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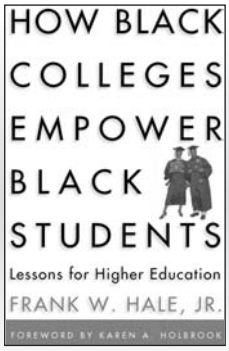

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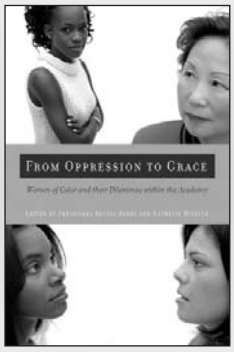

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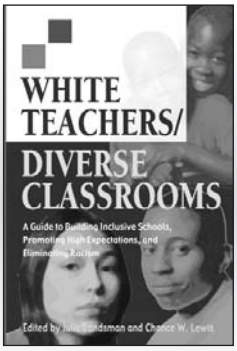

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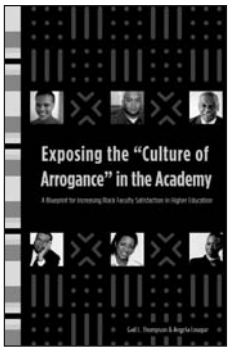

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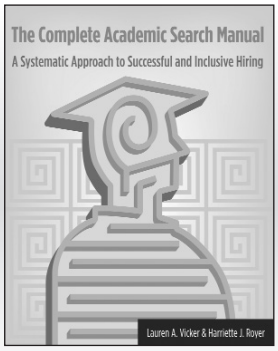

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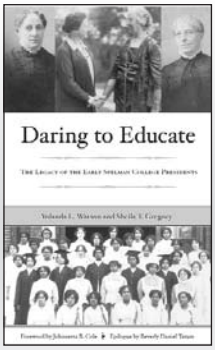

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The National Think Tank for African American Progress

Dear Readers/Participants:

The National Think Tank for African American Progress (Think Tank) is proud to be the impetus for such a valuable contribution to scholar-activism. The Think Tank is a demonstration of community empowerment. The Think Tank gatherings are vehicles to assemble the collective genius of African American communities for the development and implementation of solutions to challenges. Too often the voice of African American academics, scholars, and researchers are divorced from important conversations of policy, practice, and planning impacting underserved and underrepresented communities from which many of us come. We believe that if African American communities are going to progress toward fully participating in the United States opportunities and a global economy, it must activate all its resources.

The mission of the Think Tank is to engage the resources of researchers and academics to participate in developing and implementing solutions to challenges in policy, practice, and planning for the future of Black communities. We focus on the areas of health; education/youth development; economic and community development; and technology (S.T.E.M.). Our vision is to create progressive agendas that improve the life outcomes for people of African descent.

The aims of the NTTAP model are:

- To conduct a series of interdisciplinary research and policy symposia;
- To promote an empowerment model of engagement predicated upon collaboration between African American researchers, academics, policymakers and community partners; and
- To produce multiple methods of disseminating the results of the Think Tank in order to influence policy and practices impacting African Americans.

This proceeding is a living product of the Think Tank model. Our working collaboration between community members, the Brothers of the Academy (BOTA), a national body of community-based participatory researchers, and academics contributed to this document. We are committed to reclaiming the tradition scholar-activism to benefit the African American community.

Peace and Progress,

Dr. Leon D. Caldwell
President and Executive Director

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Thanks in large part to funding provided by Stylus Publishing, LLC
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Brothers of the Academy Institute, Think Tank 2006 – Conference Proceedings
 (ISSN 1557-7139)

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"answering one question at a time"

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The Center for African American Research and Policy's mission is to engage in scholarly research in order to advance critical discourse and promote informed decisions as it pertains to policy issues confronting African Americans in both the academy and the society at-large. The breadth and depth of research and policy-oriented projects encompasses the full tapestry of the "African American Predicament" and reflects the wide diversity of academic backgrounds of the affiliated researchers at the Center and Brothers of the Academy Institute members.

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RUNNING HEAD: Accepting leadership

Accepting leadership to reduce Black children's lead burdens

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Accepting leadership to reduce Black children's lead burdens

Exposures to environmental toxins are not equal opportunity events. Instead, many poor and ethnic minority children routinely experience what pioneer environmental justice advocate, Robert Bullard, calls "toxic terror" (Bullard, 2006, p. 190). Lead exposure is among the most prominent examples of environmental injustice facing low income and ethnic minority children today. This paper provides a brief review of what researchers currently know about the effects of lead, discusses how lead is a significant inter-generational problem facing the Black community, and points to leadership areas for Black scholars who have interests in lowering Black children's lead burdens.

"the most widely studied pediatric neurotoxicant"[1]

The negative effects of lead on child development are well known. Childhood blood lead at or above 100 µg/dl are frequently fatal without chelation therapy (use of drugs to promote excretion of lead in urine). Chelation therapy, while able to prevent further damage from lead poisoning, does not remedy its effects. Exposed children are often left with severe physical and cognitive problems, including recurrent seizures, mental retardation, and cerebral palsy (Chisolm & Harrison, 1956).

Fortunately, the frequencies of fatal or near fatal lead poisonings are now quite low compared to earlier decades (Hubbs-Tait, Nation, Krebs, & Bellinger, 2005). But, lead exposures at much lower levels have significant negative effects on children's cognitive and psychological functioning. Children with 20 µg/dl of blood have IQs one to three points lower than children with levels of 10 µg/dl (Needleman & Gatsonis, 1990; Pocock, Smith, & Baghurst, 1994; Schwartz, 1994). Elevated lead is also associated with aggression, attention problems, behavioral impulsivity, and symptoms of anxiety and depression (Burns, Baghurst, Sawyer,

[1] (Dietrich, 1995, p. 224)

McMichael, & Tong, 1999; LeClair & Quig, 2003; Mendelsohn et al., 1998; Needleman, Gunnoe, Leviton, Reed, & al., 1979; Sciarillo, Alexander, & Farrell, 1992).

An increasing number of studies indicate that lead is dangerous even at levels currently considered safe. One study found that the IQ scores of five year olds decreased by 1.4 points for every one µg/dl increase in blood lead (Canfield et al., 2003), a 14 point loss for a child with a blood lead level of 10 µg/dl. Other researchers have found similar effects (e.g., Bellinger & Needleman, 2003; Chiodo, Jacobson, & Jacobson, 2004). Chiodo et al. (2004) further observed impaired reaction times, difficulty coordinating visual information with motor skills, and attention problems resulting from blood lead levels in the "safe" range (under 10 µg/dl). Research illustrating damage to children's developing bodies at very low concentrations suggests that there is no safe level of lead exposure (Wigg, 2001).

Early lead exposure increases risk for involvement in the juvenile justice system. Dietrich and colleagues found a positive relationship between lead levels assessed prenatally and during early childhood and reported delinquent behavior (Dietrich et al., 2001). Further, results from the Collaborative Perinatal Project conducted in Philadelphia, PA indicate that lead poisoning was the strongest predictor of adolescent male arrests (Denno, 1990). Needleman found that bone lead was second to race in predicting adjudication in a sample of Black and White adolescents (Needleman, McFarland, Ness, Fienberg, & Tobin, 2002 Feinberg, Tobin, 2002). Increased impulsivity and lowered IQ scores are the likely culprits underlying this relationship (Davis, Chang, Burns, Robinson, & Dossett, 2004; Evans, 2006; Lanphear, Dietrich, Auinger, & Cox, 2000; Lanphear et al., 2005; Needleman, Schell, Bellinger, Leviton, & Allred, 1990).

How are children exposed?

Children are exposed to lead in a variety of ways. Because lead crosses the placenta, children can be first exposed in the womb (Crocetti, Mushak, & Schwartz, 1990b), and at least one study observed lower birth weights among children whose fathers were lead exposed (Min, Correa-Villasenor, & Stewart, 1996). Exposures typically peak between the ages of two and three when children are likely to engage in rough and tumble play and are more able to explore their surroundings (Moya, Bearer, & Etzel, 2004). Developmentally normative activities such as mouthing objects (including one's hands), rapid respiration, and playing outside take on unintended risk for poor children living in older or substandard housing where lead is likely to be present on old window sills, in old paint, in drinking water, and in the soil (Lanphear, Burgoon, Rust, Eberly, & Galk, 1998; Moore, 2003; Moya et al., 2004).

Significant efforts to reduce children's exposures did not begin until the 20th century, with many federal policies only being enacted in the past 30 years (Moore, 2003). The federally mandated phase out of tetraethyl lead in gasoline and lead in paint is estimated to have resulted in a 37% decline in mean blood lead levels between 1976 and 1980 (Lippmann, 1990). Lead in food containers and plumbing solder and lead from industrial emissions came under federal regulation in the 1980s (Mushak & Crocetti, 1990). Finally, in the1990s the US government mandated lead abatement in federally owned or subsidized homes (Housing and Urban Development, 2005) and in 1991 lowered the acceptable level from 25 μ/dl (set in 1985) to 10 μg/dl (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1991).

A significant health disparity

Given the dramatic drop in lead levels across the US population, it is easy to assume that the battle has been won, and lead exposures are no longer a problem. To the contrary, underlying this public policy success lays a disturbing social injustice. The risk for lead

exposure today is typically borne by low-income, ethnic minority children living in urban areas. Lead emissions from factories and smelters continue to be a problem in areas (Detroit Free Press, 2003; Kelly, 2004) with potentially serious effects on nearby residents. There are also indications of disparities in enforcement of environmental regulations based on the racial/ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics of communities (Environmental Justice Resource Center, 1997).

National survey data illustrate the extent of the racial/ethnic disparity. According to data collected in 1984, 62% percent of Black children living in poverty had blood lead levels above 15 µg/dl compared to 20% of White children living poverty (Crocetti, Mushak, & Schwartz, 1990a). The percentages of children with blood lead concentrations greater than 15 µg/dl were much lower among those who did not live in poverty but still reflected the racial/ethnic group disparity. Among children not living in poverty, 38% of Black children had high lead levels compared to 10% of their White counterparts (Crocetti et al., 1990a).

More recent data from the federally sponsored Second and Third National Health and Nutrition Examination (NHANES – II and NHANES – III) show a 57% decrease in Black children's risk for blood lead levels above 10 µg/dl between the1988 – 1991 and 1992 – 1994 assessments (Brody, Pirkle, Kramer, Flegal, & et al., 1994; Environmental Protection Agency, 2000; Pirkle et al., 1998). Closer examination of these data reveal that the disparity in exposure risk between Black children living in poverty and White children not living in poverty *increased* over the two time periods (Dilworth-Bart & Moore, 2006). At the 1992 – 1994 assessment, Black children had a 14.7 times greater chance of blood lead above 10 µg/dl, up from 6.6 times greater risk in 1988 – 1991 (Brody et al., 1994).

Finally, the most recently available data from the NHANES 1999 - 2002 study indicate that US preschoolers have a mean of 1.9 micrograms of lead per deciliter of blood (Centers for

Disease Control and Prevention, 2005; Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005). Only 1.6% of American preschoolers have blood lead levels greater than 10. Similar to previous findings, though, the racial/ethnic and income disparities remain (Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005).

Let the circle be broken

Lead accounts for a relatively small amount of the variance in cognitive abilities worldwide, an estimated 1 – 4% (Koller, Brown, Spurgeon, & Levy, 2004). It is important to note, however, that lead exposure tends to occur in conjunction with many of the other psychosocial stresses associated with poverty, and the effects of lead tend to be suffered by children who are already at substantially higher risk for poor outcomes (Brody et al., 1994; Needleman, 1998; Silbergeld, 1997). Consequently, racial/ethnic and income disparities in lead exposure may combine to create a self-perpetuating cycle of exposure risk whereby groups continue to be exposed to pollutants as a result of previous exposure (Schell, 1997).

Poverty, as a potential route of intergenerational transmission of lead risk, is especially salient to the Black community. Sixty-four percent of Black children three years old and younger, the highest risk age group, live at or below 200% of the federal poverty level (Douglas-Hall & Koball, 2006). The theoretical model depicted in Figure 1 illustrates how lead exposure among this impoverished group can contribute to lost opportunity across successive generations of Black children. Hypersegregation of poor and ethnic minority families into older housing limits options and severely restricts parents' abilities to obtain newer, lead free housing (Denton, 1994; Needleman, 1998). Substandard housing; iron deficiency anemia resulting from low mineral, high fat diets; and insufficient healthcare can increase the likelihood of lead absorption before and after birth (Crocetti et al., 1990b; Mahaffey, 1990; Pollitt, 1994). Lead absorption, in turn, results in cognitive impairments and increased behavioral and learning problems, all of

which have been shown to contribute to early pregnancy, school drop out, and lost adult productivity (Barkley, Fischer, Smallish, & Fletcher, 2006; Brown, 2002; Miller, Bayley, Mathew, Leavitt, & Coyl, 2003; Sommer et al., 2000; Woodward, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2001). Another infant is born into poverty, and the cycle begins again.

Where do we go from here?

Researchers are certainly aware of the risks associated with lead exposure as evidenced by the number of studies demonstrating its negative effects across the lifespan. That lead risk is a developmental ecological "fact of life" for many Black children begs the question, "Where do we go from here?"

Studies of the effects of lead on physical and mental health outcomes are especially relevant to the Black community, and Black scholars are in a prime position to continue to contribute to important research on lead's effects. For example, the relationship between low level lead exposure and cognitive test performance points to a possible role of lead in perpetuating racial/ethnic group differences in developmental outcome scores. The gap between Black and White children's IQ scores has significantly narrowed over the past three decades (Williams & Ceci, 1997), but on average Blacks continue to score lower on standardized measures of intelligence and academic achievement (Jencks & Phillips, 1998). There are numerous explanations for differences on measures of intelligence and academic achievement, ranging from absurd claims of lower innate abilities (e.g., Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Jensen, 1985) to explanations of test bias (e.g., Jencks, 1998), lower household income (e.g., Luster & McAdoo, 1994), and lower social capitol (e.g., Orr, 2003). However, with reports of losses of up to 14 IQ points resulting from lead exposure up to10 µg/dl of blood, variable compliance with lead screening mandates, and greater risk among Black children, it is possible that a portion of

the gap may reflect exposure to this highly toxic substance, as well. Surprisingly, this question has yet to be asked.

Black scholars also have the collective expertise to shape the future of lead exposure prevention. The Centers for Disease Control's *Strategic Plan for the Elimination of Childhood Lead Poisoning* has been significantly watered down since its inception in 1991. The document outlined a change in approach to lead poisoning from treating exposed children to eliminating lead exposures entirely. The plan included increasing the number of prevention programs, reduction of lead point sources, effective abatement in high-risk homes, and national surveillance of lead exposed children.

As written, the CDC's ambitious plan was an excellent step in the right direction. Unfortunately, some of the current public policies and tenant-based risk reduction methods, as enacted, have significant problems[2]. The foremost problem is the move away from the suggested universal lead screening to targeted screening of high risk populations. There are at least two major consequences of reframing lead exposure as a concern of the poor inner city. The first problem is diminished public willingness to adequately address a serious social injustice facing racial/ethnic minority children (Needleman, 1998). A second consequence of reframing exposure is that it can contribute to an inaccurate perception of lead risk in the general public (Needleman, 1998), especially in light of negative effects at doses much lower than previously believed. Another related problem is that, because lead has significant negative effects at such low doses, current policy- and tenant-oriented initiatives to reduce children's burdens are not primary prevention as was intended in the CDC document. Instead, these preventive efforts are

[2] This paper provides a brief overview of selected problems with the implementation of the CDC plan. Readers are encouraged to read Needleman's (1998) discussion of the abandonment of the primary prevention of lead exposure.

mainly tertiary: action is taken to reduce lead burdens once a child has been exposed and after potentially serious damage has already been done.

The effectiveness of lead screening and abatement policies is further diluted by inadequate compliance and enforcement (Dilworth-Bart & Moore, 2006). Lead screening for children under five years of age from families with income less than twice the poverty level has been required by law since 1991 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1991). Compliance rates, however, vary from state to state. Rhode Island, for example, tests about 80% of its Medicaid-eligible children (Vivier, Hogan, Simon, Leddy, & Alario, 2001) while Wisconsin's screens about 50% (J. Schirmer, personal communication, 2002). The average compliance rate for the US is around 19% (General Accounting Office, 2001). Screening may not take place at all among children in higher income families who may, nevertheless, be at risk because of the age of their homes and/or residential segregation.

Assessment and abatement of lead in the home are required if a child's level is above 10 µg/dl and he or she lives in federally owned or subsidized housing. However, the quality of this abatement can range from expensive, yet effective, lead hazard control measures (e.g., removal or encapsulation of lead based paint, replacement of window and door frames, and professional cleaning) to less expensive, but less effective, temporary measures (e.g., using a HEPA vacuum or low phosphate detergents to clean hard surfaces) (Haynes, Lanphear, Tohn, Farr, & Rhoads, 2002; Rich et al., 2002; Weitzman et al., 1993). Whether assessment and abatement occur in non-subsidized homes depends on state and local regulations and the availability of grants from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to abate lead paint in housing occupied by low-income tenants (Housing and Urban Development, 2005). Landlords of non-subsidized homes are required to give tenants a lead hazard declaration form and informational brochure

(Environmental Protection Agency, 2005). If a child tests high for lead in his or her blood and does not live in federally owned or subsidized housing or grant money is unavailable, the onus is on the child's family to either abate the lead themselves or to move to a lead free residence. Unfortunately, these solutions may be untenable for families with few resources.

There are also problems with tenant-based prevention programs that teach parents ways to reduce home lead dust (Dilworth-Bart & Moore, 2006). Dust control programs are effective in reducing lead levels greater than 30 μg/dl, but not at the levels typically found in the US (Charney, Kessler, Farfel, & Jackson, 1983; Hilts, Hertzman, & Marion, 1995; Lanphear, Winter, Apetz, Eberly, & Weitzman, 1996). Therefore, parents' efforts to control dust in the home may do little to help protect children from low level exposure. Even if dust control programs were effective at eliminating lower levels of lead, the programs have the underlying assumption that parents will be able to carry out the dust control measures. However, in addition to co-occurring with high risk factors for low-income children, environmental lead tends to co-occur with risk factors facing low-income parents, such as inadequate social support and lack of affordable child care. The psychological and physical stress associated with the high residential instability of the lowest income, highest risk families makes it very unlikely that the parents of children at risk for lead exposure will be equipped to repeatedly carry out their own lead assessment and dust clean up activities in each new residence (Dilworth-Bart & Moore, 2006).

The focus must shift back to primary prevention, including universal screening of all children. Black scholars can act as vocal advocates for a reinvigorated, aggressively funded, and rigorously enforced public policy, and contribute to the development of empirically validated, socio-culturally sensitive prevention programs based on best practices (Greenberg, Domitrovich, & Bumbarger, 2001; Nation et al., 2003). Moreover, scholars, regardless or their race, are

needed to serve in watchdog roles to ensure that the best interests of community members are kept at the forefront (cf. Nelson, 2002; Pinder, 2002).

Black scholars can also incorporate lead safety into ongoing outreach and outreach research activities. The routes of exposure and effects of lead on child development are well known among social and biological scientists. Unfortunately, research suggests that messages about lead risk and the importance of exposure prevention have not been sufficiently communicated to parents (Griffin & Dunwoody, 2000; Mehta & Binns, 1998; Polivka, 1999). There are a number of federally sponsored fact sheets available on the internet that discuss the ways in which a child's developmental stage can affect his or her risk for lead exposure (e.g., Environmental Protection Agency, 2005). But, as only 6.4% of the lowest income (< $15,000 per year) African-American families have regular access to the internet (US Department of Commerce, Economic and Statistics Administration, & National Telecommunications and Information Administration, 2000), it is unlikely that the highest risk population is getting the message.

Conclusion

Despite growing consensus in the scientific community that there is no safe lead level, significant gaps remain in the effort to eliminate children's contact with this highly toxic substance. All children are at risk for the negative effects of lead, but the fact that some children, particularly low-income Black children, are much more likely to be exposed cannot be denied. The purpose of this paper was to 1) provide a brief overview lead's effects on child outcomes and routes of exposure; 2) describe the racial/ethnic disparity in lead exposures in the US; and 3) to illustrate how the differential allocation of lead burdens to poor, Black children may be a significant intergenerational injustice facing the Black community.

Differentially high exposures to environmental pollutants are not the sole cause of lost opportunity in the Black community. Nevertheless, one of the most striking aspects of environmental pollutant exposures is that they often co-occur with other salient risk factors including poverty, high crime, and lower quality schools. As a result, many children are tangled in an intractable web of risk. The key, therefore, is not to merely reduce the racial disparity in pollutant exposures, but to eliminate them altogether as part of a comprehensive plan to create safe and healthy developmental contexts for all.

Acknowledgement

This presentation to the Brothers of the Academy Think Tank was supported by the Meryl R. Willoughby Trust Fund.

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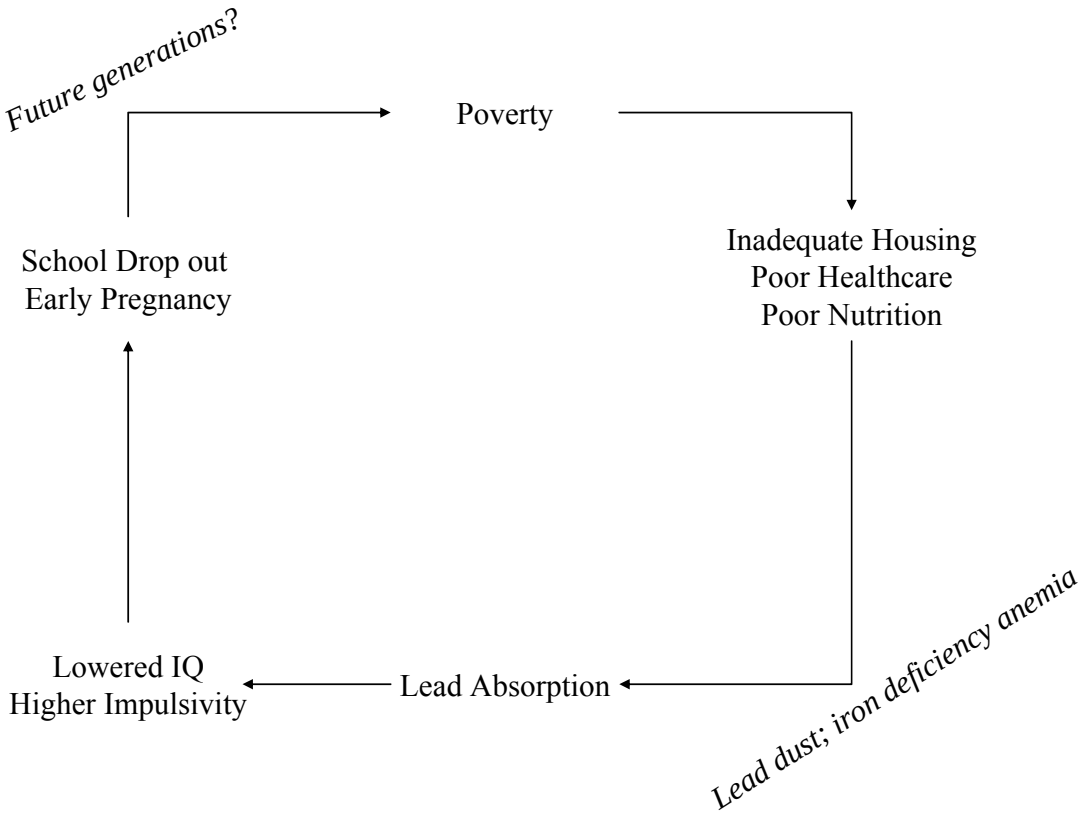
Figure 1.

Theoretical model of the intergenerational nature of lead exposures.



African American Women's Relationships with their Live-Away Fathers*

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* I am grateful to Alford Young, Jr., Sheldon Danziger, Karin Martin, Pamela Smock, Kristin Seefeldt, and the participants of the 2005 University of Michigan Sociology Department's Qualitative Methods sequence for their helpful comments and discussion.

African American Women's Relationships with their Live-Away[1] Fathers

Introduction

Social science research has a long history of examining familial relations of the African American family in terms of family structure and its influence on the well-being of children and the family (DuBois 1998, Frazier 1948, Hamer 2001, Rainwater & Yancey 1967, Stack 1967). Oftentimes researchers, as well as policy makers, try to identify cultural or behavioral factors to explain differences in rates of single parenthood, cohabitation, and other alternative family structures.

This research is particularly salient for policy formation related to social welfare, as there is still a need to better understand the workings of the African American family. Such a study must acknowledge the influences of gender, class, and race on the formation of the family, as well as the role of extended kin (Allen & James 1998, Hill-Collins 1998, Jarret & Burton 1999). This study examines the perceptions of African American women with live-away fathers and represents an attempt to address a small part of the gap in knowledge. Participants in this study are African American women from various types of single-mother-headed households. Their familial contexts vary from having divorced or separated parents to never-been-married parents. Across these different familial contexts, respondents experienced different types and amounts of contact. As a result, this study brings together women with diverse experiences with live-away fathers to express their understandings of the meaning of fatherhood, single parenthood, and their concrete

[1] Like Hamer (2001), I use the term live away because in all instances the fathers are certainly not absent from their children's lives. The level and type of presence varies amongst the women, from daily conversations to just thoughts about their fathers. Thus, the fathers are present, even in their absence. In addition, some terms used to describe non-resident fathers have negative connotations or are misleading in terms of fathers' actual presence (Hamer 2001).

experiences with their fathers. I also address policy concerns related to family formation. Data for this study is based upon 16 in-depth interviews with young African American women that experienced life with a live-away father.

Background and Significance

A large number of children grow up in single-parent households in the United States. In 2002, twenty three percent of all children and forty-eight percent of African American children lived in female-headed single- family households (U.S. Census Bureau 2002). Policy initiatives such as the National Fatherhood Initiative and welfare reforms that promote child support payment illustrate increased attention towards single parenthood and fathers' roles. Recent research highlights the growing phenomena of never-been-married couples (Robins 1994, Furstenberg 1992, Amato 1999). Despite the considerable research on single-parent households, there are gaps in the literature. One such gap, that I address in this paper, is children's perceptions of their relationship with their live-away fathers.

Previous research has concentrated on the mothers in single-parent households, analyzing how never-been-married or divorced mothers and their children fare, detailing their financial status and the negative educational and behavioral outcomes of the children (Mott 1990, McLanahan and Sandefur 1994, Amato and Gilbreth 1999). Over the last decade, fatherhood research has developed and emphasized fathers' financial contributions or contact with their children (Amato and Gilbreth 1999, Coley 1998, Manning and Smock 2000, McLanahan and Sandefur 1994, Robins 1994). Studies of low income and minority fathers have received a good deal of focus. Researchers have found that African American fathers are not totally absent from the lives of children that

they do not live with (Danziger and Radin 1990, Argys et al 1998, Hamer 2001). They are often present financially, emotionally, or simply through the child's acknowledgement of their existence (Hamer 2001).

Missing, however, is the children's voice (Coley 1998). Other than information from standardized tests, grades, and responses to well-being tests, little is known about how children contextualize their experiences with their non-resident fathers, particularly among African Americans. Furthermore, lay and academic theories of father-child involvement hypothesize that fathers are more involved with their sons (Amato and Gilbreth 1999, Barras 1999, Carlson 2006). It is important to study and understand what interactions are occurring in the father-daughter relationship and what aspects of these interactions are important.

Current Investigation

Few studies have constructed narratives about the father-child relationship from the child's perspective (2000). This study is an extension of this effort. First, I interviewed daughters of live-away fathers and thus obtained the child's perspective. Second, I asked questions and analyzed data with a focus upon understanding how the daughters conceptualize and act in father-daughter relationships, focusing on financial and emotional support and contact. This focus allows me to explore a portion of the complexity of the father-daughter relationship among African Americans.

Data and Methods

This proposed study examines two questions. First, how do daughters of absentee fathers understand paternal involvement in the form of financial, emotional, and physical presence? For instance, do children interpret the payment of child support as simply a

financial boost to the household economy? Or does the payment of child support also convey to the child the commitment of the father to his role and concern about the child's welfare? Although frequency of contact is important (Amato 1999), the quality of the interaction is more important. What types of interactions are quality ones? Why? Second, how variations in the types and quality of their interactions with their live-away fathers seems to be associated with their views about their own marital prospects?

PROCEDURE

I used snowball sampling methods to recruit 16 African American women that are college students. I emailed several African American student groups on the campus of a large Midwestern University and received referrals from study participants and personal contacts. I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews, each ranging from one hour to two and a half hours in length. Most interviews averaged an hour and a half. I audiotape recorded the interviews. Respondents were asked questions about their parents' educational and occupational background, family structure, interactions with siblings and parents, and romantic and non romantic relationships.

I asked questions about how interviewees felt about certain past relations with their fathers. Examples of these questions include: *How do you feel about your relationship with your father? Do you feel close to your father?* In addition, I asked questions that required respondents to describe various events or scenarios. Responses to these questions permitted me to analyze interviewees' recollections of specific events in addition to how they feel about them. Examples include: *Describe a typical day with your father. What is your most significant memory of your father? Describe your father's parenting style.* I also inquired about their future marital plans and expectations.

I asked respondents the following questions: *What is your ideal family arrangement? What do you think about single-parent households? Would you be a single-parent?*

I analyzed the data using thematic coding (Emerson et al 1995). I hired someone to transcribe the audio recorded interviews. Once transcribed, I listened to the interviews and read the transcripts to ensure transcripts' accuracy. After that I began coding the interviews. Coding involves assigning meaning to segments of data. Several segments of data that have the same or similar meanings are organized together in themes or categories. For the analysis I examined themes to find broad subjects and categories. I used an iterative approach to coding that involved reading the transcripts for broad themes as well sub-coding those themes. I double checked the data for inconsistencies and disconfirming evidence.

PARTICIPANTS

I interviewed 16 African American women between nineteen and twenty-two years of age. All of them are full time students at a large Midwestern university. Their class backgrounds range from low-income to middle class[2]. Based upon respondents' reporting of their parents' educational and occupational backgrounds: 4 respondents are low income or working class, 8 respondents are low middle class, and 4 respondents are middle class. Each respondent had a non-resident biological father for at least two years

[2] I placed them in the low income category if they said that their mother was on welfare, especially those whose fathers' unemployment was unstable. The working class respondent's were those whose parents worked blue collar jobs and did not attend school after high school. The low middle class respondents were those whose parents had steady employment with decent pay at factories. Some of them had parents that attended college, but the respondents noted that their parents struggled to make ends meet or were barely middle class. The middle class respondents are those whose parents attended college and have jobs in areas such as education, real estate, or law. Most of the mothers had lower paying/status jobs than the fathers so I based most of the ranking on the mothers' status. With the exception of LeAnn, whose mother worked at the family store and father is a lawyer, there generally was not that much of a difference in the class status of the parents.

prior to the age of 18. Their fathers' live-away status varied from two years to the daughter's entire childhood, including four months of her mother's pregnancy.

All respondents lived with their mothers whenever their fathers were not in the household. Their biological parents' marital statuses varied. Nine of the respondents are from divorced families. The youngest age at divorce was three and the oldest age was sixteen. Five of these women remember their father in the household prior to the divorce. Most were between the ages of four and five when their parents divorced. Four respondents' parents never married. Three respondents' parents separated. Causes of separation include infidelity, substance abuse, domestic abuse, and just not getting along. Five respondents' fathers have substance abuse problems with alcohol and crack-cocaine being the most abused drugs. All, except for one, have lived in the Midwest for a majority of their lives. I interviewed a set of twins and their younger sister.

SAMPLE LIMITATIONS

This is a unique sample compared to most studies of children from female-headed single-parent households. Because all respondents attend college they are different than most children with live-away fathers. However, in order to understand how children perceive their relationships with their fathers their voices must be included. There may be parallels with young women who do not have similar educational backgrounds. We will only find this out through further research. In addition, there is quite a bit of physical and social proximity between the Black middle class to African Americans of lower income and social status. This connection is linked to both groups having similar social outcomes (Patillo-McCoy 1999). Thus, the class division among these participants

may not be that stark. Thus, the class division among these participants may not be that stark.

Another concern may be that this sample does not have an intra or inter racial or gender comparison group. While this is true, a major objective of this study is to explore and interrogate *how* daughters conceptualize and act in father-daughter relationships. The responses of this sample provide enough information to allow me to address that question.

Another concern may be that interviews are based upon the report and recollection of the interview participants; thus, there may be some recall error. Nevertheless, reports of various events are not only influenced by the strength of respondents' memories, but also how they have conceptualized these experiences. According to Smart (2006) researchers must not limit child reports of familial experiences to mere fact, but also understand how children position themselves, as expressed in narratives, in relation to their lived familial experiences. This offers particular insight into their understanding of various experiences. Using the recollection of women of this age range is analytically useful because the daughters no longer live in the household, but they are close enough their experience for their memories to be relatively fresh, without being influenced by too many adult experiences with their fathers. Although, in some interviews I had to make sure that respondents were clear in separating experiences of conflict or building stronger relationships with their fathers after turning eighteen.

Finally, there may be a concern about selection bias. I asked each of my respondents why they participated in the study. Their responses varied from wanting to express the anguish and uncertainties they feel about their fathers to wanting to make sure

that “good fathers” were included in the study. At least two respondents proclaimed that they have a “good father.” While this sample is distinct, respondents do vary by income, religiosity, age, reason for paternal absence, type of parental relationship, and the mother’s marital status after separation from the respondent’s father.

Results

The daughters spoke about several topics related to paternal responsibility and involvement. These included their fathers’ role as caregiver, specifically the amount of emotional support and contact they received, his role as disciplinarian, and his financial support. In speaking about what their fathers did in the past and his current role most respondents discussed their conceptions of a “good father” and how their father measures up to that standard. Three major categories emerge as themes through which daughters discuss their fathers’ involvement: emotional support, contact, and financial support.

I find the category of emotional support to be the most salient. This is the topic that the young women expressed the most desire for, satisfaction from, or anguish about. In many instances, it was during discussions of emotional support that respondents expressed feelings of anger, love, or disappointment. Many respondents cried. Most respondents link these three categories to describe an actively involved father. According to respondents, an active father is more than a physical presence or a source of financial support. An active father knows his daughter. He knows her likes, he builds her esteem, and he offers help whenever she needs it, whether the support is financial, academic or emotional. An actively involved father is more concerned with the quality of contact rather than the quantity or type of activity. Daughters with actively involved fathers express that their fathers know them, take an interest in them, and simply do the best that they can.

EMOTIONAL SUPPORT

Respondents often discussed a father's determined effort to be a point of emotional support and contact as an important topic. Narratives revolve around how seriously fathers take their role as a source of emotional support. Respondents also spoke at length about the type of relationship they had with their fathers, depending on his level of emotional support. Esteem-and confidence-building, advice-giving, intimate conversations, and validation of the father-daughter role emerged as important categories of emotional support.

Defining emotional support

Respondents identified advice-giving, confidence-and esteem-building, comfortable engagement in intimate conversations, and validation of the father-daughter role as essential elements of emotional support. They discussed instances of receiving this type of support, and illuminated elements of it by highlighting behaviors that they consider unsupportive or detrimental.

Many respondents expressed that it was important to interact with their fathers in manners that build up their self-esteem and confidence. This "building up" occurs in many ways, examples include responding positively to daughters' mistakes and helping them overcome shortcomings. Some respondents spoke about specific actions that built their confidence. Cressida, a self-professed "daddy's girl," shared the following scenario as an example of her father taking the time to address some issues of concern for her. When they first moved to a large Midwestern city she spoke with a southern accent and was teased by her peers:

> And so my dad used to practice talking with me and writing…and I can talk like...I'm from [a large Midwestern city].

Samantha's most significant memory of her father was a moment in which he made her feel good about an ill-chosen Christmas present:

> And I got him like a gold chain. It was a fake one. I don't know why I thought that would be something he would like. But I was like; he's really going to like this gold chain. My dad is like real like big, he lifts weights and stuff...his neck is really big. And the chain wouldn't fit around his neck. And I was so hurt. And he took it off and wore it as a bracelet. And that made me feel a lot better [laughter] yeah.

Rachel's father recently began calling her, after several years without contact. In fact, Rachel only has two memories of her father from her life prior to coming to college. The phone calls have transformed the way Rachel thinks about herself. They let her know that she is valuable to her father:

> I just felt like after I started talking to him it helped my confidence. I just felt like he does care about us and he does want to know us. I looked at myself a little differently. I think I had more confidence. I guess my self esteem increased.

Rachel's father's phone call was important because she was feeling

> like it was something that I was lacking or something that I did or something that he wanted that I didn't have, or, I don't know, anything from like the way I look or just the way I acted or, I don't know, just something that just wasn't what he wanted or needed.

His phone call was the first step in assuring her that his absence was not her fault. She also began to realize that her father did care for her. In these quotes daughters reveal that when their fathers act in ways to promote their confidence they feel emotionally supported.

In other instances, verbal expression of support and care made some daughters feel better about themselves and their relationships with their fathers. Gina's father called her "fat" when he lived in the household. After her parents divorced Gina

witnessed a change in her father's behavior. According to Gina her father now acts and says things that let her know he cares:

> He's a lot more expressive like, you know, you all mean a lot to me. My dad never said that when I was a kid, you know, I'm proud of you all. He would say that once in a blue moon. But now he's more so like, you know, you all my kids. I love you all. I'll always be here. He's just a lot more like expressive with his feelings.

Keisha, who is very close to her father, states:

> That's my daddy, ain't nobody gonna love me the same way as my daddy. Ain't nobody gonna do everything for me. They may say they gonna do anything, but they ain't gonna do everything for me like my daddy.

From these excerpts, we see evidence that the fathers talked with their daughters in ways to build up the girls' confidence in situations where they felt inadequate. Many of these conversations were the women's most significant memories. All respondents note that these were moments in which they felt their fathers affirmed their importance as daughters and more generally as individuals.

From the interviews I find that respondents desire a relationship with their father in which they can talk openly and get advice. Cressida and Keisha[3] each feel that they have a very close relationship with their fathers. Cressida described her father as her "best friend." Among the other respondents there is very little willingness to talk about personal topics or accept advice from their fathers. Most of the girls say that they do not

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[3] Keisha and Cressida lived with their father for the greatest amount of time of all respondents, with the exception of Gina. Cressida's parents were separated for two years. Keisha's parents divorced before she was seven years of age and she chose to go live with her father from eighth grade until she began college. This may influence the amount of closeness they feel to their father as well as their ability to speak freely about different subjects. Nevertheless, for these two respondents as well as the others, I argue that it is the context and quality of the relations rather than the frequency of contact that influences this closeness. This is discussed in more detail in the section on contact.

feel "close" to their fathers and therefore feel uncomfortable speaking with him about serious, personal topics. Brandi, one of the twins, feels that:

> Like my father has never really given advice or anything. I don't feel like I can go to him for advice. My father's like my friend, you know. We go and we hang out, we talk occasionally, we hang out occasionally. That's the extent of it...a child should feel comfortable, asking her father something because they're so close, and I don't feel close to him, therefore I'm not going to ask you.

Brandi's twin sister, Brittani, said that she never asks her father for advice either, but she says this is because she does not have anything about which to talk with him.

Brandi is illustrative of most of the women in this study. The women feel that they are not comfortable or close enough to their father to engage in intimate details. For instance, Saree said that she can "talk about things and be honest and open" with her father, but when it comes to issues that she feels that she would want to ask of "a father" she would have a hard time asking her father and would seek the advice of her older brother or a pastor instead. In many instances the women share details of various activities, such as school, with their fathers, but leave out elements that they feel are personal.

Respondents' conversations about their fathers' perceived shortcomings illuminate important aspects of emotional support. Many interviewees spoke about their fathers rejecting them or being emotionally unsupportive. The following excerpts are salient instances of daughters' belief that their fathers were not emotionally available.

LeAnn feels that her father is unsupportive. She said that her father did not interact with her, gave late advice, and failed to provide adequate financial support. Several times during the interview she stated that her father has not "done anything." She

compared their relationship to the children's tale the *Little Red Hen* by stating that he has not contributed enough to her success, yet wants to reap the rewards. She said that he "didn't bake the bread."

Saree describes her senior year of high school when she feels that her father was not "there":

> And so that just was like the breaking point for me. It was like, you know, the senior year was very, you know, that's formative year. And so since he wasn't really active; you know, being there, his presence, not even his money, but his presence wasn't there. That was just like the write-off point.

Saree also discussed feeling rejected by her father because her father denied her as his child for a long period of time:

> So I think that was my issue was that he wouldn't accept responsibility even after he knew--even before--of course he knew that I was his child. But even after, you know, there was proof that I was his child, he still denied me.

Sisters Brandi and Nicole expressed the anguish they felt upon their parents' divorce. Despite their father's weekly visits, phone calls, and close physical proximity, the sisters felt that he was not there for them anymore. Brandi has the strongest negative feelings about their father's live-away status out of all of her sisters:

> I couldn't watch my father leave. That ties into me not wanting to show emotions. My father leaving signified leaving not just my house but my life, and he did it again and again and again. And he may not know that aspect of it, but that to me, every time he left, it was a deliberate, to me, slap in my face, like I don't miss you. I'm not a part of your life. I come into your life and I leave.

These daughters have mixed feelings about how emotionally close they feel to their fathers. Their attachment to their father influences their ability to seek him as a source of advice or to tell personal feelings. Validation of their importance as daughters

and individuals is a key aspect of feeling emotional support from their father. This emotional support came in the form of compliments, saying “I love you” or “I’m proud,” or choosing to help them when they felt inadequate. The daughters’ recounting of instances of lack of support is just as telling about what they seek emotionally from their fathers and what they need.

Similarities and Differences in experiences of emotional support

While the aforementioned topics of emotional involvement were common in all of the interviewees’ conversations, there are subtopics of emotional support that emerge among certain groups. There are differences in perceptions of emotional support depending on familial background related to the length of father’s live-away status or type of relationship with father prior to the parents’ break-up.

Along the spectrum of most contact to least contact, the daughters who had the most contact with their fathers expressed more emotional connection. Of the daughters who can remember life with their fathers prior to their parents’ separation or divorce, the tone of the relationship prior to the divorce often carried over into the relationship once the father lived in a separate household. For instance, April currently feels pretty positive about her relationship with her father. She said the following: “I was kind of I guess daddy’s little girl…I don’t remember any time where I didn’t like him or didn’t want to hang out with him or anything like that.” This response is in reference to her life with her father when her parents were still married. Leann, on the other hand, is not currently speaking with her father and she said that her father never “play[ed] an active role.”

Reconnection with live-away fathers after a long period of physical or emotional absence emerged as a major theme for some participants. They expressed feelings of

skepticism and resistance to his authority, but they valued their fathers' perseverance and steadfastness to be involved. Crystal was initially very resistant to her fathers' attempts:

> Me and my dad, we butt head a lot when he first moved back, probably for about two years or so. I kind of felt like 'I don't even really know you.' But then I don't know what happened. I kind of just decided, it's nothing that any of us can do to go back and reverse what happened when we were kids. And I'm not going to spend the rest of my life being mad over something that I can't do anything about. So I just kind of let it go and opened up to my dad. So, now we have a really good relationship.

Daughters who are displeased with their relationship with their father after their father attempts to reconnect are those who feel that their fathers have not made amends for past actions or do not sincerely seek out a new relationship.

> Megan: You know, so I think it's just like he's bored and be like "I'm going to stop by."
>
> Gina: He asked me "why am I not close to my children." I'm just like for real? So I let him know.
> Interviewer: Did you notice a difference after that talk?
> Gina: Not really.
> Interviewer: So how do you feel about that?
> Gina: I think it went in one ear and out the other.

The sisters present an interesting addition to this data on emotional support. Brandi and Nicole are more unsatisfied with their emotional relationship with their father than Brittani. Their father's presence during Brittani's bout with physical ailments and Nicole's lack of memory of her father prior to her parents' divorce creates three similar, yet distinct, feelings about their father's emotional support.

> Brandi: Our relationship is pretty much superficial. I want to have that father-daughter relationship you see in movies and on TV. I call myself a daddy's girl. I strive to do things that I feel are attributes of being a

> daddy's girl, but I do not necessarily feel like I'm a daddy's girl because my daddy was not always there.

Nicole described her relationship with her father as "fairly good." She really feels as if she missed out on the day to day support of her father. She said that she "never had it. I had it before I was five, but I don't remember it." Brittani noted that she, like her sisters; feel that her father noticed that he was not as involved as he could have been. She feels that after that realization "it changed more so for the good."

Many daughters felt that emotional support from their father was lacking. Exceptions are Cressida, Keisha, and April who sense that their fathers show care in a variety of ways. Many respondents discussed events in which they felt that their fathers were emotionally unsupportive or that they could not seek him out for emotional support. However, some respondents shared instances where they felt that their fathers were emotionally supportive. Key areas of need for emotional support are in esteem-and confidence-building, advice-giving, personal conversations, and validation of the father-daughter role.

CONTACT

Types of Contact

Research participants' frequency of contact with their fathers ranged from daily contact to not seeing their father for over 10 years. Children of divorced parents had the most frequent contact, particularly face-to-face contact. With the exception of two respondents, LeAnn and Katiyana, all respondents have some type of contact with their father. While there is some continuity in the types of contact across all participants, there is diversity of experience and opinion related to frequency and quality of the contact.

The types of activities and the context of the visits and phone calls varied. Common forms of contact include visits, phone calls, and letter writing. Most of the visits and phone calls occurred solely on holidays and birthdays. Some daughters visited their fathers during summer break. The visits often did not involve much face-to-face interaction. Instead the fathers and daughters were in the same location but did little interaction or bonding. Samantha describes her holiday visits with her father in the following manner: "When I was younger, he would like drop me off at…my grandmother's house and then he'd go like hang out." According to Megan, her father would "stop by" on random occasions. Nicole, Brandi, and Brittani had regular visits with their father. Each Thursday he visited for a couple of hours. They played Sony Playstation and ate dinner together. During adolescence their father transitioned from being the "Thursday guy" to a Sunday visitor. According to Nicole:

> He came and picked us up on Sunday, we went to church, we went to eat over at grandma house, and then we came home. That was dad's day. But then again it was like, it's not really Dad's day, because Sunday's football day.

Overall, daughters noticed that their fathers were in and out of their lives. Daughters of never-been-married parents (Katiyana, Megan, Rachel, and Saree) saw their fathers less often during their childhood. Of these women, Saree saw her father the most because of her parents' periods of cohabitation. Another commonality among these respondents is that their face-to-face contact as well as other means of contact, such as phone calls and letter writing, occurred with less frequency than the other respondents, with fathers often going years without making any form of contact.

Some daughters were so used to their fathers "disappearing acts" that periods when he was away were not that noticeable:

> Talitha: He was always in and out. It wasn't like he just fell off the face of the earth, like, what happened to daddy? It was never like that. It was just sporadic phone calls, or appearances, like, "Hey, it's me," but it wasn't--I never really missed him, cuz I mean, he was in and out so much.
>
> Keisha: He would do that. He would buy me stuff. He would be there; I would talk to him every now and then. I never felt a total, total, total absence, but looking back on it was definitely an absence, he wasn't always there. Maybe I thought of him so highly that I just didn't notice it.

Megan failed to notice that her father was not at her graduation. This is because she was so used to him *not* being around that his *absence* was to be expected:

> Megan: He didn't come to my high school or my eighth grade graduation…the fact that he wasn't there didn't bother me because ...I didn't expect him to be there…I didn't expect him to be at my open house [high school graduation party] either, and he didn't show up either. So it was like I didn't even realize he wasn't there.

Katiyana, on the other hand, is painfully aware of her father's absence. She has not seen or spoken with her father since the age of ten or eleven. According to Katiyana she called her father once when she was ten or eleven and once during her senior year of high school. She said that on both occasions he hung up the phone. She said that he commonly did this to her mother as well:

> Katiyana: All children need a relationship with their father. And that was something I needed, cause I had been depleted. I just felt so empty, like just half, just all my mother, my aunt and my cousins were the ones who were my real family. My Haitian side of the family [her father's family], they weren't there for me at all.

Feelings about Contact

None of the daughters were satisfied with the quality or amount of interaction they had with their fathers. Even Cressida, who saw her father everyday while he lived in a separate household, wanted more contact; more specifically, she wanted him to live in the household:

> Cressida: That's when I learned how to use the telephone [because she wanted to talk to her father as often as possible. My world had just ended because I could not go home and be with my daddy. I would always ask like, "Yeah ma, can we go to the park? And maybe you can move back in with dad.

The quality of the interactions varied from bonding activities to superficial interaction to contentious interactions. Even when the respondents visited or were visited by their father, many reported that they did not interact with or bond with their father. They recounted events where they saw or talked to their father but the interaction was not of quality because their father did not engage them in conversation about emotionally important topics or show interest in them. For instance, Nicole felt that more of her interactions with her father were based on fun, not quality, substance interaction:

> I rarely, I can probably count on one hand the times that we just sat down and actually talked. Anytime he came over, it was "Come on, let's go out, come on, let's go have fun," you know.

Some respondents would contrast the events with instances where they felt that they had quality interaction with their father. For instance Saree said that:

> Every year would be different. I know--like my eighth grade year he was there for me. That was definitely a significant year because he was there for a lot of things, you know, to take me to whatever practice I needed to be. And he was there. But the reason why it was so significant because toward the end of it he just fell off completely. And so it just threw me for a loop because he was so there. It was just like everything was finally coming together it seemed like, you know, all the years of struggling, not having fun. And then he just fell off completely because he went out on the longest binge [on drugs] I've ever known him to be on.

Several respondents spoke about appreciating their fathers' efforts for more contact and better. Megan and Katiyana, on the other hand, feel that their fathers are ambivalent or resistant to creating more opportunities for contact.

Among respondents that experienced holiday visits or less, none of the respondents were pleased with amount of interaction. This is where the strongest negative sentiment about interactions is located. Katiyana's feelings about her lack of interaction of her father is the most hurt-filled sentiment of the respondents: "If you loved [me] I'm your flesh and blood, you would call me, you would see how I'm doing, you would see if I'm okay."

Daughters who have had more recent contact with their fathers expressed a desire for more contact. There is a longing for more face-to-face interaction. The daughters expressed satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their fathers about the amount of physical time they spent with their fathers:

> Nicole: Um...the only thing I see is just him not being in the house. Like I remember I had to write a paper on like the saddest thing or something like that. And I said it would have to be my dad not being there. When I go through picture albums...photo albums, my dad's not in every picture that my mom's in. Or when it comes to say, Christmas or something like that, when I like grow older, I had to call two different numbers. You know, stuff like that. But it was like it was just the presence that was gone. You know what I'm saying? There were phone calls. But parent-teacher conference at school, he tried to make all of them. You know, band concerts, he tried to make all of them, you know. Um, anything that we felt was, you know, was really, really important to us, he tried to come. You know, like I was in a Thanksgiving Day Parade a couple years ago. He was there. You know. But the important things are just, you know, every day, "Hey, Dad, how you doing?" "Good-morning," "Good-night" "You want some...?"
>
> Samantha: Um, I wish it could be better. Out of all of his three children, I think that I have one of the better relationships. So I'm...I'm really thankful for that. Um, I wish I could see him more often, you know. Sometimes, I'll be sad and stuff because I haven't seen him in a while because he won't call me, or like I'll call him and sometimes he won't return my phone calls and stuff. Sometimes it makes me kind of sad.
>
> April: Oh, I was talking about being there. Like you had to physically be there in order to really be a good parent, I think, you know. So if you're

> not there, then you can't even know your child. Like I don't care how many times you call somebody on the phone, it's the same as being there.
>
> Brandi: It was like whenever he decided. And I told him this. I said, "You got to pick and choose when you get to play dad." That was basically it. He got to pick and choose, like "Today I got a...I kind of got caught up on work, I think I might go get my kids today

There is mixed sentiment among respondents who spent most of their lives with their fathers in the household or saw their live-away fathers on a weekly basis. Some respondents expressed disappointment with the quality of interaction with their fathers, while others described instances when they bonded with their fathers over certain activities. For example Keisha described activities with her father that are not traditional father-daughter activities. She said, "My daddy used to give me hot oil treatments when I used to come visit him."

In the above quotes many daughters expected more interaction. Nonetheless, some daughters enjoyed the time that they did spend with their fathers. For example, Brittani "looked forward to it when I got to see my dad." Cressida cried each time her father left the house. She still prefers to constantly be in her father's presence. According to Cressida, "All the time I want to be right next to him."

On the other hand, some daughters resented their father's presence. This resentment occurred among respondents who's fathers attempted to discipline or who felt there fathers were too emotionally or physically absent to occupy a significant role in their lives. Crystal did not start enjoying her interaction with her father until she was convinced that he was sincerely interested in being a part of her and her brother's life. She stated that she initially resisted her father's attempts to discipline her or engage her in a traditional father-daughter role:

> It was a interesting situation. I think because my brother and I both had a lot of like anger as far as my dad. You know, You were gone for all this time and now you're just going to come back and you're supposed to be our dad again?

Brandi has similar feelings about her father being in and out of her and her sisters' lives:

> He really wanted to stay a part of our lives, which I think he kind of realized a little late. Because in doing so, he missed part of our growing up. Sometimes when he's there, we talk about things. He doesn't know what's going on. Its like, "Oh, well, you weren't there.

Obstacles

A few daughters expressed awareness of obstacles to frequent contact with their fathers. April and Dana noted that once their fathers moved to different states the frequency of face-to-face contact decreased, as well as overall contact:

> April: When he lived in [my hometown] I saw him more often. When he lived in [a city that is a twelve hour drive away from my hometown] I saw him twice a year.

Other obstacles to involvement mentioned by the daughters are limited channels of communication (Keisha), and drug abuse (Saree and Rachel).

Reconnection

After periods of absence many fathers attempted to reconnect with their daughters. The results varied. Crystal initially resisted her father's efforts because of his drinking and because he had been inactive in her life for such a long period of time. Megan expressed ambivalence. She felt that her father visited or called because he wanted to reunite with her mother or because he was bored. Unlike Megan and Crystal, Saree and Rachel were excited by their reconnection with their fathers. Part of the reason may be that Rachael blamed herself for her fathers' absence and his reemergence in her

life allowed her father to express that it wasn't her fault. Saree remembered that her father was active and shared his interests and thoughts with her when he was around. She wanted those feelings to continue. In short, the reconnection was successful if the fathers were persistent and showed genuine interest.

None of the respondents talked about fathers extending themselves and daughters not responding, except for Crystal, who was initially upset and eventually welcomed his efforts to have more contact, and LeAnn, who felt that his attempts were not whole-hearted. This means that the door may be open for more involvement and reconciliation.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

With the exception of Katiyana and Megan's fathers, all of the fathers offered some type of financial support when they lived in separate households. This support was not always in the form of official child support payments. Financial support also came in the form of school clothes, groceries, and a car. The types and amount of financial support varied across respondents. The feelings of daughters with fathers who had longer periods of live-away status are definitely more negative. Common themes among these respondents include feelings that their fathers should play more of a financial role, disappointment with periods of financial absence, and very few instances of fathers providing financial extras. More financially involved fathers provide for more than the basics. What is interesting about this section is that respondents are not saying that their fathers should give them the world. Instead they want him to cover the basic necessities. Most expressed that they wanted their fathers to help enough so that their mothers would not have to struggle financially to cover the food, clothing, school needs of the children.

Father as the provider

Some of the respondents referred to their fathers as a provider or important source of financial support. Talitha, LeAnn, and Dana specifically stated that their experiences with their fathers were largely ones of him providing. For instance, LeAnn feels that her father should help her finance a car because he promised to buy one. In addition, she asserted several times during the interview that her father has not had to support her financially in college. Considering his occupation as an attorney and her "independence," LeAnn feels he should be more financially supportive. Both LeAnn and Dana seem to rely on this role as the only "traditional" father role that their father performs:

> LeAnn: So he's a lawyer, right. Okay, so you should help me. I'm trying real hard. I'm trying to get all this stuff done.
>
> Talitha: My fathers [referring to her biological father and her mother's boyfriend] made the income to buy food and groceries or clothes. My father brought home the bacon.
>
> Dana: Like to be honest with you, I think that our relationship has kind of been about money. I love my dad or whatever, but it seems like it's kind of been about money a lot. Every time I see him he gives me money. He probably feels guilty because he hasn't seen me in a long time. But it's not like I got a lot, because I never seen him...

Respondents discussed their fathers in the provider role when they shared their expectations or desires for their fathers to take more financial responsibility. They expressed hurt and confusion related to their fathers' resistance to paying or being court ordered to pay child support. Some expressed disappoint that their fathers would have to be cajoled to play a financial role:

> April: It bothers me to hear about my dad not paying. I don't know why he doesn't make his payments. I don't know if it's because he doesn't have money because he was in transition between jobs or because he didn't want to pay child support.

Rachel: He sent child support, but it was only because he had to pay.

Talitha and Saree are the only two respondents who specifically state that they did not have any extra expectations for their father's financial contribution. Saree felt that it is better that she not dwell on her father's lack of financial support. Otherwise it would be difficult for her to build a strong relationship with him:

> Saree: My mom gets frustrated with him sometimes because she feels he needs to be more involved in my life. She thinks he owes me a lot whereas I don't see it that he owes me anything. And I think it's better for me to see it that way 'cause if I felt that he owed me something I probably wouldn't be able to have any sort of relationship with him at all. But she feels that he owes me so much because I went through so much. So she gets frustrated when, you know, I'm lacking in something, whether it's monetary things or whether I need something and she can't provide for it. She'll be frustrated 'cause my dad can't help her.

Daughters' financial experiences with their fathers were often similar to the quality of contact with their fathers. Respondents who had infrequent contact with their fathers also noted that their fathers went through periods of financial absence. Respondents who spent most of their lives with their fathers in the household, as well as the sisters, received child support and aid with "extras" such as groceries. They also feel that they can seek their fathers as a source of financial support. Among the other respondents there are few instances of their fathers extending financial support beyond child support. If they did it was often in lieu of child support:

> Crystal: He bought me a car after my freshman year at college, and so he was like, "Oh well, now that I'm paying for the car, and the car insurance, I'm not going to be giving you the $400 a month anymore."
>
> Samantha: I think he felt that because he bought my school clothes that covers child support.
>
> Rachel: He sent child support, but it was only be it was like mandatory by law. He never sent anybody gifts.

Overall, the respondents mostly desired their fathers to cover the basics. There was little conversation about wanting fathers to finance extravagant gifts or lifestyles. Some daughters considered their father's financial support an important part of "being there:"

> LeAnn: I never really asked for anything except for when I really needed something. He told me if I went to [the large Midwestern university] he would buy me a car. And he didn't. I didn't really need a car, so I didn't really bother it. But then eventually I did need a car. He didn't help me get a car. I bought a car with my own money 'cause I just really needed a car. He's like well you really shouldn't buy that car. And you've had it real easy 'cause you haven't had to pay a dime for college.

Although Dana feels that financial support is a major part of her relationship with her father. When she describes him as a father she says that he is not a good father. Her assertion is not based upon his financial contribution, but his lack of emotional connection and support. He was not "there" to get to know her.

> Dana: Like I really can't tell you what he would say good about me. I can't tell you what he acts like or anything, so, no, he is not a good father.

Many daughters felt that while financial support is important it is not enough. Brandi discussed her father's low child support payments in comparison to what her uncle pays. Although her father pays less she highlights her father's attempt to aid in her and her sisters' development:

> Brandi – My uncle pays like 600 [per child]. And so I was like, whoa! Well, my uncle, he really wasn't there. He wasn't really contributing to anything, to their development. But my father was making an attempt.

> Katiyana: I was wondering why my mother never asked for child support. She said she didn't want to be bothered with him, but I'm like, Mom, I'm in college now. You do not have the money. I'm out of state. It's $38,000. You don't have it. He should be paying. And I don't know,

> something just said look for him. I just wanted to make sure, I don't know, I just wanted to see if he was still in Florida, especially with the hurricane. So I was just checking. I think that if I were to call him it would have to be, like, in the summertime or Christmas break. It'd have to be a time when I'm not stressed out about school, cuz I don't want his response to affect me, cuz I know however he takes me calling him, he's gonna say something so mean, and so horrible, so I know that I'm gonna keep that inside of me, and I'm gonna always think about it. I don't care if I'm taking an exam, if I'm studying, it's gonna affect me.

Although she said that the need for financial support spurred her to look up her father, she demonstrates concern for his welfare. In addition, her concern about his emotional response illustrates that it is more than a desire for financial support, but also concern about emotional connection.

Respondents discussed their fathers filling traditional provider roles. Most of their conversation about financial support centers on their desire for their fathers to cover basic necessities and to want to play a financial role in their lives.

GOOD FATHER

Most of the respondents said that a good father is someone that is emotionally supportive, affirming and "there" in more than just a physical sense. A majority of the daughters that were asked this question responded that being there is an important aspect of being a good father.

> Dana: Like I really can't tell you what he would say good about me. I can't tell you what he...what he acts like or anything, so, no, he is not a good father.
>
> Saree: What I see as a good father: just being supportive, building me up as--as a woman, you know, giving me some love, you know, saying that I look pretty or, you know, just really being affirming is a good father.
>
> Megan: Even if you aren't like there and you're not in the home, you can still be there and support your kids, you know, to the best of your ability, and I think if you're really trying and you're not slacking off

> Gina - Your father is supposed to be the man that like tells you that like you're the greatest, you know, make sure that every guy respects you 'cause, you know, you're great 'cause, you know, I say you're great. And I'm your daddy. And I protect you and care for you. See, I had none of that.

Other smaller "being there" themes arose in this category. Half of the respondents discussed the need of the father to be "responsible" these responsibilities included putting family before all other outside commitments such as a job.

> Gina: A good father is one that's like actually around. I believe that a good father--you spend time with your kids, offer it. He didn't spend time with us really. He was always--he was always doing something with the church. And I get that that was his passion, his career and his life and he loved it. But I'm like, man, you got kids. You gonna switch churches. I'll always be your daughter. You know, I believe I should come first. That's it. You can't tell me anything different.

> Talitha: A good father is a man who looks after his family, he's loyal to his wife, he's loyal to his children. He's sort of like the--not the head, but--I don't know. Like, he takes care of home first, make sure his wife is straight, his kids are straight, and then--I don't know, he's career driven, he's responsible. When he says he's gonna do stuff, he does it.

This responsibility also involved appropriately handling traditional conceptions of a father's role such as financial support, such as Cressida saying that a good father is "of course a good provider."

> April: A bad father is someone who doesn't support their family. A bad father is somebody who's not there to help guide their children. It has more to do with their kids. Like, um, financially not supporting, emotionally not there to support in the sense of, you know, being there, academic things. Being there to support your children with whatever you're doing in their lives, supporting them and a bad father is someone who puts things before their kids. A good father is someone who's the opposite.

> Nicole: My definition of a good father is someone who's loving, someone who takes care of his kids, someone who will be there. Not necessarily in the house, if it's a single-parent home, but will be there, like if their child

> calls them, "Dad, I need..." or "Dad, I just want to hang out, or..." "Dad, come on, I want to come here December 3rd." You know, will be there when their child wants them. Will be there, um, emotionally if their child is going through something. Just taking care of responsibilities.

SINGLE PARENTHOOD AND MARRIAGE

Respondents expressed great respect for their mothers and single parenthood.

> April: I don't think that single-parent homes are any less than two parents. I think that it teaches a lot more to the children, from my personal experience

> Crystal: I mean I think it's definitely something admirable, you know. My mom, she...I mean, I give her a hundred percent props. Like she, you know, did what she had to do and take care of me and my brother, and she did a really good job, you know

> Talitha: If, like, a single-parent makes it, I commend them. I think that's a very commendable thing for a single person to raise children especially, like, by themselves, single handedly, like, it's very difficult.

Some respondents feel that they would be competent enough to handle being a single mother. However, none of them *want* to be a single-parent.

> LeAnn: And I don't want to be. But I know that it's possible because I watched her [her mother] do it.

Some of the interviewees were more adamant about the difficulties of being a single-parent and seeming lack of "completeness."

> Cressida: Because I'm just not. I don't know if I'd be able to put up with that. You have to be a very strong person, very submissive to what your children needs, you know what I'm saying? Like you got to be...you got to basically give up a lot. But if you have another person there, you...you at least giving up half, you know.

> Crystal: Well, I didn't say that [in response to my question of whether she would like to be a single-parent since she said it is "admirable]. Um, but that's just because, I mean, I would love to have that ideal family, you know. Like I would love to be, you know, what do we call it? Yeah, nuclear Black family. But, I mean, I don't think it would be the end of the world if I were a single mom.

> Dana: Well, I think that...not all the time. I'm kind of old-fashioned I think. But if I got pregnant by somebody, I would kind of want them to marry me, you know what I mean? [Dana admitted in the interview that she got pregnant the summer

> before she began college, but had an abortion because her friends and boyfriend convinced her that it would interfere with her career plans. She later told her mother who told her that she would have helped her with childcare. Dana said that she was depressed following the abortion and has regrets.]
>
> Gina: [I] don't want to be at all. I don't. No. It's just easier having somebody else there.

Most of the respondents have an ideal view of marriage that includes a husband and children; some even discussed the number and types of pets they want. The only exception is April, who self-identifies as bisexual. She said that she does not have to be married but she wants a committed partner.

> April: I don't really see myself walking down the aisle. But I can see myself being with someone forever.
>
> LeAnn: But you know parents of course together. Both parents working healthy jobs. Or if one chooses not to than it's an option. I guess, you know, the whole American dream, a nice house, two cars, you know. If things--got to struggle, you know, you struggle together.
>
> For Megan her ideal family is: a "happy little family, nice house, two kids, a dog."

Conclusions and Implications

The women in this study represent diverse familial backgrounds with the common experience of having a live-away father. Their narratives are filled with recollections of reconnection, contention, reconciliation and undying love. Respondents expressed elements of father-daughter relations that are important to them as well as their perceptions of their own possibilities in family formation. Emotional support, contact, and financial support emerged as important themes for organizing their most valued or disappointing aspects of their relationships with their fathers. While the themes surfaced

in all respondents' narratives, the details of their experiences as well as their perceptions of situations differed, even among sisters.

The length of time fathers lived in the same household as their daughters appears to be an important category by which to understand the daughters' responses to various topics. In this study it is those participants who feel the closest to their fathers lived with their fathers for the longest period of time (it is important to note that two of those respondents went on to actually live with their fathers). Daughters that never lived in the household with their fathers expressed the most contentious relationships; nevertheless most were open to building a stronger relationship.

The differences between daughters of divorced parents versus those of parents who have never-been-married are very few. It is not the type of separation between the parents. Instead it is the amount and quality of emotional support and contact that leads to a difference. The central difference is that none of the daughters of never-been-married parents are close to their fathers; whereas, two out of nine of the children of divorced parents feel close to their fathers. None of the daughters of never-married parents shared that their fathers were adequately involved in their lives. The major differences occurred between the amount, type, and quality of contact the daughters experienced with their fathers. Daughters who participated in bonding experiences with their fathers that were a mixture of activities and discussion of personally important topics feel the closest to their fathers. These daughters are also the ones who lived most of their lives with their fathers. The daughters with the most contentious relationships with their fathers lived most of their lives with little contact with their fathers and received very little emotional and financial support. In the middle of this spectrum are

the respondents whose fathers contacted them on holidays and birthdays. While not totally absent from their daughters' lives, they were not in daily or even monthly contact with their daughters. These daughters often expressed a need for more emotional support, contact, and financial support. They acknowledged that they could count on seeing their fathers on certain holidays, but that the interaction was often superficial.

Emotional support is the category that respondents discussed the most passionately and at the greatest length. Additionally, for many respondents contact and financial support was only important if connected with this category. Esteem and confidence-building, advice-giving, intimate conversations, and validation of the father-daughter role emerged as important categories of emotional support. Most respondents do not feel that their fathers give adequate emotional support. The two respondents who did feel emotionally supported by their fathers (Keisha and Cressida) spent over thirteen years of their life prior to the age of eighteen living with their fathers. Furthermore, their fathers' live-away status was during pre-and early-adolescence.

Daughters' memories of their relationship with their father in the household surfaced as an important topic. Among respondents who could recall living with their father in the household, the nature of the father-daughter relationship prior to the separation continued once the father lived in a separate household. Links between their feelings about their relationship with their fathers while he lived in the household and after even materialized differently in the narratives of the sisters. Brandi and Nicole are less satisfied with their relationship with their father than their sister Brittani. According to the sisters, Brandi actually witnessed her father leaving the house after her parents' final argument before their divorce. Nicole does not remember her father living in the

household. Brittani, on the other hand, does not remember her parents arguing and after her parents divorce she has fond recollections of her father spending time with her during her bouts with illnesses as well as their scheduled "dates."

Types of contact include phone calls, face-to-face get-together, and writing. Frequency of contact for most respondents was sparse and inconsistent, often occurring on holidays. Many respondents felt that their interactions with their fathers were superficial. All respondents with only holiday visits or less were not pleased with the frequency, type, or quality of contact. There is a desire among all respondents for more contact with their live-away fathers.

The fathers of all but two respondents offered financial support. Financial support often came in the form of child support, clothes, or groceries. Daughters who saw their fathers less than once a year often experienced long periods of financial absence from their fathers. Many daughters discussed their fathers as providers. They wanted their fathers both to want and to actually play a financial role that covered their basic necessities. The respondents that saw their fathers on more than just on holidays often received financial "extras" from their fathers.

This study's findings fit very well into the literature related to low-income mothers' and fathers' expectations of the father-child relationship.

Waller (2002) finds that among unmarried parents, emotional support, disciplining, and financial support (in terms of covering basic needs) are what both mothers and fathers expect out of a father. Similarly, in her qualitative study *What it means to be Daddy* (2001), Hamer speaks to the very issue of how non-resident African American fathers contextualize their involvement in relation to both societal and

mothers' demands. She finds that low-income African American fathers rank their roles as caregivers and disciplinarians the highest. She found that despite financial status, African American fathers position payment of child support low on their priority list. This is very similar to the priority ranking of the daughters in this study. Like respondents in the aforementioned studies, daughters in this study feel that emotional support is the most important form of father involvement. Their discussion of financial support focused on fathers covering basic necessities such as food, clothing, and child support, not extravagant gifts

A major theme that surfaces in Way and Gillman's (2001) study is that young adolescent girls want "more" from their relationships with their fathers. Among their sample the "more" was more activities and frequency of contact. While my participants definitely desired more contact with their fathers, they were adamant that these be quality interactions that promote common interests, emotional connection, and expression of love and attention.

Another significant contribution of this study is that it is not easy to classify "good" or "bad" fathers. The father-daughter relationships revealed in this study counter the prevalent idea of the residentially and financially absent father figure. Instead the fathers of women in this study are in and out of their daughter's lives. Even if they are gone for long periods of time (for example Katiyana), fathers are constant topics of conversation and are sought as a source of financial and emotional support.

Many of the women had several painful experiences with their fathers. Most of the respondents cried at some point during the interview. They cited barriers to fatherhood or personal shortcomings of their fathers, such as substance abuse, obligations

to other family members and physical distance. Their anguish retelling of experiences with their fathers may be because some have not reconciled the reason for prolonged separation or do not have a clear idea of what to expect from their fathers. For many respondents this interview was the first time many had discussed and worked through their experiences.

Although this sample is unique in that it is small and unrepresentative, the dialogue about emotional support and quality contact can inform quantitative studies that find that contact and closeness are important. In addition, findings from this study can be used to further explore the implications of actively involved for resident and live-away fathers.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Results of this study have policy implications for the Healthy Marriage Initiative, particularly the African American Initiative (AAHMI). Any real policy interventions related to marriage and families must take the lived realities of families into account. Previous research highlights multiple partner fertility and the creation of multiple partnerships and households and commonly occurring familial relationships, particularly among low-income and African American households, as obstacles to fathers' involvement with multiple sets of children (Seefeldt & Smock 2004). This study illuminates daughters' understandings and perceptions of the role of these multiple households play in their relationships with their live-away fathers. Additionally, much of the information on the AAHMI website highlights cultural ideals of African American family formation with little attention to how structural and lived realities frame father-child interactions. Informing this coalition must be research that highlights the

complexity of African American families, as well as their own perceptions about what is important.

This work makes three major contributions to policies targeting the joint African American Healthy Marriage and Responsible Fatherhood Initiatives. In May of 2005 the Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Family held a symposium to "examine the important role of men as fathers and husbands in the healthy development of children" (AAHMI Summary Report). The first contribution of this study is to offer a more nuanced presentation of children's understandings of their fathers' financial support, contact, and emotional support. Many policy initiatives focus on child support and visitation. As the daughters' dialogues reveal, emotional support is a key component of father-child interaction. It is what makes the financial support and frequency of contact more meaningful. Any policy program promoting fatherhood must explore the various ways that fathers can or actively involved in their children's lives.

Second, it hints that children may be aware of the barriers their fathers face and that they adjust their expectations to their lived reality. Commonly cited barriers include physical distance, financial obligations (particularly to other family members), and substance abuse. Recall Saree feeling that her father was a good father when he was sober. Another example is Brandi's assessment of her father's financial contribution. She stated that while her uncle pays more for child support ($600 per child, whereas her father pays $200 per child, at least her father was more involved in her life. Along that same note, Crystal stated that her father supports several family members including his own parents and a couple of his sisters. This is similar to the finding of Sams-Abiodun & Sanchez (2003) that asserted that African American fathers, particularly low income

fathers have several familial obligations that sometimes hamper their paternal resources (Sams-Abiodun & Sanchez 2003). Reconnection also emerged as an important subtopic in this study. Some daughters initially resisted efforts to reconnect. Nevertheless efforts to reconnect were successful if daughters felt that their fathers were attempting to build a strong emotionally supportive relationship. Any programs that encourage connection between fathers and daughters must emphasize emotional support and the fact that the process may take awhile.

Third, while the experience of living in a single-parent household leads many of the women to have respect for single-parent mothers. Most of the respondents hoped to marry, have children, and occupy traditional familial roles, despite the various household configurations they experienced. As with studies of low-income women (Edin and Kefalas 2005), the women in this study definitely want to marry. They have very vivid marital desires and expectations. Whether or not these women will go on to marry or be single mothers remains to be seen, although research on the shortage of marriageable men in the African American community, particularly for college-educated women does provide some indication that they may have difficulty finding spouses of similar racial and educational background (Raley 2006). Nevertheless, there is not a lack of desire to attain marriage among this group of women.

