Pennsylvania Black Conference On Higher Education

Mission Statement

The mission of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Inc. (PBCOHE) is to provide programs and services which help ensure that the post-secondary educational needs and aspirations of African Americans in particular are met, and to work in concert with members of other underrepresented groups in the Commonwealth.

The Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education Journal was designed to support the mission of the PBCOHE.

Journal Submission Guidelines

The PBCOHE Journal: (1) provides a forum for research and critical discussions on relevant issues related to Blacks in higher education (these issues may include discussions of educational, social, economic and legislative topics); (2) serves as a vehicle for exchange of scholarly works of Black faculty and administrators; and (3) disseminates knowledge about critical practice, research and education which affects the Black community and other underrepresented populations.

Each paper is accepted with the understanding that it is to be published exclusively with PBCOHEJ. Please address all inquiries to one of the co-editors:

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Lock Haven University
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Manuscript Submission:
The journal uses an anonymous review procedure. This means that all submitted manuscripts must be prepared for a mask review. Omit or mask references to specific institutions, states, or any other form of identifying information within the manuscript until your manuscript is accepted for publication and submitted in the final version via email attachment. The editors make the final decisions regarding publication. Generally, authors can expect a decision regarding a manuscript 6 to 8 weeks after notification that their manuscript has been received. Manuscripts that do not conform to these guidelines will be returned to the author without review. The contact information must include the following information for the corresponding author: name, academic credentials, institutional affiliation or place of employment, postal mailing address, email address, and phone number. Please include the names and email addresses for all co-authors. Following are guidelines for developing and submitting a manuscript.

Manuscript Requirements
1. Research manuscripts should be a minimum 16 pages and a maximum of 25 pages, including all references, tables, etc. Book reviews, commentary and white papers have no specific guidelines, but may be edited for space. Manuscripts must include a 100 to 150-word abstract. All manuscripts are to be double-spaced including references and extensive quotes. Allow 1" margins on all sides.

2. Manuscript should be submitted in Microsoft Word, or as RTF files. Please do not use the "track changes" feature for resubmissions. Files must be submitted in a 12- point Times Roman Font. Please do not include any color pages or graphs.

3. Use the Publication Manual for the American Psychological Association (latest edition) as a manual for style and manuscript format, including style for all figures, tables, and references. Figures that are not camera-ready will be returned to the author and may cause a delay in publication. Authors bear responsibility for the accuracy of references tables and figures.

4. Authors are encouraged to use guidelines to reduce bias in language against persons based on gender, sexual orientation, racial or ethnic group, disability, or age by referring to the most recent edition of the Publication Manual for the American Psychological Association.

5. Do not submit previously published or in press material, or a manuscript that is under consideration for publication in another periodical.

6. Lengthy quotations (300-500 words) require written permission from the copyright holder for reproduction. Adaptation of tables and figures also requires reproduction approval. It is the author's responsibility to secure such permission. A copy of the publisher's permission must be provided to the journal editor immediately on acceptance of the article for publication

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Journal of the Pennsylvania Black Conference On Higher Education, Inc. (PBCOHE)

Volume 19	Fall 2017

From an Editor

Welcome to the Fall 2017 edition of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education Journal. Please join me in greeting my new co-editor, Shavonne Shorter, assistant professor of communication studies at Bloomsburg University. I am happy to have Shavonne join me in the great tradition of this vital publication, which is responsible for giving voice to the academic issues and concerns of African Americans and other under-represented populations. This journal addresses the challenge that many faculty face in trying to get published on the way to promotion and tenure. As many researchers can attest, there are some topics, particularly those related to diversity and inclusion, that are blatantly omitted from certain publications, no matter the rigor of the research, or the professionalism of the pedagogy. This, Volume 19, continues the commitment by the PBCOHE Think Tank to provide a vehicle for academic scholarship. It features the work of seven faculty authors, including a couple of collaborative efforts.

Heartfelt thanks to all the reviewers who devoted precious hours to reading and reviewing works submitted. (You know who you are.) This edition would not be possible without you. No one, but those who scrutinize someone else's carefully-chiseled prose, can appreciate the inner stress that looms when being on the right side of a possible rejection. It's not easy critiquing the work of your peers. Nonetheless, some very strong work has been accepted for this long-awaited edition.

As we continue to fulfill the PBCOHE mission to "ensure that the post-secondary educational needs and aspirations of African Americans in particular are met," my hope is that the journal will serve to launch the many ideas, theories, and themes brewing in the minds of academia's most talent professionals. If you have not done so before, please consider this publication as a possible outlet for your work and an opportunity to advance your career. In addition, recommend this journal to a colleague. Faculty members and anyone else interested in the PBCOHE mission are invited to submit.

Contributions to the journal should be submitted to Shavonne Shorter at sshorter@bloomu. edu, or to me at sstringe@lockhaven.edu at the author's earliest convenience. Submissions are accepted year-round and those selected for publication will be published in the next edition scheduled for 2019. The journal is published every other year.

Respectfully submitted,

Sharon Stringer
Co-editor, PBCOHE Journal

The Millennial Experience:
Deconstructing the Reinvention of Embracing White Privilege

Chuck Baker, Ph.D.

Abstract

With Brexit and the Trump presidency the resurrection of conventional manners of white privilege, like those created after Bacon's Rebellion, are possible. The template for White privilege in America was established to create fissures in Black-White relationships and dilute the opportunity for movements against the interests of elites (Buck, 2001). The increasing power of business elites due to neoliberalism have sub-planted employment in the public sector which has historically been a means for minorities to access employment. As millennials have difficulty acquiring employment, research by Krosch and Amodio (2014) shows that scarcity alters the perceptions of Whites into believing stereotypes about minorities. Since millennials experience high unemployment rates (McHale, 2015; BLS, 2016) this research examines if "Caucasian millennials are being taught to embrace their white privilege?" Using Census data, the findings suggest that young White male millennials suffer economic deprivation initially but after age 25, receive increased levels of financial emancipation embedded in a privileged status.

Literature Review

Much has been written about colonialism and territorial occupation in which an indigenous population is conquered, its land controlled, its culture changed, and eventually a majority are exterminated (Hixson, 2013; Pasternak, 2015; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Elkins & Pedersen, 2005). White privilege, therefore, is created through a systematic and durable structure that, once established, is perpetual (Wolfe, 2006). After its inception, white privilege, was an inexpensive means of stratifying a society. The framework for making phenotype privileged for Whites in America came about as a response to Nathaniel Bacon's insurrection against Virginia's governor in the late 17th century. After the rebellion, the capitalist class feared a confrontation with a large, diverse and poor underclass. The solution was a class of privilege due to being Caucasian (Buck, 2001). Initially the solution proved valuable in stabilizing the New World, but after a period, white privilege had limited value for those Whites stuck in poverty. This privilege did not feed needy children or heat cold and drafty huts or cabins. Therefore, Caucasian elites found it necessary to better compensate the privileged class. Wealth generated through international trade and the industrial revolution would provide the means to support a privileged class. Given the abundance of cheap raw materials in the United

Dr. Chuck A. Baker earned his B.A. in sociology from Cheyney University. He earned his M.A. from Temple University and his Ph.D. from Rutgers University. His work has concentrated on issues of diversity. He is currently a professor of sociology at Delaware County Community College, where he teaches 'Experiences in Diversity'.

States, American employers could afford to pay a higher living wage to their workers (Daunton, 1983; Su et al, 2013). For the 150 years of industrial growth in America, the privileged class enjoyed the advantages of being White and the capitalist elite could afford to pay their wages.

White privilege is the benefits of having dominance over non-Caucasian race groups and receiving advantages that non-Whites do not receive (McIntosh, 1988). Privilege may be shown through resource acquisition in that the easier it is for a group to access desired tangible and intangible resources, the more privileged their position in society. When society is structured in such a manner that Whites receive most of its resource benefits without laboring like non-Whites, the society has its white privilege. In order to lose the privilege, Caucasians must relinquish resource acquisition capabilities and the power to control these resources (McIntosh, 1988). Real and symbolic threats to tangible and intangible resources heighten group anxieties and motivate the protection of these resources (Stephan et al., 2009). Tangible resources are, for example, homes, savings, and jobs. Intangible resources are defining and controlling what love and patriotism are, for instance. Anxiety occurs when there is resource loss, resource lack, or when there is an investment in resource acquisition but the payoff is less than the investment (Stephan et al, 2009; Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013; Baker, 2017). Systematically, white privilege diminishes resource lack, restricts resource loss when compared to other race groups, and since it is embedded in the culture it requires little investment for Whites to acquire its benefits. Yet, all race groups experience resource scarcity whether meeting a deadline (time scarcity) or needing money for the down payment on an automobile to diminish the interest rate on car payments (money scarcity) and therefore know the anxieties brought about through scarcity (Hobfoll & Lily, 1993; Hobfoll et al, 2002). Given that all racial groups experience resource scarcity, being in the privileged group means that the length of time and severity of the scarcity will be limited when compared to other groups. Preserving this favorable location requires upkeep and discrimination has been the maintenance of the system of stratification in which Whites benefit. The most powerful indicator of white privilege is to have the capability to fight against oppression, then choosing to opt-out of the struggle without losing objective resources. Minorities, in contrast, must struggle against oppression to access these resources.

When white privilege is overt and manifest, it is typically labelled as discrimination. In the early 20th century, various manners of institutional discrimination can be documented that include the Tuskegee syphilis experiments and the Federal Housing Administration's racially restrictive covenant practices (Baker, 2017; Marger, 2012). Whites did not have to experience such atrocities. Many overt forms of racism were to be confronted during the civil rights era and the middle 20th century ushered in political and legal changes in an attempt to help level the field for minorities. The successes of the era increased African American participation in public sector and union employment (Hope Franklin & Moss, 1991). When Whites began experiencing resource lack because American prosperity had diminished due to global trade imbalances and several wars, reverse racism became a rally cry for resource control. Furthermore, since the 1980s, neoliberal economic policy has been redirecting money from the federal government and into the private market (Harvey, 2005) and the courts enforced the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment in ways that would dilute

Affirmative Action. While white privilege was overt at its inception, it is more covert in its current application. Peggy McIntosh (1988) writes:

"I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks" (p . 94 – 95).

The current form of white privilege is systematic and invisible in many respects (McIntosh, 1988; Buck2001). Many Caucasians are unaware of its benefits. If, however, the normal modes of success are blocked, would White millennials be receptive to more overt and traditional manners of privilege? Since punitive measures encourage conformity, less job accessibility could encourage discriminatory attitudes against minority groups (Hobfoll& Dekel, 2007; Stephan, et al, 2009). Diminishing access to jobs would be particularly disconcerting for Whites if a minority group were to make job gains while they experienced job loss. Stated succinctly resource loss and resource lack causes angst and can lead to discrimination as groups desire to conserve limited resources (Hobfoll & Lilly, 1993; Hobfoll & Shirom, 2001; Hobfoll & Dekel, 2007, Stepan, et al, 2009).

History

For the earliest British migrants to the New World, the philosophy on the accumulation of wealth was through the acquisition of land (Marger, 2012). Many came as indentured servants. In 1619, the first Blacks to arrive to America came to Jamestown, Virginia (Hope Franklin & Moss, 1991). They too were indenture servants. The need for labor in the New World grew steadily and according to early census counts in Virginia, there were 23 Blacks in 1625 but by 1650 there were 300. Black indentured servants would receive the same considerations as White indentured servants. They were allotted land after serving their period of bondage. Racial divisions were negligible and the more pronounced divisions were between socio-economic classes (Nisbet, 1966). Oppressive race relations would be brought about as population increases and essentialist social rebellion would encourage the capitalist elite class to generate fissures between race groups. During this same epoch laws were being erected to eradicate indentured servitude and implement bond-servitude for the life of Black Virginians (Hope Franklin & Moss, 1991).

By 1676 Nathaniel Bacon's rebellion against Governor William Berkeley in Jamestown, Virginia was a significant issue in the establishment of white privilege. Bacon was angry at Berkeley for the governor's lack of support against Native American threats and his response was to confront Berkeley initially and establish a resurrection against his rule eventually. The rebellion included a 1000-person legion of a diverse compilation of indentured servants. Berkeley was chased out of the capital and the Governor's mansion burned to the ground. Once the English elites re-established order they decided to use race as a means to dilute future uprisings (Rice, 2014).

The backlash from Bacon's Rebellion proved to be the epoch that would cultivate the establishment of a three-tier system with a propertied wealth class, a white privileged class,

and a caste system underclass (Rice, 2014). Initially, Thomas Jefferson would advocate a propertied farmer status of Caucasian land owners who would reinforce the salience of white privileges and reinforce the separation of the races through legal doctrine (Buck, 2001). The white privileged class, which was the most crucial group necessary to uphold a system of slavery, was to be socialized with the belief that their phenotype should afford them advantages not given Blacks. Laws were established to punish Caucasian women who married African Americans and to control their reproduction rights by making the children of interracial intimacy a slave (African American man and Caucasian woman or Caucasian man and African American woman). It was illegal to teach Blacks to read and attempts at helping emancipate Blacks by Whites were met with harsh punishment (Buck, 2001).

Bacon's Rebellion and the Civil War had established substantial phobia within the elite southern class. After implementing oppressive strategies to control the behavior of Blacks assuredly and poor Whites through a psychological privilege, southern elites had to establish new means of social control. The Civil War had emancipated Blacks. After the Civil War, the industrialists of the north had desired to open up the southern markets and reconstruct the south to make it acceptable to the union. Participation of Blacks in elections and their attempt at economic freedom proved difficult for a plurality of Caucasian elites to stomach and they needed the Caucasian working class to accept white privileges. As industrialization picked up, the elites could pay for this privilege by earmarking jobs requiring 'skill' to 'white men' and 'unskilled labor' to minorities. Obviously, every Caucasian, both male and female, could not be employed in skilled labor during industrialization's infancy. To dilute the number of laborers the elites paid male skilled labor a living wage that allowed them to have their wives stay at home. This was the manner that 'White Privilege' became the means in which to insulate the elite from a coalescing diverse underclass (Buck, 2001). The psychological benefits of privilege are reinforced when Whites acquire tangible advantages (e.g., fiscal assistance) but when they do not acquire advantages (resource lack), or lose ground (resource loss), there is the possibility of increasing angst against out-group members (Hobfoll & Shirom, 1993; Stephan et al, 2009).

