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Editorial

This issue of **Educational Consideration** evolved from the first Mary McCleod Bethune Institute held at Kansas State University during the spring of 1987. Funded through a grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA), entitled "Improving the Academic Performance and Persistence Rate of Black Females K-12," the Institute, one of the first of its kind, focused on the interaction of race and gender as issues related to schooling and education.

A discussion about the Institute and about this issue would be incomplete, however, without recalling the significant contributions made by Bethune to the education of Black Americans, especially Black females.

Historians remind us that Bethune was a major figure in Black American history. Born in 1875, she is said to have developed a special insight into the everyday problems of the average Black youth while growing up in South Carolina. As a young woman, she first pursued studies for missionary work, but later switched to teaching. In 1904, with little more than a dollar in her pocket, Bethune purchased a plot of land and founded the Daytona Normal and Industrial school for Black females. In later years, Bethune established what is now known as the Bethune-Cookman College, the result of a merger between her school for females with Cookman Institute for males.

It is recorded, also, that Bethune was one of the leading figures (and the only woman) in the unofficial "Black Cabinet" that led the early fight for integration in the 1930s, a movement that targeted the federal government. First, President Hoover and then President Roosevelt appointed her to key positions during their respective administrations. She molded these positions into ones that would help further the nation's efforts in the education of Black Americans.

Bethune died in 1955, at the age of 80, but not before writing a powerful last will and final testament for those she was leaving behind. The legacy, inscribed on her memorial in Washington's Lincoln Park, reads in part:

> "I leave you love, I leave you hope. I leave you the challenge of developing confidence in one another. I leave you the thirst for education. I leave you respect for the use of power. I leave you faith. I leave you racial dignity. . . . " (Mary M. Bethune)

As conveners of the Institute on Race and Gender in Education, the WEEA staff could think of no other figure more deserving for recognition than Bethune.

We note, too, that more than 30 years after her death the type of dedication to excellence and equity in education for which she worked so diligently is still quite necessary. For, while issues of race, gender and class have received much attention during the past 30 years, much work remains to be done. Legislation has been successful in tearing down structural barriers to access in educational institutions, but has not removed all the vestiges of attitudinal barriers. Such barriers have proven to be formidable to women and minorities in pursuit of equitable educational outcomes.

This issue addresses many of those barriers at every stage of education. Articles here focus on research findings and issues relevant to the creation of nonracist and nonsexist learning and employment environments. It is hoped that this issue will renew the vigor and energy needed to keep the educational experiences of minorities and females in the forefront of every major educational reform agenda of the future.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the support and assistance of several people who made this issue possible: Iris Riggs, Dr. Nancy Smith, Marjorie Williams, and Pamela Vann-McNeely, of the WEEA staff. Additionally, the support of Kay Garrett, Suzie Wisdom, Kim Fouts, and Lisa Rothel was invaluable in bringing this special issue to fruition.

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Too often, attempts at sharing information about nonsexist, multicultural education are separated from course content.

Guidelines for Integrating Nonsexist, Multicultural Education in the University Methods Class

by Dr. Nancy Mangano
State University of New York at Oswego

Introduction

The education that I propose includes all that is proper for a man [and a woman] and it is one in which all men [people] who are born into this world should share . . . Our first wish is that all people be educated fully to full humanity, not any one individual, not a few, nor even many, but all men [people] together and singly, young and old, rich and poor, of high and lowly birth, men and women, —in a world all whose fate it is to be born human beings, so that at last the whole of the human race become educated men [people] of all ages, all conditions, both sexes, and all nations.

John Amos Comenius, The Great Didactic, 1657

A major goal of our schools is to provide educational benefits to ALL students regardless of race, religion or gender. As educators, we profess to value fairness and equal treatment of our students, equal access to information, and equal opportunities, and we have created laws to assure that these values are reflected within our schools. Despite the laws, research suggests that bias continues to exist within schools and classrooms.

Sociolinguistic inquirers maintain that teachers interact differently with male and female pupils (Brophy and Good, 1970; Serbin and O'Leary, 1976; Serbin, 1983). Serbin and O'Leary (1976) found that teachers in mixed school settings tended to interact more with high achieving White males than with any other group of students. Boys tended to receive more attention than girls whether it is positive or negative attention (Brophy and Good, 1970; Serbin and O'Leary, 1976). Boys asked more questions—especially complex and abstract questions (Jones, 1971; Sikes, 1971)—and are given different classroom jobs and opportunities than females (Bornstein, 1982).

Bornstein (1982) also found that teachers automatically expected boys to do well in math and poorly in reading and girls to do well in reading and poorly in math. She believed that this may create a self-fulfilling prophecy. She maintained that though teachers are upset by the bias it does not change their behaviors.

Various forms of bias have also been reported as prevalent in textbooks (Bordeleon, 1985; Gollnick and Sadker, D. and M., 1982; Hamlin, 1982; McCune and Matthews, 1978). These forms of bias take on many characteristics. For example, often the texts contained linguistic bias: the author uses the generic "he" or such exclusionary words as "forefather" (Gollnick et al., 1982) suggested that linguistic bias denied the participation of women in our societies. Females and minorities also have been completely omitted from texts (Hamlin, 1982) and are underrepresented in historical accounts (McCune and Matthews, 1978) and in basals (Bordeleon, 1985). When females and minorities are represented, it is often in stereotypic fashion (Gollnick et al., 1982). To readers, these types of bias misrepresent the roles of women and minorities in history and in life.

In recent years, publishing companies have attempted to create less biased texts, ones that are more multicultural and nonsexist in nature. While the attempt is recognized, subtle forms of bias continue (Rupley et al., 1981; Smith and Mangano, 1985). For example, basals in one study (Rupley et al., 1981) showed males and females represented equally in protagonistic roles, but the supplementary materials included male protagonists in much greater numbers. Smith and Mangano (1985) reported one reading methods text that had equal numbers of photographs of boys and girls, but the contributions of reading educators highlighted almost all males. Finally, a simple glance through the children's literature section of the library will show that girls are usually depicted wearing dresses, even though girls in schools today are likely to wear pants, shorts, and other active wear outfits. Picture books representing large groups of White children only are still found for primary students despite attempts by publishing companies to become *multicultural.*

Most teachers tend to be unaware of this bias and are upset by it when it is pointed out (Bornstein, 1982), yet they continue to treat males and females differently and use texts that contain biases without giving students opportunities to note them and discuss the misrepresentations. Assuming that teachers are well-meaning and would never differentiate between students intentionally or perpetuate inequality in their classroom, I suggest that this phenomenon occurs because teachers have been acculturated within a biased society. They have not been trained to detect and discuss bias within their classrooms. Such training can be accomplished easily in education methods courses at the university level.

In this article I will suggest ways in which methods instructors can integrate equity information into their respective courses by using an inclusionary approach to information sharing. It will provide an example of how reading professors can adapt their methods courses to this purpose. And finally, suggestions for adapting methods courses will be offered.

An Inclusionary Approach

Too often, attempts at sharing information about nonsexist, multicultural education are separated from course content. For example, authors usually isolate chapters on this topic at the end of a college text. Educators may wait until Black History month (February) to discuss the contri-

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butions of Blacks in society and ignore the material the remainder of the year. Such limited approaches to information-sharing seem inappropriate for any topic but are particularly so in sharing nonsexist, multicultural information, for a variety of reasons.

First, presenting this information in isolation can be construed as a form of "tokenism" or isolationism at the very least. Gollnick et al. (1982) suggested that the impact of isolation gives the learner the impression that the topic or information is less important than the mainstream information and so need not be attended to as closely.

Second, issues related to multicultural and non-sexist education have become important because as a society we have failed to treat all students equally. By integrating this topic within existing content, we can begin to examine how our attitudes toward equity relate to the topics at hand, e.g., texts, classroom interactions, and historical events. If this approach is taken, students can begin to see that equity issues are attitudinal concerns to which students are to become sensitized, not lists of information to master. Finally, because of time restraints, methods instructors often cannot incorporate the isolated, extraneous content. An inclusionary approach to integrating equity issues in mainstream content of the methods course would improve the course quality.

Integrating Equity Issues within the Reading Methods Classroom

Each methods class has a specific content that can be adapted naturally to include topics related to multicultural, nonsexist issues. For example, students in a social studies methods class are likely to examine how minorities and women are presented throughout history. A math methods professor might have occasion to discuss the impact of math anxiety on girls, a language arts professor would probably discuss linguistic biases.

This article will focus on integrating into equity reading methods classes. The author will discuss topics appropriate to combining multicultural, nonsexist information in reading content; in-class activities that let students analyze and evaluate materials for fairness; and homework assignments that can help students apply their knowledge about equity issues.

Direct Instruction of Multicultural, Nonsexist Content

Within a reading methods course, it would be easy to include information about multicultural and nonsexist issues in the following areas: (1) history of reading, (2) basal reader instruction, (3) children's literature, and (4) teaching reading effectively. The following are suggestions for accomplishing this with minimal changes in course content.

History of Reading

This topic includes an historical survey of reading instruction. Equity issues can be included as the content evolves. (Hamlin [1982] for historical perspective on equity issues.) The following subtopics can be included in lectures: (a) information on how texts reflect or fail to reflect a multicultural, nonsexist society, (b) information on how men, women and minorities are represented in historical and modern-day texts, (c) the impact of societal change on text content, (d) how affirmative action laws have forced publishers to change texts.

Evaluation and analysis of equity issues can be integrated within this topic in the following ways. Present students with the six forms of bias: (a) invisibility, (b) stereotyping, (c) imbalance and selectivity, (d) unreality, (e) fragmentation/isolation, and (f) linguistic bias (c.f. McCune and Matthews, 1978). Give passages from historical and modern texts and have students identify the forms of bias that are present. Do these passages reflect the culture of the times?

Basal Reader Instruction

Research suggests that basal readers have changed in the last 15 years due to legislation related to equity being enforced. During a discussion on basal reader instruction, methods professors can explore the impact of this legislation on these materials and how males, females and minorities have been represented across time (Bordeleon, 1985; Rupley et al., 1981).

Reading methods instructors often ask students to evaluate texts for general use according to a pre-established set of criteria about readability, attractiveness, quality, philosophy, content and the like. A section that examines the representation of groups regardless of race, religion and gender can be established. Checklists to determine sexism and racism in texts are available (Sheridan, 1982).

Literature

Children's literature is another topic in which instruction relating to multicultural and sex equity can be adapted. As part of this curriculum, instructors can show the filmstrip, **Identifying Racism and Sexism in Children's Books** (1978), which is available from the Council on Interracial Books for Children, New York. It demonstrates the blatant and subtle ways that racist and sexist messages are communicated through literature. The Council for Interracial Books for Children also supplies guidelines for selecting bias-free text and story books. Finally, direct instruction on how to cope with good literature that is sexist or racist can be discussed (Schulwitz, 1976).

Teaching Reading Effectively

Effective teaching of reading is a final area that can naturally combine reading and equity information. The literature suggested that males and females are treated differentially by teachers in the classrooms. Effective teaching of reading can include classroom management and teacher-pupil interactions.

Preservice teachers can be made aware of the literature in these areas (Mangano, 1986; Sadker and Sadker, 1982). They can use checklists to observe and evaluate classrooms (Mangano, 1986) on multicultural and nonsexist scales. In addition, students might see videotapes of actual classrooms to observe effective teaching characteristics and determine if the teachers are interacting similarly with males and females.

Expectations for Assignments and Classroom Participation

It is essential to expect students to display a sensitivity to multicultural, nonsexist issues. In a university course that is attempting to reduce bias and instill sensitivity toward multicultural, nonsexist education, these expectations are easily incorporated in two specific areas: (1) oral communication in the classroom and (2) successfully completing class projects, tests, or assignments.

Nonsexist Language

Language is a reflection of how one views the world: If a world discriminates against a particular group or sex, the language would be likely to reflect this. Language that is exclusionary—"congressman," "chairman," "he" for stu-

dent and "she" for teachers—denies the participation of women and men in various roles. Students can be expected to use nonsexist, inclusive language in class discussions and in written assignments, tests, and projects.

Methods instructors who are uncomfortable asking their students to change their language might see its importance by simple asking students to draw or describe *cavemen*. Did any of these draw women? Then have students draw "prehistoric people" and see the number of females depicted.

Nonsexist, Multicultural Criteria for Projects

Teachers can also encourage students to display sensitivity and awareness for nonsexist, multicultural issues by adopting a statement or guidelines that suggest that learning centers, learning modules, bulletin boards and the like should reflect in pictures and narrative a diverse society. Criteria for evaluating these projects can also include a section related to the education of ALL students.

Reading centers that incorporate literature that is nonsexist and that reflects a diverse society would be including neutral pictures, i.e., animals or cartoon characters, etc., or ones that reflect a multicultural society.

Lesson Planning

Lesson planning gives a unique opportunity for students to become sensitized to text bias and to plan questions that incorporate critical thinking related to bias. As a part of a larger lesson plan university students can be asked to list several questions that can increase their sensitivity to sexism and racism in texts of their elementary or secondary pupils. These questions could focus on author's stereotypic views of gender and race and on the authors' use of language.

Term Papers and Panel Discussions

Term papers and panel discussions are often assigned a part of the course requirements in a methods class. Generally, students are given a list of possible areas of research. To encourage investigation on multicultural, nonsexist issues, reading methods instructors can suggest these topic of research: (a) nonsexist literature, (b) literature that reflects a particular ethnic group, (c) classroom climates that reflect cultural diversity, (d) historical perspectives on nonsexist, multicultural education, (e) impact of bias on the socialization of students, (f) the sex-fair, multicultural reading teacher.

Modeling

In order to be believable to students, it is essential that instructors model the concepts of a nonsexist, multicultural classroom in the methods classroom. Reading methods instructors can accomplish this in the following ways: (a) use of nonsexist language, (b) model nonsexist language when students use language that is linguistically biased, (c) choose children's literature for examples in the methods class that reflect diverse cultures, (d) relate equity issues within topics through a question or two. For example, during reading readiness the instructor might present the research findings that fathers modeling reading in the home is a factor in whether little boys enjoy reading. The instructor might ask *why do you think this creates a difference in the enjoyment of reading?,* (e) provide many examples and lists of literature and activities that can help future teachers create a nonsexist, multicultural classroom. (See Norton [1983] and Rudman [1976] for lists of children's literature that reflect women and men in diverse roles and represent various ethnic groups. See Sadker and Sadker [1982] for suggested activities to teach sensitivity toward sexism.)

A Final Word

This article provided numerous suggestions for integrating nonsexist and multicultural topics in the reading methods classroom. As was stated previously, methods instructors must find the most natural places to include this content within their specific courses. The following are suggestions for thinking about an inclusionary approach to equity:

1. Find topics where nonsexist, multicultural issues can be taught directly within the content of the course.
2. Find places within topics where a question or comment related to equity can be infused as part of a discussion.
3. Determine if any existing assignments can be modified so the expectations of diversity are present.
4. Determine if any in-class activities can be created or restructured to increase the sensitivity to equity issues for the class.
5. When an assignment has a choice of topics, include choices that give students an opportunity to do research on equity.