The women in this study have the shared experiences of having live-away fathers. Yet, the quality, frequency and type of emotional support and contact differed, as well as the types of parental separation they experienced. This study contributes to a growing number of studies that stress the importance of examining the complexity of African American families. There are a few policy considerations that come from this study, one

major one being that daughters with negative interactions with their live-away fathers are open to reconciliation and reconnection. More research needs to be performed to get a greater understanding of the children's perspective of their relationship with their live-away fathers.

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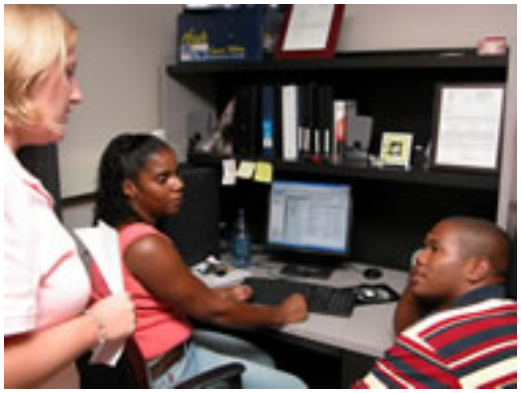
Broadening Participation in Computing
African-American Researchers in Computing Sciences

AARCS



Auburn University proposes African-American Researchers in Computing Sciences (AARCS), a program that aims to broaden the participation of African-Americans at the levels of tenure track faculty and research scientist in the computing sciences. African-American students across the Southeast will be exposed to role models, research, and graduate school opportunities, as well as mentoring. All activities will be specifically designed to address the barriers and disbeliefs, concerns, and misunderstandings about computing sciences faculty and research. The activities will include a series of targeted presentations by African-American computing sciences faulty and graduate students at HBCUs, a Future Faculty Mentoring Program, and an annual AARCS mini-conference hosted at Auburn University. The presentations at HBCUs will provide undergraduates with mentoring, and information on research careers. The Future Faculty Mentoring Program will provide advanced graduate students with e-mentoring on academic careers, and the AARCS mini-conference will be a research and skill building conference for undergraduates and graduate students.

Although African-Americans are the target group for this program, the AARCS program will also serve as a model that can be used to target other underrepresented groups.

Spelman College

A targeted presentation at Spelman College on November 9, 2005 yielded two significant results:

- After attending this session, on average, the likelihood that the participants would pursue graduate study in computer sciences increased 1.5 points on a five-point scale.
- 63% of participants reported that after attending the session they felt that attending graduate school was an option.

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Dr. Juan E. Gilbert is the Series Editor for a new series in Computer called Broadening Participation in Computing. The first article will appear in the March issued of Computer.

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HCCL HUMAN CENTERED COMPUTING LAB

Black Faculty on Predominately White Campuses:

Implications for the Campus Community

Lauren Brown and Cassandra Campbell

Wellesley College

In order to succeed both academically and socially at predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs), Black students need a strong support network (Redden, 2002). Black faculty play a key part in this network. Since the 1960s, Black students have fought for the hiring of Black faculty. They knew then and Black students know now that Black professors often understand, help, and push them in ways that historically, White faculty have not. However, PWCUs struggle constantly with the hiring and retention of Black faculty. Without strategic and organized planning on the part of the administration, all faculty, and students, ineffectual support networks will persist.

Black students confront many racial issues in the classroom, such as feeling the need to “work harder” (Davis, 1994, p. 24). However, with a Black professor, Black students may no longer feel as if they “have to work harder” because they have to represent their entire race. Although White faculty may create a racially hostile and uncomfortable setting for Black students, Black students may expect professors to create an environment conducive to the learning styles and issues related to the burdens associated with minority status (Hendrix, 1995).

Because of the felt pressures as Black students at PWCUs, these students may expect and receive a different form of support from their Black professors. These professors serve as mentors, role models, surrogate mothers and fathers, and provide a sense of purpose for Black students (Hall, 1999). The students may believe that their Black professors have their best interests at heart and have achieved greatness despite racism. The leadership, effort, and support of Black faculty can help secure the academic success of Black students.

Cross' (1991) classic theory of Nigrescence adds another dimension to the expectations Black students can have of Black faculty. Cross notes that Nigrescence is the process of Black people understanding and becoming Black. Further, Cross maintains that life experiences shape Blacks' cycling through various levels of self-awareness and acceptance of others. While some Blacks identify strongly with Black culture, others may find solace in taking a color blind approach to race issues. Imagine the shock of a Black student who values African heritage and its influence on Black culture when he takes a history class from a Black professor who refuses to discuss sub-Saharan African civilizations except in relation to the European enslavement trade. Commonality of skin color does not necessarily translate into commonality of racial identity.

Though Black students may express preference for Black professors, many PWCUs have a shortage of Black faculty. Thus, Black students must fight the stereotypes of some non-Black professors and risk losing credibility or even their educational progress. Many universities and Black students recognize the critical need for Black faculty and, therefore, they have begun campaigns to increase the numbers of lack faculty and improve the quality of multicultural training provided to all faculty. However, representation of Black educational professions on PWCU campuses remains low.

Student Initiatives for Hiring Black Faculty

Campaigns for Black faculty on PWCU began in the 1960s during the civil rights movement. Many campus organizations, now known on most campuses as the Black Student Union (BSU), formed in order to support fellow Black students and pressure the administration to accept more Black students, create Black Studies departments, and hire Black faculty. Administrations did fulfill the demands of these organizations; however,

the need for Black faculty has not diminished over time. Although BSUs continue to uphold the goals on which they were founded, some have forgotten the power they hold as a Black organization to initiate change on their campus. If Black students want more Black faculty, they should remember why their BSU formed and how past members achieved the organization's goal.

As a single organization, pressuring the administration to hire Black professors may seem difficult; however, a coalition with other campus cultural organizations that have similar desires may prove beneficial. For example, without student led multiracial protests, Black students at Rutgers University would not have gained national attention that pressured Rutgers' President Francis Lawrence to create a faculty, staff, and student committee to address campus unrest. Although not petitioning for a more diverse faculty, campus-wide and national support forced Lawrence to address the problem (Rhoads 1998).

When uniting with other cultural organizations, newly formed coalitions should discuss potential opposition and create a well-researched proposal for the administration. The proposal should include success stories at other PWCUs, the fact that a more diverse faculty can improve the quality of education for each student and helps retain and attract more racially diverse students, he personal stories of current students, and the threat of involving the press. Using the Rutgers' protests as an example and presenting a well-researched proposal, BSUs and other cultural organizations, as a collective unit, can strategically pressure the administration and departments to hire a more diverse faculty.

At first glance, the above methods may seem fail-safe; yet, BSUs may face some surprising resistance from faculty. Faculty may feel as if the administration's initiatives

challenge their autonomy and that the administration and board of trustees have more of a financial and affirmative action outlook on diversity. In one interview, a faculty member expressed his concerns about diversity hiring:

> …the way I read the diversity initiative, was that it was a quick fix attempt to make a splashy change that would move this issue to the back burner for a while so that we can pursue other things, dealing with the financial goals of the college or the goals of the—you know the prestige goals of the college. (Aleman & Salkever, 2002, p.38).

Faculty that feel this way need to know that the administration is responding to the wants of the students. After presenting to the administration, the student coalition, with the permission of the administration, should present their research in a meeting of department chairs. This meeting would allow faculty to express their concern about minority faculty retention, and possibly, discuss the creation of a faculty, student, and administration committee to address the problem. Additionally, individual departments should know that they do not need to hire solely based upon race. Of the minority candidates, departments should hire the best of them, not the Black candidate because she is Black, etc. If faculty can view the initiatives as something to enrich their departments and students, their opposition may lessen.

Although possibly difficult to initiate and organize, a national student-led campaign to increase the numbers of Black faculty at PWCUs can be the most fruitful solution. Not only will this gain national attention, but also it will empower and connect Black students nationally. Someone may wonder how Black college students can

organize such a large campaign, but with careful planning students can accomplish their goals.

Identifying and Coping With Racism

At some point in his or her college career, Black students will have to cope with a professor's racial bias or stereotype. The stereotype may not be overt, but it will influence the professor's perception of the Black student. In their faculty interviews, Madkins and Mitchell (2000) discovered that many non-Black faculty blame the Black students for their low academic performance. The faculty believed that the students did not care about their performance and that some attended the university solely to play a sport. Professors usually do not consider their teaching styles or class dynamics as possible causes for their low-performing Black students.

Not only do stereotypical perceptions of Black students hinder academic success, but also the quality of advisement they receive from White faculty hinders their scholastic achievement. Black engineering students found that their non-Black advisors advised them poorly when choosing course loads (Foster, 2005). The students noticed that White students had a more balanced course load, while professors advised them to take the most difficult courses in the one semester. Additionally, some White faculty do not provide consistent reinforcement for Black students, something necessary for any student's success (Gregory, 2000). Black students need to know that their White professors will advise them properly and have faith in them, but stereotypes and poor advisement assure students that they are not equal in the eyes of their White professors. With the knowledge that a professor has no confidence in his or her abilities due to racial

stereotypes, how can university officials expect Black students to accomplish his or her academic goals?

In order to decrease the amount of perceived stereotypes, PWCU administrations, faculty, and student populations must view diversity as something necessary to enrich the professional and personal development of one another, rather than something politically correct and mandatory. Therefore, PWCUs first should identify the specific issue on their campus (Johnson, 1995) and, then, insert their commitment to diversifying its faculty, students, and curriculum in their mission statements (Aleman & Salkever, 2002). However, the mission statement is not enough to display commitment. The administration should be receptive to their students' multicultural needs and ideas to address the problem; students give a unique perspective because they know what will help them the most. The administration also must lead by example in order to gain the faculty's and students' trust. Once administrations earn the confidence of their students and faculty, the college community as a whole will be able to work effectively and tactfully in order to fulfill the school's mission statement.

Multicultural Training on Campus

As a common solution, PWCUs implement multicultural training workshops, which cost money. The universities not only have to pay for training, but also must encourage faculty to attend. The institutions can either rearrange the budget and/or receive funding from organizations like the Kellogg Foundation and Mellon Foundation (Aleman & Salkever). Because faculty attendance appears to be the largest issue, institutions offer financial incentives. Yet, some faculty find the incentives offensive (Aleman & Salkever) and administrators have little leverage to force faculty to attend or

participate if they do attend. As an alternative, some schools offer tenure-track faculty points towards tenure, and tenured faculty can earn money towards university-related travel and departmental funds rather than salary raises.

However, whether or not universities offer incentives, the thought of openly confronting issues of diversity and stereotypes embarrasses some faculty (Johnson, 1995). In order to ease discomfort, workshop facilitators should stress that 'this is a safe space'. No one is to discuss personal stories outside of the training. Faculty members need not judge one another after sharing personal stories, but instead use them to address stereotypes about students and ways to overlook them. Facilitators should emphasize that everyone, despite race, may stereotype students, and that the workshop is not solely for European American faculty. As faculty develop mutual trust, the goals of the workshop will likely be achieved, and learning outcomes will improve for all students (Kurth, 1994).

Although many institutions employ faculty development workshops, only few create student-faculty workshops or conferences. For example, in 1987 the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) dedicated two and a half days to a diversity conference. Over 150 faculty, students, and administrators members attended (Gregory, 2000). Conferences like this not only reaffirm the administration's commitment to multiculturalism, but also allows for structured, open dialogue between faculty, administration, and students. Although successful at UCLA, similar conferences at other colleges may be difficult, as students may fear reprisal from faculty. In order to tackle this problem, workshop facilitator can distribute questionnaires about perceived racism in the classroom in student mailboxes. Students then can fill them out anonymously and the

facilitator can read them at the workshop in order to demonstrate how the students, despite race, feel. Another alternative is for recent alumni or graduating seniors to participate in the workshops. Their feelings are still fresh and they do not have as much at risk as underclassmen. No matter what option a university chooses to employ, faculty and administrations must hear the voices of their students in order to address accurately these dilemmas.

Black Students and Career Choice

Many Black youth feel pressured to go into fields they believe will ensure financial stability. Medical or business careers comprise some of the careers that Black students view as lucrative. To say that many youth Black youth solely choose these fields because of perceptions of financial stability it is not very accurate. Yet, with the financial pressure of loans, helping with bills at home and other pressures that Black students can face, the possibility of future financial stability may lead Black students to choose to attend PWCUs based on the branding of the school or perception of the school's quality. In order to combat this phenomenon and promote exploration in schools and careers that excel at teaching Black students, students can employ several measures.

One solution is to have panels with Black alumnae who are in different fields so that young Blacks can have a face and example of success in its many forms. Mentorship and shadowing experiences afford Black students opportunities to learn how to negotiate PWCUs and build support networks off campus. If completed over school breaks, students can find the process even easier.

Another solution is to start early with more student centered teaching and learning in K-12 school settings. If student centered teaching occurs in K-12 settings,

Black students can explore their voices, benefit from the standards based reform in education, and learn critical thinking skills.

Conclusions

We would like to believe that racism on PWCU campuses no longer characterizes Black students' classroom and extracurricular experiences. Certainly, the days of legally sanctioned segregation, overtly endorsed by the federal government are over. However, Black students on PWCU campuses face discrimination in academic advisement, classroom dynamics, and gaining access to academic and career resources. We have advocated for the inclusion of racially conscious and aware Black faculty as one way to address this issue. Recognizing that the onus of educating Black students does not fall solely on the shoulders of Black professors, we have also discussed the merits of the frank discussions among all faculty about the state of race relations on campus. We recognize that while frankness does not necessarily engender change, discussions lead to critical thought and challenges of status quo behaviors and policies that discriminate against Black students. We not only believe change is possible but also necessary for the success of American higher education.

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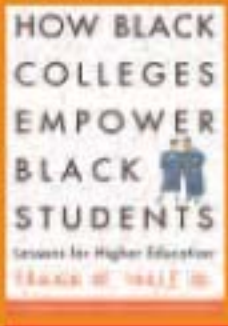

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Thomas B. Jones

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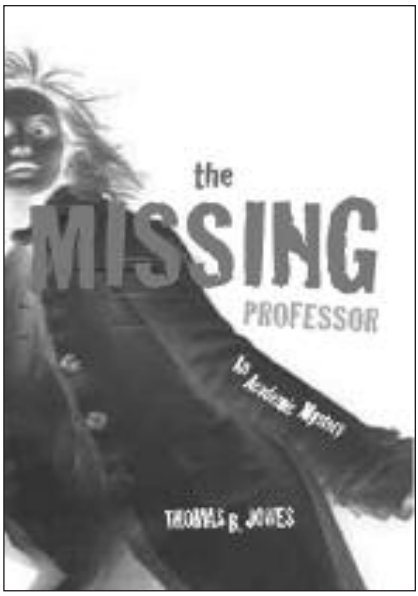
Read one way, this is an entertaining parody of an academic mystery and a humorous take on academic life. Turning the book upside down reveals another purpose. Each chapter is constructed as an informal case study/discussion story, as is made manifest by a series of discussion questions intended for faculty development, new faculty orientation, and conversations among faculty, administrators, and academic staff.



As the mystery unfolds, each chapter finds Nicole encountering challenging situations—such as the first day of class, student incivility, teaching evaluations, peer observation, academic assessment, the scholarship of teaching and learning, faculty and student rights and responsibilities, core curricula, and tenure standards.

This little book can be read and used both ways: as pure entertainment and as a series of informal case studies, spiced with humor, to help break down academic barriers and promote spirited discussions

The Author: Thomas B. Jones has thirty-five years' experience in higher education as a professor of history, faculty developer, and academic administrator. He is co-author of *Promoting Active Learning: Strategies for the College Classroom.*

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Fresh out of graduate school and desperate to pay off her student loans, Nicole Adams joins the faculty at Higher State U. – a small university with a dubious past located in the middle of the Midwest.

On her second day of classes as a new assistant professor of philosophy, still flustered and disoriented, Nicole is plunged into a campus-wide mystery. Someone has ransacked the office she shares with the ill-tempered R. Reynolds Raskin, the department's senior professor, and he has disappeared. Three weeks later, with Raskin still missing, Nicole receives a threatening phone call . . .

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The Authors: Theodore J. Marchese is senior consultant at the Academic Search Consultation Service. He served as vice president of the American Association for Higher Education and as executive editor of *Change* magazine. Jane Fiori Lawrence is vice chancellor for student affairs at the University of California, Merced.

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The Author: Lauren A. Vicker is Professor and Chair of the Communication/Journalism Department, St. John Fisher College. Harriette J. Royer is the Assistant Director of the Career Management Center at the Simon Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Rochester.

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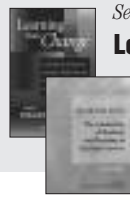

See also:
Learning from Change p. 17
Balancing Acts p. 26

Women, Leadership & Faculty Roles

The Balancing Act

Gendered Perspectives in Faculty Roles and Work Lives

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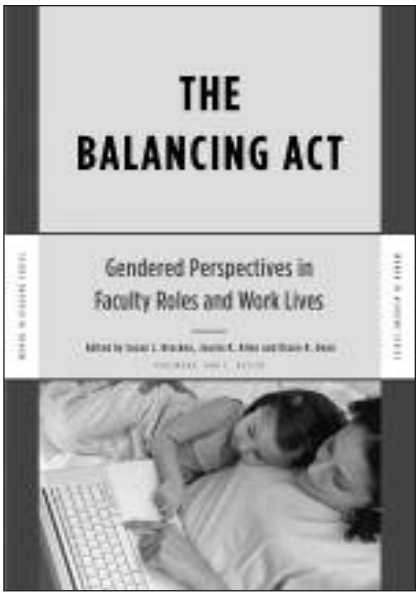
Foreword by Ann E. Austin



Why are women not entering academic careers at a rate proportional to their degree attainment? And once they enter academe, why are they are not achieving tenure or gaining promotion at the same rate as men? How can deeper understanding of attitudes toward academic women combined with research on their experiences within the academic environment, in particular those balancing family and academic careers, help us to shape more responsive institutional policies and environments?

These questions are all the more urgent during current times when institutions recognize the need to recruit more women and faculty of color to meet their changing missions and student demographics. This book argues that creating healthy and equitable work environments for women is good for the whole academic community. Indeed, the authors make the point that, as the feminization of academe continues, failure to implement gender equity and family friendly initiatives could be perilous.

This book brings together new and original research – representing a broad range of institutional types – that reveals the pressures women face to postpone childbirth and limit the size of their families; that exposes the often the inequitable treatent of their scholarship when women are part of a dual-career couples; and that identifies other tacit and structural barriers to women's advancement.

This book challenges assumptions about how men and women manage the boundaries between their personal and professional lives and suggests new ways to creatively and collaboratively combine productive work lives and satisfying personal lives. It shows how women have agency in structuring their careeers and describes a multiplicity of solutions that they and instututions can adopt to create new couple- and family-friendly structures and practices that will encourage women to stay in the pipeline.

This book, and its companion volumes in the Women in Academe series, offers compelling data and ideas both for women scholars seeking fulfillment in their professional and personal lives, and for adminstrators who recognize the need to transform their work places.

The Editor: Susan J. Bracken is assistant professor of adult education, North Carolina State University.

Jeanie K. Allen is visiting assitant professor, Interdisciplinary Studies, Drury University.

Diane R. Dean is an assistant professor of higher education administration and policy, Illinois State University.

Women in Academe Series

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Women in Academic Leadership

Professional Strategies, Personal Choices

Edited by Diane R. Dean, Susan J. Bracken, and Jeanie K. Allen
Foreword By Claire Van Ummersen

Colleges and universities benefit from diversity in their leadership roles, and profess to value diversity — of thought, of experience, of person. Yet why do women remain underrepresented in top academic leadership positions and in key positions along the academic career ladder ?

Why don't they advance at a rate proportional to that of their men peers? How do internal and external environmental contexts still influence who enters academic leadership and who survives and thrives in those roles?

Women in Academic Leadership complements its companion volumes in the Women in Academe series, provoking readers to think critically about the gendered nature of academic leadership across the spectrum of instututional types. It argues that leadership, the academy, and the nexus of academic leadership remain gendered structures steeped in male-oriented norms and mores. Blending research and reflection, it explores the barriers and dilemmas that these structures present and the professional strategies and the personal choices women make in order to successfully surmount them.

The authors pose questions about how women leaders negotiate between their public and private selves. They consider: how women develop a vital sense of self-efficacy along with the essential skills and knowledge they need in order to lead effectively; how they cultivate opportunity; and how they gain legitimacy and maintain authenticity in a male-gendered arena.

For those who seek to create an institutional environment conducive to equity and opportunity, this book offers insight into the pervasive barriers facing women of all colors and evidence of the need for a more complex, multi-dimensional view of leadership. For women in academe who seek to reach their professional potential and maintain authenticity, it offers an encouragement and a myriad of strategies for their growth and development.

The Editor: Diane R. Dean is an assistant professor of higher education administration and policy, Illinois State University.

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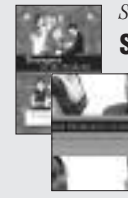

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Running Head: Black Graduate College Choice

Black Graduate College Choice: Differences between STEM and Education Majors

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Abstract

Current enrollment patterns in higher education reflect a dismal outlook on the matriculation of Black students into the educational pipeline. Data from the U.S. Department of Education (2004) reveal that while over 2 million graduate students attend higher education institutions, African Americans represent only 9% of the total. To better understand the disparity in graduate enrollment, it is important to examine the decision making process of graduate students. This research explores the factors that Black graduate students in STEM and education programs consider when selecting a graduate school. Findings reveal differences by gender and subfield specialty.

Black Graduate College Choice: Differences between STEM and Education Majors

> *"…that of the million Black youth, some were fitted to know and some to dig; that some had the talent and capacity of university men, and some the talent and capacity of blacksmiths; and that true training meant neither that all should be college men nor all artisans, but that the one should be made a missionary of culture…and the other a free workman among serfs." (Du Bois, 1961, p. 64)*

Any research study on the status of African Americans in society presupposes at least a cursory understanding of the socioeconomic context in which Black American lives. Still today, African Americans comprise one of the largest minority population groups in the United States. Black Americans represent approximately 13% of the entire population of the United States. Of these, only approximately 8% are over the age of 65, 18% are 45-64 years, 31% are 25-44 years and 43% are under 25 years of age (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000). This trend marks tremendous growth during the past two and a half decades—in 1980, African Americans represented only 11% of the total U.S. population. Table 1 presents additional historical information about the representation of African Americans in the U.S.

Table 1 here

Many more of those who are under 25 years of age, close to 31%, are concentrated in kindergarten, elementary and secondary education (i.e., K-12). Recent National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (U.S. Department of Education, 2006) reports suggest that a large number of these students—more than one-quarter—drop out of high school before earning their high school diploma or equivalent such as the General Educational Development (GED) certificate. While this number represents an improvement over the 39% of African Americans

who did not earn diplomas in 1980 (Nettles & Perna, 1997), there remains a significant number of students who lack the educational credentials necessary for social, economic, and political mobility in American society (Jackson & Moore, 2006). This mass exodus of students from the educational pipeline significantly impacts the number of students who are able to "go on" to college. Data from these reports also suggest that approximately 10.1% of all college and university students (including undergraduate, graduate, and first professional) were African American (Nettles & Perna).

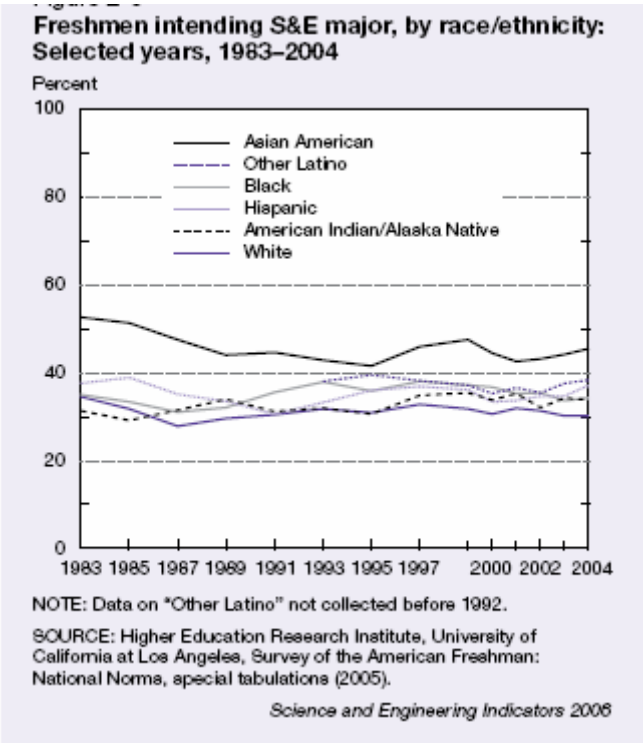
Despite these gains, nearly 45% of all Black enrollees "leave" college within six years (Tinto, 1975, 1993). A larger percentage of these are Black men as compared to Black women. That is, over 17.2 million students were enrolled in higher education in 2004. Of these, 2.2 million were African Americans. Of these, 64.2% were women while only 35.8% were men. Black women slightly increased their representation among bachelor's (BA) degree recipients. Black men, on the other hand, earned only 3% of all BA degrees conferred in 2003-2004.

Given the significant increases in the number of Black women earning degrees, approximately 9% of all African Americans enrolled in higher education actually earn bachelor's degree. Most of these are in education and social science fields (U. S. Department of Education, 2000). Consistent with prior research studies and recent generational cohort research (A. W. Astin, 1993; Howe & Strauss, 2000), African American students earn a slightly higher number of degrees in computer science than other closely related fields. However, few earn degrees in science, technology, engineering, math (STEM), and STEM-related fields such as life and physical sciences (U. S. Department of Education, 2000).

This is particularly interesting when you consider students' intentions to study science and engineering (S&E) and STEM fields. According to the National Science Board (National

Science Board, 2006), approximately one-third of Black freshmen intend to study S&E fields. While 7.7% intend to major in social sciences, 11.5% in engineering, 10% in agricultural and biological sciences, respectively. Yet, less than 4% intend to major in computer sciences and only 0.5% intend to major in math. Figure 1 presents a graphical depiction of these trends.

Figure 1
Freshmen intentions to major in S&E, 1983-2004



African Americans and Graduate Education in STEM

The data concerning graduate enrollment is also particularly illustrative of the situation of African Americans in education. Using data from the Baccalaureate and Beyond (B&B) Longitudinal Study, one researcher found that of all African Americans who earned bachelor's degrees in 1993, less than 30% enrolled in graduate school (Perna, 2004). In fact, data from the U.S. Department of Education (2000) reveal that while over 2 million graduate students attend higher education institutions, African Americans represent only 10% of the total.

Most Black graduate students earn degrees in education or education-related fields (Richardson, 2006). Data from the US Department of Education reveal a startling situation. The number of graduate degrees conferred upon African Americans in education and theology were nearly twice that of White students (Nettles & Perna, 1997). Of those who majored in education, many go on to serve as teachers, school administrators, and faculty members at Black colleges (Richardson). In fall 2003, approximately 566,800 students enrolled in S&E graduate degree programs (National Science Board, 2006). Of these, 11% were underrepresented minority students. This represented an increase in the proportion of minority students in graduate S&E programs from about 6% in 1983 to about 11% in 2003. Table 2 presents additional information.

Table 2 here

Yet, African Americans enroll in S&E and other STEM-related fields at even lower rates (National Science Board, 2006). In fall 2003, only 31,207 African Americans were enrolled in S&E graduate programs compared to more than 282,000 Whites. Of all African Americans enrolled in graduate S&E fields, 6% major in computer science while less than 3% major in "hard" sciences and math. Doctoral degree attainment numbers paint an even more vivid picture of the current situation of Black graduate students in STEM fields. That is, only 1,708 doctoral degrees were conferred upon African Americans in 2003, including those in S&E and non-S&E fields. Sixty percent of these degrees were awarded in non-S&E fields. Of the remaining S&E degrees, 90% were granted in science-related disciplines and only 10% were awarded in engineering. There are other startling findings. Still today, less than 1% earn degrees in math (National Science Board). These enrollment trends taken together led Nettles and Perna (1997) to

conclude that “African Americans are most severely underrepresented at all degree levels in fields such as engineering and the physical and life sciences” (p.54). Table 3 presents additional information about the number of S&E doctorate degrees conferred upon Whites and minority students over time.

Table 3 here

These trends in enrollment and degree attainment are problematic for a number of reasons. First, the weight of the evidence suggests that while a proportion of Black students intend to major in S&E and STEM-related fields, far fewer African American actually enroll and major in STEM-related subjects. Even less earn a graduate degree in science and engineering fields. As a result, prior research findings provide evidence that African Americans are less often found in the higher occupational status categories (e.g., scientists, engineers, etc.) relative to the general population (Nettles & Perna, 1997; Strayhorn, in press; Thomas, 2000).

In addition, much of the research on the effects of college suggests that earning a college degree—and particularly, a graduate degree—significantly influences one’s economic success and labor market outcomes such as earnings and job satisfaction (Ehrenberg & Rothstein, 1994). For example, several studies provide evidence that college graduates earn higher annual salaries than high school graduates (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, 2005; Smart, 1986; Smart & Pascarella, 1986). To the extent that these benefits are increased for graduate degree holders, the under-representation of African Americans among S&E graduate degree holders may contribute significantly to the widening income gap between African Americans and Whites. Despite some slow progress, still today the Black unemployment rate is more than two times that of White

Americans and Black families earn only 58% as much income as White families (Muhammad, Davis, Lui, & Leondar-Wright, 2004).

Finally, a large, single body of research on the effect of college on students suggests that diversity matters (Blake & Moore, 2000; Chang, 1999; Greene, 1991; Hurtado, 1999, Spring; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998; Rendon, Hope, & Associates, 1996). That is, empirical research findings show that learning *with* and *from* individuals who are different from oneself is associated with quantitative as well as qualitative gains in educational outcomes (Chang, Witt, Jones, & Hakuta, 2003). Indeed, the evidence consistently demonstrates that a diverse student body addes value to the educational process. This was the philosophical base upon which Justice Powell based his decision in the 1978 Supreme Court case, known as *Bakke* ("Regents of the University of California v. Bakke", 1978). He believed that a diverse student body in professional [and graduate] schools encourages speculation and creativity. This paper brings evidence to bear on the under-representation of African Americans in graduate programs in S&E and STEM-related fields. To the extent that African Americans face significant obstacles that limit their enrollment in such graduate programs, this may impinge upon the ability to design and foster racially diversified, educational environments.

Impact of Condition on Community

In addition, this research is relevant to the theme of the Think Tank because it will contribute to the body of knowledge on graduate education (Strayhorn, 2005a), college choice (Freeman, 1997, 2005; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987), and graduate student outcomes specifically for African Americans. In doing so, the authors intend to address the overarching community question, how do we encourage more African Americans to pursue graduate studies in the areas of STEM and education?

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the factors that Black graduate students in STEM and education programs consider when selecting a graduate school. For the purposes of this study, STEM programs included life and physical sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics, as set forth by the National Science Foundation (NSF). Several research questions guided the study: (a) what factors influence "college choice" for Black graduate students in STEM and education fields? (b) Are there differences by gender? (c) Are there differences by major choice?

Using a national sample drawn from the Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study (B&B), researchers conducted analyses to study the importance of various factors in the college choice of graduate students in STEM fields and education. Results show clearly that some factors are more important to Black graduate students than others. For example, a large number of education students noted that they considered the location of a school and its academic reputation when choosing a graduate college. However, the major reasons cited by STEM students for choosing a particular graduate school were the academic reputation of an institution, the location of a school, and the availability of a unique program. The latter is particularly revealing when considered in tandem with data about the "major choice" of Black graduate students.

This study is important as it contributes to our collective knowledge about African American graduate students in particular, and all African Americans in general. As DuBois (1961) once noted, "We seldom study the condition of the Negro today honestly and carefully. It is so much easier to assume that we know it all. Or perhaps, having already reached conclusions in our own minds, we are loath to have them disturbed by facts" (p. 99). To be sure, some have

"already reached conclusions" about the college choice factors of Black graduate students in STEM and education fields based on the literature on student college choice (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). Yet, this theoretical explanation is limited in at least three ways. First, it is largely based on predominately White student samples and may not reflect the experiences of Black collegians. Second, it is based on the decision-making process of undergraduate students. Since undergraduate and graduate students differ with respect to age, family and work responsibilities, it is reasonable to assume that their reasons for choosing a college may differ. Finally, the three-stage model is general and considered to be applicable to students from a variety of disciplines. As such, it may mask certain nuances in the decision making processes of Black graduate students in STEM and education fields. To this end, the current study provides "facts" to husband with our presuppositions.

Theoretical Framework

Although there is no specific conceptual framework for graduate student college choice, the researchers intend to frame this study using a prevailing conceptualization of the college choice process. Hossler and Gallagher (1987) proposed a three-phase model of student college choice. This model conceptualizes students' decision making process in three distinct stages: predisposition, search, and choice. Predisposition refers to students' attitudes and preferences toward attending college. During this stage students determine their life plans after high school graduation. They decide whether they will pursue higher education instead of working or military service (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999).

Search is the second phase of the college choice model. Students who decide to pursue higher education engage in data collection activities that help them gather more information about colleges and universities they may interested in attending referred to as the "consideration

set" (Hossler et al., 1999, p.146). Choice is the third phase of the model. Using the consideration set, students narrow their options and choose to attend a specific college or university based on academic, social and financial attributes of the institution.

Method

Using a national sample drawn from the *Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study* (B&B:93/97), researchers conducted descriptive and univariate analyses to study the importance of various factors in the college choice of graduate students in two areas: STEM fields and education. Measures of central tendency, frequencies, and cross tabulations were used as the primary analytical techniques.

Instrumentation

The *Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study* (B&B:1993) traces its roots to the widely used National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey (NPSAS). In 1987, NPSAS was designed and implemented by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) in response to a need for a comprehensive national database on postsecondary student financial aid. To elicit data concerning education and work experiences after completion of the bachelors degree, the NCES launched the Baccalaureate & Beyond (B&B) Longitudinal Study in 1993 as an off-shoot of the NPSAS:93 study (Green, Myers, Veldman, & Pedlow, 1999).

Baccalaureate and Beyond (B&B) follows baccalaureate (BA) degree completers over time to provide information on work experiences after college and on progress and persistence at the graduate level. In fact, the B&B:93/97 longitudinal study follows baccalaureate degree completers four to five years beyond their undergraduate graduation while the B&B:93/03 tracks individuals approximately 10 years after receipt of their BA degree (Green et al., 1999).

The total sample for B&B:1993 included 11,192 cases and these were retained for future rounds, including the first (B&B:93/94), second (B&B:93/97) and third follow-up (B&B:93/03) (Green et al., 1999).

Sample

The present study used data taken from the B&B:93/03 third follow-up study. For the third follow-up, the total sample consisted of 9, 274 respondents. Of these, 4,061 were pursuing a masters or doctoral degree in either education or a STEM field. Two hundred and eight (n=208) of these were African American or Black; approximately 19,206 in the weighted sample. Thirty-three percent (33%) of the sample consisted of graduate students in education while 67% consisted of those majoring in STEM fields. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of the sample were women and 41% were men.

Weighting

Due to the complex sampling design of the B&B:93/03 survey, it was necessary to use sampling weights when approximating the population of the bachelor's degree recipients in the longitudinal sample. The B&B:93/03 panel weight is appropriate for this purpose (U. S. Department of Education, 1999). To "minimize the influence of sample sizes on standard errors while also correcting for the over sampling of some groups, each case is weighted by the panel weight divided by the average weight for the sample" (Perna, 2004, p. 492).

Results

What factors influence "college choice" for graduate students in STEM fields?

Results suggest that four factors, measured by the B&B survey, influenced the "college choice" of Black graduate students in STEM fields. These factors include: reputation of school,

program, and faculty members (13%); location of school (7%); ability to continue working while in school (6%); and only program of its kind (5%).

Are there differences by gender for these students?

More men (24%) than women (2%) cited the "reputation of school, program, and faculty members" as the reason why they chose their graduate school. In addition, 6% of Black men chose their graduate school because it was the "only program of its kind." Interestingly, no Black women in STEM fields cited this reason. The most frequently cited reasons for choosing a particular graduate college among Black women were "location of school" and the "ability to continue working while in school." As might be expected, Black women also choose their graduate college because the program accommodates family demands.

What factors influence "college choice" for graduate students in education?

Results suggest that five factors, measured by the B&B survey, influenced the "college choice" of Black graduate students in education. These factors include: location of school (14.2%); reputation of school, program, and faculty members (11.8%); costs (tuition/expenses) were affordable; other (4%); and recommended by family (4%).

Are there differences by gender for these students?

Two factors emerged as the most frequently cited reasons why Black men chose their graduate institution: recommended by family, faculty, and friends (19.1%) and reputation of school (7.8%). On the contrary, three factors were most frequently cited among Black women in education. These include: location of school (17.9%), costs (13.2%), and reputation of school (12.8%). Approximately, 12.3% of Black women in the sample cited "other" as their reason for choosing a graduate institution. This may suggest that other factors, not measured by the B&B survey, are significantly important to Black women.

Are there differences between graduate students in STEM fields and graduate students in education?

Black graduate students in both majors considered the academic reputation and location of schools when choosing a college. However, those in STEM fields were uniquely concerned about the ability to continue working while attending a school. In addition, STEM students reported choosing their school because it was the only program of its kind. Conversely, affordability and recommendations from family, friends, and faculty members were important to those in education programs.

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper presents findings from a study that measured the importance of various factors to the college choices of Black graduate students in STEM fields and education. Analyses show clearly that some factors are more important to Black graduate students than others. For example, a large number of education students noted that they considered the location of a school and its academic reputation when choosing a graduate college. On the other hand, the major reasons cited by African American STEM students for choosing a particular graduate school were the academic reputation of an institution, the location of a school, and the availability of a unique program. Our findings support previous conclusions (H. S. Astin & Cross, 1981; Hayden, 2000).

Gender differences were observed as well. Women considered the location, cost, and academic reputation of a school when making college choices. Men overwhelmingly considered the reputation of a school and recommendations of others during the choice process. Previous research has suggested that men and women may differ in the level of importance that they attach to various college choice factors (McDonough, 1997; Ream, 2003). In fact, Dixon and Martin (1991) organized the college choice literature into two categories: factors which are

social-psychological in nature and those that come from an economic perspective. Using this frame, women place some value on both social-psychological and economic factors. On the other hand, men tend to focus on selected social-psychological factors that relate to reputation and prestige.

These findings have implications for future practice and research. For example, the current study provides compelling evidence of the important of several factors to the college choice making process of Black graduate students. Academic advisors and faculty members should consult these results when working with such students during the critical time between the search-and-choice stages.

Moreover, such information may be relevant and prove useful to those who work in academic support and retention-focused programs such as mentoring and federally funded programs like the Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Program. Apparently, African American graduate students place emphasis on a number of factors when selecting “the” institution to attend from among their choice set. Program directors and other educators should consider these findings in their work with such students. It is also important to note that African Americans do not represent a monolithic group—there are nuances between the factors that hold importance for Black men compared to Black women. Educators should consult this information when developing new initiatives and strategies toward this end.

Overall, the students in this study differ in how they weigh various factors in the college choice process. Findings suggest that other factors may come into play for Black graduate students and this has implications for future research. For example, this study measures the importance of “college choice” factors to Black graduate students in education and STEM-related fields. Future research studies might explore the same majors for Hispanic, Asian, or

American Indian graduate students. On the other hand, future research investigations might focus on the college choice decisions of Black graduate students in other fields such as business or theology. The next section provides our suggestions for addressing this issue in the future.

Suggestions for Addressing the Issue

Findings from the present study provide evidence or "facts" to support our a priori conclusions about factors which African American graduate students consider when choosing a graduate school. In sum, the results suggest that Black men differ from Black women as do those who major in education from those who major in STEM fields. The following suggestions are offered for addressing the issue in the future:

- Recognize differences in the levels of importance attached to various college choice factors among men and women when developing or redesigning strategies for recruitment and retention.

- Recognize differences that may exist within subfields of a single discipline (e.g., subfields of engineering); these intricacies are often masked when considered in the aggregate.

- Create opportunities for prospective graduate students to learn about factors influencing the college choice from other African Americans who have been successful in applying and being accepted to graduate programs in STEM fields and education.

- Further the research on Black graduate student college choice using propositions and "leads" from undergraduate college choice literature by Freeman (1997, 1999). In addition, college choice literature should be expanded to husband the emerging scholarship on graduate student persistence in much the same way that St. John, Paulsen, and Starkey (1996) studied the nexus between college choice and persistence of undergraduates.

- Promote the development of an interdisciplinary research agenda that uses quantitative and qualitative techniques to further explore the factors that frame Black graduate students' decisions and how such factors affect students' outcomes.

Policy Implications

Major policy implications can be derived from these conclusions. First, college admissions policies should be formulated to take into account these factors, especially if an institution is striving to increase the representation of African Americans among their student body. For example, this study's findings suggest that women place some weight on the proximity of an institution to their home. Policies and recruitment strategies may be designed to target African American females in the local area or areas contiguous to the campus.

Second, the beginning of this paper established the fact that African Americans face a number of unique challenges along the educational pipeline. These challenges tend to impede or inhibit Black students' attainment of a college degree and ultimately their ability to "cash in" on the American Dream (Hochschild, 1995). In addition, these challenges may influence the fact that African American students often experience difficulties in the social environments of campus life. Therefore, additional policy recommendations are needed to encourage the development of programs and services leading to the creation of safe and culturally competent campus climates that engender African American college [and graduate] student success (Watson et al., 2002).

Still, some Black students have excelled in S&E and STEM degree programs despite the many obstacles that have arisen largely because of the historical vestiges of racism in America. The experiences of these high-achieving Black collegians deserve additional research attention as well. Much like the work of several leading Black scholars (Davis, 2003; Fries-Britt, 1997, 2000; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002), future research should capitalize on both quantitative and qualitative methods to "give voice" to the experiences of those who perform well academically in science and science-related fields.

Findings from the current study suggest that both Black men and women place value on the academic reputation of the school. This is important to note but even more so when taken into account with recent discussions about measuring quality in higher education. How do students gauge the academic reputation of an institution? U.S. News and World Report rankings? National Science Foundation rankings? Or, anecdotal evidence and personal accounts twice told by parents who attended such institutions or siblings, friends, and mentors? This is an important area for educational researchers to probe. Not only will this provide important information to administrators and faculty members who might use such data to improve their recruitment and marketing strategies, but it will also provide leverage for those who disseminate information about colleges' quality to students. Most economic and rational choice models are based on the assumption that students make rational decisions based on complete information (Ehrenberg, 1991a, 1991b), but the jury is still out on whether students have enough information to make reasonable estimates about the quality of a college or university.

Limitations

As with all research, this study was not without limitations. The variables included in this study were limited to those measured by the B&B survey only. It is possible that other factors, not measured here, influenced the college choice decision-making process of Black graduate students. Thus, results should be interpreted within the context of this limitation. In addition, this research focuses on Black graduate students in education and STEM fields. Findings may not reflect the importance of such factors for students in law and health-related fields to name a few. Future research should address this gap in the literature and focus primarily on such groups.

In addition, the B&B:93/97 survey asked participants to identify the factors to which they gave consideration when selecting a post-BA or graduate school. In this way, the data are "self-

reports" and may be considered a limitation given concerns about "halo-effect" and measurement issues such a validity and reliability. However, self-report data are widely relied upon in "college impact" research and the validity and reliability of these data have been extensively investigated (Baird, 1976; Berdie, 1971; Pace, 1985; Pike, 1996; Pohlmann & Beggs, 1974). Research has shown that self-report data are likely to be valid under these five conditions:

1. the information requested is known to the respondents;
2. the questions are phrased clearly and unambiguously;
3. the questions refer to recent activities;
4. the respondents think the questions merit a serious and thoughtful response;
5. answer the question does not threaten, embarrass, or violate the privacy of the respondent or encourage the respondent to respond in socially desirable ways (Kuh et al., 2001, p. 9).

Despite these limitations, however, the study offered some initial insights into the college choice process of Black graduate students in education and STEM fields. These findings might be used to further our understanding of the college choice process, theoretically, and the choices of African Americans in graduate education, specifically.

Relevance to the Conference Theme

This paper is relevant to the theme because it contributed to the body of knowledge on graduate education (Strayhorn, 2005b), college choice (Freeman, 1997, 1999; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987), and graduate student outcomes specifically for African Americans. In doing so, the authors addressed the overarching community question, how do we encourage more African Americans to pursue graduate studies in the areas of STEM and education? The authors proposed several strategies to address this question.

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Table 1
Representation of African Americans in the United States in 1980 and 1995

Race/Ethnicity	1980	1995
White	80.4%	73.5%
Black	11.5%	12.6%
Hispanic	6.1%	10.5%

Table 2
Underrepresented minority share of S&E graduate enrollment, by field: 1983 and 2003

Underrepresented minority share of S&E graduate enrollment, by field: 1983 and 2003

	1983		2003	
Field	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
S&E	24,099	6.2	60,298	10.6
Engineering	2,999	3.3	7,492	5.9
Science	21,100	7.1	52,806	12.0
Natural sciences	9,198	4.9	27,277	9.3
Agricultural sciences	395	3.1	1,035	7.8
Biological sciences	2,179	4.8	5,847	9.0
Earth, atmospheric, and ocean sciences	365	2.4	817	5.6
Computer sciences	875	3.8	3,148	5.9
Mathematics/statistics	764	4.4	1,287	6.6
Medical/other life sciences	3,437	7.9	13,028	14.1
Physical sciences	1,183	4.0	2,115	6.2
Social/behavioral sciences	11,902	10.6	25,529	17.4
Psychology	3,829	9.4	9,674	18.6
Social sciences	8,073	11.3	15,855	16.7

SOURCE: National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resources Statistics, Survey of Graduate Students and Postdoctorates in Science and Engineering, Integrated Science and Engineering Resources Data System (WebCASPAR), http://webcaspar.nsf.gov.

Science and Engineering Indicators 2006

Table 3
S&E doctorates conferred by citizenship status and race/ethnicity: 1990–2003
Doctorates (thousands)

	White males	White females	Underrepresented minorities	Asians	Temporary visa holders
1990	8.85	4.98	0.93	1.04	6.77
1991	8.78	5.25	1.07	1.22	7.85
1992	8.79	5.25	1.04	1.38	8.34
1993	8.92	5.60	1.14	1.64	8.35
1994	8.98	5.76	1.18	3.07	7.76
1995	8.90	5.81	1.29	3.75	7.25
1996	8.85	5.95	1.38	3.16	8.10
1997	8.77	5.87	1.44	2.61	7.78
1998	8.74	6.18	1.60	2.21	8.06
1999	8.51	6.03	1.65	2.01	7.52
2000	8.20	6.20	1.64	1.80	7.96
2001	7.74	5.93	1.55	1.75	8.27
2002	7.15	5.72	1.58	1.75	8.01
2003	7.14	5.81	1.59	1.64	8.71

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Teaching & Learning

NEW

Blueprint for Learning

Constructing College Courses to Facilitate, Assess, and Document Learning

Laurie Richlin

"Models, matrices, and rubrics abound in this rich resource for course design and the scholarship of teaching and learning. Faculty will love it!"—***Laura L. B. Border,*** *Director, Graduate Teacher Program, University of Colorado at Boulder*

"Richlin has done a very thorough synthesis of the primary work in the field...it will be of great value to me and our faculty."—***James E. Zull,*** *professor of Biology and Director of the University Center for Innovation in Teaching and Education, Case Western Reserve University*

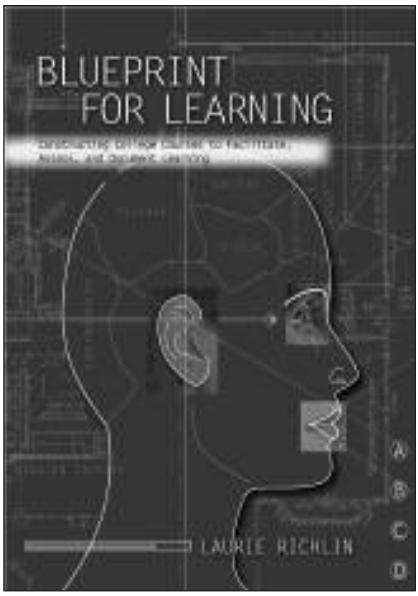
"Great job of synthesizing and integrating so much content into a coherent, useful form."—***Thomas A. Angelo****, professor of higher education and director of the University Teaching Development Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*

"As always, I am intrigued and impressed by Richlin's ability to summarize an expanse of ideas and experiences, create a compelling synthesis, and present this new understanding in readable and appealing form."—***Brenda Manning,*** *Director, Faculty Development Family Practice Residency & Faculty Development Fellowship, University of Pittsburgh Medical Center*

Laurie Richlin has been conducting a workshop on course design for over fifteen years, modifying and improving it progressively from the feedback of participants, and from what they in turn have taught her. This book makes her approach available to a wider audience.

Her goals are to enable participants appropriately to select teaching strategies, to design and create the conditions and experiences that will enable their students to learn; and in the process to develop the scholarly scaffold to document their ongoing course design and achievements in a portfolio.

This book familiarizes readers with course design elements; enables them understand themselves as individuals and teachers; know their students; adapt to the learning environment; design courses that promote deep learning; and



assess the impact of the teaching practices and design choices they have made. She provides tools to create a full syllabus, offers guidance on such issues as framing questions that encourage discussion, developing assignments with rubrics, and creating tests.

The book is packed with resources that will help readers structure their courses and constitute a rich reference of proven ideas.

She is concerned with "fit" and flexibility – the need for teachers to attend to such differences as who their colleagues and students are, the culture of their departments, and institutional expectations.

The book is infused with a sense of realism. It recognizes the inherent messiness of teaching, and that there is no such thing as a perfect course; that each iteration takes place at a different point in a teacher's life, with different students, in different places and times, with content that itself evolves.

The Author: Laurie Richlin is Director of the Preparing Future Faculty Program at Claremont Graduate University as well as Director of the regional Lilly Conferences on College and University Teaching, Executive Editor of the *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching,* and President of the International Alliance of Teacher Scholars

160pp, over 80 tables & figs., 8 ½" x 11"
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NEW

Teaching and Learning Building Design and Construction

Edited by David Dowdle and Vian Ahmed

Innovation in building design and construction is supported by a strong teaching and learning (T&L) platform. Issues such as increasing class sizes, loss of construction laboratory space, and the need for students to earn money while in full-time education can cause problems in student attendance and progression. New T&L strategies are required to cope successfully with a growing number of students and a changing student profile.

This special issue of the international journal of *Architectural Engineering and Design Management* covers key themes in this arena, including student-centered learning, practice-based learning, good practice and evaluation, and instructional systems design (ISD). Also included are contributions on e-pedagogy, standardization of e-learning and learning objects, e-learning to bridge the gap between industry and academia and virtual learning environments.

This is required reading for teachers and students in the built environment, in particular university courses on engineering, architecture, and related topics, as well as all professionals interested in T&L, continuing professional development (CPD), and distance learning in the built environment sector.

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EARTHSCAN

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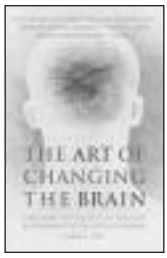

BESTSELLER

The Art of Changing the Brain

Enriching the Practice of Teaching by Exploring the Biology of Learning

James Zull

"Zull's years of experience as both professor of biology and director of a university teaching institute are apparent; the book is well written and appropriately technical for the audience interested in applying current knowledge about the brain to learning and instructing. Highly recommended."—***Choice***

"This is the best book I have read about the brain and learning. Zull's perspective forms the foundation for a teaching approach that can dramatically improve human learning."—***David A. Kolb,*** *Dept. of Organizational Behavior, CWRU*

"James Zull's crystal-clear mapping of how learning occurs, how learning changes the brain, and how many parts of the brain are activated as one learns should be interesting for all who teach. Zull relays a teaching approach, and the neuroscience behind that approach, that can dramatically affect learning."—***Nursing Education Perspectives***

"Engaging and logically organized, providing readers with practical suggestions for applying the concepts in the classroom and other learning situations."—***Effective Teaching***

James Zull invites teachers in higher education or any other setting to accompany him in his exploration of what scientists can tell us about the brain and to discover how this knowledge can influence the practice of teaching. He describes the brain in clear non-technical language and an engaging conversational tone, highlighting its functions and parts and how they interact, and always relating them to the real world of the classroom and his own evolution as a teacher.

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Thinking about Teaching and Learning

Developing Habits of Learning with First Year College and University Students

Robert Leamnson

"Fascinating, compelling, sensible and provocative. It has set me thinking—hard—about how I go about my job."—***Mark Wasserman,*** *Professor of History, Rutgers University*

"A gem. His practical, positive insights in this book are simply great."—***Ed Nuhfer,*** *Director, Center for Teaching and Learning, Idaho State University*

"He explains what works, why it works, and how faculty can use his ideas from the first day of class on. An excellent guide to narrow the gap between expectations and performance in the college classroom."—***Tom Edwards,*** *Associate Academic Dean, Castleton State College, Vermont*

"Well worth reading for its wisdom, unusual perspective, and refreshing style. These qualities reflect the author's background as a biologist and a very experienced teacher at both secondary and tertiary levels. I recommend this thought-provoking and enjoyable book to anyone involved in teaching first-year students."—***Educational Developments***

"Highly recommended for experts and novices alike. It has practical ideas for classroom techniques, balanced by throughtful, well-researched ideas about the nature of teaching. A quick and elightening read."—***Nursing Education Perspectives***

A compelling read for teachers in higher education who want to refresh or reexamine their classroom practice and teaching philosophy. Building on the insights offered by recent discoveries about the biological basis of learning, and on his own thought-provoking definitions of teaching, learning and education, the author proceeds to the practical details of instruction that teachers are most interested in — the things that make or break teaching.

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Disciplines as Frameworks for Student Learning

Teaching the Practice of the Disciplines

Edited by Tim Riordan and James Roth

"Valuable as an example of how individual faculty have thought through their discipline to understand its value within the context of an education. It provides a fine view of a holistic approach to higher education, where assessment, learning activities, and disciplinary content are inseparable, rather than seen as discrete building blocks. While it is not intended primarily as a course design handbook, it does provide some excellent examples of alternative asessments and collaborative learning activities. Above all, it will be sure to spark reflection in readers about the value of their own disciplines, and how they may be better taught and practiced."—***The National Teaching and Learning Forum***

"Explores the commonalties and differences of teaching various disciplines in a way that greatly enhances everyone's ability to pursue our ultimate common goal of creating significant learning experiences for students."—***Dee Fink,*** *past President of the POD Network*

Making a discipline come alive for those who are not experts – particularly students who may only take one or two courses – requires rigorous thought about what really matters in a field and how to engage students in its practice.

Faculty from several disciplines – chemistry, economics, history, literature, mathematics and philosophy – here demonstrate what it means for them to approach their disciplines as frameworks for student learning. They show how they have shaped their teaching around the ways of thinking they want their students to develop; and how they design assessments that require students to demonstrate their thinking and understanding through application and use.

The Editors: Tim Riordan is professor of philosophy and associate dean for academic affairs at Alverno College. James Roth is professor of history at Alverno College

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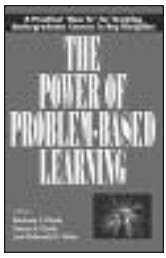

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The Power of Problem-Based Learning

A Practical "How To" for Teaching Undergraduate Courses in Any Discipline

Edited by Barbara J. Duch, Susan E. Groh and Deborah E. Allen

"I have followed the superb activities of these authors and colleagues at the University of Delaware to bring PBL to undergraduate education. In this book, they share their experiences. This book does not disappoint."—***PBL Insight***

"Makes the difficult task of turning classrooms into settings for active learning a whole lot easier."—***Russ Edgerton***

"It's a practical guide for both faculty and administrators dedicated to using one of the great active learning methods—the one that is absolutely tops in my judgment in training students to be independent learners."—***Clyde Freeman Herreid,*** *Director of the National Center for Case Study Teaching in Science*

Focuses on the practical questions that anyone wishing to embark on PBL wants to know: "Where do I start?"—"How do you find problems?"—"What do I need to know about managing groups?"—"How do you grade?"

The case studies from a variety of disciplines – including biochemistry, pre-law, physics, nursing, chemistry, political science and teacher education – provide examples of practice. This introduction will assist faculty, department chairs and faculty developers to successfully harness this powerful process to improving learning outcomes.

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Also by Marcia Baxter Magolda:

Making Their Own Way

p. 36

Learning Partnerships

Theory and Models of Practice to Educate for Self-Authorship

Edited by Marcia Baxter Magolda and Patricia M. King

"Those interested in strengthening the ties between theory and practice and between faculty and student affairs can find inspiration here. Those committed to developing the co-curriculum to promote self-authorship will have a better sense of how to do that from this book. It could serve as a text for courses on epistemological development or teaching and learning. It could provide a foundation for professional development for faculty or student affairs practitioners (and examples for doing so are included). With this volume, Baxter Magolda and King continue to make significant contributions to higher education and student affairs and encourage learning partnerships to promote students' development."—***Journal of College Student Development***

While a common goal of higher education is to improve student learning to prepare young adults for the professional, civic and personal challenges of their lives, few institutions have a model to facilitate these outcomes. *Learning Partnerships* offers a grounded theory and practical examples of how these objectives can be achieved at the college, course, program, and institutional levels.

The book documents examples of actual practice and the learning outcomes they have yielded. The settings include community college and undergraduate courses, exchange and internship programs, residential life, a Masters' program, faculty development and student affairs organization.

Learning Partnerships offers models for all educators — faculty and student affairs staff alike — who work to balance guidance and learner responsibility to prepare students for the complexity of the twenty-first century.

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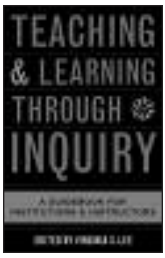

Teaching and Learning through Inquiry

A Guidebook for Institutions and Instructors

Edited by Virginia S. Lee

"Faculty, do you want to use inquiry-guided learning in your classes? Faculty Developers, do you want to support change in teaching and learning practices? Administrators, do you want a case study on managing undergraduate reform efforts? If you answer 'yes' to any of these questions, then Virginia Lee's book is an excellent starting point. This book is a 'must read' for faculty who want their students to learn to think critically, develop inquiry skills, and take responsibility for learning. It offers a key strategy for achieving these goals and deepening the undergraduate learning experience. The book also provides faculty developers and administrators with ideas on creating and supporting change in the higher education classroom."—***The National Teaching and Learning Forum***

Inquiry-guided learning (IGL) is a pedagogy that promotes student learning through guided and, increasingly independent investigation of complex questions and problems. Rather than teaching the results of others' investigations, which students learn passively, instructors assist students in mastering and learning through the process of active investigation itself.

North Carolina State University is at the forefront of the development and implementation of IGL both at the course level and as part of a successful faculty-led process of reform of undergraduate education.

This book documents and explores how faculty arrived at their current understanding of inquiry-guided learning and how they have interpreted it at various levels — the individual course, the major, the college, the university-wide program, and the undergraduate curriculum as a whole — and how they have assessed its impact.

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Team-Based Learning

A Transformative Use of Small Groups in College Teaching

Edited by Larry K. Michaelsen, Arletta Bauman Knight and L. Dee Fink

"Five years ago, after 25 years of teaching, I adopted Team-Based Learning. The impact on student learning and my pleasure in teaching was profound. My course gained such a positive reputation that it grew from 25 students to 400—with TBL equally effective at this level of enrollment—and I recently was recognized with the Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Teaching. This book includes all the wisdom, inspiration and practical advice needed to implement TBL in the classroom."—***Jane Connor,*** *professor of Psychology, SUNY Binghamton*

This book describes team-based learning (TBL), a powerful and versatile teaching strategy that enables teachers to take small group learning to a whole new level of effectiveness. It is the only pedagogical use of small groups that is based on a recognition of the critical difference between "groups" and "teams," and intentionally employs specific procedures to transform newly-formed groups into high performance learning teams. This book is a complete guide to implementing TBL in a way that will promote the deep learning all teachers strive for.

The Editors: Larry K. Michaelsen is professor of Management at Central Missouri State University. Arletta Bauman Knight served as Associate Director of the Instructional Development Program at the University of Oklahoma (1992 — 2002). L. Dee Fink established the Instructional Development Program at Oklahoma and served as director until his recent retirement.

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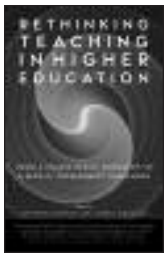

Rethinking Teaching in Higher Education

From a Course Design Workshop to a Faculty Development Framework

Edited by Alenoush Saroyan and Cheryl Amundsen

"Brings to life the practice and scholarship of faculty development. By tracing the evolution of a course design workshop from the perspectives of faculty developers and participating colleagues from diverse disciplines, the authors provide rich insights into the development of teaching as creative, scholarly work. Their thoughtful analysis is an essential read for everyone with an interest in building teaching and learning capacity in higher education."—***K. Lynn Taylor,*** *Director, Centre for Learning and Teaching, Dalhousie University*

"An invaluable resource for faculty who wish to scrutinize and enhance the quality of what they teach as well as how they teach. An impressive example and case study of reflection on teaching in practice!"—***Christopher Knapper,*** *Professor Emeritus, Queen's University, Canada*

"This book will be useful to faculty developers seeking to articulate a conceptual framework for what they do and understand how to assess their impact, administrators wanting to know why and how to support teaching development, and faculty interested in course redesign. The field will-benefit immensely from this work."—***Nancy Chism,*** *Associate Vice Chancellor for Professional Development and Associate Dean of the Faculties at IUPUI*

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p. 29

TWO BESTSELLERS BY RON BERK

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How to Write and Deliver Humor in the Classroom and in Professional Presentations

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"Ronald Berk, a recognized authority in measurement and biostatistics, has written two books on the use of humor in teaching and professional presentations. Both books incorporate his humorous style and are easy and enjoyable to read while also being useful as guides to the use of humor.

Professors Are from Mars provides a rationale, evidence, and helpful hints for those who are interested in using humor in their presentations or materials. *Humor as an Instructional Defibrillator* provides much of the same information, but extends the review of scholarship dealing with the effects of humor, provides more examples, and contains a larger treatment of assessment issues, including test item construction.

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Using Simulations to Promote Learning in Higher Education

An Introduction

John Paul Hertel and Barbara Millis

"Its thoughtful promps and detailed examples show the reader how to author and carry out an effective simulation in the higher education context."—***Journal of College Student Development***

"Whether you are a veteran user or a novice, this book is a valuable resource. The authors present a comprehensive review of the why and what of education simulation, as well as several valuable tools for creating and using simulations."—***Nursing Education Perspectives***

Assuming no prior experience, the authors provide an introduction to selecting and designing scenarios for all sizes of class; offer guidance on creating simulations to meet learning objectives; and practical advice on managing the process in the classroom, including debriefing and assessment.

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Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning

Exploring Common Ground

Edited by Mary Taylor Huber and Sherwyn P. Morreale

Ten sets of disciplinary scholars respond to an orienting essay that raises questions about the history of discourse about teaching and learning in the disciplines, the ways in which disciplinary "styles" influence inquiry into teaching and learning, and the nature and roles of interdisciplinary exchange. Disciplines represented are: chemistry communication studies, engineering, English studies, history, interdisciplinary studies, management sciences, mathematics, psychology, and sociology.

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Learning from Change

Landmarks in Teaching and Learning in Higher Education from Change Magazine 1969-1999

Edited by Deborah DeZure
Foreword By Theodore J. Marchese

"A single rich resource from which to draw inspiration, models of good practice, and foundations upon which to build future initiatives.This collaborative work contains more than 160 excerpts and articles organized across 13 broadly defined subject areas. Each topic is introduced by experts who help the reader understand the breadth and complexity of the material presented."—***AAHE Bulletin***

"Of particular use to the Chair who is newly thinking about a specific issue - say science reform or evaluation of teaching - is that, by reading the introduction to a section and the articles and excerpts to illustrate its topic, he or she can get a quick and useful overview of the history – issues and dilemmas, innovations (both faddish and enduring), the pressures for and against change – documented over three decades in Change – a rich resource for the new or younger Chair."—***The Department Chair***

This book constitutes an important compass for administrators in higher education, directors of faculty development, and deans, department chairs and faculty engaged in leadership roles in the academy. It is an invaluable introduction and survey for anyone who wants to familiarize him or herself with the issues and trends.

256 pp, 7" x 10"
Paper, 2000, 1 57922 002 9, $27.50, (5)

Stylus

Learning Climates that Cultivate Racial & Ethnic Diversity in the Disciplines

Series Editor: Carolyn Vasques-Scalera

These disciplinary-specific volumes describe teaching and learning strategies that cultivate racial and ethnic diversity and promote success for all students, particularly in intro and gateway courses into the major in the disciplines. Practice-oriented, each volume is written by faculty for faculty who face similar teaching tasks. Each examines assumptions about diversity and teaching/learning, and provides strategies for enacting learning environments that are more inclusive and conducive to the success of all students. A resource for conversation and action in individual classrooms, departments, and in the discipline.

Publication supported by a grant from the Knight Foundation

Included In Communication

Learning Climates that Cultivate Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Edited by Judith Trent

198 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 2002, 1 56377 051 2, $32.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $26.00

Included In English Studies

Learning Climates that Cultivate Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Edited by Shelli B Fowler and Victor Villaneuva

192 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 2002, 1 56377 056 3, $32.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $26.00

Included In Sociology

Learning Climates that Cultivate Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Edited by Jeffrey Chin, Catherine White Berheide and Dennis Rome

270 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 2002, 1 56377 055 5, $32.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $26.00

Learning Literature in an Era of Change

Innovations in Teaching

Edited by Dona J. Hickey and Donna Reiss

This book presents a range of teaching strategies developed by teachers of literature who have heard the call from students, employers, and academic administrators for more relevant learning experiences in an ever-changing world. Integrating critical theory and classroom experience, the contributors to this book demonstrate how they foster learning, collaboration and cooperation, and creative thinking. Practicing teachers here offer their peers in literature and composition, and faculty developers, an exciting range of new models where professors are partners in learning, and where education is not delivered but discovered and disseminated.

256 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 2000, 1 57922 018 5, $22.50, (5)

Stylus

Making Teaching Community Property

A Menu for Peer Collaboration and Peer Review

Pat Hutchings
Preface by Russell Edgerton

Describes strategies through which faculty can document and "go public" with their teaching - be it for purposes of improvement or evaluation. Each chapter features a different strategy – including "teaching circles" and course portfolios – and reports by faculty who have tried them, guidelines for good practice, and an annotated list of resources. Offers lessons campuses can use to create more effective systems for the formal evaluation and reward of teaching.

128 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Paper, 1996, 1 56377 031 8, $27.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $22.00

AAHE

Learning and Changing

Through Programmatic Self-Study and Peer Review

Edited by Jodi Levi Laufgraben
Foreword By Peter T. Ewell

What happens when faculty and staff from three universities work together over a six-year period to improve programs for first-year students? This book describes what was achieved through the communities of practice created on campus and among campuses and through the process of programmatic self-study, which uses collaboration and evaluation techniques that are widely transferable across projects, programs, and institutions.

70 pp, 5" x 8"
Paper, 2004, 1 56377 067 9, $14.95, (5)
AAHE member price: $11.95

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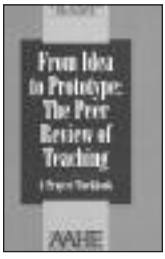

From Idea to Prototype

The Peer Review of Teaching - A Project Workbook

Edited by Pat Hutchings

Is your campus looking for better ways to document, improve, and evaluate teaching? This three-ring binder of reproducible materials contains exercises, handouts, actual samples of a "course portfolio," guidelines and checklists, a menu of peer review strategies, an annotated bibliography, and short articles – the resources you need to mount your own peer review effort.

150 pp, 9" x 11"
Ring Binder, 1995, 1 56377 032 6, $95.00, (5)
AAHE member price: $80.00

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2006 BOTA THINK TANK

Manuscript by David Moore

The purpose of my proposal is to present a scholarly paper at your 2006 BOTA Think Tank Conference that will illuminate the importance of studying and learning about the rich experiences of African/African American people. I call my presentation 'Black History Lifetime.' I feel my manuscript is greatly in line with your theme 'Black Scholars and the Study of Black Folks.' Many have never examined the way the people that descended from the continent of Africa have had an influence on people and other cultures throughout the world. I as a self-taught historian will show and explain how my interest in "Black History Lifetime" has allowed me to speak at various universities and other institutions. This has allowed me to have access to audiences and people that would have never happened if not for my interest in sharing my research with various public schools, colleges, organizations, and businesses. In my presentation I will lift up the positive contributions that many people have never heard and will do it in a way that people may never hear again. In addition, I will also lay a blue print so that others may also duplicate this knowledge and have the same experiences or go further with the research than I ever did. My email address is: "Africanhistory3@hotmail.com".

<u>The problem or issue and it's relevance to the Think Tank:</u>

As I see the problem it seems our people are not excelling or are seen as not being worthy parts of society in the minds of the white majority. This is in part to our lack of knowledge or confidence that we can do well in the academic arena. This state of mind has a historical context from African Americans being told they were taken out of Africa where they were swinging in trees and brought to America to be civilized. I call this "The Tarzan Syndrome." And by this I mean we have been seen as animals and people that have no significant contributions to the civilized world. We have been even been categorized through research papers as being savage, small brains, strong backs, slow to thought, and loving to dance, sing and play music. You may think these images of African and African American people have been eradicated in the mind of white culture. However, you would be surprised as to what notions are still held in the mind of some of those in positions of controlling and creating our image. Some of the distortions of our people are still being taught in the books used in the public, private and college settings and continue to pollute the mind instead of cleansing it.

Many young and older African Americans do not know that we have a history that goes beyond slavery in this nation and other parts of the Caribbean. Many of our people believe still that our written history begins shortly after our encounter with the Admiral Christopher Columbus in 1492 and not before that. As long as these notions are held by our people we will not achieve the greatness that is at our fingertips. Much of the deterioration of the people of African descent could certainly be attributed to our lack of knowledge historically of many of the great things our people have done from the period of 4000 B.C. in Ancient Egypt right up to the present.

I believe my manuscript will address the way Black History Lifetime can be used to help put the history of African Americans into our daily lives or at least once a week if an individual would devote their time and energies to it. If one chose to concentrate more on Black History Lifetime it could certainly improve ones self-image and can also be brought up at some point in our daily discussion with others in our social circle. Unfortunately, you can not bring it up in casual or structured discussion if you have not had contact with it. This can be done by devoting one half hour to an hour a week to the area of Black History Lifetime. When you consider there is 168 hours in a week, using one hour to focus on Black History Lifetime is not consuming too much of one person or group during the week.

Provide a thorough review of the status or condition that is being addressed:

It is extremely difficult for our youth and adults to rise to their great potential if they are being taught with second hand textbooks by teachers that are not motivated to use high standards and high expectations in dealing with our youth. The way our people are being portrayed in the media through movies, songs, print ads, commercials, posters, newspapers, television and other forms of media can certainly stand for correction and improvement. If we don't stand up as a people and improve our images through positive education and behavior that will be the envy of the world we are headed for trouble as a people at a great rate of speed. Often times the media lifts up to the world our troubled behavior, high birth rate without marriage, broken family problems, lack of values toward academic achievement and our tendency to be consumers. This has caused African Americans to have the highest dropout rate, highest poverty rate, and has plagued us with earning less money in the work force than our white counterparts once we start jobs or pursue careers. While all of this is going on the cost of higher education has been out of reach of many of our people as it goes up annually to such a level that we have systematically been priced out of the equation.

If we as a people (meaning African Americans and those of African descent) do happen to get accepted to a college campus we have to work twice as hard as some or most of our white counterparts to achieve. This is not in place by accident. If you lay a foundation where one uses antiquated methods and expect to keep up in an advanced society you do not have a recipe for success. In my proposal if a student comes into an educational setting with a positive understanding of their historical legacy it goes a long way into boosting their confidence by having many examples of others of their lineage that achieved against overwhelming odds.

Provide an explanation or insight into the issue or condition being addressed:

I will use myself as an example. I grew up in the 1960s-70s and was taught in the Springfield, Massachusetts public school system. Through grade k-12 when it came to Black History Month the same names or topics were raised each year: Harriet Tubman, Phyliss Wheatley, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglas, Reconstruction Era, and of course slavery. The only time African or African American people were mentioned was in connection to slavery or the short period after called Reconstruction. This was before the civil rights movement made it into the history books as it was still occurring at the time or had shortly ended and history books or Social Studies had not yet placed it.

In high school I did have a Black History class taught by an African American that had a Doctorate degree ironically. Even in that course it started with the 19 Negroes on the ship from England bound for Virginia in 1619. The significance of the year 1619 was the beginning of Servitude or Slavery as it came to be synonymous with those of African descent for the next 250 years and in some cases beyond.

I did four years in the military (Air Force) and completed four years of active duty. One year after completing active duty I became a full-time student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Ma. I would say my first real introduction into Black History started as I worked at the college Black newspaper called 'Nummo News.' It was during those late night sessions in 1985 while laying out the newspaper that I heard discussions of our people having done positive things that I had never heard of before. I heard the names of Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, Cheik Anta Diop, Ivan Van Sertima, Dr. Yosef Ben Yochnan, and others. I also heard that Africans had ruled great kingdoms in Africa and had been kings and queens while the white man was still living in savagery. My mind was reeling and my jaw stood wide open as I listened to some of the newspaper staff members tell what they knew. I was spell bound and wanted to know more. Even though they had not discussed these events in great detail it was more than I had ever heard any place else. One of the members told me he had some tapes in his room and had given me a list of four books I could read if I wanted to know more. I did eventually get my hand on some of the books, but he never gave me the tapes. I also had a class titled 'The Harlem Renassaince' that helped my growth.

That Summer I had stayed over on Umass campus working odd jobs and I began reading 'The Autobiography of Malcolm X' and that opened doors and windows in my mind. Many people after reading Minister Malcolm's story only relate to his fiery rhetoric while in the Nation of Islam, but I was fascinated by his grasp of African and African American history and how he would read books voraciously. Reading Minister Malcolm's story further ignited my thirst for African and African American history and led me to read 'Soul on Ice' by Eldridge Cleaver and 'The World and Africa' by W.E.B. Dubois. Once I read those three books alone there was no turning back. Something had started within me that continues to this day.

While still at Umass I read other books of importance such as: 'Lay My Burden Down' by B.A. Botkin; 'A History of the African People' by Robert July; 'To Be a Slave' by Julius Lester; and 'The Myth of the Negro Past' by Melville J. Herskovits.

