an administrator is more likely to see institutional outcomes before student outcomes. The spheres of the model were deliberately made different widths to correspond with the amount of literature found on a particular outcome. Most of the literature focused on personal outcomes for administrators, followed by institutional outcomes. The literature linking administrative work directly to student outcomes was scarce. The first two (institutional and personal outcomes) consume the bulk of the literature, which overwhelmingly focused on the role and duties for the person in the administrative position. However, a small but increasing number of studies were identified that examined student outcomes as an emerging focus for administrative work.

Institutional Outcomes

Institutional outcomes were the most prevalent topic within the literature reviewed. We speculate that the interest in institutional outcomes stems from its universal applicability.

Institutional outcomes are of interest to several stakeholders within the higher and postsecondary education arena (Birnbaum, 1988). In other words, while personal outcomes of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education may be of particular interest to administrators working within those settings, institutional outcomes would likely be of interest to a larger audience (e.g., administrators, faculty, and boards of trustees).

The articles categorized as institutional outcomes produced findings that related to more than the individual administrator. The institutional outcomes studies explore the influence of intra-institutional relationships, organizational structure, morale, and diversity and equity issues. Intra-institutional relationships are important to foster efficient institutional functioning. Institutional collaboration is imperative to institutional effectiveness (Hardesty, 1991), and administrators should aggressively pursue collaborative opportunities (Munn, 1998). Organizational structure can impact administrators' desire, or lack thereof, to stay in a position. In other words, the structure of an institution can significantly contribute to the length-of-stay of an administrator. While longer administrative tenures lead to consistency and stability in organizational functioning, shorter tenures represent organizational problems (Banaszak-Holl & Creer, 1994). Loyalty to an institution, or office, may encourage longer tenures as well. However, Guido-Dibrito (1995) found that organizational structure may affect the extent to which loyalty can be fostered. Morale also influences an administrator's desire to stay or leave an institution (Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000).

Employee satisfaction affects morale and Blackhurst, Brandt, and Kalinowski (1998) found that women in lower-level administrative positions are particularly dissatisfied with their work settings. However, morale is largely based upon individual perceptions and requires institutional sensitivity to address it (Johnsrud & Rosser, 1999; Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000). Diversity and equity issues can also impact organizational loyalty and institutional morale. Sagaria and Johnsrud (1992) identified that the administrative structure is shaped like a low pyramid with few jobs at the top. They found that White men are over-represented in upper-level administrative positions, and White women and people of color are over-represented in lower-level administrative positions. Twombly and Moore (1991) concurred stating that a "glass ceiling" exists for women in top administrative positions. Specific targeted programs are one way to address inequities and to manage diversity issues (Cano & Ludwig, 1995). Henry and Nixon (1994) suggested creating mentoring programs to help improve campus climate.

Personal Outcomes

Personal outcomes were the next most prevalent topic within the literature related to administrators in higher and postsecondary education. The interest in personal outcomes is crucial in a highly stressful work environment such as colleges and universities (Gmelch & Burns, 1994; Gmelch & Seedorf, 1989). Often a research question will be brought to light because the researcher observes or encounters an issue or problem. Administrators in higher and postsecondary education are in an academic environment that naturally encourages individuals to ask and answer research questions. Thus, an administrator may research "personal" questions or seek out someone to "find the answer" for him or her.

The articles categorized as personal outcomes focus on issues that directly impact the administrator. These articles answer questions related to administrators' daily activities, career development, stress and burnout, and role conflict and ambiguity. Several articles discussed issues that occur in administrators' daily work. For example, administrative decision-making

(Krager & Brown, 1992), use of theory (Piper & Rodger, 1992), differences in work environment (Volkwein & Parmley, 2000), leadership style (Palestini, 1999), administrators' use of journaling (Cooper & Dunlap, 1991), and dealing with the politics at work (Newman, 1991) emerged as daily challenges for administrators. The career development issues that surfaced were primarily related to the use of mentors (Ramey, 1995) for position attainment, (Hubbard & Robinson, 1998) continuous administrator education training (Lamborn, 1991), and reducing administrator turnover (Blackhurst, 2000). The use of mentoring to reduce turnover is particularly noteworthy because Blackhurst, Brandt, and Kalinowski (1998) found that increased years of experience appear to be associated with reduced levels of ambiguity.

Role conflict and ambiguity are common challenges for administrators. Further, role conflict and ambiguity can negatively impact administrators in educational institutions. Learning to balance personal and professional lives is a way to combat the negative effects of role conflict and ambiguity (Wolverton, Wolverton, & Gmelch, 1999). Other issues related to personal career development that emerged were: the value of a higher education doctorate for administrative positions (Townsend & Wiese, 1992), pathways to the presidency (Wessel & Keim, 1994), and encouragement to publish early in one's career (Hickson, Stacks, & Amsbary, 1992). Burnout and stress are pervasive issues in higher and postsecondary education administration. Researchers have tried to define factors that can lead to increased levels of stress for administrators (Berwick, 1992). Additionally, they have explored stress due to role conflict and ambiguity (Burns & Gmelch, 1995), the "fit" between an administrator's style and job demands (Bliz & Lee, 1991), gender differences in reported levels of stress (Scott, 1992), and burnout (Howard-Hamilton, Palmer, Johnson, & Kicklighter, 1998).

Student Outcomes

Literature linking administrator roles and duties to student outcomes was conspicuously lacking from the scholarly work reviewed for this particular study. Most of the literature regarding student outcomes has focused on the relationship between the student and organizational behavior (Berger & Milem, 1998). Therefore, there is a gap in the literature exploring the connection between education administrators and student outcomes. Recently, this gap has been identified (Jackson & Kile, 2004) and conceptual frameworks are being developed (Del Favero, 2002) to explore the relationship between administrative behavior and student outcomes.

The articles categorized as student outcomes for this particular study focus on the relationship between the administrator and the students. The articles included in the student outcomes category include: the need for policies that impact students (Aaron & Georgia, 1994), student and administrator interactions (Watts & Wernsman, 1997), and assessing student outcomes (Woodard, Hayman von Destinon, & Jamison, 1991).

Criticisms

We take this space to highlight some shortcomings that caused us some concern during our review of this literature. More importantly, it is the aim of this critique to strengthen future studies in this area of research. We do not pretend to be experts in each and every area of literature related to administrative work in higher and postsecondary education. Therefore, we will not offer suggestions for improvements in that regard. We will assume that the authors of

the articles we reviewed have done appropriate literature reviews. However, the use, or lack thereof, of theoretical frameworks and methodology (which tends to be less discipline/content specific) will be reviewed. Additionally, we will discuss data analysis methods, sample size, and limitations. Likewise, our intent is not to single out individual studies, but rather discuss them as a group.

Theoretical Perspective

Theoretical frameworks are the “lighthouses” and “roadmaps” for academic inquiry; they enable the reader to understand which assumptions and existing knowledge base is guiding the researcher’s quest for new insights on the problem being examined. In contrast, a research study with no theoretical framework has not identified the structure for examining the identified question under investigation. Surprisingly, 52.6% of the articles reviewed for this study lacked explicit theoretical frameworks. Only a few authors actually identified a theoretical framework for the investigation. Most studies that fell into this category did not make an attempt to advance a model, theory, or concept, but rather simply reported findings. Such an oversight is problematic and weakens the development of the field. The lack of guiding frameworks leave consumers of the research with questions (e.g., theoretical underpinnings of the study), including what constructs, concepts, and assumptions were directing the investigation.

Methodological Approach

Generally, research results are more interesting if they are significant and if they are generalizable beyond the sample. First, approximately 18% of the studies reported insignificant findings and dedicated discussion space to these results. In doing so, authors, for the most part, provided a rationale for the importance of non-significant findings, while the remainder did not. Second, the data sets used in these studies can be characterized as single institutional data and having small sample sizes. These studies, for the most part, were exploratory or were in the early stages of examining administrative work and constructing new theoretical approaches in higher and postsecondary education. Third, approximately 22% of these articles presented implications and discussion items that went beyond data used for the study. While in other cases, some authors claimed that their sample was representative of the population, but provided no population-based or institution-wide demographic evidence. In these cases, authors could have simply provided supportive data for these statements. Finally, many of the studies were descriptive in nature. While descriptive studies are useful and make contributions to knowledge, we were left wondering why so many studies were descriptive rather than evaluative or discovery-oriented. While the lack of data on the nature of administrative work and the methodological design complexities could both be reasons for these occurrences, it was unclear as to why the literature is largely descriptive studies.

Data Analysis Methods

Qualitative research can be difficult to describe in easily replicable steps and is often perceived as vague. In the context of this manuscript, many of the qualitative studies included within this review of literature used interviews (49%), but neglected to provide interview questions or short excerpts of the transcripts. Thus, the reader is unable to evaluate the soundness

of the protocol and can only rely on the author(s) interpretations. Equally problematic, quantitative research designs can be overly cryptic. Approximately 29% of the articles included in this review neglected to include key information about the variables, data collection instruments, and in some cases a clear description of data analysis. We acknowledge that publishing in peer-reviewed journals has several constraints such as limited space per journal issue which could lead to not including important information. Unfortunately, an abbreviated methodology section leaves the reader with significant questions about the quality of the results.

Sample Size

Researchers and consumers of research often debate the selection of sample size. The debate revolves around the delicate balance between choosing a sample that is representative of the population of interest and consideration of limited resources (e.g., time, money, and access to subjects). Ten percent of the articles reviewed had limited samples. A group of articles were based on data collected from six or less subjects (e.g., Belch & Strange, 1995; Lindsay, 1999). Still some studies had many more people involved but were limited to a single institution (Henry & Nixon, 1994; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1992). While using a case study methodology is a compelling rationale for limiting a study to a single institution, it still presents limitations in generalizability. In several cases, the studies of administrative work at particular institutions focused on phenomena or issues that were being implemented or advanced (e.g., Cano & Ludwig, 1995; Heck, Johnsrud, & Rosser, 2000; Henry & Nixon, 1994; Marcus, 2000). Similarly, some studies limited the research to a particular state system (Blix & Lee, 1991; Peyronel, 2000).

Limitations

Finally, a significant portion of the studies included in this review were remiss in neglecting to include the limitations of the study. For example, limited resources are valid reasons for delimiting the number of participants and/or sample sizes. Noting this limitation could reduce the debate surrounding sample size selection. Not identifying the limitations of a study leaves the work open to criticisms. Therefore, the authors should specify the limitations of the study. Further, when limitations are specified it places boundaries on the assertions of the research. Thus, consumers of the literature will know the limits of the statements. Then, it will be apparent that the assertions made in the study are not “blanket” statements intended to be universally applicable, but applicable in specific situations that could help inform/predict results in similar situations.

Implications for Understanding Administrative Work

While it is generally understood that administrators within the student affairs and administrative affairs received graduate-level training to perform their prescribed duties (Komives & Taub, 2000), it is not uncommon for academic leaders to have little or no formal preparation as administrators (Jackson, 2004). Academic leaders, who are sometimes referred to in the literature as “amateur administrators” (Tucker & Bryan, 1991), receive most of their experience serving on and chairing committees - an experiential learning model. Their conceptions of good administrative practices are shaped by the examples afforded to them at the

departmental, college, and university-level. While this historical approach has been applied since the inception of higher and postsecondary education in the United States, contemporary administrative work demands more from the individual.

The empirical research on administrative work in higher and postsecondary education provides one avenue to gain a greater understanding of the development of good practices that impact three main areas: (a) personal outcomes; (b) institutional outcomes; and (c) student outcomes. From the studies reviewed herein, it is apparent that the work of college and university administrators is complex. The challenging aspects of administrative work impact and influence in many ways (e.g., time management, role conflict/ambiguity, and personal-professional time allocation) the individuals who assume administrative positions.

Financial responsibility, institutional direction, effective external relations, and resource development are all important topics that emerge within the work cycle for college and university administrators, and each appears related to the institution's outcomes. Accordingly, whether administrators appropriately negotiate their personal outcomes or not, the evaluation of their performance in the job will be based on their ability to achieve outcomes identified at the institutional level. The reviewed research, withstanding the aforementioned limitations, could provide excellent benchmark practices as well as research to help improve administrative practice.

As demonstrated in the review of the literature, very little research attempted to make connections between administrative input (e.g. roles, actions, and resources invested) and student outcomes. This review reinforces the need for research that makes explicit the connections that exist between administrative work and student outcomes. More importantly, it highlights the notion that administrative work impacts not only personal and institutional outcomes, but student outcomes as well. The research is a reminder for administrators that may not have direct contact with students that the results of their work will directly or indirectly impact student outcomes. In summary, the reviewed literature bodes well for informing the practice of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education.

Implications for Future Research

A comprehensive review of research on administrative work in higher and postsecondary education confirms that there is understanding among researchers and practitioners that college and university administration is a complex activity that impacts various institutional, personal, and student outcomes. Future research must provide more attention to benefits of administrative work to the broader community (institution and beyond). In particular, this research should provide additional inquiries that bridge the knowledge gap between administrator inputs and student outcomes.

Our discussion of the studies included in this critical review serve to emphasize the importance of the outcomes associated with administrative work in higher and postsecondary education. Moreover, we uncovered particular synergies between the interaction of administrators and various outcomes (i.e., personal, institutional, and student) in higher and postsecondary education. We argue that research on administrative work could benefit from closer attention to its connection to student outcomes. In addition, there is a need for further research to re-examine the identified outcomes, and to examine the interaction among these forms of outcomes. There are a number of related research questions that deserve examination:

- How do administrators' conceptions of good practice inform their targeted outcomes?
- How do administrators' conceptions of good practice change over time?
- To what degree are administrators aware of who or what is benefited by their work?
- Are certain kinds of targeted outcomes prioritized at specific administrative levels?

These research questions hold potential for developing a clearer understanding of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education, which in turn has implications for advancing our knowledge about linkages to outcomes, but also to improve practice.

Conclusion

The research studies we have reviewed have contributed to a growing body of literature that examines administrative work in higher and postsecondary education. Further, this review was guided by an outcomes model approach. However, we remain unconvinced that the research has been conceived in such a way that it highlights the benefits of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education in a compelling manner. Of particular concern is the relationship between administrative work and student outcomes, which appears to have not been sufficiently problematized.

Nonetheless, what is clear is that further research is needed to make explicit the benefits of administrative work in higher and postsecondary education. The growth in the body of research would add to the richness of previous research, as well as strengthen administrative practice. As mentioned previously, one promising area that warrants further research is the nexus between administrative work in higher and postsecondary education and student outcomes. Previous research (e.g., Del Favero, 2002; Jackson & Kile, 2004) highlights the need to frame outcomes-based oriented inquiries into the work of administrators in higher and postsecondary education. In addition, we advocate that more detail be placed on the guiding frameworks, sample sizes, and data analyses to enhance the rigor of the findings. In closing, the consistently growing body of empirical research on administrative work in higher and postsecondary education is well positioned to inform future administrative and research practice.

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Revolutionary Wishes in *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula*: Toni Morrison's Developing Anti-Capitalist Vision

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Although Toni Morrison is known to more people for dubbing Bill Clinton “the first Black president,” her salient critiques of capitalism deserve greater attention than the fame she has gained from her ability to speak the unspeakable: the renaming of Bill Clinton’s racial identity. In novels full of discrimination, oppression, and violence, one might overlook Toni Morrison’s Utopian imagination: the ability to find dimensions in the lives of individuals subjugated by capitalism that suggest the possibility of alternatives to capitalism. Characters in Morrison’s *The Bluest Eye* (1970) and *Sula* (1973) face deeply troubling social conditions, yet they still evince, at some level, a commitment to Utopian thought and to resisting developing elements of postmodernism. In *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Jameson (1991) defines postmodernism as “what you have when the modernization process is complete and nature is gone for good” (p. ix). Jameson argues that “the question of Utopia would seem to be a crucial test of what is left of our capacity to imagine change at all” (p. xvi). *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula* reflect Morrison’s struggle to resist postmodern anti-Utopian thought. These novels are an attempt to show that the seeds of Utopia lie in our ability to recognize Utopian energies, those Utopian elements that exist in spite of the oppressive conditions capitalism engenders, and that suggest an alternative to capitalism’s oppression and exploitation. Jameson’s theoretical construct helps to unveil the Utopian energies essential to imagining an alternative to capitalism in *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula*.