Increasing the university student's sensitivity to equity and diversity issues can ultimately be beneficial to the students they will teach. Ultimately, nonsexist, multicultural education can help create a society that is equal and supportive.

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. . . can we bring about an improvement in educational outcomes for Black children without recognizing their culture?

African Heritage Theory and Afro-American Cognitive Styles

by Dr. Janice Hale-Benson
Cleveland State University

I ask you my children

What did you learn today
did anyone tell you how to meet tomorrow
did anyone tell you why there are people
who don't know you . . .

did anyone seem to know who you were
did anyone know that you have the blood of Africa
in your veins
or did they pretend to be blind to your color and thereby
deny its value.

What did you learn . . .

did anyone explain the nature of freedom
did anyone explain the nature of racism . . .

did anyone explain the nature of love
did anyone know anything about those things
did anyone know anything
What did you learn today?

—Ronald Coleman

The traditional American educational system has not been effective in educating Black children. Consequently, there is an achievement gap between Black and White children that places Black children at risk in the schools of this nation. A recent report by the National Alliance of Black School Educators (NABSE, 1984) tells us that nearly 28 percent of Afro-American high school students drop out before graduation. This figure approaches 50 percent in some large cities. For those who are in school, average achievement on standardized tests falls two or more grade levels below the average of Euro-American students. Even though Blacks are only slightly more than 10 percent of the population, they make up 40 percent of the educable mentally retarded population (p.18).

NABSE (1984) further points out that the difficulties Black children are experiencing in elementary and secondary schools are reflected in an erosion of their achievement in higher education.

African-Americans represent about 13 percent of the college age population (18-24 years). But African-American students represented only 9 percent of the associate degrees, 6 percent of the bachelor's, 6 percent of the master's, 3 percent of the Doctorates, and 4 percent of the professional degrees in 1980. African-American participation in graduate and professional education remains exceptionally low and, in recent years, the situation has actually deteriorated (p. 20).

This report continues. One-third of Black students are enrolled in community colleges and are in programs that do not necessarily give credits toward a baccalaureate degree. We also find that though about 75 percent of White high school seniors go on to college, only about 20 percent of Black seniors do so. Furthermore, only about 12 percent of the Black students who enter higher education complete college and only 4 percent enter and complete a graduate school.

Desegregation has been a focal point for educational reform that is designed to benefit Black children. However, in most urban areas, there is a declining pool of White children to integrate with inner-city Black children. Therefore, the central issue now is: How can we create schools that educate Black children effectively? Early childhood is the time to begin examining learning and care-giving environments.

A companion concern is can we bring about an improvement in educational outcomes for Black children without recognizing their culture? In this author's opinion, the education of White children is relatively more successful than that of Black children because the schools were established for White children. As Hakim Rashid (1984) has stated: "Children from non-European lower socioeconomic status cultural groups are at a disadvantage in the schools because the American educational system has evolved out of a European philosophical, theoretical, and pedagogical context" (p.56).

W. E. B. DuBois (1903) described the Black person in America as having two warring souls. On one hand, Black people are the product of their African-American heritage and culture. On the other hand, they are shaped by the demands of Euro-American culture. Unfortunately, the Euro-American influence has always been emphasized to the exclusion of the African influence. Said another way, despite the pressures of 400 years in America to do so, African-Americans have not melted into the pot.

Rashid (1984) has pointed out that: "The cultural and biological history of African-Americans has resulted in an *essentially African* group of people who must function in *essentially* European schools. Failure to conceptualize Black children within their cultural context has created the expectation that they are really White children in blackface" (p. 59).

Social scientists engage in a type of chauvinistic ethnocentrism that perpetuates an image of normality when describing White children and an image of pathology when describing Black children. If "Johnny" can't read, educators suggest that there is an inappropriate match between his level of development and the curriculum or instructional strategies. But if "Willie" can't read, the appropriateness of instruction is generally not questioned. Rather, the explanations offered are that he is genetically inferior, or he is culturally deprived.

In order to bring about educational change, we must begin to conceptualize Black children within the context of their culture in early child-care settings. We must devise educational strategies that are appropriate for them. We must

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create an interrelated learning environment where Afro-American culture in all of its diversity is integrated throughout the curriculum.

Accepting Black children within the context of their culture means acknowledging that they *have* a culture. This culture has roots in West Africa and has implications for the ways in which Black children learn and think.

Consider The African Background

I have made the point elsewhere (Hale-Benson, 1986) that some scholars who have attempted to study the Black experience have identified inner-city ghettos as the laboratory for studying Black life. There are various other ways of conceptualizing Black culture. Amuzie Chimezie (1983) offers a useful review of theorists in this area. He believes the theorists can be broadly divided into two categories: "Affirmative theorists support the view that there is a distinctive Black culture even though they vary in the degree to which it can be traced to the African heritage. Negative theorists deny the existence of a distinctive Black culture. They attribute any differences between Blacks and Whites to differences in class position, degree of poverty, and attendant social pathologies" (p. 217).

This author ascribes to the African heritage theory. It views Afro-American culture as distinct from White Euro-American culture and views the vast majority of the distinguishing characteristics as explainable in terms of elements of African culture that Africans retained while slaves in America. This theory acknowledges that many of the cultural artifacts have been modified beyond easy recognition; however, a careful scientific investigation involving close comparison with African culture revel as their roots in Afro-American culture (Chimezie, 1983).

The African heritage theory is based upon three main facts:

—First, many of the distinctive cultural elements involved are generally not characteristic of white American Euro-centric culture (e.g., the extended family and Brer Rabbit stories).

—Second, they are found among virtually all Afrocentric communities in the New World, especially in the Caribbean.

—Third, those elements still characterize African culture today, especially West Africa, from where most of the Africans were captured for enslavement. The widespread presence of these distinctive culture elements in the Afrocentric world (in Africa and diaspora) is one of the most persuasive arguments used by the proponents of the African-heritage theory of Black culture (e.g., Chimezie, 1983; Herskovits, 1958). Africanisms abound in Black culture in the United States. For example, Black dialect, including South Carolina Gullah, has been identified as originating with aspects of African languages retained by enslaved Africans. Other examples are Black folklore, aspects of Black childrearing, Black music, and religious expressions.

The African heritage perspective highlights the advisability of creating linkages with investigations by African scholars on the learning styles of children of Africa and of the African diaspora.

In Africa, I had an opportunity to talk with Dr. Romanus Ohuche of the University of Sierra Leone and other African psychologists who are applying the work of Jean Piaget and studying concept development among African children. These psychologists believe that Piagetian theory and the growing body of knowledge related to it, now provide a useful framework within which to understand empirical research and to apply research findings to curriculum design theory. One of the reasons they look favorably upon Piaget's work is that the major aspects of his theory can be applied to all human societies and groups, and differences in performance can be accounted for without imputing inferiority or deficiency.

At a 1974 conference in Sierra Leone, West Africa, held by UNICEF to study the development of mathematical and scientific skills by African children, a group of African scholars outlined areas of Piaget's work that need further investigation to describe concept development among African children:

- the opportunities given for play and manipulative activities among children and the relationship of such activities to concept development;
- appropriate interview procedures used to ascertain the characteristics of African children's thinking;
- the extent of bilingualism and multilingualism on the development of concepts. (This was particularly interesting to me because most of the children I encountered in Africa spoke from three to seven languages.);
- in the context of environmental circumstances, to what extent various wasting diseases and deficiency diseases affect intellectual growth;
- against the different social and cultural backgrounds, the extent to which African cosmology influences the development of concepts. (African scholars have hypothesized that the rituals and magico-religious beliefs may affect the development of concepts in African children.);
- the games, riddles, and proverbs found among African groups and their effect on concept development;
- the concept of "intelligence" or "cleverness" as it is understood among African groups;
- parental attitudes toward schooling and the influence these exert upon concept development. (Available evidence suggests that parental attitudes seem to be more important than family incomes in determining the performance of children.);
- the development of relevant social concepts, such as kinship, chieftaincy, presidency, and the like;
- the precocity of African babies and the extent to which it is maintained over a period of time.

It is very appropriate to begin with a consideration of the African heritage and the historical origins of Blacks as an ethnic group in America in discussing the learning styles of Black children. Black Americans have a unique history in America, and it is not unrelated to the difficulties Black children are experiencing educationally. First of all, every other ethnic group that immigrated to America came seeking a better life. Africans were brought here forcibly and subjected to a cruel and brutal form of slavery that was legally instituted with the plan that it would continue forever. Even when slavery ended, oppression in various forms was continual for African-Americans.

African-Americans also suffered as an ethnic group because of their visibility and inability to "melt." Other ethnic groups could blend into the American mainstream after one generation. As pointed out by Havighurst (1976), certain ethnic groups—those of northern European heritage, European-American, Jewish, Asian—are more easily able to assimilate into the mainstream. Other groups, such as those of southern European descent, Spanish speaking, and African-Americans, are more at risk in moving into mainstream institutions such as the schools and the workplace.

Lieberman (1981) has pointed out that even though other non-White ethnic groups have suffered oppression in America, the measures and consequences were not as severe as those for Blacks. For example, when Americans became threatened by the number of Asian immigrants, immi-

gration laws were changed to exclude them and control their numbers. Likewise, Native Americans were relocated and restricted to reservations. Whereas the numbers of these non-Whites were restricted and controlled, Black immigration was forced, and a system of slavery was instituted with the assumption that it would exist indefinitely.

An explanation for the difficulties Black children experience in school may lie in the fact that they participate in a culture that is different from the culture of the school. Elsewhere (Hale-Benson, 1986), I delineate this culture and identify points of mismatch between Afro-American culture and Euro-American culture that may have educational consequences for Black children.

Bicultural Socialization

A bicultural model was set forth by Charles Valentine (1971) in an attempt to develop the cultural difference perspective. He objected to the inference that minority group members were socialized in a totally distinct cultural context. He felt this would preclude functioning within the majority institutions in the society. To more correctly conceptualize this process, Valentine postulated a dual socialization model for minority groups' enculturation within their own cultural group and socialization within the larger society.

Diane De Anda (1984) notes, "although the bicultural model provides an overall conceptual framework, it offers little information regarding the specific mechanisms through which dual socialization occurs." She sought to explain the process of bicultural socialization and to account for variations among and within different ethnic groups in their degree of biculturalism and successful interactions with mainstream society (pp. 101-102).

De Anda lists six factors that can determine whether a member of an ethnic minority is likely to become bicultural:

1. The degree of overlap or commonality between the two cultures with regard to norms, values, beliefs, perceptions, and the like.
2. The availability of cultural translators, mediators, and models.
3. The amount and type (positive or negative) of corrective feedback provided by each culture regarding attempts to produce normative behaviors.
4. The conceptual style and problem-solving approach of the minority individual and their mesh with the prevalent or valued styles of the majority culture.
5. The individual's degree of bilingualism.
6. The degree of dissimilarity in physical appearance from the majority culture, such as skin color, facial features and so forth (p. 102).

De Anda suggests that the variations and interaction among these six factors can account for the extent to which an individual is bicultural.

Early Childhood Education As Cultural Transition

Early childhood education can play an important role in closing the achievement gap between African-American and White children. One explanation for the difficulty Black children experience in school is the fact that they are required to master at least two cultures in order to achieve upward mobility in school and the workplace.

It is possible that African-American males may have to master three divergent cultures. I point out elsewhere (Hale-Benson, 1986) that Afro-American males have a culture that is distinct from White male culture and Black female culture. This culture is not recognized and may even be assaulted at school because it is not understood. Most elementary classes are taught by women, therefore, there is a feminine orientation in the classroom.

Cornbleth and Korth (1980) studied teacher perceptions and teacher-student interaction in integrated classrooms. They rated White females as having the most desirable personal characteristics and the highest potential for achievement. There was a trend toward rating White females highest, and rating White males, Black females and Black males in descending order. The White females were highest on efficient, organized, reserved, industrious, and pleasant; they were lowest on outspoken and outgoing. Generally, Black males were mirror reflections of the White females—rating lowest on the former characteristics and highest on the latter. White males and Black females were between the two. These data suggest there is a cultural configuration in classrooms. The data also support the notion that in order to achieve, Black males must acquire behavioral characteristics that are incongruent with the culture they bring to school.

It is important to acknowledge this dual socialization required of Black children because early childhood education can play an important role in fostering biculturalism in African-American children, thereby reducing the conflict within the child that depletes energy and clouds perceptions.

However, the "intervention" strategies of the 1960s are passe. Recent research by Black scholars (Hale-Benson, 1986; Rashid, 1981) has rejected the notion that African-American children are culturally or cognitively deprived. They are seen as members of a culture endowed with specific modes of cognition.

Early childhood education needs to strive for cultural continuity—not intervention.

Rashid (1984) suggests that: "The preschool experience must therefore provide a dynamic blend of African-American culture and that culture which is reflected in the Euro-American educational setting ... The African-American educational setting ... The African-American child who only sees the Euro-American cultural tradition manifested in the preschool environment can only conclude that the absence of visual representation of his culture connotes his essential worthlessness" (p. 60).

Important questions to consider in seeking cultural continuity are:

1. What is a unified approach to creating an interrelated learning environment for Black children that achieves this cultural continuity?
2. How can an educational program be designed that moves Black children away from a poverty/remedial track and toward an academically oriented preschool experience?
3. How can Black children be connected to the future and acquire experiences with computers that are embedded in their learning styles?
4. How can the Black community achieve a holistic education for Black children in which they are educated about Afro-American culture and heritage in all of its diversity throughout the curriculum at the same time that they learn about other cultures?
5. How can standardized testing be de-mystified for Black parents so that they can facilitate their children's performance on such measures?
6. How can the lower academic performance of Black male children be improved? How can the overriding feminine orientation of early childhood classrooms be reduced and more tolerance of male culture and, specifically, Black male culture be introduced?
7. How can more information be provided to Black parents about how to provide a "road map to achievement" for

their children? The high motivation that Black parents provide for their children to achieve has been well documented by scholars. What seems to be missing is being able to identify the mechanisms for achievement and resolving stumbling blocks along the way.

8. How can parents and teachers assist Black children in coping with the world in which they live as well as changing the world around us?

9. How can the existing patterns in teaching children to handle aggression be improved so that aggression works for them instead of against them? How can parents and teachers teach social skills so that children learn nonviolent techniques of interpersonal conflict resolution? How can social skills be taught in such a way that children are able to negotiate mainstream institutions as well as Afro-American culture?

There is a need to articulate a pedagogy that begins in early childhood that includes an interrelated learning environment drawn from African-American culture, teaching strategies embedded in African-American learning styles, and materials relevant to the African-American experience.

The schools, for cultural and educational reasons, need to accommodate instruction to the learning styles of Black children. Early child care settings need to build bridges between the culture Black children bring to school and the outcomes they must achieve in order to survive and become upwardly mobile in American society.

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Just what influence do fairy tales, sexist, racist, or not, have upon the socialization of children?

Teacher-Guided Exploration of the Hidden Messages in Children's Literature

by Dr. Rita Weimer
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Introduction

Many elementary teachers read fairy tales aloud to students almost daily. Without ever directly stating what is important, interesting, valuable or acceptable, the content in fairy tales sends hidden messages indirectly to children.