Shortly before leaving Umass I heard three or four different well known speakers in 1987-1988, two of which changed my life forever. One of the speakers was Julian Bond a civil rights leader who had worked with Dr. King. Mr. Bond spoke on his involvement with the "Civil Rights Movement" and his talk was short (less than 30 minutes) and he was boring and awful. The second speaker was Dr. Leonard Jeffries who spoke on "Ancient Egypt." Dr. Jeffries spoke for three hours and was so dynamic and informative that the focus of Ancient Egypt as a place and time period is still a favorite of mine today. Ancient Egypt became the first of at least 6-10 lectures that I later developed as I starting doing lectures on my own.

After graduating from Umass I read other books and had started listening to many tapes I had accumulated by Minister Malcolm X. I still have 13 of his speeches and play them continuously much to the chagrin of my wife. I would play those tapes at home, in the car or any place I could. I can not begin to tell you the importance of those tapes in my growth as a self-taught historian. I later began attending lectures by others and acquiring other lecture tapes by other historians of Black culture. Of course I still continued reading a growing number of books that I purchased, some used and some new. I would haunt the book stores at Harvard Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts as well as some bookstores in Dorchester, Ma and even in Chicago.

Eventually in 1990 I was able to teach a class titled 'Ancient Egypt' at my church "St. John's Baptist Church' in Woburn, Ma. Shortly after teaching that church class I was invited to speak at a regional conference of Black Engineers (NSBE) in 1990 at MIT College in Cambridge, Ma. I was nervous, but I jumped at the offer. That was my first real audience lecture type style among college students from across the East Coast. That class was well attended by at least 200 young college African American youth and they went and grabbed their friends and brought them into the room as I was talking. That made me feel good as there were other work shops going on in the same time slot and mine was by far the most attended having standing room only before I had finished speaking on my topic.

In February 1991 a company that I worked for sponsored me to speak to 10 public schools in the Boston, Ma area during Black History Month. Since then I have spoke at numerous colleges (Harvard University twice, Suffolk University, Northeastern Univ, Roxbury Community College, Amherst College, Umass Amherst, and others). I have also spoken at Operation Push, University of Maryland and The Basketball Hall of Fame. All of that was accomplished by a self-taught historian. I admit I am a college graduate of Umass Amherst, but I did not minor nor major in Black History and am purely self-taught in the same fashion of Minister Malcolm X and many others.

I have also been the host of a local radio show titled 'Black History Lifetime' on (WTCC 90.7fm) in Springfield, Ma that focused on 56 individuals from our past that most people have never heard of. The shows started with kings, queens and leaders from Ancient Egypt (Africa) circa 4000 B.C., and ended up with leaders of the African revolutions and other fellow African countrymen. All 56 shows were done without focusing on a single person that was a slave or dealing with the slave era in these United States. I admit I am not a big name draw speaker such as: Dr. Ivan Van Sertima, Dr. Yosef Ben Yochnan, Dr. Frances Cress-Welsing and others, but my topics are just as worthy and informative. However, when people see the names of more well known speakers they will draw a crowd where lesser names might only get a handful of attendees even though the talk could be just as rewarding.

I admit it was convenient to use myself as an example, but I just wanted to show what was possible for someone if they chose to study African and African American history in their spare time or in a structured environment. I have left out many details, but I wanted you readers of this manuscript to have a grasp of the possibilities that are available to you also.

<u>Provide insight into how the current condition will impact the future status of the African American community:</u>

If we as people of African descent in these United States commonly called African Americans continue on the current course we are headed for vast trouble. Sure the most educated of us will thrive as well as athletes, entertainers, and those that are useful to the Republic. However, what about the majority of the underclass in this society? If you thought those that shape public policy cared about them or us just take a look at what happened during and after Hurricane Katrina in August 2005. That event should not have served as a wake up call. The African American community has been a mere after thought when it came to distributing resources since the founding of this nation in the 1700s. In case you missed it that was the primary message of Minister Malcolm X during his active well known speech life. It was also the message of Fannie Lou Hamer, Stokely Carmichael, the Black Panther Party, Elijah Muhammad, Paul Robeson, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey and many others. As one of my favorite authors (Dr. John Henrik Clarke) and speakers said "we had the proper messengers, we just didn't listen."

If we as a people stay the same course we will continue to endure "the worst form of education, worst housing, poverty, and exploitation" all of this Minister Malcolm X stated decades ago. We as a people will have to put an emphasis and priority to valuing a good education, raising our hands in the classroom setting, insuring our children are doing their homework before being able to participate in extra curricular activities like basketball and other sports. Basketball and other sports are less sure than getting a good education. Our children of the present generation are the first that will not have a better life than their parents before them did. That should be unacceptable to every African American man, woman and child as well as to society on the whole.

Provide suggestions and stimulus for addressing the issue in the form of a strategy:

I would like to see all youth and adults have access to the information that I have researched over the past 16 years and have named 'Black History Lifetime.' Not just African American youth and adults. Each time I do a lecture/talk I freely give all hand outs and the list of books that I referenced as research in doing my talk in hopes that someone in the audience will take the material further than I did. It would be my great desire that since I know the list of books and resources that I possess are not used in the public or private school system in this Republic that someone might see this manuscript and start using the materials listed.

As I stated I didn't start learning this information until I was in college. I realize not all youth and adults we encounter will be able to achieve a college education this information could be used in the public schools and various organizations. I previously stated my greatest mentor was dead before I started studying him and that person is Minister Malcolm X. I used his life, speeches, books, documentaries, and such as a great motivator for me to learn more and be more of a critical thinker and to expand my state of awareness and consciousness. Minister Malcolm X will never know how much his life had a profound impact on my life, but I know.

I will provide a list of books and tapes that others can use later in the manuscript even if they never attend the 2006 BOTA Think Tank. If it is the hope and desire of BOTA to have our manuscript be able to be duplicated without our presence then I go along with that also and have already been doing that. It is my deep desire that this conference is not just a group of intellectuals that mouth about how they are helping our people, but are actually already out doing that and will do so to an even deeper degree after the conference is done.

Now below will be a list of some books that have helped my growth:

The Autobiography of Malcolm X by Alex Haley
The World and Africa by W.E.B. Dubois
Stolen Legacy by George G.M. James
Sex and Race Volume I, II, and III by J.A. Rogers
World's Great Men of Color by J.A. Rogers
Your History by J.A. Rogers
From Superman to Man by J.A. Rogers
Africa's Gift to America by J.A. Rogers
World's Great Men of Color Volume I and II by J.A. Rogers
Ancient African Kingdoms by Golden Legacy (comic book style)
A Salute to Historic Kings and Queens by Empak Publishing (comic book style)
Aesop's Fables
The Negro by W.E.B. Dubois
To Be A Slave by Julius Lester (slave narratives)

Lay My Burden Down by B.A. Botkin (slave narratives)
From Sundown to Sunup by George P. Rawick (slave narratives)
Malcolm X on Afro American History by Pathfinder Press
Malcolm X Speaks by Grove Press
Malcolm X As They Knew Him by David Gallen
Remembering Malcolm by Benjamin Karim, with Peter Sketches and David Gallen
Malcolm X the Last Speeches by Bruce Perry
Malcolm X The Man and His Times by Dr. John Henrik Clarke
Malcolm X By Any Means Necessary by George Breitman
The Miseducation of the Negro by Carter G. Woodson
The Egyptian Book of the Dead by E.A. Wallis Budge
Introduction to African Civilizations by John G. Jackson
From Babylon to Timbuctoo by Rudoph Windsor
The African Origins of Civilization by Chiekh Anta Diop
They Came Before Columbus by Dr. Ivan Van Sertima
Africa: Mother of Western Civilization by Yosef Ben Jochanan
The Destruction of Black Civilization by Chancellor Williams
The History of Herodotus by Herodotus
A History of the African People by Robert July
The Myth of the Negro Past by Melville J. Herskovits
Black Women in Antiquity by Dr. Ivan Van Sertima
Marcus Garvey by David Cronin
Up From Slavery by Booker T. Washington
Notes of a Native Son by Richard Wright
Black Skin, White Masks by Franz Fanon
Wretched of the Earth by Franz Fanon
The Bible
Soul on Ice by Eldridge Cleaver
Seize The Time by Bobby Seale
How Europe Underdeveloped Africa – by Walter Rodney
100 Amazing Facts About the Negro with Complete Proof by J.A. Rogers
Facts About the Negro Volume 2 by J.A. Rogers

Now below are a list of tapes and lectures that have helped my growth:

All by Minister Malcolm X: Temple 15, 7 and 10; On Split; Speaks to Harlem; The Great Debate; Embassy Auditorium; The Last Message; Violence vs Non Violence; Debate vs Bayard Rustin; Black Man's History Vol I and II; Interview on WINS; Message to the Grass Roots; The Ballot or the Bullet; Abyssinian Baptist Church; Talk to Black Youth; Harlem Unity Rally; Prospects for Freedom in 1965.

Other tapes and lectures by various artists that have helped my growth:

Live at Northeast Creative Center – Dr. Steven Coakley
Dialogue on African Centered Education – Wade Nobles
Developing Power of the Black Mind – Dr. Naim Akbar
The Columbus Myth – Dr. John Henrik Clarke
Egyptian History – Dr. Leonard Jeffries
African Education – Negro Training – Dr. Leonard Jeffries
Ancient Egyptian Language As a Pathway to Africa – Ben Levi
Golden Age of the Moors – Dr. Ivan Van Sertima
They Came Before Columbus – Dr. Ivan Van Sertima
African Presence in Australia – Runoko Rashidi
They Psychology of Co-Economics – Dr. Amos Wilson
Impact of Marcus Garvey Movement – Dr. Amos Wilson
Origin of Judeo Christianity From Alpha to Omega – Ashrah Kwesi
Afrocentricity and Culture – Molefi Asante
Destruction of African Images – Dell Jones
The Osirian Myth & Black Awakening – Dr. Naim Akbar
Black or White Superiority – Dr. Frances Cress Welsing
Cultural Genocide – Dr. Yosef Ben Yochnan
Why Are We Singing – Rev James T. Meeks
Sebayat – Dr. Asa Hilliard
African Origin of Man & Civilization – Dr. Ivan Van Sertima
The Science of the Egyptians – Dr. Ivan Van Sertima

I have also watched countless documentaries on television that would be too numerous to list here that have helped my growth. Many of them relate to the civilization of Ancient Egypt, but many others cover many facets of the Black Experience and they all have contributed to my growth and continue to do so. I have listed the above books and tapes by title and author in hopes that many that read this manuscript will share this list and information with others and will know exactly what to look for. I unfortunately, can not tell you where you may find the material listed. It is my hope you can do the legwork yourself upon being aided by this invaluable list.

If the above listed information gets into the right hands it could change the future of those that use it. My primary interests is that this list be used to educate and uplift the people of African descent primarily, but is certainly useful to all to combat stale thinking.

Indicate the potential policy implications (Practical usage):

This information could by gathered and used in a constructive way in public schools, home school, private schools, community centers, organizations, businesses, and any avenue. I would say many people will not attend lectures whenever a well known speaker comes to their area, but there are other ways to absorb this information. You could always read some of these books and listen to some of the tapes and share the information with your children and those in your social circle. You could share this information if the form of a book club gathering and just call it information sharing. If someone were just starting out and they wanted to know which books should they read first to get quick impact without reading books that would be too in depth and scholarly I would suggest they start out with:

Your History by J.A. Rogers
Facts About the Negro Number 2 by J.A. Rogers (if you can get it or find it)
100 Amazing Facts About the Negro With Complete Proof by J.A. Rogers
From Superman to Man by J.A. Rogers
Africa's Gift To America by J.A. Rogers
To Be A Slave by Julius Lester (slave narrative, actually a children's book)
The Autobiography of Malcolm X by Alex Haley

These books are just for starters and my favorite author is J.A. Rogers (he has 14 books in all I believe) for his simple, direct style and yet his information is deep and informative. I realize no two people would suggest the same information. I don't want people to start out with certain books and authors where the books present in a more scholarly manner. Getting in too deep too quickly might be more than someone bargains for if they are just starting to learn about these topics and could find themselves in over their head. In fact some books and authors would prove intimidating and discouraging for the newcomer to engaging historical landscape. One will soon find the more they uncover the knowledge, the more there is to find.

If a youth or adult were to read some of these books not only would they have a greater appreciation of themselves, but they would also appreciate their grandparents more knowing what they had to endure. They would also appreciate their family more, their ancestors, their neighborhood the elderly and would also understand world events and world cultures much better. Imagine your child, loved one or friend going to school or college and knowing more about history than their teachers do! Believe it or not reading history has helped me solve many problems that might perplex others due to the fact that I have so many other examples in my recall as to how other people overcame in the face of great adversity.

This same ability to reason and use insight could help any reader that is disciplined enough to study history. Of course I'm not saying read history books and listen to lecture tapes to the exclusion of all else. As I stated earlier doing this study one hour a week adds up to 52 hours a year that could accumulate a vast amount of knowledge that you would not otherwise have gained.

Once you get this knowledge you can share it with anyone that you speak with, even if you drop the points in casually. Some might say history is boring, but once you start talking about what you have learned you will find that people will listen and appreciate your research. Of course I suggest bringing up the information casually at first and gauge the level of interest. As the interest grows bring up more facts as time goes by. In a few years you will find you have accumulated enough research to start doing presentations or talks on your own. Others might first encourage you to do this because you might not realize on your own how much you have learned until someone suggest you branch out more for yourself. Once that time comes don't be afraid! Test yourself to start out small and let it grow!

Once this information gets out to the masses all people will realize the debt of gratitude owed to mankind thanks to many Africans and their descendants. From Africa came the first known physician (Imhotep), the great pyramids of Giza, first great cities, boats, ships, libraries, artwork, mummies, monarchy (Menes, Huni, Khufu, Khafra), written records (hieroglyphs), math, science, astronomy, medicine, ruling government, taxes, architecture copied the world over, and military armies/strategies. This list only names of few of the accomplishments that were recorded in Africa before being exported to other nations and cultures.

There is so much to tell about what Africa alone has given to the world that there is not enough time and space for me to do it in this manuscript. One will not uncover these gems and facts unless one knows where to look and what to look for.

Limits of the proposed strategy:

People will not stand aside and allow you to easily put these books and tapes into the school curriculum once you have gathered your list. There has been a guided and systematic strategy in keeping this information hidden I realize that more than most. However, if this information is not allowed in the school you can always go over it at home one hour a week as I stated earlier. Later on as you learn more you can ask to come into the school system of your child or loved one as a guest lecturer during "Black History Month" during a celebrated time. There is an old saying in the Black community that "being or acting smart is acting white." If the person that utters that very erroneous statement only knew a fraction of their own history they would never say or think that again. They would know as I do that many accomplishments that are attributed to whites were actually done by people of African descent.

One might find it hard to create a group, organization or structure where these topics can be explored in small or large groups, but if they put forth the effort they will see that it will gain great and lasting dividends. It might be hard at first to change long held perceptions that people have of us and sometimes the most resistance will come from our own people, but persevere.

I realize gathering and purchasing the list of books or CD's or tapes will cost money, but don't try to do it all at once. Do it slowly and it will add up. It might take five years or more before you are ready to strike out and share this information in a structured way, but it can certainly be done and I am living proof of that.

I have already given my list of reference material to be found on pages 6, 7 and 8. I hope the many that will read this manuscript find this information something they can get excited about and can duplicate wherever they live. Once you do you will quickly see the value in it and so will others. If you are worried about getting started or have questions please email me "Africanhistory3@hotmail.com."

Black History Lifetime manuscript by David Moore

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
School of Education

Department of Educational Leadership & Policy Analysis




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Black Students' Perspectives on Blacks and High School Attrition

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Abstract

The drop-out rate of Black students from secondary school remains high despite decades of effort by the Black community, courts, elected officials, and the students themselves. Educational professionals and organizations constantly present data that suggest the Black student drop-out rate continues to rise at an alarming rate. The fight to educational, economic, and social gaps between Black people and other races loses strength with a less educated Black populace. This paper, written by college students and an educator, seeks to offer student centered perspectives on why the high school drop-out rate is increasing for Black students and considerations that can stem the drop-out rate for Black students.

Black Students' Perspectives on Blacks and High School Attrition

To the layperson, the term drop-out most likely refers to non-completion of the formal schooling experience. The National Center for Education Statistics (2006), however, defines drop-out using three terms. Event rates refer to the proportion of students who leave high school without completing the formal educational program; status rates offer information about students who stop attending school across age groups within the population; longitudinal monitoring of students provides cohort rates and information on educational progress monitored longitudinally. Primarily, this discussion will focus on the event definition of drop-out for Black students; however, the authors will also reflect on the socio-economic, social, community, and intrapersonal implications of Black students dropping out.

Education is a fundamental value within the Black community. Ancient and modern history is replete with examples of African cultures that extol education and create opportunities for all citizens, regardless of gender or status as free person or slave, to learn. Africans brought this ethic of learning to America and nurtured it despite centuries of brutal enslavement and oppression. While a complete review of Blacks' pursuit of formal education in America is beyond the scope of this discussion, it seems pertinent to underscore that formal and informal learning has characterized Black culture from its inception. That Black students of this era struggle with high school completion is incongruent with a culture that values education. How then have we come to this place?

Black Student Drop-Out Rates

The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) observes that there "are no significant differences in the event dropout rates among any of the race/ethnicity

categories" including White, Asian and Pacific Islander, Hispanic, and Black. Indeed, the NCES continues by noting that in 2000, 83.7 percent of America's Blacks graduate from high school and those Hispanic students appear to have the greatest risk for dropping out. While these data seem to suggest that the achievement gap is closing, other data sources offer a different picture than NCES. Swanson (2004) observes that graduation rates can vary greatly from state to state and that their statistical calculations utilize more stringent data set than use in government calculations. Contrary to the NCES, Swanson found that only 50.2 percent of America's Black students complete high school and that 53.2 percent of Hispanic students complete high school. Both the NCES and UI found that Asian/Pacific Islander students completed high school at the highest rate, closely followed by White, non-Hispanic students.

Such differences among groups intimate that the daily school experiences of students differ markedly. High school graduation is a fundamental developmental task in American society and many consider high school completion as an important rite of passage into more adult responsibilities and roles (Erikson, 1963). Clearly, the socio-economic and social benefits of completing high school lead American citizens into job skills training or education that contribute to quality of life not only for the individual but also for their descendants and communities. High school graduates earn more across their careers than those who with less schooling (United States Department of Labor, 2006). What has characterized the recent schooling experiences of Black students? We have chosen to focus on the disproportionate placement of Black students in special education and socioeconomic status as points of concern in Black education.

Blacks and Special Education

Documentation of the disproportionate numbers of minorities, particularly Blacks, enrolled in special education continues to dominate discussions about Black graduation rates. The high placement of Blacks in special education classes persists today in the U.S. public education system (Catalane, 1996). Black children, depending on the state, are 1 ½ to 4 times more likely to be classified as mentally retarded (MR) or emotionally disturbed (ED) than White students. In comparison to other regions, Southern states declare between 2.75 and 5.41 percent of Black children mentally retarded. However, the percentage of White students deemed mentally retarded is no higher than 2.32 percent (Civil Rights Project, 2002). It is easy to assume that only poverty and the lack of prenatal care hinder the development of young Blacks; however, legal fights (e.g. Larry P. v. Riles) and advocates' experiences show racial biases can influence disproportionate placement.

Additionally, national data continue to contradict the view that poverty is the main reason for the disproportionate classification of Blacks as MR or ED (The Civil Rights Project, 2002). For example, the Project notes that if poverty served as a quality indicator for placement in these categories, Hispanic representation would mirror Blacks given their similar risks for poverty. Despite the progress seen in court cases and advocacy efforts, subjectivity can characterize decisions on which students are tested, the type of test uses, whether an alternative assessment should be utilized, and test interpretation (The Civil Rights Project). Thus, evaluation process that can result in special education placement can be problematic.

Teacher Racial Bias and Special Education Referral

Teachers can have “unconscious racial bias” which can hinder their judgment when making special education referrals (Civil Rights Project 2002). In 2001, 90% of teachers nationwide were White, while students of color represent 37% of the elementary and secondary student population (Belcher, 2001). While accrediting bodies mandate that teacher preparation programs require a course on multiculturalism (e.g., National Council on Teacher Accreditation), one course on multiculturalism does not fully address the biases and pre-conceived notions that a teacher can have. Culturally encapsulated (Wren, 1962) teachers view students through a cultural lens rather than a cultural prism; that is, culturally encapsulated teachers rigidly use their culture and beliefs in teaching others. Multicultural courses typically focus on helping teachers become aware of their biases; committing to a teaching style that overcomes bias and oppression is not necessarily an outcome of a multicultural class.

When public school classrooms do not include culturally relevant social and learning behaviors, Black children face a disadvantage. According to Mills (2003), teachers’ inability to fix incorrect cultural assumptions supports a cultural deficit model rather than a cultural strength that causes them to misidentify culturally unfamiliar behavior and initiate the special education process.

Although some Black students need special education classes, some do not, and face unfair referral and placement. When Black students do not respond to classroom interventions or the school environment in expected ways, some teachers may fail to realize that their teaching and discipline styles influence student achievement; it is far

easier to blame the student or the student's home situation. For example, a Black school counselor believed that a Caucasian teacher unnecessarily referred a Black male student for EDBD testing. The teacher said the student performed a threatening gesture towards her. Even though the counselor recognized the cultural aspects of the student's behavior and told the teacher that the child's behavior was a generally culturally acceptable response and peer-norm, the teacher still believed the gesture was inappropriate and the student needed referral because he had 'so many discipline issues.' The school counselor insisted that she could intervene with the student and teachers before a referral to special education. The principal eventually moved the student into a classroom with a young, male, Caucasian teacher. The student's academic performance slowly improved and his discipline referrals dropped by more than 95 percent. When questioned about his approach, the male teacher said he pulled the student aside and talked with him about the importance of mutual respect and fairness; he did not emphasize his role as an authority figure because he believed that the student understood this. The child thanked the teacher for being so 'down with him' and made a point to show the teacher respect; he even began to chastise his peers when they broke classroom rules.

Under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), a student's assessment should include more than one assessment method; one method cannot accurately measure the child's abilities (Turnbull, Turnbull, & Wheeler, 2007**).** As the situation of the school counselor and teacher illustrate, observation and even information on student discipline referrals provide only one aspect of complicated dynamics. Tavers (as cited in Mills 2003) observes that one indicator (e.g., an achievement test or

observation) cannot predict the academic performance of a student, especially a Black one.

Special Education and Black Graduation Rates

Because of misdiagnosis, Black students may either replace their misunderstood cultural behavior with the behavior coupled with their diagnosed disability (Mills 2003), become discouraged, or lose their will to try (Tidwell 2002). Unfortunately, the likelihood of these students graduating greatly diminishes. According to IDEA data, 38% of special education Blacks ages 14-21 dropped out of high school, while only 39% graduated with a diploma compared to 61% of White students in 2004. Some Black special education students reach the maximum age and have to leave the system. Thus, the likelihood of disabled Blacks graduating high school or pursuing a college education or employment greatly decreases. The Civil Rights Project found that two years after exiting school, 75% of Blacks with disabilities are unemployed compared to 47% of Whites. Three to five years after exiting the arrest rate of Blacks with disabilities is 40%, while the arrest rate for Caucasians with disabilities is 27%.

Socioeconomic Status and Black Graduation

Black socioeconomic status and educational attainment remain linked. In 1998, only 56 percent of Black students graduated from high school; of that 56 percent, 93 reported attending a “Black” school, where over seventy percent of the population is of African decent. Funding within predominately-Black schools is recognizably lower than that of their predominately-White counterparts due to geographical segregation and allocation of funds (Kozol, 1992). Inequitable funding translates to unequal learning

environments and lower graduation rates in the high school level. Students in poor school districts have a 77% greater chance of having an “out of field” teacher (Children’s Defense Fund, 2004, p. 91).

Segregation also influences the graduation rate of Blacks. Deeply rooted within American society, segregation has helped America keep the Black community at a low level of economic status for over one hundred years. Segregation by both race and economics has vastly affected the education of Black students. Desegregation rulings of the 1950’s are famous for their attempts to diversify schools to make sure every student, despite race, received an equal opportunity in education. Through these rulings, busing took many Black students in the 50’s and 60’s out of their districts so that they could join the districts of their White peers. Though some describe our current decade the ‘post’ civil rights period, a trend of segregation in education still appears. However, not caused solely by racism, segregation by wealth and imbalances in financial distribution of school resources hurts the graduation rates of Black students.

The trends of poverty, distributed wealth, and segregation make equal education attainment difficult for many of the poor children of America, 23 percent of which are Black (United State Census Bureau, 2006). A major source of funding for schools comes from local taxes. As a result, many schools in communities with low property value

receive a lower amount of funding. Without funds to keep up with the trends of technology and educational materials, Black students fall further behind.

Solutions

Social Capital

Black students need validation that their cultural history is relevant and important. This becomes an issue as many teachers in under funded school systems lack the basic resources necessary for class room instruction, let alone resources for multicultural training (Lewis, 2003). This type of training is essential to understanding race, class, and socioeconomic issues within the classroom. Studies show that students with increased understanding of discrimination and self identity have higher grades (Sanders, 200X). In the absence of comprehensive multicultural curricula, teachers can subconsciously bring negative stereotypes about Blacks (1993). This is certainly detrimental to the establishment of an unbiased relationship between teacher and student.

Additionally, Black students express the need for non dominant social capital, which will validate their membership within their respective communities (Carter, 2003). Fordham, Ogbu and Carter (1998) suggest that Black students develop an oppositional social identity towards mainstream schooling in order to gain acceptance into a fictive kinship created by a common history of discrimination. Success is equated with "Whiteness" as students link their disenfranchisement and lack of social mobility with systematic racism. (Fordham, Ogbu, & Carter, p. 179) Many teachers do not fully understand their students' behaviors as oppositional cultural mechanisms, and misinterpret their expressive attempts to gain acceptance into non-dominant norms as

direct violations of classroom order. For example, teachers may misinterpret a Black student's loud and expressive manner of talking as being disruptive and rude. In reality, this manner of dialogue is acceptable in some Black households yet not in school settings. Many White teachers are "impatient and intolerant" towards that style of interaction and often send students out of the classroom (Lewis, 200X, p. 69) This may explain the disproportionate amounts of expulsions and suspensions of Black youth (Townsend, 200X).

Pedagogy and Curriculum

Teachers who do not value student's cultural capital discourage positive classroom participation among Black students and generally detract from the quality of learning for all students. For example, language can be considered a challenge to non Black teachers, while cultural capital for students whose second language is English. Lopez (2002) explores this notion in a study on race and gender at a predominately Latino and Black high school in New York City. Lopez gives the example of Mr. Green, a middle aged White male who runs his class in an authoritative manner. Among his many rules, students cannot speak Spanish in his classroom. It is clear that Mr. Green perceives the use of languages other than English as a "deficit and an impediment to "real" learning," (Lopez, p. 1199). When students attempted to connect issues of drugs and poverty to their real lives, the teacher disregarded their answers as wrong or ignored them altogether. Subsequently, the disrespect and insignificance students felt within his classroom became evident in their achievement. Students were disengaged during the lesson and one student even dropped out of the class.

Teachers may also face challenges in implementing curricula that reflect panoramic Black history and culture. Often text books and teaching materials do not contain the relevant historical information of Black students. When historical information is available, it is often inaccurate or incomplete. Students leave the classroom with a distorted idea of what their race has contributed to American society. For instance, Lewis discusses how in a majority White school district, teachers essentially de-racialize the spectrum of contributions of other Blacks races by fusing multiculturalism under a cursory review of Dr. Martin Luther King. Turning to the Black community for support in the acquisition of culturally relevant curricular materials demonstrates commitment and respect for the community's resources. Discussions with Black bookstore owners, specialists in Black culture housed in local university Black Studies programs, and parents can yield print, spoken, and visual materials that are familiar and meaningful to students. With the emphasis on standards based education, teachers should welcome diverse opportunities to prepare students for high stakes testing.

Thus, in order to create inclusive pedagogy, teachers must employ culturally relevant practices in the classroom. One way in which teachers can practice culturally relevant pedagogy is through critical self reflection. Howard (2003, p.197) suggests that teachers should acknowledge their status in the social hierarchy and particularly, how their "positionality influences their students in either positive or negative ways". Introspection allows teachers to contemplate issues of access and privilege they may have experienced in their own lives and how this may differ from their students. This reflection, then, will prompt a truthful assessment of one's teaching style, and expose whether or not they are truly inclusive of all behaviors and customs both familiar and unfamiliar.

Culturally relevant pedagogy will undoubtedly take place in the absence of culture based stereotypes. Howard (p.197) urges teachers to "[reject]…culturally deficient thinking" when it comes to students. By eliminating damaging stereotypes and treating each child as if equally will eliminate student perceptions that skin color determines success. Students respond to teacher expectations, so incorporating student culture into the lesson, helps them realize that the "teacher believes all students can succeed" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 134). With equal treatment from teachers, students will demonstrate higher levels of confidence and competence as higher standards are set.

One personal example of effective culturally relevant pedagogy occurred during one of the author's senior year of high school. The drama teacher expressed her difficulty in controlling a classroom of mostly Black, rowdy, freshmen students. She complained that students were constantly singing, dancing, and beating on the tables. Her methods of engaging students involved typical drama exercises, which had no relevance to students' lives. One day, the teacher realized that the students' demonstrated musical talent during the times she expected them to participate. Deciding to capitalize on the students' interests, she held "freestyle ciphers", a sort of improvisational rapping common to youth of the hip-hop generation. Every student was able to participate in this activity and almost all students had some prior knowledge to contribute. The teacher reported that through this exercise she re-conceptualized the "disruptive" behaviors of the students as simply expressions of creativity. The teacher learned about a new form of improvisation that she could then incorporate into her lessons.

Conclusions

Research supports the need for multiple approaches to addressing the dropout rate of Black students. The disproportionate and inappropriate placement of Black students in special education, particularly in the categories of mental retardation and emotional/behavior disorders places Black students in jeopardy of not earning a high school diploma, reinforces negative stereotypes of Black students in general, and belies the efforts to ensure the fairness of the special education referral process. Challenges in training a diverse teaching workforce and enhancing teachers' multicultural competence and effectiveness with Black students remain. However, create problem solving, consultation and collaboration with community members outside of the educational field, and most important, asking the students themselves can help Black students feel included in the educational process.

Observers of education have viewed Black student dropout rates as proof of Black students' genetic inferiority (e.g., Herrnstein & Murray, 1994) or related to the pathology of the Black family (e.g., Moynihan, 1965). The examples we have provided in our paper suggest that cultural misconceptions between teachers and students fuel inequities. Intra-student variables alone cannot account for lack of academic achievement. When teachers attempt to implement a stringent, mainstream curriculum that is not adaptive to different learning styles and audiences, reduction in learning outcomes takes place. Some teachers speak a different cultural language than their students. Perhaps it is the greatest paradox of public schools - how to ensure equal standards while being sensitive to individual/group needs. At a minimum, teachers should strive to include all students in learning, whether that entails altering their awareness of cultural norms, language, or teaching style to do so. Holding teachers, schools, and funding sources accountable for

the success of Black students through their use relevant curricula, training, and equitable funding can go far in decreasing the dropout rate of Black students.

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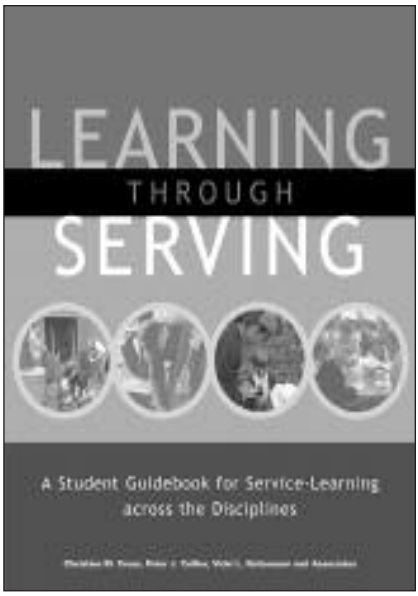

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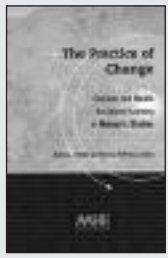

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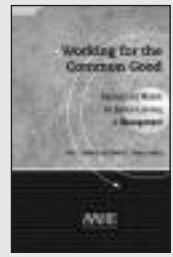

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Portfolios

Electronic Portfolios

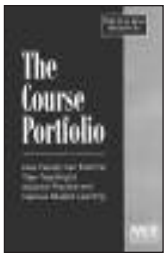
Emerging Practices in Student, Faculty, and Institutional Learning

Edited by Barbara L. Cambridge

The portfolio is a powerful tool for learning and assessment. Introducing the electronic into the mix increases its power, especially through the key feature of interactive hyperlinks and the potential to promote continuous reflection on, and updating of, learning. This introduction examines the potential of electronic portfolios by addressing: rationales for creating an electronic portfolio; possible features of the portfolio; examples of current practice; cautions and recommendations. Chapters by nineteen portfolio practitioners from a range of disciplines and institutions describe the construction and use of electronic portfolios. They describe uses

- by students to display and reflect on work for a specific course or program;
- by faculty to document and reflect on their classroom practice and allow comment by colleagues or others;
- and by institutions to demonstrate accountability to their stakeholders and as a vehicle for institution-wide reflection, learning, and improvement. The section on institutional portfolios includes chapters on the incorporation of institutional research and data, and the potential role for such portfolios in accreditation.

240 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Paper, 2001, 1 56377 050 4, $34.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $28.00



The Course Portfolio

How Faculty Can Examine Their Teaching to Advance Practice and Improve Student Learning

Edited by Pat Hutchings
Introduction By Lee S Shulman

Cousin to the teaching portfolio, which documents a broad sampling of a faculty member's pedagogical work, the course portfolio focuses instead on the unfolding of a single course, from conception to results. The volume covers defining features and functions, steps in development, audiences and occasions for use, and the course portfolio's place in the development of a scholarship of teaching and learning.

126 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Paper, 1998, 1 56377 043 1, $28.00, (5)
AAHE member price: $22.00

The Teaching Portfolio

Capturing the Scholarship in Teaching

Edited by Russell Edgerton, Kathleen Quinlan and Pat Hutchings

Suggests one model in which faculty assemble a collection of carefully selected "work samples" accompanied by reflective commentary about them. Covers the what, why, and how of teaching portfolios, with pointers for getting started and a sampling of current campus practices. Includes reproductions of eight actual portfolio entries.

72 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Paper, 1991, 1 56377 003 2, $16.25, (5)
AAHE member price: $12.95

See also:
Portfolio Development and the Assessment of Prior Learning
p. 37

Scholarship of Teaching & Learning

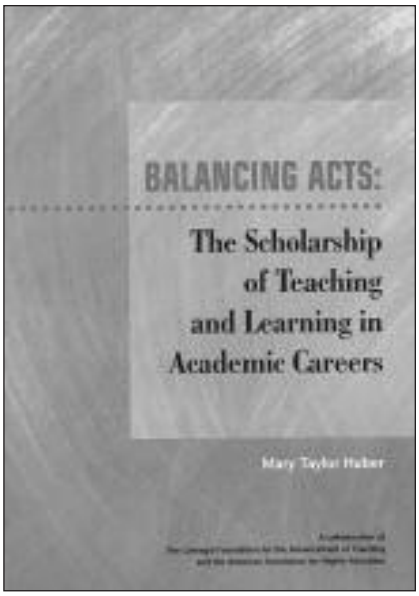
Balancing Acts

The Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Academic Careers

Mary Taylor Huber

"Draws on the experiences of four scholars at major universities who have successfully engaged in 'balancing acts' through which they have been educational innovators in their classrooms, disciplines, and institutions while advancing in their respective fields, notably through securing tenure and promotion.This is a splendid book for one reason: the stories that the author, trained as a cultural anthropologist, tells about her four 'pathfinders.' In large measure, these are stories of individuals who were not only committed to research in their fields but to improving teaching and learning. To wit, when discussing how the mechanical engineering professor uses methods—and explores subject matter—outside of her field, the reader becomes acutely aware of the attendant 'risks' facing this individual. This work marks a significant contribution to that body of scholarship, and I strongly recommend it to faculty who are deeply committed to teaching that enhances the learning of all students."—***The Review of Higher Education***

Using interviews with a psychologist, chemist, mechanical engineer and a professor of American literature, and their colleagues within and outside their institutions and fields, the author looks at the routes these pathfinders have traveled through the scholarship of teaching and learning and at the consequences that this unusual work has had for the advancement of their careers, especially tenure and promotion.



In collaboration with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

264 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 2004, 1 56377 065 2, $29.50, (5)
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Campus Progress

Supporting the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning

Edited by Barbara L. Cambridge

This book constitutes an introduction to scholarly teaching and the scholarship of teaching and learning, and will interest anyone who is concerned about student learning and the kind of inquiry that helps promote that learning

238 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Paper, 2004, 1 56377 066 0, $34.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $28.00

Business Analytics: An Incomplete Story of AIDS & the Black Community

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Submitted to:

2006 Brothers of the Academy Think Tank
Thematic Theme - Health and Health Disparities
Atlanta, Georgia

September 1, 2006

Abstract

Using a dataset of 90,000 patient hospital encounters from a large Southeast medical center, the number of persons diagnosed with AIDS/HIV based on ICD codes and co-morbidities was identified. Factors that influence length of stay and cost of care were two key cost drivers in analyzing these patient data. Black patients accounted for almost 80% of AIDS/HIV hospital encounters in the dataset. Benchmarking against recently published health care disparities reports the number of AIDS/HIV cases among African Americans is alarming. While business analytic applications informed this study of correlations among race, age, gender and their influence of length of stay and cost of care, the dataset is only partial – as it fails to the capture salient factors impacting the AIDS/HIV epidemic in the Black community. Attention to public policy and communication modalities warrants further investigation as pharmaceutical giants "rush" to deliver an AIDS vaccine and focus their attention more on curvative medicine and less on policy and education in the community.

Introduction

AIDS/HIV is a chronic, ongoing health condition that has dramatic impacts well beyond the individuals infected. Due to the nature of disease, enormous economic, societal, and treatment costs are incurred during the care of patients and as families and communities lose the human resources essential to build economies and infrastructure. Because individual actions can play a substantial role in preventing the transmission of AIDS/HIV, communities continuously need to have access to highly trusted sources of accurate information. The expansion of prevention services and culturally relevant information sources is decisive to decrease the growing number of new AIDS/HIV cases in the Black community.

The broader community questions to address are diverse. This research specifically concentrates on what culturally relevant determinants are lacking in the statistics. The strategies include more user-centered design approaches as espoused in the information systems (IS) systems design literature (Payton and Ginzberg, 2001; Kiwanuka-Tondo, 2006). Such approaches offer determinants that can help better disseminate AIDS/HIV education in the Black community. The findings can spark how the community addresses this chronic episode of illness and advocate for changes in public policy.

With advances in information technology analytics applications, society stands to benefit greatly from healthcare innovation. The ability to link physicians, hospitals, pharmacies, clinics and patients to health information networks, clinical and financial data management and analyses (Payton, 2003) can prove to be invaluable in the diagnosis and treatment of chronic episodes of illnesses, such as AIDS/HIV.

This access to data is a necessity for hospital and physicians to provide the highest level of safety and quality of care. Providing the correct diagnosis and procedures is critical for the patient's utmost care. With the high costs associated with AIDS/HIV procedures, medications, and physician consultants, the integration of IT can potentially offset these costs and improve the efficiency of the organizations. Factors, such as cost of care (COC) and length of stay (LOS), continue to drive health service delivery, resource availability and quality of care.

Business analytics (BA), often termed business intelligence (BI), applications can carefully provide insight into the (in)significance of COC and LOS in healthcare system's ability to treat AIDS/HIV, in general. In particular, demographic variables that relate to cultural, socioeconomic status and community dimensions of those most

impacted (namely Black Americans in the United States) by the AIDS/HIV epidemic are often disregarded. That is, analyses of statistics will not address nor fully capture the complexities associated with the disease. Thus, questions surface and include: What are the broader cultural issues that are not often modeled by analytical tools? How do these findings stand to impact public policy and how the healthcare community can better assist those living with the disease? In this paper, I take on these questions by first reviewing major issues and trends in AIDS/HIV and IT literatures which focus on health disparities. Findings from a de-identifiable patient dataset are discussed. Lastly, I present public health and policy issues that augment this discourse by depicting those factors uncovered in the information systems literature.

The Intersection of IT and AIDS/HIV: Reviewing the Literature

Based on studies by Deloitte Consulting and *Hospitals and Health Networks,* the organizations that have the greatest adoption rates of healthcare IT are financially secure and have high productivity. (Miller, Hillman and Given, 2004). The Healthcare Information and Management Systems Society (HIMSS) tracks and provides feedback of the various health organizations' IT implementations, and factors that affect the adoption process. HIMSS records these findings in the

HIMSS-Dorenfest Database. This database can segregate the data to provide hospital classifications, hospital adoption rate, and geographic IT implementation rates (RAND Corporation, 2005).

In contrast to most other major industries, the healthcare sector has generally not embraced information technology (IT). Consequently, healthcare has not seen the kinds of improvements in efficiency and quality that have transformed other industries. Though many healthcare organizations have begun investigating and using a few IT solutions, most have not fully understood how the entire healthcare system could be improved. Most commonly, organizations have adopted billing, scheduling, inventory, and payroll solutions, but have yet to adopt truly innovative, transformative IT solutions. Much of the focus has rested on financial applications with limited progress on clinical applications, such as electronic medical records, web-enabled applications, decision support or even broader reaching health information networks (HINs). These applications, in general, and HINs, particular must meet two criteria (Kaushal, Blumenthal, Poon, et al, 2005):

1) functionality, or the ability to perform key functions, such as those noted above, and

2) interoperability, or the capacity to link providers to facilitate electronic data exchange.

Much promise is thought to result from the adoption of IT and more advanced technologies, such as business analytics/intelligence applications in the health care sector. President Bush (www.whitehouse/gov.news/releases/2004/04/20040427-5.html) touted the anticipated benefits of health care information technology by suggesting that IT can improve quality of care, clinical cost structures and patient-physician interactions via such innovations as electronic medical records (EMRs) and safety applications. Such benefits were said to benefit each subgroup within US society. Further, *The New York Times* (August 21, 2006 as reported by the Kaiser Family Foundation) reported that EMR technology would reduce medical errors and costs, lead to personalized medicine and strengthen the infrastructure to enable HINs – thereby, enabling hospitals, providers, insurers and employers to track patients' encounters and data (Payton and Ginzberg, 2000; Kovak, 2005). One universal driver in healthcare is the premise to lower costs as said to be enabled by technology innovations (Medical Records Institute, 2006; Henry Kaiser Family Foundation, 2006). This should be principally the case for chronic illness, such as AIDS/HIV.

Despite this “silver-bullet” notion of IT’s impact on the health care sector, David M. Satcher (2006) succinctly articulates the “health” issues and disparities impacting Black America at the cultural, socio-economic and disease levels. *Healthy People 2010*, a US government initiative sponsored by policy makers, researchers, medical centers, managed care organizations and advocacy groups across the country, defines a health disparity as: “racial and ethnic minorities experience multiple barriers to accessing healthcare, including not having health insurance, not having a usual source of care, location of providers, lack of transportation, lack of child care, and other factors. A growing body of evidence shows that racial and ethnic disparities in health outcomes, healthcare access, and quality of care exist even when insurance, income, and other access-related factors are controlled.” (http://www.healthypeople.gov/). Further, in a survey of 2,664 adult patients from an urban teaching hospital from 1998-99, Hicks, Ayanian, Orav, et al (2005) determined that Blacks and Latinos reported significant differences in the degree to which they encountered care services and in their interactions with physicians and other providers in comparison to majority populations. Moreover, relative to patient preferences, coordination of care, information and education and physical comfort, these groups reported differences in

level of respect from providers and hence these determinants impacted treatment and service delivery. These findings are critical in chronic episodes of illnesses, such as AIDS/HIV, where treatment plans often require detailed clinical information, awareness of behavioral practices, cultural competency and continual care and education.

In the Black community, AIDS/HIV is undoubtedly an acute illness which has been termed a “black” disease by some. This is a vast contrast from the initial white, gay male disease from the early 1980s. The ABC News program, Primetime, described epidemic in Black America as “out of control” (August 23, 2006). Despite the gains in biopharma innovations supporting AIDS/HIV clinical trials, prescription drug treatment and high awareness, due in part, to the public figures, such as Oprah Winfrey, Bill and Melinda Gates and former President Clinton, much of the AIDS/HIV discourse has focused on sub-Saharan Africa. On the 25th anniversary marking the disease, there are an estimated 800,000 to 900,000 people currently living with AIDS/HIV in the U.S., with approximately 40,000 new AIDS/HIV infections occurring in the U.S. every year.

More than half of newly affected AIDS/HIV cases occur among Black Americans, though this subpopulation only represents 13% of the United States total population. Figure 1 shows the estimates of annual new infections according to race. Blacks lead with over 50% while White and Hispanics trail with significantly lower percentages.

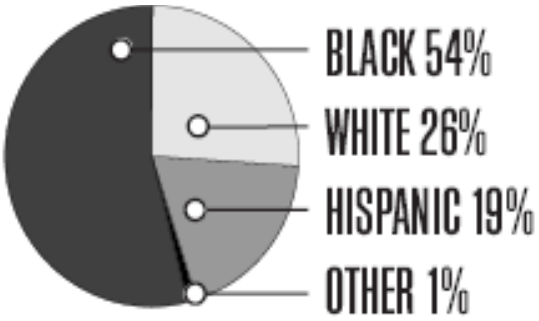

Figure 1 – Estimate of Annual New Infections by Race
Adopted from CDC, 2005

An even more astounding statistic shows that Black women accounted for 72 percent of all new diagnosed AIDS/HIV cases in America. The AIDS diagnosis rate for Black men was nearly eleven times greater than their white male peers, and this rate is twenty-three times greater for Black women in comparison to white women (CDC, 2005; LaVeist, 2005).

Data Description

A patient de-identifiable dataset of nearly 90,000 hospital encounters from a large Southeastern urban teaching hospital was used for this study. I sought to determine how many Black patients had HIV/AIDS and how these cases were impacted by cost of care and length of stay. To isolate only the population of interest - AIDS/HIV patients – I identified the International Classification of Diseases-9th Division (ICD) code that indicates the disease – 042. Then, I generated queries using SAS to search for patients who had a 042 ICD code in any one of the 16 diagnosis fields contained within the data. This produced a table that consisted of 1,564 individual records of patient hospital encounters of persons living with AIDS/HIV.

I performed a stepwise-selection linear regression on the data using two dependent variables, with the following independent variables, as follows:

- Length of stay: cost of care, age, gender, and race were used as independent variables;
- Cost of care: length of stay, age, gender, and race were used as independent variables.

A stepwise regression was used to reveal the effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable. A simple linear regression would not have provided valid information as it does not provide information regarding the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables. Linear regression is a good method to show correlation between two variables—X and Y. However, unlike stepwise, it does not show the big picture very well. The amount of influence that each variable contributed to the whole was required. Hence, I needed to know how much each measure - race, gender, length of stay, and age - affects total charges (or COC) and length of stay (LOS).

I developed a data dictionary as a reference for any questions concerning what each of the different data fields meant in the dataset. For race and gender, no identifying traits existed in the data to indicate which number was associated with which gender and race. By analyzing the data and comparing it to industry demographics, I extrapolated reasonable values in the Table 1 shown below.

Table 1 – Dataset Description

ATTRIBUTE	DESCRIPTION
• Race	• 1-white • 2-black • 3-5 (unknown)
• Gender	• 1-male • 2-female
• TOTCHG	Total charge
• LOS	Length of (hospital) Stay
• AGE	Patient's Age (at time of admission)
• DRG	Diagnosis Related Groupings: a classification of hospital case types into groups expected to have similar hospital resource use. The groupings are based on diagnoses (*using ICD*), procedures, age, sex, and other attributes.
• DX	Diagnosis: up to 16 per record
• ICD-9	International Classification of Diseases-9th Division
• MRN_S	Synthetic medical record number
• MDID_S	Synthetic attending physician number
• NDX	Number of Diagnosis on this Discharge*
• AHAID	American Hospital Association Identifier

* NOTE: Discharge is the patient actually leaving the hospital after the diagnosis and certain procedures are conducted.

Results

Using the revised data set described in data analysis section above, I took two approaches to statistical analysis – **observations** about the population, and **interpretations** based on regression analysis, to determine which factors drive cost.

Table 2 below shows that frequency is largely disproportional. Roughly, 75% of the cases in the dataset represented Blacks while 23% were whites.

Table 2 - Race Frequency Figures

Race (uniform)				
RACE	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	375	23.99	375	23.99
2	1175	75.18	1550	99.17
3	6	0.38	1556	99.55
5	4	0.26	1560	99.81
6	3	0.19	1563	100.00

Gender frequencies were more difficult to extrapolate. There was no clear indication or codes within the data that led to definitive gender determination. A significant number of nulls or incorrect values were found in the gender attributes during the data cleansing process.

Length of Stay

Most patients stayed in the hospital between two to four days, with day three having the highest frequency of 653 people. After day four, there is a steady decline. There was a maximum of sixty-nine days (only one person), and sixteen people stayed in the hospital for less then a day. Table 3 shows the mean, mode and median values associated with these findings.

Table 3 – Length of Stay Findings

Mean	4.988491049
Median	3
Mode	3
Standard Deviation	5.621444228
Range	69
Minimum	0
Maximum	69
Sum	7802
Count	1564
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.278813892

Age

The largest population segment is between the ages of 30 and 50, with the highest frequency at age 35. There was an observable steady increase before the age of 35 and then a steady decline afterwards, describing a normal curve. There is relatively low or no frequency before the age of 21, and a minimal frequency was observable after age 50. In part, this may be attributable to increased risk behaviors due to lifestyle choices and for the 30 to 50 age group. Table 4 and Figure 1 show these results.

Mean	39.37595908
Median	39
Mode	35
Standard Deviation	7.582978213
Range	81
Minimum	0
Maximum	81
Sum	61584
Count	1564
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.376102579

Table 4 – Age Findings

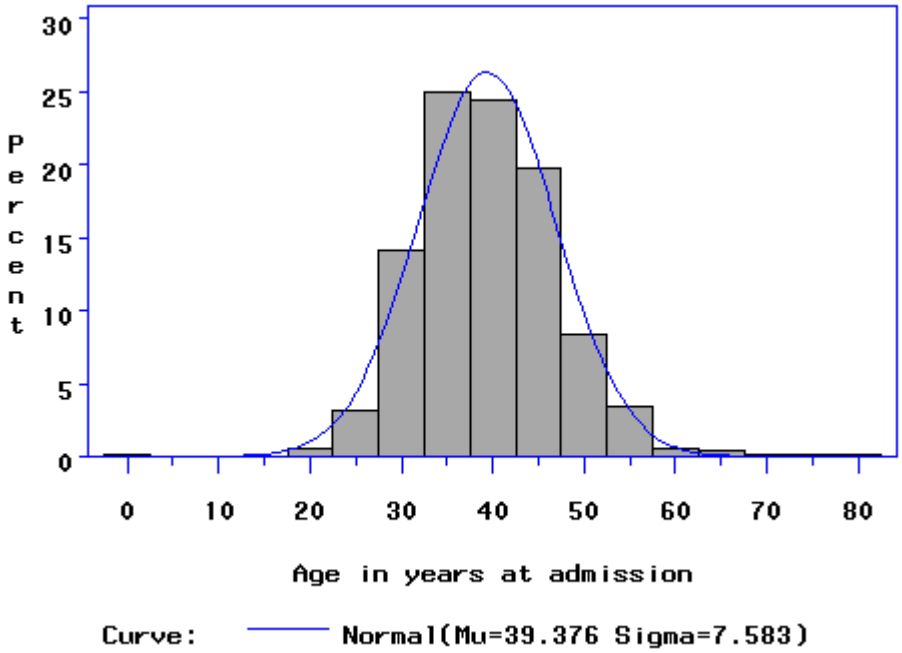

Figure 1 – Age Curve

Total Charges

Total charges averaged about $6,633 per person. The data set consisted of a minimum of $456 and a maximum of $150,471. The amount occurring most often or the highest frequency was roughly $1,751. The sum of total charges came out to be $10,373,870 for the total 1,564 patient encounters. Table 5 contains these results.

Table 5 – Total Charges Findings

Mean	6632.909207
Median	2926.5
Mode	1751
Standard Deviation	10973.30611
Range	150015
Minimum	456
Maximum	150471
Sum	10373870
Count	1564
Confidence Level (95.0%)	544.2569675

At 95% Confidence, all variables in the model are required or significant at the 0.0500 (95%) level. Length of Stay (LOS), naturally, is a good indicator in predicting total charges (COC); longer stays are more expensive. According to Table 6, at ninety-five percent confidence interval (.05), the P_value for total charges variable is less than .0001 and for gender variable is 0.0250, representing a tight correlation between lengths of stay, total charges and gender—the smaller the P_value the more influence. However, race does not appear to have the same influence on length of stay. This, too, can be a function of treatment plan alternatives, education and provider-patient interactions as referenced in the health disparities research (LaVeist, 2005; Shi and Stevens, 2005; Hicks, et al, 2005).

Table 6 – 95% Confidence Level

	Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Type II SS	F Value	Pr > F
	Intercept (LOS)	2.25935	0.73321	95.82273	9.50	0.0022
*	RACE	0.17318	0.32226	2.91438	0.29	0.5912
*	GENDER	-0.64934	0.28890	50.97815	5.05	0.0250
*	TOTCHG	0.00060306	0.00001680	13002	1288.42	<.0001

As previously stated, Length of Stay (LOS) is obviously directly correlated to total charges, as longer stays cost more. The P value for this correlation is less than one percent at the 95% confidence interval. The smaller the P value the greater the influence between the two. While statistical analysis is not really required to explain the relationship between cost and length of stay, the above findings validates these methods given the focus of Black affected AIDS/HIV patients.

Using a similar analysis (Table 7 below), it appears that gender drives total charges as well, with a P value of .0094. Though not as small as the LOS P value, it does suggest a strong relationship between the two. This suggests that one gender differences can lead to higher

costs of care among Black women. I am unable to conclude much beyond the data – due to limitations and obscurity (empty fields) in the data set making it impossible to discern which patients are male or female.

Table 7 – Gender Impact on LOS

Step	Variable Entered	Label	Partial R-Square	Model R-Square	C(p)	F Value	Pr > F
1	LOS	Length of stay (cleaned)	0.7116	0.7116	6.2484	1275.77	<.0001
2	GENDER	I:Gender	0.0038	0.7154	1.4636	6.81	0.0094

Conclusion: Public Policy

In its May 2006 article, "Does Class Trump Race?, DiversityInc. suggested that to understand health outcomes and disparities, one must not ignore socio-economic status (SES). This translated into those whom have the highest propensity to be uninsured or underinsured – namely Black, Latino and those living in impoverish rural areas. According to the Isaacs' article in *The New England Journal of Medicine* (2004), many of those living in lower SESs are Black or other ethnic minorities.

Further, much of the healthcare system is based largely on one's educational training and the ability to navigate treatment, service delivery and a host of payer guidelines and policies. All of which warrant some degree of adequate financial and educational resources. Oftentimes, these resources preclude those infected and affected by AIDS/HIV in the Black community. Healthcare researchers (Shi and Stevens, 2005; LaVeist, 2005) liken these outcomes to race/ethnicity disparities where "adequate measures, such as cultural factors and measures of discrimination have not been developed or implemented, so we are left with race/ethnicity measures serving as relatively inaccurate proxies" (Shi and Stevens, 2005, p 35).

While BA applications can increase our comprehension of the correlations among variables in question, community determinants of vulnerability among chronic disease episodes merit consideration (Aday, 1994). These vulnerable diseases or health conditions link to both the community and individual levels of resources. The community resources encompass cohesiveness among people and neighborhood characteristics (e.g., presence/absence of violence, unemployment rates, access to physical recreation) while the individual level points to social and human capital, social status and health needs. Aday (1994) suggests that there exist nine subpopulations that comprise vulnerability. Persons living with AIDS/HIV is one category of Aday's vulnerable subgroups.

Health care industry trends point to the use of IT to enable in a patient-centered communication and services by physicians, nurses and other providers of care (American Medical Association, 2006). Yet, notwithstanding the much anticipated hopes of IT's impact on the health care system, Health People 2010 (2006) concluded:

Often people with the greatest health burdens have the least access to information, communication technologies, healthcare, and supporting social services. Even the most carefully designed health communication programs will have limited impact if underserved communities lack access to crucial health professionals, services, and communication channels that are part of a health improvement project.

This translates to the need for public policy to address a broader digital divide which results in the continuing health gap in the Black community.

The statistics and findings within this study fail to capture the socio-economic, cultural and geographical determinants that affect the Black community. These variables were not included in the dataset described for this research and limit the interpretation of results. What remains of issue? Stigma, cultural views on homosexuality, Black leadership as "voices" in the community, the role of the church continue to challenge us. While much public attention (Kiwanuka-Tondo and Payton, 2006) has focused on sub-Saharan Africa, Black folks, in general, and Black women, in particular, have fallen off the radar. Vice President Cheney and then Senator John Edwards during the 2004 debate summed the nation's general disposition of AIDS/HIV in the U.S. Black community which appalled moderator Gwen Ifill as follows (http://www.actupny.org/reports/debateVP2004.html):

In America, "Black women between the ages of 25 and 44 are 13 times more likely to die of AIDS than their *[white]* counterparts". (Ifill)

"I have not heard those numbers with respect to African- American women. I was not aware that it was -- that they're in epidemic". (Cheney)

Well, first, with respect to what's happening in Africa and Russia and in other places around the world, the vice president spoke about the $15

billion for AIDS. John Kerry and I believe that needs to be doubled. And I might add, on the first year of their commitment, they came up significantly short of what they had promised. And we probably won't get a chance to talk about Africa. Let me just say a couple of things.(Edwards)

The AIDS epidemic in Africa, which is killing millions and millions of people and is a frightening thing not just for the people of Africa but also for the rest of the world, that, combined with the genocide that we're now seeing in Sudan, are two huge moral issues for the United States of America, which John Kerry spoke about eloquently last Thursday night. (Edwards)

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Assessment & Accreditation

NEW

Taking Ownership of Accreditation

Assessment Processes that Promote Institutional Improvement and Faculty Engagement

Edited by Amy Driscoll and Diane Cordero De Noriega
Preface By Judith A. Ramaley

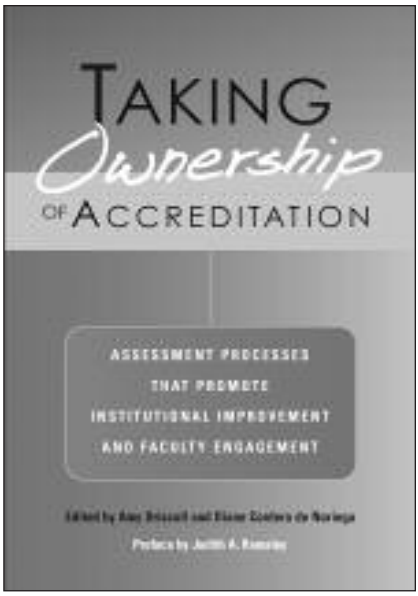
"Many institutions look upon accreditation with a kind of compliance mentality. This book shows us a different and better way – not in how to play the game or get through the process with a minimum of fuss – but in how to use accreditation to make the institution a better place. Those who seek a model for how to do accreditation right will find it in this book."— ***Jon F. Wergin,*** *Professor, Ph.D. Program in Leadership and Change, Antioch University*

"Of particular importance to community colleges is CSUMB's focus on engaging external constituents as both constituents and a prime audience for the self study reports. This is a comprehensive primer for those who care about creating productive institutional change at colleges and universities."—***Gail O. Mellow****, President, LaGuardia Community College*

"Shows how internal commitment can be joined with external accreditation requirements to engage faculty in scholarly inquiry about student and faculty learning, leading to a number of innovative activities that serve the university long after the accrediting team leaves. This book is useful whether you have an accrediting visit coming soon or not."—***Ralph A. Wolff,*** *Executive Director, Accrediting Commission for Senior Colleges and Universities, Western Association of Schools and Colleges*

This book demonstrates how a participatory approach to assessment and accreditation in their new forms creates a synergy for learner-centered education.

It is a guide to approaching the accreditation process from a campus-wide perspective of ownership — illustrated by rich descriptions of how faculty, students, and administrators at California State University Monterey Bay engaged with and



successfully focused their accreditation processes on the improvement of their practices.

The approach that the authors describe was driven by a commitment to go beyond satisfying the accreditation expectations so as to promote ongoing and long-term improvement of student learning. It also reflects the shift of responsibility for assessment within institutions from a designated office to individual faculty and staff, entire departments, and the campus as a whole.

The authors document strategies that are practical—ready to use or adapt—that are appropriate for all campuses. They demonstrate how they reduced traditional resistance to assessment by emphasizing its use for the improvement of student learning, helping faculty with their own teaching, and creating frameworks for continuing improvements that are valued by faculty.

The Editors: Amy Driscoll, formerly the Director of Teaching, Learning, and Assessment at California State University, Monterey Bay, is an Associate Senior Scholar with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Diane Cordero De Noriega is Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs, and currently Interim President, at California State University, Monterey Bay.

272 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, April 2006, 1 57922 175 0, $65.00, (5)
Paper, April 2006, 1 57922 176 9, $24.95, (1)

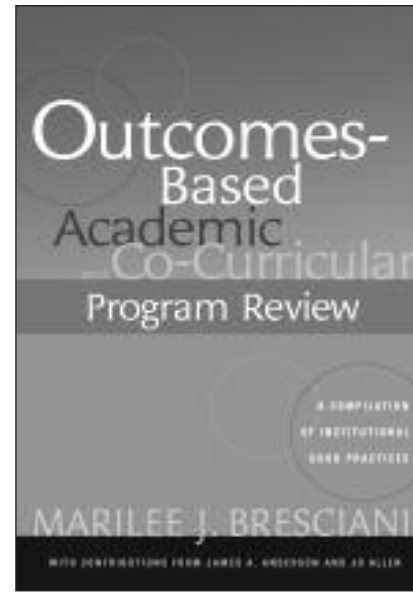
Stylus

NEW

Outcomes-Based Academic and Co-Curricular Program Review

A Compilation of Institutional Good Practices

Marilee J. Bresciani
Foreword by Ralph Wolff



This book offers far more than an introduction to the principles of assessment of student learning outcomes in the context of program review.

Within a clearly structured framework, it systematically shares the good practices of some forty institutions recognized by independent scholars for their improvements in teaching/learning, research, and service to offer examples and ideas for others to learn from and adapt. While the book focuses on assessment of the teaching mission, these same practices apply equally to student affairs, service and research activities.

This book is intended for faculty, administrators and staff responsible for implementing and sustaining outcomes-based assessment program review. It aims to help them understand the "what," "why" and "how" of outcomes-based assessment program review. Rather than adopting a prescriptive approach, it provides a rich array of case studies and ideas as a basis for reflection and discussion to help institutions develop solutions that are appropriate to their own missions and cultures.

This book answers such questions as what does good outcomes-based assessment program review practice look like from an institutional perspective? How have others initiated and conducted the process? Why did they choose their particular approaches; and who is doing replicable work? It links effective assessment practices with cyclical program review so that the single process of outcomes-based assessment informs many purposes: program review, strategic planning, professional accreditation, institutional accreditation, and even the assessment of general education.

This book illustrates the components of outcomes-based assessment program review, presents the criteria for identifying good practices and suggests steps for implementing a sustainable outcomes-based assessment program – and does so in a way that will engage readers in critical inquiry about what works well and what needs to be improved.

240pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, August 2006, 1-57922-140-8, $59.95 (5)
Paper, August 2006, 1-57922-141-6, $24.95 (1)

Stylus

NEW

Thirteen Strategies to Measure College Teaching

A Consumer's Guide to Rating Scale Construction, Assessment, and Decision-Making for Faculty, Administrators, and Clinicians

Ronald A. Berk
Foreword By Michael Theall

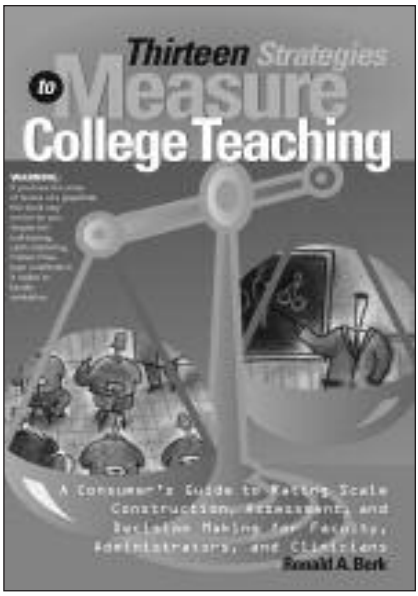
"Berk's list of strategies is (as advertised) one of the most complete discussions of these issues. This book can be used by both novices and experienced practitioners as a guide to better practice. That's why it is worth reading."—*from the Foreword by* ***Michael Theall,*** *Associate Professor, Education, & Director, Center for the Advancement of Teaching and Learning at Youngstown State*

To many college professors the words "student evaluations" trigger mental images of the "shower scene" from Psycho, with those bloodcurdling screams. They're thinking: "Why not just whack me now, rather than wait to see those ratings again."

This book takes off from the premise that student ratings are a necessary, but not sufficient, source of evidence for measuring teaching effectiveness. It is a fun-filled — but solidly evidence-based —romp through more than a dozen other methods that include measurement by self, peers, outside experts, alumni, administrators, employers, and even aliens.

As the major stakeholders in this process, both faculty and administrators, plus clinicians who teach in schools of medicine, nursing, and the allied health fields, need to be involved in writing, adapting, evaluating, or buying items to create the various scales to measure teaching performance. This is the first basic introduction in the faculty evaluation literature to take you step-by-step through the process to develop these tools, interpret their scores, and make decisions about teaching improvement, annual contract renewal/dismissal, merit pay, promotion, and tenure.

Ron Berk also stresses the need for "triangulation" – the use of multiple, complementary methods – to provide the properly balanced, comprehensive and fair assessment of teaching that is the benchmark of employment decision-making.



This is a must read to empower faculty, administrators, and clinicians to use appropriate evidence to make decisions accurately, reliably, and fairly. Don't trample each other in your stampede to snag a copy of this book!

The Author: Ronald A. Berk is Professor of Biostatistics and Measurement at the School of Nursing, The Johns Hopkins University. He served as Assistant Dean for Teaching from 1997-2003. He received the University's Alumni Association Excellence in Teaching Award in 1993 and Caroline Pennington Award for Teaching Excellence in 1997 and was inducted as a Fellow in the Oxford Society of Scholars in 1998 term at Johns Hopkins

288 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, April 2006, 1 57922 192 0, $65.00, (5)
Paper, April 2006, 1 57922 193 9, $24.95, (3)

Stylus

See other books by Ron Berk:

Professors Are from Mars®, Students Are from Snickers®

Humor as an Instructional Defibrillator

p. 16

NEW

The Assessment of Doctoral Education

Emerging Criteria and New Models for Improving Outcomes

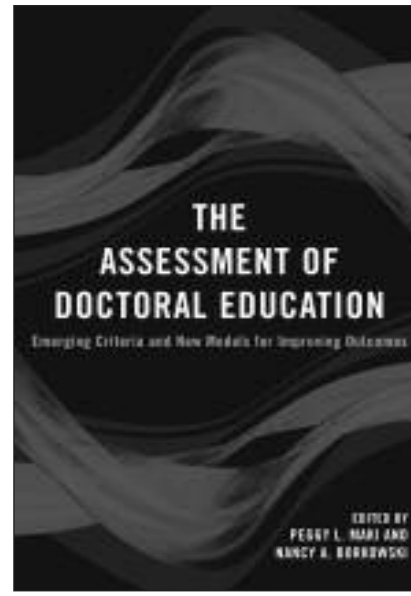
Edited by Peggy L. Maki and Nancy Borkowski
Foreword by Jody D. Nyquist

Following the growing commitment to assessment at the undergraduate level, many doctoral programs are now exploring and implementing innovative practices to assess their programs, students' learning, and their students' perceptions of their learning.

This book provides a foundation for faculty and academic leaders of doctoral programs to promote inquiry into the educational practices that define their programs and contribute to graduate students' learning. It presents an array of examples of the new program- and student-level assessment practices currently being adopted.

The book encourages faculty and academic leaders to reconsider the process and to formulate new questions to inquire into the efficacy of educational practices and traditions, such as the dissertation, that have historically led to the conferring of doctoral degrees. It aims to prompt constructive discussion about desired student learning outcomes, and about the kinds of assessment methods that provide evidence of what and how students learn within the context of educational practices.

What also emerges from this study is the importance of listening and responding to graduate students as they progress through their studies and as they reflect on the relevance of their studies once they have graduated. It suggests new strategies to orient and support doctoral students in their educational journeys.



The Editors: Peggy L. Maki is a higher education consultant specializing in assisting institutions integrate assessment of student learning into educational practices and was most recently Senior Scholar and Director of Assessment at the AAHE. Nancy A. Borkowski most recently served as the program associate for The Responsive Ph.D. Initiative, a five-year national effort to improve doctoral education, organized by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation.

288 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, September 2006, 1-57922-178-5, $65.00, (5)
Paper, September 2006, 1-57922-179-3, $24.95 (1)

Stylus

BESTSELLER

Assessing for Learning

Building a Sustainable Commitment Across the Institution

Peggy L. Maki

"A rich resource for assessment committees or university officers charged with assessment duties."—***NACADA Journal***

"Maki's book offers a systematic approach to assessment. I consider it an extremely valuable source for anyone involved in education."—***Effective Teaching***

This book offers colleges and universities a framework and tools to design an effective and collaborative assessment process appropriate for their culture and institution. It encapsulates the approach that Peggy Maki has refined through hundreds of successful workshops.

She presents extensive examples of processes, strategies and campus practices, as well as key resources, guides, worksheets, and exercises — to assist all stakeholders in the institution to develop and sustain assessment of student learning as an integral and systematic core institutional process.

This book sets the assessment of learning within the twin contexts of: (1) the level of a program, department, division, or school within an institution; and (2) the level of an institution, based on its mission statement, educational philosophy, and educational objectives.

Here is a process that any campus can adapt and use to engage all its constituencies — institutional leaders, faculty, staff, administrators, students and those in governance — constructively to forge a vision and commitment to action.

256 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Cloth, 2004, 1 57922 087 8, $59.95, (5)
Paper, 2004, 1 57922 088 6, $24.95, (1)

Stylus

See also:

Portfolio Development and the Assessment of Prior Learning
p. 37

Electronic Portfolios
p.25

BESTSELLER

Introduction to Rubrics

An Assessment Tool to Save Grading Time, Convey Effective Feedback and Promote Student Learning

Dannelle D. Stevens and Antonia J. Levi

"This wonderfully compact introduction to rubrics will serve higher education teachers well regardless of discipline or level of instruction."—***Amy Driscoll,*** *Director of Teaching, Learning and Assessment at California State University, Monterey Bay*

"A valuable resource for the new user in a content discipline and belongs in every faculty developer's library."—***Edward Nuhfer,*** *Director, Center for Teaching and Learning, Idaho State University*

"It is so much more than an introduction: Stevens and Levi provide an effective blueprint for the creation of one's own customized rubrics. This a much-needed new resource."—***Adrielle A. Mitchell****, Department of English, Nazareth College*

Research shows that rubrics save professors' time while conveying meaningful and timely feedback for students, and promoting self-regulated and independent learning.

At its most basic a rubric is a scoring tool that divides an assignment into its component parts and objectives, and provides a detailed description of what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable levels of performance for each part.

Rubrics can be used to grade any assignment or task: research papers, book reviews, participation in discussions, laboratory work, portfolios, oral presentations, group work, and more.

This book defines what rubrics are, and how to construct and use them. It provides a complete introduction for anyone starting out to integrate rubrics in their teaching.

112 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, 2004, 1 57922 114 9, $49.95, (5)
Paper, 2004, 1 57922 115 7, $17.95, (1)

Stylus

Assessing Student Competence in Accredited Disciplines

Pioneering Approaches to Assessment in Higher Education

Edited by Catherine A. Palomba and Trudy W. Banta

"Offers lessons that should be useful to [all] campuses and disciplines. The final chapters makes the book useful to accreditors as well as program or institutional educators."—***ASPA News***

"Enormously useful, both to educators in a given field who want to know what their own accreditors and colleagues are doing about assessment, and to those who want to look over the fence and borrow ideas from other fields. The citations and real-life case studies alone are worth the price of admission."—***Barbara D. Wright,*** *University of Connecticut*

Specialized accrediting bodies stand at the forefront of the assessment movement and exert important influences on program and institutional assessment and improvement. The academic programs these bodies approve are frequently among the first on a campus to consider ways to assess student competence. This book presents case studies that describe how faculty in eight professionally oriented disciplines have developed and practiced assessment on their campuses and the lessons these faculty offer to colleagues in their own and other disciplines.

320 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, 2001, 1 57922 034 7, $37.50, (5)

Stylus

Assessment to Promote Deep Learning

Insight from AAHE's 2000 and 1999 Assessment Conferences

Edited by Linda Suskie

Contents: Foreword by *Linda Suskie;* A Conversation with Jorge Klor de Alva, interviewed by *Gail Mellow;* Promoting Deep Learning through Teaching and Assessment by *Noel Entwistle;* Developing a Learning/Teaching Style Assessment Model for Diverse Populations by *James Anderson;* A Few Good Measures – The Impossible Dream? by *Victor M.H. Borden;* Assessment of Innovative Efforts – Lessons From the Learning Community Movement by *Jean MacGregor, Vincent Tinto, and Jerri Holland Lindblad*; Accreditation - Where Credit Is Due by *Barbara Wright;* Assessment at the Millennium – Now What? A conversation with *Thomas A. Angelo, Peter T. Ewell, and Cecilia López,* moderated by *Theodore J. Marchese;* Assessing for Quality in Learning by *John Biggs;* Testing Disadvantaged Students – The Elusive Search for What is Fair by *Sharon Robinson.*

78 pp, 8 ½" x 11"
Paper, 2001, 1 56377 048 2, $17.50, (5)
AAHE member price: $14.00

AAHE

See also:
Departmental Assessment
p. 8

Enhancing Organizational Performance

A Toolbox for Self-Assessment

Charles Lusthaus, Marie-Hélène Adrien, Gary Anderson and Fred Carden

This guidebook presents an innovative and thoroughly tested model for organizational self-assessment. The tools and techniques are flexible, and the model can be adapted to any type or size of organization. Worksheets and hands-on exercises are included.