In *The Bluest Eye*, Pecola Breedlove, an adolescent African-American girl, evinces strong Utopian energies in her ability to imagine an alternative to the limitations of the dominant culture’s standard of beauty. Even as a young child, Pecola is keenly aware of the invisibility of black beauty:

She has seen it lurking in the eyes of all white people. So. The distaste must be for her, her blackness. All things in her are flux and anticipation. But her blackness is static and dread. And it is the blackness that accounts for, that creates, the vacuum edged with distaste in white eyes. (p. 49)

Pecola anticipates a day when she can modify her body in a way that allows her to retain the beauty of her blackness: blue eyes on a black body. Because racism renders Black beauty invisible, Pecola understands that she must have patience and wait for conditions to emerge that will allow her to have blue eyes: “Although somewhat discouraged, she was not without hope. To have something as wonderful as that would take a long, long time” (p. 40). By not losing “hope” that a time will come when she can alter her eye color, Pecola demonstrates her ability to resist the capitalist ideology that does not want her to be able think of alternatives to her present

realities. While it might seem problematic that she wishes for a biological feature that is exclusive to White people, she does not want blue eyes simply because White people have blue eyes. The blue eyes will allow Black and White people to see that there is more to her physical appearance than her dark color. By longing for visibility and imagining to herself an alternative body for herself (one with blue eyes), she does not allow her oppressive conditions to defeat her hope that a day will emerge when she will be perceived as beautiful. Bloch (1986) argues that for people to keep their hopes alive they must adopt a Not-Yet-Conscious, a conscious that does not focus on what is possible now, but on what might be possible in the future. Pecola's willingness to envision a day when she is beautiful reflects the Blochian Not-Yet-Conscious, essential to her developing Utopian imagination.

More importantly, by imagining an alternative version of herself, Pecola positions herself to imagine an even larger, collective, alternative to her economic reality. Morrison writes:

The Breedloves did not live in a storefront because they were having temporary difficulty adjusting to the cutbacks at the plant. They lived there because they were poor and black, and they stayed there because they believed they were ugly. Although their poverty was traditional and stultifying, it was not unique. But their ugliness was unique. No one has to convince them that they were not relentlessly and aggressively ugly. (p. 38)

While the rest of the members of her family accept that their "ugliness was unique," Pecola's wish for "the bluest eyes" is an attempt to transform the way in which she thinks about her physical appearance so that she can instigate a change in the way that her family views their physical appearance. Bouson (2000) contends that:

having internalized the contempt and loathing directed at them from the shaming gaze of the humiliator—that is, the white culture—the Breedloves, have come to comprehend their designated position in the social order. (p. 24)

While Bouson chooses to focus on Pecola's shame, she overlooks Pecola's anti-capitalist imagination that wants to move her family beyond living in a "storefront" (p. 38). In Pecola's growing Utopian imagination, she recognizes that:

If she looked different, beautiful, maybe Cholly [Pecola's father] would be different, and Mrs. Breedlove [Pecola's mother] too. Maybe they'd say 'Why look at pretty-eyed Pecola. We mustn't do bad things in front of those pretty eyes'. (p. 46)

Pecola's willingness to imagine an alternative standard of beauty is significant because it allows her to imagine an alternative economic reality for her family. For the Breedloves, their acceptance of their "ugliness" creates an acceptance of the economic system that is responsible for their ugliness. Pecola recognizes that her individual longing for beauty can only be realized through an alternative economic reality. She begins to entertain the possibility that the way her family treats her may be because of its economic quandaries. The reader is able to see that there is much more substance to Pecola's desire for "the bluest eyes" than selfish gains; she wants her family to move toward Utopia with her. As the Breedloves move towards Utopia, their "ugliness" will no longer matter.

Although Pecola is able to imagine an alternative economic reality for her family, this same family is ultimately responsible for stunting her Utopian imagination. The fundamental barrier that prevents Pecola's Utopian imagination from flourishing is her lack of support. Pecola is a victim of her family members isolating themselves from her. While much of what motivates Pecola's longing for "the bluest eyes" is improved social mobility for her family, this same family attempts to extinguish her Utopian vision. She never receives love from her household. Ultimately, the alienation from her social environment that emerges because of her lack of love makes her unable to handle

all of our waste which we dumped on her and which she absorbed. And all of our beauty, which was hers first and which she gave to us. All of us—all who knew her—felt so wholesome after we cleaned ourselves on her. (p. 205)

The lack of visibility of Pecola's beauty emerges from her willingness to allow her family to take away her beauty to provide them with a sense of beauty. Instead of showing Pecola love, her family uses Pecola as a means of eradicating its frustrations and problems. By using Pecola as a scapegoat, the Breedloves attempt to achieve the "wholesome" life that capitalism does not afford them. Ironically, the "wholesome" life that Pecola's family seeks is the life her anti-capitalist imagination attempts to provide for them. Pecola's only need is for her family to love her. Their lack of love contributes to a waning of her Utopian vision.

Pecola's relationship with her mother, Pauline, however, reveals that Pauline's own past contributes to her difficulty with showing Pecola affection. Jameson (1991) asserts that one of the fundamental tasks for postmodern subjects is to "attempt to think the present historically in an age that has forgotten how to think historically in the first place" (p. ix). Drawing upon Jameson's argument, it is important to investigate Pauline's past to understand the connection between her past and her treatment of Pecola. When Pauline is a very young child, she accidentally suffers an injury that leaves

...her with a crooked, archless foot that flopped when she walked—not a limp..., but a way of lifting the bad foot as though she were extracting it from little whirlpools that threatened to pull it under. (p. 110)

Ada, Pauline's mother, fails to protect Pauline from "the general feeling of separateness and unworthiness" (p. 111) that her physical conditions create for her. With a full understanding of this aspect of Pauline's past, one can see that she has to battle internal demons of her own. Moreover, her mother's lack of response to her feeling of alienation suggests a reason why she might isolate herself from Pecola. Because Pauline never receives the love she needs from Ada, she in turn feels no affection for Pecola. Ada's unwillingness to help Pauline confront her "feeling of separateness" has an impact on the type of love that Pauline is able to show Pecola. Without the love she wants to receive from Ada, Pauline has a void that she needs to satisfy before she can provide Pecola with the physical love that Pecola longs for.

Furthermore, Pauline's efforts to move beyond Ada's lack of affection for her demonstrate her Utopian potential. Pauline seeks friendship as a means of filling the void of love that Ada does not provide. In Pauline's dreams, she longs for a companion who will fulfill her emptiness: "...the Presence would know what to do. She had only to lay her head on his chest and he would lead her away to the sea, to the city, to the woods...forever" (p. 113). The reader is

able to see from Pauline's dreams that she maintains an essential hope that her situation can change, a sense of hope that reflects the Blochian notion of the "Not-Yet-Conscious." This "Presence" that she wishes for is an important Utopian longing because her hope for companionship materializes when she meets Cholly Breedlove, her future husband. Pauline's "Not-Yet-Conscious" allows her to see Cholly as the "Presence" who

...seemed to relish her company and even to enjoy her country way and lack of knowledge about city things. He talked to her about her foot and asked, when she walked through the town or in the fields, if she was tired. Instead of ignoring her infirmity, pretending it was not there, he made it seem like something special and endearing. (p. 115)

Pauline's yearning to find someone who will love her could not be possible without her maintaining the possibility that love is possible. Therefore, when she finally experiences love with Cholly, she is able to recognize it. Pauline recognizes Cholly as her "Presence" because he recognizes that she matters. The attention that Cholly gives to her helps her to fill some of the void that Ada does not. Cholly makes Pauline's "infirmity" a "special and endearing" dimension of her body. This is important because she views her archless foot as a hindrance, but Cholly sees it as a special and endearing quality, thus demonstrating what is possible when one allows a space for hope to make the seemingly impossible possible. Pauline's inadequacy is a source of attraction for Cholly, which is a Utopian suggestion that physical deformities cannot hinder true love.

Although there is Utopian potential in the way that Pecola views the dominant culture's standard of beauty, Claudia's (Pecola's friend and narrator) view of the dominant standard of beauty also reflects an anti-capitalist imagination. Claudia refuses to allow this standard of beauty to inform her of her inability to be beautiful. For a Christmas present, Claudia receives a "blue-eyed, yellow-haired, pink-skinned doll" (p. 20). Claudia despises the doll. She hates the fact that the doll has blue eyes, yellow hair, and pink skin: all physical characteristics that she does not have. Claudia wants to have a doll that is more representative of her (p. 20). She refuses to allow a commodity (the doll) to define beauty as a White characteristic. Claudia does not understand why the doll cannot possess the physical characteristics of African-Americans, which none of the dolls that she receives does. Her displeasure with what the White doll represents reflects what bell hooks (1992) calls "loving blackness as political resistance" (p. 9). Claudia's longing to have a doll that is more representative of "blackness" serve as a powerful Utopian wish for more positive representations of Black beauty. Claudia's refusal to accept the White beauty implicit in the doll's "beauty" seems to suggest that she refuses to accept the capitalist ideology of those who are responsible for making the doll. One can arrive at this conclusion by identifying that Claudia finds something deeply vexing about all dolls looking the same—looking like White people (p. 20). Her hope for toys that represent the beauty of blackness is a strong Utopian energy because it demonstrates her ability to imagine an alternative to the commodification of beauty conspicuous in the White doll. Claudia's rejection of the dominant culture's standard of beauty reflects Morrison's notion of "Beauty was not simply something to behold; it was something that one could do" (p. 209).

At the end of *The Bluest Eye*, the reader finds two alienated characters (Pecola and Soaphead Church, a pedophile) who find acceptance in their Utopian visions of the lives they both long for. Although Pecola cannot find anyone else to love her, she does not let this fact

hinder her from finding friendship. She finds friendship with Church, who comes from an extensive line of people “proud [of their] academic accomplishments and [their mixed] blood” (p. 167). Of course, during the time the novel is set, miscegenation was forbidden by law. Therefore, the community not only alienates Soaphead for his pedophilia, but also for being a product of an interracial union. Although he lives peacefully in his alienation, and “never relished physical contact,” except for obsession with “little girls,” he sees a need to embrace Pecola and provide her with the love and attention that she needs (p. 167). He comments, “A little black girl who wanted to rise up out of the pit of her blackness and see the world with blue eyes” (p. 174). After Pecola leaves his home with his request to terminate the life of his neighbor’s dog, he composes a letter to God, saying, “No one else will see her blue eyes. But she will” (p. 182). Although Soaphead never touches Pecola, he does accept her longing for blue eyes. They both receive something beneficial from their friendship: Pecola removes the burden of the neighbor’s dog from Soaphead’s life, and Soaphead accepts Pecola’s Utopian vision of herself as a Black girl with the bluest eyes. Soaphead’s composition of the letter to God reveals his hope that some force will grant Pecola the bluest eyes she wants. While this is an odd friendship, it does possess Utopian potential in its portrayal of two alienated individuals being able to find love, acceptance, and friendship.

Although Pecola’s anti-capitalist imagination never has the chance to develop further, in *Sula*, Morrison’s 1973 novel, Sula Peace’s subversive resistance to racist ideology makes her Utopian imagination more powerful than Pecola’s. While Pecola’s anti-capitalist imagination has its roots in her yearning to be beautiful, Sula understands that such a focus on the body can reduce it to a mere simulacrum, that is, a simple image or surface that can be commodified or rendered meaningless. Sula uses her body not as an end in itself, but as an agent for engendering social change.

Early in the novel, when Sula and Nel are coming home from school, they encounter a group of white boys who wish to harm them. Sula, however, demonstrates her willingness to act subversively to prevent the boys from attacking them: “Holding the knife in her right hand, she pulled the slate toward her and pressed her left forefinger down hard on its edge. Her aim was determined but inaccurate. She slashed off only the tip of her finger” (p. 54). By slashing off a piece of her finger, Sula evinces her willingness to protect not only herself, but Nel as well. Sula “slashed off...the tip of her finger” to show that the cause she represents is larger than herself. Her finger serves as means of sharing a part of herself with Nel and ultimately the African-American community, considering that the motivation for the boys attempted attack is racism. The piece of her finger that she cuts serves as a symbol of what she is willing to do to protect herself, Nel, and community.

Marks (2002) sees Sula’s act as tremendously harmful:

By doing to herself what the boys would do, Sula aggresses the aggressors. By cutting off a piece of herself, Sula reveals that she has internalized a self-loathing so deep that she does not mind causing herself harm in order to deflect harm. (p. 1)

Marks’s argument overlooks the fact that Sula is a truly subversive character willing to shock the consciousness of her White oppressors. Sula’s cutting off of the tip of her finger shocks the boys—evident in their decision to run away. Moreover, Marks misses the significance of this act in revealing collective thinking. Sula’s willingness to “give of herself” is an act of communal sharing, not an act of “self-loathing so deep that she does not mind causing harm in order to

deflect harm.” Fanon (1967) contends that “if I have not risked my life in order to prevent the murder of other men, if I have stood silent, I feel guilty in a sense that cannot in an adequate fashion be understood juridically, or politically[...].” (p. 89). Sula’s decision to cut the tip of her finger to resist attack evinces Fanon’s notion of an essential moment in which one needs to be willing to sacrifice his or her life “to prevent the murder of other men.” Sula refuses to stand “silent” and allow the group of White boys to further spread fear. She does not have to experience the “guilt” that Fanon speaks about because she subversively responds to the potential threat of the group of White boys, instead of allowing them to defeat her. Sula is willing to challenge racism in a much more direct way than Pecola is, and this is the fundamental reason why Sula’s anti-capitalist vision burgeons much more than Pecola’s.

Although racism is Sula’s most significant enemy, her response to gender limitations also contributes significantly to unveiling her Utopian potential. Sula seeks to expose the inherent inequalities and contradictions she finds in the social construction of gender—as that construction is practiced by both Whites and Blacks. Since Black and White men and women believe in the oppressive social construction of gender, this construction frustrates her immensely, considering she is a subversive character who resists the capitalist ideology responsible for this construction. Sula says, “You say I’m a woman and colored. Ain’t that the same as being a man?” (p. 87). From Sula’s comment, one can see that she is able to adopt a view of gender that differs from the one dominant in her milieu.

Since the novel is set when women do not have suffrage, Sula’s attempt to assert the inherent equality of women is a significant demonstration of her anti-capitalist thinking: she is able to imagine a day where gender inequality no longer exists. Capitalism resists allowing individuals to imagine an alternative to gender inequality. Galehouse (1999) contends that “despite any real or perceived limitations imposed by her family, her community, or the era in which she is depicted, Sula does not put any limits upon herself” (p. 340). The ability to move beyond “perceived limitations” makes Sula’s Utopian potential important.

Mbalia (1991), however, posits that Sula is not a character with strong Utopian energies:

Morrison’s weak class analysis at the time she writes *Sula* forces her to create a female character who, because of her oppression, makes individualism supreme over the collective, rather than a female character who struggles to change the oppressive nature of society in order to ensure the full development of each individual, whether male or female. (p. 42)

Mbalia’s argument overlooks the strong class critique Morrison performs in *Sula*: a powerful critique of the way in which race and class contribute to the dilemma faced by the people in the Bottom (the place in Lorain, Ohio where the novel is set) (p. 5). Mbalia dismisses Sula’s effort to imagine a world devoid of gender inequality; this causes her to overlook Sula’s privileging of “collectivism,” not “individualism.” Deeply unhappy with “the oppressive nature of society,” Sula makes every attempt to change the most disconcerting aspects of that society: racism, gender limitations, Black people’s low expectations, and economic limitations. Ultimately, Mbalia’s argument misses how each act that Sula engages in supports some collective end.

Sula also demonstrates her great Utopian potential in the subversive relationship she engages in with Nel. Nel and Sula meet in childhood and form a mutually beneficial friendship as “Daughters of distant mothers and incomprehensible fathers (Sula’s because he was dead; Nel’s because he wasn’t)” who “found in each other’s eyes the intimacy they were looking for”

(p. 52). Sula is not afraid to initiate a non-heteronormative relationship with Nel. Their relationship is lesbian, but it transcends traditional lesbian relationships. They do not engage in sexual intercourse. The relationship, one of the strongest Morrison presents in her works, works tremendously well because the women set their own rules: "In the safe harbor of each other's company they could afford to abandon the ways of other people and concentrate on their perceptions of things" (p. 55). While Sula does not have a single thing in common with Nel, she still finds a way to overcome their great differences and form a relationship with her. Her effort to establish friendship with Nel is an essential act in moving towards Utopia, for it demonstrates that she embraces the notion of community, essential to achieving Utopia.

While Sula and Nel have a strong relationship, they do experience some serious disagreements that they have to resolve. Their most serious confrontation arises from Sula's affair with Jude, Nel's husband. Nel and Jude marry when Jude realizes that, as a Black male, his ability to select his profession is limited. Jude argues that his masculinity will be reaffirmed by choosing a wife who will "care about his hurt...care very deeply" and that "the two of them together would make one Jude" (p. 82-83). Rather than viewing marriage as a partnership of equals, Jude's internalization of the traditional notion of marriage causes him to view the role of wife as a supporting, nurturing being who will make him a man. When Jude shows interest in Nel, she realizes that "greater than her friendship was this new feeling of being needed by someone who saw her singly," and she marries him (p. 84).