Just what influence do fairy tales, sexist, racist, or not, have upon the socialization of children? The term socialization is used to identify the process by which a person slowly develops values and attitudes, likes and dislikes, goals and purposes, patterns of response and a concept of self. This image of self is arrived at through a gradual, complicated lifelong process. It takes place largely through learning a role with three aspects: duties, status and temperament (Racism and Sexism Center for Education, 1976).

The importance of books as potential socializing agents has been attested to by numerous researchers. Traditionally, the field of education is considered one of little change—the place where the phrase "but we've always done it that way!" was born. Changes in children's literature, however, defy that reputation. The concerns of educators, parents and researchers about the socialization process brought changes in the contents of children's stories and the manner in which they are taught.

Changes in Children's Literature

"Mother Goose" became "Father Gander" when Douglas Larche created **The Equal Rhymes Amendment** (1985). Larche identified sex-bias in nursery rhymes and rewrote them with inclusive messages. In his not-so-singsong version, instead of Miss Muffet hysterically running "away from the spider who sat down beside her," Ms. Muffet demonstrates her intelligence by putting the spider back into the garden, thus to balance the ecological environment by catching insects. (**Father Gander Nursery Rhymes: The Equal Rhymes Amendment,** 1985).

Another change in children's literature occurred when educators discovered "Johnny Couldn't Read." They decided school was a *feminine* place where boys were not comfortable. Instantly, supplemental readers' titles included **Cowboy Sam, Sailor Jack,** and **Dan Frontier** along with **Dick and Jane, Jack and Janet,** and **Tom and Betty** with the content following the connotation of the additional titles. This change was meant to make materials more appealing to boys. The National Defense Education Act, 1961, which provided funds for enrichment materials to enhance the space-race against the Soviets, contributed to the boy-orientation of that era. Allocations were available for science-oriented publications: historical accounts of scientific discoveries and outlines of experiments for children to perform. (Bosmajian, Gershing, Nielsen, and Stanley, 1977.)

Fairy Tales have not escaped the changing times. Some have been revised to reflect today's values. In Dr. Gardner's **Modern Fairy Tales** (1977), the Cinderella story does not end with marriage to the handsome prince. Instead, the heroine tells him, "I no longer wish to marry you. We're different kinds of people and interested in different things. I don't think we'd be very happy living together for the rest of our lives."

Socialization

The catalyst for much of the change has been the realization that the stories children read and hear are part of the socialization process—they reinforce concepts and behaviors. Janice Gibson (1986), professor of educational and developmental psychology at the University of Pittsburgh, says fairy tales do more than entertain. Their heroes and heroines teach important lessons and help children understand the world. This process is not new. Before the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen recorded their tales in the 19th century, itinerant European storytellers wandered the countryside teaching that good wins over evil with the narration of Hansel and Gretel's elimination of the evil witch (Gibson, 1986).

With the realization that children's literature is a vital part of socialization came an examination of what children learn at an early educational level through fairy tales. Scholars began pointing out hidden messages that present socialization problems. Among the objections were the messages about cultural and economic values, as well as sex-role stereotyping.

Cultural and Economic Values

The cultural and economic values depicted in fairy tales leave serious flaws in the quality of life most parents desire for their offspring. For example, lies go unpunished, even rewarded—as in "Rumplestiltskin." The poor father's (untruth) about his daughter's spinning abilities becomes the means for both the father and daughter's wealth. In the "Princess and the Pea," barely hidden messages of snobbery and blue-bloodedness underlie the prince's search for "real" royalty. Seventeenth century French fairy tales reinforced elitism with descriptions of fine clothes, beautiful, and handsome nobility.

Sex Roles

Sex roles, sharply defined in fairy tales, are unrealistic and of another era. Aggressiveness or the ability to solve problems is not a characteristic attributed to "good" females; rather, the tales are full of wicked stepmothers, jealous sisters and evil witches. Males, on the other hand, are usually courageous, adventurous and powerful. Jack of

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Beanstalk fame is resourceful in defeating the giant and saving his mother. "The Fisherman and His Wife" offers typical fairy tale sex roles: a domineering, greedy wife and a goodhearted, modest husband. Females are portrayed as being capable of performing only menial household tasks. When Snow White wonders what she can do, the dwarves tell her, "You can sew and mend, and keep everything tidy."

Expanded Choices in Children's Literature

Attempts such as those of Larche and Gardner to rewrite well-known children's literature are not the only efforts being made to upgrade it. Alleen Pace Nilson's 1978 study showed a sharp decline in the number of times female characters appeared in Caldecott Medal and Honor Books.

Dates	Percentage of female characters
1951-55	46%
1956-60	41%
1961-65	35%
1966-70	26%
1971-75	22%

In response to this and other statistical studies, publishers have aimed for more balance in male-female orientation (Bosmajian, Gershing, Nilson, and Stanley, 1977). Lists of literature that present women and men in non-sexist roles are now available.

Fairy tales, however, are still used extensively in their pre-20th century forms. Bruno Bettelheim (1975), psychologist and educator, contends that a desirable, complex learning takes place when children read them.

Fairy tales are works of art which are fully comprehensible to the child. The child will extract different meaning from the same fairy tale, depending on *his/her* interests and needs of the moment. When given the chance, *he/she* will return to the same tale when *he/she* is reading to enlarge on old meanings.

Because the fairy tale will continue to be used, some educators have changed their approach to teaching them. Instead of teaching "happily ever after" story-lines, one approach is to use a lesson plan to elicit the children's responses to objectionable hidden messages. The plan is adaptable to several age levels, uses definitions for dealing with contemporary concepts, and can be a pattern for studying numerous pieces of literature. Discussion pointers (DPs) are suggestions and can be varied according to the participants. One or several class periods may be used. The following lesson plan is offered as an example. It deals with five values: prejudice, elitism, materialism, sexism, and racism.

Sample Lesson Plan:
Sexism, Racism, and Other "ISMs":
Hidden Messages in Children's Stories

OBJECTIVE: To teach participants to look past the story-lines of any story or book and begin to examine the values consciously or unconsciously projected. The concepts to be discussed are prejudice, elitism, sexism, racism, and materialism/classism.

RATIONALE: Initiating discussions of familiar fairy tales stimulates a wide range of awareness and interest.

MATERIALS:

1. Print version of "The Princess and the Pea."
2. Introductory comments for teacher.
3. Discussion pointers.
4. Blackboard and chalk or newsprint and magic markers.
5. Background brochures when possible on racism, elitism, and sex roles.

ACTIVITY:

1. Teacher reads and prepares in advance.
2. Assign person in the group to read "The Princess and the Pea" aloud. Then pass it around so everyone can study the illustrations.
3. While it is being passed, start a free-flowing discussion. Aim to introduce concepts of prejudice, elitism, sexism, racism, and materialism/classism through participants' comments on story. Use chalkboard or newsprint for writing concepts and definitions.
4. "The Princess and the Pea" can be followed by discussion of other familiar tales.
5. Given time and participants inclination, analyze society's institutions for the values they encourage and reward.
6. Participants can locate and bring in stories or books that promote values they would like to see applied throughout society.

Questions (Q) and Discussion Pointers (DP)

1. Q: **What do you think of the prince? Is he prejudiced? How?**

DP: **Prejudice** means pre-judging without having all the facts. (Prejudice can be for or against a person or thing.) The Prince was prejudiced in favor of princesses, regardless of what they were like as people. All he cared about was that the princess be a "real" princess. He was prejudiced against all women who supposedly were not "real" and "genuine" regardless of what they were like as people.

Q: **What is an example of prejudice?**

DP: (With young children) Pick a characteristic (eye color, hair color) and briefly act out with students that, because you want to talk to, and be friendly with, only people with blue eyes—the one thing about people that you care about—you lose valuable relationships with other people (non-blue eyes)—and you may not like some things about people with blue eyes. With older groups: Discuss types of prejudice in society (see how many the group can come up with, e.g., by color, sex, age, income, weight, etc.) We judge people simply by that one thing about which we are prejudiced, and thus we often limit our experiences.

2. Q: **Were the prince and princess elitist?**

DP: **Elitism** means people thinking and acting as if they are better than most other people, because they are richer, have more power, or are smarter than others, etc.

Q: **What was the princess like from what we know of her?**

DP: Spoiled and pampered.

Q: **Why would only a "real" princess have so much trouble sleeping on such a soft bed when most other people wouldn't?** (Some people can't even afford a bed!)

DP: Royalty indicates living a pampered, spoiled life. Explore what royal families are like.

Q: **In what other areas do people sometimes think they are better than others?**

DP: Money, skin color, beauty, sports, education.

3. Q: **Are the would-be princesses materialistic?**

DP: **Materialism** places a higher value on riches and possessions than on people.

In the story, it seems all the young women wish to marry a prince.

Is that natural? Does that happen today?

4. Q: **Is the story sexist, and why?**

DP: **Sexism** is any attitude, action or institutional structure that subordinates a person or group because of

their sex ("sub" means "lower").

Q: **Is any one subordinate in the story? Are some people subordinates in real life?**

DP: Limited work roles, lower wages, less options, less decision-making are examples of subordination.

Q: **How do the pictures describe the women in the story?**

DP: Pleading, begging the prince to choose them.

Q: **What does the story tell us is the most important thing a woman wants to do?**

DP: Find a husband, the richer the better.

5. Q: **Is the story racist?**

DP: **Racism** is any attitude, action or institutional structure that *subordinates* a person or group because of (color) or ethnic background. In the USA, racism is White people thinking they are superior and having the power to subordinate people of other *nationalities* by keeping them from good jobs, housing, education, health care, etc.

Q: **If a book makes children other than White feel put down, left out, or hurt in any way, is it racist? Does this story do any of these?**

DP: Look at the pictures in the book. Are the characters all White?

Q: **Does the picture show us the prince went "all over the world" as the story says? Do the women in the drawing represent races "all over the world?"**

DP: The women pictured are White, yet White people are only a minority of the world's population. More Black, Brown, and Yellow people live in our world than Whites. Some of these civilizations pre-dated the White, European ones. Royalty was part of many of these cultures. (Perhaps some students would like to prepare reports on royalty.) A good opportunity exists here for a discussion on why royalty lost its authority as people demanded control over their lives.

Through teacher-guided discussions of such desirable values as this lesson plan provides, the socialization of students is guided toward more realistic expectations of life. Teaching in this manner, however, is a change requiring extra preparation.

Because of the concerned educators, researchers, and parents who recognized the hidden messages, many forms of children's literature are now being taught with a goal of more realistic socialization: "Girls who are assertive, boys who are gentle, mothers who have good jobs, and fathers who help around the house, both males and females who feel free to express themselves and to develop whatever talents and qualities they desire regardless of stereotyping" (Bosmajion, Gershing, Nilsen, and Stanley, 1977).

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A rich body of literature raising new questions about the female experience is evolving.

The Emergence of a Nonracist Approach to Sex Equity

by Dr. Nancy Smith
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Introduction

Those seeking to achieve educational equity for one group of learners are sometimes themselves guilty of perpetuating and/or neglecting inequities for other groups. For example, the research, curriculum development, projects and funding related to sex equity has been criticized for failing to address human diversity. There is, however, strong evidence that a nonracist approach to sex equity has now emerged. The purpose of this article is to present some of this evidence and to provide examples of how it is being used.

Two major recent contributions to the literature in sex equity have also set the stage for a nonracist approach to sex equity. They are Mary Kay Tetreault's "Stages of Thinking About Women: An Experience-Derived Evaluation Model" published in the **The Journal of Higher Education** in 1985 and the "AERA Guidelines for Eliminating Race and Sex Bias in Educational Research and Evaluation" published in the **Educational Researcher** in 1985.

Conceptual Framework

Tetreault's work provides a framework with which to understand the evolution of sex equity literature and its direction. She suggests that the scholarship represents five phases. Characteristic of the first phase, male scholarship, is the absence of an awareness that the female view of reality is excluded. Compensatory scholarship, the second phase, is marked by attempts to include the female experience where it is the same as males. One example is the addition to the curriculum of women who have been outstanding in traditionally male activities. In the third phase, called bifocal scholarship, the roles of men and women are seen as separate and different but equal in value. Much of this scholarship focuses upon women's oppression and their efforts to overcome it.

Two observations about these first phases are relevant to the purposes of this article. First, note the omission of any significant inclusion of issues related to racism (or other *isms* such as ageism, handicapism, classism, heterosexism, and antisemitism). Secondly, observe that it is possible for different aspects of one piece of scholarship to represent more than one phase. The phases are loosely developmental and overlapping.

When does a nonracist approach to sex equity scholarship become evident? According to Tetreault's phase theory, it occurs in phase four, feminist scholarship. A rich body of literature raising new questions about the female experience has been and is evolving. In Tetreault's words, this scholarship "illuminates women's traditions, history, culture, values, visions, and perspectives" (p. 380). An important aspect of this scholarship is its pluralistic conception of women. The authors of this scholarship recognize that factors such as women's race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and age interact with their gender status to influence their values, traditions, perceptions, and history. This recognition is carried further in phase five, multi-focal relational scholarship.

In multi-focal, relational scholarship differences and similarities in men's and women's experiences are studied in a way that creates a holistic view of the human experience. The intersection of race and gender, age and gender, class and gender, etc., are taken into consideration. While there is a need for further scholarship in phases two, three and four, they seem to describe the evolution of sex equity scholarship. Future research, analysis, curriculum changes, and theory will reflect the phase five perspective. As more feminist and multi-focal relational scholarship appears, the emergence of a nonracist approach to sex equity will become increasingly evident.

Guidelines for Eliminating Bias

The AERA Guidelines for Eliminating Race and Sex Bias in Educational Research and Evaluation will facilitate further work in the feminist and multi-focal relational phases. An understanding of and adherence to these guidelines will enable all researchers to produce scholarship that is rigorous, intellectually honest, and reliable. During the planning of research, the perspective of women and minorities should be addressed and women and minorities should be included in the planning process to ensure authenticity. The research and evaluation methods should specify how the variables related to gender and race are incorporated. The review of the literature should include a critical analysis of the extent to which and how gender and race are treated and should include sources that focus on race and/or gender. Data collection instruments and staff should be selected with gender and race concerns in mind. Research findings should be reported in a context that enhances understanding of the findings with consideration to race and gender.

Nonracist Models

Three recent publications demonstrate the emergence of the nonracist approach to sex equity described in Tetreault's phases and the AERA Guidelines. They each represent significant contributions to the literature in sex equity in education during the 1980s. As related to racism, two of the examples are consistent with Tetreault's feminist phase and the third example illustrates the multi-focal relational phase.

In the **Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity Through Education**, (Klein, 1985), racism and sexism are treated in Part Five, Sex Equity Strategies for Specific Populations. The authors of the chapter, "Achieving Sex Equity for Minority Women," stress that just as all women are not White and research and programs should include minority women's perspectives; also, all minority women are not alike and their diversity should be reflected in research and programs. The educational and life experiences of African-American, His-

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panic-American, Native-American and Asian-American women vary due to language, religion, culture, geographical location, ethnicity, and race.