140 pp, 5 ¾" x 8 ¾"
Spiral binding, 1999, 0 88936 870 8, $16.95, (1)
ONLY FOR SALE IN THE U.S.A.

Principles of Good Practice for Assessing Student Learning

AAHE

Available free online at:
http://www.styluspub.com/books/AAHEPGP.pdf

CHILDREN OF BLACK PRISONERS: FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENTAL POLICIES

Bahiyyah M. Muhammad, Ph.D. Candidate
Rutgers University- Newark Campus
The School of Criminal Justice

***Abstract**: The incredibly high rate of incarceration has harmed the African American community in general, and African American families, more specifically. This paper examines the social, economic and political effects of parental incarceration on black families and communities, focusing specifically on children. Black children are of primary interest in the article because they are considered to be an at-risk population. In recent years much has been said about the "intergenerational cycle of incarceration". This theory implies the negative consequences for children whose parents have been imprisoned. The consequence involves an increased potential for imprisonment. The author proposes family and community developmental policies to stop this cycle.*

Statement of the Problem: An Introduction

Incarceration has become a major factor in the social and economic structure of the United States, especially for African Americans. The rates of incarceration for black males can only be described as catastrophic (Mauer, 1999). The female population continues to rise but has not reached that of their male counterparts. Traditionally, incarceration has been viewed as only affecting the offender. In the past, the U.S. criminal justice system focused solely on the isolated offender and ignored his or her family and community connections (Johnston, 1995). Researchers are now beginning to explore the social implications of incarceration on offenders, their families and the communities they come from. It has been noted that incarceration is a source of negative effects for the community, family, and especially children.

Existing research has shown that children of incarcerated parents experience negative effects on emotional health and well-being. Fear, anxiety, anger, sadness, loneliness, guilt, low self-esteem, depression, and emotional withdrawal are some of the emotional and behavioral problems that children with incarcerated parents have (the Osborne Association, 1993). These children may act out inappropriately, become disrupting in the classroom, and perform poorly in their schoolwork (Gabel, 1992). Children with incarcerated parents are five times more likely to serve time in prison when they are adults in comparison to children whose parents are not incarcerated (Petersilia, 2000).

Families and communities are also affected by incarceration, specifically mass incarceration. The role of prisoners' families has taken on added significance as scholars have highlighted the geographic concentration of incarceration and release, making some neighborhoods and communities particularly vulnerable to the challenges of reintegrating large numbers of former prisoners (Travis & Cadora, 2003). Along with geographic concentration, there is extreme racial disparity in which families and communities face the difficulties stemming from incarceration and subsequent prisoner reentry to

communities. The effects of incarceration reach way beyond the immediate scope of the offender. Until we begin to address these issues in the black community, incarceration will continue to destroy families and communities, and most importantly our black children. The goal of this paper is to analyze existing literature on the effects of incarceration on African American families and communities, focusing specifically on children to provide suggestions for implementation of research findings, policy statements, and future research. This will be accomplished by examination of the social, economic and political effects of incarceration on prisoners' families, children and communities.

Community and Neighborhood Characteristics

A closer look into the communities that prisoners families come from will help to identify the problems they face on a day to day basis, minus the added issues they face as a result of having a family member incarcerated who will one day return back to that same community. Serving a prison term in some communities has been normalized due to the large numbers of individuals that have experienced incarceration in a particular community (Petersilia, 2003; Clear, 2003). Such families are living in extreme poverty. For example, in New Jersey more than half of prisoners released in 2002 came from two counties- "that already face great economic and social disadvantage" (Travis, et al, p.2, 2003). These counties (Essex and Camden) are plagued by high rates of unemployment and single parent households.

In Maryland, a community with large numbers of incarcerated individuals was found to be unsafe (Lotke & Ziedenberg, 2005), this was also found to be the case in Florida. Todd Clear found that high levels of incarceration were associated with reduced safety in communities (2003). Black communities have been documented to have numerous characteristics, including high unemployment rates, single parent households, unsafe streets, drug addicts and dealers, social disorganization, lack of positive black male role models, gangs, prostitution, extended family households, and other characteristics that add to the downfall of community life in such areas.

It is important to note, that incarceration does not only affect poor black communities but middle class communities as well. In Black Picket Fences, Pattillo-McCoy identifies many of the same characteristics found in poor black communities. The differences between these two communities rest in the type of housing that families reside in. In middle class neighborhoods families typically live in single- family housing (1999). In poor communities you find families living in projects, flats, and multiple family housing (Stack, 1974). This section is used to give readers a depiction of the areas in which incarcerated individuals come from, where their families continue to live during their sentence, and where families will be reunited upon their members release from prison.

Living in such communities can be difficult for any individual- so imagine how children must feel being raised in such environments minus their family member who has been incarcerated. Allow yourself to look out into the world from the eyes of the young one's who may not understand what is going on around them, but use what is in their

immediate view to make sense of the world that they have been placed in. The children that are being raised in communities plagued by mass incarceration are seeing things that some children only see on television. In a recent pilot study conducted on "Children of Prisoners" Muhammad asked children to describe the neighborhood they live in. Children as young as age seven were found to be fully aware of the characteristics of community life.

"*I don't like living here. It aint a good neighborhood for me and my grandmother. There is a lot of killing that goes on in my hood. I hear gun shots all the time. When I walk to school in the morning I see drunks and addicts hanging outside the liquor store. I keep to myself in the streets. I only feel safe inside the house*"
(CHILD SUBJECT, 13-year-old female).

"*Drug dealers, stolen cars, drinking on the corner, and lots of noise at night*"
(CHILD SUBJECT, 11-year-old male)

"*I am not able to walk home from school alone cause it is not safe for me. My mom told me that bad things happen to kids who walk home alone. My big brother comes to get me from school. He walks me to school in the daytime too. At night sometimes I hear stolen cars going up and down the block. I hear gunshots too a lot. It is scary. But I stay in the house for safeness*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 10-year-old male).

"I can never go to the store with just me. I always wait long for someone to take me. The store is just two corners down. I can't do anything but play in the backyard. I want to go to the park, but the bad guys hang out there so I can't go. In the old house it was better. The park was safe. Only little kids play there. It was fun. I like the backyard. It is safe and boring sometimes" (CHILD SUBJECT, 9-year-old female).

"*I can't do anything. I have to stay inside because it is not safe outside. I hate it. Other kids down the street play outside, but their mom is not home like mine. I wanna play outside with the other kids*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 8-year-old male).

"*We have bars on the windows so we can keep the badness out. My mom said to keep all the windows close so no one can climb in. People steal out there for they could buy drugs*". (CHILD SUBJECT, 7-year-old female).

Children are kept safe in the communities they reside in by being locked in their houses. This does not keep them from knowing what goes on outside their homes. Children of all ages are aware of what happens in the streets they are kept from, but feel protected by the confines of their home. Such techniques will only work as long as children remain young. The day will come when children feel old enough to make their own decisions. We cannot lock children up forever- similar to their incarcerated family members. Communities and neighborhoods must be made safe enough for our children to play and feel comfortable. We don't want our children to normalize the idea of being locked up.

Social Effects of Incarceration

When the social effects of incarceration are discussed researchers limit effects to those of prisoners and adult family members. It has been clearly documented that children face emotional consequences such as feelings of shame, humiliation, and a loss of social status (Johnston, 1995; Mauer, 1999a). What has not been documented is how the social effects of incarceration on prisoners and adult family members affect children. This is of great importance because the ways in which families deal with incarceration can have direct effects on the children who bear witness. Children of the incarcerated identified their feelings about the police, proving their distrust of authority figures (Clear, 2003; Johnston, 1995; Mauer, 1999b, Muhammad, 2006):

"*I don't like them at all. They like so backwards. You have cops that really pick with you to get on your last nerve. They do everything in their power to mess with you. They bother people for hanging outside even if they are just chilling and minding their own business. I see no purpose for them on earth. You still have bad people on the streets, drug dealers, prostitutes and all kinds of bad people. I never liked the police. And after my mother got locked up I just started hating them.*
(CHILD SUBJECT, 16-year-old female)

"*I don't like them. I don't know why- I just don't like them. I didn't like them before they took my dad. They were rough with my dad. They threw him in the back of the cop car. I have officers at school and they carry guns"*
(CHILD SUBJECT, 15-year-old male).

"*I never liked the cops. They are all crooked*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 14-year-old female).

"*The police don't help. When you call them to come out to help you they take a really long time to come. They don't care. If you were in danger you could be dead by the time they come*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 13-year-old female).

"*They are dumb. When they locked my dad up that day- they told me to have "a nice day". I have no respect for the police. They took my dad and didn't tell me anything-but to have a nice day. How is that possible?*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 11-year-old female).

"*The cops are dumb and stupid cause they took my father from me. I feel angry, mad, and sad. I feel like punching them. The police did not help me at all- they hurt me"*
(CHILD SUBJECT, 10-year-old male)

"*I don't like the police*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 9-year-old female).

"*I don't know how I feel about cops. They took my dad away from me and I still don't have him back*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 8-year-old male).

"*I don't like the cops. They are bad cause they have guns in the pocket. I saw dem take me dad. I think dey hurt him*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 7-year-old male).

"*I do not like cops cause they got guns and lock people up. They bad. There are bad people and bad cops*" (CHILD SUBJECT, 7-year-old female).

Families who deal with incarceration are often stigmatized (Braman, 2002; Clear, 2003; Richie, 2002). This leads to the silencing effect of children. Children who are experiencing the loss of a family member due to incarceration are forced to remain silent about the situation. In some instances caregivers of prisoners children warn them against speaking about their family members incarceration (Gabel, 1992; Johnston, 1995). If children hold inside their inner most feelings about incarceration, the social effect on this population will be silenced. Children need to know that they are not going through this alone, and that the world is full of children who are experiencing the same situation (Bernstein, 2005). In order for this issue to be addressed we must first begin to talk about it, if children don't feel that they can discuss their feelings about incarceration we may never get to the bottom of this ever-growing problem.

To understand what children are faced with, imagine that you have just lost a parent to death- rather than incarceration. If you are told that you can never talk about it, you will be forced to hold all your emotions inside. This can cause an individual to eventually explode. Usually when an individual is faced with the loss of a loved one, they are recommended by others to go and speak to someone, usually a psychologist; A professional who will be able to uncover all the hidden issues that have been buried by a particular individual. Through weekly discussions with the psychologist an individuals is able to let go of all the emotional baggage they were holding onto for so long. As a result they will be able to move on to other issues in their lives that they battle with. Children dealing with the loss of an individual to incarceration should be able to talk to someone about what they are feeling. Negative feelings can easily lead to anger and frustration- according to Robert Merton's "Strain Theory"; frustration can lead to criminal behavior.

Children who live in communities plagued by mass incarceration will bear witness to many single parent households (Western, Lopoo, & McLanahan, 2004). As a result they may mature to think that this is the way life should be. Growing to one-day bear children of their own who will also be raised in a single parent household. Mass incarceration also has negative social effects on male children, who are faced with a lack of male role models in their community and household (O'Connor, 2004). Children that grow up in a single parent household lacking a male role model, turn to the streets in many instances for guidance (Anderson, 1999). In these streets they learn to cherish status gained through respect.

Economic Effects of Incarceration

When one thinks of the economic effects of incarceration one automatically thinks about adult individuals or working age youth. Incarcerations economic effects reach far beyond the incarcerated and into the lives of their family members who reside outside of the prison setting (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Rubinstein & Mukamal, 2002; Travis, 2002),

including those individuals who are too young to work. This section brings to light how economic problems faced by prisoners and their families affect the children in the family, in ways that have not been documented in current research on this topic. It is well known that former offenders are faced with many difficulties in trying to find employment (Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2004). This means that during incarceration families have a loss of financial support- in the event that the incarcerated family member contributed to the family resources. The family will also be faced with the same dilemma following the family members release from prison (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001). If the family member did in fact contribute to the family's resources then everyone will be affected economically by the removal of that family member from the household.

The way parents respond to economic hardships has a direct effect on their children. According to McLoyd:

"*Poverty and economic loss diminish the capacity for supportive, consistent, and involved parenting and render parents more vulnerable to the debilitating effects of negative life events*" (McLoyd, p. 312, 1990).

Economic hardships on black children can lead to uninvolved parenting. Incarceration adds to this already dim situation. Research has identified that children of prisoners are usually cared for in single parent households. One can assume that the household composition alone can lead to diminished capacity for supportive, consistent, and involved parenting. A parent who has to work most of the time to support their family, is most likely a parent that spends most of their time at work. "Having time to engage their children due to economic conditions could be an issue for mothers of all income levels whether or not they are married or single" (Bush, p. 50, 1997). This is a clear example of how the economic effects of incarceration affect the lives of the children.

"*A major mediator of the link between economic hardship and parenting behavior is psychological distress deriving from an excess of negative life events, undesirable chronic conditions, and the absence and disruption of marital bonds*" (McLoyd, p. 312, 1990).

Incarceration has been found to cause psychological distress (Johnston, 1995), negative life events (Mauer, 1999; Clear, 2003), undesirable conditions (Murry & Brody, 1999), and the absence and disruption of marital bonds (Western, Lopoo, & McLanahan, 2004). Research has found that the rising imprisonment rates have reduced marriage rates in communities with large numbers of former inmates (Fossett & Kiecolt, 1993; Western, Lopoo, & McLanahan, 2004). According to the "sex ratio hypothesis" their relative numbers in the population shapes relations between male and female individuals. If you live in a community were most of the men are absent due to incarceration-they are not available for potential family formation. The large numbers of black men that are incarcerated keeps them out of the potential pool of marriageable men.

Money can be the cause of many problems, especially for children, who must depend on the economics provided them by their parent or parents. When parents are not able to

provide for their children they become angry and in turn may take out their frustration on their children. Child development research "indicated that parents who sustained heavy financial loss became more irritable, tense, and explosive, which in turn increased their tendency to be punitive toward the child. They also became more arbitrary, defined here as being inconsistent in discipline as a function of mood" (McLoyd, pg. 312, 1990). This depicts the dangerous situations that children may be placed into when they have a parent removed from the home due to incarceration or a parent put back into the home after being released from prison.

Economic stress can affect parenting behaviors and the well-being of the children who must reside in an economically disadvantaged home. Family economic problems can also lead to the children being placed in multiple living arrangements, which pose numerous risks (Johnson & Sabol, 2004). These economic effects of incarceration can be detrimental on the children who cannot help in any way, but must be fed and clothed regardless of the amount of money coming into the household. Due to their age they are not legally able to work and therefore cannot contribute the household finances. Children placed in such situations are seen to be a burden rather than an asset.

Political Effects of Incarceration

Incarceration not only silences children who have an incarcerated parent and are told not to speak on the issue, but "silences the political voices of millions of disenfranchised felons and dilutes the political strength of the groups to which they belong" (Uggen & Manza, pg. 165, 2004). Research has identified that convicted felons loose their right to vote as a result of being guilty of committing a felony offense (Mauer, 2002). In current research on this field researchers discuss how adult offenders and the communities they come from are affected by this populations loss in voting rights. What has not been discussed is how such losses affect the children that reside in those communities.

Incarcerated parents, who do not have the right to vote, have no voice in what will happen in the communities that their children live. As a result, public resources are deployed away from higher education, public programs and services and into prisons. So how can the schools that these children attend be improved? How can we build up these broken down communities, so that our children can play safely in their neighborhoods? How can we provide more after school programs that can work to keep kids off the streets? How do we improve the community housing offered in these communities?

Most individuals accomplish change in their communities through the elected officials they vote for. Voting is very important because it impacts local schools, property tax proposal, resource allocation, and the like (Uggen & Manza, 2004). Communities plagued by mass incarceration are impacting our children in ways that we have never though about before. If nothing is done our children will become a statistic and the cycle will continue downward. Furthermore, the U.S. Census counts prisoners as living wherever their prison is located (Uggen & Manza, 2004). This leads one to assume that the prison location were the parent is incarcerated is more important than the location

were the prisoners children are residing and were the prisoner will one day be released back too. This takes money out of those communities that need it most, and puts it into the prisons that continue to boom with business.

Impact on the Future of Black Families and Communities: Breaking the Silence

The impact of social, economic and political effects of incarceration can be detrimental to black families and communities, especially to those children who are affected first hand by having a member of their family sentenced to prison. The findings above show that incarceration has a silencing effect on all levels. For example, social stigmatization occurs when individuals are connected to an incarcerated individual, through marriage, birth, or relationship. Therefore, children of the incarcerated and others are told to "keep silent" about having a parent or family member in prison. Incarceration carries with it a stigma- in which individuals are looked down upon when they are connected in anyway to an incarcerated individual. "Political silence" occurs due to the fact that convicted felons loose their right to vote when they are sentenced to prison. This works to further keep the voices of the underrepresented silent. "Economic silence" occurs because incarceration reduces an individual's opportunity to gain employment upon release. Formerly incarcerated individuals must then turn to welfare agencies and other social service agencies for financial help (Western, Petit, & Guetzkow, 2002). These agencies dictate the voices of those unfortunate individuals who can only use the monies received for what they are told by the agencies to use their received funding towards.

Our black communities are not being heard and will continue to be silenced unless we develop programs and policies that break the silence in families and the communities they live in. The effects of incarceration should be spoken about at our kitchen tables, in our classrooms, in our communities, by our elected official and all over. This is an issue that needs to be talked about. Its effects have become too prevalent to remain secret. Its in the newspapers we read everyday and on the television screens that we watch numerous times a day. Criminal justice issues are being taught on college and university campuses all around the country. It is time that the black communities bring the truth to our families that are so severely affected by it every day.

Think Thank Thematic Relevance: Community Development and Public Policy

Incarceration is directly related to black families and communities. This is attributed to the fact that blacks are disproportionately represented in the prison population. Incarceration by its nature destroys family formation and community ties (Clear, 2003). Therefore, the proposed paper has extreme relevance to the development of black families and communities through public policy. Policies must address prisoner reintegration back into his/her family and community the day an inmate walks into the prison doors.

Research findings have shown incarceration to have negative social, economic and political effects on offenders, families and communities. Numerous studies address the effects of incarceration on minority individuals, but few studies provide minority specific

remedies to their findings. For example, in-prison and out-prison parenting classes that are *culturally* specific to African American parents or community organizations that educate community members on the detrimental effects of incarceration through *spirituality* and *religion*. This paper is intended to move from research findings to actions by filling the gap between interdisciplinary approaches and problem solving methods. The researcher accomplishes this through proposed research questions and strategies to address the questions.

Research Questions

- What does it do to the fabric of the family and community to have such a substantial proportion of its men enmeshed in the criminal justice system?
- What images and values are communicated to children who see the prisoner as the most prominent or pervasive role model in the community?
- What is the effect on a community's political influence when one quarter of the black men in some states cannot vote as a result of a felony conviction?

Five Steps to Success: Proposed Strategy to Address Research Questions

The proposed questions are addressed by a five-step action strategy. The five steps include:

(1) Identify explanations and insight into the effects of incarceration on families and communities
    a. Explanations will be broken into three categories of effects
        i. Social effects
        ii. Economic effects
        iii. Political effects
    b. Insights will be broken into two categories of community members
        i. Children
        ii. Family Members (both immediate and extended)
        iii. Parents

(2) Provide practical suggestions for culturally specific family and community developmental policies
    a. Parenting classes (In & Out of prison participants)
    b. Development of community organizations
    c. Community busing programs to the prisons

(3) Identify the relevant stakeholders
    a. Interest Groups
        i. Prison officials
        ii. Schools-teachers
        iii. Community organizations
            1. Churches
            2. Civic Centers
            3. Non-Profit Organizations
            4. After-School Programs

5. Neighborhood Watch Groups
6. Community Leaders

b. Policy makers
c. Practitioners
d. Researchers

(4) Identify social and public policies that can be implemented on the community level.

(5) Providing limitations of strategies and generate a "next steps" list.

Limitations of Proposed Strategy Suggestions

Funding. Funding will definitely pose a problem to accomplishing the proposed strategies. In the United States there has been huge cuts to the budget- therefore monies to fund community and family initiatives may not be of important to policymakers. Communities may be faced with the challenge of working with a limited budget. Remember if this is the case for your community, something is better than nothing. Work with what you have- and try to use the money you have been given to make money. Not all of it- but a portion of it.

Try to option outside funding from agencies interested in community development. You may need to write a proposal for such funding- but it is worth the try. There are numerous agencies that support community and family developmental initiatives.

Committed Participations. It may be challenging to find committed participants. Remember the communities that we are talking are low-income urban communities. Individuals in such communities may not have time to commit to such programs- because they have to work to keep food on the table. The proposed strategies assume that community members will have time and interest to participate. Do whatever you must do to get people involved and keep them involved. Feed participants if you must- food is a good way to attract participants.

Residential Stability of Community Participants. The proposed strategies assume that community member will remain in that particular community for a prolonged period of time. Research has found that residential mobility is frequent among community members. This may pose a challenge for the success of your programs. Try and target those individuals in the community that have resided there for a long period of time, and who have no plans of leaving anytime soon. You will also want to target new community residents, who will be able to provide fresh insight into community developments.

Appointing Community Leaders. Because residential stability may be a problem in your community it will lead to troubles in deciding on community leaders. Pick a range of community leaders of all ages. This will allow for those who do not leave to take the place of those who have left the community. Appointing Community Organizations as

leaders is helpful as well because they tend to be pretty stable in their commitments to the communities they serve. It may also help to hold appointment for a short period of time. Instead of community leaders being appointed to their position for two years, reduce it to 1-year with the option to renew for another year. It should also be a requirement that appointed leaders submit a copy of their lease- so that you are clearly aware of the amount of time they plan to stay in residence.

Willingness to Disclose Personal Information. It may pose a problem that community members will be required to discuss personal information about issues that they may not be comfortable talking about in public. If you find that this is a problem in your community you may want to begin with icebreaker type of events so that community members will become comfortable with one another. You may have to plan community events (such as picnics, barbeques, dinners, soft ball/ baseball/kickball games, ect.) before members feel comfortable with one another. You want to make sure not to force anyone to disclose anything that they don't feel comfortable discussing.

You may also find the community members may not want to disclose information about community members who may be involved in illegal behaviors or inappropriate behaviors, because they don't wish to be called names or not accepted in the community. To rid of this programs should have an anonymous drop box, where individuals are able to write down information without disclosing who they are and put it in a box. This will allow for people to feel safe in disclosing information both about themselves and others. It should be made known that it is more important to fix a situation than it is to know who did what.

Practical Policy Implications: Interactive Attempts

Family Driven Initiatives. Families must take on the responsibility of educating their children and other older members about the effects of incarceration. Children must be prepared at a young age to discuss all family issues in their household setting. Black children need to be made aware of the truths of the world around them. They should be taught from birth to break the cycle that our black people tend to get caught up in today. In order for family initiatives to be successful individuals must be willing to help those families that are closet to them. We need to begin to stick together and work together, instead of working against one another.

Community Driven Initiatives. Community members will be required to participate in monthly community meetings. During these meetings community and society issues will be addressed. For example, incidents that occur in the community will be discussed and placed on the agenda list so that issues can be dealt with on a timely basis. Community education series will also take place during the community meetings. This will allow allotted time for community members to voice issues and concerns that they feel should be projected to the community at large. At the end of every meeting notes will be documented and distributed to all households in the community. This will allow for all

community members to be aware of what is going on both in and outside of their community.

Community meeting should also attempt to recruit nearby community members to participate so that neighboring communities can work together and learn from one another. Community participation should be expanded as far out as possible. This can help build informal social networks.

Elementary & High School Initiatives. School will be required to educate children as early as elementary school about the consequences of breaking the law. It needs to be a required class that must be taken and passed in elementary and high school in order to graduate. If it is required that children take sex education and drivers education- they too should be required to take criminal justice education. In this class students will be made aware of the prevalence of incarceration in their state and community, the characteristics of the incarcerated population, and students will be required to attend a prison visit to a local male and female facility. Classes will be taught similar to an introduction class on the college level- but for elementary and high school students. College student teachers will work with the social studies teachers to identify the level that the students are on. Such classes will be taught by doctoral students for independent study credits toward the completion of their degree. This will also work to introduce students to the idea of college and the ills of prison life.

This initiative will allow those students who do not go further than high school the understand the consequences of being involved in criminal behavior. Such as the loss of their right to vote, the potential loss of student aid due to drug convictions, the loss of ability to receive welfare funding, the percentage of high school drop outs that spend time in prison, the 50-feet within a school zone laws that apply to the sales of narcotics, drug policies that demand lengthier sentences.

Students will be pushed at an early age to begin to read, rather than believe everything that they see on television about prison. Children tend to think that the media representations of particular issues are true- when in fact they are embellished. They are made to keep the individual watching so that the television stations ratings can continue to rise and the show will continue to be aired. Reading is fundamental and children should be forced to read as early as possible.

Research Initiatives. Funding agencies should be given monetary incentives to fund research on the black community. There is not enough research done on the black community on all levels, especially on how they deal with the effects of incarceration on a personal level. More graduate students must join organizations such as BOTA (Brothers of the Academy) and SOTA (Sisters of the Academy) this will allow for an exchange of information and professional opportunities. We need more Black Scholars Conferences were we discuss the issues that are faced in black communities and in black families. More importantly we need more black students attend colleges and university to pursue higher education. High school education is not enough- we need to be

educating ourselves on higher levels. Especially our black men; there is a lack of black men on college campuses, in graduate and professional programs.

Biography of Author: Ms. Bahiyyah Miallah Muhammad is a native of East Orange, New Jersey. Ms. Muhammad is one of nine children, all by the same parents. Her nine siblings include five sisters and three brothers. Growing up in this urban city sparked her interest in crime and it's effects on the black community. Crime has been a part of her life since the seventh grade. Having to walk to middle school everyday gave Bahiyyah the opportunity to see exactly what went on and continues to go on in poor urban communities. Drugs, prostitution, and crime were all prevalent in her neighborhood. The drug dealers on the corner were her older brother's friends and the fathers to her girlfriends' babies. Ms. Muhammad became involved in their lives, seeing first hand the grave consequences of mass incarceration on the development of community life.

When you live in a community where most of the men are in prison you see an environment plagued with consequences, such as, communities being affected through economic hardships, family members affected both financially and emotionally, children being affected economically and socially through the removal of a parent from the home, and a rise in the probation and parole population. Bahiyyah's interest in criminal justice was sparked by these so-called "unintended" (Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2002) consequences. Living in East Orange, New Jersey for seven years gave her the opportunity to get to know some of the criminals that are typically depicted in the movies as being dangerous, cruel, and uneducated. Rather than accepting such stereotypes, she came to understand the importance of establishing a relationship with the community, which led to her interest in community corrections.

The author received her B.S in Administration of Justice from Rutgers University-New Brunswick Campus with a minor in Psychology and a criminology certificate. Ms. Muhammad went on to receive her M.S. in Criminal Justice from John Jay College of Criminal Justice- New York City. She is now working on her Ph.D. in Criminal Justice at Rutgers University-Newark Campus. Bahiyyah's dissertation interests include Children of Prisoners, African –Americans and the Criminal Justice System and Public Policy. Bahiyyah is a New Jersey Minority Academic Careers Doctoral Fellow and a proud (SOTA) member.

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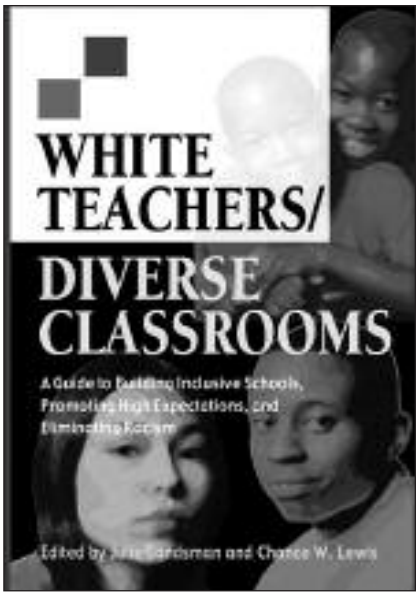

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The Editors: Julie Landsman is a consultant and teacher in the Minneapolis Schools, and the author of *A White Teacher Talks about Race* (Scarecrow Press), acclaimed by *Publisher's Weekly* as "impressive" and "impassioned;" Chance W. Lewis is assistant professor at the School of Education, Colorado State University and founder and Chairperson of the African American Research Consortium.

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Contextualizing Juvenile Re-Entry for Young African-American Males: From Prisonyard to Schoolyard

Joseph B. Richardson, Jr., PhD
Assistant Professor
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University of Maryland

This paper provides a contextual analysis of juvenile re-entry for young African-American males in the city of Chicago and an overview of juvenile re-entry for this population nationwide. In the United States, approximately 100,000 youth per year return from detention back into schools and communities. The overwhelming majority of juvenile offenders returning from detention are disproportionately African-American males. Although African-American youth only represent 16% of the total youth population, in 2002 black youth represented 43% of all arrestees for serious violent crimes. In 2002, African-American youth accounted for:

- 50% of youth arrestees for murder
- 36% of youth arrestees for rape
- 59% of youth arrestees for robbery
- 37% of youth arrestees for aggravated assault

For those juvenile offenders returning from incarceration the rate of recidivism is 70-90%. Only 12% of serious juvenile offenders will receive a GED and only 30% of juvenile offenders will be in school or working following release. The culmination of these factors has resulted in more young African-American men in US prisons and jails than in four-year colleges and universities. In 2000, there 603,000 African-American men enrolled in US

colleges and universities and 791,000 African-American men in US prisons and jails (Justice Policy Institute).

For those thousands of young African-American men returning from juvenile detention every year what fate awaits them?

The Teplin Study of Juvenile Re-Entry and Violence in Chicago

Youth processed in the juvenile justice are considered at great risk for early violent death and the groups at greatest risk are racial/ethnic minorities, specifically urban African-American male youth, who are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system. Previous classic studies of juvenile delinquents (Glueck and Glueck, 1950) found that nearly 5% of the 500 white males in their study had died by age 32, compared to 2.2% of the non-delinquent control group. However previous studies such as the Glueck study do not reflect the racial and ethnic composition of today's youth (Teplin, et. al, 2005). What we know in 2006, is that homicide is most common cause of death among African-American male youth (48.3 deaths per 100,000 person-years). African-American youth homicide (annually) is 2.7 times greater than Latino youth and 13 times greater than non-Hispanic white youth. The combination of all these factors suggests that examining the adolescent life-course of African-American male juvenile offenders is critical in our current understanding of the social context of re-entry for African-American male juvenile offenders.

There are few studies however which longitudinally document the lives of African-American male juvenile offenders returning from detention, however. One study, conducted by Teplin in 1995 recruited a sample of 1829 youth (1172 male and 657 female) to assess the health needs and outcomes of delinquent youth released from Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center located in Chicago, IL. Participants ages 10-18 were recruited

from a random sample of detainees at the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center, the largest juvenile detention center in country. In order to compare mortality rates among this sample population to the general population, Teplin (2005) conducted a longitudinal study examining early violent death among released juvenile offenders. The mean age of enrollment was 14.9 years of age. The participants had been monitored for a mean of 7.1 years. The racial/ethnic composition of the study breaks down as follows:

- African-Americans (54.9%) or 1,005 sample members
- Non-Hispanic White (16.2%) or 296 sample members
- Hispanic (28.7%) or 524 sample members

The gender characteristics were:

- Male (64.1%) or 1,172 sample members
- Female (35.9%) or 657 sample members

According to data regarding education, the largest populations of the sample were in the 8th (16.7%); 9th (31.1%) and 10th (24.9%) grades. These are significant statistics because in the city of Chicago approximately 50% of African-American males age 16 or older who have been released from juvenile detention will not return to school. Consequently, most juvenile offenders released from Cook County Juvenile Detention Center will drop out of school by the 11th grade.

The results of the Teplin study reported that sixty-five of the participants died during the follow-up period. According to the study's results, 95.5% died as a result of homicide and 1.1% of all deaths were suicides. Among homicides, 93.0% were from gunshot wounds. Of the sixty-five youth who died thirty were African-American (23 males, 7 females); twenty-six were Hispanic (21 males, 5 females); and nine were Non-Hispanic White (7 males, 2

females). Delinquent African-American male youth had the highest mortality rate (887 deaths per 100,000). The overall mortality rate of delinquent youth was four times higher than in the standardized youth population of Cook County. What is more startling is the mortality rate among delinquent female youth, which was eight times higher than the general population rate. In the Teplin study, mortality rates in the sample were as much as three times greater than those in the Glueck and Glueck study conducted in the 1940s (Teplin, 2005). Nearly 97% of all youth in the Teplin study who died as a result of homicide had sold drugs, yet few participants used illegal drugs other than alcohol or marijuana. In this study, almost 98% of African-American and Hispanic youth were killed by firearms. This statistic is approximately 38 percentage points greater than the US general population of African-American and Hispanic youth killed by firearms in 2000 (60.6%).

We can extrapolate from the Teplin study (2005) that African-American and Hispanic youth are at greater risk of early violent deaths following release from detention than non-Hispanic white youth as well as the general population of youth. Young African-American and Hispanic males were disproportionately overrepresented as juvenile offenders as well as victims of violent deaths. These findings alone suggest several key issues that young African-American males face upon release from detention. The first public health and policy issue are the increased risk of homicides by firearms. Teplin notes that among youth 15-24 years of age in the US, 20% of deaths were by firearms, however, in this study 90%> of the deaths were by firearms. The implications of homicide by firearms for African-American youth in this study are drastic and alarming. In this study, African-American male youth had significantly higher rates of mortality than any other minority group, the majority of homicides among African-American male youth were committed by firearms. The accessibility of firearms for African-American male youth posing serious policy implications

regarding gun control and the number of youth who carry weapons which in this study was 17.1% of youth.

The Teplin study reports that there were no officially documented suicides among African-American male youth (Teplin, 2005). However, suicide is the third leading cause of death among 15-24 year olds. In 1997, suicide ranked among the 10 leading causes of death for African-American men under the age of 44. The literature also indicates that rates of suicide among African-American men increases sharply through early childhood and peaks through young adulthood and middle age.

Between the period of 1979-1997, firearms accounted for 58% of all suicide deaths among African-Americans, and on average, nearly 87% percent of those firearm suicides were committed by men (Wide-ranging On-line Data for Epidemiologic Research, 1979-1997; Joe and Kaplan, 2001). What the data in these community studies of suicide and the Teplin study fail to untangle are how many homicides are actually manifestations of suicidal intent? Few community studies provide estimates of the level of suicide ideation and attempts among African-Americans (Woods et al., 1997). The literature on suicide on African-American men suggests that patterns of suicidal behavior among African-American men differ from their white counterparts across the life span (Joe and Kaplan, 2001). Several scholars have postulated that the actual number of suicides among African-American may be considerably higher if the number of deaths that have been technically misclassified as homicides or accidents are included. Life course criminological studies on homicide and victimization such as Wolfgang's study in Philadelphia (1959) found that the number of documented homicides and accidents were "victim-precipitated" implying that the victims had acted in such a way as to bring about their own deaths.

Taking into account the high number of homicides in the Teplin study, there appears to be a need to examine whether a significant proportion of those homicides were actually misclassified and the end manifestation of suicidal ideations. A 2000 study by the CDC (Center for Disease Control) reported that African-American youths (7.3%) were more likely than white youths (6.7%) to attempt suicide. Although the rate of firearm homicides increased 157% among African-American youth between the ages of 10 and 24 during the late 1980s to early 1990s only a few scholars have begun to make connections between suicide and firearm related homicides. For populations of African-American male youth that are at greater risk for early violent deaths, specifically juvenile offenders re-entering society, understanding the connection between suicide and youth homicide is of great importance. Few studies provide a contextual analysis of juvenile re-entry for young African-American males have examined how suicidal behavior and ideations have resulted in early violent deaths among this population.

From a public health and research perspective, the dearth of literature on this issue, has neglected how we frame homicide. Is it possible that interpersonal violence between young African-American males has a significant tie to suicidal behavior? Drawing from the research on early violent deaths among young African-American males and increasing suicide rates among this population more research must be done to examine the various ways suicide manifests itself in early violent deaths among recently released juvenile offenders. Presently, little is known about suicidal behavior in this population (Teplin, 2005).

Juvenile Re-Entry and Mental Health

This discussion on the possible links between suicidal and homicidal behavior among African-American male juvenile offenders naturally leads to a discussion on the mental health, mental wellness and mental services provided to this population of youth upon their

release from detention. Juvenile detention officials have reported that over a six-month period, approximately 15,000 incarcerated youth waited for community behavioral services to become available (Thomas, Gourley and Mele, 2005). However, few communities are equipped to deliver comprehensive mental health aftercare services to youth who have been previously identified with behavioral health disorders. Although accessibility to behavioral health aftercare services appears to be on the verge of a national crisis, there is minimal research examining the availability of mental health and behavioral services for youth after they leave juvenile detention.

A recent epidemiological study by Teplin (2005) on the six-month prevalence rates of behavioral health disorders among discharged youth in Chicago (1172 males, 657 females) found that nearly 66% of males and nearly 75% of females in juvenile detention met the criteria for a diagnosis of one or more psychiatric disorders or behavioral health disorders (Teplin et. al., 2005). Furthermore, 51% of the males and 47% of the females had a substance abuse disorder. Steiner, Garcia and Matthews (1997) found that 32% of juvenile justice male youth suffered from some form of post-traumatic stress disorder. In a cross-sectional study conducted by Shelton in 2001 on estimated rates of emotional disorders of youth in the state of Maryland's juvenile justice system, approximately 53% of the system's youth offenders met the diagnostic criteria for a mental disorder, with 26% needing immediate behavioral health services.

The inability of juvenile offenders to access behavioral health services following detention has been associated with continued aggressive behavior, delinquency and ultimately high rates of recidivism. Several of the problems associated with failed juvenile re-entry that have been frequently reported by juvenile justice officials are: 1) lack of coordination and fragmentation in the behavioral health service delivery system; 2) impaired

access to comprehensive and appropriate services for youth with behavioral health disorders; 3) lack of dual-diagnosis (mental illness and substance abuse) treatment options for juvenile offenders; 4) most behavioral health services typically address only acute or short-term behavioral health treatment needs of juvenile offenders (Yin, 2003).

All of these factors have been associated with future imprisonment in the adult criminal justice system. In a qualitative study conducted by Yin (2003), federal, state and local juvenile justice officials discussed emerging problems associated with the lack of continued behavioral services for juvenile offenders, one state official in the study noted:

> *"It is a concern if children don't get the services and treatment they need, then their behaviors have a potential to escalate and to consequently become more problematic….either more violent or suicidal."*

Another juvenile justice official in Yin's study (2003) stated:

> *"Being denied access to behavioral health services is a precipitating factor that can lead to increased delinquent behavior and recidivism."*

In regard to the juvenile justice system's capability to only address acute or short-term mental health issues, another state official asserted:

> *"I think this is what poses a problem for young people because mental health issues and substance abuse issues are not short-term issues and we (the juvenile justice system) are not addressing that."*

Issues of fragmentation and lack of coordinated services were also discussed during the interviews in the Yin (2003) study. Juvenile justice officials within all three agencies discussed the lack of integrated services and how the lack of integrated comprehensive services can lead to adult criminality:

> *"The children's mental health system people do not want to have to deal with violent acting out kids….Therefore, they [child mental health system] bounce them back to the juvenile justice system. And there really is resistance in the juvenile justice system to dealing with the mental health people. A child who comes into contact with the juvenile justice system is not getting [coordinated services] and the system is failing. The whole point of the Department of Children Services and the juvenile justice system is to address what kids need, so that when they become adults they are not doing these types of criminal behaviors. Yet, the systems are not addressing all of these behaviors."*

The final issue that federal, state and local juvenile justice officials discussed in the Yin study was the effect that the lack of dual diagnosis treatment has on the future behavior of juvenile offenders. A federal official in the study noted:

> *"A lot of children in the juvenile justice system which is approaching 60% in some jurisdictions, have untreated substance abuse problems and co-occurring mental disorders. Because a lot of kids in the justice system have co-occurring substance abuse and mental health disorders that increases the risk of violent and aggressive behavior."*

In 2005, in the state of Illinois, there were 3, 197 youth offenders incarcerated in the Illinois Department of Corrections-Juvenile Division. Approximately 71% of all juvenile offenders incarcerated were African-American. The majority of this population will return to Cook County and Chicago Public Schools. According to statistics provided by the Chicago Public Schools Information Office:

- Approximately 550 juveniles are released from Cook County are released from Cook County Temporary Juvenile Detention Center (CCTJDC) each month.
- Annually, 6,000 juvenile offenders are released from CCJTDC.

If we use the Teplin (2005) and Yin (2003) data as an approximate measures of the psychiatric and behavioral disorders among juvenile offenders in Cook County which suggest that at least 60% of the 6,000 juvenile released from CCJTDC have some form of a behavioral health disorder, almost 3,600 juvenile offenders will come back into urban schools, communities and households in Chicago with mental and behavioral health disorders. The research literature on mental health aftercare for released juvenile offenders suggests that few young people in this population will receive long-term mental health care treatment. The successful treatment of juvenile offenders is a daunting challenge because of

the lack of available behavioral health services. In addition, juvenile courts cannot mandate behavioral health services when these services are not available in the communities where youth are returning (Abrams et. al., 2003). In states such as Tennessee, community-based mental health and substance abuse services for youth have decreased since 1996. Many other states such as Illinois are facing similar challenges. With a lack of community based services that can provide effective long-term behavioral health care many juvenile offenders will continue to engage in violent and aggressive behavior and ultimately return to juvenile detention or adult prison.

However, the juvenile justice system is not equipped to become the leading provider of behavioral health care for this nation's youth (Teplin, 2005). Presently, the juvenile justice is not designed to provide nor coordinate a comprehensive community system of care for youth with mental health and/or substance abuse disorders. However, if the juvenile justice system cannot provide these long-term aftercare services to youth, who is best positioned to provide such services? Unfortunately, in many urban areas, the only community institution outside of the juvenile justice system, that could be a primary resource for these services are schools.

Juvenile Re-Entry and Schools: A Look At the Chicago Public School System

Annually 6,000 juvenile offenders are released from the Cook County Temporary Juvenile Detention Center back into Chicago Public Schools. According to statistics provided by the Chicago Public Schools (CPS), between 1995-2000, over 28,000 youth between the ages of 12-17 were released from state and county detention centers back into Chicago Public Schools. Approximately 50% of these youth are 16 years of age or older and the vast majority have zero to five high school credits. This population of students is at the greatest risk for dropping out. According to data provided by CPS, 50% of the students in

this population will drop out of schools. Several CPS officials have suggested that this may be an underestimate. CPS estimated that over 50% or 14,000 of the juvenile offenders released between 1995-2000 failed to re-enroll in an educational program following release. Approximately 12,000 of these students were 16 years of age or older. Although CPS policy 'recommends' that these juvenile offenders either return to their home school or to the school they attended prior to detention, almost half never return to school. Illinois educational policy in many respects facilitates the decision to dropout of school. Illinois state law has mandated that students must attend school up to age sixteen (compulsory school age). However, in Illinois, schools are not obligated to accept students 16 years of age or older who have fewer than five high school credits. As a result, a considerably number of youth will return back to lives of crime, serious violent behavior and substance abuse.

Without community-based mental health services and transitional schools in predominately African-American disadvantaged communities in the areas of the South and West Sides of Chicago, that are capable of facilitating the transition from detention back into the educational system, recidivism among this population of youth is highly probable. Transitional re-entry schools that serve this population in Chicago are under-resourced and underrepresented. In 2002-2003, CPS projected that Cook County Temporary Juvenile Detention Center detainees from Region 5 which represents several disadvantaged communities on Chicago's South Side exceeded 1,000 youth. However, the only alternative to detention school in the region operated by CPS, Baker High (pseudonym), a school designed for re-entering juvenile offenders could handle at the maximum 100 students.

Presently, CPS has no systematic method of documenting or tracking what happens to this population of youth once they are released from detention. As a result, some CPS officials have referred to this population of youth as "invisible and forgotten." One CPS

official noted in a pilot study of juvenile re-entry in Chicago that "juvenile offenders are typically 'written off' by the school system and society." Approximately, 75% of the student population at Baker, are African-American males. Even in an idealistic world, if schools such as Baker could provide behavioral health aftercare services, a school like Baker does not have the capacity to serve 1,000 re-entering students and the school system has failed to create more alternative schools for juvenile offenders. The failure to provide sufficient transitional schools for re-entering juvenile offenders, the vast majority, who are young African-American males compounds the rate of recidivism and significantly impacts rates of high school dropout, poverty, unemployment, crime and violence in urban areas.

In 2003, Chicago led the nation in homicides, where the majority of perpetrators and victims were young black males. Presently, in Chicago over 50% of all African-American males between the ages of 20-24 are neither working or in school and 1 out of 4 (25%) African-American males between the ages of 16-24 are neither in school or working. For those coming out of juvenile justice detention these rates of educational dropout and unemployment officials have suggested are much higher. Currently, there are no official statistics available to document the juvenile re-entry across social context in Chicago and to a greater extent nationally this data is limited.

Gaps in Research on Juvenile Re-Entry

To date, there is scant research on juvenile re-entry which examines re-entry across various social contexts and multiple systems. There are no epidemiological or longitudinally qualitative studies of the service systems used by this population. Scholars and researchers have often cited that the lack of existing data on this population results from the inability to track and follow hard to reach populations of at-risk youth. Furthermore, minimal attention has been given to within or intra-group differences among young at-risk African-American

males that can contribute to our understanding of the developmental and contextual issues which impact this population. There are also no longitudinal intervention studies of African-American male juvenile offenders as they make the transition from adolescence to young adulthood, a period that several scholars suggest is a period during the life-course which imposes the greatest risk. Additional research studies are also needed to examine how suicide manifests as violent deaths and homicide among African-American male youth, particularly those youth who have experienced incarceration under the juvenile justice system.

Consequently, more research needs to be conducted on the barriers to successful re-entry, these areas of research are:

- Education
- Employment
- Housing
- Familial Support
- Community-Based Mental and Behavioral Health Care Services
- Violent Behavior and Early Violent Deaths
- Suicide/Homicide

Conclusion: Where Do We Go From Here?

The data on this population reveals very little that is promising for the lives of African-American male youth re-entering our schools, communities and families from juvenile detention. There is a great deal of work to be done on many levels. First, we must address how we arrived here and then work our way backwards. With conditions in urban areas such as Chicago where 50% of young African-American men are neither working or in school, and the majority of juvenile offenders sixteen years of age or older have 0-5 high school credits, we must first begin to address problems within the educational system.

Dropping out of school is one of the greatest risk factors for delinquency, increased aggressive behavior, violence and future incarceration. The juvenile justice system must begin to work closely with educational experts and the public educational system to develop interventions for youth offenders who are at the greatest risk of dropping out of school. More non-traditional and alternative educational settings such as the Baker school need to be created to accommodate large numbers of youth returning from detention to specific urban areas. Educational policy must also be addressed in states such as Illinois that will make it mandatory that every juvenile offender acquire educational credits while incarcerated and post-incarceration until graduation.

More community-based behavioral healthcare interventions must be created to address long-term behavioral problems. Nearly two-thirds of the male youth in the Teplin study (2002) suffered from a psychiatric disorder and despite reports from the Surgeon General that insufficient mental health services have been available for juvenile offenders returning back to urban communities, these problems still persists. A starting point for the provision of mental health aftercare could possibly begin in an alternative school setting that would then feed young people into community-based mental healthcare systems. However, the issue of dual diagnosis and treatment should begin as soon as the juvenile offender enters the juvenile justice system and the maintenance and coordination of a long-term mental health care plan would continue into young adulthood. Family members such as parents/guardians should also be integrated into the long-term mental health care plan of each youth. In order to accomplish this goal, the juvenile justice, mental health care systems and schools must eliminate fragmentation of services and utilize a more comprehensive approach to juvenile re-entry. Officials must address how the juvenile justice is overburdened and incapable of treating mental health problems alone.

Finally, how do we begin to address early violent deaths and their impact on the public health of this population of at-risk African-American males? The data from the Teplin study (2002) and other data as well have documented the over-representation of African-African male youth as victims of early violent deaths. Without proper diagnosis and treatment of mental health conditions, such as depression, post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) we know relatively little about how suicidal behavior or ideations manifest themselves in violent behavior and ultimately homicide. Some studies have suggested that African-American youth may express suicidal intent by placing themselves in context or situations that place them at greater risk for homicide. Many youth also manifest behaviors that result in a form of socially suicidal behavior (i.e., dropping out of school, acting out in school, joining a gang). Although these behaviors may not be considered extreme methods that lead to early violent deaths, such as death by firearms, these behaviors often result in more slower deliberated forms of death, that culminate in the death of social progress for youth African-American males, which often leads to frustration and aggressive behavior. We must examine how African-American male youth define these behaviors and whether there is an understanding of the social implications that may result from these behaviors. It is time for alternative answers to address these problems for young people, not the hackneyed change gun control policy or the implementation of similarly structured, themed and routine violence prevention programs, but revolutionary thinking for what has become a revolutionary social crisis. Although gun control policy and intervention programs are essential pieces in the puzzle of successful re-entry, we must begin to take non-traditional approaches to addressing the social problems which impact this population. That may require alternative to detention schools that are not located in the same urban areas where youthful offenders reside or public boarding schools such as the Maya Angelou and SEED

Public Charter School located in an impoverished community in Southeast Washington, DC. Ultimately, if we fail to take drastic steps to address these issues, as one adult criminal justice official revealed during an interview on juvenile re-entry, "it's only a matter of time before they graduate to us" Through our work, let's hope that's one graduating class which never graduates.

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Graduate and Career Advancement Program (G-CAP)

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September 12, 2006

African American males have consistently been at the lowest ebb of educational attainment and career opportunities. This sad fact has contributed to the overall under-achievement of African American families throughout the United States, particularly in metropolitan areas like New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta. The plight of low educational attainment of African American males must be systematically addressed practically, but with a reliable theoretical foundation. This is relevant to the Think Tank because the social, economic, and political status of blacks in the 21st Century can be considerably improved if the retention, progression, and graduation (RPG) rates of African American males were to substantially improve in post-secondary institutions; especially if the method for improving RPG is reproducible.

Despite the consistent increases in overall undergraduate enrollments at four-year colleges and universities for all racial/ethnic and gender groups[1], there has been no significant numerical increase of African American males with college degrees, at least when compared to other subpopulations.[2] This has a significant impact on African American families in several ways: 1). It limits the eligibility of African American males for job opportunities that require at least a bachelors degree; 2). It limits the number of eligible males for African American women who want to marry a mate with commensurate educational attainment; 3). It gives the false impression that black males don't value academic achievement.

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[1] See Table 9-1 "Total undergraduate enrollment in degree-granting 2-and 4-year postsecondary institutions, by sex, attendance status and type of institution, with projections: Fall 1970 – 2015", in The Condition of Education 2006, p. 215.

[2] See U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Current Population Survey (CPS), Annual Social and Economic Study Supplement, 1971 – 2005 as published in The Condition of Education 2006, Table 31-3, "Percentage of 25 – 29 year-olds who completed a bachelor's degree or higher, by race/ethnicity and sex: March 1971 – 2000", p. 179.

Since there are numerous programs designed to address the plight of African American males (often mentoring programs), one possible method for increasing the number of black males that stay in school, get good grades, graduate, and get great career opportunities is to systematically design a program which addresses multiple issues affecting African American males in the schooling process. For example, there are a disproportionate percentage of black boys in special education in grades K – 12. This means a large number of black males will never get to attend college because of their academic underpreparedness. Thus, a significant percentage of black males are left out of higher educational opportunities simply because they are not being given to participate.

This current situation impacts the black community by limiting the number of black males that get to go to college. In turn, this limits their job opportunities and as the data illustrates their willingness to actively participate in the political process. Thus, one program with the potential to decrease the dismal situation of black males in the schooling process is the Graduate & Career Advancement Program (G-CAP).

The primary objective of the Graduate and Career Advancement Program (G-CAP) is the increased retention, persistence and graduation rate of African American males from college, and to encourage pursuit of a career in the teaching profession. The elimination of low graduation rates for this particular group will significantly increase the overall graduation of minorities and low income students in general. Fortunately, there is a consistent and extensive federal precedent which permits the targeting of a specific gender for special consideration in the area of higher educational attainment.[3]

[3]Review the federal governments commitment to gender equity issues in education (e.g. Women's Education Equity Program).

In order for G-CAP to reach optimal success the Coordinator must be of the highest character and comfortable working with the least skilled student while confidently maintaining a peer relationship with colleagues of the highest academic achievement. If the Coordinator truly has the highest character, G-CAP participants will love him and regard him as the parent of their minds. This attachment can be of invaluable assistance to academic study and skill development. For under the Coordinator's influence these at-risk students will find it a pleasure to go to class, will not be angry when corrected, will rejoice when praised and will pursue their studies with absolute devotion. They will also imitate the Coordinator's gift of adaptability, since they will witness him being called upon to meet diverse personalities and situations.

The Coordinator will also be responsible for centralizing academic contacts. This requires a thorough knowledge of the types of student support services that exist on campus and in the larger community. He will be responsible for helping his African American male participants appreciate the internet as a vital resource for their overall academic success. The primary contacts will be located in the College of Education, the Registrar's Office and the Student Financial Aid Office**.** The secondary contacts will include the College Work Study Coordinator, the Director of the Learning Resource Center, the Head Librarian and the Guidance Counselors at the "feeder" schools where a significant number of African American male students have been graduated and matriculate at the college**.** The G-CAP Coordinator will also be responsible for cultivating a working relationship with a multiplicity of student and community organizations to ensure that his African American male participants are taking full advantage of all leadership training opportunities as they prepare for

leadership roles in American society. The student organizations that the Coordinator should target includes the Black Student Association, the Student Government Association, the Black Alumni Association, the African American Fraternal Organizations along with the Student Support Services (e.g. Trio, Talent Search, EOP, Upward Bound), each group will substantially benefit from the retention, persistence and graduation of African American males**.** As far as community groups, the NAACP, the Urban League, the Boys Club, and any grassroots organization that can offer leadership training especially in the area of community building and technological advancement should be included**.**

A Parent Contact Guide will also be important because of the high probability that the majority of African American males in G-CAP will be first generation college students. Therefore orchestrated support from home will be a vital ingredient for sustained programmatic success especially when considering a primary goal of G-CAP will be to convince the participants to return to their home communities and act as a stalwart. This can only be accomplished if these African American males are continuously connected to their family especially as they mature and develop academically outside of the purview of their nuclear relatives. They also need to receive updates about their neighborhood friends as well as positive reinforcement and consistent encouragement from home. There is nothing more powerful or motivational than a parent who has the highest hopes for their son.

All incoming freshmen of African American descent are eligible for the program. However, they must sign a commitment agreement that they will comply with G-CAP guidelines which require the utilization of all resources to stay in school, get good grades

(minimally 2.75g.p.a.) and graduate from college with the academic skills necessary for success in graduate school or a career in special education as a teacher or administrator. Further, that the G-CAP participants have an understanding that they have a civic responsibility to actively participate in the democratic process in their communities as well as the larger society. The ideal student will find himself inspired by praise, delighted by success, and ready to work harder and longer to overcome any failures. He will be unselfish, honest, and self controlled with a sincere need to halt injustice. But foremost in a college environment the student will show himself to be teachable. These qualities can be demonstrated by the six essential skills of the master student: 1) superior listener; 2) well spoken in American Standard English; 3) an unquenchable thirst for reading; 4) the understanding that revision is an elementary aspect of writing; 5) that the best students are self-directed learners; 6) and that learning never ends, but is life long.

The rationale for the Graduate and Career Advancement Program (G-CAP) is the establishment of a reliable supplemental educational service which helps African American males increase their numeric retention, persistence and graduation rates over a six year period[4], with the career focus of special education teacher. The reason for this particular career focus is that African American children ages 3 to 21 represent only 17% nationwide of all public school students, but comprise 41% of all children in special education. More importantly, of the African American children in special education, 85% of them are males.

This research represents the obvious need for "highly qualified" special education teachers of African American decent. This need is more pronounced if we are going to

[4] Universities typically use a six year cycle to calculate graduation rates. The six year graduation rate at Georgia State University is 46.08%, and for the state of Georgia the six year rate is 52.62%; this is for the Fall 1999 Cohort (See University System of Georgia Student Information Reporting).

accept the popular notion that the primary reason for the lack of educational achievement and attainment among African American males is the absence of positive role models. The G-CAP will have additional societal benefits, including research supported proof that completion of college by at least one family member provides the other members with verification and motivation that education is an important necessity; it also provides the confidence that such a goal is attainable for them as well.

Thus the postsecondary education of contemporary African American males has a multiplier affect on future generations (considering that children of college graduates are more likely to attend and complete college). Further the direct correlation between educational attainment, income, and family structure, particularly in the African American community, is a benefit that can't be understated. Generally speaking, African American males with higher income levels and job security are more likely to form stable, two-parent households than black males with lower income levels. There is also the potential for G-CAP participants to positively influence pressing social and educational problems facing the nation. Including, the census data which reveal there are more African American males in prisons than in colleges.

Perhaps the most efficient and reliable method for attaining academic success and career orientation for the G-CAP participants is with a Small Learning Community (SLC). The SLC Model allows the Coordinator to easily monitor the classroom companions of the G-CAP participants, which will increase the likelihood that the black males have peers they can first behaviorally imitate then academically surpass, thus giving them an aspiration for higher academic achievement. The G-CAP SLC will differ from the traditional Small Learning Community model. Instead of simply grouping

students together for their general education requirements then allowing them to choose their college majors and career paths, the G-CAP SLC will specialize in Preparation of Special Education Teachers. Mindful that African American males have low participation rates in post-secondary education, as well as poor retention, persistence and graduation rates, the G-CAP SLC will require an annual six week Orientation to College seminar taught by the Coordinator. The objective of the seminar is to strengthen academic and critical comprehension skills that are relevant for success in college level courses.

The seminar will include the basic principles of learning and memory as well as determining learning style and how to apply it. There will be a unit on strategies to improve reading retention and comprehension as well as tactics for successful standardized test-taking. Socratic discourse will be the primary method for meeting the objective of the seminar because of its practical applications in academia and the workforce. Each G-CAP participant will be responsible for developing an Individual Education Plan (IEP) and Individual Career Plan (ICP) which will be their road maps for the academic and workforce requirements necessary for gradation, certification, and lifetime employment. This aligns with the requirement that all G-CAP participants develop an in-depth understanding of information literacy and its utility. This involves the development of an intimately professional relationship with a librarian, in order to demystify the academic research process and the importance of familiarity with the library and its internal workings. Mental and physical health are vital ingredients for success at school and work, therefore all G-CAP participants will be required to get a primary care physician and learn the facts about colon and prostate cancer as well as

receive annual physicals.[5] This forces the African American males in G-CAP to take responsibility for visiting a doctor and maintaining good health habits.

There also needs to be a compilation of "best practices". This informative list must contain historical as well as contemporary insights of the educational experience of African American males in American society. The "best practices" must include methods for struggling beyond issue recognition and into the realm of solutions. The compilation will include a reading list that will make G-CAP participants aware of the rules and requirements for continuous upward mobility in our society. The latest "best practices" can be located on the Department of Education's research based websites. All information will be organized through a standard collection process, so that it may be used for program improvement and replication. G-CAP data will be contributed to the Center for Research on the Education of Students at Risk (CRESPAR) for their large scale study. This will allow for the success of the program to help guide policymakers on the expansion of educational opportunities for African American males. This educational data can also be useful for the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education since retention, persistence and graduation of black males from college positively affects the African American community in general.

So as to raise public consciousness/awareness, every effort will be made to ensure that information about program success, as well as relevant data from the program be disseminated to relevant statutory bodies and public interest groups. Unfortunately, there are potential limitations, for example the notion that education is not meritocratic but heavily reliant on cultural capital (Collins, 1971; Willis, 1981; Heath, 1983). Further, the

[5] The importance of libraries was emphasized in the whole scheme of things so as to get African American males to view the library as integral to intellectual and social development.

possibility that African American males like any other group with career options may not want to pursue a job in the educational sphere.

Graduate Education

Job Search In Academe

Strategic Rhetorics for Faculty Job Candidates

Dawn M. Formo and Cheryl Reed
Foreword by Ross Winterowd

"This extremely savvy guide to the academic job search and application, interviewing, and negotiation process really works…it just helped my son land a tenure-track position in a major university."—***Planning/Communications***

From identifying sources of information about positions for academic job seekers of all disciplines, to advising on the preparation of effective CVs and portfolios, through guidance on the process of interview to final negotiation of terms, the authors provide a savvy guide to the application process.

Informed by the authors' experience, the narratives of current and recent job seekers, and the rhetorical analysis of the processes of application, interview and negotiation, this book offers invaluable advice and insights to anyone contemplating an academic career in today's precarious job market.

The authors cover the full spectrum of potential positions in both 4-year institutions and community colleges.

160 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 1998, 1 57922 011 8, $18.95, (1)

Stylus

See also:

The Assessment of Doctoral Education
p. 30

Journey to the Ph.D
p. 46

Latina/o Pathway to the Ph.D
p. 40

The Missing Professor
p. 1

Student Affairs

NEW

Dyslexia, The Self and Higher Education

Learning Life Histories of Students Identified as Dyslexic

David Pollak

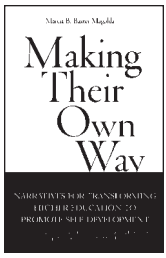
"This outstanding book is highly recommended for teachers at universities/colleges."—***World of Dyslexia***, *U.K.*

Although more students who are labelled as dyslexic are entering universities, little has been done to identify their needs. This book gives an account of dyslexia and provides guidance to universities to work effectively with dyslexic students. It focuses on the students' own views about their experience of dyslexia and education.

It shows that the students have widely differering views on the nature of dyslexia, as they absorbed ideas about it from a disparate range of resources. But their learning histories show that the self-concepts of all of them have been radically affected by being labelled.

Early chapters explain the main issues about dyslexia and the historical responses in education. The body of the book is based on research with students at four universities and deals with the socio-emotional effects of dyslexia as well as the implications for their learning. Recommendations are drawn from the students' views and experiences to suggest what the academy should be doing for these students.

160 pp, 6 3/4" x 10"
Paper, December 2005, 1 85856 360 7, $35.00, (5)



Making Their Own Way

Narratives for Transforming Higher Education to Promote Self-Development

Marcia Baxter Magolda

"This book provides readers with long-awaited answers to critical questions regarding how college impacts students' lives. Through the use of an accomplished interview technique, the author provides us with an inside tour of the lives and minds of hundreds of college graduates. The longitudinal design allows us to comprehend more fully the lifelong impact of higher education.

The strength of this work lies not in the stories themselves, however. Rather, the merit lies in the way the author weaves these stories into a highly usable and sensible framework for educational improvement. Her concrete suggestions help the reader transform insights gained from the interviews into current college curricular and co-curricular practices.

Baxter Magolda also recognizes that a college education is more than the classroom experience. Although there is a strong focus on disciplinary education, her inclusion of chapters on work settings and co-curricular learning remind us of the holistic nature of higher education. Again, practical suggestions for using these additional learning opportunities to promote what the author calls ' self authorship' are extremely useful and thought provoking.

This book will be immediately useful for anyone connected to the college experience. It also makes for interesting reading for anyone who attended college years ago and is interested in reflecting on his or her own 'self-authorship' since graduation."***—AAHE Bulletin***

Winner of AERA's "Narrative & Research Special Interest Group 2003" Book Award

356 pp, 6" x 9"
Paper, 2004, 1 57922 091 6, $22.50, (1)

Stylus

See also:
Learning Partnerships
p. 14

Roads Taken

Women in Student Affairs at Mid-Career

Edited by Kristen A. Renn and Carole Hughes
Foreword by Margaret J. Barr

"I strongly recommend this book to women in their twenties who are in the early stages of a student affairs career. The combination of factual summaries and personal insights allow a woman to imagine her future in the field of student affairs."—***NACADA Journal***

"The first-person accounts that characterize the book constitute a helpful starting place in thinking seriously and comprehensively about mid-career issues for women in student affairs."—***Journal of College Student Development***

"This book has two clear audiences, female administrators approaching or at mid-career and those who supervise them. While obviously written for women in student affairs, many of the chapters in this book would be useful to any woman in higher education administration and looking to climb the proverbial career ladder."—***The National Teaching and Learning Forum***

Here are the stories of over twenty women, from widely different backgrounds, reflecting on their lives at mid-career. They describe the choices they made and share the lessons they have learned, particularly the ever-present concerns about reconciling the demands of work and responsibilities to family and partners, relocation, education and self development—such as the implications of embarking on a doctorate—and the issues facing dual career couples

Apart from its value to women currently in mid-career positions in student affairs, this book will enlighten women newly embarking on their personal and professional journey in student affairs, the partners of such women, their colleagues, and those who supervise them.

256 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, 2004, 1 57922 076 2, $59.95, (5)
Paper, 2004, 1 57922 077 0, $24.95, (1)

Stylus

FORTHCOMING

University Students Behaving Badly

Deborah Lee

This book reveals the hidden problem of unacceptable student conduct towards faculty, principally in light of gender relations. It draws on first-hand empirical research.

The book seeks ways to understand unacceptable student behavior, sexual relations in universities, and bullying. How can the poor management of students' bad behavior be improved – something the research shows to be sorely needed.

This original book on a topical subject should be required reading for faculty, staff, and administrators, and will be helpful to university employees working in human resources and staff development.

192 pp, 5 3/4" x 9"
Paper, July 2006, 1 85856 369 0, $32.50, (5)

Adult Education

Portfolio Development and the Assessment of Prior Learning

Perspectives, Models and Practices

SECOND EDITION

Elana Michelson, Alan Mandell and and Contributors

"The current edition broadens the treatment of the use of portfolios to bring readers up to date on the 'moving target' that is today's prior learning assessment (PLA). Readers are likely to find the twelve models of portfolio development in practice to be the most useful part of the book."—***The National Teaching and Learning Forum***

This is a primer of flexible approaches to shaping and conducting portfolio-development courses. It offers practitioners in the field an extensive range of model assignments, readings, and classroom activities, each organized around a specific theme: Academic Orientation, The Meaning of Education, Personal Exploration, Learning from the Outsider Within, The World of Work and Careers, and Dimensions of Expertise. Twelve case studies then show how faculty have adapted the portfolio to changing circumstances in order to deliver academically rich educational services for adults.

The Editors: Elana Michelson is a mentor, professor and chair of the Master of Arts in Liberal Studies program, and Alan Mandell is a mentor and professor in the social sciences and Director of the Mentoring Institute. Both are at Empire State College.

304 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, 2004, 1 57922 0894, $59.95, (5)
Paper, 2004, 1 57922 090 8, $24.95, (1)

See also:
Assessment section, p. 27
Portfolios section, p. 25

HIP HOP'S INFLUENCE ON AFRICAN-AMERICAN CONSUMER TRENDS: ART IMITATING LIFE?

Presented to the Brothers of the Academy
Think Tank

by
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Atlanta, GA
2006

HIP HOP'S INFLUENCE ON AFRICAN-AMERICAN CONSUMER TRENDS: Art Imitating Life?

The Evolution of Materialism in Hip-Hop Music

From its late 1970's origins, commercial hip hop or rap music has had an impact on African Americans and American society. The genre has had an impact on fashion trends ranging from the Shell Toe Adidas that Run DMC made famous, to the baggy genie pants of MC Hammer, and the expensive name brands like Coogi and Versace that the late Notorious B.I.G. boasted about "sporting." Hip Hop has expanded the American dialect with terminology such as illin', buggin' out, and bling bling. As an active participant and consumer of hip hop images for over 25 years, I have witnessed how Public Enemy transformed apathetic youth to "Rebels Without a Pause," how Too $hort converted gentlemen into pimps, and how NWA changed the meek hearted into gangstas.

Although I believe strongly that hip hop music has an impact on those who consume it, I do not believe that hip hop has ever had the power to take away an individual's ability to choose. From my perspective, hip hop music has had no more impact on consumers than Rock n' Roll, Heavy Metal, or Country music. Case in point, Elvis Presley has been deceased for over 30 years, but to this day people still mimic his dance moves, mannerisms, voice, and fashion. Elvis may be dead but his legacy is alive and well. For some hip hop has a similar effect.

This article will explore this phenomenon through critically analyzing: 1) The evolution of materialism in hip hop or rap music; 2) The consumer trends of African Americans in contemporary times; and 3) Alternative messages and financial strategies that higher educational professionals can offer the millennial student population.

There are many scholars and experts that draw a distinct line between hip hop and rap music. From my perspective, hip hop music is the voice of youth and a reflection of the thoughts

and expressions of its listeners. I describe rap as the commercial version of hip hop, where image, street credibility, and sales unequivocally drives the music. Consequently, the debate over the correct terminology will not be waged in this article. Thus, I will use Billboard Magazine's terminology, "hip hop," for all descriptive purposes.

I hope to provide clear documentation that this whole notion of materialism in hip hop did not begin yesterday. Materialism has been around, in my opinion, since the inception of the genre. In my analysis, there are two fundamental questions that should be explored: Does hip hop have an impact on African Americans as consumers or is hip hop simply the reflection of the financial priorities of many African Americans?

To answer these questions, one must have a sense of when materialism began to appear in the genre. When you ask this question of African American students you will get mixed responses. Many will say that it began in the 1990's, with Jay-Z, P-Diddy, or Master P. You may get a few that will make reference to the late 1980's, and mention Run DMC and LL Cool J, making reference to their gold rope chains. However, materialism in hip hop began with the first internationally successful commercial song, and that was "Rappers Delight" by the Sugarhill Gang in 1979. To this day, this is arguably the most recognized hip hop song of all time. Rooted in this song are these lyrics:

> *You see I'm Six foot One and I am tons of fun and I dress to a tee.*
> *I got mo' clothes than Muhammad Ali and I dress so viciously.*
> *I got Body Guards and two big cars that definitely ain't the wack.*
> *I got a Lincoln Continental and a Sunroof Cadillac.*
> *And after school I take a dip in the pool that is real on the wall*
> *I got a color TV so I can see the Knicks play basketball*
> *Hear me talkin' bout checkbook, credits cards and more money*
> *than a sucker could ever spend*

Most people are surprised when they are reminded of the materialistic elements in this song—big cars, clothes, the highest technology for the time—a color TV—and access to

spending power with checkbooks, credit cards, and cash. It seems odd to me that even hard core fans of hip hop, who know these lyrics backwards and forwards, for some reason, do not recall that the concept of materialism is strongly embedded in this song.

Run DMC, who many identify as the godfathers of rap, took the commercialization of hip hop to another level. In their first release "Sucka MCs," the expression of materialism was apparent:

> *So Larry put me inside his Cadillac, The chauffeur drove off and we never came back*
> *Dave cut the record down to the bone, And now they got me rockin' on the microphone*
> *And then we're talking autographs, years of laughs, champagne, caviar, and bubble baths*
> *You see, that's the life that I lead, and you sucker MC, this is who I be*
> *So take that and move back, catch a heart attack,*
> *Because there's nothing in the world, that Run will ever lack.*

This 1984 release, clearly illustrates the value of having the financial means to live a high class lifestyle. The references to champagne, caviar, and bubble baths represent the experiences of the wealthy upper echelons of our society. Also embedded in the lines, "Larry put me inside the Cadillac, the chauffeur drove off, and we never came back," alludes to the notion that African Americans who are successful or "hit it big" desire to leave their community. Hip-Hop artists who appear on shows like, "How I'm Living," "MTV Cribs" or "VH1's The Fabulous Life of…" reinforce the notion that to be successful is to live a life of extreme luxury.

Run DMC successfully pioneered the idea that fame and success as a hip hop artist can be relatively long-lived. They were also one of the first hip hop artists to launch a national clothing campaign. The group signed a lucrative $1.5 million deal with Adidas (Chery, 2003). Along with the contract came the 1986 hit, "My Adidas."

> *Now the Adidas I possess for one man is rare - myself homeboy got 50 pair*
> *Got blue and black cause I like to chill - and yellow and green when it's time to get ill*
> *Got a pair that I wear when I'm playin' ball - with the heel inside make me 10 feet tall*
> *My Adidas only bring good news - and they are not used as selling shoes*
> *They're black and white, white with black stripe*
> *The ones I like to wear when I rock the mic*
> *On the strength of our famous university*

We took the beat from the street and put it on TV
My Adidas are seen on the movie screen
Hollywood knows we're good if you know what I mean
We started in the alley, now we chill in Cali
And I won't trade my Adidas for no beat up Ballys. My Adidas…

Run DMC's articulation of success was to own so many sneakers that they could match the mood of the moment with their wardrobe. What is amazing to me is that this particular brand, to a lot of people, 20 years later is still a major icon in hip hop.

In 1987, a hip hop classic was released by Eric B. and Rakim. "Paid in Full" articulated the role that money plays in a young African American man's decision making process.

Thinkin' of a master plan, cause ain't nuthin' but sweat inside my hand
So I dig into my pocket all my money is spent, so I dig deeper but still comin' up with lint
So I start my mission - leave my residence, thinkin' how could I get some dead presidents
I need money, I used to be a stick-up kid, so I think of all the devious things I did
I used to roll up, this is a hold up, ain't nuthin' funny
Stop smiling, be still, don't nuthin' move but the money
But now I learned to earn because I'm righteous
I feel great! So maybe I might just search for a 9 to 5, if I strive, then maybe I'll stay alive

Although Eric B. and Rakim were not bragging about their financial prowess as others did before them; they clearly talked about the trappings of money, and the honorable and "devious" ways to earn it. Rakim describes how he once was involved in less-than-honorable activities to make ends meet and how he made the decision to change his approach and "search for 9 to 5 and if I strive, then maybe I'll stay alive." His illustration of fast money leading to a short life span encourages others in this song to pursue traditional mainstream ways of sustaining a decent lifestyle. Notwithstanding, money from his perspective is still a significant motivator.

In 1988, Ice-T, a rapper hailing from Los Angeles, now movie and television star, introduced us to "High Rollers." According to Ice-T, the definition of a high roller is as follows:

When I say high rollers, I mean the best, Forget the half-steppers, eject the rest
Because these high ranked officials of our city streets
Make millions all triggered by electric beeps
They dress in diamonds and rope chains

They got the blood of scarface runnin' through their veins
Silk shirts, leather suits, hair always fresh
Eel skin boots, large hearts, though their sizes vary, bankrolls that take two pockets to carry
Cruisin' in their 500 Benz sedan, With their systems peaked out rockin' pusher man
Yes, their fashion's high and hard to beat, they buy their Gucci from Gucci's not the swap meet

Now, Ice-T has expressed that the hip hop artist has evolved. They have graduated from tennis shoes and jeans to the world's finest haberdashery. They are no longer kids driving their Mom's car. They have access to the finest automobiles. And to really be "the man," so to speak, you need to be a high roller and be willing to do whatever it takes, by any means necessary, to earn the money to be able to sustain the lifestyle of a high roller.