Because Nel chooses Jude as the center of her life, when Sula returns ten years later to Bottom from college and has sex with Jude, who leaves Nel for Sula, Nel cuts ties with Sula. Although Nel mourns the loss of her marriage and her friendship, and is overwhelmed "[to] lose Jude and not have Sula to talk to about it because it was Sula that he had left her for," she feels her greatest loss to be that of her marriage (p. 110). Sula, however, sees the act of having sexual relations with her lesbian partner's husband in different terms. When Nel visits Sula for the last time shortly before Sula's death and asks her why she slept with Jude, saying, "You had to take him away" (p. 145). Sula offers little explanation, but does question Nel's reaction: "What do you mean take him away? I didn't kill him, I just fucked him. If we were such good friends, how come you couldn't get over it?" (p. 145). Sula's believes that "fucking" Jude is not a violation of their friendship. Sula's sees fucking as just a quotidian act that lacks significant meaning; Fucking is not lovemaking for Sula. Nel, however, views Sula's "fucking" of her husband as a violation of their relationship.

Twenty-five years after Sula's death, however, Nel has a double epiphany: that she is not, in fact, the "good one" of the two, and that the source of her unhappiness after Jude left her for Sula was not that she missed Jude, but that she missed Sula. Their relationship thus reveals the value of relationships between women: the source of happiness and the intimacy women share as friends are to be valued rather than cast aside in preference for their romantic relationships with men. This revelation offers one of the strongest Utopian energies in the text, showing as it does that friendships last, even when one does not recognize they do so. One can find the value of friendship, even when a member of the bond no longer exists. Their friendship transcends the ravages of time and death, a strong Utopian gesture since Nel is able to find comfort in the value of their friendship even though Sula is no longer physically present with her.

Just as Nel's and Sula's relationship has powerful Utopian potential, so does Sula's home: a boarding house that serves the communal purpose of providing a number of different individuals a place to stay. The novel never indicates a time when the house is empty, and there always seems to be:

...a pot of something...cooking on the stove; where the mother Hannah [Sula's mother], never scolded or gave directions; where all sorts of people dropped in; where newspapers were stacked in the hallway and dirty dishes left for hours in the sink. (p. 29)

Not only does the home serve as a place where visitors and relatives are frequently welcomed, but it also serves as the site where Sula's Utopian energy is able to burgeon. The house is uncombed, with people constantly moving in and out and a mother who never chastises her daughter (Sula), but gives her money so that she will never lack anything. It is, however, in this house that Hannah learns from her mother, Eva Peace, the importance of providing for a child's necessities, not discipline. While Hannah "never scolded" Sula, and one might see that this could ultimately lead to something negative, the freedom Sula has in her home to develop into the true individual that she wants to be is essential to her developing Utopian vision and resolve to engage in subversive actions—these outweigh any potential negative consequences of a lack of discipline. Through the example her mother and grandmother offer, Sula is able to see the value of privileging collective interests over individual interests; this is what the Peace home has literally come to mean: a communal domicile where all are welcome to the "pot of something" that is on the stove. This communal sharing has strong Utopian implications because this seems to suggest one of the fundamental concepts of Utopia: community.

Moreover, the way in which Sula becomes a productive, subversive, and healthy individual without an oppressive mother controlling every aspect of her life has strong suggestions that Hannah has a developing Utopian imagination. The traditional notion of motherhood involves the mother leading her children through every little step of their progression to adulthood. Hannah, however, finds that it is essential for her to provide Sula with the economic means not only to enjoy the necessities of life, but also to enjoy her wants (p. 37). This type of mothering is subversive mothering, that is, mothering that does not simply conform to traditional notions of mothering to acquiesce to hegemony, but seeks to find alternatives to traditional notions of mothering that will be most beneficial for the child. Hannah's subversive mothering enables Sula to enjoy a life with the liberty to be and to explore herself, to live a life without any personal limitations. Hannah's practice of subversive mothering creates not only a space for her Utopian imagination to blossom, but also a space for Sula's Utopian vision to burgeon.

While Hannah and Sula both have strong anti-capitalist imaginations, it is important to highlight the instrumental role Eva Peace plays in giving birth to their imaginations and how Hannah possesses her own developing Utopian vision. Although Eva's life begins with a vexing marriage to BoyBoy, who leaves her and their three children with "...\$1.65, five eggs, three beets and no idea of what or how to feel," Hannah understands that her "children needed her" (p. 32). Since Eva has more hope than the "\$1.65" that BoyBoy leaves her with, she resolves that her children are more important than focusing on her economic situation. In order to provide food for her family, Eva asks for food donations from the people in her community. These food donations enable her children to avoid hunger and the negative impact of their father's desertion. The fact that Eva is willing to elicit the assistance of the people to help her in her difficult situation demonstrates her communal thinking, essential to any developing anti-capitalist imagination.

Although Eva Peace experiences horrible economic problems after BoyBoy leaves, her ability to find a way to save the life of her sick son, Plum, unveils a strong Utopian energy to

overcome the hardships that capitalism imposes on a poor family. Soon after BoyBoy abandons Eva and their three children, Plum's bowel movements cease. Eva, however, maintains her natural ability to engage in subversive mothering to help Plum assuage the pain that he experiences, despite the absence of BoyBoy's support. Unable to watch Plum experience such tremendous pain, Eva resolves to

..., run her finger around the crevices and sides of the lard can and stumble to the outhouse with him. Deep in its darkness and freezing stench she squatted down, turned the baby over on her knees, exposed his buttocks and shoved the last bit of food she had in the world...up his ass...she probed her middle finger to loosen his bowels. He fingernail snagged what felt like a pebble; she pulled it out and others followed. (p. 34)

Whereas Pecola is unable to have someone touch her (other than her father who rapes her), Eva is willing to touch Plum in whatever way necessary to help her child have an easier experience with his illness. Morrison's use of this most dramatic scene to illuminate the great love that Eva has for her children and her willingness to do whatever it takes to provide for them reveals strong Utopian energies, considering one will not find many individuals, even postmodern mothers, who are willing to go through such extreme measures for their children. Eva's actions highlight what is possible with true love: true love will lead one to do whatever it takes to help his or her fellow family member. Although one can understand that Plum is in more physical pain than Eva, her actions reveal that her emotional pain is strong enough to engage in one of the most unbearable activities. Eva evinces a powerful Utopian energy in privileging another person's interests over her own interests.

The ability to continue to imagine an alternative to capitalism is essential if one is to defeat the oppressive dominance of late capitalism. In writing *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula*, Morrison discloses her effort to revive Utopian energy in African-American literature. While Pecola Breedlove may seem to be a character whose Utopian energies fail, it is significant to see that she is able to experience Utopian thinking, even in impossibly difficult conditions. Too many readings of *Sula* easily dismiss the heroine's collective consciousness, instead reading her as a character who strives to satisfy her own selfish interests. But a deeper reading that investigates how each of her actions benefits the collective unveils that Sula's "Otherness" contributes to her possessing the most Utopian energy of all of Morrison's characters. The Pecolas and Sulas of the world show that some of the seeds for Utopian possibilities lie in people who have been so marginalized that the watering of those seeds has been neglected.

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An Analysis of One State's Use of Race Neutral Policies to Achieve Diversity

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The legal profession in the United States has been involved for many years in programs it claims are intended to increase minority representation, meeting with only minimal success (Glater, 2001). Minorities are significantly underrepresented in the legal profession, according to Barker (2005), who indicated that Blacks and Hispanics accounted for slightly more than five percent of lawyers in the top 250 grossing law firms in the country. The failure to make significant strides toward more racial diversity in the legal profession can be traced back to the classroom. Sadly, the nation's law schools continue to be woefully lacking in the enrollment of minorities, especially African Americans ("Among the," 2007).

In Florida's legal profession, the landscape is similar to the nation as a whole, with minorities underrepresented as a result of a lack of access, enrollment, and production of minorities from publicly supported law schools (Herbert, 1999). For example, the Florida Bar Association (FBA) (2004) reported that there are 74,125 members of the Florida Bar, of whom 43,007 reported their race, and of that number, minorities made up less than ten percent. Put into context, minorities represented more than 20% of Florida's population during this period (U.S. Census, 2000). The statistics are not very different in Florida's public law schools as well with Blacks (308) lagging behind Whites (1,808) and about 25% fewer in number than Hispanics (405) during 2006. Broken down by schools, the number of Black law students in Florida's public law schools is down in every school except the two Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs), Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) and Florida International University (FIU), while the number of Hispanic law school students has increased almost across the board. Whites enjoyed the largest increase in Florida law school enrollment, followed by Hispanics, Blacks, Asians, and finally Native Americans (FBA, 2004).

The problem is not new and has been pointed out in previous studies. The National Center for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS) (1993) study of minority participation in the FBA, an analysis of current legal education conditions and options, found that the most effective method to improve the underrepresentation of minorities in Florida's legal profession is to provide additional scholarships and expand part-time options for students. The research provided that there were 7.4 percent of Hispanics and 2.6 percent of African Americans in Florida's legal profession.

Nationally, the American Bar Association has found that the percentage of minorities enrolled in law schools has decreased in the past two years (Mallory, 2005). The percentage of minority law school students has diminished "from 20.6 percent in 2001-20002 to 20.3 percent in 2003-2004" (Chambliss, 2004, p. 2). The "Miles to Go" study conducted by the ABA's Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity found that African American representation in law

is less than in other professions. Chambliss (2004) described the reduction of minority enrollment in the profession “extremely troubling.” “In 2000, African Americans made up only 3.9 percent of all lawyers, compared to 4.4 percent of all physicians, 5.6 percent of college and university professors, 7.8 percent of computer scientists, and 7.0 percent of accountants and auditors” (Mallory, 2005, p. 5).

From data provided by the ABA, Blacks make up approximately 4 percent of the nation’s lawyers even though Blacks represent 13 percent of the population of the United States. This lack of representation has far-reaching effects in the distrust of the legal system by racial minorities because of the lack of lawyers and judges who look like them (Randall, 2004). Kim Keenan, President of the National Bar Association, indicated that as a result of the underrepresentation of African Americans in the law profession, individuals of color will not be able to find lawyers of color (Mallory, 2005).

Critical Race Theory (CRT), upon which this study is based, would suggest that encouraging more racial diversity in the legal profession is important nationally, and especially so for states like Florida, California, Texas and others referenced in U.S. Census Bureau data as among states with the fastest growing minority populations during the last decade. It is a trend that is projected to continue but at an even faster pace for at least the next two to three decades in what might reasonably be called a population explosion. Florida is predicted to surpass New York as the third most populated state by the year 2011 (Bernstein, 2005), with minorities responsible for most of the increase (Hispanics and Blacks).

Florida’s institutions of higher education must be prepared for a more diverse society in order to adequately equip its students for the challenges of the social, political, and economic changes that are inevitable. Yet, Florida and a few other states could face problems based on decisions and policies implemented during the early part of this decade. Florida is among the states that moved away from the use of traditionally defined affirmative action, such as quotas and preferential treatment, to help minorities overcome past discrimination.

In Florida, affirmative action was redefined by the One Florida Initiative (OFI), which was conceived by the state’s former Governor, John Ellis “Jeb” Bush. The OFI is an Executive Order (EO) established by Governor Bush to redefine affirmative action programs in the state of Florida. This EO seeks to increase diversity in education and contracting within the state by revising agendas for tests, race-based admission practices, and contract set-asides. At about the same time as implementation of the OFI, Florida’s legislature opened two MSI law schools, the new FIU College of Law and re-opened FAMU College of Law.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of the OFI and the addition of two MSI law schools on racial diversity in Florida’s public law schools and legal profession through the lens of CRT, which analyzes laws that support the status quo of White authority and Black subordination. This study sought to determine what, if any, impact these two events have had on recruitment, admissions, enrollment, and graduation rates in Florida’s public schools of law and racial diversity within the state’s legal profession. Florida is significant here because, like California, Washington, Texas, and Michigan, it is part of a growing national trend toward dilution of conventional affirmative action’s race-based policies. We are already seeing more states falling into line behind these states, poised to take similar action, specifically Colorado, Arizona, Missouri, and Nebraska. This research was expected to shed much needed light on the

issue of achieving greater diversity and on the continuing debate over programs and policies that alter the traditional concepts of affirmative action.

Very few studies have examined the impact of the OFI, and the creation of two MSI law schools, which occurred independently of the OFI, on increasing diversity in Florida's law schools. While the OFI has promised greater diversity within the State University System (SUS) of Florida, the evidence and data have demonstrated that schools are more segregated following the OFI (Marin & Lee, 2003). There is little research concerning the impact of these changes on access, enrollment, and production of minorities for Florida's legal profession. Consequently, this study is important because it contributes to the availability of pertinent research on the impact of policies based on affirmative action as traditionally defined.

Significance of the Study

The outcome of this study, which investigated the effects of a public policy change in the state of Florida through implementation of the OFI, is of interest to higher education in America and to current and future public policy as it relates to affirmative action and diversity. As a result of the OFI in Florida and other ballot initiatives (Proposition 209 in California, Initiative 200 in Washington), American colleges and universities have been encouraged to revisit their admission and recruitment practices in order to ensure their commitment to diversity would be maintained. The research presented serves as an initial study for others to report findings in the future as well as provide valuable information to the institutions to effectively diversify their law school.

This study is important for several reasons; not least among them is the benefit to others who are interested in the subject of diversity in higher education. It may also encourage other researchers to look further into the impact that implementation of non-traditional affirmative action policies might have on other communities considering implementing similar initiatives. This study, therefore, can be very helpful to those interested in developing policies that seek to increase diversity as well as those seeking to make informed decisions about policies affecting the use of conventional affirmative action. It was anticipated that the findings of this study would (a) contribute to the literature on affirmative action in Florida, and (b) assist the SUS in improving policies that relate to affirmative action. The dearth of existing research in the literature about this subject inhibits the ability of many citizens and lawmakers to reach rational and educated conclusions when faced with decisions about affirmative action.

This study is meant to give a greater sense of meaning to the scholarly research available to investigators and the public. It is also intended to provide the power of speech to those who are being silenced by the lack of adequate information in the literature on this subject. By advancing the outcomes found by this study in the state of Florida to further research in other states, the wealth of knowledge available about this issue will be improved, which is expected to lead to better policies and practices to achieve diversity in America.

Research Questions

Based on the purpose and the significance of the study, this research examined the impact of the OFI and the addition of two MSI law schools on diversity by providing specific changes in various student and post-graduate quantitative data. In order to fully assess the impact of the two events, this research sought to determine whether the OFI affected student applications,

admissions, enrollment, and Law School Admission Test (LSAT) scores. The study also asked if the OFI brought about a more diverse legal profession in Florida. In addition, the researcher was interested in learning whether the creation of two MSI law schools influenced diversity in student applications, admissions, enrollment and LSAT scores, and separately, how the creation of the two MSI law schools might have affected diversity in Florida's legal profession, graduates and those admitted to the Florida Bar.

Examining these issues through the lens of CRT is helpful to researchers who seek answers to the questions that are concerned with racial diversity within colleges and universities and affirmative action policy. Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas (1995) expressed the position that CRT represents a racial analysis, intervention, and critique of traditional civil rights theory, on one hand, and critical legal studies, on the other.

Critical race theorists have long been interested in minorities' access to higher education, particularly their lack of access to predominately White institutions (PWIs) as a means of maintaining White superiority to other races. It was this lack of access to PWIs that led to the establishment of MSIs and, later, MSI graduate and professional schools. Enrollment of minorities in colleges and universities in America has historically been a problem for a number of reasons and the same can be said about Blacks in graduate and professional schools. Access and equal opportunity are the *raison d'être* for many of this country's MSIs (Rivers, 2000; Swygert, 2004). The mission of these institutions did not change when some of them began opening graduate and professional schools.

Literature Review

The first Black law school, Howard University Law Department, opened its doors on January 6, 1869 under the leadership of Professor John Mercer Langston (Howard University Press, 2006). Blacks at that time were in need of prepared lawyers who were committed to help Black Americans defend their newly established rights. The Howard University School of Law was conceived to provide a legal education for Americans, mainly Blacks and other minorities who had been excluded from the profession of law. Similarly, the law school at North Carolina Central University, established in 1940, was given a mission by North Carolina lawmakers of providing legal education opportunities for Blacks (North Carolina Central University, 2007).

A number of MSI law schools, such as the FAMU College of Law, were born as a result of lawsuits. "In April 1949, Virgil Darnell Hawkins, a Black school teacher from Daytona Beach, Florida, applied for admission to the Whites-only University of Florida (UF) College of Law in Gainesville" (Rivers, 2000, p. 15). The UF College of Law was founded in 1909 as the only publicly supported law school in Florida. In an effort to maintain segregated schools, Florida officials refused to grant Hawkins access to the UF College of Law.