Two major equity issues are described as common to minority women. First of all, there is a myth that sex inequity affects all women equally and remedies affect all women equally. According to the authors, it is difficult to determine, however, if racial, cultural, sexual, or regional biases are more fundamental to their problems. This suggests major challenges for research and program development. Secondly, these women are subjected to the negative consequences of gender stereotyping and stereotyping of their respective race, national origin, or culture. Common themes of the stereotyping of minority women are succinctly described as follows: "(a) the image or stereotype is one of powerlessness; (b) the image is pathological, that is, the victim is blamed for her victimization; and (c) the image is based on the absence of information or on distorted information." The stereotypes are different among these groups of women, but the "denigration of minorities and women holds constant" (p. 374).

The March, 1986 edition of the **Kappan** addressed "Women in Education" in a special section edited by Charol Shakeshaft. "The School Experiences of Black Girls: The Interaction of Gender, Race, and Socioeconomic Status" by Dianne Scott-Jones and Maxine L. Clark is an example of the study of minority women as distinct groups. Their review of the literature demonstrates the difficulty in determining the differential impact of gender and race and the need for adequate research addressing the educational experiences of all learners. The authors conclude, however, that the evidence on the costs of racism and classism in education is clear in the literature.

The work begun by Klein in the **Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity Through Education** is continued in the Autumn 1986 issue of **Theory Into Practice.** Many sex equity issues not addressed in the **Handbook** are treated in this edition of the journal. This work also clearly represents an effort to incorporate a multi-focal approach to sex equity related to racism. An excerpt about research on classroom interactions from the first article, "Abolishing Misperceptions About Sex Equity in Education," provides a good example:

"The observations revealed clear patterns concerning both sex and race bias. Not only did males receive more teacher interactions than females, but majority students received more interactions than minority students. The student most likely to interact with the teacher was a White male, followed by a minority male; female students were at the end of the line. The teacher's attention, the most valuable resource in the classroom, was distributed congruent with society's value system and the U.S. Department of Labor's income statistics. The most interactive-rich student was a White male; the most interactive-poor student was a minority female" (p. 221).

Other sex equity topics discussed in that issue which address the interaction between sex and race include curriculum, parenting, disabled students, bilingual education, computer learning, and the liberal arts. A dilemma common to these topics is the inadequate body of research which incorporates race and gender. Nevertheless, the point of inclusion of racism in the discussion of sex equity is an important contribution.

Conclusion

Is the literature on sex equity nonracist? Are the sex equity lectures in educational courses non-racist? Are the proponents of sex equity nonracist? The answer in each case is no. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that a nonracist approach to sex equity has emerged, not arrived. The publications discussed here are examples of a broad based phenomena. The emergence of this approach means that increasingly the literature, the lectures, the conference presentations, and the sex equity proponents themselves will become nonracist.

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. . . the quality of life for Black males in America *can* be improved.

The Other Side of Gender Equity: Black Males in America

by Dr. James Boyer
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Introduction

Equity, as an education, gender and racial concept, encompasses issues of access, treatment and/or outcomes (Harvey, 1982). It implies a mentality of fairness and justice; one which allows all parties to participate in education, economic and other social arrangements from an equitable posture. Equitable relationships and arrangements are built through coalitions and collaborations between parties deemed equal. Economic factors are often considered to be the most reliable indicator of whether and in what areas equity has been achieved (Harvey, Noble, 1984).

The constructs of race, gender, level of education and social class are factors closely inter-related with all aspects of one's life chances, from health and life expectancy to housing and income (Persell, 1977). Monroe (1987) reports that Black males have the highest infant mortality rates and the lowest life expectancy rates. In addition, Black males are six times more likely to be murder victims than White males and are two and one-half times as likely to be unemployed as White males. Also, the median income of Black males is 71 percent of White males' (Farley, 1984).

As is apparent, the social history and present condition of Black males in America is replete with inequities. Moreover, the cultural history of Black males in America is riddled with conflicting images of self-perception. The larger society has defined standards for masculinity based on Western European norms, values and behaviors, while systematically excluding men of color from those definitions.

The Black American male has undergone a series of experiences in which he was informed his role was one of tremendous physical attributes. While the data may show sociological patterns resulting in gender related advantages for Black males when compared to Black females, the socialization of Black males warrants further study as a variable that impacts their total behavioral profile.

The basic assumption of this discourse is that the quality of life for Black males in America can be improved. Such improvement, however, should not come at the expense of one's sense of self as an adequate individual. Traditional notions of socialization have placed great emphasis on gender; Black males have long recognized the myths attached to both racial and gender identities. However, those myths have persistently emphasized factors *which do not* contribute to economic sufficiency, academic proficiency, political empowerment, family solidarity or positive cultural continuity.

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Endangered Species

Emerging from an initial framework which fails to encompass racial affirmation and which distorts the definition of masculine humanity, Black males have engaged in a struggle of adequacy as human entities. Given the historical roots of the American cultural and academic institutions, Black American males are still in the process of discovering, analyzing and re-shaping definitions of maleness as it relates to the reality of their existence. Sociologist Robert Staples (1987) writing in the **Black Scholar** offers the following:

"While all Blacks—men, women and children—are burdened by the persistence of institutional racism, the situation of Black males has deteriorated to the point of their being called an *endangered species*" (p. 9).

The Black male child experiences contradictory reinforcements of the image which has been created for him by image makers outside his group. These image makers include, but are not limited to, the mass media, curriculum materials of all descriptions, toy makers, etc. Instead of promoting images of psychological independence, economic strength and family solidarity, negative images are created and disseminated. Such images contribute to negative self-perceptions. In light of this phenomenon, the cultural conditioning of Black American male children at this point in social history, needs further analysis as part of the gender conceptualizations.

Cultural Conditioning

What does it mean to be a male person in a Black family? What are the emotional dimensions of his existence? What non-verbal messages are communicated to the male child regarding his legitimacy and sense of self? What practices are employed which communicate messages of inadequacy? At very tender ages, most Black children are aware that Black males are over-represented in America's prisons and they are keenly aware that they are over-represented in classes for the mentally handicapped and the emotionally fragile. Given these indexes, what ingredients are also part of the Black male child's self-definition?

Considering these realities, one then asks the following questions as part of the cultural socialization of male children:

1. How is the male or father self-concept developed within the Black male child? What are the factors which contribute to the self-definition of a male child?
2. What constitutes strength? What constitutes power? What constitutes justice?
3. What is the degree of sex-role stereotyping which emerges from mass media? from family? from one's daily interaction within the community?
4. Inasmuch as custodial parenting is still awarded primarily to the female parent in cases of separation and divorce, does the male child conclude that some form of abandonment is a natural/normal part of adult masculinity?
5. What constitutes nurturing behavior and how are these behaviors assigned along gender lines? What is the cost of modifying such assignments?

Understanding human behavior now requires being keenly aware of gender-influenced behaviors, gender-influenced circumstances and the economic implications of one's gender identity. Additionally, little attention has

been given to the process of socializing Black males for academic purposes.

The Schools, Academic Socialization and Black Males

Kunjufu (1984) discusses the weak transition Black males make between the primary and intermediate divisions in public schools. His research is consistent with others who have described the hierarchical academic performance structure operating in most classrooms; that is, White males occupy the highest academic profile with White females in the middle and Black males at the bottom. Likewise, Black males have the highest dropout and suspension rates.

Should the definition of a "good" student in school be made by persons who have never experienced cross-racial, cross ethnic teaching and learning styles? Answers to these questions would generally require some analysis of the American schools—the way they are conceived, the way they are organized and a massive review of instructional delivery to Black male learners.

Academic socialization includes the realization that more boys get punished than girls in schools and that more boys get suspended from schools than do girls. Also, in addition to those elements which are viewed or perceived by the Black male child within the school, there are those non-school elements which communicate that males are expected to behave in ways which are considered non-complimentary in many instances. For example, some male children will have positive childhood experiences even though adult male modeling may not be readily visible. However, numerous male children, given limited direct help in their behavioral and self-perception definitions, will adopt behavorial codes and concepts distinctly different from the adults responsible for their socialization—codes and concepts which are considered inappropriate by the larger society. In this regard, Wade (1987) offers the following:

"Throughout their history in American society, Blacks have mounted a variety of practices for responding to and attaining acceptance and racial affirmation in White society . . . yet, the pejoratives of formalized and unofficial rejection of Blacks as normals in the main of American functioning cause them to expend tremendous amounts of energy to demonstrate intrinsic equality, competence and humanity" (p. 35).

Kirk (1986) indicates that not only are the Black American's abilities questioned, but, very often their humanness as well. The Black male child is still in the evolvement of his humanness. How human is he—as perceived by America's schools and school personnel? What constitutes ability? Is it always defined in terms of a particular learning style, one that has parameters that fail to consider race, gender, language or ethnicity?

The cultural and academic socialization of Black male children in America needs additional study by both authentic researchers/theorists and by basic scholars. Black males themselves must be included in any study of their profile, or such studies will be viewed as less than authentic scholarship. The inclusion of persons reflecting the profiles under study will provide for a lifetime of perceptions in that role. Such an approach can help add insight to traditional sociological and academic research findings.

Black Males: Toward Intervention for Survival

When one considers the human realities of Black males during present times, numerous variables impact such study. Gunnings and Lipscomb (1986) offer the following observation:

"In developing any theory dealing with human beings, it is necessary to be explicit about assumptions regarding the nature of humankind because theories, as the product of cognitive processes, are based on perceptions of reality, not reality itself. An effective intervention into the lives of any population, particularly Black men, must have as its core an adequate theory of human behavior" (p. 18).

They further cite a need to be aware of one's active interaction with social and physical environments; priorities that differ; interpretations that differ; and finally, that the researcher must realize that all experience is adapted and interpreted with some alteration.

Intervention will require deliberate destruction of those elements which influence self-destructive behaviors; these may be teachers who instruct Black children, textbooks given them for reading, library and other curriculum materials provided for their consumption and a host of other related factors.

Proposals

This author, while cognizant of the importance of family influence, focuses on intervention strategies which reside in agencies outside the home, but which touch the lives of Black children. The strategies proposed are as follows:

1. American institutions should deliberately engage Black male children in discussions of Black masculinity that lead to new definitions and are ones which help to erode traditional myths. Theorists and academicians need to explore Black masculinity at levels which respect the perceptions of those who must experience the role throughout their lives —Black males. Such discussions might yield a more functional definition particularly as it relates to competence as a member of a family unit.

2. Schools should study disaggregated data on punishment, suspensions, reward indexes, options provided, achievement motivation and similar elements of ongoing school factors. This includes patterns and practices of pupil assignment, especially in classes for mental retardation; and other human factors which could be interpreted as deficits of the human profile. When Black males are overrepresented in any such categories, immediate corrective action should be taken. Black males should not be represented in any category disproportionate to their numbers or percentages in the larger society. All intervention strategies at our command should be employed toward this goal.

3. Teaching at the elementary level is one of the least regarded endeavors of our society. Failure to see more Black males included among the ranks of those who provide instruction—despite the economic rewards—delivers a message to Black males that it is not a profession/career to be seriously considered as one's lifelong work. Deliberate effort should be initiated to intervene in this reality.

4. While some applaud Black male participation in sports, the following statement by Staples (1987) is enlightening:

"A closer look reveals that while Black males are engaged in injury producing sports that result in short, albeit lucrative careers, Whites have equally lucrative and greater longevity in sports such as golf, tennis and bowling that the more economically deprived Black male seldom has the opportunity to play" (p.7).

Most sports observers note that less than 1 percent of aspiring Black male athletes ever experience any career in injury producing sports. Thus, they must be encouraged to explore other options in sports. Encouragement should include statistical data which highlight the fact that lasting careers as athletes are extremely limited and potentially of

short duration.

5. Image makers (all institutions, mass media and school curriculum developers) need to engage in an analysis of the images presented. For instance, rarely do image makers present a holistic picture of male entertainers, whom young Black males may aspire to emulate. An holistic representation would include multiple facets of the entertainer's role, including a depiction of their wives and children.

Curriculum imaging is one of the most pervasive aspects of the Black male's academic socialization and must bear accountability for the scope and quality of Black male images presented daily to the learner.

In adulthood, many Black males have been victims of forced idleness and academic and cultural impotence. This has often resulted in self-destructive behaviors. In spite of negative experiences, Black males remain a vital pool of talent in need of development. Their energy and vitality is needed.

Lessons to be learned by Black men include resistance to the European definitions which result in limitations in family involvement, occupational diversity and positive and assertive influence in the major institutions of our society.

A Final Gender Note

Educators responsible for programs in which Black male children are served would do well to begin immediate engagement into the psychological issues surrounding their relationships with others, particularly Black males. Insight is needed on how those relationships are defined, perceived and maintained. The complexities surrounding gender identities are numerous and the educational enterprise is a primary place for its investigation and application.

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The primary feature of successful programs for women and minorities seem to be that they involve the students in the "doing" of science and mathematics.

A Review of Factors Related to Gender and Ethnic Differences in Math/Science Achievement Levels of Students K-12

by Iris Riggs
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Since publication of **A Nation at Risk** (1982), a considerable amount of national attention has been focused on the state of American education, especially as it relates to the preparation of students in math, science and technological areas. While the performance of students in general has been considered below the expected standards of achievement, some groups appear to be both disproportionately underrepresented and are cited as being low or underachievers.

Such is the case with Black females. This article discusses possible explanations for underachievement by Black females in math and science. Based upon these explanations, potential avenues for reform will also be presented.

Participation

There is some direct evidence to indicate that Black females do not prepare for math and science careers in proportion to their numbers in school populations. In a rare investigation in which relevant data about Black females was collected, Marrett (1982) found that "Black females comprised a smaller proportion of the enrollees than one might have predicted, based on their representation in the sample schools" (p. 33). Marrett also reported, "Of the Black females who were taking mathematics, fewer were in the most selective courses than was true for White students of both sexes (p. 35). In science as in mathematics, minority female representation in the school population outdistanced the advanced course sums. Furthermore, the means were very similar: for both science and mathematics, the number of minority females in advanced courses was about three-quarters of the expected count" (p. 39).

Are Black females more endangered in the areas of math and science than either White females or Black males? In reference to participation in math and science classes, Marrett reported, "Although Black female rates lagged behind those for White males and females, they exceeded the rates for Black males" (p. 35). Nevertheless, despite their greater level of participation in math and science classes compared to Black males, it appears that Black males (and White females) still manage a greater level of participation in hard sciences and math careers than do Black females.

Marrett (1982) reported that Black females make up 3 percent of all social and behavioral scientists, but less than 1 percent of those in physical and biological sciences and in engineering. Approximately 72 percent of the Black females in science and engineering are in social and behavioral sciences, whereas, only 28 percent of White females in science and engineering are in social and behavioral sciences. For Black males, the figure is 17 percent.

Marrett's study is unique because it examined the participation and achievements of Black females in particular. Very little research specifically addresses the dilemmas of Black females (Adams, 1983; Scott-Jones, 1986). Instead, most researchers tend to investigate either a population of Blacks or of females, but not Black and female. This information gap limits the conclusions that can be drawn about the participation of Black females in math and science. For example, Malcolm (1984), in her work for the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was faced with this limitation as she addressed the problems of both females and minorities in mathematics and science. She reported that both minorities and women are greatly underrepresented among the populations of scientists and engineers in the United States" (p. 1). Malcolm also reported that in 1978, women were 51 percent of the work force.