That very next year, Sir Mixalot, also from the west coast out of Seattle, Washington, introduced us to a song called, "My Posse's on Broadway." In that song, he shares with us how important it is to be able to display your financial prowess. This was one of the first songs, from my perspective, that talked about "flossin." Flossin is a term that is used often in the hip hop community that suggests the ability to show off or "floss" your financial capacity. Expensive automobiles, flashy jewelry, high-priced alcohol, and high quality haberdashery all fall in the flossin' category; regardless if these material items match up with ones true socioeconomic status. Many of the elements of "flossin" can be found in Sir Mixalot's "My Posse's on Broadway":

My Posse's on Broadway
Me and Kid Sensation and that home away from home
In the Black Benz Limo, with the cellular phone
I'm callin' up the posse, it's time to get rippin'
The freaks a need a sunroof, to keep you sucka's trippin'
Everybody's lookin, if your jealous turn around
The AMG kit keeps us closer to the ground
We're gettin' good grip from the 50 series tires
The Alpine's bumpin', but I need the volume higher

The description of the black Benz limo, the use of the cell phone and the Alpine stereo system, are all the kind of elements that have been a staple, in my opinion, in gaining attention on the

night life scene or flossin'. During my formative teenage years into early adulthood, it was often the ritual for young men of color to drive around in their well-polished automobiles, with chrome rims and loud stereo systems to attract the attention of bystanders. Those who had this ability were the center of attention with the females and the focus of envy with the males.

In 1994, we have a shift in hip hop. The Notorious B.I.G aka Biggie came out with a song called, "One More Chance." His lyrics gave us a new definition of what it means to be attractive:

> *Heart throb, never, black and ugly as ever*
> *However, I stay Coogi down to the socks*
> *Rings and watch filled with rocks*
> *And my jam knock in the Mitsubishi*
> *Girls pee pee when they see me*
> *Navajos creep me in they tee pee*

Hip Hop took a serious turn here, to say that one's physical attractiveness does not matter as long as one can purchase material things, such as clothes and jewelry. According to Biggie, money, almost exclusively, can make anyone more attractive.

In 1995, with the popularity of so-called gangster rap reaching its pinnacle, we also see the notion of materialism reflected in a song called, "Foe Tha Love of Money," by Bone Thugs-N-Harmony. The group was discovered in Cleveland by the late Eazy-E (aka Eric Wright), the lead member of NWA, the notorious group out of Compton, California. Their description of the importance of money is a follows:

> *Standin' on the corner straight slangin' rocks.*
> *Aw Man! Here comes the crooked ass cops.*
> *So I dash, I duck, and I hides behind a tree, makin' sure the po pos don't see me.*
> *Now my fat sack of rocks - hell yeah I stuffed 'em.*
> *Police on my draws I had to pause, and yeah I still don't trust 'em.*
> *Now my game is tight. Tight as hell is my game.*
> *Eazy-E, CPT, or Eric Wright it's all the same.*
> *Now, those might trip on how I stacks my grip. I gotta have it, yeah.*
> *For the love of this. Stupid Suckas!*
> *Gotta make that money, man. That money, man. It's still the same, now.*

Similar to Eric B. and Rakim this particular song describes how critical it is to obtain money, but shows no remorse regarding how they achieve their financial goals. They express a blantant disregard for the reality of imprisonment or death. Unlike Rakim, who talked about money being critical for survival, Bone Thugs-N-Harmony simply express their "love" of money.

One of my favorite hip hop songs of all time is a song by Tupac Shakur released in 1996. This very powerful song, "Dear Mama," describes how money was critical although materialism was prevalent in Tupac's experience:

> *Ain't nobody tell us it was fair. No love for my daddy, cause the coward wasn't there.*
> *He passed away and I didn't cry. Cause my anger, wouldn't let me feel for a stranger.*
> *They say I'm wrong and I'm heartless. But all along I was looking for a father - he was gone.*
> *I hung around with the thug's and even though they sold drugs.*
> *They showed a young brother love.*
> *I moved out and started really hangin'. I needed money of my own so I started slangin'*
> *I ain't guilty cause, even though I sell rocks. It feels good, putting money in your mailbox*
> *I love paying rent when the rents due.*
> *I hope ya got the diamond necklace that I sent to you.*

This is a powerful song on many fronts. Tupac eloquently describes the experience of many young African American men who long for the love of their fathers. Because of their absence, they choose to identify with other young men in their communities who provide love and support, but also provide an alternative means to earn a living. Unfortunately, this alternative option means selling drugs.

Tupac also describes how many of those raised by single mothers feel toward their mothers. Many feel that they can never repay the debt they owe, because of the love and support their mothers gave them, when no one else seemed to care. The line, "I love paying rent when the rent is due, I hope you got the diamond necklace that I sent to you" is symbolic of the wishes of many African American men to shower their mothers with material gifts of appreciation.

In 1997, the Notorious B.I.G. desire for materialism appears to evolve in a song entitled "Hypnotize":

Biggie Biggie Biggie can't you see
Sometimes your words just hypnotize me
And I just love your flashy ways
Guess that's why they broke, and you're so paid
I can fill ya with real millionaire shit
Escargot, my car go, one sixty, swiftly
Wreck it buy a new one
Your crew run run run, your crew run run
I know you sick of this, name brand Nigga with
flows girls say he's sweet like licorice

This lyric captures Biggie's evolution of materialism. Before, having money and materialism were enough to meet his needs. The Notorious B.I.G. now describes how having so much access to wealth, that one can be reckless. I emphasize, "I can fill you with millionaire shit escargot, my cargo, 160 swiftly wreck it buy a new one." This lyric strongly suggests the disposable philosophical framework that many of us as Americans have—that one can be so reckless that if one wrecks his or her car, no big deal, you just go out and buy a new one. But the reality is, if you are going 160 miles per hour and you wreck your automobile, very few people walk away from those kinds of experiences.

In 1999, Jay-Z, a New York native, introduced, "Big Pimpin'." From my perspective, this song suggests that those with financial prowess were licensed to act ignorantly. This song represents all the behaviors that men should not model:

Uhh.. Smokin' out, throwin' up, keepin' a liter up in my cup
All my cars got leather and wood, in my hood we call it buck
Everybody wanna ball, holla at broads at the mall
If he up, watch him fall, nigga I can't fuck with ya'll
If I wasn't rappin' baby, I would still be ridin' Mercedes
Chromin' shinin' sippin' daily, no rest 'til Whitey pay me
Uhhh, now what y'all know bout them Texas boys
Comin' down in candied toys, smokin' weed and talkin' noise
We be, big pimpin', spendin' G's-We be.. big pimpin', on B.L.A.D.'s
We be, big pimpin' down in P.A.T.-It's just that Jigga Man, Pimp C, and B-U-N B
Cause we be, big pimpin', spendin' cheese-And we be big pimpin', on B.L.A.D.'s
Cause we be, big pimpin' in P.A.T.-It's just that Jigga Man, Pimp C, and B-U-N B

Although this was a very popular song, not only does the reckless spending concern me and many people, but also the reckless lifestyle. Negative lyrics like these are the ones that draw attention from those who are not fans of the music and fuel their vocal disapproval of hip hop. Back in the 1980's, you had Ice-T teaching you about the lifestyle of a high roller. Now, at the turn of the century, Jay-Z has brought us a vivid description of what it means to be "Big Pimpin."

A couple of years after "Big Pimpin,' the native Texas artist, Lil' Flip, came out with a song in 2001 that further advances the notion of materialism called, "The Way We Ball":

And we like to floss, all my diamonds gloss
I represent the dirty, dirty, dirty, dirty South (This is the way we ball)
And we ridin' blades, Jags and Escalade
We third coast boys but we always getting' paid (This is the way we ball)
I'm thinkin' - designer clothes and fashion shows
I'm thinkin' - all my albums goin' platinum and gold
I'm thinkin' - Jaguars and a Bentley Rolls
I'm thinkin' - bein' rich before I'm 24
I'm feelin' - wood grain all in my tinted truck
I'm fillin' - all my teeth up with princess cuts
I'm fillin' - jugs up, no mo empty cups
I'm feelin' - like I'm worth 10 million bucks

No one can question the evidence of materialism in this song, from the cars and clothes, to the jewelry. This particular song was one of the songs to lead the way in the resurgence of combining fine jewelry with dental wear, thus the line, "I'm filling all my teeth up with princess cuts." This makes reference to the desire to have, what many term, a "Grill," which is basically having dentures made out of either gold or platinum and decorated with diamonds and other exotic gems and stones.

In 2003, the group, Big-Tymers, which is part of a larger group called Cash Money Millionaires, released a song called "Still Fly," which has an astonishing chorus:

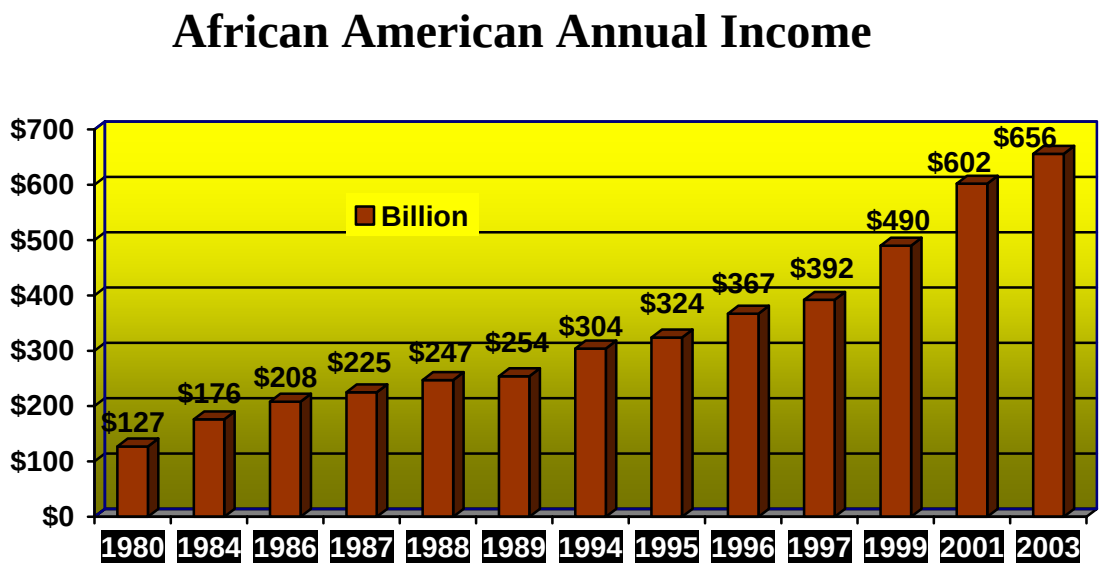
Gator Boots, with the pimped out Gucci suit
Ain't got no job, but I stay sharp

Can't pay my rent, cause all my money's spent
But that's ok, cause I'm still fly
Got a quarter tank of gas in my new E-class
But that's alright cause I'm gon' ride
Got everything in my Mama's name
But I'm hood rich da dada dada da

Although this chorus causes many to cringe when they here it, a significant number of African American youth in particular, know this chorus. I have given presentations on hip hip and consumer trends over twenty times at different venues across the county, and almost always, the majority of the African American participants, regardless of their age, know this song, which astounds me.

The Consumer Trends of African Americans in Contemporary Times

According to "The 2003 Report on the Buying Power of Black America," despite my personal belief African Americans have maintained a steady increase in annual income through the years. Even through the recession of the late 1970's and early 1980's, and the economic stagnation that occurred after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11. 2001, African Americans annual income has only experienced growth (see figure 1.1)



Data Source: The 2003 Report on the Buying Power of Black America. Target Marketing News, Chicago, IL.

Figure 1.1

There are several things that I think it is critical for us to know, not only as African Americans, but as the general population. In 2002, the gross national income for African Americans ranked number nine in the world. African Americans clearly earn more than Switzerland, Argentina, and Saudi Arabia combined (Smilke, 2004). In 2002, the gross national income for African Americans accounted for 6.2 percent of the total income generated in the United States ($10.2 trillion), but African Americans, in 2000, represented 12 percent of the population. For me, it is logical to assume that if a particular population makes up 12.3 percent of the population, for them to be fairly or reasonably represented in that community, they would account for 12.3 percent of the income generated, but clearly that is not the case. Although African Americans, in a global context do well economically, it is clear that there are economic imbalances.

Every January across the country, we ask ourselves, "Have we realized the vision of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?" Dr. King's images have become mainstream, and I would argue even commercialized, particularly around African American History Month. If you were to subscribe to all of the images that McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and other major corporate giants use to celebrate his legacy, you would think his life ended in 1963, but in reality, Dr. King lived until 1968. And he had a lot to say during that five-year period, after the "I Have a Dream" speech. In his last speech, I've Been to the Mountain Top (1968), he used his powerful orator ability to suggest action against the corporate giants of the time. The messages that he gave in that speech nearly 40 years ago are still pertinent in contemporary times:

"Always anchor our external direct action with the power of economic withdrawal. Now, we are poor people, individually, we are poor when you compare us with white society in America. We are poor. Never stop and forget that collectively, that means all of us together, collectively we are richer than all

the nations in the world, with the exception of nine…We have an annual income of more than thirty billion dollars a year, which is more than all of the exports of the United States, and more than the national budget of Canada…That's power right there, if we know how to pool it…And so, as a result of this, we are asking you tonight, to go out and tell your neighbors not to buy Coca-Cola in Memphis. Go by and tell them not to buy Sealtest milk…only the garbage men have been feeling pain; now we must kind of redistribute the pain. We are choosing these companies because they haven't been fair in their hiring policies; and we are choosing them because they can begin the process of saying, they are going to support the needs and the rights of these men who are on strike."

Clearly, from his last speech, Dr. King was talking about how much African Americans had to contribute to the world's economy. For us to be heard and for our needs to be considered, he encouraged us to exercise our right to boycott, to help the corporations and other business leaders see how valuable African Americans are to the success of their bottom lines. Many activists from the Civil Rights Movement still suggest that boycotting is still the way to get the attention of individuals and industry that have the power and authority to bring us closer to economic equity in this country.

From my perspective, today's African Americans, collectively, do more than our part as consumers in the U.S. economy, but the questions remain: Does hip hop have an impact on African Americans as consumers or is hip hop simply the reflection of the financial priorities of many African Americans? In 2003, Nelly had a song called, "Air Force Ones," which shares the following perspective:

> *I said give me two pair (cause) I need two pair*
> *So I can get to stompin' in my air force ones*
> *(Big boys) stompin' in my air force ones*
> *I like the all white high top strap with the gum bottom*
> *(Big boy) theres somthin' bout dem that's dirty why I got 'em*
> *(Big boy) I leave um strapped and laced and come up out 'em*
> *(Big boy) the last person that touched um I been shot 'em*

Nelly's "Air Force Ones" has distinct similarities to Run DMC's 1996 song, "My Adidas." They both have parallel elements. For example, both illustrate the ability to own some many pairs of brand name athletic shoes to fit every occasion. The difference

In 2003, African Americans spent approximately $23 billion on apparel products and services and roughly $1 billion ars on dry cleaning alone (Smilke, 2004).

between Nelly and Run DMC is that, "the last person that touched um [Air Force Ones] I been shot em." Nelly, like many artists perpetuate the combination of violence and materialism in this particular song.

Ludacris, the Atlanta-based rapper, had a song called "Hospitality" in 2000. He made it very clear in this particular song what it means to own a particular brand of automobile:

Cadillac grills, Cadillac mill's
Check out the oil my Cadillac spills
Matter of fact, candy paint Cadillacs kill
So check out the hoes my Cadillac fills
Twenty inch-wide, twenty inches high
Hoe, don't you like my twenty inch-ride

In 2003, African Americans spent approximately $32 billion on cars and trucks, $12 billion on gasoline and oil and $6 billion on auto maintenance and repairs. Collectively, African Americans spent over $50 billion on automotive related expenses (Smilke, 2004).

Based on this lyric, if one was not conscious, they would assume that this was a commercial for Cadillac. However, Ludacris is not alone in his perception of how valuable an expensive automobile is to an individual who wants to be noticed in the hip hop culture. Lil' Kim, a rapper out of New York, was an original member of the Bad Boy Entertainment family, led by mogul Sean "P. Diddy" Combs. In 2003, she released a song called "The Jump Off," where she articulated the value that she holds for fine automobiles:

I'm the one that put the Range in the Rover
When I'm steppin out the Range yo it's over
Comin through in the Brooklyn Mint gear
We gon do this just like Big Poppa was here
This is for my peeps, with the Bentleys, the Hummers, the Benz
Escalades twenty three inch rims (Oh!)
Jumpin' out the Jaguar with the Tims, keep your bread up
And live good, East coast West coast worldwide
All my playas in the hood stay fly
And if your ballin' let me hear you say right (Right)

Materialism is well represented in this song, Lil' Kim expressed the desire to have expensive automobiles with 20-inch chrome rims. Owning the latest fashion apparel is also critical, from her perspective.

If I can go back in time a little bit to 1993, Snoop Dogg released a classic that has sustained popularity for well over 10 years, a song called, "Gin and Juice." This song still receives significant radio airplay to this day. Snoop promoted a beverage that was a signature drink among the hip hop generation for quite some time. The lyrics are as follows:

> *Rollin' down the street, smokin' indo, sippin' on gin and juice*
> *Laid back [with my mind on my money and my money on my mind]*
> *Now, that, I got me some Seagram's gin*
> *Everybody got they cups, but they ain't chipped in*
> *Now this type of shit happens all the time*
> *You got to get yours but fool I gotta get mine*
> *Everything is fine when you listenin' to the D-O-G*
> *I got the cultivating music that be captivating he*
> *Who listens, to the words that I speak*
> *As I take me a drink to the middle of the street*

Most hip hop connoisseurs know that the Snoop Dogg's Doggystyle LP was produced by Death Row Records and is distributed by Interscope Records. However, what the vast majority of people do not know is that the Paris, France-based Vivendi Universal Group is the parent company to both Interscope Records and the Seagram's Gin Company, among others. Now, I ask you as a consumer, do you believe that it is a coincidence or accident that Snoop Dogg was rapping about gin and juice? Is it possible that this particular multinational corporation is very strategic in encouraging its artist to assist with their multi-marketing strategies? It is these types of questions that we as consumers should be considering. In 2002, Busta Rhymes, from New York also had a song called "Pass The Courvoisier Part II," which makes many references to the consumption of this fine cognac:

In 2003, African Americans spent approximately $2.5 billion on alcoholic beverages (Smilke, 2004).

I said Busta (What's up son?)
Leave them girl rollin'....And it look like (Come on)
They ass is swollen (And they ass getting' big now)
But if your man baby sittin, then what you gon' say
(What we gon' tell 'em man?)
We gon' tell that brotha (Pass the Courvoisier)
We gon' tell that brotha (Pass the Courvoisier)
Everybody sing it now (Pass the Courvoisier)
Everybody sing it now (Pass the Courvoisier)
Waah ooooooooooo oh!!

There is no question that the consumption of Courvoisier, as Busta suggests, is definitely the cool thing to do.

In 2000, the Cash Money Millionaires produced a song that has impacted our society by officially expanding the lexicon of American culture. In 2003 "Bling-Bling" was admitted as an entry in the Oxford English Dictionary (2003). The Cash Money Millionaires have this to say about the term:

Bling bling - Every time I come around yo city - Bling bling
Pinky ring worth about fifty - Bling bling - Every time I buy a new ride - Bling Bling
Lorenzos on Yokahama tires - Bling bling
I be that nigga with the ice on me
If it cost less than twenty it don't look right on me
I stay flossed out all through the week
My money long if you don't know I'm the B.G.
I be dealin' with your girl all in they home
Niggas be like, "Look at that Benz on all that chrome"
Diamonds worn by everybody thats in my clique
Man I got the price of a mansion 'round my neck and wrist

The only emphasis I would like to place on this particular song are the last lines above, "Diamonds worn by everybody in my clique, Man I got the price of a mansion 'round my neck and my wrist." These lyrics demonstrate the desire of some to overtly display their jewelry collection or the desire to obtain this level of materialism. Those who consider themselves true

In 2003, African Americans spent approximately $761 million on jewelry, collectively ($156 million on watches, $536 million on jewelry for ourselves and $68 million on jewelry for gifts) (Smilke, 2004).

"hip hop heads" are turned off by this song and others like it. But regardless how you feel about this song, one cannot deny that it has had an impact on our society

In 2005, Kanye West had a song called, "Gold Digger," which describes some of Kanye's experiences below:

> *Cutie the bomb - Met her at a beauty salon*
> *With a baby Louis Vuitton under her underarm*
> *She said I can tell you Rock - I can tell by ya charm*
> *Far as girls you got a flock - I can tell by ya charm and ya arm*
> *But I'm looking for the one - have you seen her*
> *My psychic told me she'll have a ass like Serena*
> *Trina, Jennifer Lopez, four kids - and I gotta take all they bad ass to Show-Biz*
> *Ok get ya kids but then they got their friends*
> *I pulled up in the Benz, they all got up in*
> *We all went to Din and then I had to pay*
> *If you fucking with this girl then you better be paid*

This lyric illustrates the importance of having the ability to entertain love interest, particularly during the courting stage of the relationship. This thought process is highlighted in the lyric "my psychic told me she'll have ass like Serena [Williams, professional tennis player], Trina [female hip hop artist], Jennifer Lopez [actress], four kids, and I gotta take all their bad ass to showbiz (as in Showbiz Pizza Place).

In 2003, African Americans spent approximately $2.7 billion on entertainment and leisure (Smilke, 2004).

In my research, hip-hop has always had the vestige of materialism from its initial commercial inception. However, I also researched hip hop to see if I could find an explanation for this phenomenon. Why does hip hop more than any other genre of music, seem to consistently have materialistic messages? On the surface, it makes no sense, when you account for the history and the economic destitution of many people in this country that are of African descent. Why is there so much interest in, and the expressed need to be engaged so heavily in, the purchasing of material goods and services? In 2004, Kanye West produced a song called, "All Falls Down" that in my opinion gives an excellent explanation:

Then I spent 400 bucks on this, just to be like nigga you ain't up on this
And I can't even go to the grocery store
Without some ones that's clean and a shirt with a team
It seems we living the American dream
But the people highest up got the lowest self esteem
The prettiest people do the ugliest things, for the road to riches and diamond rings
We shine because they hate us, floss cause they degrade us
We trying to buy back our 40 acres
And for that paper, look how low we a'stoop
Even if you in a Benz, you still a nigga in a coupe

For me, this song has a legitimate theory of why African-Americans spend dollars the way they do. He is suggesting that it is the desire of African Americans to purchase material items to fill the void from the lost of dignity and self-esteem that occurred during slavery. He continues:

I say fuck the police, that's how I treat 'em
We buy our way out of jail, but we can't buy freedom
We'll buy a lot of clothes when we don't really need 'em
Things we buy to cover up what's inside
Cause they made us hate ourself and love they wealth
That's why shorties holla "where the ballas' at?"
Drug dealer buy Jordans, Crackhead buy crack
And a white man get paid off of all of that

I personally subscribe to Kanye West's theory on why African-Americans spend money the way they do. What saddens and discourages me the most, as a professional in higher education and a student affairs administrator, is the number of students that come to my office to talk about how financially destitute they are, how they are not going to be able to make it, and how they need financial assistance. I do not doubt that this is true for many of the students I see, but a large number of students who visit often allow their cell phones to interrupt our conversation. Whether they are paying the bill themselves or their parents are, money that is spent toward the maintenance of their service could make the difference in their ability to stay in school. This clearly represents where many students place the value of their education.

In 2003, African-Americans spent approximately $3.7 billion on cell phones, but only $3.4 billion on college tuition (Smilke, 2004).

Alternative Messages and Financial Strategies

If hip hop is offering the dominant message to spend, spend, spend, what should our role as parents, educators, and concerned citizens be in offering students alternative messages? What financial strategies can we offer young people to help counter the messages that promote materialism? In my opinion, one of the best sources I have found is a book called, "The Millionaire Next Door—Surprising Secrets of America's Wealthiest" (1996). Two PhD's out of Atlanta, GA studied over 1,000 millionaires in the mid 1990's, and they found that many of them shared many of the same attributes. They discovered that out of the 1,000 millionaires they surveyed all were working individuals, some working class, but many were professionals and entrepreneurs. Regardless of there primary source of income, they all made their financial future their priority. Here are some of their findings:

1. Eighty (80) percent of the millionaires they studied, which is roughly 800, were first-generation wealthy. Now, this particular fact blew my mind, because I made the assumption that most of the wealthy in America were individuals who had money passed down to them—people like the Ford family, the Rockefellers, the Waltons, those kinds of people.

2. They found that the vast majority of their subjects saved 15 to 20 percent of their income toward long-term investments. You hear a lot of rhetoric when people talk about financial investing. People use phrases like, "Pay yourself first" and "Make the future the priority." In this particular case, this is not rhetoric for these individuals.

3. Ninety-seven (97) percent of them are homeowners and, at the time, $320,000 was the average value of their home. So, it was clear that owning property is a financial strategy to consider when aspiring to be economically self-sufficient.

4. They live well below their means. Our generation of students find this very difficult when they are constantly bombarded with messages that encourage them to do the opposite.

5. They allocate their time and money efficiently in ways conducive to building their wealth, so they are always thinking about ways of growing their dollars.

6. They believe that financial independence is more important than displaying high social status. With shows like MTV Cribs and BET's How I'm Livin' it is difficult not to want to pursue extreme luxuries. However, if accumulating wealth is the ultimate objective, it is necessary to not be concerned with "keeping up with the Joneses."

7. Their parents did not provide economic outpatient care, meaning when they were 18, it was time to get out of the house and be independent.

8. Their adult children are economically self-sufficient. When their children got to be 18 years old and adults, they were out of the house.

9. They are proficient in targeting marketing opportunities, particularly in real estate.

10. They chose the right occupation. I think this is critical and something many of our young people and even older, mature adults often times overlook. We spend a lot of our time chasing dollars, trying to make more money to have a better life, but the reality is that most of us are unhappy with our employment choice. Some of us flat-out hate our jobs. Choosing the right occupation is important when one attempts to reach the pinnacle in his or her profession. In most cases, our earning potential reaches its peak when we are at the highest point in our careers. Thus, increasing the dollars available to invest in financial stability.

"The Millionaire Next Door—Surprising Secrets of America's Wealthy," also outlined the purchasing trends of the millionaires they studied. I was absolutely astounded by some of the information they shared. For example, out of the 1,000 millionaires they surveyed, the average price they spent on suits was $299, and 90 percent of them never spent more than $999 on a suit. The average price they spent for a pair of shoes was $140, and 90 percent of them never spent more than $298 for a pair of shoes. For a wristwatch, the average amount they spent was $235, and 90 percent of them never spent more than $3,800 for a wristwatch.

What was also amazing to know is the average price these millionaires paid for the automobile they drove. According to this study, the average millionaire spent $24,800 on the most recent vehicle they purchased, and 90 percent of them did not spend more that $44,900 on a vehicle. When asked for the most amount of money that they had ever spent for a vehicle, the average was $29,000, and 90 percent of them never, in their entire existence, spent more than $54,850 for a vehicle. The incredible fact is that many of our students whether they paid for the car they drive or their parents did; many drive cars that are significantly more expensive than the ones that many of the millionaires in this study drive. If our students' standards of comfort and

luxury are high when they do not have the individual means to support their lifestyles; what will their standards be once they are out in their professions? It is clear to me the message that should be conveyed repeatedly to our students is: It does not matter how much money you make or how much money you spend, but how much money you keep. These are the types of messages, as parents, educators, and professionals we should be not only delivering, but also modeling, to counter many of the messages delivered in hip hop music and other popular mediums. Most of our young people will never pick up this book and will never have this information. Even if they access this information, the standard of living and financial priorities that the authors, Drs. Stanley and Danko, discovered are not as glamorous as having the purchasing power and the esteem boosts that go along with driving a brand new expensive car, wearing the latest fashion trends, or donning a flashy piece of jewelry.

Conclusion

There are no clear cut answers to the questions: Does hip hop have an impact on African Americans as consumers or is hip hop simply the reflection of the financial priorities of many African Americans? However, hip hop is becoming a legitimate culture for scholars to ponder. There is a great deal that we can learn from the culture, the music, and the members of this community. Much research is needed to understand the impact the music and culture has, not only on African Americans, but our global society.

As higher education administrators, educators, instructors, and researchers, we need to think very seriously about how we engage our students as it relates to their responsibilities and their access to the wealth. In my opinion, it is clear that in this country, our citizens are cultivated to be consumers. We have corporations like Vivendi Universal Group whose headquarters reside on foreign soil. They see the United States of America as simply a market to

capture. Therefore, if we do not equip the people who are supposed to be our best and brightest, the graduates of our higher educational institutions, with the tools to be financially independent, I cringe to think what the future holds for our nation. As we move forward and look at our university curriculums, I strongly recommend that we consider the following learning outcomes:

1. Knowledge of the wealth students will have access to within a global context.
2. Understanding of how life's choices are impacted by ones economic independence.
3. Economic self-sufficiency is driven by the choices me make.
4. Understanding the historical context of African Americans as consumers.

I think these types of challenges will not sway all of our students, but I am confident that the nation will benefit from the students who do become financially literate and future-oriented citizens.

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Impact of Poverty, Sex Ratios, and Marital Status on HIV infection rates among African-American Women in Mississippi

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ABSTRACT

Seventy (70) percent of new HIV infections among African-American women between the ages of 18-36 can be attributed to heterosexual contact. Current research posits monotonic relationships between poverty status and HIV case rates. Other studies suggest sex ratios and marital status are useful mediating variables in understanding relationships between poverty and HIV. We examine relationships between HIV rates, sex ratios, poverty status and family configuration of African Americans in one of the poorest states in the United States. Sex ratio, poverty and family configuration data were taken from the 2000 US Census (SF-1 and SF-4). County-specific rates of HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) were obtained from the Mississippi Department of Health-Division of HIV/STD, Counties within the Mississippi Delta – the poorest region of the state – were compared with counties outside the region. We analyzed two models - female-only (Model 1) and married (Model 2) head of households. Counties in the Delta Region reflect higher rates of HIV than counties outside the region (p=0.009; CI: [30.042, 198.297] .There are declines in cumulative HIV proportions per 100,000 (p=0.028; CI: [-11.671, -0.694]) as sex ratios increase. In Model 1, the proportion of married household heads below poverty is associated with decreased HIV proportions (p=0.018; CI:[-791.964, -76.720]). In Model 2, the proportion of female-only head of households is associated with increased HIV proportions (p=0.018; CI:[-791.964, -76.720]). Family configuration, poverty status and residence in the Delta Region counties are associated with HIV. The relationship between poverty and HIV/AIDS among African-Americans is not as invariant and inevitable as current research suggests. We also discuss several study limitations which should be considered for future research.

Introduction

Poor southern communities are identified as de facto loci of increasing rates of HIV among African-Americans and particularly African-American women (Anderson & Smith, 2005; CDC, 2005b, , 2005c; Reive, Geonnotti, & Whetten, 2006; Sternberg, 2005). Declarations of a monotonic relationship between HIV/AIDS and poverty rates may lead to overinvestment in interventions that endorse behavioral change without acknowledging the community contexts that may lead to increased risk – or increased resilience and protection ("African Americans: Prevention Challenges", 2006; United_Nations, 2005). Yet, not all poor people are at uniform risk for HIV infection. Family configuration demonstrates a resiliency effect in health disparities research, particularly for poor and middle class families (Pergamit, Huang, & Lane, 2002). Research in behavioral ecology and evolutionary psychology demonstrates significant associations between sexual relationship behaviors (e.g. increases in frequency of marriage and reductions in children born out of wedlock, reduction in incidences of domestic violence) and secondary sex ratios (Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Lane et al., 2004; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Pedersen, 1991; Sampson, 1995; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995). Sex ratio variances more than 10% from unity (e.g. significantly more males than females or females than males) are associated with substantial shifts in risky sex behavior patterns (Catanzarite & Ortiz, 2002). For decades, African Americans have experienced extremely low secondary sex ratios (Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Jarrell, 2002; K. Kiecolt & M. Fossett, 1997; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Pedersen, 1991; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995). Is it possible that family configuration and sex ratios impact the relationship between poverty and HIV/AIDS?

We examine the case of Mississippi, identified as the poorest state in the US. Census data reveals the poorest counties in Mississippi are located within the Mississippi Delta Region (Jones, 2002); thus there should be greater rates of HIV within this region. We hypothesize sex ratios and family configuration will significantly impact the relationship between poverty rates and HIV infection rates.

METHODS

Data on family configuration, poverty status and secondary sex ratios were generated from the 2000 US Census Bureau (US_Census, 2000).

Sex ratios. Several researchers have computed sex ratios in specific manners, from computing the crude sex ratio [proportion of men to women] (Guttentag & Secord, 1983) to comparing the ratio of employed men to women, e.g.. Wilson-Nickerman's Male Marriage Pool Index ((Pinderhughes, 2002), Darity-Myers marriageable males measure (Sampson, 1995). We proposed a sex ratio described as an "available African-American male sex ratio". For each state, we used the 2000 Census (SF-1) and obtained aggregate numbers of African-American men and women between 15-64 years of age. Four Mississippi counties were excluded due to abnormally high sex ratios generated by the presence of male correctional facilities in three counties (Sunflower, Greene, Hinds) and one (Issaquena) county with no identified municipalities and less than 30 men and women.

Configuration of families in poverty. We obtained US Census data of county-level family configuration of African American household types headed by persons under the age of 65 who were living below the poverty level (married household, female-only household, and male-only household). Male-only headed households were nearly nonexistent and not included in the study.

Classification of poverty at structural level. Mississippi is divided up into 5 regions based on geography: Hills, Delta, Pines, Capitol-River, and Coastal. The Delta Region is considered the poorest area in Mississippi. Figure 1 shows comparative location of Delta and non-Delta regions in Mississippi.

HIV/AIDS case rates. Data from the Mississippi Department of Health- Division of HIV/STDs provided STI/HIV proportions per 100,000 for each county, cumulative from 1980 through December 2004. We were able to easily separate STI and HIV proportions. The persons living with HIV are those individuals who were living in Mississippi as of December 31, 2004, regardless of where they were diagnosed.

RESULTS

The outcome (dependent) variable was cumulative HIV proportions. Our independent explanatory variables were 1) sex ratio, 2) squared sex ratio term, 3) proportion of married households below poverty and female headed households below poverty, and 4) Delta Region vs. non-Delta Regions county location (Table 1). Tests of the impact of the individual level factor of household configuration and structural factors of poverty and sex ratio were conducted with two analytic models. Model 1 examined the impact of Married Head of Household, and Model 2 examined the impact of Female Head of Household:

Model 1:

$$E[Cumulative\ HIV\ Rates] = a + B_1 Sex\ Ratio + B_2 Quadratic\ Ratio + B_3 Married\ HH + B_4 Delta\ \mathrm{Re}\ gion$$

Model 2:

$$E[Cumulative\ HIV\ Rates] = a + B_1 Sex\ Ratio + B_2 Quadratic\ Ratio + B_3 Female\ HH + B_4 Delta\ \mathrm{Re}\ gion$$

Multivariate regression was used to analyze these two models. A paired t-test was used to compare the outcomes to each parameter estimate. The sex ratio variable was centered to zero to resolve multicollinearity issues.

Sex ratios. Sex ratios approaching unity (equal number of men to women) are associated with significant declines in cumulative HIV proportions per 100,000 for both models (p=0.028; CI: [-11.671, -0.694]). For every one percent shift towards unity in the sex ratio, there is a decreased rate of about 6 HIV cases per 100,000. (Table 2). Extremely high and low sex ratios are associated with higher rates of HIV (p=0.033; CI: [0.028, 0.653]).

Configurations of families in poverty. The proportions of married headed households who live below poverty (Model 1) are associated with significant decreases in HIV proportions of 434 per 100,000 (p=0.018; CI:[-791.964, -76.720]). Conversely, female headed households below poverty (Model 2) are associated with significant increases in HIV proportions of 434 per 100,000 (p=0.018; CI:[-791.964, -76.720]). (Table 2).

Classification of poverty at structural level. The poorer Delta region counties reflect higher rates of HIV than non-Delta region counties (p=0.009; CI: [30.042, 198.297]). There is a significant increase of about 114 cumulative cases per 100,000 of HIV for counties in the Delta Region versus counties not in the Delta Region (Table 2).

DISCUSSION

HIV/AIDS is increasing among African-American women, and this is nowhere more evident that in the southern United States(CDC, 2005b; Reive, Geonnotti, &

Whetten, 2006; Sternberg, 2005). HIV/AIDS interventions increasingly have moved from individual to social factor focus, increasingly moving 'from people to places' (Weir et al., 2003). As interventions move into poor communities, the assets and resources in these communities may be overshadowed by the structural realities of the area; the presence of structural poverty may minimize – unfortunately – the assets of intact, two parent families, sense of community, and existence of institutional supports such as churches, community centers and schools. The resilience factors of these poor communities may not be identified, leading to a new version of 'blaming the victim" (Ryan, 1971). Health educators may be disposed to deploying a deficit perspective in poor communities, due to the univariate relationships posited between poverty and HIV.

We began this research by challenging the notion that poverty and HIV rates were directly and monotonically related. Much recent research demonstrates the relationship of sex ratios to risky behaviors leading to HIV/AIDS as well as direct associations between sex ratios and HIV/AIDS case rates. Most of this research is bivariate in nature; hence our interest in more sophisticated analyses. What did we find?

Sex ratios. Consistent with other researchers, we expected to find strong relationships between sex ratios and HIV/AIDS proportions , and we expected that sex ratios would make a strong contribution to multivariate analyses of HIV/AIDS rates (Avakame, 1999; Barber, 2000; Catanzarite & Ortiz, 2002; Crowder & Tolnay, 2000; Jarrell, 2002; Pedersen, 1991; Sampson, 1995). Indeed, sex ratios played an important role; counties with sex ratios nearing a 1:1 ratio reported fewer reports of HIV/AIDS cases than those farther away from unity ($p=.028$). We found that counties with either very high or very low sex ratios were associated with increased reports of HIV/AIDS

cases. However, the changes in HIV/AIDS proportions as a function of sex ratio were extremely small. Thus, the contribution of sex ratios to multivariate analyses of HIV/AIDS rates is very modest.

Configuration of families in poverty. In comparison, the impact of family configuration is a vastly more powerful explanatory variable in HIV/AIDS rates than sex ratios. We examined only household heads that fit federal definitions of impoverishment; married, two partner household heads and female household heads were equally poor. The differences, however, are remarkable and symmetric; in structurally poor or non-poor regions of Mississippi, married households were associated with significantly lower HIV/AIDS proportions than expected, and single female households headed by single females were associated with much larger HIV/AIDS proportions than expected. While impressive, much more work is required to understand exactly why this relationship persists. The protective effects of presumed monogamy in married head of households may be associated with reduction of HIV/AIDS by household partners(Pinderhughes, 2002). While impoverished, the presence of two parents may lead to a prophylactic impact on risky behaviors among youth family members (Trent & South, 2003; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995) It is also possible that the presence of female household heads are the result of structurally mediated low sex ratios in Mississippi (Cready, Fossett, & Kiecolt, 1997; Jongbloet, Roeleveld, & Groenewoud, 2002; K. J. Kiecolt & M. A. Fossett, 1997; Klein, Easton, & Parker, 2002; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Mocarelli et al., 2000)

Classification of poverty at structural level. Consistent with other current research, extremely poor communities (e.g. Delta regions) reported significantly greater

proportions of HIV/AIDS rates (p=.009) than less poor communities (e.g. non-Delta regions). We did discover, however, that the impact of structural poverty was outweighed by the social factor of family configuration. While the relationships between poverty and HIV/AIDS case rates continues to be strong, the relationship is far from monotonic.

In short, simply living in a poor community does not always equate with living in a community with high HIV/AIDS rates. Poor communities with greater numbers of married, two parent households can have far lower HIV/AIDS rates than expected; poor communities with greater number of single female head of households can have far higher rates of HIV/AIDS than expected.

Limitations to the study. The findings, while intriguing, reflect the beginning and not the end of analysis. There are several limitations to the study that researchers, policy makers and behavioral health educators must appreciate.

Ecological validity and Generalizability. We consider this an exploratory multivariate analysis of one particular southern state. Mississippi is the poorest state in the US and the findings and relationships may not be generalizable to less poor and more urban states in other parts of the country. The states employment, economic and educational structural factors may be unique to Mississippi. Thus, the relationships between sex ratios, family configuration, and poverty that we obtained are very likely contextually bound. The analysis of our data should be replicated for the state, and other analyses should be conducted for other states. As a result, we think the ideas raised could be generalizable to other communities, but the analysis should be generalized with considerable hesitation.

These findings may be limited to heterosexual populations. The focus on heterosexual populations in this study was simply a reflection of surveillance data which revealed overwhelming correlations between new HIV infections among African-American women and heterosexual acquisition of HIV. We cannot speculate on the impact of these factors for lesbian or bisexual women; such studies are recommended and are the purview of future research.

Exclusion of the most populous county and largest city in the state. We had to exclude four counties including Mississippi's largest county (Hinds) and largest city (Jackson). As mentioned previously, these four counties reflected extremely skewed sex ratios. Three counties were excluded due to the location of large penal institutions for men (Thomas & Sampson, 2005) which artificially inflated sex ratios well beyond statistical transformation capabilities (e.g. log transformations). The fourth county had such a small population that sex ratios were more artifact than reality. It is possible that Hinds County should be a focus of special evaluation and study separate and apart from countywide or state analysis.

HIV case data. The cumulative nature of the HIV rates introduces complex temporal analysis problems, given our use of 2000 census data. It would have been helpful to use only the most current HIV rates or even HIV rates by year to date. However, cumulative HIV rates were the only type of data available from the Mississippi Department of Health- Division of HIV/STDs. We were also challenged by the inability to secure HIV rates by race/ethnicity; the Mississippi Department of Health- Division of HIV/STDs does not report HIV rates by race or ethnicity. The data thus reflect HIV rates of all persons, not just African-Americans. We made perhaps an overly simple

assumption that African-Americans comprised a disproportionate majority percentage of HIV cases consistent with demographics of new HIV cases nationwide (CDC, 2005a, , 2005b, , 2005c)

Do people really respond to sex ratios and behave accordingly? Abundant research corroborates impacts of the structural factor of sex ratios across a range of social problems and issues (Catanzarite & Ortiz, 2002; Cready, Fossett, & Kiecolt, 1997; Davis, Gottlieb, & Stampnitzky, 1988; Guttentag & Secord, 1983; K. J. Kiecolt & M. A. Fossett, 1997; Klein, Easton, & Parker, 2002; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Pedersen, 1991). The explanatory processes of perception, incorporation and response to sex ratios is admittedly speculative(Schmitt, 2004, , 2005). Some studies imply that people 'automatically' pay attention to information that bears on mating opportunity (Guttentag & Secord, 1983; K. J. Kiecolt & M. A. Fossett, 1997; Kurzban & Houser, 2005; Pedersen, 1991) Other researchers concede the impact of sex ratios on individual level behavior is more difficult to detect than the impact of sex ratios on aggregate models (Kiecolt & Fossett, 1995; Pedersen, 1991). There is also work that suggests sex ratios impact women's but not men's marital status (Kiecolt & Fossett, 1995; K. Kiecolt & M. Fossett, 1997; K. J. Kiecolt & M. A. Fossett, 1997) While intriguing, greater acceptance and utility of sex ratios in HIV intervention studies awaits empirical demonstrates of these mechanisms and processes especially upon individual level behavior. Interestingly, while individual detection of sex ratios awaits empirical study, it appears that African-American men and women articulate and concede a 'marriage squeeze' between African-American men and women due to a variety of factors (Crowder & Tolnay, 2000; Ferguson, Quinn, Eng, & Sandelowski, 2006).

Misspecification of poor communities. We certainly did not capture a complete structural analysis of poor communities with the proxies of Delta and non-Delta in Mississippi. We did not, for example, investigate the extent to which poverty may be a proxy marker for lack of access to medical care, or the extent to which structural unemployment may be an enduring factor for some communities but not others. We may have inadvertently conflated poor communities with rural communities, introducing a methodological artifact that can be statistically controlled in future studies. The chronicity of job/employment loss, crime rates due to unemployment, migrant work and seasonal employment are other features that distinguish poor communities and may put poor people at risk for HIV/AIDS(Sampson, 1995; South & Messner, 2000; Thomas & Sampson, 2005; Wolffers, Fernandez, Verghis, & Vink, 2002).

Recommendations. Acceptance of poverty as a monotonic factor in HIV incidence and prevalence may lead to uncritical deployment of HIV prevention programs (CDC, 2005a) designed to "work in poor communities" (Weir et al., 2003). While the findings in this article will benefit from further analysis and consideration, we think some recommendations are in order for health educators, community organizers, and others interested in providing outreach and service programs to poor communities.

We encourage the use of Census data to identify potential resilient social and structural factors in communities. Family configuration appears to be a possibly useful factor; we think that identifying the numbers and proportions of female and married head of household may be beneficial. Additional thought should be given regarding the nature of female headed households – were these households created by choice, by removal of a male partner by death, incarceration or abandonment? Female headed household may not

be monotonically related to HIV cases in all communities, yet women may be putting themselves at risk due to unemployment, stress, or a perceived marriage squeeze (K. J. Kiecolt & M. A. Fossett, 1997; Lane et al., 2004; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Pinderhughes, 2002; Reive, Geonnotti, & Whetten, 2006; Trent & South, 2003; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995; White, Crowder, Tolnay, & Adelman, 2005).

Poor communities may be poor in different ways, with different consequences. We examined, in a preliminary way, poor and less poor rural communities in Mississippi. We found significant differences in a simple binary classification of communities by poverty and income. It is important to follow the findings with in-depth, on the ground visits and studies of the community, identifying and talking with community residents to enhance and clarify understanding of the community. Our analysis did not include a review of assets beyond household configuration; certainly the availability of churches and community centers should be on the short list of any community based intervention process.

Sex ratios provide useful information; perhaps a discussion of the ways in which social relationships might change with the perception of sex ratios. If community residents do not resonate with the term sex ratio, other terms such as mate availability (K. J. Kiecolt & M. A. Fossett, 1997), ‘not enough good men’ (Catanzarite & Ortiz, 2002) or marriage squeeze (Crowder & Tolnay, 2000) may be more salient and relevant for community use. We would be remiss in not underscoring the importance of the discussion of poverty, sex ratios and HIV risk among both African-American women and men. This analysis tested specific social and structural variables; while we did not address power dynamics in relationships, such dialogue is clearly essential and

warranted. Perhaps the impact of sex ratios in establishing and consolidating power in heterosexual relationships can be explored in future interventions (Adimora, Schoenbach, & Doherty, 2006; Bruhin, 2003; Ferguson, Quinn, Eng, & Sandelowski, 2006). Ultimately, conducting critical analysis of poverty and sex ratio contexts in poor communities may prevent wasted effort and lead to useful intervention content and good deployment strategies that will have greater effectiveness in reducing HIV among African-American women and within African-American communities.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Family Configurations

Variables	Mean (Std Dev)	Minimum	Maximum
Married HH (Average)	0.256(0.083)	0.076	0.458
Female HH (Average)	0.744(0.083)	0.542	0.924
M/F Sex Ratio*	85.98(8.12)	76.51	116.44
Married HH	654.13(457.44)	29	2427
Male HH	242.40(228.55)	0	1298
Female HH	2214.24(1997.66)	58	9739

HH: Headed Household
* Values after all exclusion

Table 2. Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Models Predicting HIV Proportions

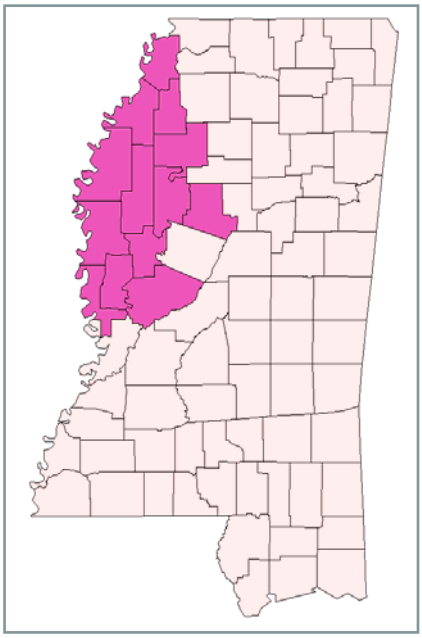
Model 1: Married Head of Household

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Pr > |t|	95% Confidence Interval
Sex Ratio	-6.182	0.028	(-11.671, -0.694)
Quadratic Ratio	0.341	0.033	(0.028, 0.653)
Married HH	-434.342	0.018	(-791.964, -76.720)
Delta Region	114.169	0.009	(30.042, 198.297)

Model 2: Female Head of Household

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Pr > |t|	95% Confidence Interval
Sex Ratio	-6.182	0.028	(-11.671, -0.694)
Quadratic Ratio	0.341	0.033	(0.028, 0.653)
Female HH	434.342	0.018	(76.720, 791.964)
Delta Region	114.169	0.009	(30.042, 198.297)

Figure 1: The Delta Region of Mississippi



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Race, Gender & Diversity

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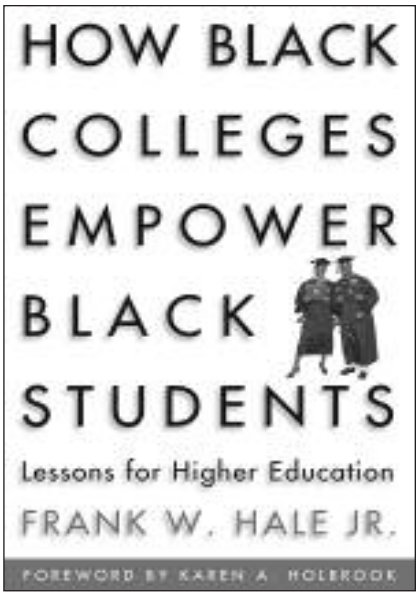
See also:
White Teachers / Diverse Classrooms
p. 33



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The Editor: Frank W. Hale, Jr., often referred to as the "Dean of Diversity," is vice provost and professor emeritus at The Ohio State University where he served from 1971-1988. He was previously president of Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama. He is in constant demand as a lecturer and consultant.

288 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, March 2006, 1 57922 144 0, $65.00, (5)
Paper, March 2006, 1 57922 145 9, $24.95, (1)

Stylus

NEW

The Latina/o Pathway to the Ph.D.

Abriendo Caminos

Edited by Jeanett Castellanos, Alberta M. Gloria and Mark Kamimura
Forewords By Melba Vasquez and Hector Garza

"This book provides important information about the realities Latina/os face. We need to take the insights presented here to develop more intentional activities to prepare the next generation of Latino doctoral recipients."—***Sylvia Hurtado,*** *Professor and Director of the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles*

"An insightful account of how the pathway to Hispanic higher education success is paved with *familia, cultura, y identidad étnica*. It is also a compelling call to action."—***Antonio Flores,*** *President of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities*

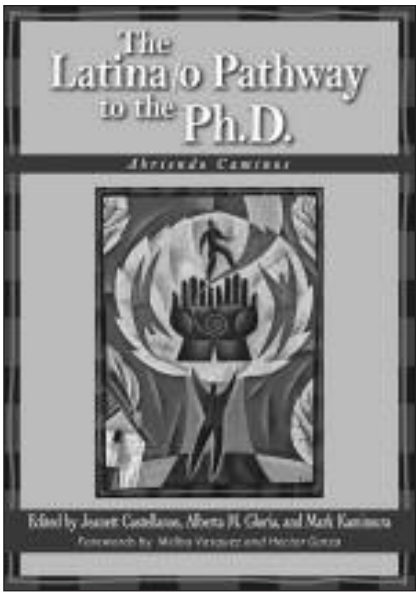
"This book charts the many paths to achievement by highlighting what it also means to be Latina/o in today's America. An important contribution."—***Earl Lewis,*** *Provost and Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs at Emory University*

"This book guides readers along the Ph.D. pathway taken, and still to be pursued, by many Latino doctorates. An important resource."—***Sarita E. Brown,*** *President, Excelencia in Education*

This is the first book specifically to engage with the absence of Latinas/os in doctoral studies. It proposes educational and administrative strategies to open up the pipeline, and institutional practices to ensure access, support, models and training for Latinas/os aspiring to the Ph.D.

Latinas/os often encounter social and academic isolation, unaffordable costs, and lack of support. Added to which, there is a paucity of the Latina/o faculty and leaders whom research shows are essential for changing campus climate and influencing institutions to adapt to the needs of a changing student body. As a result, Latina/o graduate students often have few role models, advocates or mentors, and limited support for their research agendas.

This addresses the experiences and challenges faced by Latina/os in doctoral programs, and offers guidance for students and those responsible for them.



The book closes with the voices of Latina/o students who are currently pursuing or recently completed their doctoral degree. Their stories bring alive the graduate experience for anyone interested in successful recruitment, retention, and graduation of Latina/o doctoral students – and offer inspiration and guidance to those aspiring to the doctorate.

The Editors: Jeanett Castellanos is Director of the Academic Resource Center, and a Lecturer for the Department of Social Sciences and Chicano Studies at the University of California, Irvine. Alberta M. Gloria is a full professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Mark Kamimura is Program Director, UC Diversity Initiative for Graduate Study in the Social Sciences, UCLA

286 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, January 2006, 1 57922 106 8, $69.95, (5)
Paper, January 2006,1 57922 107 6, $24.95, (3)

Stylus

See also:

Job Search in Academe
p. 35

The Assessment of Doctoral Education
p. 30

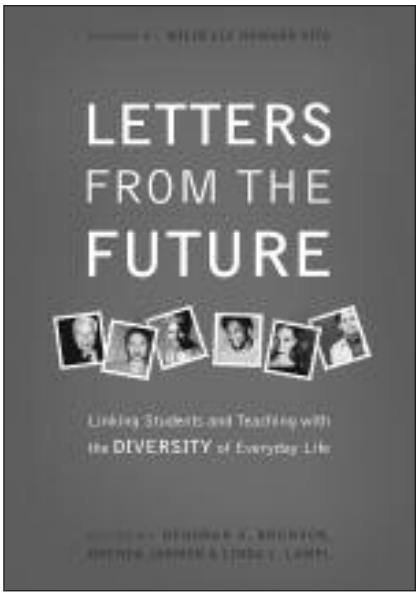
The Majority in the Minority
p. 47

Letters from the Future

Linking Students and Teaching with the Diversity of Everyday Life

Edited by Deborah A. Brunson, Brenda Jarmon and Linda L. Lampl
Foreword By Michelle Howard-Vital

"It is difficult to read these personal narratives without coming away with a sense of urgency for more discussions that go beyond conversations based solely upon stereotyped, preconceived notions about the identities of others." — ***Michelle Howard-Vital,*** *from the Foreword*



If, fundamentally, education is about change and transformation, this is all the more true where teaching and learning about diversity is concerned. Yet teachers rarely know what influence their instruction has had on the lives of their students. Given the social importance of this enterprise, there is a compelling need to evaluate diversity education and student outcomes.

This edited volume provides insights into the teaching and learning experiences of diversity educators and their students. College-level teachers from such disciplines as biology, social work, sex education, communication, political science, English literature, and criminology share their general philosophy of teaching and how teaching diversity offers insights and challenges in the classroom. This book uniquely integrates revealing letters from former students within each teacher's chapter. These letters offer observations and reflections upon key lessons learned or ideas that were challenged in the teacher's classroom and how these lessons are connected to or disconnected from their professional and/or personal lives. We also see how the teachers in turn have modified their practice in the light of their students' feedback. The editors revisit the chapters to find the emergent Best Practices as takeaways for the reader.

This book will be useful to college teachers who currently teach courses with a diversity-focused content, and to instructors who plan to incorporate diversity content within an existing course. Directors of teaching and learning centers, coordinators of doctoral programs, and TA centers will also find helpful information and insights about pedagogy, process, and learning outcomes.

The Editor: Deborah A. Brunson is director of the Upperman African American Cultural Center and associate professor of communication studies at the University of North Carolina Wilmington.

Brenda Jarmon is an associate professor and chairperson of the Department of Social Work, Florida A&M University, Tallahassee.

Linda L. Lampl is president/CEO and co-founder of Lampl Herbert Consultants, Tallahassee, where she works as a practicing anthropologist and organization development consultant.

320 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, April 2006, 1 57922 186 6, $59.95, (5)
Paper, April 2006, 1 57922 187 4, $24.95, (1)

Stylus

NEW

"Strangers" in the Academy

Asian Women Scholars in Higher Education

Edited by Guofang Li and Gulbahar H. Beckett
Foreword by Shirley Geok-Lin Lim

"In the multiversity, these chapters testify, Asian American and Asian immigrant women scholars' unique contributions in teacher education, in language teaching, in the pedagogies of difference and in other fields, are being recognized, albeit sometimes reluctantly and slowly. These chapters speak to the value – strategic, capitalistic, and humanist – North American universities have placed on the stranger and the strange knowledge the stranger carries with her identity. Their presence and scholarship are changing not just the face but the definition of higher education itself."—*from the Foreword by* ***Shirley Geok-Lin Lim***

No less than other minorities, Asian women scholars are confronted with racial discrimination and stereotyping as well as disrespect for their research, teaching, and leadership; and are underrepresented in academia.

In the face of such barriers, many Asian female scholars have developed strategies to survive and thrive. This book is among the first to examine their lived experience in Western academic discourses. It addresses the socio-cultural, political, academic, and personal issues that Asian female scholars encounter in higher education.

The contributors to this book include first and second generation immigrants who are teachers and researchers in higher education and who come from a wide range of Asian nations and backgrounds. They here combine new research and personal narratives to explore the intersecting layers of relationships that impact their lives—language, culture, academic discourses, gender, class, generation, and race. The book is replete with the richness and complexity of these scholars' struggles and triumphs in their professional and personal realms.

This volume:

- Examines and celebrates the struggles and triumphs that Asian female scholars' experiences as they try to "make it" in academic environments that may differ sharply from the culture of their countries of origin
- Highlights the unique contributions the authors have made to research, theory, and the profession
- Establishes the authors' claim to visibility and a voice for themselves and more generally for Asian women in the academy
- Opens a dialogue on these critical issues by sharing the academic and personal experiences of senior and junior scholars alike
- Contributes to the on-going discussion on issues pertinent to the status of minority female scholars in higher education.

The Editors: Guofang Li is an Assistant Professor in the Graduate School of Education, University of Buffalo (SUNY). Gulbahar H. Beckett is an Assistant Professor in the College of Education, University of Cincinnati.

304 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, December 2005, 1 57922 120 3, $65.00, (5)
Paper, December 2005, 1 57922 121 1, $24.95, (1)

Stylus

NEW

From Oppression to Grace

Women of Color and Their Dilemmas within the Academy

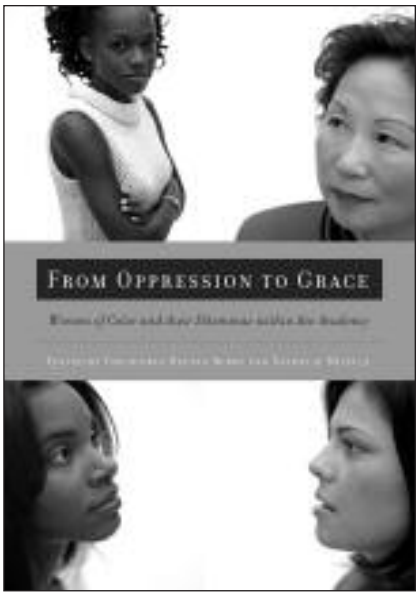
Edited by Theodorea Regina Berry and Nathalie Mizelle

This book gives voice to the experiences of women of color — women of African, Native American, Latina, East Indian, Korean and Japanese descent — as students in pursuing terminal degrees and as faculty members navigating the Academy, grappling with the dilemmas encountered by others and themselves as they exist at the intersections of their work and identities.

Women of color are frequently relegated – on account both of race and womanhood – into monolithic categories that perpetuate oppression, subdue and suppress conflict, and silence voices. This book uses critical race feminism (CRF) to place women of color in the center, rather than the margins, of the discussion, theorizing, research and praxis of their lives as they co-exist in the dominant culture.

This book makes salient three characteristics of critical race feminism. Just as it is places emphasis on the application of theory to real life issues, the authors' narratives address concerns about the academic community, home, and family. Just as CRF supports a discourse of resistance, the book provides a forum for different voices as multi-representations of the counterstories against the acceptance of the dominant culture and the *status quo*. And, finally, the contributors' stories reflect CRF's emphasis on narrative to deepen the understanding of their lives as women of color.

The first part of the book addresses the issues faced on the way to achieving a terminal degree: the struggles encountered and the lessons learned along the way. Part Two, Pride and Prejudice Finding Your Place After the Degree, describes the complexity of lives of women with multiple identities as scholars with family, friends, and lives at home and at work. The book concludes with the voices of senior faculty sharing their journeys and their paths to growth as scholars and individuals.



This book is for all women of color growing up in the academy, learning to stand on their own, taking first steps, mastering the language, walking, running, falling and getting up to run again, and illuminates the process of self-definition that is essential to their growth as scholars and individuals.

The Editors: Theodorea Regina Berry is AERA/IES Post-Doctoral Fellow in the College of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago; Nathalie Mizelle is at the Department of Counseling, College of Health and Human Services, San Francisco State University.

288 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, May 2006, 1 57922 110 6, $59.95, (5)
Paper, May 2006, 1 57922 111 4, $24.95, (3)

Stylus

See also:

The Balancing Act
p. 9

Women in Academic Leadership
p. 10

NEW

Daring to Educate

The Legacy of the Early Spelman College Presidents

Yolanda L. Watson, Sheila T. Gregory
Foreword By Johnnetta B. Cole; Epilogue By Beverly Daniel Tatum

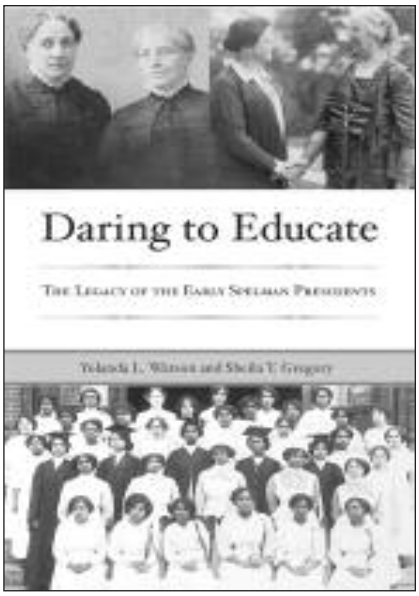
"Aptly details the remarkable accomplishment of Spelman's founders. Watson and Gregory spin a tale of innovation and triumph while simultaneously adding to the scholarship of higher education. "—*from the Foreword by* ***Johnnetta B. Cole,*** *President of Bennett College and seventh President of Spelman College*

While President Emerita Johnnetta B. Cole is credited with propelling Spelman College (the oldest historically Black womens' college) to national prominence, little is generally known about the strong academic foundation and legacy she inherited. Contrary to popular belief, the first four presidents of Spelman (including its two co-founders) were White women who led the early development of the College, armed with the belief that former slaves and free Black women should and could receive a college-level education.

This book presents the history of Spelman's foundation through the tenure of its fourth president, Florence M. Read, which ended in 1953.

This compelling story is brought up to date by the contributions of Spelman's current president, Beverly Daniel Tatum, and by Johnnetta B. Cole.

The book chronicles how the vision each of these women presidents, and their response to changing social forces, both profoundly shaped Spelman's curriculum and influenced the lives and minds of thousands of young Black women. The authors trace the evolution of Spelman from its beginning — when the founders, aware of the limited occupations open to its graduates, strove



to uplift the Black race by providing an academic education to disenfranchised Black women while also providing training for available careers — to the fifties when the college became an exemplar of liberal arts education in the South.

This book fills a void in the history of Black women in higher education. It will appeal to a wide readership interested in women's studies, Black history and the history of higher education in general.

The Authors: Yolanda L. Watson is Managing Partner, Principal Consultant and Senior Researcher, Strategic Consulting Solutions, in Stone Mountain, Georgia. Sheila T. Gregory is associate professor, Higher Education and Educational Leadership, at Clark Atlanta University School of Education.

160 pp, 5 ½" x 8 ½", 26 photos
Cloth, July 2005, 1 57922 108 4, $65.00, (5)
Paper, July 2005, 1 57922 109 2, $29.95, (1)

Stylus

(In)Digital Equity: Impact of Educational Experiences

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Submitted to:

2006 Brothers of the Academy Think Tank
Thematic Theme - Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM)

September 1, 2006

Abstract

History has shown us that improvements in information sharing have resulted in increased productivity, a better-educated society and the growth of technology. The development and mainstream use of the Internet has changed how we conduct business and provide community services and has revolutionized information sharing throughout the world. Yet in a ranking of developed nations, the U.S. is now 13th in the world in broadband penetration. We must do better.

From the Hill, The Newspaper for and About the U.S. Congress, November 13, 2005 (http://www.thehill.com/thehill/export/TheHill/News/Frontpage/102005/ssudall.html)

Digital equity raises issues of social justice and can be defined as a trend toward equal access to information and communication technologies (ICT) among society's citizens. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics, 98% of schools and 77% of instructional rooms have computers and are connected to the Internet. Yet, the technology may not be used by students - leaving many young people technology-illiterate, without key skills they need to succeed in today's global market. Black youth are particularly vulnerable and thereby, are often not inclined or directed toward STEM careers. Using data collected from teachers and administrators at a middle school located in the Southeast, I examined the hypothesis of digital equity being a function of student access, technology appreciation by parents and students, and teachers' use of information technology (IT). My findings suggest that digital (in)equity impacts

anticipated career pathways among Black students, and that teachers are a significant factor in the conceptualization of digital (in)equity. Moreover, public policy issues play a critical role in this discourse as implied in the data.

Introduction

In its 2003 fiscal budget, the Bush Administration dramatically reduced funding to community technology and information technology training initiatives by $100 million based on data from the Benton Foundation (www.benton.org/ press/2002/pr0211.html). Much of this funding previously supported under-represented minorities, children and rural programs. While the digital divide is an immediate and direct effect of the eradication of these training initiatives, the more dire consequences rest in the digital inequities and lack of social justice that have longstanding effects.

Evidence of these outcomes has been documented by the National Telecommunications and Information Administration's report entitled "A Nation Online: How Americans Are Expanding Their Use of the Internet". Namely, the document reports that individuals benefit from being prepared with technology skills. Fifty-seven percent (57%) of employed Americans over age 25 use a computer in the workplace. By 2010, jobs in science, technology, engineering and mathematics

(STEM) fields are expected to increase by 67% (U.S. Department of Labor as reported in American Electronics Association, 2002). In addition, the cost associated with broadband access to the Internet heightens digital exclusion and often precludes minority, low income, rural and undereducated populations from the social justice associated with social, community, economic and education capital foundations.

Others (Novak, Hoffman, and Venkatesh, 1997) examined the impact of race on computer access and Internet use. Novak, et al. (1997) observed that:

1) White students without a home PC are more likely than their Black peers to find alternative means to access the Web. In addition, these white students tend to access the Web more frequently and are likely to have superior technology in their schools.
2) Alternative means (as noted in #1) for white students suggest alternative locations for access and can include homes of friends, family, and libraries. Novak and Hoffman (1997) concluded that "*….particularly when students do not have a home computer, race matters*".

In a more locally focused study, Kaiser (2001) examined efforts to overcome the digital divide in the Raleigh/Durham, North Carolina area. He assessed that there is often a disconnect among national policies and local and/or regional implementations. In his examination of Raleigh/Durham Area Community Technology Centers (CTCs), Kaiser determined that the majority of the centers' users were Black and Hispanic groups from lower income brackets and subordinate educational backgrounds. Hence, these determinants often lead to less exposure to and inclination toward STEM career pathways. This supports the contention that technology access is but one criterion needed to enable interest in STEM pathways; hence, the lack of technology access often hinders educational, mental and employment preparation to thrive in STEM careers (Kvansy and Payton, 2005; Payton, 2003).

While these studies have and continue to provide insight into the issues surrounding digital equity, the opinions of teachers and school administrators warrant documentation. This paper reports on the issue of digital (in)equity, career pathways and teacher experiences/expectations as it relates to middle school students.

Literature Review

The term *digital divide* refers to the gap between those educational institutions who are effectively integrating current technologies, and those who don't have the access or the training necessary to offer these technologies in their curriculums. *Digital equity* is the social-justice goal of ensuring that everyone has equal access to the latest digital technologies (DiMaggio, Hargittai, Neuman, and Robinson, 2001). Now, more than ever, unequal adoption of the latest technology excludes many from reaping the fruits of a rapidly changing economy (Taborn, 2006).

The *No Child Left Behind Act* was aimed at providing a framework for closing the gap in achievement levels between minority students and majority students. As the classroom becomes increasingly digital, the gap between the groups of students from different backgrounds increases, particularly those where socio-economic disparities exist. In a study analyzing the factors driving the goal of becoming educated, Spellings and Gonzalez (2006) of the U.S. Department of Education wrote *The Tool Box Revisited-Path to Degree Completion from High School through College* and termed career pathway strategies as the "investment behavior- a micro scale version of human capital" (p 80).

While the *Toolbox Report* indicated that the driving variables behind the education gap are not limited to the socioeconomic factor, race/ethnicity plays a pivotal role in educational investments and outcomes. The Department of Education built a body of evidence to show the poignant story of the gaps in equal (or the lack thereof) education opportunities among children from different socioeconomic and ethical backgrounds. However, this is not the whole picture in this discourse. As classrooms become more dependent on computer networks to assist teaching and learning, the above-mentioned gaps extend to accessing and utilizing computers to facilitate learning and educational development among children from different backgrounds.

According to Goolsbee and Guryan (2006), schools with the most affluent student bodies had computer access in roughly one-half of their classrooms during 1996-1997. In contrast, schools with 75 percent or more of their students from poor families had a mere 8 percent of classrooms wired. This conclusion is also supported by strong evidence from Leslie Harris & Associates (2002). The degree of computer use at various locations among four ethnic groups is highlighted in Figure 1:

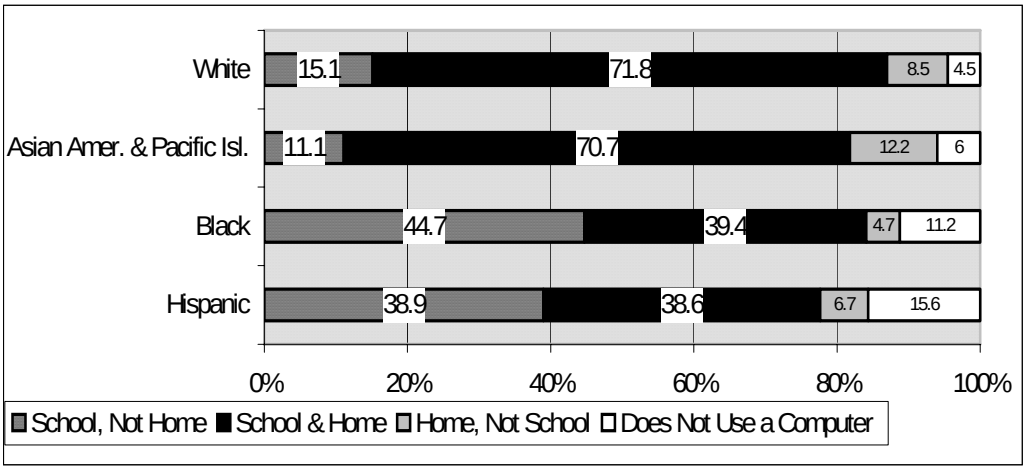


Figure 1 – School Versus Home Access to Computers. Adopted from Leslie Harris and Associates (July 2002), P 6.

Based on the above, I hypothesized the following:

Digital Equity = f (Student Computer Access, Technology Appreciation by Students, Technology Appreciation by Parents, Teachers Use of Technology)

School Background

I worked with Middle School X which is located in an urban location and serves sixth through eighth grade students. The student body of slightly over 1,000 pupils is said to be diverse consisting of whites (58%), Blacks (25%), Asians (14%), Hispanics (1%) and Native Americans (<1%). Fifteen percent of the student population is considered economically disadvantaged. An estimated 20-25% of the students are considered neighborhood students of which 95+% are Black. Others come from distance locations via personal or county

provided transportation. Less than 100 Black students of the 1,000+ population have been identified as academically gifted.

Research Approach

I conducted interviews to solicit ideas on digital equity from teachers and administrators at Middle School X. These interviews were structured and held at the school location after teachers' instructional time concluded. These interviews conceited with the deployment of text mining methodologies via web crawling to uncover recurring themes from 425 documents meeting search criteria containing the key words: technology, digital equity, middle and high school education, parental involvement, teacher use of technology, just to name a few. SAS text mining software was used to analyze the findings reported, herein.

Three school administrators and fifteen teachers participated in this study and offered their experiences and understanding of the phenomena under investigation. Interview questions were emailed to a primary contact (administrator) person at the school. This person distributed the interview instrument to participating teachers seven days prior to a formal face-to-face session. Two scribes took notes during the interview sessions, and each session was tape-recorded.

Interview questions were organized around the following themes: technology importance, teacher use and appreciation of technology, student appreciation and access to technology and parental appreciation and use of technology. The themes and representative questions are included in Table 1.

Table 1: Research Themes and Questions to Study's Participants

Themes	**Representative Questions**
Technology Importance	What do teachers use technology for in the teaching process? How important is it that students have access to the Internet for homework assignments? What are the barriers to overcoming digital equity in your school? What measures have been taken to reduce these barriers?
Teacher Use and Appreciation of Technology	What applications do you use for teaching? Parent and student communication? How do you view technology in your work?
Student Use and Appreciation of Technology	How do your students view technology? Describe race and/or socio-economic differences within the student body and how it relates to technology appreciation and access.
Parent Use and Appreciation of Technology	How do your parents view technology? Describe race and/or socio-economic differences among parents and how it relates to technology appreciation and access.
Technology Importance in Education	How does technology access, use and appreciation affect career pathways? What are biggest barriers to reducing disparities in use, appreciation and access?