The 21st Century Epoch of White Privilege

For the elitist, one of the most dangerous threats to the status quo framework is the humanizing of minorities. The integrity of the current system of stratification depends upon the construction of division between the masses. The current capital system adheres to the framework established when Thomas Jefferson advocated a propertied farmer's class to buffer the elite from the Caucasian and African American poor (Buck, 2001). In-lieu of land acquisition, the college degree holder separates the poor from the elite. More millennials are in college than other cohorts but research by Norton and Summer (2011) shows that a majority of Caucasians now view themselves as the victims of reverse racism. Job acquisition resources were not offering similar benefits for their investment as they previously had and heightened the resource loss threat perception of Whites (Stephan et al, 2009; Baker 2017). The gains African Americans had made in the 1950 and 1960s were to be challenged in an ironic and yet novel manner. Affirmative Action laws had been designed to dilute the vestiges of slavery. Industrialization brought about a need for a more educated work force and Affirmative Action remedies along with Brown v. Board were to give Blacks an opportunity to make gains by better preparing and performing in America's capitalist economy

(Hope Franklin & Moss, 1991). Yet, the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause was to be the constitutional provision that began to chop the legs of the Affirmative Action platform. Ironically, the law designed to ensure the equality of African Americans after freeing the slaves was used by Caucasians to mitigate federal law designed to close the gap between the race groups. The argument is that by showing any preference to Blacks due to race is against the equal protection provisions of the 14th Amendment. In the 2003, for example, in the Michigan Law School case, Grutter v. Bollinger, the Supreme Court found that Michigan had a compelling interest in using race as one of several criteria to maintain the college's diversity. In 2006, a referendum was presented to Michigan voters on the Affirmative Action question and 58 percent of Michigan voters voted to rescind the use in public colleges. When the case found its way to the Supreme Court, the justices over-ruled the lower courts who had denied the voter's intent to protect minority interests in accessing college (Mears, 2014). In the background of white privilege and reverse racism is the zero-sum perceptions embedded in neoliberal capitalism. As the capitalist acquire more wealth they have more control over employment possibilities (Harvey, 2005) and race is a means of having substantial systematic control while the elites maintain their disproportion share of the wealth distribution (Baker, 2017).

The Rationale for this Research

Since white privilege is systemic, affirmative action was designed to dilute the privileges whites had received through ascription by entertaining more opportunity for minorities. The government and courts would proactively attenuate discrimination. Challenges were not to institute racism against minorities, but they were to slow down minority progress and white privilege became covert. McIntosh (1988) lists several privileges Caucasians receive and are often unaware of. When Whites go to work, for example, they can be pretty sure they will work with other Whites. When they go to the store, they can be pretty sure a majority of the magazines they see will have pictures of Caucasians. These are latent privileges for Whites in America. In the contemporary, the backlash against Affirmative Action has been situated within the argument that White people are being denied access to desired resources because of their whiteness. In essence, the racism historically perpetuated against people of color is now being propagated against Caucasians. Research shows that resource scarcity increases in-group anxiety and hostility against out-group members (Hobfoll, S., 2001; Hobfoll, S., 2004; Stephan et al, 2006; Hobfoll, S., & Dekel, R., 2007; Stephan et al, 2009; Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E., 2013). Millennials, those under the age of 35, have not experienced a civil rights movement, perceive that discrimination against minorities is not prevalent in the present, and in many respects, when racism is apparent to them it is seen through the lens of police shootings and the subsequent Black Lives Matter movement.

The rationale for this research is that millennials have a different frame of reference than do baby boomers, or those from the generation x cohorts on issues of discrimination. For millennials, racism is perceived to have been primarily eradicated (Bischoping et al, 2001, Boatright-Horwitz, 2005) and intellectual diversity to increase work productivity is the manner of diversity that is most salient (Smith & Turner, 2016). Millennial perceptions of equity can be shown by looking at the poverty data from earlier cohort groups. When comparing

race groups level of poverty for baby boomers and the generation x cohort between 1959 and 1969, there was a precipitous decline in poverty for minorities. According to Table 1, in 1959, just over 55 percent of all Blacks lived in poverty. In each succeeding period, the percentage fell until it dropped to 32.2 percent in 1969. The poverty rate became stagnant at between 30 - 34 percent over the next two-decade period. The Latino experience mimics that of Blacks with one-in-four Latinos living in poverty between 1975 and 1991 (U.S. Census, 1991). These data show the progress that Affirmative Action established and are the progress that is taught to millennials, among other data sources (e.g., education, political participation, and socio-economic data), that supports their perceptions of substantial decreases in racism in American about race relations.

Table 1: Poverty Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin (1959 – 1991)

	White Male	Black Male	Latino Male	White Female	Black Female	Latino Female
1959	18.1	55.1		40.2	70.6	
1966	11.3	41.8		29.7	65.3	
1969	9.5	32.2		29.1	58.2	
1972	9.0	33.3		27.4	58.1	
1975	9.7	31.3	26.9	29.4	54.3	57.2
1978	8.7	30.6	21.6	25.9	54.2	56.4
1981	11.1	34.2	26.5	29.8	56.7	55.9
1984	11.5	33.8	28.4	29.7	54.6	56.2
1987	10.4	32.4	28.0	29.6	54.1	55.6
1989	10.0	30.7	26.2	28.1	49.4	50.6
1991	11.3	32.7	28.7	31.5	54.8	52.7

U.S. Census Bureau (1992) Poverty in the United States.

The data in Table 1 validate the perception that there is a diminishing of discrimination against minorities. In the 21st century however, for millennials, the benefits of education have been dampened by the 2008 recession and gainful employment has been more difficult to locate. Do limitations on job access encourage Caucasian millennials to support a more racist purview based upon the conventions and aggressive behavior of Black-White relations of the past?

Methods

This research is designed to analyze attempts by those in power to recreate more overt manners of 'white privilege' and increase the level of discrimination imposed upon minority groups. Presently, white privilege is subjective, invisible, and difficult to see so that those who benefit from the 'privilege' are often unaware. Historically, however, the benefits of privilege entail dominance over others or advantages in which one has to do nothing to receive (McIntosh, 1988). Once discriminatory privileges are established through institutional norms, Whites would have to do very little to benefit. Since sustained overt and manifest privilege would be discrimi-

nation against minorities, white privilege is often latent and if overt, short in duration. Measuring white privilege, in any statistical sense, requires taking this latent-subjective 'white privilege' and using objective factors of its existence to analyze if it appears to occur.

This research examines "if Caucasian millennials are being motivated to embrace their white privilege status"? Given public employment opportunities have been in decline since at least 2009, much of America's job growth has been private sector job growth (Pew Research Center, 2015). These changes have minimized government's involvement in job creation and, in many respects, employment opportunities for minorities. Private business capitalism has benefitted from neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005) and given elites tremendous control over race relations. Society is more dependent upon merit based opportunities from the private market elites. In a meritocracy, there are two primary means of acquiring good earnings. First, the acquisition of education. There is a well-established relationship between groups increasing their levels of knowledge based human capital and accessing gainful employment. The second means of getting gainful employment is job selection. Some jobs pay more than do other jobs. Doctors, for example, tend to earn more than janitors. This research, therefore, examines if the merit based access channels of education and job type explain the earnings power of Caucasian millennials when compared to other racial groups.

Previously stated in Table 1 after the civil rights era, African Americans made substantial gains fiscally and these gains can be seen in the diminishing poverty rates post-1960. These data are used as a baseline to support that minorities were increasing their acquisition of earnings by moving out of poverty. Minorities of the millennial generation, those born in 1985 or more recent, are experiencing the social advantages of civil rights and Caucasian millennials have not lived the experience of the overt benefits of white privilege in the form of overt, sustained, and hostile discrimination against minorities. Yet, the recent resurgence of the alternative right and the subsequent election of Donald Trump make possible an orchestrated attempt to resurrect white privilege in a more overt form. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016) in 1989, about 78 percent of all 15- 24 year olds were gainfully employed. Since 1990, however, the proportion of millennials employed has persistently stayed around 60 percent (BLS, 2016). Given such dire economic conditions for millennials, private market elites may use market controls to encourage increasing discrimination through receptivity of white privilege. With the American Legislative Executive Council (ALEC), the public-private consortium between the government and business, and the alt-right support for the Trump presidency, a concerted effort may attempt to grow the white privilege doctrine. In essence, it is plausible that the alternative right backlash against the election of Barrack Obama, who had substantial support from millennials, is to systematically grow the young Caucasian population that embrace their white privilege; and ALEC provides a medium in which to covertly accomplish support for a white privilege doctrine. In 2008 election, Obama got 66 percent of the millennial vote and 54 percent of the Caucasian millennial vote (Keeter et al., 2008). In 2012 Obama got 67 percent of the millennial vote. To change the millennial perceptions on equity and inclusion, it may be necessary to implement a process similar to the Bacon's rebellion response discussed previously that requires punitive measures against Whites as it did post-1676. Controlling job accessibility of young Caucasian millennials provides the opportunity to teach them the importance of embracing their privilege without substantial disruption of their entire career capabilities.

This research incorporates an Analysis of Variance model to examine the differences in racial groups earnings for young millennials (15 – 24 years old) and old millennials (25 – 34 years old). If there is an attempt to teach Caucasians to accept their white privilege status and utilize it in more discriminatory forms (i.e., displaying dominance) in-lieu of simply receiving social advantages (i.e., media depictions of Whites in a favorable light), younger White millennials will not receive the benefits of their privilege in a similar manner that older White millennials will. If young Caucasian millennials are restricted in resource acquisition, they may be motivated to behave in more discriminatory ways, as they age, in order to get more resource acquisition.

The previous discussion leads to the following hypothesis:

H1: In an effort to teach young White male millennials to value their privilege, they will experience a larger earnings gap when compared to other race groups than will older millennials.

H2: In an effort to teach young White female millennials to value their privilege, they will experience a larger earnings gap when compared to other race groups than will older millennials.

Variables:

Different racial groups and median annual earnings are the variables used in the ANOVA assessment. In addition, the research incorporates data on occupation types and levels of education for each race group. These data will allow for nullifying (or not) merit based reasons for earnings differences. If the statistical analysis supports meritorious based differences, there is nothing encouraging increasing white privilege. Given higher levels of education and job selection for young White millennials, if the ANOVA shows no difference between groups or that minority groups earn better for early millennials, there may be a white privilege indoctrination. In other words, there may be a systemic process of under paying young White millennials (age 15 – 24) in an effort to motivate they accept and embrace their white privilege. This premise has more credence if older millennials (age 25 – 34) do not show these types of results.

Findings

Figure 1 shows the level of education for each racial group between 16 to 24 years old. Notice that African Americans and Latinos are most likely to end their academic pursuit at a high school degree while Whites peak at some college. In addition, 25 percent of Asians and 16 percent of Whites between 16 and 24 years of age have bachelor's degrees.

Figure 1: Education Level by Race in 2015 (Age 18 - 24)
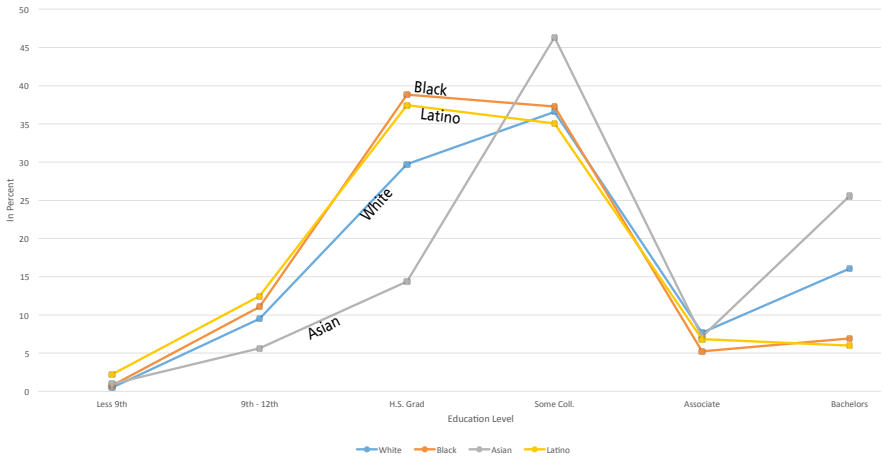
U.S. Census (2015). Educational Attainment - People Over 18 by Total Money Earnings, Age, Race, Gender & Hispanic Origin

It is well established that education pays in a credentialed society. Given the data in Figure 1, Whites and Asians should earn substantially more than Latinos or Blacks since Whites and Asians are more likely to possess a college degree.

Figure 2: Male Median Income by Race (Age 15 - 24)
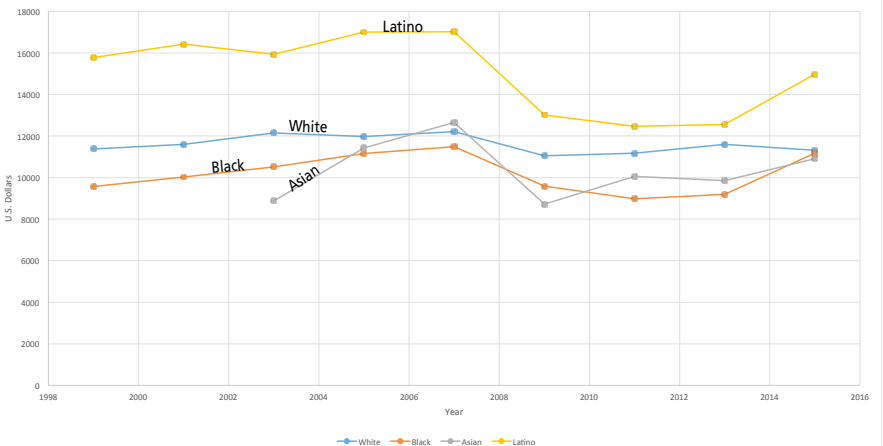
U.S. Census (1999 – 2015). People by Median Income and Sex. Table P-8

According to Figure 2, given the education characteristics, although Latinos have the lowest level of education (along with African Americans) they have the highest median income and

these income data are persistent over the 21st century. Shown in Figure 2, for Latino males age 15 to 24 working full-time, their median income ranges approximately $1000 to $4000 more than other race groups for each year. For women age 15 to 24, the median income difference is not as pronounced. Figure 3 shows little variability between White, Black, Latino, and Asian females who are employed full-time. Interestingly, Latino males consistently earn higher median wages but their education levels do not support such an income differential.