For women in general, there have been some signs of improvement in their recent levels of achievement. There has been an increase in the proportion of female doctorates earned in science and engineering from 8.1 percent of the total in 1960 to 30 percent of the total in 1984. Nevertheless, Vetter (1986) reported that women's career opportunities still have lagged substantially behind those of men. Also, some fields appear to remain especially impervious to entry by women or minorities. Marrett (1982) reported that combined figures for Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians represent only 2 percent of doctorates in chemistry. In engineering, Black females received only .03 percent and Black males .09 percent of all doctoral degrees in 1980-81 (Scott-Jones, 1986).

Though not all of these figures provide direct evidence that Black females are victims of the underachievement measures in minorities and/or females, one might logically assume that, because they are members of both groups, they might actually suffer "double jeopardy." Consequently, because they would experience any deprivation to which either Blacks or females are subjected, they might be more at risk than either White females or Black males.

Taken as a whole, the figures suggest that equitable outcomes do not result for Black females in math and sci-

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ence. Black females are rare in these well-paid highly respected fields. Nevertheless, some Black females do seek and successfully obtain careers in these areas. To determine what enabled these women to succeed, one might look for events in common among a sample of those who have been successful. Johnson (1986) surveyed graduates of a program designed to meet the needs of minority gifted students. Based upon the responses of 813 graduates, Johnson found the following to be some of the key factors related to the choice of a career in science or mathematics:

1. self-perception of one's ability,
2. enrollment in advanced mathematics courses in high school,
3. the choice of a math or science teacher as most influential teacher.

If the above factors are truly related to the choice of a career in math or science, the question for Black females becomes—What can be done to enhance the acquisition of these skills by this target group?

Self-Perception of One's Ability

In reference to ability, there is little or no evidence to suggest that Black females' ommission in planning careers is due to a lack of aptitude or ability. In fact—at least in studies of early career preference—ability has little to do with aspirations to prepare for math and science careers. Jacobowitz (1983) reported "Mathematics achievement did not account for a significant proportion of the variance in science career (gender) preferences" (p. 626).

It appeared that students were not yet aware that a career in science presupposes achievement in mathematics and science and, consequently, they did not consider or realistically assess these factors when indicating preferences for science careers. These results occurred even though the Black females in the study had science and math achievement scores similar to those of the males.

In an analysis of performance by Black students in math and science on the National Assessment of Educational Progress, Holmes (1980) found that Blacks were disadvantaged at all examined levels (ages 9, 13, and 17) with the achievement gap getting most severe at age 17. Science achievement differences between Whites and Blacks were also less severe at the younger ages. Perhaps it is the lack of awareness on the part of young Black females that, in part, leads to this widening gap in achievement. Since these students do not realize the importance of both participation and achievement in math and science courses, there results a lack of achievement in these areas which prevents Black females from attaining the occupations to which they had earlier aspired.

In reference to self perception of ability, however, early adolescent science career preferences were related to interests that are consonant with sex role considerations. Jacobowitz (1983) found that sex accounted for the major proportion of the variance in science career preference of Black inner city junior high school students. These sex role related expectations may affect Black females' self-perceptions of their ability to succeed in math and science. Turner (1983) cited low levels of self-confidence and/or low expectations of success as factors that keep Black females from pursuing a career in the science or health professions. Sex role stereotypes (which generally exclude women from math and science related roles) may be very detrimental to early planning for math and science careers.

Enrollment in Advanced Mathematics Courses

In their report on equity and excellence, the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1984) reported that the quality and quantity of pre-college education was very closely related to later success in technical fields. Turner (1983) also cited poor mathematics preparation as a factor that excludes Black females from technical careers. By the time Black females arrive at college where they might make a decision to pursue a career in math or science, the chances for success have already been minimized because of poor high school preparation.

As already noted, this poor preparation may be due in part to Black females being unaware of the importance of class enrollment and achievement to entrance into math and science fields. This information gap has been blamed in part on a deficiency in the academic advisement and counseling received by Black females (Epstein, 1973). Simply stated, Black females may not enroll in classes that would prepare them for advanced study in math and science because they were not advised to do so.

When Black females are counseled into math or science courses, they usually find themselves in a lower level or general curriculum. Such decisions as which course is appropriate for an individual student are often made early in the educational career and dictate what courses will follow (Sells, 1982). As Kahle (1982) reported, both tracking and grouping practices often result in students receiving long-term assignments to groups with different objectives and expectations from their own. This is "classroom" segregation rather than "school" segregation. It still "results in fewer opportunities open to minority students, and . . . is especially damaging in science and mathematics, where each course builds upon earlier content" (p. 54).

Teacher Influences

There is little doubt that teachers play a key role in determining career goals. The problem with expecting Black females to identify with and, consequently to be influenced by a math or a science teacher is that there are very few Black female math or science teachers to be role models. This is not to say that male instructors cannot have a positive influence, but concrete role models might make it easier for adolescents to imagine themselves performing successfully in these careers. Thomas and Shields (1987) found that Black female and Black male adolescents both tended to cite a same-sex and race individual as their key influencer.

Strategies

If self-perception of one's abilities, enrollment in advanced mathematics courses, and teacher influence all offer probable explanations for the under-representation of Black females in math and science careers, what could be done to resolve the obvious inequity? Since early planning for a career in math and science and the selection of a math or science teacher as a key role model might both be dependent upon an initial self-perception of one's self as a successful scientist or mathematician, it seems appropriate that most recommendations for dealing with this problem revolve around improving self-perceptions.

Matyas (1984) placed a heavy burden on instructors, "Undoubtedly, a key factor in changing girls' opinions and achievement will be science teachers and their attitude" (p. 198). Sells (1982) advocated the same self-attitude examination by math teachers because teaching toward communication and delivery of skills is much different than teaching geared to differentiation of students. It is important for educators to hold high expectations for Black females and communicate those expectations to the students. Burlew (1977) stated that educators should provide contact with "significant others" who can communicate high expectations and

share the belief that it is appropriate for females to have career and educational ambitions similar to those of males. She advised teachers to reassure young Black females that they have the ability to complete higher levels of education and to be successful in a variety of careers.

In addition to positive teacher attitude, the literature suggests many specific instructional strategies that may help boost Black females' self-perceptions in math and science. Fauth and Jacobs (1980) suggested starting early by taking advantage of and building on the early enthusiasm for mathematics before girls reach adolescence. This might be accomplished through utilization of instructional techniques that incorporate the learning styles of Black females. In fact, Malcolm (1984) found, "The primary feature of successful programs for minorities and females seems to be that they involve the students in the 'doing' of science and mathematics and convey a sense of their utility" (p. vii). Jacobowitz (1983), also, recommended that teachers and administrators work to eliminate perceptions of science as a masculine domain. They should attempt to enhance the self-concept by reinforcing specific scientific behaviors and encouraging Black girls to participate in hands on laboratory experiments.

Simply providing opportunities for hands-on activities may not be adequate, however. Educators must monitor student participation by assigning and rotating job roles in the laboratory setting. Jones (1985) has developed a system for helping science educators define and teach task group roles to students, thereby assuring more equitable hands on participation.

Role models have also been suggested as a way to enhance Black females' self perceptions in math and science. Many researchers have suggested enabling Black females to interact with female role models as well as exposing them to films and publications on the lives and actions of women scientists (Fauth and Jacobs, 1980; Jacobowitz, 1983; Scherrei and McNamara, 1981; and Smith, 1981).

In order to effect Black female enrollment in math and science courses, Jacobowitz (1983) Scherrei and McNamara (1981) recommended that Black females be advised and encouraged to enroll in mathematics and science courses in high school. Jacobowitz (1983) and Smith (1981) suggested that this goal might be attained by increasing Black students' awareness of the link between their school achievement in math and science courses and their potential for success in lucrative, well-respected careers. Fauth and Jacobs (1980) suggested developing positive attitudes toward math and its practical usefulness. They contend that this might be accomplished by identifying high ability students early and establishing support groups of same sex peers to maintain the interest and commitment to mathematics. Peer interaction might foster cooperative support groups, giving Black females who are interested and talented in math and science an appropriate reference group. Burlew (1977) described an approach that involved group discussions with Black females and males designed to restructure sex role perceptions and give increased options for both sexes. School curriculum, course requirements and school organization also might be investigated to determine changes that might foster increased enrollment of Black females in math and science courses.

In reference to students' choice of a math or science teacher as one's most influential teacher, the answer appears to be exposure to and encouragement from a dedicated teacher/counselor (Scherrei and McNamara, 1981). Good teachers have made the difference in many lives and will continue to do so, but Black females must have ample opportunity to interact with such teachers. It might also be important (according to Fauth and Jacobs, 1980) to "identify and guide the 'math anxious' teacher" (p. 489), who might actually be functioning as a "turn off" to the aspirations of Black females for math and/or science careers.

Summary

Matyas (1984) stated, "the technological society in which we live cannot afford to waste the scientific brainpower of one-half of its population through unequal education" (p. 75). When we refer to Black women exclusively, we are no longer dealing with as large a proportion of the population, but the same argument rings true. However, is it necessary to target Black females specifically rather than just women as a whole? To this point, Turner (1983) argued:

"While the future is likely to bring greater White females' participation in science, the same trend does not appear to be as likely for Black females. This observation highlights the increasing importance of NOT deciding that being female in society equally handicaps all women, regardless of ethnic origin . . . the barriers to successful careers in science must be individually examined for each ethnic group and means developed to overcome these barriers must be, perhaps, specific in design" (p. 4).

Finally, how great is the necessity of a continued, concentrated effort in order to achieve the goal of greater participation in math and science by Black females? Vetter (1986) answered this question for all females by stating:

". . . there is evidence that an increasing proportion of precollege women are taking the essential high school courses in mathematics and science that will hold open the option of choosing to pursue a science career. The gains over the last two decades have occurred in a climate of legally mandated educational opportunities, supportive changes in society's view, and favorable political backing. But a change in this climate—even to neutral—could slow women's reach toward equality" (p. 63).

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White colleagues, looking through the singular Black female before them, maintain perceptions based on stereotypes or past dealings with other Black women.

Black Professional Women in Predominately White Universities

by Dr. Robbie J. Steward, Dr. Barbara W. Ballard, and Roger P. Martin
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Many Black women who choose to pursue advanced degrees and work in predominately White settings find themselves alone. As more minority women enter a workplace, minority group cohesiveness does not heighten; rather there is a growing sense of isolation, suspiciousness, tension and stress in relationships among the minorities (Cox, 1965; Fleming, 1981; Gibbs, 1973; Westbrooke, Miyares, and Roberts, 1978; Wirth, 1951). This stress—and the potential for the development of an interpersonal rift—is most likely exacerbated in professional settings by the tendency of majority colleagues to compare minority women personally as well as professionally. The groundwork for increased feelings of competitiveness among the few is laid.

In addition, Black women often are caught in a continual struggle against preconceived notions held by majority group colleagues. White colleagues, looking through the singular Black female before them, maintain perceptions based on stereotypes or past dealings with other Black women. They respond to those perceptions rather than the person before them.

For example, White colleagues sometimes express surprise when Black women present fresh ideas. The more sensitive ones acknowledge the ideas and the presenter; the less sensitive do not hear the comments at all unless a White staff member repeats the statement. Recognition for the contribution then goes to the White colleague.

The cumulative stresses of interacting with majority and minority colleagues, as well as the normal strains associated with being a service-oriented professional, have potential to overwhelm. Nevertheless, Black professional women have survived, thrived and achieved success. This study addresses how Black female psychologists (who share a workplace with relatively few Black colleagues and relatively many White ones) have done this. It examines the subjects' interpersonal style with colleagues in the workplace; the colleagues' reactions to that style; feelings of alienation; and levels of job satisfaction.

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Method

Participants

Thirty Black Ph.D. female psychologists working in predominantly White university settings were sent copies of the questionnaire packet. It included a letter of introduction; four Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation—Behavior Scale (FIRO-B) (Schutz, 1967); Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation—Feelings Scale (FIRO-F) (Schutz, 1967); the Occupational Environment Scale (OES); the Personal Strain Questionnaire (PSQ); the Personal Resources Questionnaire (PRQ) (Osipow and Spokane, 1983); and the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) (Weiss, Dawis, England, and Lofquist, 1967).

In addition to completing the above instruments, participants were requested to ask three majority member colleagues within their work environment to complete the other FIRO-B instruments with responses that they supposed she would give.

Results

Of the 30 packets distributed, 15 were returned. Five major universities were represented in the sample. Years spent in present position ranged from 1 to 15. Ages ranged from 30 to 48.

Mean Scores

	FIRO-F	FIRO-B1	FIRO-B2
Ie	5.7	3.0	4.0
Iw	4.1	1.4	3.5
Ce	2.1	4.1	3.1
Cw	5.3	2.0	3.2
Ae	4.3	3.7	4.1
Aw	3.6	5.0	5.5

FIRO-B1 = participants' mean scores
FIRO-B2 = mean scores of colleagues perceptions

	Raw Scores	Percentile
OES:†		
I. Role Overload	27.0	69
II. Role Insufficiency	19.8	30
III. Role Ambiguity	19.6	60
IV. Role Boundary	18.1	36
V. Responsibility	22.8	44
VI. Physical Environment	13.7	41
PSQ:		
VII. Vocational Strain	18.6	50
VIII. Psychological Strain	19.4	38
IX. Interpersonal Strain	21.0	59
X. Physical Strain	23.1	65
PRQ:		
XI. Recreation	28.3	56
XII. Physical Coping	29.3	67
XIII. Social Support	42.2	54
XIV. Rational/Cognitive Coping	39.6	69

High scores on OES and PSQ indicate levels of discomfort and less of a personal fit to the work environment, while high scores on the PRQ indicate more of a tendency to use several coping strategies to overcome stress.

	Mean Raw Scores	Percentile
MSQ:†		
Ability Utilization	21.0	75
Achievement	22.8	90
Activity	22.4	90
Advancement	15.4	30
Authority	17.3	55
Company Policies	17.4	30
Compensation	13.6	12
Co-Workers	17.1	15
Creativity	21.1	85
Independence	20.7	90
Moral Values	23.4	80
Recognition	17.7	35
Responsibility	20.6	85

High scores on OES and PSQ indicate levels of discomfort and less of a personal fit to the work environment, while high scores on the PRQ indicate more of a tendency to use several coping strategies to overcome stress.

The FIRO scales provided information about the interpersonal styles of the population and the perceptions of their colleagues. The participants were found to have much stronger concern for the well-being of others, as well as a greater desire to be seen as significant and to be cared for, than they reveal. Although participants were found to perceive themselves as infrequently expressing the desire for inclusion, their White colleagues perceived them as doing so more often. This also held true for the expression of intimacy.

Participants perceived themselves as somewhat comfortable taking on leadership roles when the need arises. They also expressed a desire to be more independent in decision-making. By contrast, White colleagues perceived participants as assuming leadership to a lesser extent than participants saw themselves doing. White colleagues also perceived participants as expressing a need for more structure and guidance than participants thought they were expressing.