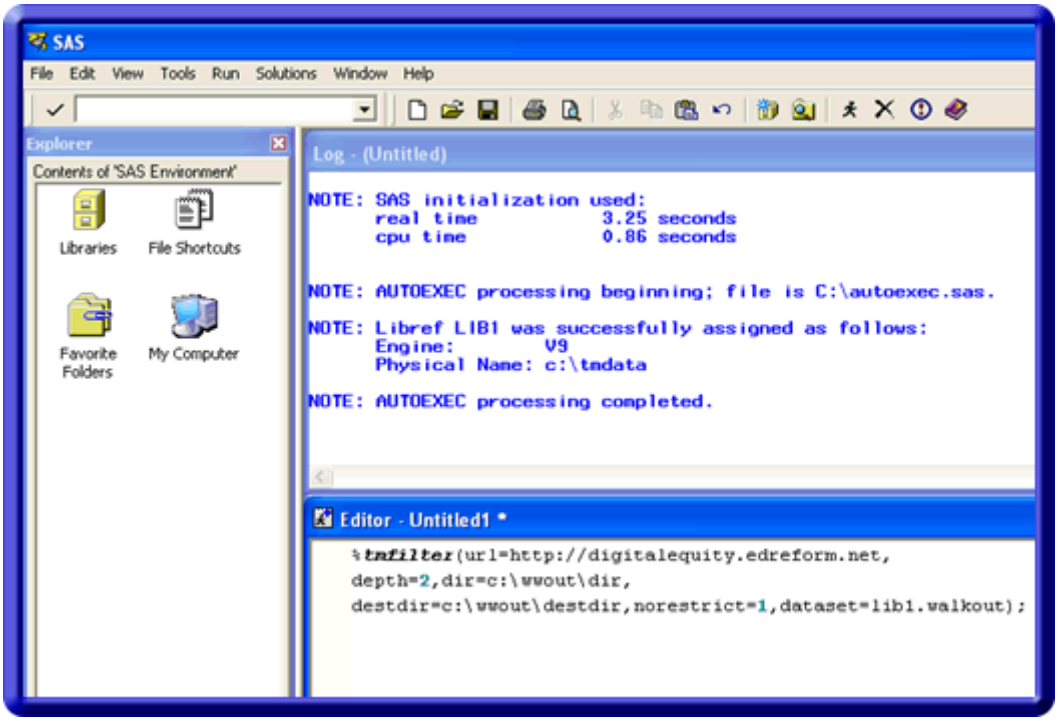
Data Analysis

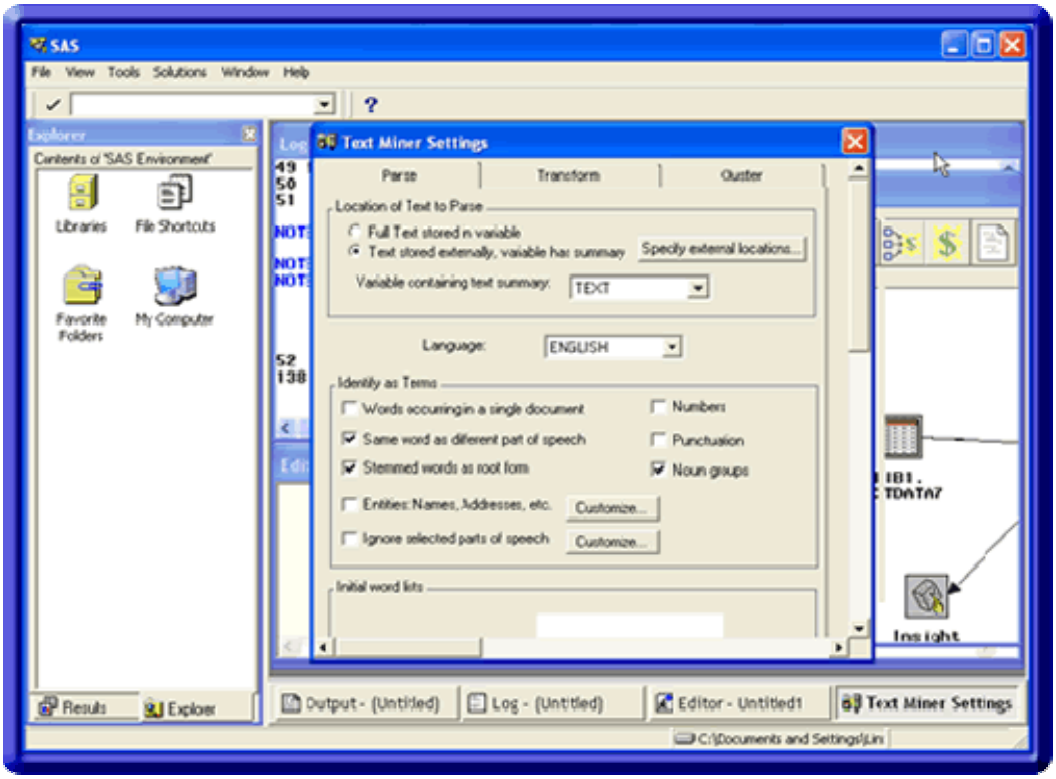
Text mining is the process of investigating a large collection of free-form documents in order to discover and use the knowledge that exists in the collection as a whole. Although text mining arose from data mining methodologies, text mining tries to extract information from unstructured text files instead of structured datasets or quantitative data. Further, text mining offers the ability to extract information from a large volume of text documents by using computational linguistics.

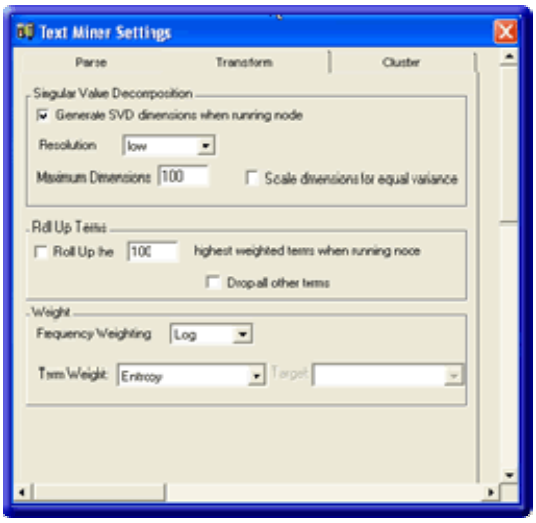
Initially, I created a dataset from the documents collected by web crawler in SAS Enterprise Miner which houses Text Miner. Clustering analysis was conducted with different values for maximum clusters such as 5, 10, 15, 20 and 40. The more important results came from the complex procedure of text mining and clustering techniques. In this technique, I wanted to determine the factors impacting *digital equity* in order to look for patterns. The results from the analysis of the clusters also proved that the terms are in close proximity to the factors cited in Table 1. A weighting scheme called “ENTROPY” was used in the analysis, which calculates one minus the scaled entropy so that the highest weight goes to terms that occur infrequently in the document collection as a whole, but frequently in a few documents.

SVD (Singular Value Decomposition) of the weighted-term document frequency matrix was used to reduce the variables or discard words that have a small weight. To make proper use of SVD, many different graphs, such as histogram and frequency distribution, were used to understand the resulting clusters. By examining these clusters of words and the text of responses, it became clear that terms appearing in the text did not differ much in terms of the frequency and percentage. (Re)clustering is an iterative process which ends once a reasonable number of categories are defined based on key terms within the text.

The screen shots below illustrate the text mining process using SAS.




SAS
File View Tools Solutions Window Help
Explorer
Contents of 'SAS Environment'
Libraries
File Shortcuts
Favorite Folders
My Computer
Results
Explorer
Text Miner Settings
Parse
Transform
Cluster
Location of Text to Parse
Full Text stored in variable
Text stored externally, variable has summary
Specify external locations...
Variable containing text summary:
TEXT
Language:
ENGLISH
Identify as Terms
Words occuring in a single document
Same word as different part of speech
Stemmed words as root form
Entities: Names, Addresses, etc.
Customize...
Ignore selected parts of speech
Customize...
Numbers
Punctuation
Noun groups
Initial word lists
Insight
Output - (Untitled)
Log - (Untitled)
Editor - Untitled1
Text Miner Settings
C:\Documents and Settings\Lin

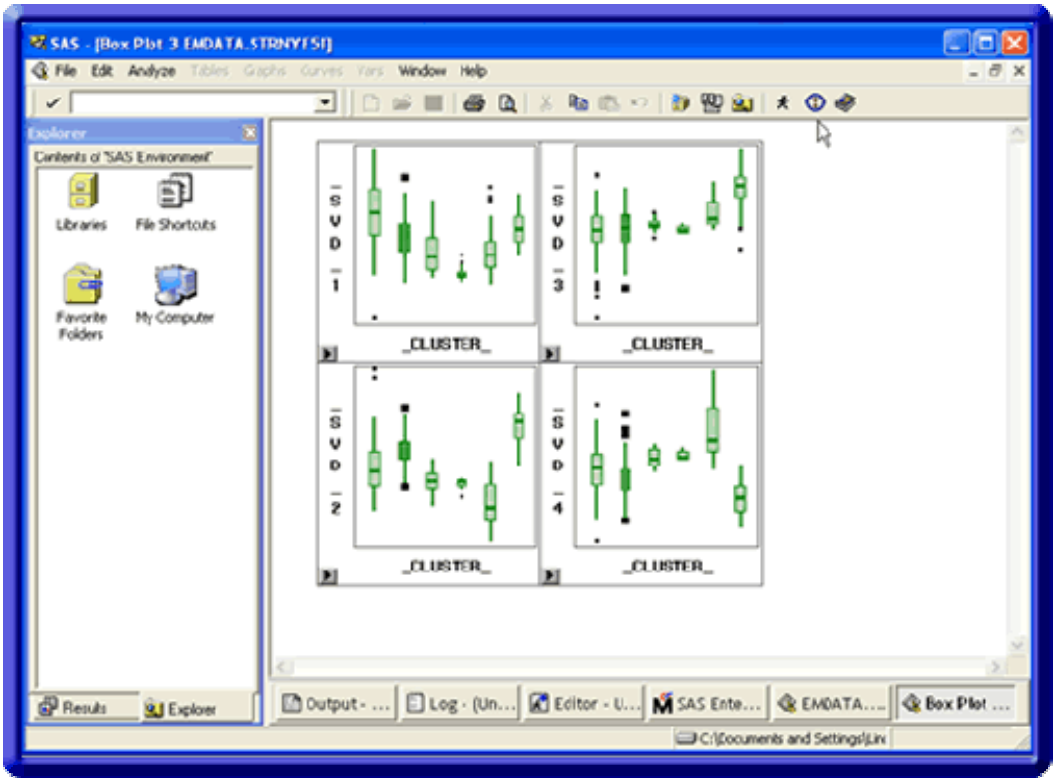

Text Miner Settings
Parse
Transform
Cluster
Singular Value Decomposition
Generate SVD dimensions when running node
Resolution
low
Maximum Dimensions
100
Scale dimensions for equal variance
Roll Up Terms
Roll Up the
100
highest weighted terms when running node
Drop all other terms
Weight
Frequency Weighting
Log
Term Weight
Entropy
Target


Text Miner Settings
Parse
Transform
Cluster
Automatically perform clustering when node is run
Cluster Settings
Approach:
Hierarchical
Expectation Maximization
Maximum levels to display
Number of clusters:
Maximum
Exactly
40
Clusters based on:
SVD dimensions
Rolled Up Terms
Number of terms to describe clusters:
5
Allow unclustered outliers

Findings

Text Mining Results

Data from the webcrawl methodology resulted in clusters of factors to test the hypothesis previously stated. These results supported, in part, the factors impacting digital equity. Below are examples of text mining results to illustrate how the application clusters factors of interest.



This cluster analysis shows that educators, schools, and the community are the strongest factors for *digital equity* (based on 425 documents as input). After all the data were collected and the analysis complete, it was clear that the biggest obstacle in reducing *digital*

inequity is taxpayers' unwillingness to support sufficient funding to investigate new or alternative technologies. Currently, new technology projects are explored by enlisting the help of staff members and volunteers. The fundamental problem with this reliance is that human recourses often dry up, disappear or relocate. If significant resources are invested in a technology initiative, sustainability becomes a critical concern – as this impacts curriculum building, parent resources, industry partnerships and service delivery for the students. Such results tend to work to the determent of Black students more than other demographic groups, particularly those where financial and educational resources are inadequate in the home environment.

The interview data reveal consistent themes from the questions shown in Table 1.

Technology Importance

Teachers and administrators use technology in a myriad of ways to delivery course content. While email is largely universal for intra-office communication, Blackboard appeared to be widely used for course pages and as a communication mechanism for students and parents to track assignments and homework deadlines. Specialized software for arts, mathematics, robotics, music, etc. is used by the

staff along with county mandated databases for student tracking, monitoring and grading. The Internet seemed to be commonplace and often an additional resource for students. However, a significant percentage of the student population lacks computer access outside of school which can preclude learning. Several teachers pointed out that they often remain after school so that those students without home access to the technology can use computers located in the school's computing labs

and/or the media center. Several teachers offered their comments:

I stay until 4:30pm just for this reason. Roughly, 90% plus of our gifted students have computers at home. Less than 40% of our other students have computers at home. While the public library is nearby, I am not sure if the computers are up to par given the neighborhood where it is located.

The community center may be closer, but who wants their child walking to and fro late in the evening. The conditions of the computers can be an issue there as well.

I try to account for all students' access to computers and the Internet. A lot of times, paper copies are just as important if not more important. You try to communicate but a least 5% of our non-gifted students have parents that are not reachable by phone.

All of our students have basic computer skills. We make sure that skills required by the 8th grade computer skills competency test are covered. Many of our gifted students are advanced users. Many of these students come in with flash drives, have laptops and are exposed to the latest technologies which we cannot support sometimes here in the school. This, too, is becoming a bigger problem as well as those with home access.

Teacher Use and Appreciation of Technology

Teachers expressed a clear appreciation for technology and see these tools as enabling increased productivity. They also noted that having access to electronic student records helps their productivity. However, computing technology can also result in increased workload, due in part to parent and staff inquiries, course planning and the professional necessity to remain current. To date, teachers are unable to login to the school's network from home to access email. This tends to amplify their workload by expanding the time needed to physically be on campus. One teacher described technology as the "necessary evil".

Student Use and Appreciation of Technology

Teachers articulated that students embrace technology. Accordingly, students are said to enter middle school with a working knowledge of productivity applications from their elementary years. Teachers offered that cell phones, I-pods and gaming devices are commonly owned by students though use of these gadgets are not permitted during school hours. While the school offers courses in computing technology, one teacher observed that traditionally gifted students and those from middle to upper income households migrated toward these electives. On the other hand, he stated that the greatest challenge is:

Getting parents to understand why they should want their children in these science, math and technology classes. For many of our

neighborhood students, this is a challenge. A lot of times, there are no computers in their homes, so (among) school, the community center and the library, they have to find access.

Parent Use and Appreciation

Generally, teachers offered that if parents demonstrated an appreciation for technology, then students did the same. Interestingly, one staff member explained the cycle of computing in the school as one largely impacted by highly involved parents. These parents advocate bringing resources into the school from industry and other outside sources. Much of this work included attempts to rid the school of antiquated hardware and software – as the lack of funding tended to preclude providing the latest innovations for all students in the school environment. As one teacher summed it:

Old 64mb machines don't run today's software applications effectively.

Technology Importance in Education

Teachers indicated that technology use and appreciation impacts students' pathways toward advanced placement in mathematics and science. Advanced students tended to have computer access in the home, showed a higher degree of technology appreciation and have parents with this same appreciation or even higher. When asked what the biggest barriers to reducing digital inequity are, several answers

emerged including lack of funding, a demonstrated need for the general public to fund education through public infrastructure and increased STEM education for parents as an intergenerational approach.

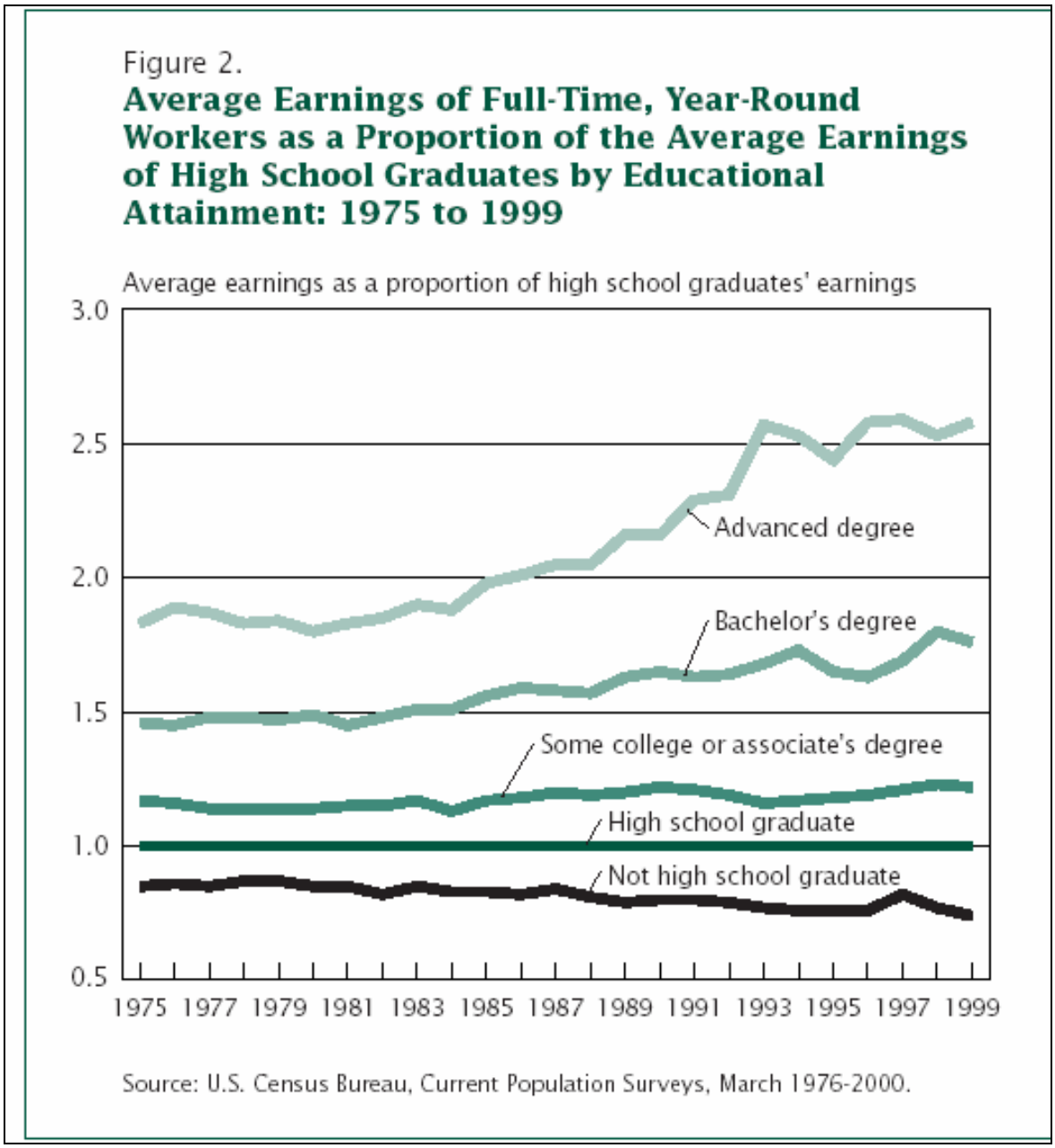
Conclusion – The Public Policy Debate

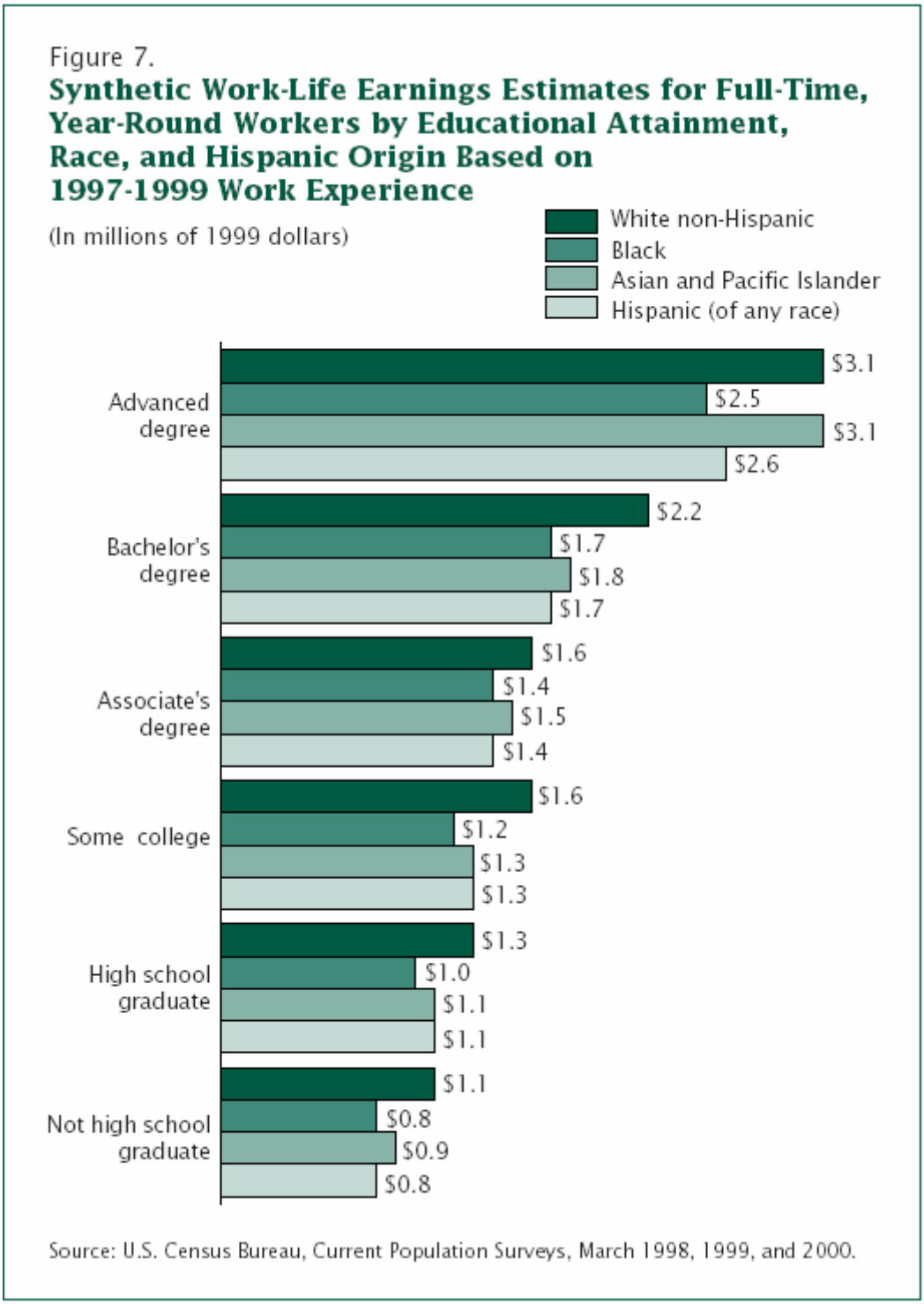
The results of this research indicate that digital equity is a complex quandary. The data highlights salient issues of intergenerational knowledge related to STEM career pathways and early educational preparation. These problems are compounded in economically disadvantaged Black students, and Taborn (2006) articulates the fact that career preparation in this digital, global economy is sub par. According to Richard Florida (2004), author of *The Rise of the Creative Class*:

Regions will thrive or decline based upon how well they cultivate knowledge workers: individuals who have postsecondary education credentials, technical savvy, the ability to learn rapidly and an entrepreneurial approach to employment. Knowledge workers earn higher pay than less skilled workers, and researchers and policymakers increasingly see them as the key to economic development (pp 220-222).

Data from the U.S. Census Bureau (2002) reveals that educational attainment and work-life earnings correlated with the above statement. Lower levels of education among Blacks result in lower

income over any time horizon. Figures 2 and 3 indicate the average earnings to educational attainment and also by race.





This suggests that the notion of "lack of public funding" as expressed by the teachers and supported by the text mining methods validate the views of Florida (2004). The data also showed a clear need to

align school curricula with “real-world” skills that students can use in STEM and other knowledge worker career pathways. Lastly, intergenerational community approaches to digital equity should involve more than “a summer camp” as a magic bullet. The problems in the Black community require work far beyond delivery of computing technologies in schools, community centers and/or public libraries. Ongoing, holistic and sustainable initiatives informed by public policy are warranted. This requires input from school systems, teachers, parents, industry, professional groups and even health professionals as well as cultural competent education to Black students and their parents.

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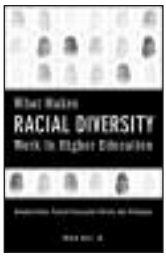

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See also:
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p. 35

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Innovative and Culturally Appropriate Leadership Development for Aspiring HBCU Presidents

Manuscript Submitted to the

Brothers of the Academy

September 9, 2006

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Problem Statement

With Bureau of Census estimates indicating that the country will be a majority-minority nation within the next forty years and the fact that Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)[1] educate and graduate a disproportionate number of African-American students, it is imperative that they have a well-developed pipeline of future leaders equipped to deal with not only the ever-changing and turbulent higher education environment, but also dedicated to respecting, upholding, and expanding the value-driven missions that these colleges and universities were founded upon. Not only are HBCUs responsible for conferring more than one-quarter of all baccalaureate degrees received by African American students while constituting only 3 percent of higher education institutions and serving 13 percent of African American students (Roach, 2004), but students graduating from HBCUs are more likely to enter graduate school and enter into professional occupations than their counterparts in Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) (Wenglinsky, 1996). Experienced leadership within these institutions is crucial, but the anticipated retirement rate of HBCU leaders in senior positions over the next ten years will increase the number of inexperienced leaders. A 2002 report from ACE indicated that the average age of sitting college presidents increased from 52.3 to 57.5 from 1986 to 2001 and that the average tenure of college presidencies was decreasing. The length of tenure and increasing mean age of presidents has impacted the number of experienced presidents available to colleges and universities (ACE, 2002).

[1] NAFEO fellows served by the leadership development project were from historically, predominantly, and traditionally Black colleges. Although the PWIs and TBCUs do not have the same federal designation, for the purposes of this study all colleges with the primary mission of educating African-American students are labeled as HBCUs

Given this reality, there is a need to design, develop, and implement leadership development programs that are academically effective, financially efficient, and contextually appropriate. The traditional case study method meets the first two of these criteria as it provides an epistemological mechanism for potential and present leaders to read real-life variables concerning typical institutions and provide analysis against applicable, real-life, and practical problem sets. The case study can be done on-site at the campus or off-site at an organization located at a different location. Both of these venues can be cost efficient at a time when the need for leadership development is high and institutional resources to support leadership development are low. Contextual appropriateness, the third of the criteria, however, is not suited to the traditional case study method. Mainstream case studies provide brief introductions to the college or university and ask participants to provide solutions to problems for which they have little or no previous knowledge. Additionally, these case studies cannot account for the unique histories, missions, and nuances of HBCUs for which potential leaders must be aware. Future HBCU leaders will benefit from a contextually relevant case study methodology that provides contextually based cases, relevant issues and crises to deal with, paradoxical rubrics that push the leaders toward future-focused leadership models while appreciating the traditional missions, values, and goals of these institutions, and leadership development modules and immersion opportunities that will support the development of leadership skills and mindsets.

The case study methodology can also be used in the think tank context. That is, practitioners and academicians can use the case study process to identify problems, propose resolutions, develop plans for change, and collect related research data to refine

future schools of thought regarding perplexing leadership problems at HBCUs. The reconceptualized case study methodology discussed within this paper is even more appropriate for the Brothers of the Academy think tank environment due to the contextualized nature of the cases, problem sets, rubric, and leadership development program. There is no one correct set of cases, problems, rubrics, or leadership development practices as both research and practice have shown. The think tank can provide an excellent opportunity to further develop this new and innovative approach to leadership development within Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Additionally, a great deal of information could be gleaned from the responses to the problem sets, the suggestions provided as solutions, and the process of leadership development. Qualitative methods, including utilization of coding schemes, could provide information that furthers not only the development of this innovative case study methodology, but also the field of leadership development.

Leadership Development

College presidencies are extraordinarily demanding and stressful positions wrought with intricacies and complexities that require specialized skills, experiential preparation, and a network of supporters. Preparing for such a role is difficult and time-consuming as aspiring presidents engage in leadership development and often craft careers that will provide skills and establish a pedigree valued by boards of trustees and regents. That preparation is often based on academic productivity or mastery of a single institutional political environment. It does not include much in the way of formal leadership development.

The American College President indicates that 28% of president held campus leadership positions immediately prior to attaining a presidency and that 60% had professional experience outside of higher education (ACE, 2002). A troubling statistic, however, is that the average tenure of a president is only 6.6 years. Despite the amount of preparation that goes into developing presidents, often from inside the college or university, presidents do not remain at the same institution for extended periods of time. Only 20% of presidents in 2001 held a presidency as their prior position. The reality is that many presidents have not led institutions before accepting their current position. That coupled with the reality that formal leadership development is not actively pursued by a number of potential candidates is truly troubling. While well versed in the management practices of daily routines and occupational duties, future presidents may not be as prepared in regards to executive leadership.

Green and McDade (1991), in *Investing in Higher Education: A Handbook for Leadership Development*, discuss the differences between leadership and management development. They suggest that leadership implies imagination, direction, and vision, while management implies implementation, structures, and routine tasks. The case study method used by the NAFEO fellows gives the reader the opportunity to understand the differences between the two by introducing both in the case study. Individuals are presented with realistic crises, stakeholders, and timelines and must operate within these constraints (management), but they are also required to determine which activities they should engage in, decide which ones to delegate, must rally support by meeting the needs and desires of influential constituencies, and must develop and lead innovative, creative, and forward-thinking solutions as they focus on the “big picture” (leadership). Case

studies are often used to supplement other leadership activities that are interactive and include other intense educational modules – as is the case with the immersion program included in the NAFEO case study methodology. Leon (2005), in *Lessons in Leadership: Executive Leadership Programs for Advancing Diversity in Higher Education*, identified many leadership development institutes that integrate curriculum with "retreat-like" experiences (p. 9). Namely, he identifies the institutes at Harvard with curricula that are based on an extensive collection of over two hundred case studies in higher education administration. McDade (1987) earlier recognized that many senior administrators at colleges and universities are trained for academic careers and have minimal management training. She suggests that although on-the-job training is probably the best, mistakes can be made and present costly circumstances. She suggests that "reading" is probably the most common way to acquire knowledge about leadership and management, thus enhancing credence to case study (p. iii). Admittedly, this is a passive learning mode, but it does build credibility to the case study methodology. Another conceptualization of a case study could be conceptualized through what the corporate sector refers to as "action learning". Gibber, Carter, and Goldsmith (1999) in the *Leadership Development Handbook* found that action learning was ranked number one as the key feature of leadership development programs. They suggest, "action learning has immerged as the hottest approach in the leadership field (p. xiii)." Case studies from Motorola, Imasco, Colgate-Palmolive, and others highlight this dynamic approach. This statement and the use of action-based learning by Fortune 500 companies lends further credence to the innovative case study approach advocated for in this paper.

The strongest case can be made with the case study method by capitalizing on its ability to be relevant at all leadership levels of the institution. The case study can be analyzed from those at the top level of the institution, the middle level of the institution, or the lower levels of the institution. This suggests that like shared governance, shared accountability, and shared responsibility, the case study problem sets provide leadership analysis and input toward resolution from all angles of the institution. It also indicates that leadership is not about the organizational hierarchy as individuals within all levels of the college and in all subcultures can and must engage in leadership activities. As recognized by Green and McDade (1991), "leadership development is a shared responsibility of the institution" (p. 7). The authors also suggest "conventional notions of upward mobility have limited use in developing leadership" (9). Given that many stakeholders may not reach the top levels of the institutions based on structure or politicalization, the case study empowers all readers, as active learners, to grasp issues and formulate resolutions. The rubric, in this regard, covers most variables that are associated with solving problems at an institution or in a case study. Readers, regardless of what level they represent, can enrich the case analysis process by identifying cause and effect relationships, providing critical analyses of systemic problems, assessing outcomes against organizational tenets, assessing the relevance of scientific application for decision making, and comparing problem-set resolutions with best practices. Perceiving leadership as critical throughout the organization also bolsters the use of the innovative case study methodology proposed in the paper as the flexibility of the process will allow for the college to model the case, problem sets, rubrics, and leadership activities around the desired level of leadership.

Leadership Development and the HBCU

Perhaps it is the word "historically" in the name, but presidents, researchers, and apologists are barraged with questions about the relevance, necessity, and even legality of HBCUs (Wenglinsky, 1996). Evans, Evans, and Evans (2002) provides examples of recent government efforts to either close, reclassify, or merge HBCUs due to a belief that they are not providing a good investment for the state. LeMelle (2002) notes that this is not a new phenomenon and can be traced back to the founding of Cheney University in 1837. Relevance and necessity of these colleges and universities, however, is easy to prove. The reason that all colleges and universities exist is to provide educational opportunities for students and HBCUs are still a crucial entry point for African American students (Brown II, Donahoo, & Bertrand, 2001). They provide unique knowledge and understanding from faculty and are storehouses of Black scholarship (Roebuck & Murty, 1993), act as social equalizers for many students shortchanged by the educational system (Brown II & Davis, 2001), and are at the very center of Black intelligentsia and political activity (Ashley & Williams, 2004). HBCUs are not only the academic incubators for predominantly African American communities, but also operate as economic engines as they help to fuel economic growth, business expansion, and community revitalization efforts (Adebayo, Adekoya, & Ayadi, 2001; Brown II & Davis, 2001; Freeman & Cohen, 2001). African American graduates of these institutions are great ambassadors of HBCUs as well as they are as likely to go to graduate school as their non-HBCU counterparts, maintain higher GPAs, are more likely to volunteer and engage in

community service activities, and constitute more than half of the Black generals and flag officers in the military (Oliver, Oliver, Kolheim, & Glenn, 1996; Redd, 2000).

Society's assumptions, expectations, and values continually evolve as new technological innovations, political and social movements, and religious, moral, and personal values and viewpoints undergo continuous evolution (Lundberg, 1985; Marshak, 1996; Peterson & Dill, 1997; Schon, 1985). Public perceptions and expectations about higher education have shifted as evidenced by the refusal to pass educational millages, the presence of a low-tax environment, and increased accountability measures for which all colleges are now "judged". Society does not stand still and organizations are impacted by the changes that occur in the external environments regardless of how sheltered or shielded they are. Postindustrial environments require new thinking, more organizational innovation and creativity, and an appreciation of the speed at which change comes (Cameron, 1984) and this environment is forcing higher education institutions to re-examine operations, consider the impact of a postsecondary knowledge industry, and ponder necessary changes within the academic enterprise (Gumport and Pusser, 1997; Peterson & Dill, 1997). Peterson and Dill declare that the new knowledge industry requires colleges to be more responsive and adaptive to changing conditions. Alfred, Shults, Ramirez, Sullivan, Chambers, and Knabjian-Molina (2005) expand on this notion by declaring that colleges must understand environmental shifts so that they can position themselves to fulfill their institutional missions. Speaking specifically about HBCUs, Allen and Jewell (2002) indicate that these institutions, under greater scrutiny than most, must evolve to meet the changing expectations of society and to better reflect the present reality of the country. With state budgets being slashed, public accountability

increasing, and institutions (especially minority serving institutors) dealing with mission blur, colleges are being forced to be entrepreneurial, boards are increasingly difficult, and political savvy is now among the most important traits (Stevenson, n.d.). Leadership programs must provide opportunities to develop these skills and prepare HBCU leaders to be cultural leaders aware of the nuances and unique challenges within Black colleges.

Case studies have been proven, through research and training experience, to provide a cost-effective method for preparing future higher education presidents. Based on this knowledge, NAFEO requested that researchers at the University of Michigan and Jackson State University provide case studies that could be used as part of their leadership development program. An examination of available case studies by researchers at the University of Michigan revealed very few leadership cases designed to deal with the issues specific to MSIs and more specifically, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Researchers realized that it is not enough to take a perplexing leadership problem requiring institutional leadership and re-situate it in a minority serving institution. The pedagogical challenge is to construct cases that authentically represent the ways of leading as they are practiced in distinctive institutional climates. It is no good to have a standard problem addressed with a standard remedy in a specialized context. Every aspect of the setting, the dilemma itself, the values it places at risk, the path to finding solutions, and the approach to implementation must ring true with the people engaged. Otherwise we have simply traded one form of ethnocentric leadership for another.

Harvard and the American Council on Education (ACE) run leadership programs that have been considered the gold standard for senior leaders seeking to gain presidential

preparation. An issue, however, is that these programs do not provide opportunities to gain MSI specific skills. In fact, the only program that exists specifically for aspiring MSI presidents is the Kellogg MSI Leadership Fellows Program. The evaluation team for the project has concluded that the Kellogg program has been successful due to a training and development model focused on preparing MSI leaders and a substantially longer program with a more comprehensive and extensive curriculum (as compared to "model" leadership programs). Graduates of this program have flourished and early indications are that the established goal of 50% of fellows achieving presidencies within a decade is within reach. The lessons learned from this program are invaluable, the fellows have received excellent preparation, and many colleges and universities will benefit from the contributions of these future executive leaders.

While aspiring HBCU presidents will take positions across all sectors of higher education as opportunities arise, there are few specialized leadership preparation programs. The most prominent programs are based on traditional understandings and models of leadership that, while well established and successful, are not designed to provide presidents with a leadership development experience crafted around the individual nuances and inner workings of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. With the exception of the Kellogg MSI Leadership Fellows Program, no national training program exists for potential MSI presidents. Higher education in America is made up of a variety of institutional types with different missions, student groups, and histories that directly impact the operation of these colleges; all require well-equipped contextual leaders. Assuming that mainstream programs, based on the assumptions, values, and ideologies of mainstream colleges and universities, can provide a "cookie-cutter"

leadership development model that will adequately prepare leaders for all institution types is either ignorant and absurd or offensive and arrogant.

The leadership development programs designed collaboratively and independently by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), and NAFEO, through the Kellogg Foundation grant and the Alliance for Equity in Higher Education, recognize the specific needs of students within these institutions, the historical context in which the colleges and universities are situated, and the type of leadership needed within these institutions. Appreciation of institutional context is at the heart of the case study methodology utilized by the NAFEO fellows

The contextually relevant case study methodology developed by researchers at the University of Michigan and Jackson State University, and used in collaboration with NAFEO, provides a contextually rich and relevant leadership experience through two integrated activities. The first includes the development of sophisticated, carefully specified leadership training materials including situational cases, focused problem sets, and the culturally derived rubrics for shaping leadership behaviors. The cases were hypothetical composite colleges, one public and one private, based on over forty actual colleges. Demographics, histories, enrollment trends, academic programs, and geographic information (census data) were taken from actual colleges and integrated into realistically crafted colleges facing relevant and contemporary issues. These campuses, rooted in direct scholarship of actual institutions and crafted to provide background information, provided the point of reference for aspiring leadership fellows. After ascending to the presidency of the hypothetical college, the fellows were presented with a

series of four problem sets to consider. The problem sets revolved around contemporary issues facing HBCUs for which future presidents must prepare. In this instance, fellows were presented with the situations of preparing for a board meeting, responding to concerns about African-American male recruitment and retention, preparing for and responding to accreditation agencies, and dealing with a disaster. The rubric used to guide the analysis drew on multiple leadership approaches appropriate to the preparation of the paradoxical leader needed in HBCUs

The second application of the process consisted of a series of leadership immersion sessions. These sessions provided an opportunity for fellows to interact with each other, work through the problem sets, receive additional information on leadership practices, and gain valuable insight into HBCU leadership from past presidents. The aspiring leadership fellows were coached (individually and in teams) as they took responsibility for providing responses that were innovative, blending existing and new knowledge, and framing responses appropriately within the cultural context of the HBCUs. The rubric, which provided guidance for how to analyze the problem sets, was crafted to guide the analysis but still be vague enough so that innovation and creativity was not stifled. The reports are currently being analyzed for themes regarding leading HBCUs through varying levels and types of crises.

Although highly respected, the case study methodology utilized by Harvard and other leadership development institutions have limitations that are addressed by this project. First, the proposed cases are HBCU specific and have nuances and intricacies that are a very real aspect of the colleges and universities. Traditional cases studies place an individual into a college dealing with a specific problem – a situation where the

individual has little or no knowledge of the institution and cannot adequately determine the depth and breadth of the crisis. Presidents must understand their institution inside and out if they are to effectively lead. Secondly, the traditional methodology used within academic case studies is based on a non-temporal model. The model presents an issue and assumes a solution. There is no follow up, no disorder or confusion, and no one questioning the decision. Presidents rarely solve a problem for good as stakeholder interests, environmental situations, and organizational culture are ever evolving. The innovative methodology used for the NAFEO fellows, however, is a longitudinal model utilizing multiple problem sets. This allows for a productively dissonant experience in which fellows may have had to reconsider decisions, but had the support of other fellows and the leadership development team

Another limitation of the traditional case model is the lack of guidance and direction given in addressing the situations. Using a well-developed and contextually appropriate rubric provides the paradoxical benefit of providing guidance and allowing for creative and innovative decision-making. While placed in a rubric group, it was up to the fellows to determine how to attack the situations, which problems warrant a president's attention, which stakeholder groups to involve, and how the situations will be remedied. Another limitation is that traditional leadership programs occur over a short period of time. Although some have immersion programs, they rarely involve extended exposure to leadership principles and support from leadership experts. This program involved regular interaction and occasional immersion over an extended period of time. The methodology of case study, problem set, rubric, and leadership development set the stage for an innovative learning process in which fellows had the opportunity to develop

their own leadership style through self-reflection and introduction to new leadership skills, approaches, and theories; to begin building a network of educational leaders pursuing similar tracks within HBCUs, and to be supported, throughout the experience, by each other and experts in the field. This occurred through valuing the individual experiences of the fellows and building onto them through the case study methodology.

A final limitation of the traditional case studies is the lack of continuity in addressing and attempting to remedy situations. Once a problem is "solved", participants move on to the next institution. Researchers at the University of Michigan and Jackson State University believed that since real-life leadership involves dealing with multiple iterations of a problem, that the case studies should allow for the same level of complexity. Problems that were apparently solved might reappear in other problem sets and individuals who had been "appeased" might again voice concerns over the college's direction, responses, or leadership. The rubric was designed to be directive as well as evocative and individuals were required to approach the case and the related problem sets from specific perspectives based on leadership research. However, they were also encouraged to be creative and to use personal experience when considering their analysis and their response. Fellows indicated that the process was difficult and frustrating at times, but was valuable in expanding their understanding of leadership, made a compelling case for collaborative decision-making, and forced them to integrate the theoretical and the practical when engaged in problem-solving.

Impact on the African-American Community

Since the founding of Cheney University in 1837, HBCUs have been meeting the educational needs of African American students and providing entree into higher education in an era in which they were the only inclusive and multicultural institutions. The initial goal of the institutions, however, was not to help African-Americans succeed. Built in areas of the country with large African-American populations, they were "holding institutions", a continuance of a racially stratified caste system, designed to keep Black students away from the mainstream (White) colleges (Evans, Evans, & Evans, 2003, p. 3). Despite the infamous beginnings of these institutions, they have proven to be a great hope to African Americans and spawned some of the great literary, political, religious, social, and intellectual figures of the 20th century.

HBCUs have, for many communities, been beacons of light and hope to locals unfamiliar with and often unprepared for the rigors of higher education. In contrast to mainstream institutions, the vast majority of HBCUs, even some of the elite institutions, works with students in need of remedial education and provides a supportive environment designed to help students succeed. (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Not only have these colleges provided access to students, but they have reached out to local communities in ways that most four-year colleges either can't or won't. HBCUs work with local workforce boards and finance companies to increase the number of Black businesses (Adebayo, Adekoya, & Ayadi, 2001), work to revitalize communities through clean-up efforts, health fairs, and political efforts (Brown II & Davis, 2001; Freeman & Cohen, 2001), and provide graduates willing to work and volunteer in communities that are devastated by poverty and urban blight (Redd, 2000).

HBCUs have served their communities in ways that other colleges have been unwilling or unable to and this mission is at the heart of a strategy that will ensure continued vitality for these colleges. The key to staying relevant in the ever changing and highly competitive postsecondary knowledge industry is to find a niche that the college can exploit – and building on the heritage and mission of HBCUs is an excellent place to start (Schexnider, 1998). With the history as the first open access and multicultural institutions of higher education, the "African-American communities" served by these colleges and universities "are uniquely suited to assist this nation's quest for a redefined multicultural, diverse reality" (Allen & Jewell, 2002, p. 255). Multiculturalism, now, means that HBCUs will continue to serve African-American students, but will also serve White, Hispanic, and Asian students (Ruffins, 1999). In fact, some HBCUs now serve so many non-Black students that there is a question as to the true mission of these incredibly diverse institutions. Instead of looking at this emerging reality as an issue, however, colleges need to pursue this opportunity to meet the changing workforce needs as globalization becomes a reality in even the most depressed, remote, and impoverished communities (Allen & Jewell, 2002). It will take a special brand of leadership, one characterized by innovation, creativity, and big-picture perspective to guide an institution toward a diversified mission instead of a blurred mission.

There are a plethora of leadership development programs available to senior leaders in colleges and universities (i.e. ACE, Harvard), but again, the only program that exists for aspiring MSI presidents is the Kellogg MSI Leadership Fellows Program. While a comprehensive response to the fundamental changes that will occur in U.S. economic and social relationships will require new forms of thinking in virtually all

segments of society, a special responsibility will fall on the nation's higher education system, especially its Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs). Historically Black Colleges and Universities educate and graduate a disproportionate number of students from racial/ethnic minority groups. In terms of their importance to the nation's future, no segment of American higher education is as well situated to provide leadership in the next several decades. That being said, it will take individuals with well-developed leadership styles able to incorporate the seemingly unrelated goals of continuing to deliver on the promise of HBCU missions while guiding the institution, its students, and communities towards success in a globalized, multicultural, and hyper competitive future.

Traditional leadership development models that neglect institutional context and continuity of problems are limited in their ability to assist in the development of the innovative set of skills necessary to complete such a lofty goal. Building on the contextually relevant case study methodology delivered to the NAFEO fellows, however, will lead to the development of culturally competent and creative leaders who view the dynamic environments surrounding HBCUs as an opportunity instead of a position to be avoided.

Stimulus Suggestions and Practical Usage

Leon (2005) recognized that the future of higher education depends on many factors, and leadership programs can play a vital role in navigating higher education futures in minority serving environments. As particularly related to the African American community, he recognizes that "leadership programs are likely to grow in higher education simply because they offer such valuable preparation for presidents and

administrators." He adds, "the programs are probably more valuable for minorities than Whites, because minorities are less likely to have connections and receive the wisdom of prior generations that can set them up for these positions" (p.260). The case study method provides readers with stimulated settings through which they can test themselves in real-life situations by responding to compelling problems. Indeed, these problems are often inter-generational concerning HBCUs. Many HBCUs appear to be plagued by a history of on-going and reoccurring problems that range from presidential board relations to financial management, organizational politicalization to personalization, student retention to alumni relations, and fundraising to athletics administration

The utility of the innovate case study methodology used for the aspiring HBCU leaders in the NAFEO leadership development program provides a stimulus for learners by combining theoretical constructs with practical applications, capitalizing on individual learning styles by various readers, focusing on key relationships within organizations that spread across political, bureaucratic, technological, financial, and academic synergies, allowing individuals as well as groups to organize around these constructs to propose resolutions, and allowing learners to weigh risks and other dimensions that are implicated by the problem sets. This process contextualizes the case study methodology as a leadership tool for positive change. In this regard, this case study methodology can augment other experiential leadership programs and add to the breadth and depth of wider order leadership development.

There are numerous avenues of dissemination that could prove useful to national leadership development institutes, nationally recognized college or university programs, or programs within individual HBCUs. One possible dissemination opportunity is

development of a case study book. The book could include the original cases, problem sets (with room for additional sets), and rubrics for any or all of the institutional types. It could also include a variety of leadership theories, transcripts from interviews with presidents, and a list of resources provided by national organizations. Such a publication could be used for leadership training or graduate teaching purposes. Another possibility is the development of a web-based curriculum that delivers all of the material as well as a facilitator guide for individuals who could lead the virtual program. The various cases and problem sets could also be integrated into existing programs and delivered as modules. The flexibility of the project readily allows for multiple and innovative dissemination options.

Limitations

The Harvard Business School created the case study method in 1924. It presented students with corporate examples. Crainer, in *The Management Century*, suggests, "from the narrative, students were expected to reach conclusions about what was right or wrong to do, identify best or worst practice, and learn something about managerial behavior." He adds, "the case study was introduced to bring a level of reality to a student in a remote environment so that theoretical concepts could be brought to life." The author concludes however, "the trouble was that it also stimulated an unwillingness to do anything or decide on anything unless there was a supported case" (p. 145). This could be perceived as one of the limitations of case studies. These limitation are addressed somewhat within the contextualized leadership development model delivered in collaboration with NAFEO. The participants were provided with institutional contexts that they were

familiar with and provided a mechanism to integrate the theoretical and the practical. Providing a situation that the individuals were familiar with allowed for a greater level of comfort and understanding in addressing the scenarios. Additionally, fellows were expected to fully engage in the process and to discover new ways of thinking that stimulated new and innovative solutions and approaches to existing problems. Acting passively was not acceptable and the process forced individuals out of their comfort zone through the use of productive dissonance. Although fellows indicated that the process was trying, irritating, and annoying at times, they also indicated that they learned a great deal and were thankful for the experience.

Considering the use of case study research from a qualitative perspective could assist in recognizing other potential limitations. These challenges could be considered when researchers consider a case study as an ethnographic analysis, grounded theory, or phenomenological study. Ethnographic analysis includes the study of a cultural or social group based on certain observations. The case study method could provide the impetus for either institutions or readers of the case studies to conduct follow-up research on managerial behavior in this regard within the institution. A grounded theory emphasizes the generation or the discovery of a theory. This could be manifested as a result of an analysis conducted on a case study relative to theoretical leadership development. A phenomenological study emphasizes an experience for a number of individuals. The case study method, in group settings, could be enhanced by follow-up examination in this regard by groups who analyze case studies and formulate related grounded theories. The authors recommend utilizing empirical methods to further develop and strengthen this

methodology to ensure that future HBCU leaders are prepared for the difficult task of preserving mission and heritage while leading world-class, future oriented institutions.

In summary, there maybe certain limitations to the case study method, but there are many more attributes and assets to the methods that outweigh the limitations. The case study method can provide the genesis for future research, the process for leadership development of stakeholders who are in horizontal and vertical leadership positions within the institution, and can enhance other experiential activities by more formal leadership programs. Case studies also can be shaped in such a way as to recognize the distinctive differences and commonalities of minority serving institutions that range from tribal colleges to HBCUs, HBCUs to Hispanic Serving Institutions, and even emerging MSIs like Asian-American/Pacific Islander Institutions (AAPIs)[2].

Summary

This paper is relevant to the discussion of education and economic development due to the disproportionately high percentage of African Americans attending HBCUs. These colleges need forward-thinking and properly prepared leaders and there are no programs currently that meet these requirements. The NAFEO program seeks to prepare leaders focused on bridging the need for cultural leadership and entrepreneurship. The ultimate question, however, is whether a culturally appropriate leadership program can provide a foundation for training a new brand of HBCU president focused on preserving tradition while molding and leading cutting edge colleges and universities? The

[2] Colleges and universities can be designated as AAPIs when more than 10% of their undergraduate population is of Asian-American/Pacific Islander ancestry. There are more than 100 colleges and universities with more than 10% of their total student population fitting this requirement and the vast majority of these can receive title V dollars as an MSI.

leadership model presented in this paper sought to guide fellows through real-life situations in a realistic college based on cutting edge leadership principles in an effort to assist in the attainment of paradoxical leadership skills. Will this be enough to prepare the next generation of leaders? Certainly not. There are no “silver bullets” when it comes to leadership preparation. It will take mentoring, social networks, theory, and experience to prepare individuals for leadership roles. This innovative approach attempts to improve on a time-tested tool used to assist in leadership development and to increase its applicability within HBCUs. HBCUs will continue to be on the frontlines of educating African-American students and revitalizing communities. Continuing this important and difficult mission in the future will be require even more innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurial spirit than it does today. It will take a special type of leader and any mechanism that can work toward such an end needs to be developed, explored, studied, and improved upon.

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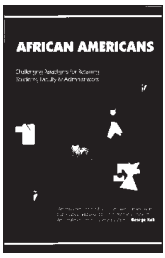

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"A timely and novel approach to a critical topic. A strength of this work is that most authors conclude their essays with practical recommendations…a comprehensive assessment of the issues influencing the retention of African American students, faculty and administrators."—***The Journal of Higher Education***

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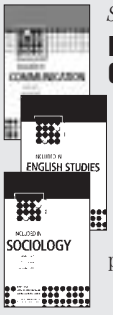

See also:

Included In Communication

Included In English Studies

Included In Sociology

p. 18

The Majority in the Minority

Expanding the Representation of Latina/o Faculty, Administrators and Students in Higher Education

Edited by Jeanett Castellanos and Lee Jones
Foreword By Laura I. Rendón

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Twenty-four Latina/o scholars here provide an historical background; review issues of student access and achievement, and lessons learned; and present the problems of status and barriers faced by administrators and faculty. The narratives by graduate students, administrators and faculty complement the essays and vividly bring these issues to life.

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Foreword by Cornel West

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Up and Coming Black Scholars Earning Our Way in Higher Education

Edited by Lee Jones
Foreword By Na'im Akbar

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Twenty-seven black male scholars here combine studies of the history and social position of black men in the academy with narratives of how these brothers have progressed in their chosen careers despite the odds. They describe what it means to be a black man in the academy and demonstrate what black men can and have contributed to the scholarly enterprise.

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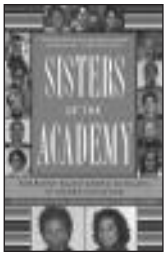

Sisters of the Academy

Emergent Black Women Scholars in Higher Education

Edited by Reitumetse Mabokela and Anna L. Green
Foreword By Bertice Berry

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"Goes a long way in transforming the contentious and often ill-informed debates surrounding race, class and gender in higher education...compelling reading."—***Carol Camp Yeakey,*** *The University of Virginia*

These essays address specific historical, social, cultural, political, and academic issues that affect Black women in the academy, and provide readers with tangible examples of how they have transcended some of the challenges.

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Are Women Really Taking Over the University?

Jocey Quinn

"Are women really taking over the university? In terms of numerical dominance, the answer appears to be yes, as women enjoy a slight majority in their enrollment in higher education. However, how has this mass participation of women in the academy impacted the curriculum and culture of higher education? What kind of power do these women students exert in what has traditionally been a male domain? Does women's participation in higher education engender a sense of empowerment for them? These are some of the questions that Jocey Quinn examines. Her work is provocative and her in-depth look at the female experience within higher education is thorough and compelling."—***Journal of College Student Development***

208 pp, 5 1/4" x 8 1/2"
Paper, 2003, 1 85856 279 1, $32.50, (5)

Non-Traditional Entrants to Higher Education

"They Talk About People Like Me"

Marion Bowl

This book explores the reality of access to higher education for working class and ethnic minority adults. The findings of this four year action research project reveal paradoxes in British national policy and institutional practice on widening participation and indicate what needs to change. It offers constructive solutions for all those who have an interest in widening participation and fostering social justice in education.

"A valuable contribution to understanding the experiences of mature students from historically underrepresented groups in higher education."—***Studies in Higher Education (UK)***

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Improving Completion Rates Among Disadvantaged Students

Edited by Liz Thomas, Michael Cooper and Jocey Quinn

Improving retention and completion in higher education are important objectives throughout the world. This book draws upon research and practice from Australia, England, New Zealand, and the U.S. The accounts presented here all have proved successful in attracting, and, crucially, retaining students from traditionally disadvantaged groups.

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Paper, 2003, 1 85856 316 X, $27.50, (5)

Running Head: Gender and Psychological Disengagement

Moderating and Mediating Effects of Gender and Psychological Disengagement on the Academic Achievement of African American College Students

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Keywords: Academic achievement, ethnic identity, psychological disengagement, gender differences, African American students

Submitted August 7, 2006

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Abstract

The major purposes of the present study were (1) to examine the degree to which gender moderates the relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement, and (2) to examine whether psychological disengagement (i.e., devaluing academic success) mediates gender differences in academic achievement of African American college students. Data from 271 participants (79% female) were examined using measures of psychological disengagement, academic self-concept, ethnic identity, racial centrality, and self-reported grade point average. Results indicated that ethnic identity and racial centrality are negatively related to academic achievement for males, and positively related to academic achievement and academic self-concept for females. Gender differences in devaluing academic success explained differences in academic achievement. Implications for future research are discussed.

Moderating and Mediating Effects of Gender and Psychological Disengagement on the Academic Achievement of African American College Students

The topic of academic achievement among African Americans continues to be an issue of great concern for many scholars, researchers, and educators (Allen, 1992; Cokley, 2000; Fordham & Ogbu 1986; Rowley, 2000; Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Many researchers focus on what has been called the achievement gap (Gordon, 2004; U.S. Department of Education, 2005), where the general focus is on understanding the factors that contribute to differential academic outcomes among ethnic groups. In this line of research specific attention is paid to closing the gap in academic achievement between African American and European American students. For example, the average high school graduation rate for African Americans is around 50 to 55% compared to 75 to 80% for European American students (Gordon, 2004). African American college students graduate from four year colleges at a rate that is 20% lower than their European American counterparts, and have among the lowest college graduation rates of any ethnic group (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). In general, there have been, and continues to be, stubborn differences on virtually every indicator of academic achievement (i.e., grades, standardized test scores, graduation rates). In spite of the importance of eliminating the academic achievement gap between African Americans and other ethnic groups such as European Americans and Asian Americans, there are concerns that some comparative research frameworks are hegemonic in always using Whites as the standard of comparison (Azibo, 1988). Comparative research frameworks, while sometimes useful, often overlook within-group processes and factors that may be more responsible for the phenomenon being observed. In the case of African American

academic achievement, an additional and potentially more useful framework should seek to examine and explain within-group differences in academic outcomes.

According to the U.S. Department of Education (2004), African American college enrollment increased by over half a million students. While this is good news, a sobering fact is that the increase in enrollment is explained primarily by Black females (U.S. Department of Education, 2004). Approximately 67% of all bachelors' degrees earned by African American students in 2004 were earned by Black females. As a consequence, there is a shortage of Black male students in the college classroom (Dunn, 1988). On average Black women make up 62% of the enrollment in historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and at some HBCUS they make up over 70% of the enrollment (U.S. Department of Education, 2004). Lower enrollment and graduation rates, as well as lower self-reported grade point averages of African American males compared to females (Cokley, 2001), underscore the importance of understanding the reasons for these disparities. Thus, the current study seeks to better understand the psychological processes and/or cultural factors that impact the differential academic achievement of African American male and female students.

For decades there has been psychological research which examines the impact of psychological factors on academic achievement. This body of research includes the impact of teacher expectations (Clark, 1963; Rosenthal & Jacobson ,1966), intrinsic motivation (Deci, 1975; Deci & Ryan, 1985), and attributions or explanations that students give about academic outcomes (Weiner, Frieze, Kukla, Reed, Rest, & Rosenbaum, 1972; Weiner, 1986). However, with only a few exceptions (e.g., Clark, 1963), the majority of this early research did not specifically focus on the psychological

or cultural factors that impacted the academic achievement of African American students. It has only been within the past two decades that research has focused on psychological and/or cultural factors that may contribute to the lower academic achievement of African American students.

Within the past 20 years several theories have been developed which offer competing explanations for the underachievement of African American students. These theories include sociological perspectives (e.g., Majors & Billson, 2001; “cool pose”), anthropological perspectives (e.g., Ogbu, 1988; cultural-ecological notion of “oppositional identity”), and the related psychological perspectives of academic disidentification (Steele, 1997) and psychological disengagement (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). For the purposes of this study we focus on psychological perspectives as the theoretical framework.

Psychological Disengagement

Psychological disengagement is the detachment of self-esteem from outcomes in a particular area so that one’s self-esteem is not dependent on how well or how poorly one does in that area (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). For example, individuals who work in sales usually work on commission. When they make many sales, they likely will feel better about themselves as salespersons. However, when they make fewer sales, they run the risk of feeling badly about themselves because they care about and are invested in being good salespersons. To protect their self-esteem, some individuals may no longer care about being a good salesperson. This process, known as psychological disengagement, can be thought of as a strategy that is used whenever an individual feels threatened when receiving negative information about him/herself (Schmader, Major, &

Gramzow, 2001). When psychological disengagement occurs in the domain of academic achievement, it is also known as academic disidentification (Steele, 1997).

Research has shown that identification with academics is an important correlate of outcomes such as grades and being placed on the dean's list (Osborne, 1997; Osborne & Rausch, 2001). Students who have a strong, positive identification with academics are usually more intrinsically motivated to learn. Being intrinsically motivated to learn is one of several factors that explain why being identified with academics is usually positively related to grades (Osborne & Rausch, 2001). According to the perspective of academic identification, individuals who are strongly identified with academics feel good about themselves when they perform well academically (i.e., higher self-esteem) and have more negative feelings about themselves when they do not perform well academically (i.e., lowered self-esteem). However, when students experience academic failure of some kind, a natural response is to no longer care about that particular academic domain (Aronson, 2002).

Students who stop caring about their academic performance are no longer identified with academics; they are less motivated to succeed and their response is to devalue academic success. Devaluing academic success is the first process of psychological disengagement (Schmader, Major, and Gramzow, 2001). This phenomenon, also known as academic disidentification, refers to the process where a student's self –esteem becomes disconnected from grades. In other words, their self-esteem is no longer contingent upon academic performance. When students experience academic disidentification, they are at higher risk for academic problems such as low grades and dropping out (Osborne, 1999). Additional research has shown that when self-

esteem and academic self-concept are examined together, evidence of academic disidentification occurs with academic self-concept but not self-esteem among African American students (Cokley, 2002). Regardless of whether self-esteem or academic self-concept is examined, academic disidentification is usually most pronounced among African American males (Cokley, 2002; Osborne, 1997).

Gender, Academic Disidentification, Racial and Ethnic Identity

Although African American females and other ethnic groups experience academic disidentification, research has shown that only African American males remain significantly disidentified through the 12th grade (Osborne, 1997). While most academic disidentification and psychological engagement research focuses on the relationship between self-esteem and GPA, one study examined the relationship between academic self-concept and GPA (Cokley, 2002). Consistent with previous self-esteem studies, Cokley found that only African American males were significantly disidentified.

A limitation of the aforementioned studies is that self-esteem and academic self-concept are primarily individualistic constructs. This grounds the study of academic disidentification and psychological engagement in very individualistic terms. One way to ameliorate this limitation is to use constructs that are more collectivistic (e.g., ethnic and racial identity) and examine their relationship to various academic outcomes. In another study that examined gender differences, Cokley (2001) found that racial centrality was positively related to academic self-concept and intrinsic motivation for African American females; however, no significant relationship was found for African American males. Furthermore, a non-significant negative trend was found between racial centrality and intrinsic motivation among males. While Cokley did not perform a formal test of

moderation, his results suggest that gender moderated the relationship between racial centrality, academic self-concept, and intrinsic motivation. One interpretation of his findings is that as Black males become "increasingly disenchanted and disengaged from the educational process, their racial identity becomes detached from academics…" (Cokley, 2001, p. 485). These findings are consistent with the findings of Graham, (1997), who found that African American girls were more likely than African American boys to nominate high-achieving African American students as individuals they admired and respected.

This brief overview suggests that any attempt to understand the academic achievement of African American students must first take into account important gender differences in psychological engagement. It remains unclear whether patterns of relationships among variables such as ethnic identity, racial identity, academic self-concept, devaluing academic success, and GPA are similar or different among African American females and males. Thus, one major purpose of the current study was to examine the degree to which gender moderates the relationship between the collectivistic constructs of identity (i.e., ethnic identity and racial centrality) and academic achievement. The second major purpose was to examine whether psychological disengagement (i.e., devaluing academic success) explains gender differences in academic achievement.

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

Participants included 274 African American college students (58 men, 216 women) attending a southern historically Black college in Texas. There were 71

freshman, 82 sophomores, 53 juniors, 63 seniors, 1 graduate student, and 2 unidentified students. The ages of the participants ranged from 17 to 41 years old, with the average age being 20.54 years (*sd* = 3.03). Data collection took place during the 2005 summer school classes. Participants were recruited from various psychology courses. Research packets that included an informed consent form and questionnaires were distributed to students. After given instructions, students read the informed consent form, completed the questionnaires and returned them to the proctor.

Instruments

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (MEIM). Ethnic identity was measured using the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM was developed to measure common components of ethnic identity across ethnic group and consists of 23 items, 14 of which are Likert-type items which measure ethnic identity. The Likert-type scale ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The internal consistency is acceptable, with past Cronbach alphas of .90 being reported with an ethnically diverse sample (Phinney, 1992) and .70 with an African American sample (Cokley, 2005). Internal consistency for the MEIM in the current study was .73. Construct validity of MEIM scores for an African American sample has been reported through positive correlations with racial identity (Cokley, 2005) and self-esteem (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997).

Racial Centrality Scale (RCS). Racial identity was measured using the RCS (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). The RCS is an 8-item scale developed to measure one of three stable dimensions of racial identity according to the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al.). The other two stable dimensions, racial ideology and racial regard, were not examined in this study. The RCS

uses a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and measures how much race is seen as being a core part of one's identity. A Cronbach alpha of .73 has been reported (Cokley & Helm, 2001). Construct validity (specifically, concurrent validity) of RCS scores has been demonstrated through positive correlations with the African Self-Consciousness Scale (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001)

Disengagement Scale (DS). Psychological disengagement was measured using the DS (Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998). The DS consists of items which reflect 3 psychological disengagement processes: devaluing academic success, discounting standardized test scores, and disengagement from school. For the purposes of this study only the items reflecting devaluing academic success (DAS) were used. Devaluing was assessed with five items measured on a Likert Scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample items from the subscale include "Academic success is not very valuable to me", "It usually doesn't matter to me one way or the other how I do in school", and "Being good at academics is an important part of who I am" (reverse coded). A Cronbach alpha of .78 has been reported (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). Internal consistency for the DAS in the current study was .79. Construct validity of DAS scores for African Americans has been reported through positive correlations with perceiving systemic injustice (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001).

Academic Self-Concept Scale (ASCS). Academic self-concept was measured using the Academic Self-Concept Scale (Reynolds, Ramirez, Magrina, & Allen, 1980). The ASCS is a 40-item scale that measures the academic facet of general self-concept in

college students. The ASCS uses a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The internal consistency is good, with past Cronbach alphas of .92 being reported with an ethnically heterogenous sample (Reynolds, 1988) and .91 with an African American sample (Cokley, 2003). The Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .87. Construct validity of ASCS scores for an African American sample has been reported through positive correlations with GPA and self-esteem (Cokley, 2002)

Demographic Sheet: Demographic information included ethnic background, sex, age, year in school, and self-reported grade point average.

Analyses of Data

Means and standard deviations on all variables were calculated for men and women separately. Independent t-tests were calculated to examine gender differences in ethnic identity, racial centrality, devaluing academic success and grade point average. Correlations were conducted among all the variables separately for men and women. A series of univariate ANOVAs were conducted to test the moderated models involving gender as the moderator, and a series of regression equations were conducted to test the mediated model which included devaluing academic success as the mediator.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for the variables used in the study. T-tests revealed no significant gender differences in ethnic identity, (t = -1.03, df = 255, $p > .05$) or racial centrality, (t = -.98, df = 269, $p > .05$); however, there were significant gender differences in devaluing academic success, (t = 3.68, df = 259, $p <$ .000), academic self-concept, (t = -1.91, df = 251, $p < .05$), and grade point average (t = -

2.99, *df* = 266, *p* < 01). Men were more likely to devalue academic success than women, and on average had lower academic self-concepts and grade point averages than women.

Table 2 shows the correlations among all the variables separately for men and women. For men, GPA was negatively correlated with ethnic identity and racial centrality, but had no relationship with devaluing academic success. Devaluing academic success and academic self-concept also had no relationship to ethnic identity or racial centrality for men. For women, GPA was negatively related to devaluing academic success, positively related to ethnic identity but not related to racial centrality. Devaluing academic success and academic self-concept were also negatively and positively correlated with both ethnic identity and racial centrality for women, respectively.

Test of Moderation

To test the moderating influence of gender on the relationship between ethnic identity and GPA, ethnic identity was dichotomized into categories of low or high. The method of dichotomization employed was picking a cutoff point, where individuals with scores between 1 and 2.99 were placed in the low ethnic identity category, and individuals with scores between 3 and 4 were placed in the high ethnic identity category. A 2 (gender: men or women) x 2 (ethnic identity: low or high) ANOVA analysis with grade point average as the dependent variable was conducted. Because the groups being compared were unequal in size, Levene's test of equality of error variances was conducted. The Levene's test (p = .52) indicated that the sample did not violate the ANOVA's homogeneity assumption. There was a main effect of gender, F(1, 245) = 9.23, *p* < .01, with a small to modest effect size (partial eta-squared = .036). As previously reported, women had higher grade point averages than men. The effect size

indicated that gender accounted for approximately 3% of the overall variance in GPA. There was no main effect of ethnic identity, $F(1, 245) = .40$, $p > .05$ (partial eta-squared = .002). However, there was a significant interaction between gender and ethnic identity, $F(1, 245) = 10.85$, $p = .001$, with a small to modest effect size (partial eta-squared = .042). While there was no difference in GPA between men (M = 2.85, SD = .50) and women (M=2.84, SD = .43) with low ethnic identity, GPA increased for women with high ethnic identity (M=3.03, SD = .49) but decreased for men with high ethnic identity (M=2.56, SD = .52) (see Figure 1).

Another 2 x 2 ANOVA analysis was conducted replacing low and high ethnic identity with low and high racial centrality. Overall, the results were similar to ethnic identity. There was a main effect of gender, $F(1, 244) = 6.00$, $p < .05$, with a small effect size (partial eta-squared = .024). There was no main effect of racial centrality, $F(1, 244) = 1.27$, $p > .05$ (partial eta-squared = .005). However, there was a significant interaction between gender and racial centrality, $F(1, 244) = 4.98$, $p < .05$, with a small effect size (partial eta-squared = .02).

Test of Mediation

Given the gender differences in GPA, we were interested in why those differences exist. Specifically, we examined whether psychological disengagement (i.e., devaluing academic success) would significantly attenuate the relationship between gender and GPA. In other words, are differences in devaluing academic success responsible for gender differences in GPA? We followed the guidelines of Baron and Kenny (1986) to provide evidence of a mediation effect. A series of regression analyses were conducted that examined the following conditions: 1) independent variable (i.e., gender) must be

significantly related to the dependent variable (i.e., GPA); 2) independent variable must be significantly related to the mediator (i.e., devaluing academic success); 3) mediator variable must be significantly related to the dependent variable, and 4) the relationship between the independent variable and dependent variable must be significantly reduced after controlling for the mediator. The significance of the mediation effects were examined by conducting the Sobel test (Preacher & Leonardelli, 2001).

Conditions were met to conduct the mediation test (See Table 3). In equation 1, gender was significantly related to GPA (beta = .18, $p < .01$). Women were higher in GPA than men. In equation 2, gender was related to devaluing school (beta = -.22, $p < .001$). Men were higher in devaluing academic success than women. In equation 3, the relationship between devaluing school and GPA was also significant (beta = -.34, $p < .001$). In equation 4, after controlling for the effect of devaluing academic success, the relationship between gender and GPA was reduced to non-significance (beta = .07, $p > .05$). The Sobel test indicated that devaluing academic success completely mediated the relationship between gender and GPA (Sobel's statistic = 3.10, $p < .001$).

DISCUSSION

In this study we have built on the work of researchers who are interested in the factors that influence the academic achievement of African American students. While much of this line of research focuses on the achievement of African American students prior to college (Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998), gender disparities in academic and educational outcomes at the college level also require focused attention. There were two goals of the current study. First, we examined the degree to which gender moderated the relationship of ethnic and racial identity to academic achievement. Second, given the

fairly consistent findings of African American women outperforming African American men in most academic outcomes, we tested whether gender differences in one academic outcome (i.e., GPA) could be explained by differences in devaluing academic success.

The results of the first set of analyses supported the moderational hypothesis. Men with a relatively low ethnic identity did not differ from women with a relatively low ethnic identity in GPA; thus, there was no relationship between low ethnic identity and GPA for either men or women. However, women high in ethnic identity experienced an increase in GPA, while men high in ethnic identity experienced a decrease in GPA; thus, there was a significant positive relationship between high ethnic identity and GPA for women and a significant negative relationship for men. This same finding was also replicated with racial centrality.

These findings may help to explain why research regarding the relationship between ethnic and/or racial identity and academic achievement is often inconclusive. Researchers have routinely examined this relationship using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative methods such as interviews are largely responsible for identifying the “acting white” accusation (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), which essentially states that African American students avoid doing well in school to avoid the stigma of being labeled as acting white. This avoidance effectively separates their ethnic and racial identity from high academic achievement. This notion of acting white remains controversial and disputed among researchers (Charles & Torres, 2004; Lundy, 2003), with alternative interpretations being given of the acting white phenomenon as not being solely or even primarily an academic phenomenon (Bergin & Cooks, 2002).

Quantitative methods have also examined the relationship, with some researchers finding a significant relationship between racial identity and academic outcomes (Chavous et al., 2003; Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998) and other researchers finding a minimal or modest relationship (Lockett & Harrell, 2003; Witherspoon, Speight, & Thomas, 1997).

In both approaches, however, the moderating role of gender is rarely addressed in any substantive way. Furthermore, it is not entirely clear why higher ethnic and racial identity would be so differentially related to academic achievement for men and women. It appears that a gendered racial and ethnic identity (Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2003) is responsible for this differential relationship. One example of a gendered racial and ethnic identity may be found in what has been called the cool pose culture (Majors & Billson, 1992), where many young black males' derive respect, self-esteem, and a sense of identity from non-academically oriented activities related to pop culture and athletics in a way that is not experienced by young black females. Clearly, more theoretical and empirical work need to be done in this area, and this finding needs to be replicated under different conditions (e.g., in a predominantly White university) before making any definitive statements.