Not to be deterred, Hawkins filed a mandamus action to the Supreme Court of Florida against the UF governing body claiming his civil rights were being violated. Hawkins' lawsuit charged that, since UF's College of Law was the only tax-supported institution of its type in the state, "the denial of his application on the basis of race violated his civil rights under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution" (Rivers, 2000, p. 16). Gannon (1996) indicated that four other Black students joined Hawkins in the suit, all of them seeking admission into UF's law, pharmacy, agriculture, and engineering programs on the same premise.

In the *Hawkins v. Board of Control* case, Hawkins moved for issuance of a peremptory writ of mandamus, which would compel the Board of Control to admit him to the all-White, state-funded law school. This action was based on the Board's refusal to accept his application for admission, claiming it amounted to an arbitrary and illegal denial of his constitutional right to equal protection under the law. In an effort to maintain a segregated UF College of Law, the Board on Control on December 21, 1949, established graduate level schools of law, mechanical engineering, agriculture, and pharmacy at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (*Hawkins v. Board of Control*, 1949). The UF Law School became integrated in 1958 (Klink, 2003).

Following the late 1960s, court rulings made it apparent that schools were not going to be able to remain segregated as the inevitability of integration swept across the country (Cohen, 1998). Lawmakers throughout the South began to question the need for special schools for African Americans and other minorities since they were free to attend already existing majority institution law schools. This ultimately led to the demise of FAMU College of Law. The law school was closed in 1968 after the Florida legislature stopped funding the institution and created a new law school at Florida State University (FSU), a predominately White institution not far from FAMU's School of Law. "The last class of FAMU College of Law entered in 1965 and graduated in 1968" (Klink, 2003, p. 14).

Klink (2003) examined the reestablishment of FAMU College of Law, once the state had reduced its support for affirmative action policies. The question of how the FAMU College of Law was reestablished is intimately tied to how the FIU College of Law was established in Senate Bill 68, during the 2000 Legislative Session. Klink (2003) found that the OFI, an EO by Governor Bush that dismantled traditional affirmative action policies in the state, also served to instigate the birth of FIU and the reestablishment of FAMU Colleges of Law.

The College of Law at FIU is located in Miami, Florida, and was founded in August 2002. The institution had worked since 1986 to create one of Florida's public law schools. President Modesto A. Maidique (of FIU) met with the Florida Board of Regents (BOR), which, at the time, was filled with a significant number of graduates from other Florida law schools. Consequently, members of the BOR resisted the opening of new public law schools; however, the Florida legislature voted to support the plan. These schools were created to encourage minority students to pursue the law profession and today both are accredited by the ABA (FBA, 2004).

Emergence of Affirmative Action

MSIs were established to assist minorities to gain access to post-secondary education, including graduate and professional schools and they succeeded. There was also the larger goal for minorities, which was to achieve greater access to the nation's PWIs and despite court rulings such as *Brown v. Board*, more was required to erase the past mistreatment of minorities in the United States. President Lyndon B. Johnson attempted to do that when he implemented a policy he called "affirmative action" on July 2, 1964. Affirmative action is a policy that attempts to remedy current and past inequities by ensuring that women and minorities are fairly represented in employment, education, and business.

President Johnson's EO 11246 (1965), and later EO 11748 (1969), mandated that federal government offices and companies doing business with the federal government promote equality and ensure that minorities and women are more integrated in government jobs at the federal,

state, and local levels. The mandate forces employers to prove that they have taken affirmative steps to promote opportunities for minorities and women (Starling, 2002, p. 48).

Affirmative action programs at the federal level apparently succeeded in increasing the representation of women and male Hispanics in certain managerial positions. “Hispanics and women have decreased their pay gaps with non-Hispanic White male public employees” (Reskin, 1998, p. 50). “Because of affirmative action, women and minority men hold bigger percentages of White-collar jobs in government than in the workforce as a whole” (Laurent, 1999, p. 26).

For many, affirmative action provides opportunities, allowing underrepresented groups a better chance for fair and equitable treatment. The policy includes outreach programs targeted to specific groups that have been historically subordinated and still underrepresented to notify them of employment and contracting opportunities. When these policies were implemented in higher education, government agencies, and corporate America, however, the result was litigation in the nation’s courts.

Affirmative Action Under Attack

The first landmark educational test of affirmative action was 1978 in the case of *University of California Regents v. Bakke* (1978). Bakke’s suit claimed that the University of California at Davis (UCD) Medical School practiced a dual admissions program, one for regular admits, in keeping with the school’s normal requirements, and another for minority or ‘disadvantaged’ students. The plaintiff in this case (Bakke, who was a White male) had twice been turned away from UCD’s medical school despite having a high qualification score. In each case, according to the suit, students in the ‘disadvantaged’ or minority group were admitted with lower overall scores than he. Bakke sued claiming a violation of his constitutional right to equal protection under the law. He prevailed and was eventually granted admission to the school.

While some states continued to debate the pros and cons of affirmative action, more cases were being heard before the U.S. Supreme Court such as *Gratz v. Bollinger* and *Grutter v. Bollinger*, both suing the University of Michigan, decided in 2003. In these cases, the plaintiffs claimed the University of Michigan extended unfair advantages to Blacks and other minorities over Whites with regard to the school’s admission practices. In the *Gratz v. Bollinger* case, the Court ruled that the use of race in making undergraduate admission decisions was a violation of the equal protection clause and Title VI of the Constitution. In the *Grutter v. Bollinger* case, however, the Court’s decision allowed the law school to continue using race in its admission decisions because of what the Court termed a compelling interest in diversifying its student body for educational purposes.

The courts were not alone in deciding the fate of affirmative action policies on the national stage. The policy has also been placed on the ballots of an increasing number of states for their voters to decide. When affirmative action, or that which by any other name accomplished the same result, was put to a vote in several states, the policy was abolished (e.g.; in California, Michigan, and Washington). “The voters of California supported Proposition 209, by a 54-46 percent margin, a referendum abolishing preferential hiring based on gender or race in public hiring, contracting” (Milakovich and Gordon, 2001, p. 117). The voters of California turned away from long-established affirmative action practices and, after the decision was upheld by the federal appeals court, the backlash against affirmative action moved to other states. A

similar measure was passed by voters in the state of Washington. “Initiative 2000” resulted in the revocation of conventional affirmative action programs in that state.

In light of the fact that more states were facing court challenges or voter referenda because of their policies regarding affirmative action, leaders in some states began looking for ways to avoid costly litigation and ballot initiatives. In some cases, state leaders looked for ways to implement policies that avoided the use of racial preferences and quotas. This meant the end of affirmative action policies, as traditionally defined, in some states.

Emergence of One Florida Initiative

Florida’s Governor Bush and former Lt. Governor Frank Brogan responded to the movement toward race neutral policies by creating the OFI on November 9, 1999 (Office of the Governor, 1999). Florida’s experience is not unlike that of other states trying to increase diversity without the use of conventional affirmative action. The consequence of the OFI has been a decrease in minority representation at most universities within the SUS of Florida.

The OFI, a plan to ensure diversity and equal access to state contracts and higher education, seems to make sense. To help more of the state's African American and other minority students gain access to a college education, the plan offers various programs in order to better prepare students for college. The plan provides, for example, additional funding for tutoring, need-based financial aid, and college outreach efforts, as well as wider access to the Preliminary Scholastic Assessment Test and advanced placement courses at poorly performing public schools. Questions remain, however, about the effectiveness and sustainability of a plan that does not include provisions for race in admission practices, given Florida’s historic lack of diversity in its public law schools.

The debate leading up to and immediately after implementation of the OFI and the opening of two MSI law schools was dominated by promises from proponents about the benefits of the two events, as well as dire predictions of failure from opponents (Office of the Governor, 1999). The prediction from Gov. Bush and supporters in the State legislature was that the OFI, when coupled with the addition of two MSI law schools, would improve minority access and success in Florida’s public institutions. Although data was widely available showing a clear need for improving racial diversity in the SUS of Florida, neither side presented any evidence to support their claim.

The largest group of minorities and therefore largest pool of potential students in the United States is African American, followed by Hispanics (United States Census Bureau, 2001). These two ethnic minorities, however, are largely underrepresented in many specialized fields, including the legal profession. The plight of Blacks and other minorities, their lack of representation and their relegation to second and third class societal status, whether by policy or legislation, is the lens through which a critical race theorist views the world. CRT creates a unique perspective of issues related to race and policies that pre-determine certain outcomes because of racial origins.

Theoretical Framework

This study utilized Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the theoretical framework. The history of affirmative action is important to CRT because critical race theorists analyze laws that support the status quo of White authority and Black subordination. Delgado (1995) indicated that CRT

originated in the early seventies as a result of the civil rights movement's legal strategy to achieve racial justice. Researchers consider CRT to be one of the most significant legal developments on issues of race and ethnicity since 1975 (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995). Harris (2002) promotes the idea that CRT "coheres in the drive together to excavate the relationship between the law, legal doctrine, ideology and racial power but the motivation of CRT is not merely to understand this vexed bond between law and white racial power but to change it" (p. 1218).

An examination of policies such as affirmative action and the OFI, including why they are used and whether they are effective, are well-suited to the concept of CRT. The framework for CRT is predicated on historical court decisions and laws such as the *Dred Scot decision*, the *Naturalization Act* of 1790, *Ozawa v. United States* 1922, and *Scott v. Sandford* 1856 (Cooper, 2002). Critical race theorists such as Delgado, Crenshaw, and Bell concentrated on legal, constitutional, and civil rights concerns, which also included affirmative action. The historical origins of CRT provide the context for understanding contemporary legal debates concerning issues such as affirmative action, minority set-asides, and the ways in which civil rights tactics were used to improve the quality of life for many citizens.

Methods

In addition to a theoretical framework that involves CRT, this research also employed a design that utilized quantitative methodology. Secondary data sets provided by the SUS of Florida and the FBA were used to determine the impact of the OFI and the addition of two MSI law schools. The enrollment data compiled by the SUS of Florida consisted of data by race or ethnic make up and by institution from 1998-2006. In addition, the research utilized data from the FBA, which included the percentage of minority attorneys in Florida's legal profession from 1998-2006. Quantitative data lends itself to analyses using both descriptive and inferential statistics. The types of statistics that were assembled include frequencies and percents.

Procedure

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from Morgan State University was granted in the Fall of 2006, prior to the pilot study being conducted. Following the IRB approval, the SUS of Florida law schools' IRB committees were contacted with a letter indicating the particulars about the research being examined. IRB approval was requested and granted by those institutions.

This segment explains how the secondary data was obtained from the SUS of Florida and the FBA. The secondary data sets compiled within the study were received from the SUS of Florida and the FBA office. These offices assisted with the compilation of the data needed for this study as well as the dissemination of the data to the researcher. The central office of the SUS of Florida is located in that state's capital city, Tallahassee. The office was contacted by mail, email, and follow up telephone calls to request any and all data in their possession that included statistics on the number of applicants for law school in Florida's public colleges and universities between 1998-2006; the number of students admitted to these schools during those years; the number of students that enrolled; as well as the number of students that graduated. The SUS of Florida was also asked to provide its data in aggregate form, broken down by racial and ethnic background and by individual school.

The headquarters for the FBA is situated in Tallahassee, Florida. This office was contacted by mail, email, and by follow up telephone calls by the researcher to request data in their possession related to this study. The requested data included statistics on the number of bar certified attorneys in Florida between 1998-2006. This was done in an effort to determine, as accurately as possible, the number of lawyers practicing in the state of Florida. All data was requested in aggregate form, broken down by racial and ethnic background. The quantitative data was gathered in Microsoft Excel and later analyzed using an Excel spreadsheet and the quantitative data analysis software, SPSS.

Data Analysis

After the receipt of the secondary quantitative data sets from the SUS of Florida and the FBA, the information was analyzed with two types of analyses, descriptive and inferential. Descriptive statistics describe the essential characteristics of data in a study. The descriptive statistics within this study consisted of frequencies, percents, means, and standard deviations. Inferential statistics are used to draw inferences about a population from a sample.

The independent variable distinguished within this research was the timeframe before and after the OFI and the timeframe before and after the addition of the MSI law schools. The dependent variables were: a) percentage of minority applicants; b) percentage of minorities admitted; c) percentage of minorities enrolled; d) LSAT scores; e) percentage of minority graduates; and f) percentage of minority law school graduates sitting for the bar. This research was conducted using a Z-test of proportion because the independent variable was categorical and the dependent variable was a proportion. The difference in the average LSAT scores of the public law schools prior to and following the implementation of the OFI and the addition of the two MSI law schools were evaluated using a one-way analysis of variance because the independent variable was categorical (year) and the dependent variable was interval (LSAT score). The level of significance for rejecting the hypotheses was $\alpha = 0.05$.

Findings

There are areas in which implementation of the OFI seems to have had a significant impact, including the percentage of minorities applying and being admitted to Florida's public law schools. With but a few years when there were non-significant declines in the percentage of minority law school applicants, there was an overall increase each year since 1999 when the OFI was implemented, and that increase continued through 2006. Moreover, the percentage of minority students admitted to the four public law schools rose immediately after the OFI and has increased in most years since, from nearly 28% in the 1999-2000 academic year to more than 31% in 2005-2006. In addition, there was a significant and similar increase in the percentage of minorities who ultimately enrolled in Florida's public law schools. These significant increases, however, proved to be inconclusive and may simply be the result that would be expected with the addition of two MSI law schools. In fact, these two minority-serving law schools accounted for much of the overall increase in the percentage of minorities applying and ultimately enrolling in Florida's public law schools. Based on the findings of the study of minority representation in Florida's public law schools before and after the OFI, and the addition of two MSI law schools in the state during roughly the same period, it appears that minorities fared better following both events. The data suggests, however, that much of the increase in minority representation can be

attributed to a combination of the two factors, and that each without the other would have resulted in less significant improvement.

This study found there to be a non-significant difference in median LSAT scores of students who attended public law schools in Florida prior to and following implementation of the OFI and the creation of the MSI law schools. Likewise, a non-significant difference was discovered in the percentage of minority graduates from these institutions before or after the OFI and the creation of two MSI law schools. The researcher was not able to ascertain whether there were any differences in the percentage of minority law school graduates sitting for the Florida Bar Exam before and after implementation of the OFI or before and after creation of the two minority-serving law schools in the state. The FBA advised the researcher that it was unable to release the requested data.

Summary of Findings

This research and the results it produced can be used to assist lawmakers, policy makers, higher education administrators, and others to gain a better understanding of the impact of policies that seek to enhance diversity, such as the OFI, at the local, state, and national levels. Citizens and legislatures in states that may be considering introducing or passing laws that redefine affirmative action are strongly urged to review and examine this study very closely. An analysis of this research can be helpful in anticipating the results that might be expected from any efforts to legislate changes to affirmative action policies. Likewise, individuals who are advocates for policies that seek to encourage greater diversity will find this study of assistance to them when asking their communities to make informed decisions.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, recommendations were made in the areas of policy, practice, and further research. Each of these areas is discussed below.

Policy

The researcher, by extension, assumes that affirmative action is also of benefit to increasing diversity in all graduate and professional schools. Based on this study, it is apparently not the only policy that has proven effective in diversifying America's law schools and the practice of law. The recommendation to communities around the country, as a result of this study, is to resist the temptation to pass legislation that might have the effect of inhibiting the growth of diversity. It seems as if communities may want to consider more carefully the impact of such policies because of the possibility of further damaging minority growth in higher education, damage that could take years to repair.

Practice

This study suggests but does not prove the kinds of results that might be expected with implementation of laws and policies similar to the OFI in other states. The limitations of this study prevent expanding its results to other states; however, it does call into question whether similar results might be anticipated. For this reason, and because several states are considering initiatives similar to the OFI, the researcher recommends further research into the impact of policies that are intended to redefine affirmative action in other states. Even more intriguing is

the likelihood of determining what effects these policies might produce with respect to minority access to higher education in these states. Given what we have seen in this study, it is anticipated that such policies implemented in other states would yield similar results, minorities gaining improved access to specialized graduate and professional programs offered in higher education institutions.

Further Research

While this study examined the impact of the OFI in Florida and the addition of two MSI law schools, the researcher believes that further study is warranted in this area. One might also consider replicating this study in the future to include data gathered from private law schools in the state of Florida. Private law schools in the state that have not been studied include St. Thomas University, University of Miami, Stetson University, Barry University, Nova Southeastern University Shepard Broad Law Center, and Florida Coastal School of Law. This study may also be replicated in other specialized fields where minorities are underrepresented, such as science, engineering, and others. Furthermore, it is conceivable that this study be expanded to other states, such as Texas, California, Washington State, and Michigan, where similar initiatives or proposals have been implemented to redefine affirmative action. The results of those studies can then be compared with the results from this research in Florida to determine if there are any similarities of outcomes.