In addition, participants' scores indicated a tendency to distrust the competency and guidance of others, but, somewhat paradoxically, a tendency to need confidence and respect from others relative to their abilities.

All percentile ranks resulting from the OES, PSQ, and PRQ fell within the average range. OES scores indicated that the biggest problems were role overload and role ambiguity.

High scorers on role overload tended to report a poor fit between their talents and their job. They also report a lack of progress or future in their career. For them, needs for recognition and success are not being met, and they report boredom and/or underutilization.

High scorers on role ambiguity report a poor sense of knowing what they are expected to do, how they should be spending their time and how they will be evaluated. They report not knowing where to begin on new projects, and sensing conflicting demands from supervisors. Role boundary was an issue that participants reported as precipitating less of a struggle. It has to do with conflicting role demands and loyalties.

PSQ scores showed the participants' primary struggle involved physical strain. There were reports of physical illness and poor self-care habits. High scorers frequently reported worries about health and physical symptoms: unplanned weight changes, overuse of alcohol, and disturbed sleep. They also reported fatigue. The psychological strain scale measured the extent of psychological adjustment and/or mood problems.

PRQ scores indicated that the most used means of coping was rational/cognitive. High scorers report a systematic approach to problem-solving: they think through the consequences of their choices and can identify important elements of problems they encounter.

The second most used coping mechanism was physical: regular exercise, eight hours of sleep a night, relaxing techniques, and the avoidance of harmful substances. The third ranked mechanism was recreation and the last, social support. However, it must be remembered that participants' percentile ranks did not fall outside the normal range found for a norm group representing a large number of professionals in various working environments.

MSQ results indicated that participants were most professionally satisfied in the areas of achievement, activity, independence, social status, creativity, responsibility, moral values, social services, ability utilization, and variety. They were least satisfied about compensation, co-workers, company policies, and advancement. The items are defined below:

1. Ability utilization. The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities.
2. Achievement. The feeling of accomplishment I get from the job.
3. Activity. Being able to keep busy all the time.
4. Advancement. The chances for advancement on this job.
5. Company policies and practices. The way company policies are put into practice.
6. Compensation. My pay and the amount of work I do.
7. Co-workers. The way my co-workers get along with each other.
8. Creativity. The chance to try my own methods of doing the job.
9. Independence. The chance to work alone on the job.
10. Moral Values. Being able to do things that don't go against my conscience.
11. Responsibility. The freedom to use my own judgment.
12. Social Service. The chance to do things for other people.
13. Social Status. The chance to be "somebody" in the community.
14. Variety. The chance to do different things from time to time.

The information obtained from this study should provide important information for Black professional women on university campuses, and to those in graduate programs as well as in working environments where there are only a few minorities. Information obtained could also be used to develop structured support groups and workshops in which Black professional women could begin to work together to share and generate alternatives to correct existing problems. This, in turn, should lead to less tension, higher productivity, and increased job satisfaction for professional Black women in predominately White universities.

Note: (Resulting trends do seem to indicate a need for further study with a larger sample size. Packets will continue to be distributed and if anyone has an interest in participating, please contact the authors.)

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Retention begins with student recruitment and admission.

Campus Perceptions of Students: Implications for Strategic Planning in Black Student Recruitment and Retention

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Introduction

"What do we have to do today to be ready for an uncertain tomorrow?" asks Peter Drucker (1974, p. 125) in his discussion of strategic planning. Considering the decline in the numbers of traditional college students (Hodgkinson, 1985) and the relationship between academic success and satisfaction (Steele, 1978), it becomes important that educational leaders raise such a question as they examine institutional effectiveness from students' perspectives. Finding answers to these questions would provide educational administrators with meaningful direction in serving students.

First-year, undergraduate students form the group with the largest withdrawal rate—in numbers and percentages—from colleges and universities across the country (Ihlanfeldt, 1986). Hegner (1981) reported that over 300 colleges and universities in the United States had an attrition rate of over 50 percent for their first-year students. Between the fall of 1981 and the fall of 1982, 32 percent of the "first-time freshmen" withdrew from Kansas State University (Kansas State University, 1986). Lynch indicates that in 1984, the attrition rate for first-year students in the College of Arts and Sciences at Kansas State University was 35 percent, which exceeded the rate for all first-year students at the university (31 percent) and is more than one and one-half times the attrition rate for the entire student body.

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On the other hand, nationally, Black student enrollment at four-year colleges peaked in 1980 at 633,000 and declined in 1982 to 611,000 (Arbeiter, 1986). A research report conducted for the College Board indicates that "Black students, compared to all students, continually lose ground in their progress through the educational pipeline . . . For example, in 1972 Blacks represented 12.7 percent of all 18 year olds, 10.5 percent of all 1972 high school graduates, 8.7 percent of all college freshmen, and four years later, 6.5 percent of all B.A. recipients" (Darlington-Hamilton, 1985, p. 1). At Kansas State University, Black student enrollment declined from 450 in Fall of 1983 to 426 in Fall of 1986, representing a five percent drop. At the end of the spring semester 1985, 51 percent of the Black students enrolled at the University were in academic difficulty. While not the only influence in student attrition, a student's grade point average is strongly related to persistence (Astin, 1975).

Perceptions, Images and Satisfaction

"More often than not, people respond to their perceptions rather than to reality" (Hayakawa, 1970; Kotler, 1975). Police forces, for example, might think that they are fair-minded, effective, and inaccessible (Kotler, 1975). Much more than a result of public relations planning, institutional image is largely a function of what an institution does, its credibility rooted in behavior and not merely words. "Images differ in their clarity and complexity" (Kotler, 1975, p. 131). Under the philosophy of enrollment management, "the ultimate goal is to recruit matriculants who will find attendance at the institution satisfying, stimulating, and growth-producing" (Hossler, 1984, p. 6). Most students, however, do not have clear expectations of a college or university and, consequently, make poorly informed decisions (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Jackson, 1980; Litten, Sullivan, and Brodigan, 1983; Stern, 1965).

Enrollment Management

An effective enrollment program—research, market plan, pricing, communication, and assessment—will be reinforced by what students experience and will help clarify the image of the institution to the public (Keremer, 1982). "The result should be a closer match between the institutional offerings and the expectations of potential students, resulting in higher yields of admitted student applicants and lower attrition rates for enrolled students" (p. 68). Institutional fit or match, according to Hossler (1984), exists when students' needs, goals, and interests are adequately met by various environmental conditions, and when students' academic and social abilities mesh well with institutional requirements. Several researchers believe that a match between the student and the institution increases the student's persistence (Creager, 1968; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; and Painter and Painter, 1982). Other studies have focused on aspects of interaction between campus environment and students: Brown, 1968; Lauterbach and Vielhaber, 1966; Morrow, 1971; Nafziger et al., 1975; Pervin, 1976; Walsh and Russell, 1969 (Hossler, 1984). Although the research both supports and rejects the basic congruency hypothesis between institutional fit and student satisfaction, notes Hossler, many researchers agree that "the research in general does support the link between fit and increased student satisfaction with the institution, greater academic achievement, and enhanced personal growth (Walsh, 1978; Huebner, 1980; Lenning, Beal and Sauer, 1980)" (Hossler, 1984 p. 71).

Retention begins with student recruitment and admission (Wilder, 1983). Persistence can be enhanced if institutions develop programs that match students' educational

needs, interests, abilities, and goals with the institutional curriculum.

Student Satisfaction

Although admissions information, personal contacts, campus visits, and expectations are important factors in the adjustment of students to the institution, educational leaders, however, frequently overlook student satisfaction (Astin, 1975). Nevertheless, the foundation of institutional marketing includes asking, "To what extent are students satisfied with their experience at our institution?" (Ihlanfeldt, 1980, p. xii). Motivation and satisfaction within the role of the institution can contribute to the institution's effectiveness. Of course, a concern for student satisfaction may alarm academic purists who sometimes feel that, in their attempts to satisfy students, institutional leaders might compromise the standards of institutions (Wilder, 1983). Yet, student satisfaction has nothing to do with awarding students blanket "A's" or undeserved credit. "It simply means that members of teaching faculty should do their best for their students (Hale, 1973)," writes Wilder (p. 7).

Stark, Terenzini, and Trani (1978) write that students need answers to the pertinent question: "What is likely to happen to me if I enroll at this institution?" (p. 1). Accordingly, in the analysis phase of strategic planning, the institution assesses its internal environment and external environment, focusing on student enrollments and revenues, the values and styles of the administration, student and faculty values and characteristics, the strengths and weaknesses of the institutions, studies of institutional operations, and planning strategies (Uhl, 1983). Educational researchers should get "quantifiable and pragmatic answers" (Johnson, 1979, p. 3).

"Market research discovers the values, attitudes, and priorities of groups concerned with outcomes of college performance: the college's students, board members, and support constituencies, as well as the general public" (p. 12). Similarly, Astin and Scherre (1980) write, "If we can accept the premise that improving the educational environment is a major objective of college administration, it follows that college administrators rarely receive appropriate information about the results of that policy . . . like artists learning to paint blindfolded or musicians learning to play the violin with their ears plugged" (p. 149). Gaither (1979) provides an additional perspective:

"Students are often recalcitrant in voting either at the polls or on programs until the situation becomes highly intolerable. The student is far more tolerant of poor services and quality in education, it seems, than in the profit-centered marketplace" (p. 33) ". . . In order to meet students' expectations, however, an institution must know what these expectations are, whether the students' image of the institution is accurate, and whether it will "sell" students on attending and remaining . . . .What is important here in student marketing is that the institutional researcher needs to assess the institution's personality and press as well as the needs and desires of potential and current students" (pp. 34-35).

Bruce (1978) recommends that current satisfaction studies, attitude surveys of students, alumni, the local community, and even the faculty be made to determine the degree to which their needs are being met by the institution. Typically, researchers survey only those students who are accepted for enrollment in the university (Ihlanfeldt, 1980). "The purposes are to acquire some understanding of the demographic profile of the students interested in the institution and to obtain information about factors that influenced the application process" (p. 39). Yet, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1975) suggested that in planning, an effective strategy could be formulated only after a careful analysis of the college's or university's condition, posing questions about the environment of the college—its strengths, weaknesses, and role.

The image of the institution may well vary among its many constituencies; yet, assumptions go unchallenged. The image may be real or imagined, but in either case the image is perceived. As sociologist W.I. Thomas noted in the 1930s, "if a stick is perceived as a snake, the resulting responses are the same" (Gaither, 1979, p. 55).

This study investigated whether or not first year, undergraduate Black students and White students differed significantly in their perceptions of campus environment. The conceptual foundation was developed from theories of campus environment in enrollment management by Hossler (1984), Ihlanfeldt, (1980) and Kotler (1975), and other related research by Astin (1975). The instrumental objective of this study was to identify organizational characteristics that have implications for policy development and strategic enrollment planning by comparing campus perceptions of first-year, undergraduate students enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences at Kansas State University, a midwestern, open-enrollment, land-grant institution.

The Research Question

Considering the projected decline in college youth and increase in Black youth in the next decade and a half (Hodgkinson, 1985), and considering the recent wave of racial intolerance on college and university campuses across the country in the past two years (Evans, 1987; Schatzman, 1987), an analysis of campus environment would reveal information useful for strategic planning. Specifically, this study asked, "Is there a significant difference between Black first-year students and White first-year students in their perceptions of campus environment?"

Method

Subjects were 157 first-year, undergraduate students enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences at Kansas State University in the spring of 1987. Data on racial and sexual characteristics are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Sex and Race of Students by Entire Sample

Sex	Number in Study	Number Enrolled	Percent of Study	Percentage of College Arts & Sciences Freshmen
Men	66	304	42	22
Women	91	396	58	23
TOTAL	157	700	100	22.4

Sex	Number in Study	Number Enrolled	Percent of Study	Percentage of College Arts & Sciences Freshmen
Asian	2	11	1	0.29
Black	23	55	15	3.29
Hispanic	2	22	1	0.29
White	130	612	83	18.57
TOTAL	157	700	100	22.44

Table 1 shows that 66 male students (42%) and 91 female students (58%) participated in the study. Since 304 first-year men and 396 first-year women were enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences, 22 percent of the men and 23 percent of the women first-year students in the College of Arts and Sciences participated in the study. A proportional, stratified sampling was made of men and women subjects. A total of 294 questionnaires were mailed (159 to women and 135 to men). Sixty-six men and 91 women returned questionnaires. Table 1 also shows that 2 Asian, 23 Black, 2 Hispanic, and 130 White first-year, undergraduate students participated in the study. Because of their low numbers, Asian and Hispanic subjects were not included in the statistical analysis by race. Thirty black students met the criteria for participation, and 23 participated, representing 15 percent of the students in the study. White students participated at approximately 19 percent of the total enrollment of first-year students in the College of Arts and Sciences. Overall, the subjects represented 23 percent of the first-year, undergraduate students in the College of Arts and Sciences.

Instruments

Measuring environmental perceptions has long been a concern of researchers in planning. The Organization Climate Index (Stern, 1970) measures environments in educational and industrial settings; The College and University Environment Scale (Pace, 1969), the Institutional Functioning Inventory (Peterson, et al., 1970, 1983), and Moos' Social Climate Scales (1974) can be helpful in understanding social environments and for institutional self-evaluation. This research developed a survey questionnaire after referring to instruments constructed by Moos (1974), Pace (1969), and Peterson and others (1970) measuring climate. The questionnaire in this study collected the perceptions of students, minimizing the use of unnecessarily descriptive language, adjectives, and adverbs whenever possible. The instrument examined several dimensions of the campus: Community, Administration, Awareness (Peterson et al., 1970) and Scholarship (Peterson et al., 1970). Closed-ended sentences (42 items) using Likert scaled responses and open-ended questions (two items) were used.

Sentence questions were measured for internal consistency using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. **The University Perception Scale** (Salahu-Din, 1987), the instrument used in this study, revealed a reliability of 0.8373. A score of 1.0 indicates perfect reliability (Borg, 1979).

Independent Variables

Perceptions of first-year students were examined comparing responses of Black students and White students. Black students were grouped and White students were grouped, forming the independent variables along students' characteristics of race.

Dependent Variables

For sentence questions, the dependent variable, perceived campus environment, was measured by the composite of 42 items using five-point Likert scales. Open-ended responses were categorized and ordered according to four dimensions of campus environment: community, administration, awareness and scholarship.

Community is concerned with attitudinal factors and interaction: friendliness and cohesiveness, congeniality and loyalty (Pace, 1963). In this definition, democratic governance and institutional esprit (Peterson, 1970) are included. "The campus is a community," writes Pace (p. 24).

Administration focuses on procedures and systems, order and supervision (Pace, 1977). Peterson's (1970) self-study and planning, and concern for innovation are included in this definition. The essential question is, "How well does the institution work?"

Awareness examines the concern for and emphasis of personal, poetic, and political inquiry—"a search for personal meaning" (Pace, 1977, p. 25). Peterson's "human diversity" is included in this definition.