Given the consistently reported differences in academic achievement between African American men and women, the second goal of the study was to examine why these differences exist. The results indicated that devaluing academic success completely mediated the relationship. Men were significantly higher in devaluing academic success than women. In other words, after controlling for gender differences in devaluing academic success, there was not a significant difference in GPA between men and women. The next logical question is why African American men devalue academic

success more than African American women. As discussed previously, this answer may lie in differences in gender socialization, and specifically with cool pose culture, which permeates the lives of young Black men. Additionally, previous research has found that academic disidentification (i.e., disconnecting one's self-esteem from academic performance) is particularly pronounced among Black men (Cokley, 2002; Osborne, 1997). Osborne (1997) found that only Black male students exhibited academic disidentification. Cokley (2002) found that when academic self-concept is examined instead of self-esteem, there was evidence of academic disidentification among African American men but not women. One reason that African American men may devalue academic success more than women may be because of the lack of African American male role models in the classroom. Another reason may involve not being regularly exposed to African American males who are high academic achievers and who are high in cool pose. It has been suggested that one way to reverse academic disidentification among Black male students is to expose them to role models such as Michael Eric Dyson who exhibit the characteristics of being scholars and high academic achievers as well as being high in cool pose (Cokley, 2001)

The results of this study are both consistent with previous research and promising in developing further insight into factors that impact academic achievement among African American college students. These results will also hopefully inform interventions designed to increase the academic achievement of African American men in particular. Nevertheless, there are limitations that should be noted. Methods of dichotomization of continuous variables such as picking a cutoff point, conducting a median split, or dividing at the middle of a scale are not ideal because of the loss of information, reduced

power of statistical tests, and increased probability of Type II error (MacCallum, Zhang, Preacher, & Rucker, 2002). Creating the categorical variables of low/high ethnic identity and low/high racial centrality may have increased the probability of these issues occurring.

Similar to other cross-sectional studies of this nature (e.g., Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998), causal relationships can not be determined among the variables, nor can alternative moderating and mediating variables be ruled out. It is possible that gender differences in GPA will occur only for individuals who are high in ethnic identity and racial centrality, or vice versa. Additionally, there are other reasons beyond devaluing academic success that may explain the gender differences in academic achievement. These reasons could include amount of time spent studying versus amount of time spent recreationally, or differences in academic preparedness.

An additional limitation is that the sample only represented students attending an HBCU. Several studies have shown that environmental differences exist between HBCUs and predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs) (Cokley, 1999; Desousa & Kuh, 1996) that may have an impact on the psychological engagement of African American students. Future research should examine whether the same moderating and mediating relationships found in this study will replicate with African American students attending PWCUs.

Finally, we echo the sentiments of Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke (1998) that “racial identity is not a panacea” (Sellers et al., p. 24). At best, we believe that ethnic and racial identity are distal variables to academic achievement, and that there has been “too much interpretation, too little supporting data” (Lockett & Harrell, 2003) in this area of

research. This is supported by the small effect sizes reported in the results. Nevertheless, we believe there is still much to be learned about the complex nature of the relationship between ethnic and racial identity, gender, academic attitudes, and academic achievement. Future research should use path analyses and structural equation modeling to better understand the causal or directional relationships of these variables. We believe this study contributes to the growing body of knowledge in this area of research.

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Table 1. Mean Differences in Variables by Gender

Measure	Men (n = 58)	Women (n = 216)
Ethnic Identity	2.98 (.47)	3.06 (.51)
Racial Centrality	4.95 (1.09)	5.10 (.96)
Devaluing Academic Success	2.78 (1.03)	2.18 (1.08)**
Academic Self-Concept	2.86 (.34)	2.97 (.37)
College GPA	2.74 (.54)	2.96 (.47)*

Note: **$p < .001$, *$p < .01$.

Table 2: Correlations Among Variables by Gender

Variable	GPA	DAS	ASC	EI	RC
GPA	--	-.12	.47**	-.29*	-.32*
DAS	-.38**	--	-.42**	-.21	-.08
ASC	.47**	-.47**	--	.12	.20
EI	.18*	-.45**	.39**	--	.58**
RC	.07	-.24**	.22**	.37**	--

NOTE: Correlations above the diagonal represent men (n =58). Correlations below the diagonal represent women (n = 216). GPA = Grade Point Average; DAS = Devaluing Academic Success; EI = Ethnic Identity; RC = Racial Centrality
*$p < .05$. **$p < 01$.

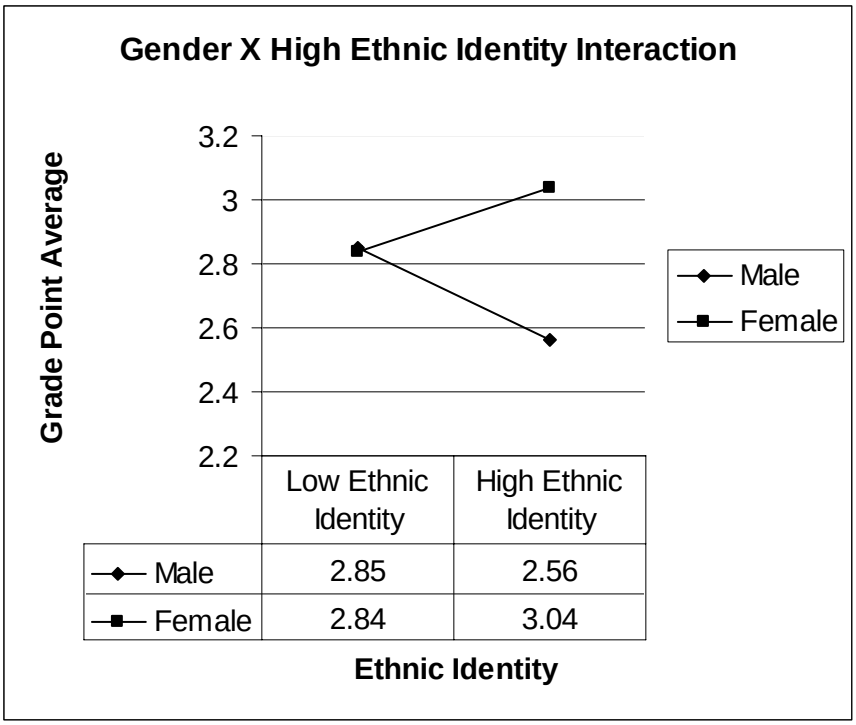

Figure. 1. Gender as a moderator of relationship between ethnic identity and grade point average.

Table 3

Summary of the Regression Analyses Testing Devaluing Academic Success as a Mediator of the Relationship Between Gender and Academic Achievement

Variable	Model R	Model R^2	t (dfs)	*B*	*SE B*	$\exists$
Equation 1 Predictor: Gender Outcome: GPA	.18	.03	2.99 (1, 267)**	.22	.07	.18
Equation 2 Predictor: Gender Outcome: Devaluing Academic Success	.22	.05	-3.68 (1, 260)***	-.60	.16	-.22
Equation 3 Predictor: Devaluing Academic Success Outcome: GPA	.34	.11	-5.71(1, 255)**	-.15	.03	-.34
Equation 4 Predictor: Gender with Devaluing academic success controlled Outcome: GPA	.34	.12	-5.29 (2, 255)*** 1.17 (2, 255)	-.14 .09	.03 .07	-.32 .07

Note: ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Degrees of Choice

Social Class, Race and Gender in Higher Education

Edited by Diane Reay Miriam E. David and Stephen Ball

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192 pp, 5 ¾" x 8 ¾"
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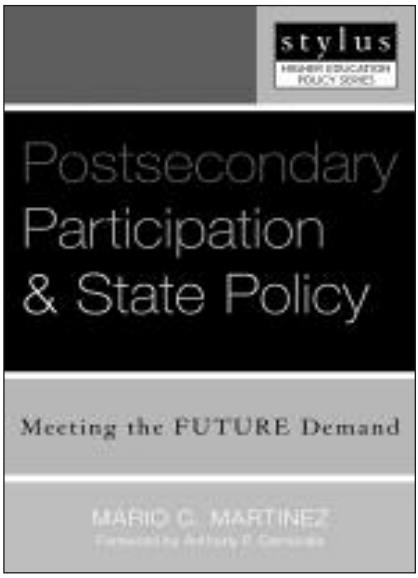
Postsecondary Participation and State Policy

Meeting the Future Demand

Mario C. Martinez
Foreword By Anthony P. Carnevale



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280 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, 2004, 157922 116 5, $59.95, (5)
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Stylus

Black Achievers' Experiences with and Responses to Stereotype Threat and Racial Microaggressions

Paper presented at the Brothers of the Academy Think Tank

October 4-7, 2006

Atlanta, Georgia

by

Dr. Dorinda J. Carter

Dr. Franklin A. Tuitt

Abstract

In this paper, Dr. Dorinda Carter and Dr. Frank Tuitt provide a theoretical analysis of how high-achieving Black students in secondary and postsecondary learning environments experience and respond to stereotype threat and racial microaggressions in predominantly White institutions. This paper provides implications for enhancing educational research, practice, and policies for the academic advancement of all Black students. Specifically, the authors highlight various behavioral responses that students can employ to overcome stereotype threat and racial microaggressions and identify a range of pedagogical practices that educators can employ to reduce the negative effects of these two phenomena in the school context.

Introduction

Under what conditions does learning and the task of achieving academically become racialized for African American students? A growing body of literature spanning secondary and postsecondary learning environments in predominantly White educational institutions gives rise to this complex question [citations needed]. Such research places emphasis on the academic (and social) experiences of Black students in predominantly White institutions (PWIs) as a way to understand how race operates in the classroom to affect these students' ability to productively navigate these contexts.[i] When some Black students identify race as being instrumental in their education, they report feelings such as racial isolation and alienation, invisibility and/or hypervisibility (Brayboy, 2004; Franklin, 1999) These feelings often result from environmental conditions and individual and/or institutional actions that students perceive as racist toward them – lack of culturally diverse curriculum, biased teacher and professor attitudes, and negative stereotypical beliefs held by teachers and peers (Nieto, 2004). These actions, and/or the existence of a learning environment where these actions are likely to occur, often racialize the tasks of learning and achieving in negative ways for African American students, making it difficult to maintain high academic performance in PWIs.

In this paper, we provide a theoretical analysis of how high-achieving Black students in secondary and postsecondary learning environments experience and respond to stereotype threat and racial microaggressions. Critical race theory informs our analysis of how students' experiences with these phenomena highlight the perpetuation of dominant and hegemonic ideologies and practices in PWIs which elevate Whiteness and White students above non-White students in the learning process. While our analysis of stereotype threat and racial microagressions is primarily theoretical, we draw on examples from our own research on Black

high achievers in PWIs to underscore the impact of these two concepts on African American students' academic performance. First we provide a brief overview of stereotype threat and racial microagressions. Next, we describe how these constructs manifest themselves in the classroom. In addition, we highlight various responses that Black students employ to negotiate these negative experiences. We then identify pedagogical practices that educators can enact to counter the development of racially hostile learning environments and reduce the negative effects of experiencing racism in the school context. Finally, we discuss the limitations of employing such practices and the policy implications for enhancing the academic advancement of Black students.

Critical Race Theory

Several scholars have used critical race theory (CRT) as an analytical framework for examining educational inequity (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Lynn, 1999; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997). Critical race theory attacks racism as normative in American society by drawing on the experiences of people of color to deconstruct and challenge dominant discourses and paradigms on race, gender, and class. CRT also examines how these social constructs interact to affect the lives of people of color. It is a theoretical perspective that highlights social justice as an outcome for which all humanity should strive.[ii] CRT is an appropriate framework for examining the experiences of Black achievers in PWIs, because it furthers our understanding of how race and racism interact to shape the social context in which Black students in PWIs must learn and the subsequent school behaviors they employ to maintain high academic performance. It also helps us understand what the pedagogy and practice of educators should be in order to assist these students in attaining and maintaining academic success in racially challenging school contexts.

Stereotype Threat and Racial Microaggressions

Research suggests that the educational experiences of Black students in predominantly White learning environments is uniquely affected by the social-psychological threat that arises when they are engaging in academic activities for which a negative stereotype about their racial group may apply (Steele, 1997a, 1999). This phenomenon, which Claude Steele (1997a) calls *stereotype threat*, presents a predicament for some Black students in that they are threatened by the possibility that they may be judged or treated stereotypically by their teachers and peers and face the prospect that their academic performance may confirm the negative stereotype. Building on Steele's work, Taylor and Antony (2000) define stereotype threat as the social and psychological sense of peril that negative racial stereotypes may be unfairly applied to a student solely on the basis of their skin color. This threat of being racially stereotyped produces a climate of intimidation and anxiety (Tuitt, 2003a) that can hamper academic performance in situations, such as testing (Steele and Aronson, 1995), class presentations (Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev, 2000), class discussions (Carter, 2005) or where token status is evident (Kanter, 1998).

Steele asserts that in order for an individual to be susceptible to a stereotype in a particular domain, s/he must consider the domain to be important to self-identification. In this way, high-achieving Black students are at greater risk of being affected by negative racial stereotypes in the learning environment, because they have a stronger identification with schooling (Steele, 1997a). Our own work with high school and graduate Black achievers indicates that these students have strong academic self-concepts (see Carter, 2005; Tuitt, 2003); thus, performing well academically in school is very important to them. The threat of being perceived as intellectually inferior by teachers and peers based on a negative racial stereotype is very real. In this manner, achievement becomes racialized for these students in a harmful way.

While stereotype threat focuses on perceptions of negative climate conditions in the learning environment, racial microaggressions speak more to the racist behaviors and actions of White individuals towards non-White students. In relation to Black students, racial microaggressions are defined as subtle but stunning verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual assaults (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, and Wills, 1978; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000) that "stem from unconscious attitudes of White superiority and constitute a verification of Black inferiority" (Davis, 1989, p. 1576).[iii] The 'stunning' nature of these experiences illustrates the emotional and/or psychological effects that these acts have on many Blacks who are the recipients of such offenses. Several empirical studies have reported the costly effects of Black students' experiences with racial microaggressions in relation to their academic performance (Sorlozano, et. al, 2000). Though the literature tends to treat these phenomena as two separate constructs, we believe that they represent two related forms of racism that collectively work to impede the academic performance of many Black students in PWIs. In theory the combination of a Black student's fear that s/he will be judged based on a negative stereotype *and* having those fears confirmed through White individuals' actions creates a racially hostile learning environment. Thus, racial microaggressions can be understood as the actual subtle and not-so-subtle racial assaults that confirm and/or reinforce the threats that Black students anticipate in PWIs. In the next section, we examine Black achievers' experiences with such fears and assaults.

Experiencing Stereotype Threat and Racial Microaggressions

Stereotype threat can take many forms in an educational environment; however, here we focus on an examination of two atmospheric threats that high-achieving Black students in our research identify as affecting their performance in PWIs. Perhaps most commonly noted by students that we have interviewed is the fear of being perceived as intellectually inferior by

White peers and instructors *and* actually confirming this negative stereotype in one's academic performance. In Carter's (2005) research with Black achievers in a predominantly White high school, several students expressed an awareness of the myth of Black intellectual inferiority and were concerned about being perceived as less intelligent in classroom contexts. For example, during a discussion of her classroom experiences, a Black female expressed,

> I don't talk much in class. I think it's because I don't wanna have the wrong answer if I answer the question. I don't wanna say the wrong answer. [DC: Do you think any of that is related to race?] In a way cuz Black people are considered not as smart as, like, White people – by a lotta people. **[**DC: Do you think your White peers think that also?] Some of them. (Carter, 2005, 164)

This student expresses her uncertainty to be more vocal in class due to her awareness of a negative climate-centered racial stereotype that she perceives some of her White peers as espousing regarding her intellect. Her self-doubt related to answering questions posed in the classroom stems from anticipating that her peers automatically assume that she will provide an incorrect response. In Tuitt's (2003) study at an elite Ivy League Graduate School of Education (ILGSE), the fear of being perceived as intellectually inferior presented itself as some Black graduate students questioning whether or not they belonged at the institution. For example, one student stated, "I still have a feeling that they made a mistake. While they were printing envelopes for acceptances, my name got slipped in" (Tuitt, 2003, 167). The unwelcoming nature of the educational environment led this student to doubt her personal merit for being in the learning context. The classroom climate reaffirmed a sense of not belonging through the presentation of course concepts. For instance, in reference to a class in which this student perceived others had a better grasp of the material than she, she stated "I must be real dumb

because this class is over my head. That's one reason I rarely speak because I feel I'm not going to know what I'm talking about" (Tuitt, 2003, 171). In both educational settings, students' self-doubt regarding their intelligence and earned rights to be in their institution emanates from anticipating an environmental climate in which the threat looms in the air that they are less than, unworthy, and unfit.

Good, Aronson, & Inzlicht, (2003) argue that "being evaluated in a stereotyped domain is sufficient to trigger the trademark responses associated with stereotype threat such as a lack of enjoyment of the educational process, increased anxiety and stress, and ultimately, underperformance" (p. 647). These 'trademark responses' can contribute to Black students' underperformance when their academic profiles might suggest otherwise. For example, Steele (1997b) found that when gifted Black students sat down to take a difficult exam, "the extra apprehension they feel in comparison with whites is less about their own ability than it is about having to perform on a test and in a situation that may be primed to treat then stereotypically" (p. 52). This suggests that talented Black students who perceive their learning environment to be racialized may not perform up to their ability. This potential underperformance appears to be rooted less in Black students' self-doubt, than in their social mistrust of the learning environment (Steele, 1999). Based on the examples provided above, some Black achievers read their learning environment as conveying the message – either subtly or overtly – that there are certain ways of knowing, thinking, and demonstrating academic behaviors that are acceptable (i.e., those that mirror mainstream epistemologies regarding how learning should be practiced and achievement demonstrated. As a result, feelings of situational anxiety and self-doubt regarding their academic intelligence emerge and potentially hamper optimal academic performance in PWIs.

The threat of confirming the negative racial stereotype that one is intellectually inferior is enhanced in the classroom context by a related situational threat in which some Black students fear being positioned as the racial spokesperson. bell hooks (1994) identifies this role as that of the "native informant." This positioning of Black students requires them to provide an expert opinion on topics that arise in the classroom related to their racial group. In PWIs, it is not uncommon for a high-achieving Black student to be "one of few" or "the only one" in the classroom. The native informant status can often result from teachers and/or peers positioning high-achieving Black students as the racial representative. For example, one high school student feared being considered the racial spokesperson in history class during discussions of U.S. slavery and European colonialism. She stated,

> For most of my classes, I'm the only Black person in the room, and it feels like there's a lotta pressure or attention on me and . . . if there were more Black people in my classes, I guess it would just take a lotta pressure off me. Like when we talk about . . . racial issues and, like, talk about Blacks and Whites, like, I'm expected to know, like, everything. . . . I guess they [White peers] assume just cuz we're Black that we know everything about Africa, what went on in Africa.

Similarly, a Black graduate student indicated,

> We may be talking about an issue that is race or ethnicity conscious and for me to give a comment and then the professor kind of sees that from okay here's the Black perspective, or the Black female perspective. [FT: How do you feel about that?] I'm not the know-all, be-all for my race. So, I know that they may be thinking that even before I answer, but I just go ahead and answer anyway. (Tuitt, 2003, 164)

In both instances, these students discuss the fear of being racially objectified by White teachers and peers. These students fear being rendered part of the classroom content being discussed as well as the one to situationally educate others in the class simply because the material focuses on members of their racial group. The anticipation of a race related negative classroom experience where students perceive that they are being judged or treated in terms of a negative racial stereotype creates what Cross (1991) refers to as *spotlight anxiety*. According to Kanter (1998) students who feel like tokens or are made to feel like representatives of their race are constantly in the spotlight and ultimately feel like they are living in a glass house where all eyes are on them (Carter, 2005; Tuitt, 2003). Often, being one of few or the only Black student in a classroom can increase the likelihood that a student will be viewed as a native informant (Saenz, 1994). In both examples, the students fear having unwarranted attention placed on them to clarify racial confusion that their White peers and/or instructor might be experiencing. In the moment, these students fear the burden and pressure of being held accountable to potentially explain an entire race of people's experiences that is not fully their own experience.

The fear of being perceived as intellectually inferior and positioned as the native informant is often confirmed for Black achievers in various ways in predominantly White classrooms. Several of the students that we interviewed reported being treated as race representatives by White instructors. At the graduate level, a Black female described a situation where an instructor's sincere attempt to bring her into the learning environment backfired. She explains,

> I brought up an issue/challenge and she said, 'you know you'll be the barometer for race in the classroom.' I said wow, I mean how am I going to be a barometer, and was surprised that she said that. I think she is really struggling to find some

> balance between the unique contributions that any student brings and dealing with her own stuff about how she's not interacting much with a person of color, someone different from herself… I mean it's either you're invisible, not taken very seriously… or you can be glorified, but in a very objectifying way. I feel like those really are the two experiences, invisible or objectified. (Tuitt, 2003, 163)

Likewise, at the high school level, a Black male described an incident in which a White teacher positioned him as the racial spokesperson in the classroom.

> . . . We had this discussion about race and racial issues that had been going on. Like, our teacher mentioned that – an incident that had happened in [another high school] with an African American student and kinda like racial profiling and something similar to that nature, and she just asked me, like, how I – how I felt about living in Lenox. [DC: In front of the class?] Yeah. So I mean that felt kinda weird . . . [DC: And were you able to respond or . . . ?] Yeah, I was able to respond, but her question was kinda weird. (Carter, 2005, 170)

For both students, the issue of high visibility (Ellison, 1980) is personified. By being expected to be "the barometer for race in the classroom," one student is negatively "glorified" based on her race. This glorification is unwelcomed and potentially objectifies this student instead of affirming her physical presence and voice in the classroom. In the second example, the assumption that the student's own life experiences would be connected to the racial profiling of another Black male in a different school positions him as visible in a way that he did not initiate. The added pressure to provide an "expert" opinion on racial issues that are part of the curriculum or either arise during class discussions places these students in very awkward positions and results in feelings of discomfort in the learning space. These examples illustrate the ways in

which learning and achieving become negatively racialized for many Black students in predominantly White classrooms.

Ellison's conception of high visibility – what we call *hypervisibility* – suggests that efforts to create exposure for students can lead to more invisibility if instructors are not careful. Attempts to create visibility for students can reinforce invisibility if it leaves the potential for students to interpret the interventions as racially motivated. In both instances, students are made to feel hypervisible in ways that result in them wanting to self-actualize invisibility. In this manner, hypervisibility backfires and leaves Black students reassured that negative stereotypes that they perceive as affecting their learning in the classroom context will actually do so – the threat of being positioned as the native informant comes alive as a direct assault on these students, committed by their White instructors.

In addition to being made hypervisible as native informants in the classroom, Black students also describe being rendered invisible in the classroom based on perceived racial assumptions as another form of a racial microaggression often experienced in PWIs. In a history class where he is the only Black student, a high school male describes an experience in which he perceives a White male teacher does not value his ideas during a discussion. The student wants the teacher to write his response about the topic being discussed on the whiteboard along with everyone else's response, but the teacher does not solicit an answer from him. He states to the teacher,

> What up? How come you don't want my stuff written on the board? Write mine on the board. They'll [the teacher] be like, 'okay, fine.' It does make a difference, you know? Even that little thing proves something to me, you know? (Carter, 2005, 184)

Whether intentional or not, this student perceives that the teacher deems him unworthy of providing anything valuable to the class discussion because he is Black. When he desires to be visible in the learning context, this student perceives that he is rendered invisible by his White male teacher. In the graduate school context, a student spoke at length about how she felt invisible in the classroom. When she was pushed to explain what exactly made her invisible she responded,

> I think it's set by the professor, and I like this professor. I'm learning some stuff, but for him to just acknowledge my presence. And I'm not saying to call on me and say okay you black person over there represent everyone else. But I do think that there there's an environment that is created. The discourse is very white. And I'm not sure how I feel about that because on the one hand majority of people are white in this class, and he's white. So I don't know how much of that's a part of my internal impressions (Tuitt, 2003, 164).

Both of the students above express resentment to being treated as invisible in the learning environment. When instructors fail to see Black students as real human beings capable of making substantive contributions to the educational process, they create the potential for these students to feel that their personal identity and ability are undermined by prejudice and racism (Franklin, 1999). According to Franklin (1999), invisibility fosters an inner conflict where individuals question whether their talents, abilities, personalities, and worth are under-valued or unrecognized because of prejudice and racism. Applying Franklin's (1999) definition to the educational context in PWIs, Black students may feel invisible based on the perception that their instructors prejudge them based on their skin color and fail to accurately see their (students) "real" talents, abilities, and personalities. For some students, feeling invisible can have a

paralyzing effect, and for others it can cause them to employ counter measures that center them in the learning process.

Responses to Experiencing Stereotype Threat and Racial Microaggressions

In this section, we discuss four responses that students expressed for negotiating their experiences with stereotype threat and racial microaggressions in their learning environments. These responses include: 1) Self-censorship, 2) Proving them wrong, 3) Reframing what it means to be an intellectual, and 4) Challenging.

Self-censorship. Steele (2001) suggests that Black students in desegregated environments experience race-related situational cues that can trigger particularly anxiety-arousing moments Specifically, Steele (2001) argues that there is an "inherent risk stemming from an internalized inferiority anxiety and from a myth of inferiority pervading integrated settings, of being judged inferior or of confirming one's own feared inferiority" (p. 341). When experiencing stereotype threat and racial microaggressions in PWIs, Black achievers respond in a variety of ways. In our research, self-censorship represented one response resulting from the fear of confirming the Black intellectual inferiority myth. Students at the secondary and graduate level expressed not talking as much in class, not raising their hand, or toning down their responses. In response to fearing and confirming the intellectual inferiority stereotype and being treated as a native informant, a Black high school female indicated, "I don't talk much in class" (Carter, 2005, 164). Similarly, a Black female graduate student chose to withhold her voice to avoid being seen as potentially unintelligent by her peers. She expands the sentiment of the high school student in her response to the same threats and racial assaults.

> Sometimes I do censure myself and I don't say what I want to say. I hold back because I don't know what their reaction will be. And then sometimes I kind of

> pick my words wisely, or I go down an octave. These are conscious decisions that I make (Tuitt, 2003, 172).

The self-doubt inherent in the fear of being wrong or perceived as less intelligent leads to limited verbal participation in the classroom context or shifting the tone of one's remarks so as to reduce the chances of confirming a negative stereotype. When some Black students believe that their instructors and peers view and/or treat them in stereotypical ways, they may attempt to seek refuge by disengaging from the learning environment – hoping not to be seen, heard, noticed, or detected. The advanced preparation needed to anticipate these racialized moments in the classroom render Black students as constantly on alert of not only the material that is to be learned but also the environmental conditions under which they are expected to learn the material. When faced with an atmospheric threat or the racist actions that result from individuals who hold negative stereotypes, some Black students consciously choose to engage in self-censorship and thus, do not perform to maximum capacity in the classroom. While self-censorship may appear to be a maladaptive behavioral response to experiencing threats and racial microaggressions in the learning context, some Black achievers employ psychological responses that can be seen as adaptive for academic success. *Proving them wrong* represents one such response.

Proving them wrong. Under the existence of the myth of intellectual inferiority, some Black achievers develop an attitude that they will take it upon themselves to disprove any stereotypes of this nature existing in their classroom environments. Because they care about how their peers construct negative racialized perceptions of their intellectual abilities, some Black students choose to dispel the myth by maintaining high academic performance. This *proving*

them wrong response toward schooling was particularly noted in the predominantly White high school. A Black female expressed,

> I think I have to try hard, to, like, prove myself kinda. Because . . . I know that, like stereotypically, a Black student would not do as well as, like, a White student or an Asian student or Hispanic students or whatever, you know? And I find that, like, I'm sort of proving myself and, um, trying to, like, change that stereotype about Black people when I do well in my classes. (Carter, 2005, 196)

While the impetus to prove oneself may seem noble, it represents a psychological response to a subtle form of racism – the threat of confirming the Black intellectual inferiority stereotype. For this student and other students in our research, the task of achieving is racialized due to the existence of this environmental threat in the air. Carter found that several Black achievers in her study enacted *proving them wrong* as a psychological resistance strategy for countering a negative racial intellectual stereotype threat in the classroom. Instead of floundering under the myth of Black intellectual inferiority, the myth served as a motivational tool for striving for academic excellence in their classes. Sanders (1997) found similar attitudes among Black achievers in high school. In her research, these students viewed the negative intellectual stereotype as a positive challenge and were propelled to prove it wrong.

Reframing what it means to be an intellectual. In addition to wanting to prove wrong the myth of intellectual inferiority, we found that students at the graduate level adjusted their conception of what it meant to be smart as a response to stereotype threat in their learning environment. For example a Black female in Tuitt's study reported that her self doubt about being at ILGSE emerged whenever some one criticized her work. She stated "when people criticize me I always wonder where they're coming from. And then I think about, oh I shouldn't

be at ILGSE, I'm not smart enough" (Tuitt, 2003, 167). Instead of giving in to this insecurity, this student responded in a different manner.

> When I first came in here I was a little insecure. It was not that I shouldn't be [at] ILGSE, but could I compete with all these brains that are here. And this is going to sound awful, but very quickly in my courses I found out that these people weren't brilliant, like I would put myself down and say they are better writers than me, they've read more books than I had. But when it came down to concrete understanding of immigrant children, or children that are in urban areas, or rural areas, something was missing, and I was like, this is why I'm here, this is my intellect. And so I had to start to kind of reshape what an intellectual means to me, what ILGSE means to me, because I was playing on a stereotype too.\ (Tuitt, 2003, 168).

In this instance, the student resisted the negative stereotype by adjusting her thinking to be more positive about her own abilities.

Challenging. Another response that some Black students choose to employ when experiencing overt racism in the classroom context is *Challenging*. Some students choose to confront the individual(s) who commit the racist act toward them. For example, in an earlier example provided where a Black male student felt like the teacher would not acknowledge his raised hand based on his skin color, the student chose to verbally confront the teacher in front of his classmates. This student did not allow the teacher's behavior to continue. He responded to this microaggression by positioning himself as highly visible when he verbally confronted the teacher in front of other class members. For this student, this response represented an act of

resistance against the microaggression (Carter, 2005). He was unwilling to accept his instructor's perceived attempt to cloak his eyes to his presence in the classroom.

What this and other research illuminates is that experiences with stereotype threat and racial microaggressions have varying outcomes for Black achievers. Some Black students turn what appears to be a negative learning experience into a motivating factor for academic success, while others may decide that, as a tactic for identity preservation, self-censorship is a better option. Still other Black achievers choose to challenge their White instructors and/or peers when confronted with racist behavior and actions. Even more complicated is that students' espoused responses do not consistently hold in every classroom situation. Where some Black students espoused the *proving them wrong* psychological approach, their classroom behaviors did not always match their beliefs. Similarly, at the graduate level, even in reframing one's view of what it means to be an intellectual, it is an initial experience with self-doubt that helps a student arrive at this response. For these achievers, situational self-doubt might have hampered their progress momentarily, but in the long run they were able to persevere academically (Tuitt, 2003). At the secondary and postsecondary level, these students mentally prepare themselves for the potential negative stereotype they may encounter in the classroom by construing it in a positive way while still accepting the reality of its presence. All of these examples underscore the complicated nature of experiencing stereotype threat and racial microaggresions, even for high-achieving Black students. The mental preparation, however, is not enough to overcome the situational anxiety that often results in underperformance in a classroom situation. Even high-achieving Black students are not immune to the existence of stereotype threat in the learning environment. They need the assistances of courageous instructors who are willing to do whatever

it takes to counter and alleviate Black students' experiences with stereotype and racial microaggressions in predominantly White institutions.

Removing the Threats in the Air

While a significant amount has been written about the impact of stereotype threat and racial microaggressions on Black students, very little has been written about what can be done to lift the emotional, psychological and sometimes physical tax levied upon stigmatized students (Good, Aronson, & Inzlicht, 2003). The identification of pedagogical practices and learning conditions that potentially reduce the impact of these two phenomena is vitally important if we are to create teaching and learning environments where all students have a chance to reach their maximum academic potential. In this section we offer some strategies for educators. We want to underscore that while our focus is on specific strategies for educators, there are steps that must be taken at an institutional level to de-racialize the learning context and maximize the quality of educational experiences for Black students in PWIs.

Creating Identity-Safe Learning Environments

Attempting to eliminate all potentially threatening cues from the learning environment would be a futile exercise, but it may be possible to create environments that effectively reduce the risk of experiencing racism and stereotype threat (Davies, Spencer, and Steele, 2005). Taylor and Antony (2000) suggest that students' academic performance can be improved through instructional strategies that reduce stereotype threat and assure students that they will not be cast in the shadow of negative stereotypes. Essentially, educators have the responsibility of creating identity-safe learning environments where their students' sense of the institution is not a barrier to their academic success. Identity-safe environments challenge the validity, relevance, or acceptance of negative stereotypes linked to stigmatized social identities (Davis, Spencer, &

Steele, 2005). These environments remove the threat in the air, allowing stigmatized individuals to enter previously threatening situations without the risk of confirming a negative stereotype targeting their social identity (Markus, Steele & Steele, 2002). What follows are some strategies that instructors can employ to create identity-safe learning environments and combat Black students' experiences with stereotype threat and racial microagressions in the classroom.

In an effort to respond to the range of threats that can exist in the air and the racist acts that can ensue within a classroom, we suggest that instructors at all levels of the education spectrum make explicit their expectations for the learning environment. When professors are transparent about their expectations, they provide Black students with a clear sense of what is required and make explicit the criteria upon which they will be evaluated. In situations where this transparency exists, Black students are better able to focus their energy on achieving the academic duties and at the same time are relieved of the burden of having to worry whether they are being evaluated on the basis of their skin color. In addition to making expectations for the learning process explicit, in identify-safe learning environments instructors should hold Black students to high standards. Taylor and Antony (2000) argue that providing students with "challenging, rather than remedial expectations and academic work, which builds on promise and potential, not failure" can eliminate potential threats in the air. For example, Cohen, Steele, & Ross (1999) observed that giving challenging work and critical feedback to students demonstrates a respect for their potential and "shows that they are not regarded through an ability-demeaning stereotype" (Steele, 1997b, p. 349). When instructors maintain high standards for all students, they communicate to Black students that their work is assessed based on effort and merit, not one's skin color. This response is preferable to the common practice of rewarding Black students with high grades for mediocre performance, which signals to these students that

average-level work is the best that can be expected from them. In order for this strategy to work, it is imperative that instructors embrace the principle that with support and effort all students can achieve at their highest level and communicate this notion to students.

This strategy is related to stressing intelligence as dynamic and not fixed. In theory, highlighting the expandability of intelligence lets students know that skills can be learned and extended through education and experience (Taylor & Anthony, 2000). Aronson (2004) suggests that when instructors teach students to reconsider the nature of intelligence, to view their minds as muscles that get stronger and smarter with hard work, Black students' negative responses to stereotype threat is diminished. Understanding that their academic performance anxiety results from a common response to negative stereotyping helps students interpret their struggles in a less pejorative and anxiety-producing way and results in higher achievement (Aronson & Williams, 2004; Schmader & Johns, 2003).

Instructors can also cultivate the development of identity-safe learning environments in PWIs by valuing and utilizing diverse content and perspectives. This signals to Black students that their perspectives are welcomed and valued, especially if the content aligns with students' interests. According to Steele (1997) concerns that students may relate to whether or not they are going to be assessed in stereotypical ways can be addressed by being explicit in regards to the valuing of multiple perspectives. "Making such a value public tells stereotyped-threatened students that this is an environment in which the stereotype is less likely to be used" (Steele, 1997b, 351). When instructors value and include diverse content and perspectives in their curriculum, they relieve students of the burden of having to always supply diverse examples as supplemental class material. The challenge in utilizing diverse content is that instructors must be diligent about balancing examples of racial group struggles with racial group accomplishments

so that all students, but Black students in particular, see more than just negative images of members of their racial group represented in course content.

While many of the strategies offered thus far focus on reducing stereotype threat, instructors can also create identity-safe learning environments by working to minimize experiences with overt racism in the classroom. Educators must anticipate and plan for how their content and instructional methods may position Black students in the classroom. Some questions to ask include: How does the content of my lesson plan potentially racialize Black students? At what moments in the learning process am I treating Black students as *Black* students or Black *students*, and why? (Carter, in press). Instructors must ensure that the strategies they employ do not further marginalize the very students they are trying to serve.

Finally, instructors can create identity-safe learning environments by having students engage in setting ground rules and norms for class interaction. This strategy helps build a trusting learning environment and creates opportunities for students to interact with each other in authentic and meaningful ways. By engaging in this exercise, students are more likely to appreciate the significance of valuing diverse voices and are less likely to hold negative stereotypes about each other. This is just one strategy associated with having students engage in cooperative learning. The extent to which instructors can build learning environments rooted in cooperation not competition, fairness, high expectations, and trust the more likely these settings will be inclusive and safe for students. Research has shown that creating cooperative classroom structures in which students work interdependently can produce immediate and dramatic gains in minority students' grades, test scores, and engagement, because such environments reduce competition, distrust, and stereotyping among students (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997; Marx, Brown, & Steele, 1999).

While there are a host of pedagogical practices that can work to reduce stereotype threat and experiences with racism in predominantly White classroom, we offer these as strategies that have been shown to result in immediate classroom change. We consider these practices to be part of a larger set of "inclusive pedagogical practices" (Tuitt, 2003b). Through inclusive pedagogical practices, instructors signal to their students that they are willing to engage all students, regardless of their racial background, in the learning process. According to Steele (1997) negative-ability stereotypes raise the threat that one does not belong in the learning environment. "They cast doubt on the extent of one's abilities, on how well one will be accepted, on one's social compatibility with the domain, and so on" (p. 351). The extent to which instructors can provide direct affirmation of students' belongingness -- that is, assuring individuals that they are welcomed, supported, and valued (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005) in the classroom -- the more effective they will be in removing the threat in air. This affirmation has to be genuine and authentic as Steele warns that it is important to base this affirmation on the students' intellectual potential. We consider the inclusive pedagogical practices that we offer here as responding to Steele's call to reduce stereotype threat and our own observations and experiences in PWIs. We believe that if instructors are able to create identity-safe learning environments and opportunities for their students to represent themselves in genuine, authentic, and meaningful ways, Black students are more likely to trust that their academic efforts will be judged by merit and not a negative stereotypic impression. Additionally, the instructor as well as students may be less likely to engage in racist behavior towards Black students.

Conclusion

In this paper, we discuss how stereotype threat and racial microagressions work together to create racist learning environments that hinder the ability of high-achieving Black students to

perform at their best. In response to this dilemma we propose that educators seek to create identity-safe learning environments where Black students can engage in academic activities free of racial bias. While it is virtually impossible to attempt to completely eliminate all of the potentially threatening cues and negative experiences that Black students might encounter in the classroom, instructors have the responsibility of creating learning environments where their students' racialized sense of the institution is not a barrier to their academic success (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005). The strategies that we provide in this paper locate responsibility for intervention at the classroom level where instructors and students interact; however, we recognize that the problem is much bigger than that and consequently have several implications for policy and practice at the macro-level. We suggest that educators, researchers, and policy makers may find it helpful to view stereotype threat and racial microagressions in a manner similar to environmental racism (Bullard, 1999; Chavis, 1994). While environmental racism is typically used in a geographic context, it is not a far leap to consider stereotype threat and racial microagressions as toxins (i.e. poisons and pollutants) that prevent Black students at all levels of the educational spectrum from participating in a healthy learning environment. In this regard, identifying remedies or even a cure for the existence of racist learning environments requires a comprehensive approach.

At the policy level, national and state standards need to be set that require all institutions privileged with training future educators to provide rigorous antiracist education. The more we prepare educators who are cognizant of the ways in which racism manifests itself in the learning environment, the more likely there is to be change that supports educational equity and excellence for all students. While training and professional development speaks to the preparation of future instructors, institutions need to hold instructors accountable for the role

they play in creating racist learning environments. Assessment and evaluation of instructors at the institutional level is vital. More assessment protocols need to be developed for K-12 teachers that highlight an examination of their potentially racist pedagogy and classroom practices. At the postsecondary level, a focus on instructors' culturally-biased pedagogy and practices must be assessed in annual reviews. Thus, the commitment to being antiracist must be institutionalized across the educational spectrum. Finally, more research is needed on the impact of stereotype threat and racial microaggressions and the instructional interventions that counter their negative impact. Existing research has primarily focused on Black students' experiences with these two phenomena and their impact on academic achievement; however, very little research provides specific strategies for how instructors can create antiracist learning environments where all students have the chance to succeed.

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[i] For the purposes of this paper, we use the terms *African American* and *Black* interchangeably to refer to individuals of African descent through slavery in the U.S.

[ii] For a more detailed explanation of critical race theory, see Ladson-Billings, 1999; Lynn, 1999; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997.

[iii] In this paper, we discuss racial microaggressions as they affect Black students; however, other research indicates that members of other racial groups are also affected by racial microagressions in the learning environment.

SocioCultural Capital Investment and Gender Differences in Black College Enrollment

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A paper presented at

The 2006 Brother's of the Academy Think Tank

Black Scholars and the Study of Black Folk

October 6, 2006

Abstract

Improvement in the college participation rate among Blacks has enabled status quo maintenance rather than close the economic gap between Whites and Blacks. This is partly attributable to Black women carrying a disproportionate burden of racial uplift as evinced by increases in college enrollment rates among African-Americans. As young Black men and women are products of the same home and school environments, one question is whether young Black men and women have the same social and cultural capital.

Before making decisions about college, students perform a cost-benefit analysis, considering the perceived costs of college attendance against expected returns (Beattie, 2002; Douglass, 1997; Paulsen, 2001; Perna, 2000, 2003). Given the gross differential in college enrollments between young Black men and women, the calculations of young Black women are more likely to be positive, with young Black women entering college education at rates comparable to the general population, nearly two-thirds (NCES, 2005). However, for young Black men, the probability of entering college is still less than a 50-50 coin toss, with Black men representing only 35 percent of the 2,164,700 African American students enrolled in 2004 (NCES, 2005).

Over the past 15 years, the 78 percent improvement in college education participation rates among Blacks (JBHE, 2006) has enabled status quo maintenance rather than close the economic gap between Whites and Blacks. This is partly attributable to Black women carrying a disproportionate burden of racial uplift. As young Black men and women are products of the same home and school environments, one question is whether young Black men and women have the same social and cultural capital. Using the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS:88/00) sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics, the role of social and cultural capital in understanding the college education enrollment gap between young Black men and women is explored in this paper.

Theoretical Framework

Social and cultural capital are important as these factors shape students' understanding of the benefits of college, as well as ways in which they can offset costs of a college education (Perna, 2000). The term cultural capital, as defined by Bordieu (1977) and applied in educational research (DiMaggio, 1982), is used to connote a person's knowledge of or competence regarding the aesthetics of culture valued by dominant groups (Laureu & Weininger, 2004). Parents are the first purveyors of cultural capital, instilling a base level of cultural capital in their children derived from the family's values, class status, and the parents' level of education (Bordieu, 1977; Lamont & Lareau, 1988, McDonough, 1994). Schools are a secondary source of influence. Through social connections with classmates and competent teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators, students have the opportunity to increase cultural capital valued by dominant groups (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital is distinct from, yet, interrelated with its sister term, cultural capital. Social capital refers to "social networks, the reciprocities that arise from them, and the value of these for achieving mutual goals" (Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000, p.1). In context of the present paper, the goal examined is postsecondary enrollment. In this vein, social capital enables the further development and acquisition of cultural capital. Given the interconnectivity between social and cultural capital, the term sociocultural capital is appropriate when referencing both.

Ostensibly young Black men and women have similar access to social and cultural capital. However, given the stark differences in college enrollment within the Black community, this proposition is worthy of exploration.

Review of the Literature

For many Black families, social and cultural capital development is constrained by conditions of low socioeconomic status. Foster and Furstenberg (1999) indicate that Black families maintain great societal disadvantages, as more children come from poor families on welfare headed by a jobless, female head of household. Financial constraints, in turn, impinge on the ability of families to develop capital as well as invest the time and resources in their children necessary for competing in this increasingly competitive, capitalistic society.

Variability of a family's socioeconomic status significantly influences Black males' educational aspirations; yet, African-American girls remain more resilient to changes in their family's financial resources (Beattie, 2002; Karraker, 1992; Mandara, 2006). In addition, African-American females respond much more positively in a single-parents household headed by a female, as the lack of a male seems to promote greater independence among the girls (Karraker, 1994). Such resiliency relates to African-American girls' independence and determination to improve their status in society (Hamilton, 1996). African-American girls' independence leads to greater levels of school involvement and a more academic focus (DeSantis, Ketterlinus & Youniss, 1990; Karraker, 1994; Reis & Diaz, 1999).

Conversely, the absence of a male role model has a static or slightly negative effect on Black boys (Bilbarz & Raftery, 1999; Clark, 1983; Wasserman, 1972). Without a male figure, whether at home, in the extended family, or community, Black boys lack a strong influence in developing their identities as Black men (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999;

Bryant & Zimmerman, 2003; Florsheim, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 1996; Zimmerman, Salem, & Maton, 1995).

However, Black families need not be constrained by the limited resources of individuals. In many communities schools and churches provide means by which families can increase their social and cultural capital stocks. In fact, it seems to be the case that young Black women are differentially motivated to seek resources beyond their immediate family. This, in turn, renders young Black women to be better poised to strengthen their social networks and further build upon the foundation of cultural capital imbued by their family. Considering children across society, those with limited support at home may still realize the value of education through their connections within their schools and communities. Students respond to positive peer influences, as productive, academically oriented peer groups raise marginal students' educational achievement and awareness (Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Carbonaro, 1998; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; McNamara-Horvat & Lewis, 2003; Yang & Blodgett, 2000). School systems also provide an additional source of support for some disadvantaged students, as teachers and counselors reach out to these individuals and provide them with encouragement and information to pursue higher education (Bauman, 1998; Caldas & Banston, 1999).

The involvement of schools can be a mixed blessing, however. As the social and cultural capital resources of African American parents are often constrained, African American students are more receptive than their White counterparts to teacher expectations, both positive and negative (Ladson Billings, 1995). To the extent that teachers' perceptions of student ability vary within race and by gender, the school context evokes different benefits and challenges for African-American boys. Teachers may

ignore Black boys, immediately view them as disciplinary problems, or assume they have lower academic abilities compared to other students (Ferguson, 2000). Differential treatment of Black males may place them in a less-rigorous academic track throughout middle and high school that precludes them from achieving appropriate academic qualifications for accessing higher education (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2001; Davis, 2003).

Within their peer interactions, Black boys often care more about being seen as popular and athletic, which may not complement academic success (DeSantis, Ketterlinus & Youniss, 1990; Ferguson, 2000; Majors & Billson, 1992; Honora, 2002). These identity-development driven factors seem to couple with a set of cultural beliefs about school and society (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003; Noguera, 2003), and unaware teachers may reinforce societal prejudices in the classroom through disciplinary and other treatment of Black male students (Bempechat, 1998; Cross & Slater, 2000; Davis, 2003; Gadseden & Smith, 1994; Osborne, 1999; Zamani, 2004). African-American boys who overcome prejudiced assumptions and cultural beliefs still may encounter opposition from their peers, as peers may view the pursuit of academic achievement as "acting White" (Davis, 2003; DeSantis, Ketterlinus & Youniss, 1990; Horvatt & Lewis, 2003; Noguera, 2003; Ogbu, 2003; Uhlenberg & Brown, 2002).

Black girls, on the other hand, tend to maintain a stronger focus on their academic goals than their male counterparts, as they seem influenced by negative peers. These young women appear to develop a better understanding of future returns on educational investments, and this realization encourages them, with or without appropriate parental support and resources, to seek opportunities in and information about higher education (Beattie, 2002; Honora, 2002; Hamilton, 1996). They are able to learn through extending

their social networks and becoming connected with others (Belenky, et. al. 1986; Collins, 2003; Flannery, 2000). In the school context this may manifest in terms of productive interactions with teachers, counselors, and administrators. Through these extended social networks, we posit that these young women are able to enrich their pool of cultural capital, enabling navigation of college admissions and financial aid processes (Constantine & Perna, 2000).

Thus, the acquisition of social and cultural capital seems to have important implications for future educational attainment opportunities for Black students, Black males in particular. The lack of access to appropriate resources and information pertaining to higher education places African-American students at an initial disadvantage. However, the resiliency of Black women to persevere through familial and societal challenges has enabled them to gain greater access to additional educational opportunities. Instead of relying on parents for information about college, young Black women appear to seek out the necessary resources. Additionally, the independence of these women appears to benefit them as Black female students devalue negativity emanating from other students who place a lesser value on educational achievement and attainment. In short, young Black women appear to rise above the availability, or lack, of cultural and social capital from their parents and their schools.

Yet, societal prejudices and negative peer influences seemingly have a significant, negative effect on Black males' academic achievement and educational aspirations. The limited resiliency of young Black men impinges on their ability to overcome shortfalls in familial access to information and resources.

Methodology

The relationship between the sociocultural capital of young Black men and college enrollment is explored using the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS:88/00) sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics. The NELS database incorporates data from a nationally representative sample of more than 25,000 eighth graders in 1,000 schools from 1988 and tracks them through four follow-up surveys in 1990, 1992, 1994, and 2000 (Ingels et al., 2002). NELS is the most inclusive NCES dataset spanning student transitions from grade school through the workforce. Data within NELS is especially good for delineating trends that reoccur overtime (Adelman, 2006).

Variables for this study come from the first, second, and fourth follow-up surveys. For purposes of this study, college enrollment refers to postsecondary enrollment more broadly, including but not limited to college enrollment. Participants in the present study are African American students (n=1,475), with inferential analyses conducted only on those students for whom data on college enrollment is available (n=1,038): 459 male, 582 female. Of these men, only 53 percent enroll in some form of postsecondary education. Of the women, 62 percent enrolled. Their rate of enrollment close to college enrollment rates of all students, which in 2004 was 66.7 percent (NCES, 2005).

Control factors include socioeconomic status (SES), a specification of family endowments such as parental education, occupation, and income; previous academic performance in the form of 10th grade standardized composite math and reading scores; gender; and whether a student has been held back a grade.

Explanatory variables for this analysis include information about levels of parental and school cultural capital, parental and school transmission of cultural capital through discussion with their teens, and peer effects. Six vectors in addition to the school level variable percentage of graduates enrolling in college are used to describe the social and cultural capital of students, parents, and schools, as well as peer effects. First, artifacts within the home indicative of academic learning conditions are used to measure parental cultural capital. These artifacts include the presence of a dictionary and other books in the home, the receipt of newspapers and magazines, a designated study area, and electronic aids such as typewriters, computers, and pocket calculators. Parental social capital, or rather, the transmission of social capital is measured by parent reported discussions with children around schooling issues and college. Our measures of school cultural capital embody school valuation of college for the students they serve. These measures include the percentage of students in prior years enrolling in college as reported by the school and teacher response to the question whether they feel they make a difference in student's lives. School social capital, like parental social capital, is about transmission of those values and whether the school reports that it assists students in completing college application and financial aid forms. Peer effects are measured by the student's perception of peer expectations for continued education after high school as well as measures of whether peers intend on post-secondary education. Student social and cultural capital is measured by concrete steps students take towards post-secondary matriculation. These concrete measures were chosen as the research literature indicates a significant disconnect between student aspirations and college enrollment for young Black students (Freeman, 2005). With respect to cultural capital, the measures included

in this study are units of mathematics, as math is the greatest predictor of college enrollment for all students, and whether students take the SAT or ACT exam. These factors are baseline, and potentially relevant for future exploration are the taking of advanced placement courses as well as courses in the community college prior to high school graduation. With respect to social capital, like Perna (2000), we use whether the student has received help on college applications, essays, and financial aid forms as indicators.

A linear display of the individual effects model is depicted as follows:

$Y_{ij} = \alpha + B_{1j}$ (PARENT CULTURAL CAPITAL)$_{ij}$	PARENT Level Factors
$+ B_{2j}$ (PARENT SOCIAL CAPTIAL)$_{ij}$	
$+ B_{3j}$ (Percentage of graduates enrolling in college)$_j$	SCHOOL Level Factors
$+ B_{4j}$ (SCHOOL CULTURAL CAPITAL)$_j$	
$+ B_{5j}$ (SCHOOL SOCIAL CAPITAL)$_j$	
$+ B_{6j}$ (PEER INFLUENCE)$_{ij}$	INDIVIDUAL Factors
$+ B_{7j}$ (ACQUIRED SOCIOCULTURAL CAPITAL)$_{ij}$	

where Y_{ij}, a dichotomous outcome variable, represents postsecondary enrollment of students between 1989 and 2000. In this model, *i* denotes the individual and *j* denotes the school.

A key question in this analysis remains whether individual (student), familial or school effects account for the differential outcomes in college enrollment for Black men and women. An important distinction for this study remains whether Black men and women are treated differently at home and in school or whether young Black men and women respond differently to similar treatments or whether. Towards that end hypotheses are stated as follows:

$H_{\emptyset}$: Parental transmission of social and cultural capital to young Black men $\neq$ Parental transmission of social and cultural capital to young Black women.

H_1: School transmission of social and cultural capital to young Black men $\neq$ School transmission of social and cultural capital to young Black women.

H_2: The acquisition of social and cultural capital of young Black men $\neq$ The acquisition of social and cultural capital of young Black men.

Results

Young Black men and women, while receiving similar treatment experience differences in the acquisition of social and cultural capital. According to the data as reported by parents and schools the first two hypotheses are false: There are no gender differences in parental, familial, or school transmissions of social and cultural capital. However, the latter hypothesis is true: young Black men and women are making different choices in the acquisition of social and cultural capital.

Table 1 – Distribution of Family Cultural Capital by Socioeconomic Status Quartile, Percentage (N=1475)

	Quartile 1 Low (N=621)	Quartile 2 (N=383)	Quartile 3 (N=290)	Quartile 4 High (N=181)
Family has a specific place for study	0.48	0.52	0.54	0.59
Family received as daily newspaper	0.67	0.71	0.73	0.81
Family receives a magazine regularly	0.55	0.73	0.77	0.85
Family has an encyclopedia*	0.71	0.84	0.84	0.92
Family has an atlas	0.38	0.52	0.60	0.76
Family has a dictionary	0.94	0.98	0.99	0.81
Family has a typewriter*	0.50	0.67	0.76	0.81
Family has a computer*	0.25	0.46	0.47	0.64
Family has more than 50 books	0.75	0.83	0.92	0.94
Family has a pocket calculator	0.88	0.92	0.94	0.98

*Note these factors were measured in the base year, 1998. Contemporary distributions vary.

Familial/ Parental Factors. Young Black men and women are exposed to the same community environments, in and around school as well as in and around their home. As seen in Table 1 Black families do invest in dominant culture cultural capital as it relates to academics. Even the most economically strapped families are likely to have valued cultural artifacts such as a daily newspaper, magazines, books, and pocket calculators. In considering these artifacts, it must be noted that NELS 88 is dated, as such there are declines in the acquisition of tools such as typewriters, and more access to computers, whether in the home, school, or community. Nevertheless, if the self-reports of these artifacts are accurate, most Black families obtain dominantly valued cultural insignia across socioeconomic brackets. Whether the acquisition is by purchase, inheritance, or gift is irrelevant, except to the extent that over time some of these materials become dated. The acquisition of these insignia indicates the historic commitment African Americans have towards education (Anderson, 1988).

With respect to social capital, Black families do communicate to their adolescent, regardless of gender. They report talking about schooling, homework, and college enrollment. As indicated in Table 2, gender variances in these discussions as communicated by parents do not appear.

Students, however, perceive differences in parental/ familial expectations. According to student perceptions, parents are more likely to expect young Black women to enroll in college,

Table 2 – Differences in Cultural and Social Capital Vectors by Gender, Means & Standard Deviations

	Men	Women
Family Cultural Capital	12.98	13.14
	(2.14)	(2.07)
Family Social Capital	13.12	13.02
	(6.68)	(3.89)
School Cultural Capital	741.52	685.72
	(1139.15)	(1088.34)
School Social Capital	8.66	8.44
	(2.71)	(2.53)
Student Cultural Capital*	5.79	6.03
	(1.89)	(1.88)
Student Social Capital*	13.08	9.97
	(12.31)	(8.98)
Peer Effects**	22.93	17.68
	(31.38)	(24.86)

* Differences statistically significant at $p<0.01$
** Differences statistically significant at $p<0.001$

than young Black men (t=4.13, p<0.0001). Of most significant import here is that students report that parents are more likely to check (t=4.78, p<0.0001) and help with homework (t=5.19, p<0.0001), as well as discuss college attendance with their daughters (t=3.61, p<0.0001).

Parents otherwise are equally as likely to engage in activities with their children (t=1.87, p>0.06). Yong Black women seem to be more responsive to those conversations. In short, while the conversations are happening, regardless of gender, the quality of parent-student time spent on educationally-related activities does by gender. This may account, in part, for the greater ability of young Black women to avail themselves of social and cultural capital.

School Factors. Schools report little differences by way of variation in cultural capital purveyance and social networking. Just like in the case of

families, young Black men and women attend the same schools and are subject to the same environments. However, there are differences in how young Black men and women perceive teacher expectations. According to students, teachers are more likely to expect success (t=5.39, p< 0.0001) and college enrollment (t=4.30, p<0.0001) from young Black women. In turn, young Black women do get more help from their high schools with college (t=4.77, p<0.0001) and financial aid (t=5.20, p<0.0001) applications.

Individual Factors and Peers. The greatest differences in social and cultural capital seem to occur from the acquisition side rather than the provision side. Schools and families report that they provide young Black men and women with the same social and cultural capital. However, young Black women are more likely to take advantage of opportunities within school and home environments. Young Black women take more units of mathematics and are also more likely to take the SAT and ACT. They are also more likely to receive help on college applications and financial aid forms. Young Black men, for better and worse, are more open to peer influences. Additionally, peers have a greater expectations of college enrollment for young Black women (t=4.17, p<0.0001).

Binomial logistic regression analysis is used to further understand gender differences in the relative association between college enrollment and sociocultural capital. Considering young Black men and women together, predictive factors registering statistically significant charges are gender (in favor of women), SES, peer effects and student social capita (See Table 3). This latter factor holds a negative charge, indicating disconnect between the offerings

Table 3 – Maximum Likelihood Estimates and Standard Errors, College Enrollment by Social and Cultural Capital

Gender	0.74*
	(0.18)
SES	0.82**
	(0.22)
Prior Achievement	0.03
	(0.02)
Held Back	-0.02
	(0.02)
Family Cultural Capital	-0.00
	(0.06)
Family Social Capital	0.02
	(0.04)
School Cultural Capital	-0.00
	(0.00)
School Social Capital	0.02
	(0.04)
Student Cultural Capital	0.09
	(0.11)
Student Social Capital	-0.05**
	(0.01)
Peer Effects	0.01**
	(0.03)
Constant	-1.25
	(1.19)

* Statistically significant at $p<0.01$
** Statistically significant at $p<0.001$

schools have and the opportunities students to avail themselves of help on college applications and financial aid forms. Families, schools, prior achievement, and whether a student has been held back seem to lack explanatory weight. However, little stock should be put in this modular specification as measures of degree of fit suggest that this model is mis-specified (pseudo $r^2=0.15$).

Table 4 – Maximum Likelihood Estimates and Standard Errors by Gender, College Enrollment by Social and Cultural Capital

	Men	Women
SES	1.44**	0.16
	(0.23)	(0.35)
Prior Achievement	-0.01	0.08**
	(0.01)	(0.02)
Held Back	-0.09**	0.09**
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Family Cultural Capital	0.06	-0.06
	(0.67)	(0.09)
Family Social Capital	0.01	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.06)
School Cultural Capital	0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
School Social Capital	0.02	0.04
	(0.02)	(0.07)
Student Cultural Capital	0.14	0.01
	(0.1)	(0.16)
Student Social Capital	-0.05**	-0.06**
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Peer Effects	0.02*	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	0.02	-1.69
	(1.09)	(2.38)

* Statistically significant at $p<0.01$
** Statistically significant at $p<0.001$

What is most interesting, however, is looking at the differences in the predictor factors by gender (Table 4). The short of what we can take away from this study is that the set of factors contributing to college enrollment vary significantly by gender for African Americans. Whereas SES is a strong predictor of college enrollment for young Black men, its influence is not significant for young Black women. On the other hand, even though there is no statistically significant difference in the prior achievement of young Black men and women, prior achievement helps to explain college enrollment for young Black women,

but not men. In the collapsed model, the impact of being held back for men negates the impact of being held back for women. For young Black men, it is a strong disincentive for further education. Student cultural capital is negative for both groups and peer effects matter for men solely. When separated, the model better predicts college enrollment for young Black men (pseudo r^2 =0.22) than women (pseudo r^2 =0.14).

Discussion

In combination with prior work (Gafford Muhammad, 2006) the results of this study suggest that college enrollment trajectories for young Black men and women are different. School and home environments differently impact young Black men. Young Black men are twice as likely to be held back in school (t=5.3, p< 0.0001), as well as experience harsher punishments within school than their female counterparts (Ferguson, 2000). At home, while parents are having discussions about academics with both their sons and daughters, daughters seem to take more encouragement out of those discussions and press forward to further education. For young Black men, however, it is likely that the conversations at home are less than positive given academic and disciplinary sanctions accorded them. Herein is an item for empirical study along qualitative lines as the content of these conversations is not likely to distill well into numerical representations.

Through this analysis it is revealed that while differences in the socio-cultural capital stock of young Blacks is negligible, the influence of the factors on college enrollment significantly vary by gender. The implication is that traditional human capital

models do not predict college enrollment patterns of young Black men. Influences such as socioeconomic status and being held back are particularly detrimental to the progress of young Black men such that empirical models need to adjust to adequately explain their experience. This implication for quantitative research is particularly significant. With respect to practice, this piece highlights the importance of qualitative research in informing educational policy. As quantitative perspectives haggle between educational aspiration differences and action, qualitative scholars have been able to identify significant factors of discouragement actively discouraging young Black men from further education (e.g., Delpit, 1996; Ferguson, 2000). Quantitative scholars are behind and as policy makers are more inclined to listen to quantitative work, educational policy lag significantly behind what qualitative researchers know.

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Community Colleges

The Community College Baccalaureate

Emerging Trends and Policy Issues

Edited by Deborah L. Floyd, Michael L. Skolnik and Kenneth P. Walker

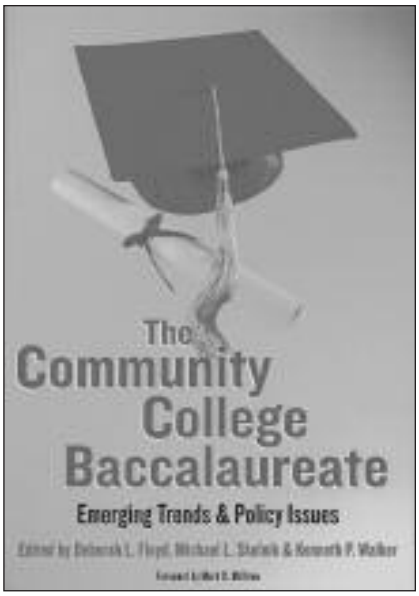
"Provides needed advice for schools about what to consider and do before plunging into a new universe. Readers can learn from the authors' own experiences as well as their findings."—***Community College Week***

"[This book's] analysis is timely because issues related to the community college baccalaureate are in the forefront, especially in those states with a high population growth rate and relatively low institutional enrollment capacity…A major strength is that it provides balanced coverage of various points of view. This book should interest plannners on campuses of both community colleges and universities and in state-level offices. Very careful examination is given to the implications of awarding community college baccalaureate degrees for institutions and for entire state higher education systems. Planners will pleased to find that techical questions are also identified. Examples here include fitting community colleges awarding some baccalaureate degrees into national classification schemes, and revising performance measures regarding transfer to make them applicable to community colleges that award some baccalaureate degrees."—***Planning for Higher Education***

"A 'must read' for anyone who cares about the future trends of undergraduate education. Community college presidents, board members and others who are considering launching baccalaureate programs should read this book."—***Anne E. Mulder, Past President, President's Academy, AACC***

An increasing number of community colleges have begun seriously to explore and, indeed, in some U.S. states and Canadian provinces, to actually implement conferring bachelor's degrees.

This topic is increasingly engaging community college and university leaders, policy makers, business leaders and students concerned with issues of access, cost and the structure and purposes of post-secondary education.



The authors analyze this emerging trend, presenting the background, examples of practice and different models of delivery; develop a common terminology to facilitate discussion; present supporting and contrary views; and include a comprehensive bibliography and set of resources.

The Editors: Deborah L. Floyd is an Associate Professor of Higher Education Leadership at Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton with over 25 years of administrative experience in community colleges as a president, vice president, dean and director. Michael L. Skolnik is a Professor of Higher Education and the William G. Davis Chair in Community College Leadership at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Kenneth P. Walker is the founder and Chair of the Community College Baccalaureate Association (CCBA), and District President of Edison College in Ft. Myers, Florida.

228 pp, 6" x 9"
Cloth, 2005, 1 57922 129 7, $65.00, (5)
Paper, 2005, 1 57922 130 0, $29.95, (1)

Stylus

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Running Head: SUPPORTIVE HOUSING

Supportive Housing:

Implications for its Efficacy as Intervention with

Low-Income African Americans Coping with Special Needs

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Supportive Housing: Implications for its Efficacy as Intervention for Low-Income African Americans Coping with Special Needs

Abstract

This pilot study examined the efficacy of supportive housing, which combines affordable housing with social services, in helping low-income single mothers in recovery with relapse prevention and the acquisition of life skills to improve their economic conditions. It was hypothesized that the length of residency in supportive housing would help prolong sobriety, improve functioning and facilitate employment. Subjects participating in the study are residents of Delowe Village Apartments, a supportive housing development in East Point, Georgia.

Supportive Housing: Implications for its Efficacy as Intervention for Low-Income African Americans Coping with Special Needs

The research efforts of Jayakody et al. (2000) speak to the high correlation of substance abuse and mental health problems among female-headed households receiving welfare. Similarly, other research suggests that the behavioral inconsistencies and interpersonal conflicts often associated with addiction and mental health problems pose a significant challenge to job training and job retention for this population (Schmidt, Weisner & Wiley, 1998). Although TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) administrators consider substance abuse among families a monumental problem (Woolis, 2000), many states have yet to establish adequate data collection, training, and other systems to identify, assess, and treat such abuse affecting recipients.

For those welfare mothers who do manage to get treatment, the ability to secure safe, affordable housing can be a serious obstacle to maintaining recovery (Hirsch, 2001). It is potentially a two-fold problem. First, the disorganized behavior that often accompanies substance dependence can affect employability, which in turn affects credit and rental histories, making this household less attractive to landlords. Hence, the devastating result is the creation and maintenance of a continuous cycle of failure and poverty.

Purpose of the study

As a result of the 1996 Clinton initiative, The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, decades of guaranteed aid and support for economically deprived children and families ended. While this initiative was aimed at eliminating welfare

dependency, it contained no specific provision for family members in recovery from drug abuse or addiction. Consequently, a lack of government aid created tremendous problems for tens of thousands of people statewide relative to child care, housing, transportation, and employment (Suppes & Wells, 2000). Notably, Delowe Village apartments emerged in 1999 featuring a supportive housing program called Project GROW, which combines affordable housing and social services for families on welfare that have heads-of-household in recovery from addiction. The program is intended to assist these families in making the important transition from welfare to the workplace. Delowe Village's Project GROW program provides families with access to case management, individual and group counseling, 12-step meetings, life skills and computer training, as well as after-school care and other community building activities.

Regarding the effectiveness of such supportive housing programs that assists families in transition from welfare to work, little is known. Moreover, the efficacy of supportive housing programs as an intervention strategy for substance abuse and/or addiction is equally less known. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the length of residency in a supportive housing development and the length of sobriety for program participants at Delowe Village. As a corollary interest, rates of employment were also examined.

Literature Review

The problem of substance abuse and addiction is one that is well documented, and one that continues to adversely affect the health and well-being of individuals, families, and communities exponentially (Rasmussen, 2000; Ray & Ksir, 2004). Individuals experiencing addiction issues absorb exorbitant costs due to associated health risks, as

well as social, financial, and economic upheaval (Baer, Marlatt, & McMahon, 1993; Durrant & Thakker, 2003; Miller & Weisner, 2002; Rasmussen, 2000; Ray & Ksir, 2004). Additionally, the costs of addiction to communities are evidenced by increased health costs, homelessness, and an increased burden on the child welfare and criminal justice systems (Baer, Marlatt, & McMahon, 1993; Miller & Weisner, 2002; Ray & Ksir, 2004; Wekerle & Wall, 2002).

As the rate of relapse is an indicator of the success of treatment, no particular treatment approach (e.g., Twelve-Step recovery, therapeutic counseling, pharmaceutical) has been found to be fundamentally more effective than any other (Miller & Weisner, 2002; Rasmussen, 2000; Ray & Ksir, 2004). However, there is consensus that individuals fare far better with some treatment as opposed to no treatment at all (Miller & Weisner, 2002). Further, studies also indicate that success rates improve when participants adhere to a program of post-treatment after-care services (Marlatt & Gordon, 1985; Miller & Weisner, 2002).

While there are many reasons why an individual may fail to successfully complete treatment, there is consensus that the lack of culturally sensitive programs do adversely affect minorities' success rates in completing treatment (Coombs & Howatt, 2005; Durrant & Thakker, 2003; Loue, 2003; Rasmussen, 2000; Ray & Ksir, 2004; Walton, Blow, & Booth, 2001). Similar challenges have emerged for women, particularly low-income women. Male-centered treatment approaches often utilize a confrontational style that often conflicts with women's needs (Scott-Lennox, Rose, Bohlig, & Lennox, 2000; Sun, 2000; Walton, Blow, & Booth, 2001). Additionally, more often than men, women need additional supports for child care and attending emotional issues contributing to

substance use (Loue, 2003; Scott-Lennox, Rose, Bohlig, & Lennox, 2000; Sun, 2000; Walton, Blow, & Booth, 2001).

Studies indicate (DATA, 2002; Howard, 2003; Sanders, 2002; Walton, Blow, & Booth, 2001) that compared to Caucasians in recovery, minorities are less likely to seek or complete treatment. A common theme among these studies is that low-income minorities are adversely impacted by treatment programs that are based and designed on Eurocentric models of practice. For African Americans, the legacy of racism and discrimination (Coombs & Howatt, 2005; DATA, 2002; Durrant & Thakker, 2003; Loue, 2003; Sanders, 2002), the culturally-specific expression of spirituality (Durrant & Thakker, 2003; Sanders, 2002), and the failure to recognize the importance of culture and community to African Americans (DATA, 2002; Schiele, 2005) all contribute to a breach in the goodness-of-fit for minority participants.

Sanders (2002) reported on the efforts of some among African American recovery communities to adapt the Twelve-Step recovery concept to encompass an Afrocentric perspective:

> "African Americans are capable of a bifurcated mind-set, that is, they learn to get along in the white, "Eurocentric" worldview, while informally subscribing to an "Afrocentric" perspective that recognized a majority culture and a minority culture. Assumption of a bifurcated mind-set affords discussion of the dual perspective in the treatment of alcoholism among African-Americans. The dual perspective is the deliberate and systematic process of understanding and comparing simultaneously the values, attitudes, and behavior of those in the "culture universal"

> (sustaining system) with those in the "culture specific" (nurturing system). The concept of dual perspective stems from the idea that every person is a part of two systems. From this position, the dual perspective can be used as a mechanism to inform practitioners about institutionalized disadvantages, in the larger system of society, erected against individuals who belong to minority groups. And, that often these obstacles can be subtle and not easily recognized unless the dual perspective is assimilated into the clinical reasoning of practitioners who work with African-Americans...Inattention to the dual perspective in AA makes an enormous difference, which results in an unspecified number of African-American alcoholics never completing the affiliation process. The suggestion is that culture specific treatment of alcoholism in African Americans is more effective when the alcoholic's status in life, society's inconsistencies, experiences and feelings of powerlessness are taken into account."

Schiele (1996) contends that the concepts of an Afrocentric approach should be an alternative social science paradigm for social work practitioners.

According to Weiner (1992) "social learning theorists have demonstrated the importance of environmental, rather than intrapsychic, determinants of action (p.218)." This contention is consistent with the rationale that environmental stressors such as poverty, racial discrimination, lack of affordable housing, inadequate education, and unemployment, which disproportionately affect minorities, can impact efficacy in recovery (Miller & Weisner, 2002; Rasmussen, 2000; Ray & Ksir, 2004; Ridenour,

Maldonado-Molina, Compton, Spitznagel, & Cottler, 2005; Walton, Blow, & Booth, 2001). Furthermore, in particular, Walton, Blow, and Booth (2001) contend that:

> "…African-Americans may face more difficult social situations following treatment than Caucasians, including high-stress and low-support environments. Thus, our research confirms the suggestions of Castellani and colleagues that African-Americans may need relapse prevention approaches that provide more advocacy and teach skills to access community resources effectively (p.237)."

Although not acknowledging specific socioeconomic factors, Marlatt and Gordon (1985) acknowledge the transactional role that environment plays in influencing recovery. For those individuals that are ultimately successful in completing treatment, maintenance of sobriety will be vulnerable to the same environmental challenges of finding affordable housing, gainful employment, child care, and transportation that may have promoted abuse initially (Gallagher, 1993; Hirsch, 2001; Sun, 2000; Woolis, 1998). Efforts to secure affordable housing are compromised by the likelihood that rental costs will be out of reach (HUD, 2004), or that the individual will have poor rental histories and unstable or no work histories as a result of the disorganized lifestyle that often accompanies substance abuse (Schmidt, Weisner, & Wiley, 1998). With limited options to meet their basic needs, the individual may be susceptible to turning to a familiar and/or self-destructive mechanism for coping.

Marlatt and Gordon (1985) cite studies that show that community reinforcements along with newly learned behaviors can reduce the risk of relapse.

One model of community reinforcement is supportive housing. Housing has been shown to have unique economic, psychological, and symbolic significance. It has a pervasive impact on the quality of life beyond just the provision of shelter. Safe, affordable, non-transient housing is the key that opens the door to meeting other basic needs. At the very least, the search for adequate housing will add undue stress to the household; at worst, the individual or family could become homeless with the person in recovery at further risk of relapse (Mulroy & Ewalt, 1996; Weidemann, Anderson, Butterfield, & O'Donnell, 1982).