When any new policy is implemented, it requires and deserves the scrutiny of researchers who will spend years analyzing the impact of such policy changes to determine if the actual results bear any resemblance to that which was promised or intended. Additional studies on this subject would serve the interests of higher education and the underrepresented in America. If it is found that policies intended to redefine affirmative action are harming the pursuit of diversity, it then serves the public interest to learn as much about the topic area as possible.

Discussion

This study found the representation of minorities in Florida's legal profession improved after implementation of OFI and the addition of two MSI law schools. In addition, this study concluded that minorities were represented in larger numbers in Florida SUS law schools; however, Black representation among students in law schools in the SUS of Florida as well as around the country has failed to make the kinds of strides that either affirmative action or race neutral incentives have promised.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Blacks made up 12.7% of the population in 2002 but at only one of the 30 law schools that are ranked the highest nationally, were Blacks anywhere near that level of representation (U.S. Census, 2002). Minorities are similarly represented in Florida's law schools and in the state's legal profession. Data from the SUS of Florida public law schools suggest admission and enrollment numbers that rank Whites in first place, well ahead of other ethnic groups, Hispanic students second, Blacks in third place, and Asians and Native Americans fourth. These numbers are not unlike those that are certified by the FBA for the current percentage of attorneys by race. As a critical race theorist, the researcher believes that, while the intent of the OFI and the creation of two MSI law schools were to improve diversity, Whites benefited most because their opportunities to attend law schools in the SUS of Florida were expanded.

In an article entitled, “Among the nation’s 30 top-rated law schools, Harvard has the highest percentage of Black students,” researchers found that Black students are still underrepresented in law schools when compared with their representation in the U.S. population as a whole (“Among the,” 2007). Just over 11% of Harvard’s law school population is Black (“Among the,” 2007). Duke University School of Law has the next highest number of Black students among the top rated schools, followed by Georgetown University and Emory University law schools, each with more than nine percent Black enrollment (“Among the,” 2007). Researchers also found that at three of the top-ranked law schools where race neutral admissions policies are mandated by state law, Black enrollment is less than five percent of the institutions’ total student population.

The highest concentration of Black law students can be found on the six campuses of HBCU law schools, but even there, they are less represented than one might think. In an article entitled, “African American students at historically Black law schools,” researchers found that Howard University’s school of law has the highest percentage of Black students, representing just under three-fourths of all students, followed by Southern University’s law school, where Blacks make up more than 55% of the total student population (“African American students,” 2007). According to the ABA, the nation’s six historically Black law schools have a total of 1,484 Black students, or just over 15% of all Black law school students in the country.

Black law school enrollment has continued to fluctuate around the country from one academic year to another. For example, the nation’s ABA-accredited law schools boasted an enrollment of 7.1% Black in 2000 and only 6.2% in the 2005-2006 academic year (“Black Student,” 2007). An article entitled, “Black student enrollments in law school inch higher,” indicated that the number of Blacks in law schools is increasing, albeit slowly, with a 3.6% rise in total enrollment or 9,529 Black students in 2006-2007 (“Black Student,” 2007).

By the weight of the evidence widely available, one can only conclude what this researcher has, which is that minorities continue to be vastly underrepresented in colleges of law and, by extension, in the legal profession. The plight of minorities in law school has evolved despite improvements brought about by the use of affirmative action and race conscious practices meant to enhance minority enrollment. It took more than 30 years for affirmative action to have the kind of meaningful impact that has led to perceptible progress, yet only a few years of limited use of affirmative action policies could conceivably erase much of that progress. It should be noted, however, that this study concludes that minority representation improved as a result of the OFI and as a result of adding two additional MSI law schools. It is apparent that opening the two MSI law schools in Florida did not encourage the predominately White law schools to withdraw their traditional support of minorities in gaining admittance to their programs.

While not very many are willing to predict what the future holds, the situation represents numerous opportunities for further research into such complex issues as: What impact Florida’s decision to abandon all but race neutral policies in its admissions practices in public law schools will have on the private law institutions? What is the actual long-term effect of Florida’s implementation of the OFI on the state’s minority law population? How can there be middle ground found between two such widely disparate points of view? And, what are the long-term implications for the minority population of states who do not have an adequate number of minority lawyers to satisfy the perceived need of the minority community? Clearly, there is a

need for additional research in this area and hopefully this study will lead to future discussion on this subject matter.

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Dental Environment: Incorporating the Work Systems Approach

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The National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) released a joint report in 2005 that showed the oral health status of Americans has rapidly improved during the past decade (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2005). Limited public data is available, however, on errors and malpractice in the dental environment that impact patient and dental care personnel (i.e. the dentists, oral surgeons, dental assistants, and hygienists) safety. The American Dental Association (ADA) released a survey, for the first time, which attempted to capture information on trends in dental malpractice claims. Generally, the malpractice claims are a result of errors in the dental environment (Strickland, 2005). The ADA argued that the investigations of dental malpractice claims have utility beyond just being vehicles of comparison between professions and can be possible indicators of future global trends; however, the ADA asserts that information obtained from dental malpractice claims is most useful in efforts directed at risk management educational efforts focused on ameliorating the quality of patient care (ADA, 2005). While the ADA survey only provided a snapshot of the malpractice claims that exist, it reveals several malpractice claims that suggest that the dental care environment shares affinities with other healthcare settings identified in the Institute of Medicine's (IOM) 2001 review of health care systems. The Institute of Medicine (IOM) completed a review of health care systems and found that many of the systems were poorly organized; medical records were incomplete; there were an unacceptable number of medical errors; the systems were fragmented and unfriendly to many patients and lacked control over ensuring that care is completed (IOM, 2001). While all of the findings of the IOM are not applicable to the dental care systems, much is consistent with the data found in the ADA study—poor recordkeeping and communication issues were identified and were some of the leading causes of dental malpractice claims.

Dental care personnel safety is also an important component to study when reviewing the dental environment. Observational studies and surveys indicate that percutaneous or sharp injuries among general dentist and oral surgeons occur less frequently than among general and orthopedic surgeons, and that these injuries decreased in frequency during the 1990s (Siew et al., 1992; Siew et al., 1995, Cleveland et al., 1995; Gooch et al., 1998; McCarthy et al., 1999). Recent studies show, however, that needle sticks and other blood contacts continue to occur, placing health care personnel at risk of infection and experiencing emotional distress even when a serious disease is not transmitted (Cleveland et al., 2007; Armstrong, et al., 1995). The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health issued a report that roughly estimated 600,000 to 800,000 healthcare workers annually experience needlestick and other percutaneous injuries (National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health, 1999).

When errors occur and things go wrong, it is logical for an individual and/or organization to question the dental care personnel's skill. Blaming the dental care personnel is not the best way to eliminate errors. Looking at errors from a system perspective, however, will influence an individual and/or organization to evaluate the entire work system. A system⁸ is an entity that exists to carry out some purpose; it involves subsystems, hierarchies and is surrounded by an environment. Rivera and Karsh (2008) succinctly state that in the healthcare milieu, the ultimate purpose of the system is to provide safe, high-quality patient care. In this paper, the dental environment is the system investigated. A dental environment includes the procedures, policies, processes, technologies, tools and individuals that work conjunctively to provide dental care to patients. The objectives of this article is to (1) initiate the need for researchers to engage in substantial research about patient and dental care personnel safety in the dental environment, and (2) suggest a systems approach as an effective construct for evaluating the dental environment.

Systems Engineering Initiative to Patient Safety (SEIPS) and Background

A systems approach suggests that human error is often caused by a combination of work system factors within an environment rather than simply the incompetence of the individual dentist (Wiegmann et al., 2007). The Systems Engineering Initiative to Patient Safety (SEIPS) model (Carayon et al., 2006) implies that in addition to dental skill and the condition of the patient, errors and patient outcomes are also impacted by such factors as the work environment (i.e. lighting, temperature, sound and etc.), tools and technology design (i.e. needle holders, probes, root elevators, visual x-rays [XDR]and etc.), organizational variables (i.e. training, policies, procedures), team member collaborations and tasks (ElBardissi et al., 2007; Carthey et al., 2001; Wiegmann et al., 2003). The SEIPS model (Figure 1) integrates Donabedian's (1988) structure-process-outcome framework and the work system model developed by Smith and Sainfort-Carayon (1989). The SEIPS model has three overarching elements: the work system, the process, and the outcomes. The structure of an organization (the work system) affects the extent to which safe care is provided (the process), and the caring for and managing of the patient (the process) affects the likelihood of the patient completing his or her experience without impairment (the outcome). The organizational structure also influences employee and organizational outcomes. As illustrated (Figure 1), the SEIPS model recognizes the mutually dependent nature of the five core elements of a work system—an individual performing various *tasks* using *tools and technology* in a given *environment* within an established *organization*.

The SEIPS model is based on the Balance Theory of Job Design and the concept of healthy organizations (Carayon et al., 2006). The Balance Theory of Job Design aims to “improve motivation and performance and reduce stress and the negative health consequences by ‘balancing’ the various elements of the work system to provide positive aspects to counter the negative ones and all aspects of the job are considered in developing a proper design” (Carayon and Smith, 2000; Smith and Sainfort-Carayon, 1989). The Balance Theory of Job Design posits that the various elements of the work system interact to produce a stress load that can have biological, emotional, and behavioral consequences that can lead to positive and negative outcomes on an individual's job performance (Carayon and Smith, 2000).

⁸ Rivera and Karsh (2008) write, “systems can be bounded by temporal boundaries (e.g., first shift, second shift), hierarchical boundaries (e.g., a hospital unit within a hospital), spatial boundaries (e.g., a patient's room, the cafeteria), and process boundaries (e.g., scrubbing in for surgery, performing surgery)” (as cited in Karsh and Alper, 2005) (p. S174).

The SEIPS model has been used in various health care settings including outpatient surgery (Hundt, 2003; Hundt, 2004; Alvarado et al., 2004; Carayon et al., 2005; Carayon et al., 2004), pediatric hospital, home health care (Sainfort et al., 2001; Karsh et al., 2005), intensive care, and ambulatory care. It also has been instrumental in system designs associated with technology implementation like electronic health records and computerized physician order entry (COPE) (Hamilton-Escoto et al., 2003; Karsh et al., 2004; Carayon et al., 2004; Wetterneck et al., 2004).

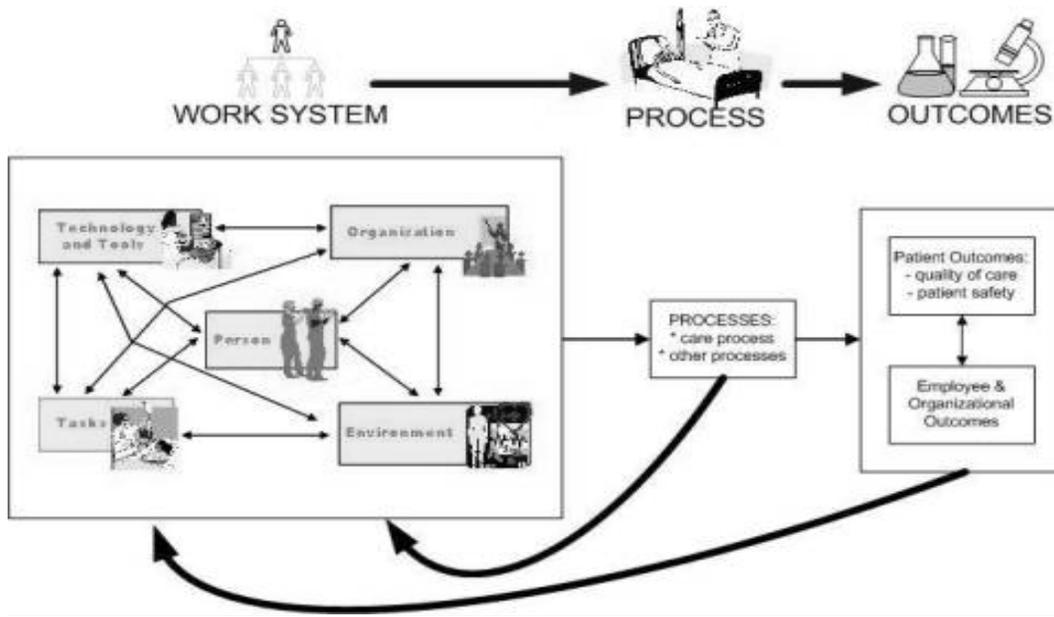


Figure 1: Systems Engineering Initiative for Patient Safety (SEIPS) Model of work system and patient safety (Carayon et al., 2006; Donabedian's 1988). Reprinted with permission from Carayon et al. 2006.

A systems approach to dental practice evaluation is a relatively new intervention and can provide a thorough understanding of outcomes associated with the dental environment. A mounting awareness of the impact that systemic factors have on shaping performances in various health care settings is evolving. Unfortunately, this growing acceptance of the systems perspective has not fully translated into a similar development of effective patient safety programs in the dental environment. Like in other health care settings, the dental literature implies that much of the dental patient safety programs have been developed without a full understanding of the underlying systemic problems that have contributed to errors. Much of the data concerning factors that impact patient safety in the dental environment has come primarily from anecdotal and sentinel event reports that often lack details concerning the specific nature of the systemic problems. These event reports often come from resources such as the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the National Institutes of Health (NIH), U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and the American Dental Association (ADA). For instance, the FDA released a 2007 report that warned dental care personnel about serious patient injuries, including third degree burns associated with the use of poorly maintained electric dental

handpieces (U.S. Food and Drug Administration [FDA], 2007). Although the report recommends actions to prevent or minimize the problem, it does not address systematic problems that lead to the poor maintenance of the dental handpieces. For instance, it does not address the possibility that cleaning and maintaining the equipment probably does not integrate into the workflow of the dental care personnel seamlessly. An urgent need exists for critical analyses of the dental environment to better understand how the system impacts the outcomes of dental care.

A study conducted by Irwin et al. (2009) provides a Consolidated Flow Model (Figure 2) that offers an overview of individuals, roles, tasks, artifacts and interactions in the work process of initial dental examination and treatment planning appointments. This model unveils the complex dental environment workflow and its significant vulnerabilities for error incidences. Irwin et al.'s purpose for the study was to develop a "comprehensive, empirical model for clinical work in the dental office that would provide a detailed understanding of workflow and information management during initial examination and treatment planning appointments in general dentistry" (p. 1). This study wanted to "learn how dental clinicians work together, communicate, and interact with their environment, and how technology is integrated into workflow" (p. 1). Irwin et al.'s study did not focus on patient and dental care personnel safety; however, the study reveals several breakdowns that can arguably lead to errors in dental care that can impact the safety of patients and dental care personnel. Breakdowns are described in Irwin et al.'s research as interruptions to the workflow, and interruptions to the workflow can lead to errors and unwanted outcomes (Wiegmann et al., 2007). Breakdowns that were identified were generally related to the recording or retrieval of information, technology, and procedures. Arguably, Irwin et al.'s study provides a solid validation of previous studies (Button et al., 1991; Weerakkody et al., 2003; Wotman et al., 2001), but it integrated a more systematic approach to dental practice research.

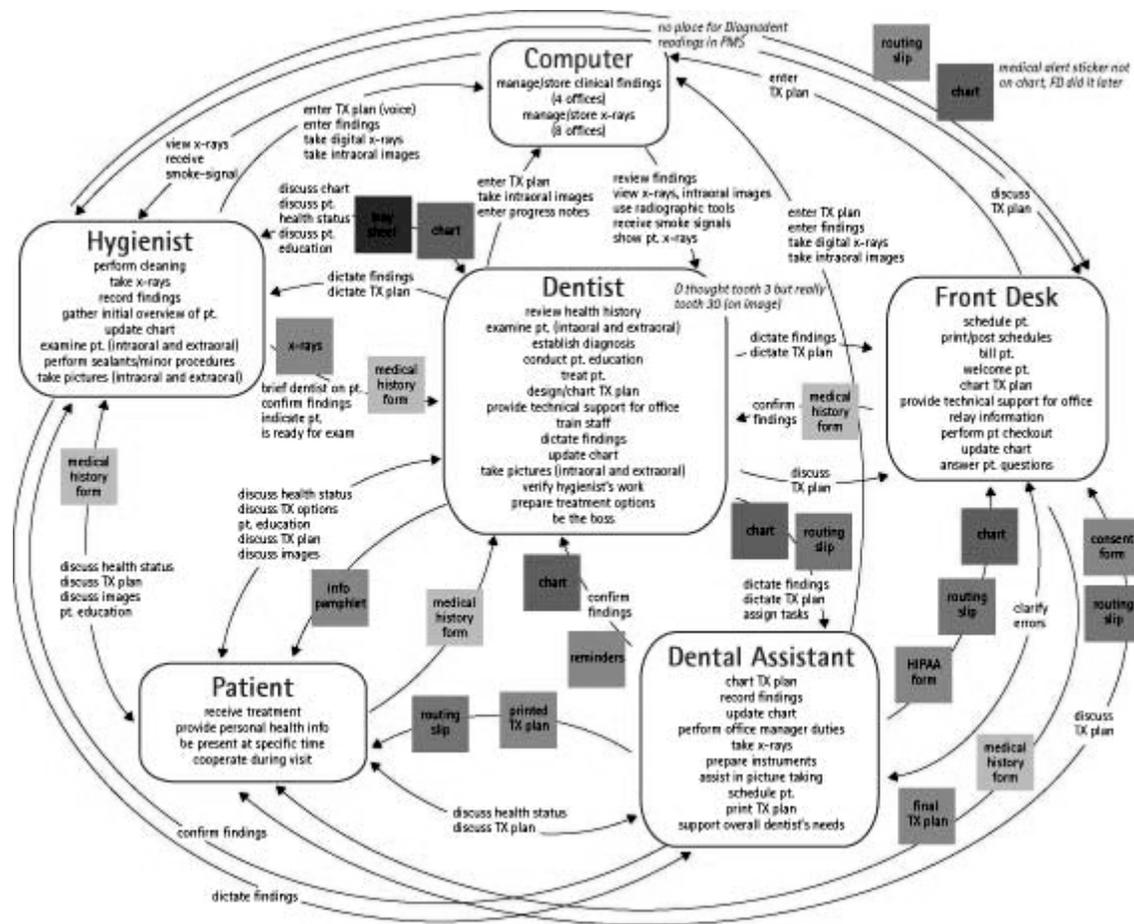


Figure 2: Consolidate Flow Model (Irwin et al., 2009). Reprinted with permission from Irwin et al. 2009.