Scholarship explores the academic and scholarly environment. Academic achievement, serious inquiry, and rigor and vitality in the pursuit of knowledge are emphasized (Pace, 1977). Peterson's "intellectual-extracurriculum" and "concern for undergraduate learning" are elements of this focus.

Statistical Analysis of Data

One hundred fifty-seven questionnaires were coded and tabulated using the SPSS-XX Batch Systems (Norusis, 1985). Data for sentence statements were analyzed using a **t**-test for two independent samples and a multivariate analysis of variance on interesting items from each dimension. Responses to open-ended questions were categorized, grouped by dimension (Community, Administration, Scholarship, and Awareness), and rank-ordered.

Results

This study asked, "Is there a significant difference between Black first-year students and White first-year students in their perceptions of campus environment?" The results of this study indicate that Black first-year, undergraduate students and White first-year, undergraduate students had significantly different perceptions of campus environment.

Although neither group was negative about the University, Black students were less positive (mean = 2.7298) about the University than were White students (mean = 2.5744). If a score of one is taken as a positive response, a score of three as neutral, and a score of five as negative, then both groups gave somewhat neutral responses, although significantly different, $t\ (151) = -2.20$, $P < .05$. An examination of students' responses to open-ended questions reveals that, although both Black students and White students found the campus to be a Community that met their expectations prior to enrolling on campus, Black students were most disappointed with Awareness on campus. It is somewhat ironic that in their semester of study only one Black student and one White student found the level of Awareness at the campus approximating their previous expectations. Concerning unmet expectations, six percent (5/79) of the White students and 53 percent (9/17) of the Black students were disappointed.

Profiles of responses to select survey items (#43 and #44) by race and sex.

Students' responses to their met and unmet expectations were categorized by areas of concern, grouped by dimension, and then rank-ordered. The first response from each student was tabulated.

In the dimensions of met expectations, no apparent differences were found when responses were rank-ordered. Whether grouped by sex or race, students' compliments focused on Community as the University's stronger area. Thirty-eight percent (8 of 21) of the responses from Black students complimented Community, and fifty-six percent (54 of 96) of the responses from white students complimented Community. Fifty-three percent (38 of 72) of the female respondents indicated Community as the area of greater satisfaction, and fifty-four percent (25 of 46) of the male respondents were satisfied with Community.

Table 2
Profile of Met and Unmet Expectations by Race and Sex

Profile by Race

Group	Met Expectations Dimension	N	%	Unmet Expectations Dimension	N	%
Black Students	Community	8	38.10	Awareness	9	52.94
	Scholarship	7	33.33	Scholarship	5	29.41
	Administration	5	23.81	Administration	2	11.76
	Awareness	1	4.76	Community	1	5.88
	TOTAL	**21**		**TOTAL**	**17**	
White Students	Community	54	56.25	Scholarship	39	49.37
	Scholarship	30	31.25	Administration	33	41.77
	Administration	11	11.46	Awareness	5	6.33
	Awareness	1	1.04	Community	2	2.53
	TOTAL	**96**		**TOTAL**	**79**	
Group	**Met Expectations Dimension**	**N**	**%**	**Unmet Expectations Dimension**	**N**	**%**
Female Students	Community	38	52.78	Scholarship	28	50.00
	Scholarship	26	36.11	Administration	22	39.29
	Administration	7	9.21	Awareness	4	7.14
	Awareness	1	1.32	Community	2	3.57
	TOTAL	**72**		**TOTAL**	**56**	
Male Students	Community	25	54.35	Scholarship	18	42.86
	Scholarship	12	26.09	Administration	14	33.33
	Administration	8	17.39	Awareness	10	23.81
	Awareness	1	2.17	Community	0	0.00
	TOTAL	**46**		**TOTAL**	**42**	

In the dimensions of unmet expectations, however, black students were most disappointed with Awareness, which received 53 percent (9 of 17) of the responses. White students were dissatisfied with scholarship, which received 39 of 79 complaints (49 percent). Both men and women students indicated scholarship as the area in which they were most disappointed. Fifty percent (28 of 56) of the women, and 43 percent (18 of 42) of the men students were dissatisfied with Scholarship at the University. Table 2 is a profile of met and unmet expectations by race and sex.

A Composite of Campus Environment

This section presents data resulting from overall analyses of campus environment measured by composite analyses of sentence questions. Data are displayed in Tables 3 and 4.

T-test for Two Independent Means. A t-Test for two independent samples was used to determine if a significant difference existed between White first-year, undergraduate students and Black first-year, undergraduate students in their perceptions of campus environment. Table 3 shows a significant difference between Black first-year, undergraduate students and White first-year, undergraduate students in their perceptions of campus environment, $t\ (151) = -2.20$, $P < .05$. Results indicated that black students were less satisfied with campus environment than were White students.

Although the numbers in each group are different, the t-test is robust and insensitive to even flagrant violations of the assumptions of normality (Keppel, 1982; and Runyon and Haber, 1984). However, since each group had widely differing numbers, particular attention was paid to the assumptions of equal variance. Pooled variance estimates, 0.924, were used to estimate the t-value for two-tailed probability, $P = 0.029$. Homogeneity of variance was not violated.

Table 3
t-Test for Two Independent Samples Comparing Mean Scores Between Black and White First-Year, Undergraduate Students on Campus Environment

Group	N	Mean	t	df	P
White	130	2.5744	-2.20	151	0.029*
Black	23	2.7298			

*$P < .05$

Multivariate Analysis of Variance

Multivariate analyses of variance were administered on interesting, representative questions by race, which indicated significant differences.

Table 4 shows that significant differences existed among the perceptions of black students and white students concerning campus environment.

As shown in Table 4, the MANOVA on these scores indicate significant differences between the campus perceptions of Black first-year, undergraduates and White first-year, undergraduates. Unvariate F-tests indicated significance on survey items #26 ($P < .0005$) and #28 ($P < .05$). The items are: #26: "K-State attracts students of diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds."; and #28: "People here rarely read or discuss serious matters."

Stepdown F-tests revealed significance ($P < .0005$) concerning the attraction of students with diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, item #26.

Table 4
Results of Multivariate Analyses of Variance by Race

Test	F	Between DF	Within DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	4.37333	9.00	143.00	.0005*
Hotellings	4.37333	9.00	143.00	.0005*
Wilks	4.37333	9.00	143.00	.0005*

*P < .0005

Results of Univariate F-tests (DF = 1,151)

Survey Item	Between SS	Within SS	F	Sig. of F
Question 6	2.81102	172.71839	2.54755	.119
Question 7	.07320	116.98562	.09449	.759
Question 8	2.86081	127.11304	3.39841	.067
Question 21	3.63762	182.12709	3.01592	.084
Question 22	.02597	70.53612	.05560	.814
Question 26	15.94728	112.26187	21.45019	.000*a
Question 28	3.34485	114.82508	4.39863	.038*b
Question 33	.21143	182.42910	.17500	.676
Question 35	.47062	138.16990	.51432	.474

*P < .0005
*P < .05

Results of Roy Bargman Stepdown F-tests

Survey Item	Stepdown F	F	Within F	Sig. of F
Question 6	2.45755	1	151	.119
Question 7	.05084	1	150	.822
Question 8	3.30545	1	149	.071
Question 21	2.39000	1	148	.124
Question 22	.00004	1	147	.995
Question 26	24.92610	1	146	.000*
Question 28	3.56157	1	145	.061
Question 33	.02904	1	144	.865
Question 35	.94707	1	143	.332

*P < .0005

Limitations

This study was conducted at a midwestern, open-enrollment university and generalization to other populations should be made with caution. Interpretations of students' responses are dependent on a particular institution's purpose or mission.

Discussion

These results are not surprising since the University's reputation for friendliness has been and continues to be heralded across Kansas and adjoining states. Nevertheless, two plaguing areas are the respondents' concerns with (1) Scholarship and (2) Awareness. Considering a shrinking pool of prospective students and that approximately one-fourth of the students who enroll at the University graduate in five years, administrators might re-examine the mission of the land-grant university.

1) To strengthen artisan, agricultural, and laboring classes.

2) To improve and update competition with other countries.

3) To induce the citizens, sons and daughters of citizens, to remain in the state. Keep people home (Litz, 1985).

Mindful of the University's purpose, its characteristics and educational outcomes, if Kansas State University is to increase its effectiveness in recruiting and retaining students, students must be better assisted in obtaining their goals. While the revelation of significant differences in students' perceptions in itself is not startling, such information could be of value in determining a direction for the organization. In recruitment, for example, two conditions are necessary for establishing a positive school environment for minority students:

1) numbers of minority students

2) numbers of minority faculty and administrators (Reed and Dandridge, 1979)

Black students must believe that they have opportunities and support (Fleming, 1984; Willie, 1972). "Completed studies underscore the need for more Black faculty and staff members, a maximum number of Black students with a balanced sex ratio, curricula relevant to the Black experience, and responsive counseling services" (Fleming, 1984, p. 156).

As mundane as it may seem, it might be mentioned that most students come to college to get an education. Not being able to interact with teaching faculty and advisors effectively is frustrating. An effective strategic plan would insure that Scholarship is one of the more satisfactory areas on campus rather than an unsatisfactory area.

Conclusion

The results of this study provide significant support for strategic planning in enrollment management, particularly for recruiting and retaining ethnic minority students. Future research may be directed to several questions: Are there gender differences in the perceptions of ethnic minority students regarding campus environment? How do minority students' perceptions of campus environment change as they progress through their programs: first year, second year, third year, fourth year, and fifth year? Do minority students having different levels of academic success have different perceptions of campus environment? Do minority students having different levels of financial assistance from the university have different perceptions of campus environment? Answers to these questions would provide educational administrators direction in serving students.

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Black Female Students: Issues and Considerations for Teachers of Teachers

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Introduction

Research on the educational experiences of Black girls reveals information too long ignored about this population. An analysis of their experiences as set forth in several studies raises critical questions about their status as students and about their psycho-social, and intellectual development in desegregated classrooms. The conclusions indicate that Black females may be at risk in many of the classrooms in America.

These findings not only have implications about the educational development of Black female students, but also have broader implications for educators who are preparing teacher candidates for the public schools. Two significant relationships emerge: (1) the impact that race and gender have on the way Black females are regarded in classrooms and (2) the relationship between teacher expectation and the academic achievement of Black female students. Additionally, it is revealing that few recommendations are offered to educators for the enhancement of the educational well-being of Black females. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to provide a research base and strategies for teachers of teachers to enhance the learning experience of Black female students.

Influences on Black Females

To understand Black females better, it is important to understand their early social and cultural experiences. It should be noted that Black families are not monolithic: differences in socio-economic status, school, and peer influences exist (Staples, 1971; TenHouten, 1970).

The family is the primary socializing agent for Black females and the function of the mother is very important within it. She transfers cultural values and usually maintains the general well-being of family members. It is within the context of the family and the community that the basic attitudes of young Black children are formulated. Unfortunately, many problems arise when White norms are imposed upon cultural and family configurations. This reality is critical in comprehending the role of the Black family, particularly in the socializing of Black females.

Using experimental data and observation, researchers noted several differences in the role of Black females (Harrison, 1977; Ladner, 1971). For example, many Black females, especially eldest daughters learn that "mothering or caretaking" is highly regarded within their culture. Further, as females mature, this function does not diminish, but becomes even greater as expectations of independent functioning within the home prevail.

Another feature that distinguishes Black and White families originates in child-rearing practices. Baumrind (1972, 1978) found that Black families were described by White norms as more authoritarian than White families. Reid (1982) observes that the sex-role socialization within the Black community appeared to be more highly valued than it is within the White community.

The status of women within the family structure is often different for Black families than for White families. Generally speaking, Black children learn at an early age to accept a concept of women occupying a prominent role in the family. It is advocated that this socialization process may contribute to the egalitarian attitude often exhibited by Black girls in school settings. Another is that Black girls tend to reconcile the role of mother and worker as an integral part of their lives very early (Allen, 1978; Billingsley, 1968).

The experiences of many young Black females suggests that Black women are expected to work to help sustain the economic well-being of Black families. Consequently, they are socialized differently about working outside of the home. It is observed in many of the available studies on occupational or career choices that Black females were more likely to choose traditional career paths and demonstrate more traditional female-dominated values than their White female counterparts (Gump, 1978; Gurin and Gaylord, 1976 and Murray, 1985). These factors support that Black women are more likely to hold positions of lowest occupational status and salaries (Wallace, Datcher, and Malveaux, 1980). This reality becomes very meaningful to the socialization of Black females regarding the world of work.

Desegregated Learning Environments and Black Females

Besides the family, the school has a significant influence on the psycho-social and intellectual development of students. Classrooms, in many respects, are a microcosm of the nation. The classroom setting, in addition to imparting knowledge and skills to children, creates an arena where they learn first-hand about race relations and become more cognizant about role expectations based on gender. What seems more significant is that children begin to determine their individual roles within the larger society based on classroom interactions among themselves, their peers and teachers.

Many advocates of desegregation expected desegregated classrooms to accomplish several goals: namely, to improve racial attitudes and to increase the academic achievement levels of children, especially Black children. The conflicting findings of the research on various aspects of desegregation and their impact on the educational development of Black children raise interesting questions

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(Carithers, 1970; Irvine and Irvine, 1983; Rist, 1979; St. John and Lewis, 1975; Teele and Mayo, 1969; Washington, 1980; and Weinberg, 1983) In the extensive review of the literature on desegregation, Carithers (1970) reported that Black girls were the most adversely affected from desegregation efforts. A closer analysis of the effects of desegregated classrooms on the status of Black female students suggests that, as a group, they may be more at risk than any other student population.

Research supports that no single variable, but many, affect the growth and development of children. However, the most obvious deterrent to the enhancement of children's growth and development is stereotyping. Stereotyping thwarts the psycho-social and intellectual enhancement of young people. Some studies report Black children are stereotyped as aggressive, hostile, and unintelligent (Brophy and Good, 1974; Coates, 1972; Rubovits and Maehr, 1973). If children behave in a manner that is different from the stereotypical pattern, they may not be positively reinforced by teachers in the classroom (Davidson, 1981; Grant, 1984).

Black female students appear to be at a distinct disadvantage because they encounter both gender and race stereotyping. Black female students oftentimes do not display passive or submissive behaviors, traits that may be influenced by family and cultural experiences. Another area that contributes to stereotyping of Black female students is physical appearance. Black females do not represent "White standards of beauty." In fact, they possess fewer of the valued attributes of society (Harrison, 1974). Studies of Black females consistently report that they often occupy marginal and disadvantaged status among their peers and their teachers (Grant, 1984; Woolridge and Richman, 1985).

Criswell (1937) conducted research on a Northern school with 75 percent Black population and reported greater cleavage occurred between the sexes than the races. The results were more pronounced from the fifth grade through the beginning of adolescence. However, during this same period, all males appeared better able to develop and sustain affinity with each other, regardless of race, even if they struggled to establish more prestige in their relations among groups.

Campbell and Yarrow (1958) studied desegregation efforts in summer camps and pointed out that desegregation holds the greatest initial hazards for young Black females. They experienced more feelings of self-rejection as they recognized the favored social and power positions of the White females. The authors noted that desegregated settings provided fewer opportunities for Black females to be viewed positively than they did for either White students or Black males.