Geared to serve low-income adults with special needs such as addiction or mental illness, supportive housing integrates affordable housing with on-site social services (i.e., case management, counseling, job training and referral) in an effort to create an environment that assist residents with personal, economic, and social functioning. The access to these services reduces their need for emergency or institutional care, thus providing a higher quality of life (Proscio, 1998). A four-year study conducted by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (i.e., the 1994 “McKinney Report”), pointed out that 85% of formerly homeless mentally ill people living in supportive housing continue in residence and become valuable members of the community. Another study (Proscio, 2001) found that graduates of substance-abuse programs who lived in supportive housing stayed clean at a rate of 90%, compared to a 55% rate for graduates who lived in other types of housing.

Supportive Housing as Intervention

Utilizing an ecological perspective, supportive housing can be considered a tool of intervention conceived by macrosystem forces for addressing the issue of substance

abuse. Supportive housing provides critical environmental supports and resources such as affordable housing, job readiness and training, and childcare to mitigate the effects of the socioeconomic barriers attendant to poverty. Further, other supports such as counseling and crisis intervention are also provided, to reinforce use of newly learned behaviors for relapse prevention.

Historically, supportive housing has served single adult men and women coping with special needs. But as more and more female-headed families are trapped in the destructive cycle of poverty, supportive (also known as service-enriched) housing developments are emerging as an option to address the needs of the whole family. In a study of Phipps Houses (C. Cohen & Phillips, 1997), a multifamily supportive housing development, many residents reported that living in such an environment was a major contributor to increasing their motivation to better their lives and be more independent.

Illustrating the transactional nature of the ecological systems perspective, macrosystems such as societal or cultural attitudes toward the poor (Germain, 1979) can shape the physical environment, or space, as well as the social. For example, the location and design of low-income housing, (i.e., concentrated pockets of poverty featuring isolated high-rises not conveniently located to employment centers) can all reflect and communicate particular perceptions of the poor (Teymur, Markus, & Woolley, 1988). Reciprocally, these symbols and settings influence the self-image and self-esteem of those who live and work within them (Michelson, 1977). Germain wrote: “Both the natural and the built aspects of the physical environment also provide opportunities and obstacles to the development of competence, relatedness, and autonomy (p. 14).” Supportive housing facilities are typically found in newly constructed facilities or

renovated apartments. They are usually located near public transportation and employment centers and are geographically situated within the downtown areas of the city.

This concept has implications for providing services for African American clients in recovery. As previously mentioned, African Americans place value on connection to community (DATA, 2002). In fact, in the supportive housing setting, one can extrapolate that "community" is created by the shared experiences between neighbors. In many urban settings it is not uncommon to not know the people living next door to you. By contrast, supportive housing utilizes the community as a treatment model (Miller & Weisner, 2002; Rasmussen, 2000). Neighboring is actively engaged as residents benefit from peer support, mutual aid, and collective coping with their common problem of addiction (Porteous, 1977).

Project GROW

In this investigation, the supportive housing program selected for evaluation was Delowe Village Aparments. Developed in 1999, Delowe Village is located in Fulton County in the City of East Point, Georgia, fifteen minutes from downtown Atlanta. Unlike many other supportive housing developments that typically operate out of high-rise structures, there are nine, two-story buildings on the property that offer 64, two- and three-bedroom units. Twenty-eight units, which offer rental assistance and social service programs, are reserved for Project GROW participant families. Eligible participants are current TANF recipients who are in recovery from addiction.

Delowe Village Apartments owners collaborated with Families First, a well-respected social service agency in Atlanta, Georgia, the Georgia Department of Human

Resources, and the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services to create Project GROW (Growth, Responsibility, Opportunity and Well-being), the supportive services program component of this housing model. The barriers targeted for intervention are lack of affordable housing, substance abuse, limited job or vocational skills, and childcare. Interventions were also targeted to improve parenting and household management skills, and other areas of social competency identified by the residents themselves as areas of concern. The underlying principals behind Project GROW are that by having access to supportive services, residents can experience personal growth, take responsibility, seize opportunity, and achieve well-being.

Resident Profile

Delowe Village serves low- and very-low income families in the metro Atlanta area. The current average annual income for all sixty-four households at Delowe Village is less than $20,000. The average household size is three family members. U.S. Census data released in 2000 for the City of East Point reports that eighty-two percent of the female-headed households were at or below the poverty level. Low-income, single mothers head 95% (or 61 families) of the households at Delowe Village. Approximately 97% (or 62 families) are African American. There is one Caucasian family and one Hispanic family.

As part of the qualifying criteria for the Project GROW program, the heads of households in recovery had to be confirmed “clean and sober” for a minimum of 90 days prior to move-in. These applicants are referred to Delowe Village by Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services (DFCS). Over the years, five additional families were moved to the community to participate in the program. All have completed

treatment at a variety of public and private treatment facilities in the metropolitan Atlanta area. Currently, there are apartments reserved for 28 eligible households; 23 of them are currently occupied.

The families in recovery receive rental assistance from the Shelter Plus Care (S+C) program created by HUD, as well as a rental subsidy program administered by the Georgia Department of Human Resources. With this subsidy, residents pay thirty percent of their monthly income towards the rental costs (similar to HUD's Section 8 program). Residents that receive this subsidy must participate in the supportive services program. Unlike transitional housing, residents can maintain leaseholder status in their apartment as long as they wish. If eventually their household annual income exceeds maximum levels to qualify for the subsidy, residents would still be free to remain in their housing as market rate renters. They could also continue to access or reduce services as their household needs evolve.

Program Description

Operated on-site in the community center, Project GROW offers services that are intended to assist residents in prolonging their sobriety and reducing their dependence on welfare, thus maximizing their economic and personal self-sufficiency. Residents work with the on-site social services staff to develop personal growth plans that identify individual goals, which can range from maintaining sobriety and securing employment to saving for their first home. The staff who provide program services at the Delowe Village are predominantly African American. Moreover, services are based on a culturally-sensitive design that incorporates principles which promote community building and mutual aid. Although participation in Project GROW is mandatory for the

families in recovery, many of the remaining 44 households frequently opt to participate. The families in recovery have signed a lease addendum that outlines their program goals and specific areas of compliance.

On-site services provided to address program and resident goals include:

(1) case management

(2) recovery support groups

(3) crisis intervention

(4) individual and group counseling

(5) computer training and (off-site) vocational training

(6) free school-age childcare at Learning Link center

(7) personal development workshops that address job readiness, parenting skills, household budgeting, credit counseling, and stress management.

The workshops focus on the areas of social competency requiring the most support among this population (Cohen & Phillips, 1997; Ihlanfeldt, 1998; McLanahan, 1983; Pavetti, 1998). In addition, the program fosters community building and mutual aid by encouraging resident participation in a variety of activities, for example, volunteering in the after school program, baby-sitting for a neighbor, participating in “neighborhood watch” activities and/or the resident council, volunteering time in the leasing or social service staff office, participating in clean-up projects on the grounds, even off-site activities such as attending PTA meetings. At the end of the year, residents who have given of their time will be singled out for recognition and receive the “Good Neighbor” award.

This program was recognized in 2002 with two awards for Excellence in Supportive Housing. The first was a national distinction from the MetLife/Enterprise Foundation, and the other from the Georgia Department of Community Affairs.

Methodology

Study Participants

The sample for this study was the pool of resident participants of the Project GROW program at Delowe Village, a small, multifamily apartment community in East Point, Georgia. Demographic characteristics of participants including age, race, marital status, education level, number of children, and income are presented in Table 1. These households represented the 27 families living in the apartment community who were recipients of welfare benefits upon their move-in. Classified as "hard-to-serve," the heads-of-household for these families are in recovery from substance addiction and/or are coping with mental illness. At the time the survey was administered, four apartments were vacant. Therefore, there were 23 Project GROW residents eligible to participate in the study. Of those current residents (n=23), 18 residents (78%) completed the questionnaire.

Data Collection Procedure

This is a descriptive study whose target population is comprised of participants in the Project GROW program. Because the sample of participants involved in the study is a non-probability sample, randomization was not feasible. Furthermore, due to the unique characteristics of the population, a more rigorous design involving a control group and/or a delayed service design could not be used due to the ethical considerations

involved for participants. Thus, at no time would Delowe Village and the investigators want to put participants at risk of relapse.

The program participant's self report on the length of sobriety and employment status was measured utilizing a six-item survey instrument created by the first author (see Table 1). As this is also a pilot study, reliability of the instrument could not be pre-tested. Staff records were used to compare with confidential survey results. Surveys were mailed to participants with pre-stamped, self-addressed envelopes enclosed. Once surveys were returned, participants received a $10 gift certificate to a neighborhood grocery store. Demographic information such as age, race, gender and marital status was gathered from staff records.

Research Findings

Data Analysis

Of the competed surveys returned, all (n=18) were African American. Participants were low-income single mothers who were current or former recipients of TANF welfare subsidy, with a mean age of 40.

The majority of survey participants were residents for two years or more (77.8%, n=14). Comparatively, the majority of those participants reported lengths of sobriety of three years or more (72.2%, n=13; see Table 2). The correlation between length of residency in supportive housing and length of sobriety (H_1) yielded a high Spearman correlation value of .838 (p <.05). See Table 3.

However, the analysis of results regarding the relationship between the length of residency and employment (H_2) revealed a lower correlation. The Spearman correlation coefficient (.208, $p < .05$) was only modest when analyzing the relationship between

length of residency and employment status (see Table 4). Survey results reveal that 50% of participants are employed (n=9) and 50% are unemployed (n=9), yet these results also indicate that the majority of residents are off welfare. By contrast, there are only two residents (11.1%, *n*=2) who reported they are not working but currently receiving TANF benefits. Most importantly, regarding relapse occurrence, 83.3% of participants (n=15) reported no relapse, while 11.1% (n=2) reported some relapse. Only one participant (5.6%) failed to respond to this portion of the survey (see Table 2).

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics from Staff Reports

Project GROW	***Number of Participants*** ***N*=23**	**%**
Age		
Mean	38	00
Race		
Black	17	94.4
White	0	0
Hispanic	1	.05
Other	0	0
Marital Status		
Never Married	11	0
Divorced	6	00
Married	2	00
Educational level		
Did not complete high school	3	00
High school diploma or GED	13	83.3
Some College/college degree	2	11.1
Annual Income		
Median	14,000	00
Number of children per household		
Mean	2	

Table 2

Survey Results

Project GROW	*Number of Participants N*=18	%
Employment status		
Employed	9	50.0
Not employed	9	50.0
Receiving TANF	2	11.1
Length of Residency (N=18)		
One year or less	3	16.7
1-2 years	1	5.6
2-3 years	3	16.7
3 years or more	11	61.1
Length of Sobriety		
One year or less	1	5.6
1-2 years	3	16.7
2-3 years	1	5.6
3 years or more	13	72.2
Relapse Occurrence		
No response	1	5.6
Relapse	2	11.1
No relapse	15	83.3

Table 3

Correlation of Length of Residency to Sobriety

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.681	.157	3.716	.002[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.838	.083	6.134	.000[c]

a. not assuming the null hypothesis

p < *.05*

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis

c. Based on normal approximation

Table 4

Correlation of Length of Residency to Employment Status

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.294	.195	1.231	.236[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.208	.229	.851	.407[c]

a. not assuming the null hypothesis

p < *.05*

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis

c. Based on normal approximation

Discussion

The focus of this study was to examine the efficacy of supportive housing as an intervention strategy for helping low-income mothers in recovery with relapse prevention. All participants were residents of Delowe Village Apartments. Surveys were mailed to 23 current residents of Delowe Village. However, only 18 residents completed the surveys for participation in this study. The total sample included 17 African American females, and one Hispanic female. Specifically examined were the relationships between the length of residency to sobriety, and the length of residency to employment status.

It was hypothesized that the length of residency in supportive housing would prolong sobriety. Results from a Spearman correlation analysis indicated a substantial correlation between the length of residency and length of sobriety for participants. Overall, this finding appears to suggest that the longer female participants are involved with supportive housing services and programs, the longer they maintain abstinence and/or sobriety from substance abuse and addiction.

Secondly, it was hypothesized that the length of residency in supportive housing would improve employment status. This hypothesis was not supported by the results. A Spearman correlation coefficient indicated a weak relationship between length of residency and improved employment. This finding appears to suggest that there is no strong relationship between these two variables. They may very well operate independently of each other in supportive housing settings, even when residents may receive employment counseling and training.

The findings detailed in this study seem to support the theory that supportive housing may offer tangible benefits for welfare-dependent households coping with recovery. Moreover, they tend to corroborate the findings of other researchers who espouse supportive housing as a viable intervention strategy for relapse prevention (Miller & Weisner, 2002; Mulroy & Ewalt, 1996; Rasmussen, 2000; Ray & Ksir, 2004). Although only one hypothesis was fully supported, this is a very significant finding for this study, which suggests that the maintenance of sobriety among African American women who singularly head their households is significantly related to supportive housing and related programs and services.

Limitations

Employment of correlation analysis provides useful information relative to the strength of the relationship between identified variables (i.e., length of residency and length of sobriety; length of residency and employment status). However, research attempting to answer the question of causality requires the employment of appropriate research designs and controls that offer protection against the intrusion of extraneous variables. Additionally, this approach would require a greater number of program participants than the 18 who participated in this study. Thus, a small sample size may have limited external validity, and it would not be advisable to make any generalizations to populations reasonably different from the one in this study.

Secondly, the potential effects of multiple treatment interaction is unavoidable given the nature of the Delowe programs and services offered, coupled with the seriousness of people's needs (e.g., adequate housing, sobriety, employment, and relapse prevention). Multiple interventions tend to have a cumulative effect that seriously limits

any definitive conclusions concerning a specific intervention. Therefore, this study cannot provide any conclusive determinations regarding the efficacy of specific programs or services. It can only speak to the efficacy of Delowe Village programs and services as a whole. To answer such questions in the future, research efforts with Delowe Village should incorporate a more rigorous experimental design with a larger more heterogeneous population.

Implications for Social Work Practice

Delowe Village is a promising model of supportive housing. For certain households struggling with the transition from welfare to self-sufficiency, it offers a crucial mixture of independence and support. The guiding principles that give shape to Project GROW are based on an empowerment model approach to service delivery. The premise is that as long as the resources are available, clients have the power to make the necessary changes to improve their own lives. The staff draws on this strengths-based perspective when working with both individual and family client systems. Still there is a tension between the idea of empowerment and the nature of service delivery (McMillen, Morris & Sherraden, 2004). The architects of the program hoped to encourage self-direction among residents, yet there are firm rules regarding program compliance. Failure to adhere to the rules could cause loss of residency. It is unclear if compliance is the result of a resident's self-motivation, or the fear of losing hard-won housing.

Delivering social services within the housing context is a relatively new arena for social workers. The traditional model for service delivery is that clients come to the agency to have their needs met. Working within the supportive housing model, a worker may work with clients in the office or in the resident's apartment. The ability to observe

the client in their natural environment allows the worker to construct a more holistic approach to working with the client system.

Because this is a new area of service, there are new challenges in the workplace for workers as they navigate new working relationships not only with clients, but also with the on-site property management staff. Workers must often take on the role of advocate and broker as they often are asked to resolve conflicts between management and residents, particularly residents in recovery. Many of these residents are readjusting to the responsibility of running a household. Issues such as timely rental payments and housekeeping are viewed by property managers as critical to the preservation of the asset. If a resident does not adhere to policy as it relates to these issues, it could jeopardize their occupancy. The social service staff may have to negotiate agreements to address improving household budgeting skills or housekeeping techniques with the resident in order to ensure continued housing status. Further, since social worker files on clients are confidential, there could be pressure from management to know more about the client's personal issues than are appropriate, or allowed by the National Association of Social Work Code of Ethics (1980).

Conclusion

A number of the methodological shortcomings of this study have been noted. However, there are some significant strengths of this study that deserve to be noted as well. The Delowe Village program provides appropriate and necessary long-term supportive housing programs and services to troubled mothers and their families. If left without supportive housing, the problems that burden these single mothers will exacerbate and could result in poor employment opportunities, homelessness,

incarceration, and very limited life choices. Thus, the Delowe Village supportive housing programs appear to provide an effective way to intervene with support, community, and hope for residents. Moreover, this model provides a reason to believe that it is an appropriate means of intervention for problems of housing, drug abuse, addiction, and unemployment that incessantly impedes the mental and social health of African American families and their children.

It is hoped that further review of this and similar programs will continue as there are implications that supportive housing can contribute to the success of special needs populations who are also heads of households. Nurtured and supported by on-site social workers, participants are given a second chance to get into the mainstream of self-sufficiency. Moreover, supportive housing goes beyond increasing the inventory of affordable housing. Over time, it can contribute to a reduction among the ranks of the poor.

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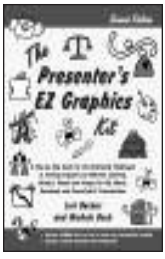

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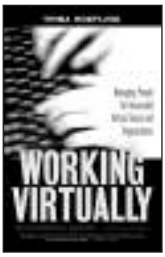

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The Art of Inclusion: A Study on Leadership and Career Success of Minority Males in Nonprofit Organizations

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Key words: Diversity, Leadership, Success, and Inclusion

The Art of Inclusion: A Study on Leadership and Career Success of Minority Males in Nonprofit Organizations

Norris Rashe Dorsey, Ed.D.

ABSTRACT: The Art of Inclusion presents the stories of 6 executives whose stories define African-American business success. Thriving in spite of multiple obstacles, they have enjoyed extraordinary careers at (and helped build the fortunes of) nonprofit organizations. In remarkably candid interviews, these exemplary professionals reveal not only the secrets of their successes, but the sources of their fears, their most difficult challenges, and their hopes for the future. Their experiences are presented according to what they reveal about the black experience in the white-centric workplace, from uncertainty to confidence, from struggle to strength, and from enjoying success to giving back in the name of those whose fortunes have yet to turn.

INTRODUCTION

Why I Launched This Study

I launched my study of this topic to investigate the career success of African-American males who lead nonprofit organizations and to draw upon their experiences, perceptions, and leadership skills as President/CEO. I used six African-American male leaders of nonprofit organizations in Los Angeles County. The African American leaders far exceeded the occupational and educational accomplishments of their parents. They grew up with a sense of responsibility and self-confidence. Each participant concentrated on tasks such as planning, work ethic and performance. All six participants were strongly influenced by advice from their mothers and other positive role model/mentors in the early years.

As an African-American male, what I found was quite encouraging. My study suggested that:

1. Most African-American men are highly motivated by the desire to "make a difference," and to "help the community."
2. African Americans are looking to carry the torch as today's leaders in for-profit and nonprofit organizations.
3. The participants in this study indicate that their success has come from the nonprofit sector.
4. African-American male President/CEO are middle age, have impressive educational credentials, and display a commitment to strong work ethic.

The following tables describe the participants in the study and provide background information. Table 1 is a description of the six African-American males in this study. This table has information from each participant's vita and identifies the participant's highest education completed and prior position.

Table 1. Education and Prior Experience of the Six African-American Males

Participant	Racial/Ethnic Heritage	Highest Education	Position	Prior Position
P1	African American	MD	President/CEO	Board member
P2	African American	Master's	President/CIO	Executive director
P3	African American	Ed.D.	President	Independent consultant
P4	African American	Master's	President/COO	Director of community relations
P5	African American	Master's	Executive director	Resident director
P6	African American	Ed.D.	President/CEO	Vice president

BACKGROUND

In “Cracking The Corporate Code…,” Price M. Cobbs and Judith L. Turnock state that Black corporate executives have earned positions of leadership. They have used their success to create a legacy of diversity. In addition to their own groundbreaking achievements, they are determined to see that new generations of African-American executives will never be alone as they once were.

Richard Majors and Janet Billson (“Cool Pose: The Dilemma of Black Manhood In America”) argue that many African-American males are successful; however, not enough of these success stories are studied. Research and literature specific to leadership in nonprofit organizations is plentiful. However, the research does not indicate to what extent African-American male leaders contribute to a nonprofit organization's success.

The problem is that literature and research fail to include the experiences of successful African-American men to be coupled with the qualitatively derived predictor factors. There is a need to identify and examine specific strategies that African-American males use in their role as leaders. There is also a need to identify and describe experiences that successful African-American males use to overcome barriers.

Little research data identify reasons why some African-American men lead nonprofit organizations. What life experiences were the factors that enabled some African-American men to succeed? How did these successful African-American men defeat the odds that research deems are overwhelmingly against them? The identification of African-American males as leaders of nonprofit organizations can provide insight as to career decisions made that led to their positions as Presidents/CEOs.

Significance of the Study

Today's young African-American executives have grown up with greater opportunity, although many barriers remain. The generation of African Americans who entered the corporate world in the 1960s laid the groundwork for this generation. The percentage of African-American males who are President/CEO in nonprofit organizations is lower than the percentage of other ethnic groups. However, the number of African Americans in positions of power is growing.

The identification of strategies used to overcome the barriers may inspire more African-American males to secure leadership positions in nonprofit organizations. The findings of this study could help nonprofit boards identify, groom, and promote qualified African-American males to the positions of President/CEO. In addition, the study could provide young African-American males with direction and more positive role models to emulate.

Table 2 describes the participants' leadership experience in their current position as President/CEO. Included in table 2 is the organization's operating budget, which the President/CEO is responsible for managing. This information was triangulated from each participant's organization's annual report, year ended 2004.

Table 2. Description of the Participant Longevity and Organization's Budget

Organization	Participant	Position	Years in Current Position	Yearly Operating Budget
O1	P1	President/CEO	4	3.0 bil
O2	P2	President/CIO	19	6.2 mil
O3	P3	President	5	1.3 mil
O4	P4	President/COO	3	2.1 mil
O5	P5	Executive Director	3	80.0 mil
O6	P6	President/CEO	7	9.0 mil

CONCLUSION

"It's my belief that God gives us all gifts, special abilities that we have the privilege of developing to help us serve Him and humanity."

--Benjamin Carson

"Focus, focus, focus" were the words of several participants during the study. Participant 2 said, "Align yourself with an organization that has the same mission as you do." Participants were driven to be the first person in their family to achieve success. Each participant had a dynamic relationship with their parents and was provided a foundation for self-confidence and independence. The parents served as role model/mentors and provided strong leadership at an early age. It appears that consistent parental support is the foundation for these African-American males' strong work ethic.

The research is weak in the area of African Americans in the nonprofit sector. This study provided insight into the lives of six successful African-American males and contributes to research on African Americans in nonprofits leadership positions. The research suggests that African Americans are looking to carry the torch as today's leaders in for-profits and nonprofits organizations. However, the participants in this study indicated that their niche and success has come from the nonprofit sector. The need to help the community and provide greater service, as well as being paid well for their efforts, are major factors.

Finally, the results of this study suggest African-American male President/CEOs are middle aged, have impressive educational credentials, and display a commitment to a strong work ethic. My research corroborated that most African-American men are highly motivated by the desire to "make a difference" and to "help the community."

Career success also can be judged by the individual pursuing the career. Most research on career success typically has focused on objective success, rather than individual appraisals of their own success.

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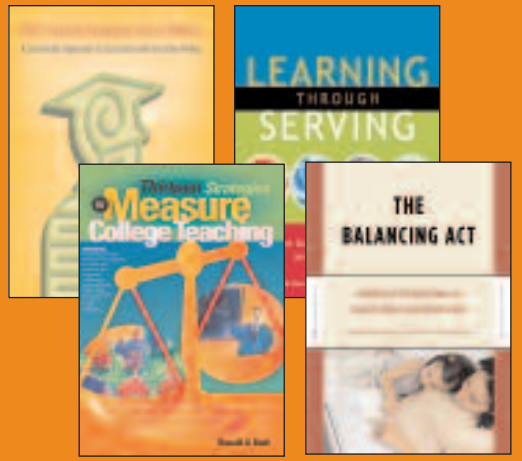

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Who Benefits from Concentrated Affluence?: A Synthesis of Neighborhood Effects Considering Race, Gender and Education Outcomes [1]

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Word Count: 10,273

[1] This draft has benefited from the comments of three anonymous reviewers. Please direct correspondence to Odis Johnson, Jr., 2169 LeFrak Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-8215, email: ojohnson@aasp.umd.edu.

Abstract
Using Hierarchical Linear Models the author synthesizes the findings of 41 sample estimates to ascertain the significance and magnitude of neighborhood affluence effects on education outcomes according to race, gender and study quality. The analysis finds the presence of high SES neighbors is positively related to education outcomes even when controlling for variation in study quality. However, the examination of these effects according to race and gender revealed the existence of "benefit gaps." In the race analysis whites benefited more from living with affluent neighbors than blacks, while females had a greater benefit than males in the gender analysis. In the estimation of race and gender interaction effects, white males were found to derive the greatest educational benefit from having high SES neighbors while black males benefited least. Significant effects for all four subpopulations remained after controlling for study quality. In conclusion, the analysis considers the study implications for urban and education policies which seek to create economically heterogeneous settings as a remedy for persistent inequalities in educational opportunity and achievement.

Introduction

Economic segregation has grown tremendously in recent decades (Benabou 1996) and has prompted one social scientist to call the twenty-first century the "age of extremes" (Massey 1996). As the rise in concentrated disadvantage became a subject of interest to policy makers, commentators and researchers (Wilson 1987, Jargowsky 1997; Traub 2000), others began to take note of a corresponding increase in concentrated affluence (Massey 1996; St. John 2002). The studies of concentrated affluence that followed revealed some of the largest neighborhood effects in social science and with greater consistency than studies that estimated the effects of concentrated poverty (Johnson 2003). In addition, some researchers began to define neighborhood disadvantage as the absence of residents with capital rather than as the presence of low income families. Crane (1991) for instance found as the percentage of residents with middle-class professions declined, rates of teenage pregnancy and dropping out of school rose at an increasing rate. These findings prompted some demographers to argue the effects of concentrated capital are among the more important neighborhood predictors of social outcomes (Massey 2001; Johnson 2003); its unequal distribution across places makes it a pressing social concern for those interested in limiting disparities in the cognitive and developmental outcomes of children.

The consequences of the uneven distribution of capital across neighborhoods have been particularly acute for African Americans. Not only are African Americans less likely to live in, and thus benefit from, higher income neighborhoods (Jargowsky 1997), some researchers are finding those African Americans living among the middle class benefit less than their white residential counterparts (Ginther, Haveman & Wolfe 2000;

Johnson 2003). These findings remain speculative because they occur rather inconsistently—a likely product of variation in study quality. No doubt, these features of the research limit our ability to draw conclusions and ultimately make informed policy decisions concerning the social costs and benefits of the inequitable distribution of capital for subpopulations. A quantitative synthesis of the research in this area would help move our understanding forward, yet until this point a synthesis of neighborhood effects studies has not been the subject of publicly available research.

This study therefore employs quantitative methods in research synthesis to ascertain the impact of measures of neighborhood capital on the learning outcomes of children. I investigate four related question: 1) are there differences in the size of the benefit children derive from residing in areas of concentrated capital according to race; 2) if so, how large are those differences or "benefit gaps"; 3) are there gender differences within the racial categories; and, 4) to what extent does study quality moderate the relationship between neighborhood affluence and education outcomes and subsequently the size of the benefit gap?

We start our exploration of these questions reviewing the relevant theory and research in the areas of neighborhood capital, race and gender. After detailing the process of identifying studies included in the research synthesis, I explain how the information in these studies is treated in meta-analysis to allow for its synthesis. Using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) I generate an overall effect-size, estimate its variance, and explain variation in the effect-size by considering sample characteristics, in this case race, gender and study quality (Raudenbush & Bryk 2002). I conclude with a discussion of the findings and their policy implications.

The Role of Endogenous Capital in Neighborhoods

According to neighborhood effects research, the concentration of capital brings about "effects" of various types within neighborhoods that are net of individual characteristics (Jencks and Mayer 1990). As these effects enable social mobility they come to represent a form of endogenous capital within neighborhoods and institutions. Unlike traditional conceptualizations that assume one's socioeconomic status is an exogenous individual level attribute, endogenous capital recognizes the economic returns to individual capital depend on the social class of the associations or larger membership in which it is situated. We might find then the benefits accruing to middle class families residing in affluent neighborhoods are greater than those accruing to families of comparable income living among the less advantaged, not only because the synergistic outcome in processes of collective capitalization is dependent on the individual capital of its group members, but also due to the inequitable conferral of social awards. Those who collectively have more, create more, and often are given more. Thus this capital possesses properties that are specific to places and is ostensibly used in creating structures that support processes of capitalization, among them political activity, the cultivation of complementary community norms, and individual dispositions toward success. Sociologists Wilson (1987) and Jencks and Mayer (1990) referred to these effects as "concentration effects" and detailed their influence within peer relations, role modeling, and institutional processes. Extending the concept of concentration effects, Quercia and Galster (2000) define the threshold effect as a point when the representation of a

particular characteristic reaches some "critical mass over a predefined area" making it increasingly more effective in shaping the behavior of others (p. 147).

In just the past decade we have seen the formulation of theories of endogenous capital that are useful in illustrating the role concentrated social class plays in creating variability in social outcomes. Economists Lundberg and Startz (2000) for example term the spatial situation of capital "community social capital" and define it as "the average stock of human capital" that one generation transmits to the next. Differences in social outcomes across communities and neighborhoods persist as previous generations bequeath their inequities in human capital to the next through an unequal investment in local educational systems. Putnam (2000) refers to community social capital as the prevailing "norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" arising from relationships among individuals (p. 19). Putnam (1995) implies community social capital may at times indicate the social capital of neighborhoods, rather than or in addition to, those of communities. Differences in these norms according to Putnam lead to differences in the benefits they generate. Johnson (forthcoming) articulates related forms of endogenous capital called proximity and proximal capital, the former referring to the capital of the proximity while the latter is an individual possession resulting from the conversion of proximity capital into social mobility. This conceptualization of capital recognizes the externalities arising from social interaction as noted in Putnam's (2000) and Lundberg and Startz' (2000) work, but also acknowledges that social interaction is not required for youth to adopt examples of behavior provided by local adults and peers. The likelihood of adopting those behaviors becomes more likely as the prevalence of those behaviors within the proximity increases. So there are active and seemingly passive agents of child

socialization, the former directly impacting the next generation through social interaction (or social capital), while the latter through mere presence. Durlauf (2001) would identify the latter effects as "feedbacks" from characteristics of a group to its individual behaviors. Through these processes endogenous capital is thought to pervade neighborhoods and its institutions, including schools.

Role of Race and Gender

Conceptualizations of endogenous capital are complicated by race in both racially segregated and integrated environments. In the former, middle class African Americans are more likely than whites of a comparable socioeconomic status to have individuals with lower incomes as relatives, neighbors, attending local churches and enrolled in neighborhood schools (Pattillo 1999). Economic diversity has been an enduring feature of middle class African American neighborhoods, which, as DuBois (1897) lamented over a century ago, lack social class differentiation. Nonetheless, the economic diversity within the networks of the segregated black middle class may help lower income individuals experience social mobility but conversely limits their own processes of capitalization.

The processes we have reviewed thus far presume a sort of interdependence among the associating individuals that benefits some or everyone within the proximity. However, there are commensalistic social processes that limit the conversion of proximity capital into social mobility within racially integrated middle class neighborhoods. A number of these social processes are modeled within the reviews of Jencks and Mayer (1990) and Gephardt (1997). The cultural conflict model for example examines the tensions that arise when individuals or groups with different social

affiliations, beliefs and histories interact. These cultural incongruities may give way to contests in public spaces or within public schools. The ethnic/racial membership model recognizes that deprivation feelings can develop among populations that understand the influence race holds in the distribution of opportunities and social privileges. This awareness may lead youth of color to develop an identity consistent with their observations, resulting in perceptions of limited opportunity and diminished aspirations (Ogbu 1987). This perspective has been echoed by economists Akerlof and Kranton (2000) who suggest identity is "fundamental to behavior" and therefore choosing an identity, "may be the most important economic decision people make" (p. 717). These social processes suggest whether living among the middle class is beneficial depends on the race of one's middle class neighbors.

In addition to the moderating influence of race with regard to endogenous capital, we may observe differences within racial groups according to gender. Differences in the importance of endogenous capital to the educational development of males and females may stem from gender differences in rearing practices and how those rearing practices in turn manage the exposure of males and females to environmental influences (Furstenburg et al. 1999). Male youth tend to spend more time in their neighborhood away from the immediate supervision of families than females and subsequently may have more interaction with individuals possessing human and cultural capital and beneficial networks. Restraining females from interacting within non-threatening environments may limit the acquisition of skills from experiences that could prove helpful away from home and in school. The extent to which these parenting behaviors differ according to gender

among and within racial groups, we may observe differences in the effects of neighborhood capital on education outcomes.

Inconsistency in Findings and Variation in Study Quality

Despite the abundance of theoretical work in this area, the review of empirical research produces inconclusive evidence as to the influence of neighborhoods. Though high SES effects have been cited as one of the more consistent predictors (Levanthal & Brooks-Gunn 2000; Duncan & Raudenbush 1999), no one has systematically assessed the consistency of these findings. A cursory review of the studies reveals the findings vary considerably across studies and even among studies that use similar data. Duncan (1994) for example, estimates the effects of the percent of high SES neighbors on years of completed schooling for black males, black females, white females and white males using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID). He finds the percentage of high SES neighbors is positively related to years of completed schooling for all groups except black males. Drawing a sample from the same data source, Duncan, Connell and Klebanov (1997) also estimate the influence of high SES on years of completed school for all four groups. This analysis produces a positive effect for all four groups including black males.

Likewise the works of Crane (1991) and Clark (1992) offer conflicting findings. Crane (1991) uses the PUMS 1970 data to generate a sample of 22,000 young people from several of the largest statistical metropolitan sampling areas (SMSAs). He estimates the probability of dropping out according to the percentage of high status residents. He observes large increases in dropout rates as the percentage of high status residents drops

below 5 percent for all ethnic/racial and gender subgroups. Clark (1992) using a larger PUMS 1980 sample of males from the largest SMSAs was unable to replicate Crane's (1991) results. Clark (1992) observed no large increases in dropping out as the percentage of high status residents dropped to extremely low levels for any ethnic/racial and gender subgroup. Though Clark (1992) finds in the total sample the percent high SES neighbors is negatively related to dropping out, the results for African Americans and Hispanics were insignificant. While some studies report significant high SES effects (Halpern-Felsher et al. 1997; Chase-Lansdale 1997; Ainsworth 2002) others do not (Ensminger 1996; Foster & McLanahan 1996; Lopez-Turley 2002). Yet another study conducted by Ginther, Haveman, and Wolfe (2000) report a negative relationship between the percent high SES neighbors and the likelihood of graduating from high school for African Americans suggesting neighborhood affluence is not always beneficial.

Ginther, Haveman and Wolfe's (2000) analysis also gives reason to question the ability of neighborhoods to make substantial contributions to the educational development of youth. The authors examine the robustness of neighborhood effects by observing how they vary in magnitude according to model specifications. As more family and individual level controls are added, the effect-size magnitude reduces dramatically until only one neighborhood factor retains significance. The authors argue those factors typically unobserved in neighborhood research could account for much of the variation we would otherwise attribute to neighborhood characteristics.

Identifying and Selecting Studies

Studies were identified and selected through three processes. The awareness of a few quantitative studies in this area allowed the author to search bibliographies,

references and citations to locate comparable studies. Informal networks and contacts with scholars in the field also produced a number of studies that were "in press," disseminated at academic conferences or available as reports from research organizations. Last, computerized databases such as Wilson, EconLit, ERIC and PsycLIT were searched using the keywords *neighborhood*, *community*, *urban*, *concentration*, *spatial*, *education*, *achievement*, *learning*, *test scores*, *attainment* and *dropping out* in various combinations. This approach produced several hundred studies but few relevant ones that had not been identified through our initial efforts. The literature search revealed 45 studies that contained effect size estimates of neighborhood influences on education outcomes.

A successful synthesis of research depends on a number of "conditions" primarily associated with the quality of studies. These conditions constitute a set of criterion with which to assess the acceptability of the 45 studies. For example, a synthesis of low socioeconomic effects on test score performance requires that both variables are employed within a significant number of studies. Our interest in affluence led us to identify studies that included high SES as a neighborhood level predictor. Studies that did not contain high SES variables were eliminated from consideration reducing the number of studies to 16.

The second condition for selection concerned the reporting of vital statistical information within the studies. Not all studies reported the necessary information presenting a problem of missing data. Eliminating these studies would weaken the external validity of the meta-analysis results; we could not with certainty generalize the findings back to a body of research if many of the studies were not present in the analysis. If the study was a recent one the missing information was requested from the

primary author. In some cases, the information was found in other studies that used identical data.

Meta-analysis also requires an assumption of independence among the estimates pooled from the available studies. Presenting more than one estimate from the same sample source, whether calculated within the same study or across several studies, violates this assumption and may produce serial auto correlation among the estimates. For example, 6 studies use the Infant Health and Development Program (IHDP) data to estimate the effects of various neighborhood qualities on education outcomes. Since we have conceptual interest in race and gender, the choice of which IHDP study to include was simply decided by electing the study that disaggregated data according to race and gender. In this case, Chase-Lansdale et al. (1997) produced disaggregated results according to race and gender for 3 to 5-year olds while Klebanov et al. (1998) did the same for 1 to 2-year olds. Estimates produced from the analysis of sub-samples (disaggregated data according to race, age, gender etc.) are assumed independent and acceptable. In studies that produce several estimates from models with different combinations of covariates, preference was given to the estimates of "full models" as opposed to models with fewer covariates. In cases where it remained unclear which coefficient from the study to include, multiple coefficients were averaged to produce a single effect-size estimate. As a result all of the effect-sizes in the synthesis were estimated with individual and family-level controls in the primary studies.[2] Safeguarding

[2] A separate analysis was conducted to assess variation in effects according to age. In all synthesis models, the effects did not vary significantly according to age. Research in child and adolescent development suggest neighborhoods bring their effect to bear over time with young children less exposed to extra-familial influences than older youth (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan & Aber 1997). The lack of difference in the influence of neighborhood factors according to age may be explained by the cross-sectional nature of the studies in the meta-analysis and their inability to ascertain and account for how long study respondents

the assumption of independence required we reduce the number of studies to 9, including a total of 14 data sources and 41 sample estimates.

[Insert Table 1 near here]

Despite the seemingly low number of studies, the figures presented in Table 1 show the selected studies represent a combined sample size of 138,615 youth. Furthermore the estimate *n* (*n* = 41) is sufficient considering well regarded research syntheses have been conducted with a similar number of studies and samples (Cooper et al 1996; Raudenbush & Bryk 2002) and far fewer estimates (Raudenbush 1984; Raudenbush 1988; Kalaian & Raudenbush 1996). Some may wonder why so many samples and estimates were generated from just 9 studies. First, many studies used more than one data set. Halpern-Felsher et al. (1997) for example produced estimates from six data sets, five of which were found to not violate the assumption of independence among the estimates and were included in this synthesis. Also the majority of the studies contained disaggregated data. This allowed a single study to produce as many as four independent estimates, one each for black males, black females, white females, and white males. These conditions maximize the *n* within the analysis while supporting the assumption of independence among the estimates. The studies, data sources, the original study coefficient and other descriptive data are listed in Table 1.

Method and Analytical Procedure

The Variables

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were exposed to the corresponding environmental characteristic. Residential mobility remains a significant confounder of neighborhood influences in developmental research.

Frequently the variables involved in meta-analysis are in fact composites due to the varying variable definitions used in the primary studies. *High SES* for instance is defined in the primary studies as the percent making above $30,000; percent white-collar workers; percent professional and managerial workers; and the absolute income of the top quintile. The outcome of interest *Education Outcomes* is also a composite indicator including standardized test scores, attainment and school GPA. The use of a composite indicator as an outcome presents some benefits as well as limitations. The differing variable definitions across studies limits the practical interpretability of the findings; the effect magnitudes presented in the synthesis cannot be used to determine how grades or test-score points correspond to standard deviation unit increases or decreases. These benefits however are not central to our research questions. A composite increases the external validity and generalizability of the findings by allowing us to include all of the relevant studies. Moreover the consideration of education composites is common in social science (Connell & Halpern-Felsher 1997; Halpern-Felsher et al. 1997; Lopez-Turley 2002) and in meta-analysis (Cooper et al. 1996).

The research of Ginther et al. (2000) suggest neighborhood effect-sizes vary according to model specifications, a study attribute we recognize as central in understanding study quality. The authors and others (Sampson, Morenoff & Gannon-Rowley 2002) warn that the inclusion of theoretically irrelevant covariates in statistical models could artificially suppress estimates of a neighborhood's influence. The investigation of model specifications then should not only consider variation in study quality as it occurs in the representation of covariates, but also in the theoretical relevance of covariates. Such an approach in a synthesis of neighborhood effects is

preferred but not simple; while studies may reference theory, the field's reliance on census measures severely limits the degree to which model specifications reflect ecological or neighborhood social organization theory. As the field progresses, the inclusion of theoretically relevant covariates will no doubt permit such evaluations of variation in study quality.

We elect to consider the stringency of the model specifications within the primary studies by constructing a moderating variable, *Study Quality*. If Ginther et al. (2000) are correct, we must caution the inclusion of seemingly less relevant covariates within the primary study models may have suppressed the estimates included in this synthesis. Thus it is unknown to what extent the results of the study quality analysis reflect the suppressed effects generated at the primary study level (due to the inclusion of presumably less relevant covariates) or differences among studies in the inclusion of adequate controls. These complications however do not seriously jeopardize the merit of considering model specifications as a measure of study quality; a finding of "no difference" among studies that vary in model stringency would not support the influence of artificial suppression, while finding larger effect-sizes for studies with more controls would go further to challenge the threat of suppression. Nonetheless, we present the analysis with and without the study quality variable.

In constructing the *study quality* variable we first reviewed the model specifications of the primary studies. Our review revealed a total of 186 different variables across the primary studies. We organized these variables with regard to their unit of analysis (individual, family structure and process, school and neighborhood structure and process). Next we organized the variables within each unit of analysis

according to common social science constructs. For example within the unit of analysis *family structure*, the variables parent's education; father's education; mother's education; and no knowledge of mother's and father's education were grouped and coded as indicators of "parent's education." Other constructs within the family structure heading are family origin, family size, adult presence, parental health and parent's age. The organization of the primary study variables yielded 52 constructs.

The next step in our assessment of study quality included the coding of the estimates according to the specifications of the models from which they were extracted. A study quality score was tallied for each estimate by allocating a point for each of the 52 constructs present in the primary study model(s). This process was repeated with any discrepancies between the two point totals being resolved in a third review of the primary studies. The study quality score ranges from 6 to 25 with a mean of 9.797. We use this mean to construct a dichotomous variable, *Study Quality*. In coding the *Study Quality* variable, we enter a value of 0 for those estimates that have a study quality score that falls below the study quality mean while those that exceed the mean are coded 1.

The characteristics of studies also varied according to the racial composition of the sample. Each sample is classified as either black or white if its racial composition is at least 85 percent homogenous. Despite selecting 85 percent as a lower threshold for making classifications, the black and white samples are on average 99 percent racially homogeneous. Thus we have two dummy variables, *Black* and *White* that are each coded 1 for yes, 0 for no.

We follow the same procedure in creating variables for the analysis of gender. The sample estimates are identified as *Female* (1 = yes, 0 = no) and *Male* (1 = yes, 0 =

no). Though we applied the same threshold of 85 percent in classifying the samples, the female and male samples are on average 100 percent homogeneous. In the final analysis we identify the estimates according to the racial and gender composition as *Black Female* (1 = yes, 0 = no), *Black Male* (1 = yes, 0 = no), *White Female* (1 = yes, 0 = no) and *White Male* (1 = yes, 0 = no).

Statistical Conversions: Computations of Half-Standardized Coefficients, *d*.

Most of the studies report the effect-size estimate as a regression coefficient, sometimes in both the metric coefficient (unstandardized), β^m, and standardized coefficient $\beta^* = \beta^m \sigma_x / \sigma_y$ (where the sample estimate of β^m is denoted as B^m, the estimate of β^* as B^* and the estimate of δ as *d*). Due to the consideration of a socioeconomic status predictor, we convert the original study estimates and estimate averages listed in Table 1 to half-standardized estimates ($\delta = \beta^m / \sigma_y$). In questions that concern socioeconomic status, it is better to report half-standardized estimates than to report β^*, primarily because with β^*, communities with a restricted range of SES will generate a smaller effect-size than communities with a larger range in SES even if the actual effect-sizes are the same. In this analysis $\delta = \Delta y$ for each 1% increase in *X*. Because none of the studies report half-standardized values, the statistical information from each study was used to calculate half-standardized coefficients.

The computation of half-standardized estimates is applied uniformly across all estimates except where the amount of statistical information available within a particular study is limited. Some studies do not report standard errors. Fortunately these estimates are all statistically significant suggesting an upper bound of the standard error value.

These estimates are subsequently assigned a standard error approximately half ($\beta/1.96$) of the estimate value. The decision to assign values occurred infrequently (in less than 15 percent of the estimates) and was preferable to the bias that would arise by eliminating the estimates. The half-standardized coefficient was computed as $d=B^{*}/\sigma_x$ based on the reasoning that $B^{*}/\sigma_x = (B^{m}\sigma_x/\sigma_{y)/}\sigma_x = B^{m}/\sigma_y = d$. The statistical conversions complete the data set. Table 2 displays the means and standard deviations of the outcome, predictor and moderating variables.

[Insert Table 2 near here]

Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM)

As Raudenbush and Bryk (2002) point out, it is "natural to apply hierarchical linear models to meta-analytic data because such data are hierarchically structured," (p. 206) that is, effect-sizes are nested within studies. HLM attends to hypothesis testing by 1) generating an overall effect-size; 2) estimating the variance of the effect-size parameters (as distinct from the variance of the effect size estimates); and, 3) explaining variation in the effect-size parameters by considering subject and study characteristics in linear models. We consider a specific study that estimates the effect of a neighborhood level variable on educational indicators, denoted as, δ. Suppose not a similar effect is estimated in each of many studies, indexed by *j*. Our aim is to compare these estimates in a meta-analysis of the *j* studies. In the analysis, we test the null hypothesis, H_0: $\gamma_s = 0$ which implies that the effect, γs of study characteristic W_s on a particular effect-size is zero. These procedures will be applied to a univariate and multivariate meta-analysis where the estimates are assumed to be independent.

Meta-Analysis of Effects Assumed Independent

The analysis of independent effect-size estimates proceeds in two parts. The first analysis (unconditional analysis) estimates the mean and variance of the effects. In the second analysis (conditional analysis), we estimate a model to predict the effect-sizes and the residual variance of the effects. We start with an unconditional (within-studies) model of neighborhood socioeconomic effects at Level-1:

$$d_j = \delta_j + e_j \tag{1}$$

where d_j is the estimated effect-size for study j, δ_j is the corresponding parameter with a sampling variance, V_j, assumed known. In an unconditional analysis the effect-sizes, δ_j, are viewed as varying around a grand mean, γ_0, plus a Level-2 error, u_j. No predictors are involved at Level-2. The specifications at Level-1 and Level-2 yield the combined model:

$$d_j = \gamma_0 + u_j + e_j \tag{2}$$

where

d_j is the effect-size estimate for study j
δ_j is the true effect-size parameter
γ_0 is the estimate of the grand mean
u_j is a Level-2 random effect
e_j is the sampling error associated with d_j as an estimate of δ_j
τ is the estimated variance of the effect parameter, δ_j
V_j is the variance error with which d_j estimates δ_j

implying $d_j \sim N(\gamma_0, \Delta_j)$ with $\Delta_j = \tau + V_j$

To test the possibility that the variability in environmental effects may be related to the design and analytical characteristics of the studies, we construct a conditional (between-studies) analysis where we leave the Level-1 unchanged. At Level-2, we use the information about the moderating covariates, model specifications to predict the effect-sizes. The model is:

$$\delta_j = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1(\text{Study Quality})_j + \ldots + \gamma_s W_{sj} + u_j \tag{3}$$

The specifications at Level-1 and Level-2 yield the combined model:

$$\delta_j = \gamma_0 + \gamma_j W_j + \gamma_2 W_j + \ldots + \gamma_s W_{sj} + u_j + e_j \tag{4}$$

where

δ_j is the estimated effect-size
$W_{1j}, \ldots, W_{sj}$ are study characteristics
$\gamma_0, \ldots, \gamma_s$ are coefficients
u_j is a residual for which we assume $u_j \sim N(0,\tau)$.

implying $d_j \sim N(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1 W_j + \ldots + \gamma_s W_{sj}, \Delta_j)$, where $\Delta_j = \tau + V_j$ is the conditional variance in d_j after controlling for moderating variables.

Multivariate Mixed Linear Modeling

Since one of our questions concern the possibility that the outcomes of subpopulations may vary in their sensitivity to neighborhood influences, we consider a multivariate model to estimate the effect of having high SES neighbors on two racial categories, and then again with those racial categories separated according to gender. The estimation of the multivariate model proceeds in two stages. A within-study model is estimated in the first analysis where we specify the effect-sizes that are present and

absent. One may view the estimation of the within-study model as one relating the estimated effect-sizes from each study to the "true" effect-sizes (Kalaian & Raudenbush 1996). The between-studies model specifies the distribution of the effect-sizes across a universe of studies. In the second analysis we control for the model specifications within the primary studies, an indicator of study quality.

As indicated earlier, different studies report results for different subpopulations. While one may encounter many of the subpopulations in ecological research, few of the studies will include all of them. In the multivariate analysis, we start with the assumption that no matter how many effect-sizes are actually estimated in a given study, that study has $M = 2$ latent effect-sizes, one for each subpopulation.

In the first analysis, we associate with each study (j) a complete vector of M effect-sizes, $\delta_j = (\delta_{1j}\ldots,\delta_{Mj})^T$. In this the first multivariate analysis, we consider two subpopulations, hence, $M = 2$ and $\delta_j = (\delta_{1j}, \delta_{2j})^T$, where δ_{1j} is the effect-size for black samples, and where δ_{2j} is the effect-size for white samples. Though M effect-sizes are associated with study j, only P_j effect-size estimates are reported by study j, $P_j \leq M$.

The within study model can have many interactions according to the number of outcomes reported by a study. We illustrate the within study model with the P_j effect-size estimates for black and white samples. If study j reports only an effect-size from black samples, then $p = 1$, the within-study equation is

$$\begin{aligned} d_{1j} &= \delta_{1j*}(1) + \delta_{2j*}(0) + e_{1j} \\ &= \delta_{1j} + e_{1j} \end{aligned} \tag{5}$$

Equation 5 is rearticulated for P parameters δ_{2j}, where study *j* reports only one effect-size. If however, study *j* reports two effect-sizes, then P_j = M = 2, the within-study equation for *p* = 1 becomes,

$$\begin{aligned} d_{1j} &= \delta_{2j}W_{11j} + \delta_{2j}W_{12j} + e_{1j} \\ &= \delta_{1j*}(1) + \delta_{2j*}(0) + e_{1j} \\ &= \delta_{1j} + e_{1j} \end{aligned} \tag{6}$$

for black samples, and *p* = 2 becomes ,

$$\begin{aligned} d_{2j} &= \delta_{1j}W_{21j} + \delta_{2j}W_{22j} + e_{2j} \\ &= \delta_{1j*}(0) + \delta_{2j*}(1) + e_{2j} \\ &= \delta_{2j} + e_{2j} \end{aligned} \tag{7}$$

for white samples, where,

> δ_j is the estimated effect-size
> $W_{1j},\ldots, W_{sj}$ are study characteristics
> e_j is a residual for which we assume a multivariate normal sampling distribution with variances $V_{ppj} = 0$

Equations 6 and 7 are rearticulated for *P* parameters, δ_{1j}, and δ_{2j}, where study *j* reports two effect-sizes. In the within-studies analysis, no predictors are involved at Level-2. In the between-studies model, the *M* latent effect-sizes for each study become the outcome variables and vary as a function of predictor variables introduced at Level-2, plus the error. Considering percent study quality as the only *W*s, the between-studies equation reads:

$$\delta_j = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1(\textit{Study Quality})_j + u_j,\ u_j \sim N\ (0,\tau) \tag{8}$$

The specifications at Level-1 and Level-2 yield the combined model:

$$d_j = \gamma_0 + \gamma_j W_j + \gamma_2 W_j + \gamma_j u_j + e_j \tag{9}$$

Where

d_j is the effect-size estimate for study *j*
W_j is a moderating predictor variable
δ_j is the effect-size parameter
γ_0 is the estimate of the grand mean
u_j is the unique effect for each study *j*
e_j is the sampling error associated with d_j as an estimate of δ_j

These effects are assumed multivariate normally distributed, with a mean of 0, variance τ_{pp}, and with covariances of τ_{pp}' between u_{pj} and $u_{p'j}$. The multivariate analysis is repeated for the consideration of gender groups where $M = 2$ and again for racial subgroups according to gender where $M = 4$ and $\delta_j = (\delta_{1j}, \delta_{2j}, \delta_{3j}, \delta_{4j})^T$, where δ_{1j} is the effect-size for black male samples, δ_{2j} is the effect-size for black female samples, δ_{3j} is the effect-size for white male samples, and δ_{4j} is the effect-size for white female samples.

Estimation

Unequal sample sizes would compromise the interpretability of the meta-analysis results. Since each d_j, has valuable and unique properties, weights were constructed to ensure the appropriate consideration of effect-size estimates (Raudenbush & Bryk 2002). In viewing each d_j as an independent, unbiased estimator of δ_j with variance Δ_j, the precision of d_j is defined as the reciprocal of its variance:

$$\text{Precision } (d_j) = \Delta_j^{-1} \tag{10}$$

These weights are represented in the construction of a dummy variable for *P* parameters δ_{1j}, and δ_{2j}, for both the racial and gender analysis, and again for the final multivariate analysis where $M = 4$.

Results

Tables 3 through 6 present the findings of the unconditional (model 1) and conditional (model 2) models. In exploring whether having high SES neighbors has an influence on education outcomes we look to the unconditional analysis which specifies estimates of the grand mean effect-size γ_0 and level-2 variance of the effect-size, τ. The effect-size for affluence is $\hat{\gamma}$ = .0226 is large, implying that for every unit increase in the percentage of affluent neighbors, we can expect an increase of about .023 standard deviation units in education outcomes. With an effect of this magnitude we could expect an increase in the outcome of .57 standard deviation units, over half of a standard deviation, if the percentage of affluent residents increased by 25 points.

[Insert Table 3 near here]

Next let us consider how consistent this effect-size estimate is across studies. The estimated variance of the effect parameter is $\hat{\tau}$ = .00032 with a corresponding standard deviation of .01802. These estimates suggest that a large amount of variability exists between study samples in the effect-size. For example, an effect one standard deviation above the average would be δ_j = .04062, while a study with an outcome one standard deviation below the mean would produce a much smaller effect-size, δ_j = .0046. The variance component $\hat{\tau}$ = .00032 has a corresponding X^2 of 950.55113 and a p = .000 significance level suggesting the inconsistency in study findings is not by chance.

Model 2 within Table 3 includes the moderator variable, study quality and displays the estimates of γ_0, γ_{01} and τ. The conditional analysis yields a strong and negative effect-size for study quality (γ_{01}= -.0394) suggesting that the effect-sizes within primary studies that employ more stringent controls are much smaller. According to the

variance component $\hat{\tau}$ = .00009 much less variability exist between the effect-sizes in the conditional analysis than in the unconditional analysis ($\hat{\tau}$ = .00032). Model 2 explains approximately 72 percent of the variation.

[Insert Table 4 near here]

Table 4 reports the findings of the multivariate analysis of high SES effects among black and white samples. In Model 1 we find the effect-size for black samples ($\hat{\gamma}_{10}$ = -.0112, p = .41) is not significantly different than the high SES effect $\hat{\gamma}_{00}$ = .0258. The effect-size estimate for black Americans is negative suggesting that this subpopulation benefits less, educationally, from concentrated affluence than whites. For instance, if the percent of affluent residents within a neighborhood were to increase by 25 points we may witness an increase in the outcome of approximately .37 standard deviation units. This is an appreciable effect-size however almost half the size of the increase implied by the effect-size for whites ($\hat{\gamma}_{20}$ = .0024). The effect-size estimate for whites slightly exceeds the estimate for $\hat{\gamma}_{00}$; going from a neighborhood with no affluent residents to one where 25 percent of its residents were affluent would yield a .71 standard deviation unit increase in education outcomes. This is almost double the benefit African Americans receive at similar levels of neighborhood affluence. The variance component $\hat{\tau}$ = .00057 and corresponding standard deviation .02391 is significant indicating there exist a large amount of the variability among the effect-sizes.

Model 2 within Table 4 reports the findings of the race analysis controlling for study quality. When the moderator study quality is considered, the effect-size estimate for

blacks remains insignificantly different $\hat{\gamma}_{00}$ but becomes positive ($\hat{\gamma}_{10}$ = .0021). Despite the increase in the estimated effect-size for whites ($\hat{\gamma}_{20}$ = .0082) in Model 2, the gap between blacks and whites in the educational benefit they derive from having affluent neighbors decreases from .0110 standard deviation units in Model 1 to .0061 in Model 2.

[Insert Table 5 near here]

One of our research questions considers whether the benefits of residing in an affluent area vary according to gender. Table 5 reports the findings of the multivariate analysis of high SES effects among female and male samples. Model 1 contains no moderators while Model 2 controls for study quality. The analysis results find $\hat{\gamma}_{00}$ to be significant (.0243, p = .000) and that the effect-sizes for females ($\hat{\gamma}_{10}$ = -.0155, p = .25) and males ($\hat{\gamma}_{20}$ = -.0181, p = .24) are insignificantly different from $\hat{\gamma}_{00.}$ It appears that females experience a slightly greater benefit from living in areas with affluent neighbors than do males. Upon controlling for study quality that benefit grows from .0026 standard deviation units to .0054. The estimate of between-study variance for Model 2, $\hat{\tau}$ = .00013 and corresponding standard deviation of .01126 imply there is a sizable amount of variation between the study samples in the effect-size. The corresponding significance level (p = .000) suggest the inconsistency in study estimates is not by chance.

[Insert Table 6 near here]

Table 6 contains the findings of the multivariate analysis of affluence effects according to race and gender. In Model 1 we estimate the effect-sizes and the parameters (black male, black female, white male and white female) and in Model 2 we include the moderating variable, study quality. All of the parameters are insignificantly different from $\hat{\gamma}_{00}$ and negative. The relatively lower effect-size we observed for males in the gender analysis (Table 5) apparently was due to the less beneficial association between affluence and the education outcomes of black males. The effect-size estimates for white males are the largest of any subpopulation in both models while the estimates are smallest for black males. The "benefit gap" between white and black males is especially large, a difference of approximately .0179 in the effect-size estimate. So while we would expect a .52 standard deviation unit increase in the outcome for white males given an increase of affluent neighbors of 25 percent, the corresponding figure would be only .07 standard deviation units for black males. In sum, the educational benefit is over eight times larger for white males.

The effect-size estimate for white females (γ_{40} = -.0252) almost rivals that of black males in indicating the smallest educational benefit of concentrated affluence. After controlling for study quality however this estimate becomes less negative (γ_{40} = -.0092). Likewise, the estimate for black females becomes less negative in Model 2 (γ_{20} = -.0038). Apparently studies that use more stringent controls depict greater educational benefits for African American males in particular and smaller benefit gaps. For example, the benefit gap between black and white males decreases from an effect-size difference of .0179 in Model 1 to .0134 in Model 2. The point estimate of between-study variance, $\hat{\tau}$, in Model 2 is .00033, with a corresponding standard deviation of the square root of .00033, of

.01825 (p = .000). This indicates a large amount of variation between studies in the effect-sizes remains and is unlikely due to chance.

Discussion

The interests that guide our empirical synthesis of neighborhood affluence questions whether the benefits of residing in areas with high SES neighbors differ according to race, whether there are benefit gaps within racial groups according to gender, how large are those differences and whether they persist after taking into account variation in study quality. The analysis revealed considerable and highly significant effects for the influence of high SES on learning outcomes for all populations that remained while controlling for variation in model specifications. Though the amount of unexplained variation dropped appreciably when considering study quality, variation in the effect-sizes remained. The variance unexplained reflects other aspects of study quality that were not examined either due to their irrelevance to our research questions or the limitation of the sample characteristics. Some scholars for instance have advocated for the use of research designs and analytical procedures that isolate endogenous effects that emerge net of other individual or presumably exogenous characteristics (Jencks & Mayer 1990; Manski 1993; Durlauf 2001). These effects are very difficult to isolate in correlational studies due to the non-random allocation of individuals in neighborhoods. Very few of the primary studies in this meta-analysis employ methods of these types. Opinions vary on the success of these methods and the degree of bias their results imply exist in correlational studies that do not employ such methods (Evans, Oates & Schwab 1992; Foster & McLanahan 1996; Duncan et al. 1997; Rivkin 1999; Harding 2003). As efforts to protect causal inferences in correlational studies continue future empirical

reviews can account for the influence analytical approaches may have on the research synthesis results.

The analysis also revealed that a greater educational benefit accrues to white Americans over black Americans. This observation suggest inequality in educational performance derives not only from the unequal distribution of capital across neighborhoods according to race, but also within socioeconomic categories (in this analysis high SES) from the inability of affluent residents to benefit youth equally, especially in the case of black males. Let us consider the relevance of the findings in two contexts, *within* racially integrated settings and *between* homogenous settings. In racially homogenous settings, community affluence may not insulate black Americans, and black males in particular, from other disadvantaging social conditions to the extent it does white Americans. Mary Pattillo's (1999) work convincingly argues that black Americans residing in racially homogeneous middle class areas, regardless of their individual family economic status, are more likely than whites to have friends, extended family, and neighbors that are less advantaged. Pattillo (1999) maintains that the greater presence of less advantaged individuals within the social networks of middle class black Americans reduces their ability to benefit from, and be a benefit to, middle class neighbors. Given the considerable residential (and perhaps social) segregation of economically prosperous black Americans, these analysis findings may reflect the relatively lower economic benefit produced by their social networks.

Racial benefit gaps may also develop within racially heterogeneous environments due to the dispositions of affluent neighbors. As Jencks and Mayer (1990) and Wells and Crain (1997) observe, affluent families tend to advocate for more stratification within

diverse schools (the addition of gifted, honors, magnet and accelerated placement programs) which often leads to greater variation in learning outcomes favoring some groups while disadvantaging others. These dynamics partly explain the "affluent college town" phenomenon where black Americans are not performing as well as their higher SES white neighbors. Researchers have provided exogenous explanations for these persistent achievement gaps that highlight family practices or the dispositions of black youth (Ogbu 2003; Ferguson 2000) without exploring the obvious relationship between concentrated affluence and stratified schooling experiences. For example, Brantlinger's (2003) study of affluent white families in a college town reveals perspectives among her informants that explicitly argue for exclusive schools; her informants reject plans for mixed ability grouping and redrawing obviously "gerrymandered" school catchment areas that produce homogeneous schools within economically heterogeneous environments. These families were quite influential politically in achieving a school arrangement that preserved their proximal capital.

The gender analysis produced a benefit-gap that is marginally smaller than the one evident among blacks and whites after controlling for study quality. The smaller but nontrivial benefit gap between males and females and the large differences within gender according to race imply one's racial status is a more salient factor in explaining the benefits of neighborhood capital. In other words, race becomes an increasingly important factor in affluent settings when you are male; those environments elevate the educational outcomes of white males while failing to do the same for black males. It is likely these differences extend from ways in which the typical environments in which we find white and black males differ. As stated earlier, the black middle class is likely to live in more

economically diverse areas, attend relatively lower performing schools and live in areas contiguous to areas of concentrated poverty (Jargowsky 1997; Patillo 1999; Sampson, Morenoff & Earls 1999). Given these conditions and the likelihood that males interact more with their environments than females, it is understandable why these gaps are larger for males according to race than for females. Nonetheless, moderate benefit-gaps exist for white females relative to white males and black females.

The analysis also revealed the stringency of the models within the primary studies had, in some instances, a rather dramatic moderating effect on the magnitude of the benefit gap. For example, in the estimation of the effect-sizes according to race and gender, model 1 (Table 5) suggested black males did not benefit much from neighborhood capital while white males had a benefit almost 9 times larger. After controlling for the influence of study quality, the effect-size estimate for African American males increased, hence reducing their benefit deficit from a difference of 9 to slightly less than 2. The large differences in the magnitude of the effects-sizes according to study quality only underscore how much of what we think we know about neighborhood effects is an artifact of the studies and not the social phenomena.

The findings are not without limitations, many of which are common in meta-analysis. It is possible that some important studies that could have influenced the findings were not included in this meta-analysis. Their omission can be explained in a number of ways. First, some studies focused on education outcomes that were not indicators of learning (e.g. discipline, engagement, course-taking) and therefore were not considered. Those studies await the formulation of other research questions and meta-analytic studies. Despite the rigorous efforts of the author, some studies may have been overlooked or

made available during the latter stages of this work. Last, publication bias may have also influenced the findings of this study. By reviewing submissions, journals decide which studies are published and thereby determine the universe of studies from which to draw a data sample. It is possible that some studies were not published because their findings were similar to other studies already published or seemed inconsistent with the current direction of neighborhood research.

Nonetheless, as the first meta-analysis in the area of neighborhood studies this work makes noteworthy contributions. Meta-analysis in urban and neighborhood studies stand to contribute a general understanding of research findings and why they may vary according to theory and methods. This analysis has confirmed the importance of neighborhood affluence and how its effects vary according to race and gender. Research synthesis has long been used to lessen ambiguity on pressing social issues with the intent to inform policy, most notably in the school desegregation movement of the 1970s. This analysis provides some clarity on important questions that can also inform the adoption of social policies. One can infer from these findings that having affluent neighbors is a benefit for all youth, thus supporting the social aim of achieving economically heterogeneous neighborhoods. Seeing this possibility, urban relocation programs have sought to move low income families into more affluent areas. Yet neighborhood affluence will advantage some groups more than others and therefore limit the likelihood neighborhood integration will eliminate educational inequality. These results imply that policy efforts should also address the stratification of schools within more prosperous areas and the social status of black Americans whose relative deprivation tends to mute

the beneficial effects of residing in economically heterogeneous neighborhoods for the black middle class and black poor alike.

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TABLE 1: List of Studies, Data Sources, Sample Characteristics and Study Estimates

First Author	Year	Data Source	N	Percent black	Percent male	*d*
Halpern	1997	New York	101	0	100	-.41
		Middle Childhood	414	100	100	.15
			94	0	0	-.25
			431	100	0	.03
		New York	638	0	100	-.29
		Early Adolescence	1025	100	100	.08
			607	0	0	-.05
			1136	100	0	-.17
		Atlanta	237	100	100	-.38
			109	100	0	8.51
		New York/Baltimore /District of Columbia	134	0	100	-.30
			129	100	100	.02
			175	0	0	.11
			231	100	0	-.02
		New York	275	0	100	-.32
		Middle Adolescence	653	100	100	.02
			204	0	0	.02
			665	100	0	-.21
Klebanov	1998	IHDP	347	58	48	-1.83
		Ages 1-2	347	58	48	2.28
Chase	1997	IHDP	269	0	50	3.03
		Ages 3-6	412	100	48	1.12
			228	0	50	2.47
			373	100	48	1.38
		NLSY	495	0	55	.38
			284	100	55	-.98
			372	0	55	2.31
			272	100	55	-.20
Crane	1991	PUMS 1970	1737	100	100	.91
			1761	100	0	.73
			77508	0	52	.54
			4684	0	52	.57
Lopez-Turley	2002	PSID-CDS	868	43	49	-.01
Ainsworth	2002	NELS	13196	14	50	1.13
Ensminger	1996	Chicago	230	100	100	.03
			265	100	0	.03
Clark	1992	PUMS 1980	22534	16	100	-.02
Duncan	1994	PSID	783	0	100	.04
			884	100	100	-.01
			818	0	0	.03
			954	100	0	.04

TABLE 2: Means, Definitions and Standard Deviations of Study Characteristics

Variables	Definition	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
High SES Effect-Size	Effect of High SES (Percent professional or managerial, Percent of families with income > $30,000, Percent white collar and Absolute income of top quintile) on Education Outcomes (school GPA, years of schooling, and test scores)	41	.0659	.12545
Study Quality	Number of constructs represented in model specifications. Above the mean = 1, below the mean = 0	41	.5122	.5061
Sample Size	Number of primary study sample participants	41	3338.5100	12520.2000
Black	Sample is at least 85 percent Black	41	.4878	.5061
Black Male	Sample is at least 85 percent Black and male	41	.1951	.4012
Black Female	Sample is at least 85 percent Black and female	41	.1951	.4012
White	Sample is at least 85 percent White	41	.2439	4348
White Male	Sample is at least 85 percent White and male	41	.1220	.3313
White Female	Sample is at least 85 percent White and female	41	.1220	.3313

TABLE 3: Models of Neighborhood High SES Effects in Education and Moderator, Study Quality

	Model 1				Model 2			
Fixed effects	Effect	SE	t	df	Effect	SE	t	df
Intercept, γ_0	.0226***	.0054	4.202	40	.0304***	.0044	6.979	39
Study Quality, $\gamma 1$					-.0394***	.0089	-4.448	39
Random effects	Variance Component	X^2	p-value		Variance Component	X^2	p-value	
	.00032	950.55113	.000		.00009	251.34899	.000	

(***) $p < .001$
(**) $p < .05$
(*) $p < .10$

TABLE 4: Models of Neighborhood High SES Effects, Race and Moderator Study Quality

	Model 1				Model 2			
Fixed effects	Effect	SE	t	df	Effect	SE	t	df
Intercept, γ_{00}	.0258***	.0062	4.138	38	.0320***	.0050	6.414	37
Black,γ10	-.0112	.0136	-0.827	38	.0021	.0085	0.245	37
White, γ20	.0024	.0198	0.121	38	.0082	.0083	0.999	37
Study Quality, γ30					-.0413***	.0105	-3.937	37
Random effects	Variance Component	X^2	p-value		Variance Component	X^2	p-value	
	.00057	1763.91112	.000		.00012	176.69762	.000	

(***) $p < .001$
(**) $p < .05$
(*) $p < .10$

TABLE 5: Models of Neighborhood High SES Effects, Gender and Moderator, Study Quality

	Model 1				Model 2			
Fixed effects	Effect	SE	t	df	Effect	SE	t	df
Intercept, γ_{00}	.0243***	.0053	4.548	38	.0311***	.0049	6.369	37
Female, $\gamma 10$	-.0155	.0132	-1.180	38	.0009	.0118	0.072	37
Male, $\gamma 20$	-.0181	.0151	-1.195	38	-.0045	.0126	-0.355	37
Study Quality, $\gamma 30$					-.0382**	.0133	-2.885	37
Random effects	Variance Component	X^2	p-value		Variance Component	X^2	p-value	
	.00037	1105.38785	.000		.00013	247.69675	.000	

(***) $p < .001$
(**) $p < .05$
(*) $p < .10$

TABLE 6: Models of Neighborhood High SES Effects, According to Race and Gender with Moderator, Study Quality

	Model 1				Model 2			
Fixed effects	Effect	SE	t	df	Effect	SE	t	df
Intercept	.0290***	.0081	3.604	36	.0336***	.0063	5.324	35
Black Male, γ10	-.0263	.0224	-1.172	36	-.0144	.0151	-0.957	35
Black Female, γ20	-.0138	.0150	-0.918	36	-.0038	.0137	-0.280	35
White Male, γ30	-.0057	.0259	-0.218	36	-.0010	.0176	-0.059	35
White Female, γ40	-.0252*	.0138	-1.827	36	-.0092	.0131	-0.699	35
Study Quality, γ50					-.0381**	.0158	-2.413	35
Random effects	Variance Component	X^2	p-value		Variance Component	X^2	p-value	
	.00081	2462.75176	.000		.00033	659.17728	.000	

(***) $p < .001$
(**) $p < .05$
(*) $p < .10$

Colorado State University

Knowledge to Go Places

Associate Vice Provost/Executive Director, School of Education

The Associate Vice Provost and Executive Director of the School of Education (AVP/EDSOE) will establish the strategic vision for all scholarly and creative activities within Colorado State University related to P-16 educational initiatives, and lead the School of Education. The AVP/EDSOE will advocate for interdisciplinary educational research which addresses the problems of our global community. The AVP/EDSOE will promote excellence in graduate education and the preparation of initial and advanced professionals who serve in school-based, business, and organizational settings. The AVP/EDSOE will articulate, plan, implement, evaluate, and lead a vision that includes the strengthening of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) education, strategic partnerships, and economic development. The AVP/EDSOE will facilitate an environment of collaborative research, teacher licensure, educational leadership, and scholarship.

Qualifications

- Candidate must possess an earned doctorate degree with a record of quality teaching, scholarship, and service to qualify for appointment as a full professor with tenure
- Candidate must have 5 years or more demonstrated administrative experience at the Departmental and/or College level
- Candidates must have excellent oral and written communication skills
- Preferred qualifications include experience as a Chair or Program Director in a large department or institution; proven experience with NCATE, SPA, and state accreditation processes; and university level experience with budget and personnel

Requirements

- Serve as a tireless advocate for research and scholarship
- Oversee and promote acquisition of external funding to support research and associated facilities, equipment and infrastructure needs and capabilities for the SOE
- Be a champion for the P-16 educational infrastructure, both physical and human
- Support the creation of a rich and diverse intellectual climate on campus through the recruitment, retention and recognition of excellent faculty
- Identify research opportunities, foster development of interdisciplinary educational research initiatives and build faculty capacity to conduct funded research
- Interact on behalf of institutional and faculty interests with state and federal educational, school-based, industry, business, and research partners
- Collaborate with other University officials and offices to strengthen interdisciplinary activities related to the preparation of school-based and industry-based professionals
- Demonstrated ability to communicate and make decisions in a fair and equitable manner
- Relate effectively to a wide variety of people of diverse backgrounds, with an understanding and respect for cultural, ethnic, and individual differences
- Manage with a style that is inclusive and empowers others to succeed, foster respect, build pride in the accomplishment of shared goals, and promote open and interactive communication

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Candidates must submit their application materials electronically and send them to Patsy.Harlan@Colostate.edu. This application should include the following Word documents: a letter of interest that addresses the qualifications and responsibilities for the position, current curriculum vitae, and the names, positions, and contact information for three references. References will be contacted only with the candidate's prior approval. To assure full consideration, applications should be received by October 31, 2006. The position has a preferred starting date of July 1, 2007 or sooner. Requests for information and written nominations should be directed to:

Patsy Harlan, Assistant to the Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs
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