Since Irwin et al. (2009) presents us with a complete understanding of the workflow of the dental environment, one can easily understand how the SEIPS model can be used to understand how different factors in the work system can influence care processes and affect both patient and dental care personnel outcomes. It is worth reiterating that the SEIPS model assumes that patient safety is determined by the way a work system (i.e. dental environment) and various processes, including the patient care process, are designed. The SEIPS model also assumes that work system design influences organizational and individual outcomes and that organizational and individual outcomes are related to patient safety outcomes (Carayon, 2006).

The subsequent sections highlight the *tools and technology* and *individual* elements of the SEIPS models relevant to the leading causes of dental malpractice claims, poor recordkeeping and communication issues, identified by the ADA 2005 report. For simplification, poor recordkeeping is categorized under the SEIPS model's *tools and technology* element, since most of the recordkeeping in the dental environment is done using a patient chart or computer technology (Irwin et. al, 2009). Communication is coupled into the SEIPS model's *individual* element simply because verbal communication among dental care personnel is essential in the dental environment. Irwin et al.'s (2009) study found that dental software supported few, if any, communication requirements in the dental environment and therefore much of the communication among dental care personnel was verbal. The goal of the following sections is to

highlight the importance of understanding each element (tools and technology and individual) in the context of the SEIPS model.

Tools and Technology Implementation

Using the SEIPS model, one can better understand how to implement changes in a system and how those changes can affect the workflow. For instance, the use of the SEIPS model can assist in implementing new technologies in the dental environment to minimize disruptions to the workflow that can possibly lead to unwanted errors in patient care. Technology is only one of five elements of the work system model (Carayon & Smith, 2000; Smith & Carayon-Sainfort, 1989). Understanding how the different elements in the work system model interact with existing technologies can provide an unyielding amount of information for improving the workflow of the dental environment with the use of new technology. A few studies (Thomas et al., 2003; Schleyer et al., 2006; Irwin et al., 2009) show that the majority of dentists use computers only for administrative purposes, but not in the clinical environment. Irwin et al. (2009) proved computers interrupted and/or hindered individuals from performing common tasks. Computers tended to interrupt the workflow, caused individuals to have to redo computer-aided work, and increased the number of steps in a work process. Overall, Irwin et al. state that technology did not integrate well with existing equipment and required workarounds because some technologies did not have all the functions needed to complete various tasks. If the dental environment was assessed prior to the design of such technologies, integrating the technologies within the system would be seamless. Technology that is well integrated can possibly reduce interruptions in the workflow that can lead to unwanted outcomes. Carayon et al. (2008) explain that the SEIPS model focuses on the system factors that need to be redesigned to foster effective performances from healthcare providers and promote and buttress patient safety.

Carayon et al. (2008) further highlight that technologies are being introduced at an increased pace in healthcare, primarily to enhance the quality and safety of patient care (Bates & Gawande, 2003). Carayon et al. (2008) noted that considerable pressure has been placed on healthcare organizations to use technologies to prevent medical errors and improve patient safety. For instance, bar coding medication administration technology that matches patients with the right medication and IV (intravenous) infusion pump technology that can set drug dosing limits have been proposed as solutions to reduce medication administration errors (Institute of Medicine Committee on Quality of Health Care in America, 2001). According to the SEIPS Model (Carayon et al., 2006), it is important to understand the systemic impact (i.e. the possible positive and negative impact) of technology on the rest of the work system. Understanding the systemic impact of technology on the entire system will assist with the technology design and provide a seamless implementation process for new technologies. Designing the technology to fit the system can reduce errors and competently improve patient and dental care personnel safety. For instance, designing electronic patient charting software to be used by dental care personnel should take into account the various tasks the dental care personnel will be possibly engaged in prior to using the electronic patient charting software and after its use. Understanding the prior and sequence tasks of dental care personnel will ensure that the electronic patient charting software fits within the workflow of the system, thus eliminating possible errors. The process by which technology is implemented, and the actual use of the technology, needs to be examined to better understand the full impact of technology and its effectiveness in ameliorating patient safety (Carayon et al., 2008).

Individual and Communication

In the dental care environment, efficient communication among members in the work team is important to patient outcomes. The ADA cited communication to be one of the reasons for malpractice claims; therefore, communication among the dentistry team is essential to preventing errors and upholding patient safety. Suboptimal communication was the most frequently cited cause of medication errors reported to the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations (JCAHO) between 1995 and 2003, accounting for more than 60 percent of reports (Patterson et al., 2004; Walker et al., 2009). Walker et al. (2009) noted that “communication problems have been shown to be the leading cause of in-hospital death—twice as frequent as errors resulting from lack of clinical skills—and have been associated with 50 percent of detected adverse events in general practice” (Wilson et al., 1998; Walker et al., 2009, p. 470). In addition, Walker et al. (2009) notes that “another study found that a computerized physician order entry (CPOE) system that complicated the communication and work-coordination needs of physicians and nurses led to delays in medication administration” (Beuscart-Zépher et al., 2005; Walker et al., 2009, p. 470).

Effective communication among team members is a vital component of value-added care processes and has demonstrated potential to improve care quality (Baker et al., 1999; Clegg et al., 2000; Gittell et al., 2000). A national study of intensive care units (ICUs) found that “the culture, leadership, coordination, communication, and conflict management abilities of the unit” are significantly associated with shorter lengths-of-stay and higher-quality care (Shortell et al., 1994, p. 508). The SEIPS model can help one fully understand the individual’s role in a system. In understanding the individual’s role in the system, it will be evident that communication in an organization and environment is essential, as implied by Irwin et al.’s 2009 study. For instance, in a collaborative atmosphere such as the dental environment, effective communication among dental care personnel is essential to carrying out tasks such as preparing a patient for root canal treatment. Without dental care personnel communicating and assisting each other with the various required tasks in dental care treatments, patients could experience harmful delays that can lead to unwanted outcomes.

Brief Discussion

This paper reveals some of the salient reasons why the SEIPS model of work and patient safety is essential for the dental environment. The SEIPS model provides a framework for focusing on the system factors that need to be redesigned to foster effective performances from dental care providers and promote and improve patient safety. When applied to the dental environment outlined in Irwin et al.’s (2009) Consolidated Flow Model (Figure. 2), the understanding of how the different elements in the SEIPS model impact the workflow can offer a much more informed rationale for the design or redesigning of a clinical computing environment.

Recordkeeping and communication issues were two critical issues highlighted in the ADA report on malpractice claims that lead to unwanted patient outcomes. Those two issues can be grouped into two of the elements of the SEIPS model: recordkeeping can be grouped into the tools and technology component and communication issues can be grouped into the individual component. With the SEIPS model framework, one can understand how those issues that arise from dental malpractice claims can be impacted by other elements in the SEIPS model to

produce those unwanted outcomes. For instance, the physical workplace (the environment) and the policy (the organization) and procedures (the task) play an important role in the dental care personnel's (the individual) ability to devote extensive amount of time to accurately recording patient information (tools and technology) that can jeopardize patient and physician safety. With the use of the SEIPS model, one can understand how dental errors in general are not solely based on the incompetence of the dental care personnel, and can evaluate how the entire system plays a vital role in patient safety.

Although this paper focuses much of its discussion on patient safety, the safety of physicians is also important. As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, Cleveland's (2007) study highlights percutaneous injuries among dental health care personnel. Cleveland's study provided a discussion on how the injuries could have been prevented, indicating that the use of safety features could have been activated or a safer work practice used. Cleveland et al.'s perspective almost entirely placed the blame on the individual (i.e the dentists, oral surgeons, dental assistants, and hygienists). With the SEIPS model framework, one can understand how elements within the system (the dental environment) impact the safety of the dental care personnel. Additionally, one can redesign the system to create a safe environment to prevent the percutaneous injuries dental care personnel have incurred.

Conclusion

Dental schools and clinics as well as human factors engineers must engage in more substantial patient and physician safety research about the dental environment. The literature indicates that other areas of healthcare have explored the work system approach in their various settings, and the dental care setting can tremendously benefit from this interdisciplinary approach to research. At a time when the dental profession is moving towards integrating technology more fully, the recommendation of the SEIPS Model will prove beneficial to the evolution of novel technology implementation in the dental environment. This paper should serve as an important vehicle for change in the dental environment, promoting the amelioration of dental care.

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Urban African American Male High School Students' Educational Aspirations for College: The Influence of Family, School and Peers

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The college choice process for high school students is complicated, and interwoven by factors such as the family, school, and peers. While much is known about the choice process, there is a gap in the research regarding African American students', especially males', decision-making for postsecondary education. Little attention has been given to African American males for solving educational problems; most of the attention has been documenting that there is a problem (McGuire, 2005). Few studies have focused on minority students and their decisions to attend postsecondary education. Smith and Fleming (2006) point out the college choice frameworks that scholars have developed to describe high school students are from the perspective of White students. Hossler, Schmidt and Vesper (1999) agree that "special attention may need to be given to African American males because the factors that influence their aspirations are less certain" (p. 29). When these researchers examined urban African American males, they were the least successful in predicting what influenced their postsecondary aspirations.

Currently, while higher education researchers and the public are noting the disturbing decline in the percentage of males attending college (King, 2006; Mortenson, 2006), urban minority male students are not attending college at the same rate as other males (Freeman, 1997; NCES, 2005). Since educating the growing population of African American males for active participation in the twenty-first century workforce is important for our country's future, research on the factors that affect urban minority male high school students' postsecondary aspirations is very important. The educational plight of African American males is troubling in American society, including schools, the criminal system, and the workplace (Jackson & Moore III, 2008). Men, especially African American men, are lagging behind women in college attendance. This phenomenon has been building over the last decade and must be addressed by secondary school educators, counselors, administrators, postsecondary educators and policymakers as they strive to meet the challenges of high school graduation and postsecondary participation for urban male students.

Purpose of the Study

Previous research has shown there are three critical tasks on the path to college. These include acquiring the academic qualifications, earning a high school diploma, and applying for and enrolling in an institution of higher education (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2000). The purpose of this research is to examine the major influences affecting urban male African American students' accomplishment of these critical tasks. The key variables researchers have identified as influencing educational aspirations are family, school, and peer variables. This study will

examine how these variables affect educational aspirations for college of urban African American male high school students. While there is a body of literature on factors affecting educational aspirations, (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2000; Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989; King, 2002; NPEC, 2007) as well as a body of literature on factors affecting urban education and minority students' education (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2001; Kao & Tienda, 1988; Jackson & Moore III, 2008; Moore III, Heinfield, & Owens, 2008), there is still very little research on how educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students are affected by family, school, and peer variables. "More research is needed to inform policy and practice to improve the conditions of education for African American males" (Jackson & Moore III, 2006, p. 203).

Significance of the Study

If America is going to continue to be an economic leader in a global society, it will be important to college educate an increasing percentage of young Americans. This means educating our growing population of urban African American male students and increasing their preparedness and aspirations. To do so requires an understanding of the issues affecting African American male high school students' college educational aspirations and the disparity in college-going rates. Examining the effects of family, school, and peers on African American male urban high school students' college educational aspirations is the first step in developing strategies for meeting the challenges of high school graduation and postsecondary attendance. Currently, research on African American males is both "limited and disjointed" and does not look at the educational outcome of African American males (Jackson & Moore III, 2006). The goal of this research is to inform secondary administrators and policy makers of necessary changes to meet the challenge of increasing graduation and postsecondary attendance of urban male African American students.

Review of Related Literature

According to Hossler, Braxton, and Coopersmith (1989) and Hanson and Litten (1981), research has demonstrated that college choice is most influenced by parents, and then the other influences are counselors, peers and teachers. This research will test the strength of the relationships between these variables in order to look at the most effective areas for intervention to increase urban male African American high school students' educational aspirations. Previous research has focused on White students and not the experiences and challenges of minority, low-income, and urban students (Smith & Fleming, 2006; Kao & Tienda, 1998). In 2005, the topic of African American males' education surfaced as a concern once again (Jackson & Moore III, 2008). Allen, Bonous-Hammarth, and Suh (2002), when looking at Gates Millennial Scholars, found that "urban, low-income students of color encounter unique challenges gaining access to rigorous academic courses, adequate educational resources, quality instruction, early college counseling, and other college prerequisites" (p. 2).

The conceptual framework for this study will be the college choice model by Hossler and Stage (1992), which includes three stages: the predisposition, search, and choice stage. According to Hossler and Stage (1992), the predisposition stage is when students determine whether they will continue to go to school past high school graduation; the search stage is when students begin to gather information about colleges, and decide on a "choice set" of college to

which they will apply; the choice stage is deciding on the actual college the student will attend. This study will look at the predisposition stage. The predisposition stage takes place from 7th-10th grade, so students and their parents can make plans for high school, since the possibility of college attendance depends on a college track curriculum, good grades, and extracurricular activities in high school. According to Cabrera and LaNasa (2001) during middle school, students need to make plans to attend college and then follow through with a rigorous academic curriculum, graduate from high school, and apply for college. King (2006) stated that the gender gap has increased the most since 2000 for low-income, traditional-aged students. Some of the reasons that King (2006) finds for the gender gap are: the media, where male role models tend to be athletes and musicians sending the message that you do not have to work hard in school to be cool. Also, maturation rates are slower for boys, thus they have difficulty meeting school requirements; and boys are being diagnosed with attention deficit disorder more often than girls.

There is not a generalized educational crisis among men, but there are areas of real problems. In particular, “African-American, Hispanic and low-income males lag behind their female peers in terms of educational attainment and are far outpaced by white, Asian-American, and middle-class men and women” (King, 2006, p. 1). King (2006) acknowledges that females outnumber males across all racial groups, but it is most pronounced for African Americans. Smith and Fleming (2006) acknowledge that a “clear majority of the African American college students are female” (p. 71). Even wealthy African American males lag behind academically (McGuire, 2005; Moore III, Henfield & Owens, 2008). Ogbu (2003) pointed out that African American high school student low performance has been due to inferior school resources and a lack of parent involvement. Freeman’s (1997) research students offered the following suggestions to increase African American participation in college: “improve school conditions, provide interested teachers and active counselors, instill possibilities early, and expand cultural awareness” (p. 530).

Family

Another important factor in encouraging educational aspirations of high school students is parental encouragement. Previous research has concluded that parents have a strong influence when it comes to preparing and promoting college attendance (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2000 & 2001; Stage & Hossler, 1992; Tierney, 2002). Hossler, Braxton, and Coopersmith (1989) reported that parental education had a stronger influence on educational aspirations than socio-economic status (SES) or student ability. Parental encouragement is a two-fold process according to Cabrera and LaNasa (2000) and Stage and Hossler (1989). First, parents need to have high educational expectations, and they must participate in school functions, and discuss the importance of college attendance with their children. To understand the effects of parents on current students, it is necessary to discuss the millennial generation. According to Elam, Stratton, and Gibson (2007), parents of the millennial generation are said to be aggressively protective of their students and play an active role in the children’s educational experience. This is not necessarily the case for low-income students. In a study conducted by the University of California Los Angeles Higher Education Research Institute, as part of the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP), found that minority students reported that their parents were not involved enough in choosing a college.