Figure 3: Female Median Income by Race (Age 15 - 24)

U.S. Census (1999 – 2015). People by Median Income and Sex. Table P-8

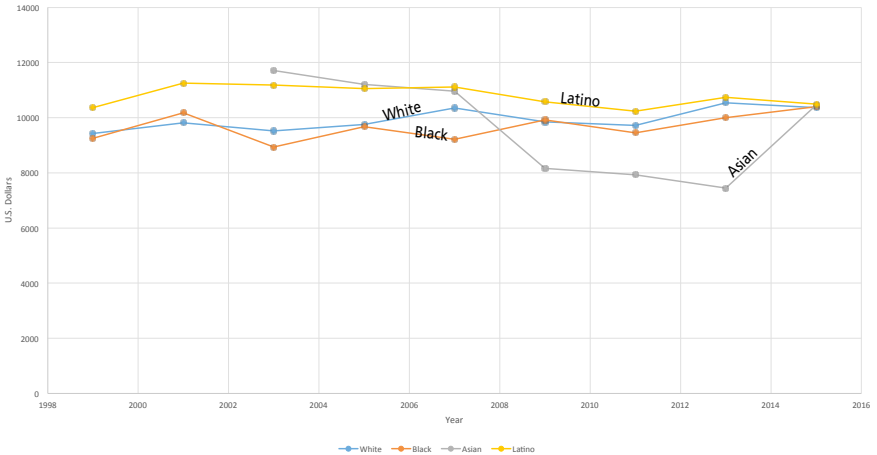Figure 4: Occupation by Race for Males 16 & Over (2011)

	Management	Professional	Service occupations	Sales	Resources & construction	Production & transportation
White	17.4	17.6	13.8	16.6	17.9	16.8
Black or African American	9.7	13.8	22.3	18	11.6	24.6
Asian	16.9	32.3	14.2	17.1	6.5	13
Hispanic or Latino	7.7	7.9	21.9	14.6	26.1	21.8
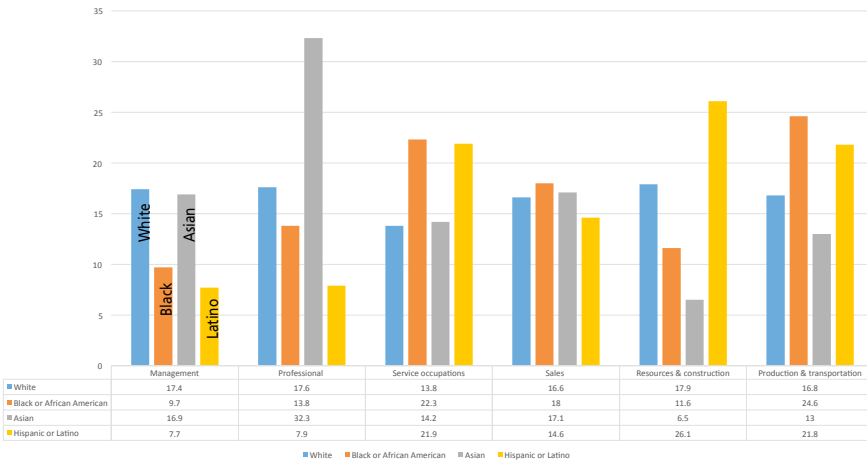
BLS (2011). Occupation Type by Race and Gender

Figure 4 shows the percentage of each race in selected occupations. Latino males 16 years and over are in construction, transportation and sales occupations. Whites are situated roughly

evenly across the occupation types while a large plurality of Asians are located in the professional occupations. Black males mirror the results of Latinos except in the resource or construction jobs.

When examining female occupations in figure 5, the data shows more similarity of job type irrespective of race. Most women work in sales, services, or professional jobs.

Figure 5: Occupation by Race for Females 16 & Over (2011)

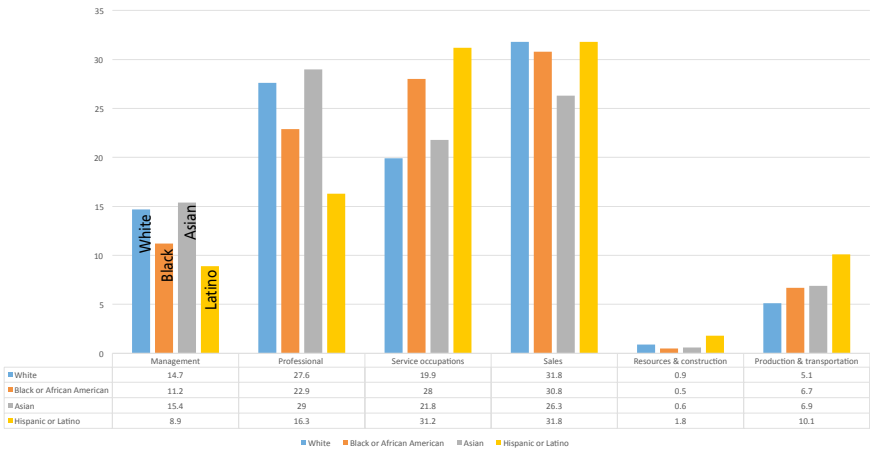|	Management	Professional	Service occupations	Sales	Resources & construction	Production & transportation
White	14.7	27.6	19.9	31.8	0.9	5.1
Black or African American	11.2	22.9	28	30.8	0.5	6.7
Asian	15.4	29	21.8	26.3	0.6	6.9
Hispanic or Latino	8.9	16.3	31.2	31.8	1.8	10.1

BLS (2011). Occupation Type by Race and Gender

Table 2 is the ANOVA results for the income of each race group when holding gender constant.

Table 2: Analysis of Variance Summary for Income by Race and Gender (Age 15-24)					
Gender	DF	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F
Males	Between	3	131215291.9	43738430.64	27.17**
	Within	30	48299024.83	1609967.494	
	Total	33	179514316.7		
	DF	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F
Females	Between	3	7135824.537	2378608.179	3.04
	Within	30	23439105.49	781303.5164	
	Total	33	30574930.03		

P<.01**

The ANOVA for young men (age 15-24) is statistically significant at p<.01, F=27.17, df. = 3, 30. While young Latino males earned between $12,522 and $17,007 for the time period from 1999 to 2015, African American males and Asian males lag behind. Latino males earn much better than Caucasian males also. The findings for the young women between 15-24 years old was not statistically significant at the p<.01 level (F = 3.04, df.= 3, 30).

While young male millennials experience substantial earnings stratification when comparing race groups, women did not. There is no indication of white privilege for millennial Caucasian males or fe-

males between 16 and 24 years old who are employed full-time. In fact, for Caucasian males, their wages more closely resemble those of African American males than they do the higher earning Latino males.

Figure 6: Education Level by Race in 2015 (Age 25 - 34)
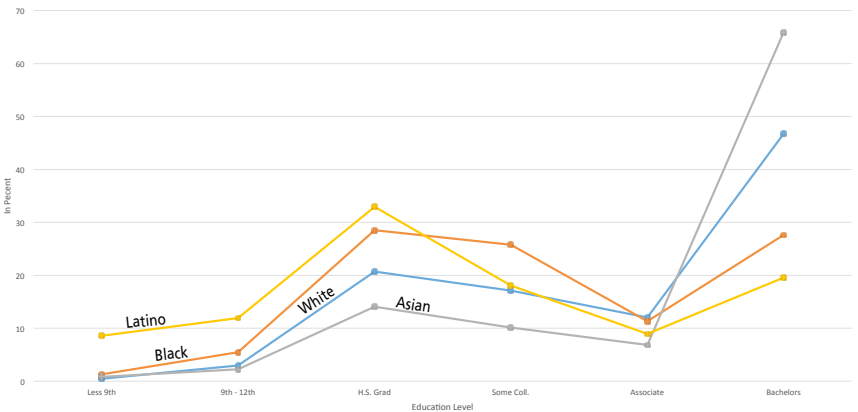
U.S. Census (2015). Educational Attainment - People Over 18 by Total Money Earnings, Age, Race, Gender & Hispanic Origin

According to Figure 6, when looking at millennials 25 years of age to 34, a little less than 66 percent of Asians and 47 percent of Whites get college degrees. Blacks have an equal percentage (28%) of high school and bachelor degree earners while 33 percent of Latinos end their academic pursuits at the high school degree. These education results are better reflected in median income data for 25 to 34 year olds than their 16 to 24-year-old counterparts. Notice in Figure 7 that full-time employed Asian males have higher median incomes in many of the selected years than do full-time employed Whites. In addition, their higher levels of education are reflected in substantially higher median wages. Figure 8 shows a similar story for women age 25 to 34.

Figure 7: Male Median Income by Race (Age 25 - 34)
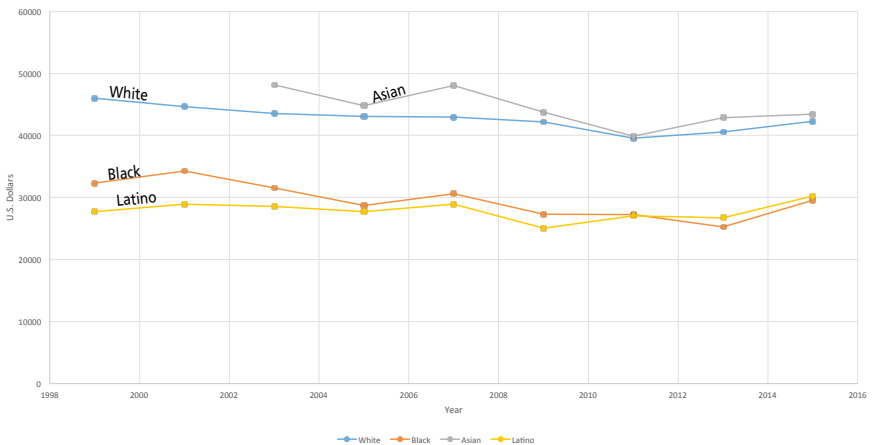
U.S. Census (1999 – 2015). People by Median Income and Sex. Table P-8

Figure 8: Female Median Income by Race (Age 25 - 34)

U.S. Census (1999 – 2015). People by Median Income and Sex. Table P-8

Table 3 is an ANOVA for millennials age 25-34. Irrespective of gender, there is substantial earnings stratification. In a meritocracy, stratification is expected and at such levels and given the earnings gap between African Americans and Latinos when co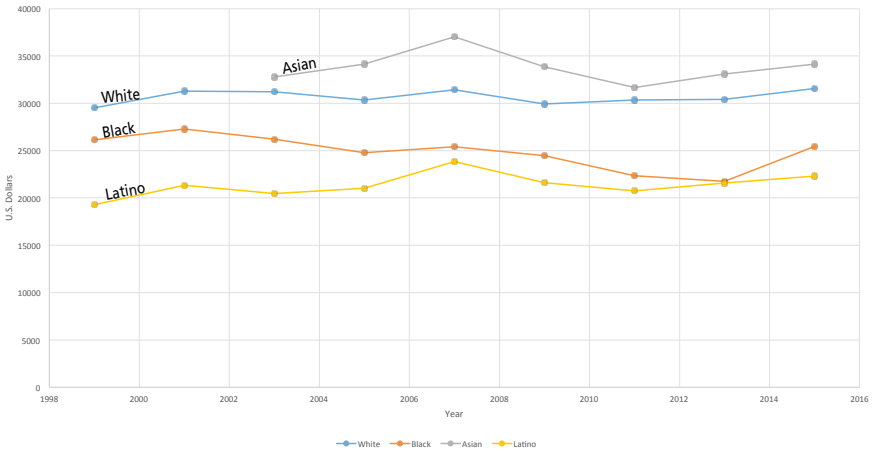mpared to Asians and Caucasians, these data show the plausible factors of a meritocracy in which earnings are related to education. Men between 25-34 had statistically significant results (F= 112.66, df = 3, 30). Women also had statistically significant results (F =128.36, DF = 3, 30).

Table 3: Analysis of Variance Summary for Income by Race and Gender (Age 25-34)					
Gender	DF	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F
Males	Between	3	1859173754	619724584.8	112.66**
	Within	30	165021361.1	5500712.036	
	Total	33	2024195116		
	DF	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F
Females	Between	3	770829950	256943319.4	128.36**
	Within	30	60053631.3	2001787.71	
	Total	33	830883589.4		

P<.01**

For Latino males between 15 and 24, wages seem to be an anomaly. They do not conform to what would be expected given the level of education they acquire when compared to other racial groups. A possible explanation may be the types of jobs young Latino males work in. Figure 9 shows aggregate wage increases and decreases in selected occupations according to the Pew Research Center. These data in Figure 9 offer clarity on two important points. First, it is clear that the gains between 2009 and 2014 were in the private market. Public sector jobs saw marked declines and construction jobs had the most significant wage declines. Second, according to Figure 4 Latinos mirror African Americans in the proportion of males in occupations other than construction jobs, which as previously stated, shows the most precipitous decline in wages since 2009.

Figure 9: Changes in Payroll by Job Type (2009 - 2014)

	Healthcare	Food Service	Temp. Help	Retail	Social Assist.		State Gov.	Local Gov.	Non-Durable	Education	Construct
Series1	1481400	1385400	1029400	728300	507900		-161500	-179000	-247000	-266800	-319800
			Increases				Deceases				
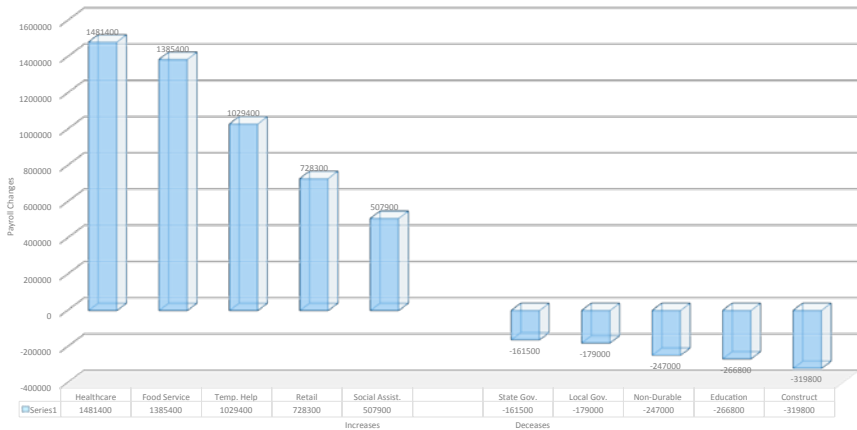
Pew Research Center (2015)

Therefore, the typical reasons for intergenerational mobility do not explain higher incomes for young Latino males. In a merit based system the usual reasons for increasing wages may be job switching, job promotion mobility, or acquiring more education capital. These factors do not seem to explain higher income for young Latino males. The fact that Latinos, particularly Latino males, are scapegoated as deviants, paying Latino males a superior wage at a young age can teach Caucasians the importance of using their privilege in America. Using white privilege overtly requires behaving in a discriminatory manner against minorities.