Singer (1967) studied children in the fifth grade and identified distinct sex differences in ethnic attitudes. White females in desegregated schools were more willing to associate with Blacks. Black females, on the other hand, in both desegregated and integrated schools were the least willing to associate with Whites. Black males in desegregated schools were more willing to associate with Whites than those in segregated settings.

In another study of race and its effect on the social structure in the classrooms, St. John and Lewis (1975) noted the special difficulty encountered by Black females in bi-racial situations. The authors observed that Black female students lacked the peer status or athletic abilities associated with their male counterparts. Consequently, there were no opportunities for them to demonstrate competencies that were meaningful among their peers.

Sager and Schofield (1980) in their study of student interactions in desegregated schools indicated that students in desegregated schools preferred to socialize along gender lines more often than along interracial lines. (These findings are coorborated by DeVries and Edwards, 1977; Schofield, 1982; Wiley and Eskilson, 1978).

Generally speaking, the results of these studies demonstrate that interracial associations appear to be more difficult for Black females than Black males. They also show that Black females hold a precarious social status among males, not shared by other females. A significant implication of the findings was that desegregated environments may be hostile to the intellectual and psycho-social development of Black females (Crain, Marhard and Narot, 1982).

Several conclusions regarding the growth and development of Black females emerge in order for them to persist in this kind of environment. First, Black females learn early that they must look to themselves for their success in society, just as their mothers do now, and just as their ancestors did during slavery. Second, those Black females who persist develop the necessary attendant coping strategies to withstand the impact of negative influences in the school environment. Finally, for educators, the results support the notion that the positive educational experiences of many Black female students, more often than not, came by *chance* rather than *equal opportunity.*

Teacher Relationships with Black Females

Many factors such as the classroom setting, the quality of instructional materials and learning activities, and the racial configuration among students impinge on the interactive and behavioral patterns of children in school. The role of the teacher is significant in this process. Through planned educational activities and interpersonal interactions with children, teachers convey their attitudes about students as learners and as individuals (Davidson and Lang, 1960). More importantly, it is in this way that teachers are capable of transferring either positive or negative behaviors and attitudes toward children (Leacock, 1968).

Research substantiates that teachers' perceptions and attitudes about students are influenced by socio-economic status, gender, race, and academic achievement. More succinctly, middle-class White children who earn "good" grades are the most preferred among teachers. Although Black children may have similar academic status, they were less preferred. Students who do not meet those standards were the least preferred (Pollard, 1979; St. John and Lewis, 1975; Woolridge and Richman, 1985).

Researchers have examined various aspects of *teacher role* and concluded that teacher expectation significantly influences student performance (Baron, Tom, and Cooper, 1985; Brophy and Good, 1970; Finn, 1972; Lightfoot, 1976; Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968). Additional studies of teacher expectancy reveal that race also influences teacher attitudes about the academic competence of children. Further data suggest that teacher expectation also influences student performance along gender lines (DeBord, Griffin and Clark, 1977; Frazier and Sadker, 1973).

Much of the research on these issues tends to focus on either the single effect of race or gender with minimal attention devoted to analyzing the effect of both gender-race on education. Research that explores the gender-race effect contains significant findings about the academic achievement of Black female students.

Teacher Perceptions and Academic Achievement

This portion of the paper will examine two aspects of the teacher function: teacher perceptions and academic achievement and the effect of both on Black females.

The perceptions teachers hold are very important to the growth and development of children in academic and non-academic areas. If children are perceived positively, then they are more likely to behave and achieve academically. Conversely, if children are perceived negatively, then the unlikelihood of their achieving is increased. Children know the way teachers feel about them, and they often respond accordingly (Davidson and Lang, 1960). If children are perceived positively then their intellectual and psychosocial development is more likely to be enhanced (Bank, Biddle, and Good, 1980; Rist, 1970).

Results of studies on gender differentiation are often contradictory. Some report that males received more negative responses than females (Etaugh and Harlow, 1975), and others report that females receive more teacher contact and praise than males (Dwyer, 1972). However, more recent studies on gender differentiation in the classroom report that White females are the most preferred students in the classroom (Washington, 1980). These findings become meaningful when the race-gender factor is incorporated in the way teachers view Black female students.

Washington (1982), in analyzing the attitudes and behaviors of Black and White teachers toward students, reported that both Black and White teachers had more biased attitudes toward Black students than toward White students. In fact, the study showed that Black teachers viewed Black female students more critically; White teachers viewed White male students more critically. White female students were rated more positively than any other student group in the study. Similar findings were corroborated by other researchers (Grant, 1984; Teahan, 1974).

Byalick and Bersoff (1974) investigated the effects of race and gender reinforcement patterns of teachers. Their findings revealed something "akin to reverse prejudice" (p. 479). The teachers of both races reinforced males of the opposite-race more frequently than other student groups. The next group most reinforced was males of the same race. However, Black female students were the least positively reinforced of all student groups, especially in classes taught by Black female teachers.

There appeared to be no substantive reasons for the findings regarding Black female teachers' attitudes toward Black girls. At least two theories were advocated. Perhaps, Black female teachers set high standards for Black female students and assessed that they were not striving to attain those standards. Or perhaps the prevalence of *teacher establishment theory* prevailed—it predicts that White girls would receive more positive reinforcement because they are most similar to the teacher establishment (White female teachers). It was suggested that Black teachers adhered more to *teacher establishment status values* as did their White female counterparts in their assessment of Black female students (Washington, 1982).

Teahan (1974) studied the effects of gender and expectations of success among Black students in lower and higher socioeconomic school environments. He concluded that peer influence had a considerable impact on academic achievement of students. The peer relationships influenced who attended college as well as who selected certain occupational or career choices. The significance was higher among the males than for females. Gender bias in some career choices prevailed, namely in the sciences, mathematics and some of the professions. The author noted that the most important conclusion of the study was that, regardless of socioeconomic status, the condition for Black females was the worst in any school.

Gibbs (1985) reported the preliminary findings of a comparative study on the self-esteem and educational-vocational aspirations of Black and White adolescent females. Three hundred eighty-seven female completed self-report inventories in the San Francisco area public schools. The results identified several points: (1) Black females were as well-adjusted as their White peers in terms of self-esteem and adolescent adjustment, (2) Black females were psychologically healthy and possessed high educational aspirations and expectations.

Perceptions of Black Females

Many of the psycho-social perceptions associated with female students identify them as displaying less overt physical aggressiveness, being more sensitive to pain, being neat and compliant, and being more intuitive. Generally, males are perceived as more aggressive, displaying less sensitivity to pain, and possessing more analytical or objective abilities (Bardwick and Douvan, 1971).

Differentiations based on gender become more notable in the development of certain cognitive skill areas. From kindergarten through grade four, females usually out perform males (Bentzen, 1963). A shift in development usually occurs with the onset of adolescence; then attitudes toward academic achievement, vocational interests, and success are in relation to gender, particularly for females. Certain subjects: mathematics, science, or courses requiring spatial reasoning areas were seen as more appropriate for males than for females. These distinctions become important considerations for females as they make career and educational choices.

Grant (1984) recorded ethnographic observations and teacher interviews in desegregated first grade classrooms to determine the attitudes of teachers toward Black female first graders. The results showed that as students, Black females were reinforced by teachers to enhance their social skills more often than their academic skills. They received more feedback for non-academic rather than academic work. Black female students were used as the *rule-enforcer* for teachers more than any of the other students. In fact, the study suggests that Black females' socialization in classrooms was analogous to the status played by Black women in the larger society. Other studies by (Scott-Jones and Clark, 1986; Washington, 1980, 1982) identified similar results.

Additionally, several studies of teacher attitudes in secondary schools also report similar findings. Timberlake (1981) studied a group of high school Black females identified as *high risk* students and found that those defined as persisters generally had a more positive attitude about schooling than non-persisters. The more positive attitudes are attributable to the consideration and concern teachers demonstrate. On the other hand, the lack of concern or consideration by teachers was identified as a major factor among non-persistence.

Another study in secondary schools that focused on such characteristics as racial composition and curricular emphasis, indicates that these features may negatively impact the educational experiences of Black females. Chester (1980) studied two types of high schools and found that Black females expressed lower aspirations and less relevant vocational interests in a liberal arts school than those Black females enrolled in a vocational school. One cause of the discrepancy in performance seemed tied to both gender and race distinctions. For example, in secondary schools where the *climate* was unfavorable to Blacks, the academic performance of Black females was reduced. Black males attending these schools were not as adversely affected (Crain, Mahard and Narot, 1982).

Another significant factor in the academic achieve-

ment and intellectual development of Black female students was influenced by the racial overtone of the learning environment. Studies of desegregated classrooms indicated that Black females felt more socially isolated than either their Black or White peers. While academic achievement among Black students is lower than among White students in similar class settings, several researchers (Crain and Mahard, 1978; Hare, 1979) reported that Black females exhibited higher academic and intellectual achievement than their Black male counterparts. They also demonstrated more persistence and follow through in setting goals. However, they were not positively reinforced by teachers (Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968).

Racial attitudes held by teachers and peers were significant factors in the psycho-social and academic development of students. Researchers found that Black female students possessed highly developed interpersonal skills in their interactions with both Black and White peers and teachers (Crain and Mahard, 1978; Grant, 1984; Reid, 1982). Black females were less likely than either their White or Black peers to be intimidated by verbal or physical aggression.

Sager and Schofield (1980) examined peer interaction in racially mixed grade classrooms. The results showed that considerably more cross-racial interactions occurred when they were task oriented; and when within race interactions occurred, they were more social in orientation. However, students preferred to socialize along gender lines more often than along interracial lines.

Implications for Teachers of Teachers

As students, Black girls may not display the passive or submissive behaviors apparently preferred by teachers. Moreover, the displays of independence and assertiveness may be disconcerting to teachers who adhere to preconceived notions of acceptable behavior for female students. However, it may not be possible to change stereotypical attitudes and perceptions held by teachers. It becomes a responsibility of educators to recognize when they are regarding children inappropriately by fostering gender-race stereotypes that perpetuate negative societal expectations.

The literature points out some of the obstacles in the interaction between teachers and students when teachers hold a negative perception of Black females. More than any other factor, the research implies that teacher-bias can jeopardize the academic and psycho-social development of Black females. Therefore, it becomes incumbent upon educators, who prepare teachers, to train them to include learning activities which are directed at fostering race and sex equity in the curriculum of the schools.

The results of these studies should be cause for concern for educators. The research suggests, as does Weinberg that, "The attainment of high-quality education for all requires far more than a declaration of lofty intentions (1983, p. 164)." Although Black female students may encounter varying degrees of difficulty in schools, many of them persist and earn high academic achievements and honors. Their accomplishments under the circumstances is remarkable.

Several theories may help to explain their successes. One notion is that Black females have benefited from the positive-negative effect (Epstein, 1973). Another is that Black females have developed several prized attributes usually ascribed to men by the larger society—independence, a desire for success, self-assertion, ambition, drive, *etc.* which are qualities either learned or earned, and are not granted by anyone regardless of gender or race. Lastly, the visibility of Black women throughout the Black community substantiates their important functions whether they are successful professional women or heads of households. The presence of these Black women affirms young Black females as significant individuals (Harrison, 1974).

Strategies

At least two strategies could facilitate efforts to better address this student population: (1) assist educators to assess their own individual biases and (2) reassess teacher training programs.

Individual Biases. A plethora of data affirms that continuous efforts must be made to help teachers recognize their own gender and race biases. The most difficult task for individuals is to assess their own attitudes and biases toward those who are different from themselves. Nowhere is this more needed than in working with Black female students. Research shows that many variables affect the development of biased attitudes. Because, the role teachers play in the intellectual growth and psychological development of children is critical, they must strive to alter their biases toward children, particularly as those biases relate to Black females. Specific strategies should be included in the educational curriculum to aid them in this endeavor.

Training Programs. Traditionally, the curriculum for teacher education focuses on various aspects of the discipline: teaching methods, educational foundations, practice teaching, and required courses for state certification. Many citizens would argue that the curriculum should be based on social and educational values. Moreover, research provides clear evidence that teachers treat Black female students differently in classrooms.

Thus, strategies must be developed that promote teacher and student actions consistent with the values of equal treatment. In other words, teachers must be trained to recognize that Black girls have a right to be taught academic skills in addition to being taught non-academic social skills.

Teacher training programs provide minimal opportunities for prospective candidates to interact with students prior to their teaching assignments or to learn about the community where they will do their practice teaching. Because of the difficulties encountered with Black female students in desegregated classrooms, educators need to acquire the requisite skills and knowledge so that they, in turn, can develop learning activities that afford Black female students opportunities to demonstrate their competence among their peers (St. John and Lewis, 1975).

Additional research is needed to analyze the personal strengths, achievement motivations and coping mechanisms that contribute to the academic success of this population. To achieve this goal, "First we must decide that Black girls are precious people whose experiences are worthy of study" (Lightfoot 1976, p. 259).

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Book Review

Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles, by Janice Hale-Benson. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

The public school is a multi-faceted social institution. It is a creation of society based on a shared value—knowledge; the need to know, master and perform. A method by which society reaffirms itself, education has stood as the American ideal of opportunity. But the question of whether the opportunity has been equal remains an issue of controversy among social, political and educational theorists. In a predominantly White society, are the cultural differences of the Black population being addressed? According to professor and author Janice Hale-Benson, the answer is a resounding "no."

In ***Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles,*** Hale-Benson asserts that current-day public education has not allowed for distinctive cultural and cognitive patterns of the Black child. As the West African heritage continues to shape the cultural identity of the Black student, he finds participation in the Euro-American culture of the school difficult. Behavioral patterns, socialization styles and learning skills are markedly dissimilar from those of White students and "Americanized" individuals who, despite foreign birthright, have undergone assimilation.

The self-proclaimed thesis of Hale-Benson's text is "to offer an alternative approach to conceptualizing the behavioral styles of Black children and to lay the foundation for devising educational strategies that complement Black culture." The ultimate goal is "education for survival" which ideally would result from incorporating the learning styles typically used in the Black family into the learning styles characteristic of the educational environment.

In supporting the validity of her thesis, the author exhaustively examines the historical, sociological and psychological antecedents that have contributed to the social and intellectual totality of today's Black American. Tracing the roots of the Black American to his African origin, Hale-Benson looks within the cultural makeup of an ethnic group which comprises a growing portion of the population. What she finds is a culture rich in tradition and steeped in ethnic pride. But the traditions and behavioral patterns so engrained in Black heritage are verboten in the public school setting. The child reared in a home environment that welcomes active and vocal participation is penalized for such behavior in the school. Speech patterns that are indigenous to his cultural identity are unacceptable in the classroom and quickly corrected. And the fostering of positive self-concept crucial to the educational experience begins for the Black child with an eradication of those characteristics that intensely identify "self."

While Hale-Benson's rhetoric is sometimes biased and accusatory, she nevertheless opens some emotionally charged topics to much needed scrutiny. Her well-researched and documented text is a valuable contribution to the study of the Black educational experience in America.

Reviewed by Susan Day Harmison
Book Review Editor

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