The millennial generation is characterized by “helicopter parents.” However, urban low-income students often do not fit the profile of the millennial generation. They do not necessarily have “helicopter parents.” According to Tierney (2002), in the 21st century, the definition of a family is distinctly different than the definition of family in the 20th century, which was the typical nuclear family: mother, father, and children. In low-income urban families, the definition of family has changed even more dramatically. It takes both schools and families to work together to make college a reality for their students. When parents and teachers hold high expectations for African American students they have higher educational aspirations (Flowers, Milner & Moore III, 2003). African American students depend on support from teachers and parents to increase academic achievement (Douglas, 2006). Urban high school students often have the same educational aspirations for college, but lack the rigorous academic curriculum in high school.

Another issue affecting college attendance of minority students is the lack of knowledge of how to finance their college education. “Obtaining financial aid can be especially difficult for first-generation, low-income students because of the cultural differences and parents lack of knowledge about the financial aid process” (Lake, 2008, p. 1). Test preparation and academics get most of the attention, with little attention being paid to teaching students strategies to finance their education. Unfortunately, many high schools do not teach families how to apply for financial aid or financial literacy.

Academic/School

Holzman (2006) noted that Black male students usually attend racially segregated high schools, earn lower scores on national assessments, are suspended and expelled more often, and are assigned to special education courses more than White males; therefore, Black male students are unlikely to attend college. African American males are more likely to be suspended from school than any other group (Meier, Stewart, & England, 1998). Thus, African American males lag behind Caucasian males academically (Jackson & Moore III, 2008). Urban high school students often have the same educational aspirations for college, but lack the rigorous academic curriculum in high school. It is imperative that both students and counselors are aware of the need to enroll in a rigorous high school curriculum in order to be prepared for college. Literature discusses the importance of the academic rigor of the high school curriculum as one of the best predictors of success in college (Adelman, 2006; King, 2006). Hossler, Schmidt, and Vesper (1999) found that a student’s academic ability and the school environment and resources that are available are factors that affect the predisposition stage. Likewise, Way and Robinson (2003) found that schools influence student academic achievement, goals, and the psychological well-being more than family or friends of minority, low SES students.

According to Obidah, Christie, and McDonough (2004) college access is reliant on parental influence, plans to attend college as early as junior high school, a rigorous college preparatory curriculum and adequately equipped classrooms and teachers and other staff that encourage college attendance. Obidah et al. (2004) posit that this is not the picture of urban schools across the nation. Engle, Bermeo and O’Brien (2006) agree that first-generation students, many of which are from urban schools, are less prepared academically “due to the lack of rigorous coursework, low teacher expectations, and limited resources in the urban and rural school systems they attended” (p. 6).

According to Cooper and Liou (2007), it is critical for all students to have access to information regarding college access by the end of ninth grade so that they develop the skills and knowledge to pursue a college education and realize their career dreams. The National Postsecondary Education Cooperative (2007) noted that students from higher Socioeconomic Status (SES) families relied more on their families for information and less on counselors for college information and the opposite was true for lower SES families. King (2006) found that low-income students needed college counseling and information to increase college aspirations. Likewise, Cabrera and LaNasa (2001) found that the lowest-SES students were the most reliant on high school counselors to provide information regarding going to college.

Researchers have noted that low-SES students rely more on high school counselors and teachers to provide information about college (Tierney, 2002). Students in the predisposition phase, especially low SES students, expect to receive their information regarding college attendance from high school counselors. However, during 7th through 9th grade (predisposition stage) counselors spend very little time with students, if any, discussing college. There is very little influence from their counselors and teachers (Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989). Therefore, counselors are not getting to students early enough. Perna (2000) found that “higher percentages of African Americans and Hispanics, than Whites, receive help from school personnel” (p. 6).

Peers

Urban students are more likely to be raised in single parent homes or by other family members who often do not have the time or the resources to increase educational aspirations of their children. Therefore, it is important to explore if peers have more influence on urban high school students’ college aspirations than their parents do. Much of the previous literature concentrated on parents’ influence, but not peers of urban students. Wentzel, Caldwell, and Barry (2004) state that friends of minority students and their impact on academic adjustment in large urban inner-city schools have not been well researched.

Ryan (2000) notes that further research needs to take place to discover and understand the affects of adolescent peer groups on motivation, engagement, and achievement. Sokatch (2006) found that “friend’s plans are found to be the single best predictor of 4-year college enrollment for low-income urban minority students, even when controlling for variables traditionally assumed to affect college going” (p. 128). Singham (2003) found that peers can have a negative influence on educational aspirations and Ogbu (2003) discussed to gain acceptance from peers, African American male students often disengage from school. Therefore, this study will provide further research on peer influence and college aspirations.

Sample

The subjects for this study were sixty 9th and 10th grade urban African American male high school students from the Midwest. Results showed that the majority of the students qualified for a free and reduced lunch (63%) and lived with their mother only (80%). Only twenty-eight percent reported that they lived with their father. Therefore, a majority of the students were raised in single parent home and a majority of participants’ parents (25%) and siblings (36%) did not graduate from a 4-year institution. Since most of the participants’ parents and siblings did not graduate from a 4-year institution, the participants would be considered first

generation college students. Only twenty-seven percent of the participants self reported a GPA above a 3.0. Seventy-three percent of participants reported a GPA of below a 3.0. This is a concern since college acceptances and scholarships are becoming more competitive. The participants were fairly evenly distributed between the 9th and 10th grade.

Instrumentation

A locally-developed survey was designed. This survey assessed the attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and practices of family, school, and peer variables that affect college educational aspirations. The survey began with demographic questions and then the next section provided questions regarding the student's college educational aspirations using a 4-point Likert scale. The following sections asked questions about the student's family, school, and peers also using a 4-point Likert scale.

Data Collection

The students who returned their parental consent form and signed an assent form during a class period at two urban high schools took the survey. Since sensitive questions were asked on the survey, no identifying information was collected, so that a violation of privacy was not a concern. The survey was developed and piloted with 9th and 10th grade students from the same high schools during an after school study session.

Data Analysis

The Rasch Model was used to create continuous dependent variables for educational aspirations. The independent family, school and peer variables, and the strongest predictor for each group were analyzed using descriptive statistics and multiple regression.

Results

Research question 1: Do family variables (such as maternal encouragement for higher education, paternal encouragement for higher education, financial support, family involvement, and access to technology) effect educational aspirations for college of urban male African American high school students? If so, which family variables contribute to the difference?

The family model was not a significant predictor of educational aspirations. Table 1 shows the regression analysis summary for family variables predicting educational aspirations of African American urban male high school students. However, financial support is significant ($p < .01$). The R^2 is .24. Thus, 24% of the variability of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students can be explained by the family variables.

Table 1. Regression Analysis Summary for Family Variables Predicting Education Aspirations of Urban, African-American Male High School Students

Variable	B	SEB	B
Maternal support	.14	.08	.23
Paternal support	-.12	.09	-.17
Access to technology	-.13	.08	-.20
Financial support	.16	.07	-.34**
Family involvement	-.01	.04	-.23

Dependent Variable: Educational Aspirations

Note. $R^2 = .24$ ($N = 60$, $p < .01$).

** $p < .01$

R=.488

Research question 2: Do academic/school variables influence educational aspirations for college of urban male African American high school students? If so, which academic/school variables contribute to the difference?

The school model consisting of school involvement, high school environment, support from teachers and counselors, academic performance and school suspensions was significant. School involvement, school environment, academic performance and school suspensions were not significant, but school support was significant ($p < .01$).

Table 2 shows the regression analysis summary for school variables for urban African American male high school students. The R^2 is .38. Thus, the school model explains 38.% of the variability in educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students.

Table 2. Regression Analysis Summary for School Variables Predicting Education Aspirations of Urban, African-American Male High School Students

Variable	B	SEB	B
School involvement	.16	.07	.03
High school environment	.03	.03	.14
Support from teachers and counselors	.30	.07	.52**
Academic performance	.13	.08	.19
School suspensions	-.02	.07	-.04

Note. $R^2 = .38$ ($N = 60$, $p < .01$).

** $p < .01$

Research question 3: Do peer variables (such as support/encouragement) influence educational aspirations for college of urban male African American high school students?

The peer model consisting of peer support and encouragement is a significant ($p < .01$) predictor of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students.

Table 3 shows the regression analysis summary for peer variables predicting educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students. The peer model included one variable: peer support/encouragement. The R^2 is .20. Thus, 20% of the variability of educational aspirations can be accounted for by peer variables.

Table 3. Regression Analysis Summary for Peer Variables Predicting Education Aspirations of Urban, African-American Male High School Students

Variable	<u>B</u>	SEB	B
Peer support	.23	.06	.45**

Note. $R^2 = .20$ ($N = 60$, $p < .01$).
 ** $p < .01$

Research question 4: What group (family, school or peers) is the strongest predictor of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students?

Table 4 shows results of the regression analysis for all of the significant variables predicting educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students. The group that is the strongest predictor of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students is school support $p < .05$ (support from teachers and counselors) with a Beta weight of .427. The second strongest predictor of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students is peer support ($p < .05$), with a Beta weight of .249, and the third predictor of the significant variables predicting educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students is financial support ($p < .05$), with a beta weight of .245. The R^2 is .44. Thus, 44% of the variability of educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students can be accounted for by peer support, school support from teachers and counselors and financial support.

Table 4. Regression Analysis Summary for Significant Variables Predicting Education Aspirations of Urban, African-American Male High School Students

Variable	<u>B</u>	SEB	B
Financial support	.12	.05	.25*
Peer support	.13	.06	.25*
School support	.25	.07	.43**

Note. $R^2 = .44$ ($N = 60$, $p < .01$).
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Summary of Findings and Implications

In order for improvements to take place teachers, counselors, students, parents, policy makers, and communities need to come together to promote and commit to academic excellence. The path for low-income high school students to graduate from high school and attend college has been wrought with many barriers. These barriers include: family, academic, and peer factors.

Family

The family model was significant; however, maternal and paternal support was not a significant predictor of educational aspirations of African American male high school students. Most of the literature states that parental support and involvement is a significant predictor of educational aspirations for high school students. Perhaps parental support is not a significant factor for predicting educational aspirations of urban African American males. The results of the study would suggest that helicopter parents discussed in the current literature may not apply to urban African American male high school students' lived experience.

However, the financial support variable, in the family model was a significant predictor of educational aspirations ($p < .05$). This finding was expected since students often lack the knowledge of how to apply and receive financial aid or the expected cost of a college education. According to the Pell Institute Study and the Council for Opportunity in Education, Blacks lack the knowledge regarding their options for financing college (Lake, 2008). This is due to cultural differences and the lack of family awareness about the financial aid process. Therefore, financial literacy education needs to be a goal for high school counselors, teachers, and other pre-college practitioners. We must dissipate these barriers of financial literacy to increase the educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students. Students need lessons in financial literacy beginning late in junior high and early in high school. If students were given more information regarding financing college and the options that are available as early as junior high school their educational aspirations may increase.

School Support

The school model was significant ($p < .01$). School involvement, school environment, academic performance and school suspensions were not significant in predicting educational aspirations of urban African American high school students. However, support from teachers and counselors was a significant variable for predicting educational aspirations ($p < .01$).

Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith (1989) suggested that counselors and teachers have very little influence upon the predisposition stage of most high school students. The findings of the study suggest that the opposite; school support is very important for increasing the educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students. Therefore, it may prove advantageous to provide professional development opportunities to increase educational aspirations of urban African American male high school students. Instruction in teacher education programs should include men's identity development and multicultural awareness. Teachers in urban high schools often are culturally, racially and ethnically incompetent (Flowers, Milner & Moore, III, 2003). Flowers, Milner & Moore III (2003) suggest that if teachers and counselors develop the multicultural knowledge and skills needed to work with African

American males, their educational aspirations will significantly improve. If these techniques are integrated into training for teachers, they will be equipped to help African American males to understand the importance of academic performance and future career success (Flowers, Milner, Moore III, 2003). Creating a school culture including principals, teachers, counselors and peer, where urban African American male high schools students feel supported, recognized and encouraged is important for increasing educational aspirations and retention in high school. To assist urban African American male high school students, teachers and counselors will need to be educated and acknowledge the barriers regarding postsecondary education, and provide interventions to prepare all students for higher education.

In order to increase educational aspirations of high school students, there needs to be communication and assistance between high schools and colleges (Adelman, 2006). Moving toward a seamless and transparent K-16 model will be important to increase educational aspirations in the future. Students who have high academic aspirations are more likely to be engaged in educational opportunities that lead to attending college. Today, urban high schools are often in poor repair, suspension and dropout rates are high and graduation rates are low. More federal and state dollars need to be available to improve the school environment so urban students will feel a sense of pride and belonging. Additionally, the requirement of a college preparatory curriculum for all students and the assessment of learning is necessary to increase educational aspirations.

Peer Support

The peer model was significant ($p < .01$). This finding is not congruent as suggested by the foregoing review. Hossler, Braxton, and Coopersmith, (1989) reported that overall peers were not strongly associated with the predisposition stage. Many researchers have found that African American males who are academically talented and have high educational aspirations often endure negative peer interactions (Ogbu, 2003). Ford (2006) reported that African American males often purposely underachieve to be accepted by Black peer groups. Ogbu and Simons (1998) found that African American males are sometimes supported by black peers, but at times lose friends due to the stigma of “acting White.” This study found that peers were important to increasing educational aspirations.

Peers in this study were associated with increasing educational aspirations during the predisposition stage. Therefore, urban African American high school students would benefit from having a strong peer support system. The tremendous power of peer pressure can have a negative impact on academic achievement; however, with interventions by teachers and counselors this peer pressure may be reduced or even begin to have a positive effect on educational aspirations. Peer individual and group counseling may assist students in feeling more comfortable in discussing personal information and supporting each other. Peer mentoring in high schools between lower classmen and upper classmen with high educational aspirations may be helpful.

Limitations of the study

The results observed herein should be interpreted with caution due to the limitations of this study. First, some students are embarrassed to report personal information, so students attempt to respond in socially desirable ways; and therefore, do not answer the questions

truthfully. Secondly, a cross-sectional research design has limitations of only providing a one time “snap shot” of the data as opposed to a longitudinal study, which looks at the same individuals over time. Thirdly, this study only took place in two urban high schools in the same city located in the Midwest. Although this was a fairly good sample of African American urban male high school students, it may not apply to all urban African American male high school students. Although there were limitations to the study, this study provides useful information that may inform school educators, counselors, post-secondary educators, policy makers and educational researchers. As pointed out in the literature review, more research is needed to better understand the plight of urban African American male high school students.

Conclusion

Education is the key for improving our future. Policy changes at the local, federal and state level must take place so that urban male African American students are retained and prepared in high school and given the chance to participate in postsecondary education. Research has demonstrated that by the 9th or 10th grade most students have made their postsecondary plans; therefore, early intervention is a necessity (Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989). A better understanding of the factors that affect the predisposition phase will assist in increasing urban male African American attendance by establishing policies and practices. Current literature is limited for analyzing the effect of urban African American male high school student educational aspirations; therefore, further research is essential.

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Watching from the Margins: Graduate Students in the Student Affairs Paradigm

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How many graduate students are enrolled at your institution? What are the demographics of your graduate student population? What types of programs or activities are offered for your graduate students? Do student affairs units include graduate students in their programming? Are programs currently offered that may be helpful to graduate students? How does your office inform graduate students of available campus programs and activities?

Your response to these questions could be an indication of how graduate students are viewed on your campus. Furthermore, it may underscore the emphasis placed on undergraduate students in institutions (Poock, 2004). However, it is common to find institutions overlooking the importance of providing programming or activities for the graduate student population. Moreover, there is a lack of research and theories concerning graduate students. For example, research on graduate students has focused on orientation, socialization, and admissions (Poock, 2004). Hence, the purpose of this study was to assess student affairs programming for graduate students at institutions with a significant percentage of graduate students.

In order for student affairs practitioners to perform their duties adequately and successfully, it is imperative that they are trained and knowledgeable in how to accommodate the graduate population as well as the undergraduate population at their institution. However, there are few theories focusing on the graduate student experience. This leads to the question of what is being used to educate future student services professionals on how to serve graduate students? Often graduate preparation programs primarily deal with training in how to best serve the undergraduate student population. In essence, graduate students are left out of the equation in the student preparation curriculum because there is little theory to draw on coupled with the emphasis on undergraduate education. While the traditional focus of student affairs professionals has been undergraduate students, we can utilize our knowledge of student development research and theory to assist in shaping policies and practices that effect the education of graduate students as well.

Literature Review

Similar to undergraduates, graduate students will expect us to address elements of their experience and we must remember that graduate students are not simply extensions of their undergraduate counterparts. Graduate education is more specialized and puts its students at the forefront of the current state of knowledge (Kuh & Thomas, 1983). However, as noted

previously, there are few theories to assist us with understanding the developmental process of graduate students.