Conclusion

Established after Bacon's Rebellion, there was a privileged status given to Caucasians and those Whites who did not accept and utilize the status were punished. This research examines the possible structural economic system that is being created to persuade young Caucasians to relinquish equity behaviors in-lieu of embracing their privilege status. Punishing young Caucasians by denying them equity access of income encourages them to accept structural advantages embedded in white privilege at a later age. Just as minorities can be discriminated against, young Caucasian males find structural barriers placed between their employment capabilities and their economic success. When compared with Latinos, young Whites earn less although they have higher levels of education. The unusual earnings power of young Latinos cannot be explained by merit based justification. Their level of education or the type of jobs in which they are located do not offer clarity for the persistent wage difference of young Hispanic male millennials. Given that the data conforms to traditional perceptions on the earnings for Latino males after the age 25 in a stratified and discriminatory society, the findings on young Latino males are an anomaly.

The earnings difference persisted throughout the 21st century and is therefore a structural anomaly. Structural anomalies are oxy-moronic statements as they indicate a systematically built-in atypical but yet consistent occurrence. Therefore, the young La-

tino earnings gap may be, by design, to serve a particular purpose. That purpose seems situated to alert young White millennials to relinquish considerations of equity and embrace their privileged status. Since young White males may not perceive of themselves as a protected group based upon discrimination laws, they may be reliant upon systematic equity which these findings show, can be removed by neoliberal elites.

The data shows that younger Latino millennials earn better than do other race groups. The data compares similar gender and age groups. Education does not offer a credible explanation for early Latino male earnings superiority because they lag behind Asians and Whites in college graduation rates. The types of occupations in which Latinos work do not offer a plausible reason for persistently higher incomes. The percentage of Latinos in each of the job classifications mimics those of African Americans except for labor in the construction industries. Yet since 2009, construction jobs had the largest payroll declines when compared to other job types. The consistency in the earnings gap supports structural reasons for the difference. Stated succinctly, the leaders of the private market pay young Latinos a superior wage when compared to other race groups. Latinos have been stigmatized as a rapist, drug smuggling, and criminal community. Yet, young Latino males earn a higher median wage than other race groups which supports that the perception that young educated Asian and Caucasian males are not getting value for their levels of education when compared to Latinos. If these wage differences are not due to a concerted effort to reward Latino males although they have lower levels of education, the data should show that African American males earn a similar wage given their education and occupation type similarities with the Latino community. The findings show that young Latino males earn a superior wage until the 25-34-year-old millennial cohort. Similar to the written laws that taught Whites to accept their privilege after Bacon's Rebellion, the covert manner in which to teach Whites to embrace their privilege is through a private market orientation in which undeserving Latinos receive a privilege wage and in this manner, educating young White millennials to the importance of privilege in America.

If these structural inequalities are a means to socialize Caucasian millennials to accept their privilege, choosing to pay young Latinos a higher wage may reinforce the traditional norms embedded in systems of discrimination. Latinos have been vilified as illegal migrants, labelled as drug pushers, and demonized as rapist. Many are transient, working seasonal labor and then returning to their home society. The template for discrimination since 1676 has been to punish Caucasians who do not embrace their privileged status. Since the industrial revolution, the elites have paid for the buffer of a privileged class. Millennial Whites, between 15 and 24, struggle financially while Latinos have higher incomes. By the age of 25, the income data revert to traditional structural inequalities along racial lines but may be due to differences in education.

The Affirmative Action laws against discrimination make young Caucasian males dependent upon systematic benefits embedded in white privilege since they are not a protected class. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination of traditionally marginalized groups based upon 'race, color, religion, sex, and national origin' (Hope Franklin & Moss, 1991).

FIGURE 10: Who Protected Groups are Compared to Analyze Discrimination
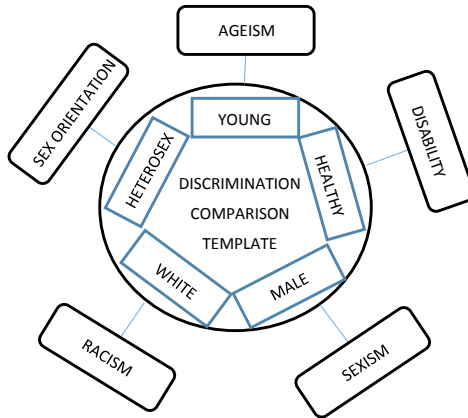
Shown in Figure 10, young Caucasian males tend to be the standard bearer in which the other manners of discrimination are contrasted and examined with. When protected groups claim discrimination it is compared to young, healthy, heterosexual, Caucasian males. These factors offer substantial leverage for neoliberal capitalist elites to train young White millennials the benefits of a white privileged status and less likely to support radical systematic changes. When young Caucasian males are presented with a zero-sum employment structure in which they have consistently earned lower wages than Latino males, the benefits they acquire after the 25th year of life may diminish anxieties. Given their experiences with these earnings disadvantages to earnings advantages, Americans in their mid-to-late thirties would be less likely to desire involvement in social movements to effectuate change when compared to their younger counterparts.

Research Limitations

Laws against overt manners of discrimination force assessments on discriminatory behaviors to be examined based upon trend behaviors. To prove discrimination, minorities often must prove that the behaviors perceived as discriminatory are consistently perpetuated against their protected group. These data in this study can only show trends of possible lack of job access against young Caucasian male millennials who are not a perceived protected group. Since the duration of the lack of earnings capability is temporary (age 15 – 24) and Caucasian males do not perceive they are a protected class for discrimination, there is little legal support for other manners of research trend analysis.

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Creating a Culture of Achievement for Black Male Students:
A Multifaceted Discussion

John B. Craig, Ed.D. and Don Trahan, Jr., Ph.D.

Abstract

Understanding the many issues facing Black male students requires that special attention be given to various aspects of these students' experiences in secondary and higher education. To this end, this paper will examine the following areas: Cultural Identity, College Preparedness, The Achievement Gap, Access to Higher Education, Pathways to Academic Success and Recruitment and Retention. Implications for practice and future research are discussed.

Cultural Identity

The development of one's cultural identity is central to the manner in which they perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others (Trahan & Lemberger, 2014). For Black men, this mindset is often overshadowed by their vulnerability to various social stereotypes (e.g., Black males are uneducable and socially disruptive), causing disengagement to occur (Butler, Evans, Brooks, Williams, & Bailey, 2013; Irving & Hudley, 2005). As a result, regardless of Black males' intellectual abilities, the threat of racial stereotyping can negatively impact their journey into academia, which increases the likelihood that they will abandon any positive identification with education (Butler & Shillingford, 2014; Gunn & Singh, 2004; Irving & Hudley, 2005).

Unquestionably, one of the major challenges faced by the average Black male in America is economic hardships. Low socioeconomic status (SES) hurts families in multiple ways, including educationally as typically, such families are headed by parents with a history of limited academic exposure. Gunn and Singh (2004) argued "abject poverty kills intellectual growth and incentive" which has the potential of causing a sense of failure, despair, hopelessness, and doubts as to whether one's efforts will be rewarded (p. 24). Moreover, a common practice within the American educational system is the use of tests to determine appropriate placement for individuals. Unfortunately, in a multicultural society, it is impossible to create tests that are completely free of cultural bias. To this end, the cultural identities of test designers often influence the context and content of exams alike.

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For example, most universities require students to obtain a certain score on a host of standardized tests (e.g., ACT, SAT, GRE, MCAT) in order to enter college and/or a specific program of study. However, due to the lack of attention on cultural identity and ways of learning, many students are disproportionately excluded from entering college and/or enrolling in a specific program of study. Research shows that efforts have been made to eliminate bias from standardized testing (e.g., garnering inputs from a variety of ethnic groups); however, by the very design of such exams, it is unlikely that such bias can be extracted.

No other racial and/or ethnic groups are strained with more negative connotations than Black males (Trahan & Lemberger, 2014). As such, Black men are thought of as an endangered species (Jackson & Moore, 2006). With such negative connotations and assumptions surrounding the Black male in America, it is inevitable that his psyche will be impacted. According to Davis (2003), there is a gap in the literature which addresses the dynamics of early schooling and its effects on the male psyche. Additionally, Irving and Hudley (2005) asserted that underachievement in scholastic endeavors is an obdurate barrier for Black men, which still lacks clear explanations or sustained solutions.

One need not be a researcher or highly skilled educator to notice that there seems to be myriad challenges for Black males which hinder their adequate preparation for college. It is this lack of preparation which ultimately leads to high attrition rates among this group of students, which is not the case for Black females, interestingly enough. "Research shows that African American males, irrespective of institutional type, represent a small proportion of conferred degrees in the United States (Cuyjet, 1997; Davis, 1999; Fleming, 1984; Harper, 2006; Jones, 2001; McClure, 2006). According to the U.S. Department of Education just "7.5% of African American men between the ages of 18 and 25 in the United States received bachelor degrees in 2005, compared to 75% of White men, 72% of White women, and 11% of Black women in the same age category (2006).

What is important to understand, however, before we begin discussing college retention, is college preparation. Put more simply, what are those factors stemming from the elementary and secondary education realms which causes a gulf, divide and chasm in the learning experiences of these students? Identifying these causes can help us learn why so many Black male students are under-prepared and ill-equipped to make a smooth transition to post-secondary education. "The literature on college choice suggests that the decisions of college-bound students are influenced by such pre-entry attributes as socioeconomic status, academic ability, aspirations, parents, race, gender, availability of financial aid, proximity, and high school involvement (Strayhorn, 2012). If post-secondary institutions can provide more support to these students based on what these pre-entry attributes are, then we may have a chance to see the retention rates for this group of students increase.

Elementary and secondary schools must do a more efficient job of preparing African-American male students for college. According to a report by the National Education Association, there is overwhelming evidence that a disproportionate number of Black male students are placed into Special Education as compared to their white male counterparts (2011). This same report indicates that more Black male students are labeled as mentally retarded than white male students. With these odds against them, how can we expect this group of students to ever make it out of high school and into college?

The Achievement Gap

Much has been written (Paige, 2010; Strayhorn, 2012) in recent years about what has been labeled "The Achievement Gap." This gap refers to the achievement disparity, as indicated by grades, test scores, retention and graduation rates which exists between white and Black students, mainly in elementary and secondary schools in the United States. "Today's primary barrier appears much more innocuous and much more subtle. In a way, it's almost invisible to society at large, and unlike segregation, slavery, and discrimination, which were imposed intentionally by a racist society, no one is forcing this barrier to exist—yet it's there. Today's primary barrier is the Black-white achievement gap" (Paige, 2010). Although some reports indicate this gap narrowing by some indicators, most researchers and educators agree that this gap is still very much real.

What can be done to eradicate this achievement gap? Is there one panacea that can totally wipe out this gap? Paige posits that the achievement gap can, in fact, be closed. What he proposes that change must take place. This change, he postulates, must be a change in leadership around the issue. Put more simply, Paige believes that African American leadership needs to emerge. This leadership will be tasked with closing the achievement gap. Also, Paige suggests that our view of what the achievement is must change. He opines that once we can begin believing that the achievement gap can be closed, then the leadership can begin working to close it (Paige, 2010).

Paige's position offers hope to those who want to see this gap eliminated. However, just as change does not happen easily, so, too, will eradicating this gap not be a light endeavor.

Access to Higher Education

The fading act of Black men from the post-secondary scene has captured the attention of administrators, educators, policymakers, and researchers alike (Butler et al., 2013; Hefner, 2004). Ironically, the pathway to economic and social advancement that was once desired by African Americans, now more than 50 years after Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, does not appear to possess the same charm as evidenced by the continuous decline in enrollment, especially among Black men (Hefner, 2004; Irving & Hudley, 2005). In researching the many underlying factors that have attributed to the low college enrollment among Black men, researchers have discovered that this trend begins as early as the formative years, wherein Black boys are at a disadvantage. For example, scholars have noted that Black males enter school with more gaps in their vocabulary than their White counterparts, causing them to lag throughout the academic channel (i.e., K-12), particularly evidenced during the middle school and high school years. This process directly influences their ability to navigate at the post-secondary level and beyond.

Early milestones of academic achievement (e.g., measuring a child's ability to sight-read and recognize sounds within the context of a language) have found that gender and ethnicity are creditable predictors of academic performance. For example, in a study conducted by Barbarin (2002), in kindergarten, 18% of African American boys demonstrated the ability to identify beginning sounds, and by the end of the school year, that number increased to approximately 36%. However, when compared with their White peers, while they started at18%, they ended with a higher percentage at 54%, which can be explained by scaffolding outside of the classroom environment. This trend impacts how they develop throughout their academic journey.

African Americans have a greater risk of experiencing emotional disengagement from school, as well as students who attend schools in urban areas. This in turn increases the likelihood of detachment since they are often among the majority who attend overcrowded urban schools, which do not adequately expose students to that which is required to transition from secondary to post-secondary education. In studying the performance patterns of African American men in academia, Honora (2003) concluded that there is a misidentification with schooling; he further claimed that "as Black students advance from junior high to high school, they tend to detach their sense of value from traditional notions of success" (p. 61). It should be noted that this outlook directly impacts the decline in students enrolling at the post-secondary level. The value of education tends to compete with issues related to self-identity and perceived financial stability.

Research shows that this disconnect is associated with classroom experience that lacks culturally inclusive pedagogy and/or multicultural sensitivity (Barbarin, 2002; Butler et al., 2013; Hefner, 2004; Irving & Hudley, 2005). Many students have a difficult time relating to the content that is selected for fostering learning within the classroom, which follows the aforementioned rationale for the standardized testing. In turn, it appears that regard for advanced education is connected to a sense of belonging and active participation within the arena of academia. The authors agree with Harvey (2002) line of argumentation, which asserted that "African American males have had a particularly difficult struggle in their attempts to achieve equity and inclusion in the American society" (p.13).