Theories

In examining the literature for student development theories applicable to graduate students, an abundance of theories focusing on undergraduates were found but there was a scarcity of theories focusing solely on graduate students. However, there are several developmental theories that could apply to both undergraduate and graduate students (i.e., Chickering and Reisser's Theory of Identity Development, 1995; Perry's Theory of Intellectual and Ethical Development, 1970; Schlossberg's Transition Theory, 1989 as cited in Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998) as these theories examine individuals' personal and interpersonal lives, which may in turn closely relate to the way individuals think, feel, behave and relate to others.

Although student development theories for the undergraduate population may help practitioners to better understand both undergraduate and graduate students, the fact still remains that these theories were designed using undergraduate students and their experiences. Therefore, generalizing these theories to all graduate students could be just as detrimental as categorizing all students of the same racial or ethnic group (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). Graduate students are clearly different than undergraduate students and their needs and institutional experiences are profoundly different. Hence, there is a need for research and theories which focus specifically on graduate students. Perhaps, adult development theories may provide further insight into this population of students.

Utilizing adult development theories, practitioners can develop a greater understanding of this important sub-population of their institution's enrollment. Similar to student development theories, adult development theories often focus on undergraduate students as well, specifically adult students who returned to college to pursue a degree at the undergraduate level. However, there are some adult development theories that can be cross-applied to the graduate student experience as well (i.e., Erikson, 1980; Levinson, 1979) as these theories are more concerned with social, cultural and personal factors.

Utilizing development theories focused on undergraduates and adults could enhance the programming efforts for graduate students. However, we must also consider there is a lack of sufficient theory based on graduate students as we strive to meet the needs of a diverse graduate student population.

Needs of Graduate Students

According to the literature, the needs of graduate students will vary based on a number of factors, i.e., background, education, and work and life experiences. For example, Baker (1992) found that older graduate students perceive a need for and anticipate using services differently than do younger graduate students who seem to be more dependent on campus-provided services. Younger graduate students may focus on career development, health services, financial aid and housing services. In contrast, older graduate students tend to be more concerned about child care, learning resource center services and counseling services. The type of academic advising and advisers needed may also differ with age. Moreover, the graduate experience and success can vary greatly across and within demographic groups. Therefore, it is necessary when

discussing services for graduate students to take into account demographic factors that contribute to differential graduate student experiences and successes and adjust the services accordingly.

In Hahs' (1998) study of the perceived needs of graduate assistants, findings revealed that approximately 30% of the respondents desired to attend workshops on thesis and dissertation writing, computer training, writing a vita or resume, grant writing and financial aid. In addition, approximately 35% were interested in informational resources regarding financial aid, research and travel, support funding, library resources, employment resources and student insurance. Finally, about 50% of the students surveyed were interested in research expositions, conferences and forums that provided opportunities for their research to be presented. Findings of Hahs' study indicate that, for the general population of graduate students, there is a great need for information and resources.

Isaac, Pruitt-Logan and Upcraft (1995) discovered that current graduate students are likely to have parental responsibilities, have different health concerns and require services more in common with their counterparts who are full-time workers. Some other examples of life events or circumstances that affect graduate students include, career changes because of technological advancements that eliminated jobs; families who have experienced a divorce or death of a spouse, which necessitates a previously non-employed person to enter the work world; and/or single women who view higher educational attainment as the means to secure well-paying jobs for current needs and ultimately a comfortable independent retirement. Integration of these life events allows students to proceed through the changes necessary to persist to the point of degree attainment. Schlossberg (1989) identified support as a critical area necessary for positive student development. When dealing with a transitional situation (i.e., divorce, loss of a job/income or returning to school after a significant lapse of time) adult students identified support as important to their success as students. Likewise, support is critical to the success of students beyond the baccalaureate.

Graduate students have to balance multiple roles as they are often employed full-time, are spouses, parents and care givers as well as students (Isaac, Pruitt-Logan & Upcraft, 1995). Frequently, achievement of educational and career goals, especially for women, has often been delayed while family circumstances were given priority. Accordingly, their developmental tasks differ from those of undergraduates (Erikson, 1980). As undergraduates, knowledge acquisition was often accomplished by memorization of facts while different skills, including the ability to think critically, create new knowledge and "think outside the box," are required of graduate students (Erikson, 1980). As aspiring professionals, graduate students must be afforded programming and related activities that develop these skills. By doing so, institutions fulfill their educational missions more completely by providing appropriate human as well as academic development (Fischer & Zigmond, 1998).

Research Design

Qualitative studies provide an opportunity to examine areas in which relatively little is known about a phenomenon (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Since little was known about how student affairs practitioners serve the graduate student population, a qualitative research design was considered appropriate for this exploratory study. A qualitative research design allowed the researchers the flexibility to adapt the design and focus of the study given new information instead of testing specific hypotheses. The primary research questions for this pilot study were:

What types of programming and/or activities are offered for graduate students? What is needed to facilitate programming for graduate students? What are perceived barriers for offering programming and activities to graduate students?

Site and Sample Selection

Four institutions in a Southern state, varying in size, type, funding source and graduate student population, were selected to assess how graduate students were served by student affairs. Sites in the study represented a population of cases (Stake, 1994) using a typology based on (a) institutional type, such as, research, doctoral, comprehensive (master's), or liberal arts (b) primary funding source, private or public; (c) size, such as, small (less than 8,000), medium (8,000-20,000), large (greater than 20,000); (d) graduate students comprising 20% of total student population (excluding professional students, i.e., M.D., J.D., M.B.A.).

Institutions in the sampling frame included a (1) Research University, a public, urban institution with a research focus and large student enrollment (30,000+); (2) Liberal Arts College, a private, liberal arts institution located in an urban area with a small student enrollment (less than 8,000); (3) Research University, an urban, private research institution with a medium student enrollment (10,000+); and (4) Doctoral University, an urban, public doctoral institution with a medium student enrollment (16,000+). By selecting these institutions, the researchers explored student affairs programming for graduate students in a variety of contexts to discern if there were any patterns across institutions relative to the services available for graduate students.

Purposive sampling which is essential for naturalistic research was utilized in this study (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993). Individuals with the primary responsibility of administering student activities and/or programming at each campus were identified and contacted via telephone to ascertain their willingness to participate and schedule an in-person interview at a mutually convenient location.

Procedures

Methods used for data collection included face-to-face interviews, audiotapes of interviews, fieldnotes and artifacts. These data sources are evidence of a naturalistic study and provide the basis for a sound methodological design (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). Interviews were audiotaped and lasted a minimum of 45 minutes to a maximum of two hours. Participants and institutions were assigned a pseudonym to ensure anonymity.

A guide using specific open-ended questions that were asked in a conversational style (Yin, 1994) allowed the researchers to maintain consistency and to obtain common information from each of the interviewees. By utilizing a standard open-ended interview format, the variation in questions respondents were asked was minimized (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). To measure the constructs of the study, questions during the interview focused on respondents' perceptions of institutional support and culture, programming decisions, graduate student involvement and methods for informing students of activities. Questions were not asked in any specific order and the interviewers experimented with various approaches regarding the best order to ask questions as sometimes the response led to other specific questions being asked. Probes were used to expand on responses and to allow for information that yielded context specific data, insights and anecdotes illustrating how student affairs serves graduate students.

Artifacts and supporting documentation included university catalogs, newsletters, websites, newspapers, brochures and demographic information of the student population. Documentation of this type provided additional information for understanding the services offered to graduate students and the institutional culture.

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred throughout the project and insights gained during earlier interviews were used to inform later interviews. Information obtained via interviews was subject to triangulation and member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Triangulation of data sources occurred when documents (newsletters, brochures, and newspapers) were examined to confirm emerging findings. The process of member checks involved the interviewees in the study voluntarily reviewing a draft of the study's tentative interpretations to assure results were plausible (Merriam, 1998).

All interviews were transcribed verbatim to discern if a central thread was expressed by study participants across institutions (Merriam, 1998). Following the guidelines of Miles and Huberman (1994), a coding system was developed to identify patterns or themes that were prominent across informants and institutions with topics divided into subtopics at different levels of analysis. Coding categories representing the topics were written in the margins of the transcripts to help sort the data. Coding occurred throughout the analysis and ultimately focused on the core categories developed from the constant comparative method as well as the common threads that emerged from the data.

Limitations

Small sample size, time constraints and cost were limitations of the study. Given that there are only four institutions in the study, care must be taken in the interpretation of the results and their generalizability. Nonetheless, results of this study can be used to guide imminent research.

Findings

Findings of the pilot study illustrate the need for student affairs professionals to develop knowledge about their institution's populations, needs, interests and resources. Moreover, the results also illustrate the need for collaborative, interdepartmental efforts at the institutional level. In the analysis of the data, we found there were two broad categories of themes with several underlying, but connected themes across all four institutions. The two categories of themes were a focus on the undergraduate population and inclusion of graduate students in campus programming.

Focus on Undergraduate Population

All of the institutions in the pilot study had a graduate student population of at least 20%, excluding students enrolled in professional schools. It was interesting that three of the four individuals interviewed did not know the demographics of their respective graduate student population and indicated that they primarily dealt with undergraduate students.

Many of the individuals interviewed referred to their professional schools when asked about the graduate student population and did not perceive the nonprofessional graduate student population to be significant. For example, at one institution where graduate students constituted 27% of the total population, the participant responded, "I don't really have the numbers, we have about 800 total, couple hundred part-time evening students and the rest are full-time day students. We have another couple of hundred students who are traditional graduate students...." At this particular institution the graduate population excluding professional students was 1,323.

Three of the four interviewees emphasized that programming is planned for the entire campus and that student organizations should take the initiative and plan programs according to their needs. At the private, research institution, students were doing just that as the institutional culture was student-driven with students responsible for planning their own programming. At this institution, graduate students were guaranteed a minimum of 50% of the fees paid by graduate students.

Programming at each of the institutions is open to graduate students but three of the individuals perceived that the department(s) or graduate school were assessing needs and providing programming for graduate students. However, there was no evidence to support this assumption. Accordingly, when individuals were asked if there was anyone specifically responsible for providing programming or information in general about campus activities or programs to the graduate student population, the response was generally "no one to my knowledge unless the graduate school or evening school is doing it." Again, none of the participants had followed through to confirm their assumption relative to actual programs being offered for graduate students.

Inclusion of Graduate Students in Campus Programming

In examining the role of student affairs in the involvement of graduate students while pursuing graduate degrees, numerous inferences were made by student affairs administrators as to why these students are often not included in programming efforts. The perceived benefits and barriers for offering programming for graduate students provides more insight on why graduate students are often overlooked in the student affairs paradigm.

Perceived Benefits

Even though the institutions in the study did not actively involve graduate students in the campus community or provide programming, they still noted there were benefits to the campus community. They indicated that if their offices promoted a more inclusive environment for graduate students to become involved through programming that benefits would be multiple and mutual. These are excerpts for some of the perceived benefits for including graduate students in campus programming:

I think, first of all, having them feel a part of the university and later on after they graduate it's not going to be just that they felt a tie to their department but to the entire school. It's good for them in a way that they feel like they have that tie but it's also good for alumni relations. I think they would speak highly of the university, speak positively about it and like later on that may come back to the institution in the form of positive word of mouth referrals and alumni contributions.

The purpose of student affairs is to educate the whole person for society and that doesn't just mean undergraduate students. We can utilize graduate students as role models for undergraduates and have them assist us in breaking down the cross-generational gaps.

You know, we got to assess what's important to graduate students in order to make the claim that we can provide a better quality of life . . . So I think it's all about assessing what graduate students really want, need, desire to have a better education which makes them happier alums which makes them happier donors and makes the whole experience better.

Perceived Barriers

Three of the four interviewees mentioned a lack of financial resources as a barrier for offering programming to graduate students. Moreover, the individuals at the two public institutions indicated that being currently overworked as well as a lack of staff would serve as barriers for including graduate students in campus programming.

One of the participants noted that reaching graduate students would be a potential pitfall that could contribute to low attendance at events resulting in the elimination of graduate programming until it was perceived that a greater number of students would attend. Since three of the campuses identified fewer than 10 registered graduate student organizations, there was concern about how to reach the total population of graduate students. Participants also noted limited knowledge of graduate student needs, concern with program attendance and collaboration as barriers to graduate student programming.

Little knowledge of the needs of graduate students. Two participants expressed that they had little knowledge of the needs of graduate students when asked what would be necessary to provide programming for graduate students. One respondent noted, "Finding out specific needs of graduate students and step by step implementing small programs and each year taking programming a step further." While another respondent remarked, "I would probably need to have more contact with the graduate school to see, you know, what kind of things, what are their needs, to do some more research on that, I'm not even sure how many graduate programs we have. So, research and a budget."

Perception that graduate students would not attend activities. All of the participants indicated that because of work or personal obligations that graduate students might not attend programs or activities. Two interviewees noted "that a lot of our graduate students have full-time careers and then they come to night school or something," indicating the lack of free time available to graduate students, while another respondent remarked, "Even though students may want to participate they may not have enough time and it wouldn't be because they didn't want to participate just a lack of time."

Collaboration Vital. Only one institution did not have a separate graduate school in the organizational structure for the institution. The individuals at the three institutions with a graduate school noted that a linkage or collaborative effort with the graduate school and colleges and/or departments in conjunction with the student affairs division would be crucial for including graduate students in programming efforts. As noted previously, the participants knew very little about the needs of graduate students and acknowledged the need for additional research so that appropriate programming could be provided for graduate students.

Implications for Practice and Future Research

This study revealed several implications for practice relative to programming for graduate students. For example, institutions with a significant graduate student population could provide services to meet the needs of graduate students. Even though there are general programs that can be offered for all graduate students, administrators may have to conduct additional research on the specific needs of graduate students at their institution to account for their diversity. In addition, student affairs practitioners across all functional areas should consider graduate students when planning programming for the academic year. Simply informing graduate students of the programs or available activities on the campus would be a step in the right direction. At most institutions, graduate students pay fees, some of which should be used to provide programming for graduate students. Furthermore, involving graduate students in the campus community has many of the same benefits as the integration of undergraduate students. For example, students who feel a part of the campus community are more likely to stay at the institution and maintain their connection to the institution as active alumni. Other benefits may include increased retention of graduate students, graduate students serving as mentors or role models for undergraduate students, better opportunities for academic and social advancement of all students and stronger preparation of graduate students in critical areas of development. Hence, we cannot assume that graduate students are too busy and would not get involved but we should understand that graduate students will find time to do what is important to them and they need our support as well.

Professional associations in student affairs must emphasize the necessity of providing services to all students and not focus only on undergraduate students. Perhaps, if professional associations actively promote services for graduate students or even advocate providing services for ALL students, then will we see a concerted effort by institutions to include all students in campus programming. However, until graduate students become a focal point of professional associations, student affairs preparation programs can initiate changes in the curriculum to ensure graduate students are addressed.

Although the separation of student affairs and academic affairs is useful administratively, much can be achieved by the two units working in tandem. Student affairs can explicitly address graduate student learning and development theories and collaborate with the graduate school in enhancing the learning environment. Faculty must also work with student affairs administrators to bridge the gap between student affairs and academic affairs. This could result in a richer, more responsive experience for graduate students.

Student affairs practitioners and educational theorists have yet to compile adequate research or developmental theories concerning graduate students. Findings of this study indicate that an assessment of graduate student needs would assist institutions in providing programming

appropriate for graduate students. In addition, research could be conducted across institutional types to discern how student needs may differ by discipline, gender, age, and race/ethnicity. Further research must be conducted on graduate student experiences so that theory can be developed to assist student affairs administrators in addressing the diverse needs of this population. As student affairs practitioners and scholars, we need to begin to make sense of the graduate experience in order to ensure that future curricula and graduate programs in higher education are meaningful and enhance the experience of graduate students. The creation of theory focusing on graduate students will facilitate the inclusion of graduate students in the curriculum of graduate preparation programs. Thus, it is anticipated that once “new professionals” enter the profession and begin to fulfill their administrative responsibilities that they will include graduate students in their programming efforts.

Conclusion

There are many factors that have contributed to graduate students being neglected in campus programming efforts. These reasons include: the lack of student development theory specifically addressing graduate students, exclusion of graduate students in the curriculum of graduate preparation programs, diverse population of graduate students, focus on undergraduate students, workload of student affairs administrators as well as an insufficient budget and a lack of emphasis by student affairs professional associations.

As the college population changed in the latter half of the 20th century, student development theory evolved for various undergraduate student populations. Now, although some research exists on graduate students and their needs, additional study is necessary in order to evaluate student and adult development theories and to ascertain their value to 21st century student affairs practitioners. The role of student affairs programming is critical to this endeavor as it is often espoused that practice should guide theory. Experimentation, after thoughtful institutional evaluation of needs, will continue to be an invaluable source of data for practitioners as programming is developed for graduate students. The findings of this study suggest that when we fail to serve the needs of graduate students they are often compelled to watch campus life from the margins.

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