Exposure is also central to the disconnect with Black males and education. Gordon (2004) claimed that one reason for the declining enrollment figures could possibly be lack of awareness of the college application process, which causes them to make other choices (e.g., joining the military, seeking employment). Moreover, a common occurrence in many African American households is that they are led by a single head of household who manages more than one job. This impacts their opportunities to inquire about college informational seminars, attend campus tours, and apply for various funding outlets. While the literature continues to address the gender gap in college enrollment for African Americans, there is little attention on the perceptions of African American men in their quest toward degree attainment. Such research is needed in order to reimagine best practices for engaging this particular population and their pathway to academic success.

Pathways to Academic Success

There are many programs which have been developed over the years that have been designed to help students, particularly Black male students meet with success at the post-secondary level. In the wake of the Civil Rights era, many states found themselves tackling the issue of access to higher education opportunities for people of color. Certainly, the rulings of Brown v. Board of Education helped to facilitate the access to public facilities and entities, such as schools, restrooms and other establishments for persons of color. One can only imagine that when access programs, such as the TRIO programs, and statewide programs such as EOP, in New York and New Jersey and ACT 101 in Pennsylvania began to operate, it was quickly discovered that students from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds had needs which would necessitate support services such as tutoring and counseling, particularly during their first year of college, if these students were going to be successful.

Thus, these programs quickly began to gain momentum and often served as the vehicle by which students, mainly Black students, gained entrance into colleges from which they were previously ex-

cluded. However, what these programs also did was provide employment opportunities for people of color and helped launch careers of these administrators and faculty at these institutions from which they had traditionally been barred from working. To this day, TRIO programs, such as Upward Bound, Talent Search and Student Support Services are still providing higher education opportunities for economically and academically disadvantaged students. If these programs did not exist, many Black students from the early 1970s to present day would not have access to education (US DOE, 2013).

It is critically important that access programs continue to be funded, researched and the finding shared so that legislators and educators are aware of the efficacy of these programs. Other pathways to academic success actually begin in the home and in the support structures of these Black male students. These students need to be reminded of the African proverb which states, "The seeds of greatness are within you" (Unknown). These seeds need to be watered and nurtured so these students can grow and blossom into the future leaders of this great nation and the world.

Implications for Researchers and Practitioners

The ideas put forth in this document have implications for further research which can be beneficial as we seek new ways to understand how best to support Black males in post-secondary institutions. More research is needed on how pre-entry characteristics truly impact Black males' success in college. Moreover, having this knowledge will begin to guide the work of practitioners so that appropriate programming and other support mechanisms can be developed to help facilitate a smooth transition to college.

Researchers investigating this inconsistency need to secure the perspective of the academic identities of Black men, or welcome their input in developing interventions to address this area of concern. As aforementioned, interventions need to capture what academia 'looks like' through the lenses of African American men. When barriers that hinder the access of Black men are isolated (i.e., sought out for careful observation), higher education institutions will become more knowledgeable about how to increase enrollment and retention of Black males through more consistent interventions.

As we learn more about the achievement gap, more recent research should be conducted to identify the discreet learning needs of Black male students, as a means to understand if these discreet learning needs are truly different for White males. Armed with this knowledge, researchers and practitioners can begin working with politicians to help draft legislation which will create centers of excellence at the elementary and secondary levels which will serve as incubators which continuously study this issue. Subsequently, this could lead to the development of additional laboratory grade schools which have a specific focus of educating Black males. Several such schools exist across America; however, perhaps it is an opportunity for these types of schools to be replicated more frequently and funded equitably.

This research is well timed to understand how Black men perceive the barriers preventing them from pursuing higher education, to understand how social, economic and cultural factors impact their decisions, and to learn what they perceive as solutions to make the transition to higher education more possible.

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Underrepresented Students and Self-Efficacy in Developmental Reading:
A critical look at reading self-efficacy

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between a textbook study-reading instructional strategy effectiveness on reading self-efficacy levels of underrepresented college students. The sample for this study consisted of 34 first-year, first-semester students enrolled in two three-credit developmental reading and study skills courses at a public university located in a rural section of south central Pennsylvania. A self-efficacy inventory was used to measure the dependent variables and to obtain quantitative data, and two reflective scenarios were administered to obtain qualitative data. The findings suggest that students with high self-efficacy levels have increased reading comprehension rates.

Introduction

One of the most salient problems in colleges and universities is the number of students entering their institutions requiring developmental support. ACT (2016) relayed that 40 % to 60 % of first-year college students in the United States require remediation in English, math, or both. In addition, one in three high school graduates are not ready for entry-level college courses in English, reading, math or science. ACT (2013) noted that of the 1.8 million high school graduates who took the ACT test only 26 % were prepared for college-level work. The report further disclosed that no more than 48% of underrepresented students met the English benchmark. Certainly, this suggest that many of these ACT-tested students must receive some form of remediation in developmental classes. Developmental classes increase students' time to degree attainment and decreases the likelihood of completion (ACT, 2016). The report also highlighted that, 56 % of African American, 45% of Latino, students and 35% of White students enroll in developmental courses nationwide. This data represents monumental and on-going concerns in the field of Developmental Education and for underrepresented students in general. To this end, gaps in college attainment continue to increase between underrepresented students and their White counterparts (Bir, & Myrick, 2015).

The History of Developmental Education

Historically, access to higher education for underrepresented students has been flawed. First, the rigor of the high school curriculum was not equitable across the nation. Casazza (1999) reported that in 1892, The National Education Association created a committee to examine the

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curriculum of high schools and the requirements for college admission. Secondly, the college admission policy needed to be more coherent to increase acceptance in institutions of higher education. Therefore, the establishment of the College Entrance Board and the creation of a committee established by the National Education Association (NEA) were created to examine the curriculum of high schools as related to college admission. In addition, in 1890, the College Entrance Board and testing centers were established to examine students' readiness for college (Atkinson, 2001). The researcher relayed that monumental changes occurred during the mid1900s, some of which were: (a) many colleges admitted underprepared students and offered reading and study skills courses; (b) over 350 colleges were offering "How to Study" courses in 1909, and (c) by the end of 1920, one hundred books on study habits had been published.

Additionally, notable researchers and educators, such as Casazza and Silverman (1996), Ryan and Cooper (2000, 2003), Stephens, Duranczyk, & White, (2003), discussed the tremendous influence that the federal government had on higher education in general, and specifically on Developmental Education. In the early 1940s during World War II, college courses were shortened and summer programs were implemented to allow students opportunities to complete courses of study at a faster rate. Subsequently, significant changes occurred in colleges and universities when the GI Bill was introduced during the Post-World War II Era. Veterans received funds for education; programs such as tutorial centers and academic advising were funded and implemented. By fall 1946, over a million veterans had taken advantage of the opportunity. Education for veterans brought about a greater need for transitional or remedial classes. Most of the returning serviceman, with high school grade point averages less than 2.0, had to take a study skills course and initially a reduced load of credits (Stephens, et al., 2003). Also, in the 1950s and 1960s, access to higher education increased for underrepresented students because of the Civil Rights Movement Brown v. the Board of Education, and other similar court cases (Ryan and Cooper, 2000, 2003).

Boylan (1995, 1996) Markus and Zeitlan (1998), and Stephens et al. (2003) further relayed that between 1970 and the present, an "Open Door" policy admitted minorities, women, and other students who were historically underrepresented in colleges and universities. With the creation of the "Open Door" policy and financial aid programs a greater number of students were afforded an opportunity to be a part of the communities of higher education. One such event was the establishment of the College Entrance Board to examine students' readiness for college.

By the end of the nineteenth century, enrollments in colleges and universities had increased, and, as a result, enrollments of underprepared students increased as well. However, many more students were underprepared to meet the demands of college and required remediation. Boylan (1999) pointed out that researchers and administrators learned that effective student remediation for underprepared students, required academic support. The process of providing these services for students became known as Developmental Education.

Academic Support Service

Between 1930 and 1939, formal remedial programs were established. A conscience effort to retain this population began to surface. Some colleges became well known for conducting research in Developmental Education. Stephens et al., (2003) noted that John Roueche of the University

of Texas was one of the earliest and most notable researcher during this time period. Roueche and colleagues published numerous books and articles about Developmental Education between 1968 and 1978. Additionally, in 1976 the Kellogg Foundation provided a grant to Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina, to establish a consortium of four-year colleges and community colleges designed to improve services for underprepared students (Stephens et al., 2003).

Stephens et al., (2003) also reported that numerous organizations assisted in the attempt to find the best means to address the needs of developmental students. In 1986, the American Council of Developmental Education (ACDEA) formed an alliance among leaders of the various organizations and groups. National conferences were hosted as a means of educating professionals who would in turn educate students. In addition, the National Center for Developmental Education (NCDE) provided programs, training, and staff development in Developmental Education to entire states. Furthermore, the National College Learning Center Association (NCLCA) was established and served learning assistance professionals. Consequently, a slightly dissimilar organization, the National College Learning Center Association (NCLCA), focused primarily on learning centers that had exclusive components such as seminars and tutorial labs. As underprepared students continued to matriculate in higher education institutions, leaders, researchers, and educators in the field of Developmental Education continued to question how best to serve underprepared students have questions about how best to educate underprepared and underrepresented students.

Underrepresented Students and Developmental Reading

Research conducted by ACT (2014) indicated that reading performance is the single best predictor a successful collegiate career. Subsequently, Banks (2005) asserted that researchers and educators in the field of Developmental Education continue to seek major contributors that limits the literary proficiency among underrepresented students, particularly Africana American students. White, j. and Ali-Khan, C. (2013) relayed, "high schools and college preparatory programs too often ignore the role that academic language and literacy play in success at the college level" (p. 24). The researchers further explain that often underrepresented students counterattack academic language when it is being formally taught because, literacy is so strongly embedded in their culture.

Over the years there have been various theories to explain the disproportionate college failure of underrepresented students compared to White students. The first theory suggest underrepresented students are not adequately prepared for college (Crawford, 2010; Oakes 2005; Zarate & Gallimore, 2005). The next theory propose underrepresented students are not prepared for college because of the lack of college-educated mentors (ACT, 2002; Swail, & Perna, 2003; Young & Martinez, 2011). Dubois & Karcher, (2013) added that mentoring underrepresented students can lead improved academic performance, self-esteem, and ethnic identification. The third theory focuses alienation and resistance of underrepresented students from the White culture (Ogbu, 2004). Lave & Wenger (1991) advise that most theories fail to include the of academic language and its importance for the successful development of an academically literate identity in students' collegiate success. The next section will discuss self-efficacy and its connection to student academic success.

Self-Efficacy

Self- efficacy is a motivational construct that can influence individual beliefs about emotional, cognitive, and affective processes. Self-efficacy became the paradigm shift in the 1980's. Bandura (1997), Byrd, E. H., Carter E. C., & Waddoups, S. (2001), Byrd, E. H., McClellan, J., & Unsworth, S. (2003), Jinks and Lorbach (2003), Linnenbrink and Pintrich (2003), Schunk (2003), and Walker (2003b), Wernerbach, B. M., Crowlet, S. L., Bates, S. C. & Rosentahl, C. (2014) collectively agreed that self-efficacy is the level at which students feel they can succeed in the academic and social challenges of life while striving to reach desired goals. Current research suggests that high, levels of self-efficacy enhance human accomplishment and well-being. Consequently, since many first-year, first-semester students are required to take developmental reading in higher education it is essential to examine effective strategies that such students can use for effective reading comprehension.

Self-Efficacy and Reading Comprehension

Effective comprehension is the central role for college success and the essence of reading in general. Over the years the paradigm of reading research has shifted. Researchers have linked self-efficacy to cognitive development and academic ability. Bandura, 1993; Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, (2001) discussed the notion that perceived self-efficacy occupies the central role in the causal structure of the social cognitive theory because efficacy beliefs impact changes in various determinants. Perceived characteristics refer to an individual's perception of the level of importance, complexity, and mental processes that are required for a given task. The researchers noted that efficacy is related to cognitive development and functioning; it influences four processes: (a) cognitive; regulated by pre-conceived thoughts about goals that are set by individuals: the greater the level of perceived efficacy, the greater the challenges that people set for themselves; (b) motivational; motivational processes are guided by the exercise of forethought; (c) affective; beliefs that people have about the ability to manage stress, depression, and levels of motivation; and (d) selection; people are part of their environment, and personal efficacy can determine choices that people make. The concept of self-efficacy and its correlation to developmental students is pivotal.

Self-Efficacy and Developmental Students

Very often, students enrolled in developmental courses experience low levels of self-efficacy. Byrd (1999) emphasized, "One variable that is particularly critical in working with developmental students is self-efficacy" (p. 37). Over twenty years copious researchers have posited myriad theories to disclose some common beliefs about many students who enroll in developmental courses. First, developmental students are often embarrassed at being so identified; further, they doubt that such courses are relevant to the initial phase of their college careers. This causes many students to experience a level of humiliation and then low levels of self-esteem can emerge. Next, some students who are required to take Developmental Reading often have lower levels of self-esteem than students required to take Developmental Mathematics or Developmental Writing.

In fact, many students view the requirement of taking a reading course in higher education as punitive and shameful because most associate learning to read as and primary objective in elementary school (Boylan, 1995, 1996; Bandura, 1997; Byrd, 1999; Byrd et al. 2001, Boylan & Bonham, 2007). Because of these factors, monitoring students' levels of self-efficacy is imperative for their academic success.

Bandura (1993, 1997; Banks, 2005) Howard and McCabe (2003), and Walker (2003b) collectively agreed that without sufficiently high self-efficacy, or the belief that one can succeed on specific academic tasks, many struggling learners will not make the efforts needed to thrive too many times academically. African American and other underrepresented students are continually faced with the task of "overcoming obstacles". High, levels of self-efficacy can be instrumental in resolving this issue for these students.

Self-Efficacy and African American Students

Self- efficacy can impact one's confidence and motivation. Regrettably, this is more prevalent in African American students. Because African American students encounter many challenges some may often find it difficult to maintain a positive identity (Moore, 2001; Murrell, 2002; Smedley, 2008; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). In addition, self-esteem and self-efficacy also have an impact on African American student engagement and success. Moreover, for African American college students, racial identity, motivation, and self-efficacy intersect with their educational experiences in complex and critical ways. More specifically, these concepts impact African American students' engagement in their college coursework (Spencer, 1999; Ward, 2000; Moore, 2001; Smedley, 2008; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Paulson &Armstrong (2010). Consequently, Jinks and Lorsbach (2003) emphasized, "Self-efficacy is one of the most powerful perceptions that predict performance" (p. 115). To this end, African American students who view themselves as academically competent are more likely to be successful and persist to degree completion (Williams, 2013; Wernerbach, Crowlet, Bates, & Rosentahl, 2014). The next section will address general reading strategies that can be used with college students as a whole.

General Reading Strategies for Effective College Reading

Generally, college level strategies should be teacher-directed and give students the ability to use generative strategies so that they can identify errors and gaps that lead to comprehension problems (Weinstein, 1997). Nist and Holschuh (2000) cited three types of cognitive generative strategies at the college level: (a) cognitive: activities that lead to using the cognitive progress; (b) affective: strategies that promote positive self-schemas, (e.g., effect of previous knowledge on newly learned information); and (c) metacognitive: reader's awareness of cognition and self-regulation. Reading is the platform in which the cognitive process is involved which critical thinking problem solving, Pugh, Pawan, and Antommarchi (2000) asserted, "reading comprehension is the platform from which critical thinking, problem solving, and effective expressions are launched (p. 25). Pugh, Sadler (2001) further noted, "reading is more than just matching sounds with letters or learning sight words; it involves comprehension, (e.g., understanding what is read, what is meant, what is implied" (p. 1). The following will relay some general strategies that should be used by college students for effective reading comprehension.

Active Reading Strategies

Sanaz & Arabmofrad (2016) expressed that there is a strong correlation between students' ability to be self-regulated learners and reading comprehension. Taraban, Rynearson, & Kerr, M. (2000) relayed that skilled adult readers use multiple reading strategies in a purposeful manner for effective reading comprehension. The researchers suggested that some of the skills may include, but not be limited to: (a) setting reading goals, (b) varying reading style according to relevance of the text, (c) jumping forward and backward to find information, (d) making predictions, (e) paraphrasing, (f) explaining the text, and (g) constructing summaries and conclusions. Additionally, the researchers conducted a study to determine if the use of reading strategies improved performance in standard college courses.

Organizing Strategies

Organized strategies are effective and popular at the college level. Nist and Holschuh (2000, 2003, & 2006) disclosed that organizing strategies help build background knowledge, clarify the character of the knowledge, and allow students to focus prior to reading. Three types of organizing strategies are typically taught in college reading courses: (a) graphic organizers; graphic organizers were once known as strutted overviews; specifically, graphic organizers are hierarchically arranged tree diagrams of key concepts and terms (Barron, 1969); (b) concept mappings; concept mappings are slightly more sophisticated than graphic organizers in that concept mappings represent hierarchical relationships between the key and supporting concepts (Lipson, 1995); and (c) previews; previews are descriptions and information about text material that students plan to read (Byrd, 1999; Byrd et al., 2001; Kanar, 2004; McWhorter, 2004; Nist & Holschuh, 2000, 2003, 2006).

Textbook Study-Reading

Textbook Study-Reading Strategies is another strategy taught at the college level. Caverly, Orlando, and Mullen (2000) defined a textbook study-reading strategy as "… a strategic approach to reading in which students adjust their comprehension behavior before, during, and after reading with a purpose of satisfying a specific task" (p. 105). The most common study-reading strategy is underlining or highlighting (Adams, 1969; Annis & Annis, 1982; McWhorter, 2001, 2003, & 2004).

While there are general strategies that can be used for college students the literature discussed some that should be considered for African American students.

Specific Considerations for African American Students

Despite past efforts, enrollment of underrepresented students---especially African American students in colleges and universities remain at marginal levels compared to their White counterparts throughout our nation. Researchers concur that the lack of presence and the deficiency of literacy skills of African American students is a result of the inadequacies that are encountered in urban schools (Oakes, 1995; Delprit, 2002; Delprit, 2006; Anderson 2012; White and Ali-Khan; 2013; Boschma, & Brownstein, 2016). Boschma, & Brownstein, (2016) cited, "in almost all major American cities, most African American and Hispanic students attend public schools where a majority of their classmates qualify as poor or low-income (p. 2)".

White and Ali-Khan (2013) relayed that many underrepresented students embark upon college without the discursive codes of power that are needed for academic success. Anderson (2012) indicated "Institutions should engage in a correlational analysis of major performance measures associated with underrepresented students at entry and with evaluation measures of academic and social integration over time (p. 2)." Moreover, for decades, college reading professionals have used various pedagogical strategies, instructional models, and learning assistance for African American students and other underrepresented groups of students.

Oakes (1995) found that too often African American students are under enrolled in College Preparatory classes because: (a) they are not referred to such classes by teachers; (b) students elect not to attend such classes because of peers; and (c) many urban schools may not offer such courses. Delpit (2006), implied that African American students are not proficient in literacy because the school does not embrace diversity. Subsequently, this creates an attitude of alienation. African American students must see themselves as culturally valued to be successful (Perry, 2003). Gay (2000), Hale (2001), and Kinzie, Gonyea, & Kuh (2008) suggest that developmental recommend that the following factors are pivotal to African American success and persistence: (a) social, cultural, and educational traits; (b) "talent development" philosophy, curriculum, and instructional practices that honor the experiences of these learners; and (c) reading texts that speak to the students' experiences. Patton, McEwan, Rendon, & Howard-Hamilton (2007) suggest that educators should limit the, "use of language about race and considerations of the roles of racism in students' development and learning" (p. 39).

Purpose and Question

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between textbook study-reading instructional strategy and its effectiveness on reading self-efficacy levels of underrepresented first-year, first-semester students enrolled in college developmental reading courses. As argued in the research, administrators and educators have prevailing concerns to identify the best ways to: (a) serve underrepresented students enrolled in developmental reading course; (b) increase self-efficacy reading rates; and (c) increase the persistence and retention of underrepresented students. The specific question that guided this research is: will there be a significant increase in reading self-efficacy levels of first -year, first-semester underrepresented college students enrolled in Developmental Reading and Studies Skills courses after receiving instruction using specific textbook study-reading Instructional Strategies?

Methodology

This researcher examined the relationship between a textbook study-reading instructional strategy and the effectiveness on reading self-efficacy levels of underrepresented first-year students enrolled in college developmental reading courses using qualitative and quantitative data. The participants for the study consisted of 16 African American students, 6 White students, 1 Korean student, 2 Asian, 1 Indian, and 8 Hispanic students. The African American, Korean, Indian and Hispanic students attended urban high schools that were predominantly African American and Hispanic. The grade point averages ranged from 2.6 to 3.5. Verbal SAT scores of the students ranged from 330 – 410. The participants were required to complete a Developmental Reading course due to their low SAT score or placement on

the, ACCUPLACER Placement Examination, a computerized placement test developed by the College Board. For a period of 16-weeks the researcher taught various reading and study skills strategies to all participants. The researcher used two scenarios that required written responses regarding the participants' current reading habits to collect qualitative data. The scenarios were written by the researcher. Quantitative data was also collected using a self-efficacy inventory. Both instruments were used to collect pre-assessment Data. See Appendices D and E for result of the pre-assessment data. The instruments were then used to collect the post- assessment data. See Appendices F and G for results of the post-assessment data. Table 1 provides an overview of the textbook reading strategies that were taught in this research study. A description of the strategies can be found in Appendix A.

Before Reading	During Reading	After Reading
SELF Inventory	Talk to the Author	Post View
Preview	Mark and Highlight	Teach Someone
Create Control Boxes	Use Control Boxes	Create Study Cards
Create a Study Length: 50:10:10	Read in meaning clusters	Rehearse
Create/Select Questions	Predict Test Questions	Create Outlines
Look for Interesting Facts		Note Taking
		Write Summaries
		Create Graphic Organizers

Qualitative Data

The primary source that was used to obtain themes for the qualitative component of this research study was the responses from the participants' pre-assessment and post-assessment reflective scenarios. Scenario number 1 (See Appendix B) was designed to determine the participants' self-efficacy levels, emotions, and attitudes when reading. Three dominant themes that emerged from the pre-assessment and post-assessment reflective were: (a) the students viewed themselves as deficient readers in the beginning of the semester; (b) the students viewed themselves as more effective readers by the end of the semester; and (c) the students were more confident readers by the end of the semester.

Scenario number 2 (See Appendix C) was designed to reflect the best strategies that students employ for effective reading comprehension and the use of metacognition. Three dominant themes that emerged from the pre-assessment and post- assessment scenario were: (a) the participants used some form of note-taking when reading in the beginning of the semester; (b) the students used highlighting for effective reading comprehension in the beginning of the semester; and (c) the students preferred to use specific textbook reading strategies that were taught during the course for effective reading comprehension. Table 2 shows the strategies that the students used for effective reading comprehension. The next section will discuss the quantitative data.

Table 2

Preferred Textbook Reading Strategies

Before Reading	**During Reading**	**After Reading**
SELF Inventory	Note Taking	Study Cards
Control Boxes	Graphic Organizers	Study Groups
		Rehearse

Quantitative Data

Quantitative data was collected using the Byrd, McClellan, and Unsworth Reading Self-Efficacy Inventory Scale (See Appendix D). The inventory scale includes fifty items about which participants respond according to a six-point Likert-type rating scale ranging from "not confident at all" to "completely confident." The researcher administered the inventory in the beginning of the semester and at the end of the semester to collect the pre-assessment data and post- assessment data. Table 3 shows the sum scores and the mean scores. The final section will discuss the conclusion and implication of the study. Table 3 shows the pre-assessment data and the post-assessment data for the self-efficacy inventory scale.

Table 3

Pre-Assessment Data Using Self-Efficacy Inventory Scale

Pre-Assessment Data	*Post Assessment Data*
Sum Score = 227/300	*Sum Score =273/300*
Mean Score =4.33/6.00	*Mean Score=.25/6.00*

Conclusion

The national rates of remediation are significant for underrepresented students (ACT 2016). Many of the unrepresented students who matriculate to institutions of higher education are required to take some form of developmental education. While such research indicates great strides of achievement in the areas of developmental education and student achievement, currently administrators continue to explore different strategies to promote student success.

Research conducted by Blankenship (2010) revealed numerous considerations educators and administrators in higher education should consider to retain first-year underrepresented students: (a) summer academic preparation programs; (b) acclimation orientation programs; (c) parental involvement; (d) peer-tutor programs; and (e) assistance with financial concerns. While students are ultimately responsible for completing course objectives, instructors play a pivotal role in helping them master the content. Saxon, P., Martirosyan, Wentworth, R. A., & Boylan, H. R. (2015) relayed that faculty credentials and training are essential for the success of developmental classes, for reading in particular. Moreover, the literature highlights that instructors who teach African American and underrepresented students should tailor their course to meet the needs of this unique student population (Moore, 2001; Murrell, 2002; Patton, McEwan, Rendon, Howard-Hamilton, 2007; Smedley, 2008; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

This study examined the effectiveness of textbook study-reading strategy and the impact on the underrepresented students' reading self-efficacy levels. The results of the data indicated that the participants viewed themselves as being more strategic readers and increased levels of self-efficacy. Hence, many of the strategies as suggested in the literature cultivated an increase in self-efficacy. Future research should include specific materials that African American students have experience. Furthermore, educators must be mindful that self-efficacy is a vital construct for reading success and for overall student achievement. The results of this study contributed to the research literature in developmental education, more specifically developmental reading, self-efficacy, student learning, and the specific consideration that should be given to underrepresented students, particularly African American students who are enrolled in institutions of higher education.

Description of the Textbook Study-Reading Strategies

Before Reading	
SELF Inventory	Examine these before reading: S=Study Area, E=Emotions, L =Level of difficulty of material, F=How you are feeling physically
Preview	Visuals, italicize print, bold print interesting facts, vocabulary words, etc.
Create Control Boxes	Monitoring boxes places in the text to remind you to stop and check understanding
Create a Study Length: 50:10:10	Read or study 50 minutes, take a 10 minute break, and read or study for another 50 minutes
Create/Select Questions	Create ore or select questions to obtain a purpose
Look for Interesting Facts	Interesting facts provide a purpose to read
During Reading	
Talk to the Author	Interact with the author
Mark and Highlight	Mark and highlight the text after you read and understand
Use Control Boxes	Stop at the control boxes that you created in the 'Before Reading Stage'; check your understanding of the material
Read in meaning clusters	Look for patterns of understanding
Predict Test Questions	Place a 'T' in the text next to information that may be a test item
Create Outline	Outline formally or informally
Note taking	Use Cornell Note Taking Method

Write Summaries	Capture the most significant information of the text
Graphic Organizers	Most important information should be displayed; especially good for visual learners
After Reading	
Post View	Similar to Preview; look over the chapter to capture important facts
Study Cards	Create different cards for different content areas
Study Groups	Remember the strength of groups depend on the participants
Rehearse	Practice the information as you would a sport

Appendix B

Reading Scenario 1

First, I would like for you to describe how you view yourself as a reader in general. Secondly, think back in time and take a critical look at what reading means to you; explain your thoughts. Thirdly, think about your emotions as you have journeyed through the reading process; describe your feelings. Finally, name an animal that would best describe how you view yourself as a reader; explain why you made your choice.

Appendix C

Reading Scenario 2

Reading is an essential part of life. Effective reading comprehension, in particular, is a crucial skill for success in college. Delineate some of your best practices in an effort to comprehend information that you read. Explain why these practices work best for you.

Appendix D

SELF-EFFICACY INVENTORY	How confident are you in your ability to:	Not Confident at all (1)	Slightly Confident (2)	Somewhat Confident (3)	Fairly Confident (4)	Quite Confident (5)	Completely Confident (6)
1	Understand the material you read in your college textbooks?	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	Organize and participate in study groups that help you learn?	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	Recognize when you do not understand what you are reading?	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	Be attentive and stay focused during college lectures?	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	Learn new skills that are challenging to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	Stay in college and complete the semester?	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	Distinguish between important ideas and supporting details?	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	Get to know your instructors?	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	Track your progress in classes?	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Explain to others the main concepts you have learned in your classes?	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	Stay focused when you read difficult textbooks?	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	Motivate yourself to study?	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	Assess your strengths and weaknesses as a student?	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	Score high on tests covering assigned reading material?	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	Organize an effective study plan and stick to it?	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	Learn on your own without a lot of teacher direction?	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	Learn from a textbook even if it is boring?	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	Use your study time productively?	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	Notice when your mind wanders while reading?	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	Successfully cope with the stresses associated with college?	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	Ask meaningful questions during classroom lectures?	1	2	3	4	5	6
22	Complete assignments on time for all of your classes?	1	2	3	4	5	6
23	Pose meaningful questions to yourself while reading?	1	2	3	4	5	6
24	Understand logical arguments?	1	2	3	4	5	6
25	Use a variety of memory techniques to remember course information?	1	2	3	4	5	6
26	Predict your grades in classes?	1	2	3	4	5	6
27	Take effective notes from textbook material?	1	2	3	4	5	6
28	Memorize information for a test?	1	2	3	4	5	6
29	Complete assignments, even when you are not naturally interested in the material?	1	2	3	4	5	6
30	Meaningfully preview a textbook chapter?	1	2	3	4	5	6
31	Adjust your study strategies to match different tasks?	1	2	3	4	5	6
32	Learn new vocabulary for each class?	1	2	3	4	5	6
33	Refocus after being distracted while reading a textbook?	1	2	3	4	5	6
34	Take useful notes during a classroom lecture?	1	2	3	4	5	6
35	Clear up comprehension problems when the material you are reading is confusing?	1	2	3	4	5	6
36	Remember the information you need to perform well on tests?	1	2	3	4	5	6
37	Say "No" to activities that distract from your studies?	1	2	3	4	5	6
38	Construct a logical argument?	1	2	3	4	5	6
39	Communicate effectively with instructors?	1	2	3	4	5	6

40	Make comments in class that add to class discussion?	1	2	3	4	5	6
41	Construct a college-level term paper?	1	2	3	4	5	6
42	Pose meaningful questions in study groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
43	Write clearly and concisely?	1	2	3	4	5	6
44	Evaluate differing opinions?	1	2	3	4	5	6
45	Study and participate in groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
46	Track grades in your classes?	1	2	3	4	5	6
47	Complete reading assignments?	1	2	3	4	5	6
48	Learn information even if it is not interesting to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
49	Overcome test anxiety?	1	2	3	4	5	6
50	Balance your family, work, social and school commitments?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix E

Pre-Assessment Themes and Examples of Students' Responses for Scenario #1

Theme 1- Students View Themselves as Deficient Readers
Student #1: I hate that I never want to read in class; I feel I just can't read.
Student #2: I've tried different ways to help me read better but it doesn't work; but I do want to be more confident and the only way I can do that is to read better.
Theme 2- Students Have Difficulty Staying Focused
Student #1: When I read I sometimes find myself daydreaming, thinking about something else, all while still reading.
Student #2: It takes me awhile to get focused on the reading; and I get distracted from my reading very easily.
Theme 3- Students Lack **Confidence** *in Their Ability to Read*
Student #1:   If I was an animal I would be a fish because I am surrounded by water which would be the information; but, it's swimming around, and as far as understanding is the hard part.
Student #2: I believe that the animal that best describes me as a reader is a bat because, bats are blind, but their other senses get them by.

Appendix F

Pre-Assessment Themes and Examples of Students' Responses for Scenario # 2

Students Take Notes for Effective Reading Comprehension
Student #1: I like to read slowly and that helps me to understand what I am reading; I also like to take notes on what I feel is important in the reading.
Student #2: I like to break it up in sections if it isn't already and stop at each section and write a few of my own words to help me remember and understand what I just read.
Students Highlight for Effective Reading Comprehension
Student #1: Highlighting goes right along with how I remember key points.
Student #2: Some practices I try to use that work best for me is summarizing each page of what I read by highlighting the most important parts.

Appendix G

Post Assessment Themes and Examples of Students' Responses from Scenario #1

Students View Themselves as Being More Effective Readers
Student #1: I can read effectively now; I don't struggle as much with college.
Student #2: When I first read a college textbook I was unable to understand, but after this class, I have learned so much; reading has a whole new meaning now.
Student #3: An animal that would describe me is a bear—it is strong and smart.

Appendix H

Post Assessment Themes from Scenario # 2

Students Use the Textbook Strategies for Effective Reading

Comprehension

Student #1: I like everything I learned this semester; it's true what they teach in Reading and has been very helpful; to name a few: (a) control boxes; (b) study length; (c) making picture links; (d) reading in clusters; (e) previewing; (d) and making up questions that you think will be on the test, will definitely help me as I go on; they will help me become a better learner and understand the text more.

Student #2: I preview before I read; previewing makes me aware of what I am about to read; I use control boxes to pace my reading.

Student #3: I like to find a quiet atmosphere and a non-distracting environment; usually I do most of my reading in the library.

Student #4: The 2 most effectives strategies for effective reading comprehension are the Control boxes and the 50:10:50 Study Length Strategy

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Interrogating Racism, Politics and Silence Through the Use of Constructive Culturally Responsive Pedagogies during the 2016 Election Season

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Abstract

The 2016 Election season was one rampant with dialectical views around race, class, gender, sexual orientation, gender and other biases. The professors of this article teach at a predominately white institution that is a part of the state system of public colleges and universities that serves approximately 115,000 students in the mid-Atlantic. The professors' home institution currently serves approximately 18,000 students and were concerned about the impact that the political climate was having on their students and overall campus climate. Together, the professors developed individual pedagogies to confront the issues that impacted students' learning, particularly race and homophobia that seemed to heighten during the close of the 2016 presidential election season. The result was more student engagement and the development of a culturally inclusive learning environment that made students feel safe and empowered. The authors recommend various pedagogical practices that can be used by K-12 educators to facilitate culturally responsive and inclusive supports for students and confront the social injustice enlivened during the 2016 Election Post Season (Steff, 2017; Wiggins, 2017).

There were no clear winners or sole losers given the results of one of the most divisive and polemical elections in our modern-day history (Crowson & Brandes, 2017; Journell, 2011; Williams, 2017). When the then candidate and now President Donald Trump came to the authors' campus during the spring 2016 semester, his visit ignited an uproar (Bronsberg, 2016). At the time, candidate Trump's supporters were mounting some of the most contentious and racially-based hostile ads and slogans known to modern society. West Chester University (WCU) is located approximately two hours from one of the largest known concentrations of

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hate groups in the country (Potok, 2017). Based on our research and observations as professors at WCU, we contend that in all the rancor and uproar that surfaced during the campaign from both sides of the political aisle, students, especially those of color and from culturally linguistically diverse (CLD) backgrounds, seemed to suffer and fear the most as a result of the national hate-based rhetoric that took place front and center stage on our campus. However, all of us were impacted in our own way culturally, professionally, and psychologically.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this descriptive study was to provide CLD students and their allies with tools to address the divisive rhetoric that spilled over into classrooms and other academic spaces. This started as a discussion of like-minded colleagues working at the university to support CLD students. Soon after Trump's visit, and continuing over the summer, faculty and staff began to collaborate to develop pedagogies to address the growing tensions and feelings that impacted teaching and students' sense of well-being on the campus. Coming into the fall 2016 semester, many students were away from their homes feeling unsafe and were directly impacted by the election season's negative rhetoric and hate-based actions.

This article focuses on some of the research and pedagogical actions taken by the authors. First, Dr. Williams developed a quantitative questionnaire that solicited the feelings and perspectives of CLD students enrolled during the fall 2016 semester. Qualitative data was also gathered through focus groups with follow-up support groups that included invited students and those who wanted to find camaraderie and understanding. Second, Drs. Akbar and Chiarelli-Helminiak created focused opportunities within each of their respective graduate social work courses to address students' feelings of hopelessness, fear, and race-based intimidation based on variables of ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender. Together, the professors communicated regularly about the effect that the interventions had on teaching and learning within their respective classrooms and worked with students to address these issues.

Literature Review

Crowson and Brandes (2017) maintain that the outcome of the 2016 election was of considerable interest to citizens of the United States due to a variety of socially-divisive issues. Mr. Trump campaigned on a platform promising to stop illegal immigration, to bring back 'law and order,' and to harshly deal with troublemakers in society. Mrs. Clinton campaigned on a platform of increasing social equity for women, persons of color, the poor, people with disabilities, and persons in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGTBQ) community. However, both platforms triggered unconventional responses from both the left and right, with the right arguing for more of a militant stand against all that the left had hoped to accomplish; namely, pivoting the United States towards a more progressive agenda (Levin, 2017). No matter, there is no clear victor in the White House, at least for now.

The 2016 U.S. Presidential campaign had an impact on the political sense of students, many of whom are millennials (Shelley & Hitt, 2016). The campaign and election results created tension between students on the left and right, at times reduced to material forms of black students versus white students and their allies caught in the middle attempting to ameliorate

the growing tensions (i.e., Silver, 2016). Members of the LGBTQ and immigrant communities also at times watched and interrupted the pulse of the day with their own growing concerns as they were increasingly targeted by campaign rhetoric (Anguiano, 2016; McAlister, 2016; Samek, 2016). Yet, despite the impact the election results would have on the future, only 50% of millennials cast a vote on November 8th, 2016 (Galston & Hendrickson, 2016).

Steff (2017) suggested that U.S. citizens underestimated the impact that Trump's contradictory statements and divisive rhetoric would have on the world, let alone the election and post-election season. Steff maintained that we missed the mark in preparing citizens to understand the pulse of the nation and on how social media would play to the fears of the masses in a Post-President Obama world. He argued that Trump played to his allies and opponents through double-speak and by the time any sense could be wrought from the rhetoric, the campaign quickly shifted gears and election results tallied. In all, college campuses were impacted as students displayed signs and slogans that embraced separatism and hate, and wore t-shirts laced with offensive language that created an us vs. them mentality on campuses (Jaschik, 2016; Slate, 2017). It didn't take long to see that the us became the majority white students from a range of social classes and the them became the CLD students, including those from LGBTQ and immigrant backgrounds.

Wiggins (2017) maintained that informational media had a significant role in both inciting and filtering sensationalism during the election season. Although the authors utilized media as a way to address these tensions rising on campus, Wiggins suggested that media took on a role of its own during this election which pivoted the messages alongside the messenger. Wiggins argued that the results of the election made strange history and to consider taking memes seriously as signposts of important socio-political discursive activity. For future elections, perhaps a glance online to see how people are choosing to express themselves mimetically may reveal, at the very least, an alternative take on the mainstream media narrative. Androniciuc (2017) and Gunn (2017) highlighted the use of social media by both presidential candidates and how its influence will continue to impact future elections. Being part of the tech generation, college students are frequently on social media and were so during and after the election.

Social media propagated and heightened the tensions on campus that were already at an all-time extreme nationally. Facebook, Twitter, Kik, Instagram, and email ran amuck throughout campuses with posts from hate groups eliciting, at times, forceful responses from those threatened based on race, gender, and identity. At times, it appeared that campuses were a place for the survival of the fittest. As such, we felt it was time to deconstruct the political tyranny and arm students and colleagues with pedagogies that would dismantle these errant messages of hate playing out all around us and infiltrating our classroom instruction, advising sessions, and campus life in general.

Knowing Who the Students Are and How They Feel

To understand the students' experience, Dr. Williams conducted a mixed methods study on the experiences of CLD students attending a predominantly white institution (PWI) during the 2016 Presidential election season. Williams (2017) utilized a 50/50 split of participants for the purposes of ethical integrity and to ease in the analysis of the data utilizing the constant comparative method. The research question guiding this phase of the inquiry was: What impact has the rhetoric and dialogue during the political election season had on the experiences of Black college students

attending a PWI? The sample included 100 students – 50 Black and Non-White (Black, African International, Middle Eastern, Latino, Other non-white) and 50 White and Non-Black (Mixed, but identified as white or other, Asian, European, International, Hispanic, European Descent).

Data were collected through a survey instrument as well as focus groups in two stages. Phase I included the questionnaire and Phase II included the focus group. Utilizing snowball sampling, 12 students who participated in the questionnaire were recruited to participate in the focus group. The sample was intentional for the researcher to elicit the surface level thoughts, feelings, and concerns of Black college students attending a PWI during a time which some participants defined as a time of political crisis and others interpreted as elite fascism. As this was an exploratory study, enough data was accumulated to analyze data in relationship to the research question above.

To limit bias and increase validity of the data, the researcher's two graduate assistants (GA) assisted with data collection. As both GAs were members of the population of interest, the research team engaged in regular debriefings to account for any reactivity related to the data. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, reported means, and MANOVA. Qualitative data were analyzed using thematic constant comparison analysis (Creswell, 2013; Mills, 2014) and are reported here. Three emergent themes were coded to include: (a) Fear of the unknown; (b) The apocalypse as higher education; and (c) Grieving interwoven with the spirit of hope and historical mistrust. Pseudonyms are used to protect participants' identity.

Findings

Under the theme, fear of the unknown, participants revealed they felt vulnerable given the rhetoric during the election. As Markita reflected, "I feel like we moved backwards – I feel like I have no direction, honestly. I feel like this campus responded in a crazy way to all of the racist fanatics that came to campus in the spring." Tinam shared this sentiment, stating "I mean, I didn't think anything of it, no matter who was gonna win, my sanity was checked because now it's like wake up, I mean, it's like, we going backwards." These two reflections confirmed the overwhelming number of survey participants (85%) who reported the election season impacted their experience as college students. Fear for the students was real, and provocative, but led to deeper discovery that only through shared interests and respect can they, as college students of color, overcome any marginalization incurred by this election.

Related to the theme, the apocalypse of high education, participants expressed realization that even institutions of higher education were not immune from pundits, racially-based hostile acts, and party favorites who aimed to hurt or demean others based on race, class, disability, or other identity characteristics. Shantel highlighted, I mean, the president [of WCU] just let him come, but I was like, do I have to fight for my life now? No matter, we should not feel insecure and like this is nowhere to run in college. I mean I'm paying to learn, not be called a derogatory remark walking down the street.

Kel took this thought even further, stating, I don't know, for real, because I think it's just a matter of perspective. I have confidence in our leaders on the other side of the table, but who's to say. "Which Table?" The democrats? But for real, I was for Bernie because I definitely feel race still matters and that even in higher education there's hate.

Kel's statement highlighted his understanding that race still matters, even on a college campus, and for other students they were just coming to understand this notion to be true.

Under the theme, grieving interwoven with the spirit of hope and historical mistrust, participants confirmed quantitative data that revealed there is still some semblance of historical mistrust in the U.S. and that the election rhetoric revealed it to a younger generation during the pre-election and now post-election season. Sheenah reflected,

My grandmother and my sister are stressed. They feel there's a lot of talk going around out here and nobody is in power to do nothing. Obama wasn't perfect, but at least we knew we could be a nation that disagrees. I just don't trust the White House now.

Tray also highlighted, Trust, huh, no one. I mean, my voice should count, but not sure to who? I mean, I need loan forgiveness, my mother needs a job, I'm trying to come back next semester, but like, the Pres just cut bank loans?

The idea that college would become a place that equalized outcomes for students of color or those from historically underrepresented backgrounds was now a distant notion or it seemed so in their eyes.

These preliminary findings highlight that motivation, trust, and reciprocity (Blau, 1984) interwoven with cultural connectedness and understanding (Gay, 2002; Williams, 2008) are theoretical tenets that must be explored to address the safety concerns that exist for African American, Latino, and other CLD students at this PWI and others across the country.

Putting the Data into Practice: Constructive Pedagogies of Hope and Tolerance

In response to the students' reactions observed and the research discussed above, Drs. Akbar and Chiarelli-Helminiak utilized three courses to develop students' advocacy skills in response to the current U.S. political environment. The three graduate social work courses consisted of: (1) a course focused on community and policy practice with an emphasis on advocating for progressive social welfare policies; (2) a course focused on the interaction of social work, social movements, and social media, highlighting the impact and importance of social media during and after the 2016 U.S. election cycle; and (3) a human rights and social work course, focused on political advocacy in response to Trump's anticipated policies.

The required Advanced Community and Policy Practice course was revised to focus on the historical, economic, and political foundations of the U.S. social welfare system. Rothman's (2007) models of community intervention were used to teach students how to engage in policy planning, community capacity building, and social advocacy. Students developed their own community intervention proposals and researched funding to implement the intervention. Capeccis and Cage's (2016) text was used to teach students how to advocate for the adoption of their proposal. The syllabus is available at www.teachinghumanrights.uconn.edu.

The second course explored the use of specific digital platforms to raise awareness of social problems and to promote the use of digital nativism. The elective focused on the increased

prevalence of digitally-based forms of activism in promoting ongoing social movements and how it influences social change. Students explored the evolution of how news is received and compared how activists have traditionally organized around social issues. Continued exploration, debate, and active participation was encouraged throughout the duration of the course with support for student's ability to explore social justice issues. Overall analyses focused on large-scale movements, ranging from the Occupy Movement and Black Lives Matter to Arab Spring and smaller causes, which were trending on social media during the time that the course ran. In sum, the students examined the concepts of social movement theory, media ecology theory, resource mobilization, protest cycles, and collective identity.

In the Social Media and Social Movements course, students conducted a Social Movement Analysis, which included a written project on the background of a social problem with hash tag analytics also used to explore counter movements (i.e., #BlackLivesMatters versus #AllLivesMatter). A second major project involved a multimedia project where students created a blog and video series. Another project, entitled Frameworks Institute, allowed students to explore what it takes to find the right frame for an issue. For their final project, students created a syllabus focused on a social justice issue, modeled after those recently created referencing #Charleston, #Ferguson, #Lemonade, or #PulseOrlando.

Students were able to: (a) explore how the rise in new media has influenced education and clinical practice; (b) explore how educators can use social media as a platform to engage in dialogue about social policy and enhance student learning, knowledge, and skills related to social justice; (c) identify innovative approaches to assess student learning which can include technology and social media; (d) consider some of the challenges in adopting new technologies in education; and (e) increase the use of media literacy.

The final course described here was an interactive elective focused on the human rights and social welfare implications of the first 100 days of the Trump presidency. Students observed the political processes and learned how to advocate for the realization of social justice and human rights through policy advocacy (Chiarelli-Helminiak, 2017a). Students were taught to understand their roles in advancing advocacy around policy and politics and how to challenge the status quo on behalf of oppressed and marginalized groups (Rothman, 2007). In setting the foundation for the course, students conceptualized the differences between social justice and human rights (Gasker & Fischer, 2014) and were assigned excerpts from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR; United Nations, 1948).

Specific to the first 100 days of the Trump administration, students followed policy as it was unveiled and deconstructed the impact it would have on vulnerable and marginalized populations within the U.S. Students evaluated the Executive Order on Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States and how it related to the UDHR and the Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees (United Nations, 1951; 1967). Students evaluated reports of fake news utilizing the Web Literacy for Student Fact Checkers (Caulfield, 2017), analyzed the U.S. Supreme Court nomination of Neil Gorsuch (Gonchar, 2017), and followed national issues, such as the defunding of Planned Parenthood. Additionally, students learned about local politics from community organizers and interacted with their U.S. Representatives during a class trip to Washington, D.C (Chiarelli-Helminiak, 2017b). The syllabus is also available at www.teachinghumanrights.uconn.edu.

The use of technology and media were tightly interwoven with the instructional practices in all the courses and is confirmed in importance by the literature (Wiggins, 2017). All three courses also integrated the concepts of online activism and self-care. The concept of self-care requires: (a) planning and the ability to be proactive; (b) making conscious decisions about when and where to get news — and what to do with it afterwards; (c) recognizing that our activism is our self-care; (d) understanding that activism is our way of caring for ourselves, regardless of the extra difficulty it may bring to our lives because it is how we find support networks and validate our traumas and healing; (e) employing a diversity of tactics; (f) intentionally making time to get together with some people face-to-face and support each other while making sure we stay in motion; (g) taking a conscious break from social media (Continue to engage? Disengage? Blackout?); and (h) committing to share with others what is helping me/self.

Conclusion

The overall toll of the election cast a heavy weight on institutions, especially PWIs where students from CLD backgrounds, including sexual minorities and immigrants, became pundits in a game of social media political hash tagging (Androniciuc, 2017). With the focus on culturally inclusive practices, universities can enhance student engagement and participation in the political process through empowering pedagogical opportunities inside and outside of the college classroom such as the examples provided in this article. There is no one single solution to address students' feelings of unrest that may surface once again under any future polemical and volatile election. However, with knowledge on understanding who the students are, how they see themselves, and with providing them activism-related pedagogy, the wounds may not fester as much and the campus may not so easily become a place of hate, thrusting us back into the pre-civil rights era. Universities can also:

1. Develop leadership academies to support independence, self-efficacy, and self-regulated learning for CLD students to examine and reflect on how to integrate notions of motivation and resilience into their conceptual framework;
2. Recruit, retain, and support more CLD faculty, particularly those who represent historically under-represented groups in the U.S.;
3. Initiate town-hall discussions to address feelings of unease;
4. Allow students to become activists with mentors available to demonstrate best-practices for them;
5. Utilize social media to promote positive and supportive dialogue across race, class, gender, sexual orientation and other differences;
6. Listen to the students, faculty, and staff to create opportunities where healing and culturally relevant pedagogy can co-exist.

As we finalized this article for publication, the U.S. was embroiled in another divisive debate following the events that took place in Charlottesville, VA over the weekend of August 11, 2017. As these events occurred on the University of Virginia campus, we are again reminded as to how college campuses represent microcosms of the greater U.S. society. As we prepare for our fall 2017 semester, we realize the importance of also preparing for the impact on our campus, whether a peaceful protest or a furious rally. As Werkmeister Rozas and Garran (2016) highlighted, educators must be at the forefront to promote the realization of human rights for all our students.

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Identifying and Eradicating Barriers to Success
for Black Male Undergraduate Students

By: John B. Craig, Ed.D.

Abstract

Helping black male students realize their full potential by encouraging them to meaningfully engage in college/university can be a challenge for education professionals. Helping all students become engaged in college/university is a key element which can lead to their success. Thus, this paper seeks to identify specific challenges and obstacles that Black male students face as undergraduates, which may impede their progress and prevent them from earning a degree. More specifically, this paper seeks to address the issue of why the 4-year graduation rate among this group of students is lower than their white male counterparts nationally. Building upon the academic and social integration theories of esteemed researcher Vincent Tinto, this review of the literature seeks to identify barriers Black males experience at as undergraduates, which could cause them to not graduate on time. With this knowledge, programming can be developed to begin alleviating these barriers.

Literature Review

Understanding student retention is not a new venture, nor is it a novel idea, which is not well researched. On the contrary, as college administrators and faculty identify ways to boost student recruitment into academic programs, success in those programs and eventual graduation from those programs, understanding who and how many students are staying in those programs becomes a relevant undertaking--retention. To this end, it is vitally important for colleges/universities to have a firm grasp on retention, in general, and on retention in various subgroups, in particular. Bean says, "Retaining a student is fundamental to the ability of an institution to carry out its mission. A high rate of attrition (the opposite of retention) is not only a fiscal problem for schools, but a symbolic failure of an institution to achieve its purpose" (2000).

Through a review of relevant literature, it is expected that we will learn more about some of the factors which may lead Black male students to not earn their undergraduate degree within a four-year time period at rates comparable to their White male counterparts. According to several previous studies, "Research shows that African American males, irrespective of institutional type, represent a small proportion of conferred degrees in the United States (Cuyjet, 1997; Davis, 1999; Fleming, 1984; Harper, 2006; Jones, 2001; McClure, 2006). According to the U.S. Department of Education just "7.5% of African American men

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between the ages of 18 and 25 in the United States received bachelor degrees in 2005, compared to 75% of White men, 72% of White women, and 11% of Black women in the same age category (2006). There must be some very tangible reasons why Black males are earning their degrees at such a low rate when compared to their White male counterparts.

Watson and Kuh discuss the post-enrollment experiences that students have as one indicator which can affect retention rates (1996). Other indicators could be the actual selection of college or college choice. "The literature on college choice suggests that the decisions of college-bound students are influenced by such pre-entry attributes as socioeconomic status, academic ability, aspirations, parents, race, gender, availability of financial aid, proximity, and high school involvement (Strayhorn, 2012). Having knowledge of these pre-entry attributes of college could help us understand some of the challenges and/or barriers to success these students face during their undergraduate careers. Tinto (1993) posits that "individual departure from institutions can be viewed as arising out of a longitudinal process of interactions between an individual with given attributes, skills, financial resources, prior educational experiences, and dispositions (intentions and commitments)" (p. 113). Furthermore, "Tinto postulates that the attrition and retention of college students is closely associated with their abilities to connect with the social and academic systems of their institutions" (1993). Tinto "believes that a student's integration into postsecondary settings involves the extent to which that student shares the normative values and attitudes of his or her college or university" (Holloman and Strayhorn, 2012). Based on Tinto's argument, it can be deduced that students who do not share the normative values and attitudes of his or college or university are more likely to leave that institution. This could be characterized as a failure to connect or to become integrated into the postsecondary environment. As a result, mentoring programs have emerged at campuses all across the nation, in light of the aforementioned studies. Mentoring, in this context refers to the process by which a person who is more experienced guides one who is less experienced. The goal of such is to ensure that the less experienced person learns the field, area of study or interest area (Reddick, 2006; Terrion & Leonard, 2007).

In order to retain more Black male students, colleges/universities must understand the pre-entry attributes of these students and be prepared to provide the types of experiences and the environment, which will be more aligned to these students' sense of self and identity. Put more simply, it is important for colleges/universities to look more critically at their own environments, programs, activities, social activities, etc., to ensure that the interests of Black male students are being met. Otherwise, retention will continue to be low for this group of students. "Regarding the college experiences of African American students specifically, Tinto (1993) suggests that, like their White peers, these students' integration into institutions of higher education involves their ability to develop substantive relationships, which means connecting socially and academically to their college environments. However, African Americans have more difficulty integrating academically than they do socially into higher education institutions because they "are more likely to come from disadvantaged backgrounds and to have experienced inferior schooling prior to college" (Tinto 1993).

In short, if we want to increase the 4-year retention rate of Black male students, then we need to understand what pre-entry attributes these students have, how they are integrating both academically and socially into the University, in general, and into their

various academic programs, in particular; and, we need to understand, from their perspectives, what their needs are. Put simply, colleges/universities would do well to know from these students what they feel the institution can do to help them feel more connected. Being armed with this knowledge will most certainly help the college/university to assess its existing efforts and perhaps develop new ones.

Discussion

Focusing on Black male retention is not a new undertaking. Post-secondary institutions have tackled this issue for years. It is well known that it costs more to recruit and admit new students than it does to actually retain students (Noel, Levitz, & Saluri, 1985). So, even from a fiscal perspective, it makes good financial sense for colleges/universities to retain all students, especially those who seem to be more prone to leave for myriad reasons. What the literature has illustrated is that post-secondary institutions should begin investigating the various pre-entry attributes of Black male students as a means to understand what their challenges may be. Armed with this knowledge, colleges/universities may be better able to actually address some of the issues which may prevent these students from earning a degree.

Also, it is an opportunity for Black male students to be more forthcoming when challenges arise. "Don't suffer in silence," is an old adage which, in some cases, may be applicable, especially when they are the minority on campus. In his book, Being Black, Being Male on Campus, Brooms interviews 40 Black men about their experiences as students on various college campuses. Based on the responses of several of these men, the need for Black males to be their own advocates on campus becomes apparent. Self-advocacy could help these students get the assistance they need in a timely manner.

Another means by which black males of students can be supported is by the development of mentoring programs. "Mentoring programs have been instituted at many colleges and universities to support minority students and to encourage members of minority groups to enter college and find success within higher education (Brown, Davis, & McClendon, 1999; Hicks, 2005; Santos, Reigadas & Scott, 2000; Santos & Reigadas, 2004; Welch, 1997). "Healy (1997) stated that mentoring is "a dynamic, reciprocal relationship in a work environment between an advanced career incumbent [mentor] and a beginner [protégé] aimed at promoting the career development of both" (p. 10)."

To this end, the following interventions may positively impact the retention rates of black male students:

- Develop mentoring programs on campus which consist of faculty and staff of color;
- Encourage Black male upperclassmen to mentor incoming Black male students;
- Provide extensive professional development for faculty and staff on cultural competency; with the surrounding community to establish relationships with social service agencies, places of worship and businesses as a means connecting Black male students with services and activities which may be of help to them.

Cross (2002), posits that retention of students of color is everyone's business. Thus, faculty and staff must view retention as part of their responsibility. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the entire campus community to develop the type of environment which will be conducive to these students' success.

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