Black Students on White Campuses: 20 Years of Research

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Literature is discussed in terms of eight non-cognitive variables affecting Black student life. The author recommends actions for student affairs professionals.

From the 1960s to 1980s people in the United States have witnessed a broad sweep of social change in the country. With issues pertaining to Blacks, people have seen a complex mixture of overt repression, social consciousness, legal changes, backlash, assassinations, political interest, disinterest, and neglect. Higher education has gone about its business during this turbulence.

There are many ways in which student affairs professionals might try to understand what Black students have experienced during the last 20 years. The purpose of this article is to examine this period through student affairs research on Black undergraduate students at White institutions. Such an article accomplishes several purposes. First, it allows for a focus on an area in which Black students have had to deal directly with a system largely run by Whites for Whites (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). Second, it allows one to step back and get a perspective on where student affairs has been and where it to be going. Third, it puts an emphasis on empirical research rather than commentary, wishful thinking, or frustration.

An index of the maturity of the student personnel profession may be found in its success in providing systematic knowledge on which to base its development. The May 1986 issue of the *Journal of College Student Personnel,* with articles by Brown, Cheatham, and Taylor, provided a lively discussion of how student affairs professionals can learn about Black students on White campuses. Should student affairs professionals go to the literature and see what the research says (Brown, 1986; Cheatham,

1986) or offer broad generalizations about Blacks based on a nonempirical synthesis (C.A. Taylor, 1986)? This article is in support of the former position.

The literature was organized using a model based on noncognitive variables that have been shown to be related to Black student success in higher education (Sedlacek & Brooks 1976; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1984, 1985, 1987; White & Sedlacek, 1986). Arbona, Sedlacek, and Carstens (1987) found that the noncognitive variables were related to whether Blacks sought services from a university counseling center.

There are limitations to using the non-cognitive model. These include limiting the articles included, not using conventional categories (e.g., admissions, student activities) that may be easier to understand than the non-cognitive model, and forcing a structure in areas where it does not belong. The two major questions addressed in this article are: (a) What have we in student affairs learned in 20 years of research? and (b) How can we use what we have learned?

DESCRIPTION OF THE MODEL

Sedlacek and Brooks (1976) hypothesized that there were seven noncognitive variables that were critical in the lives of minority students. How students adjusted to these dimensions and how faculty and staff encouraged this adjustment would determine the success or failure of the minority student. Tracey and Sedlacek (1984, 1985, 1987) demonstrated the validity of the seven variables plus an eighth, nontraditional knowledge acquired, by showing the usefulness of a brief questionnaire (the Noncognitive Questionnaire [NCQ]) in predicting grades, retention, and graduation for Black students for up to 6 years after initial matriculation. White

and Sedlacek (1986) demonstrated the validity of the NCQ for Blacks in special programs. The noncognitive variables of the NCQ are:

1. *Positive self-concept or confidence.* Possesses strong self-feeling, strength of character, determination, independence.

2. *Realistic self-appraisal.* Recognizes and accepts any deficiencies and works hard at self-development. Recognizes need to broaden his or her individuality; especially important in academic areas.

3. *Understands and deals with racism.* Is realistic based on personal experience of racism. Not submissive to existing wrongs, nor hostile to society, nor a "cop-out." Able to handle racist system. Asserts school role to fight racism.

4. *Demonstrated community service.* Is involved in his or her cultural community.

5. *Prefers long-range goals to short-term or immediate needs.* Able to respond to deferred gratification.

6. *Availability of strong support person.* Individual has someone to whom to turn in crises.

7. *Successful leadership experience.* Has experience in any area pertinent to his or her background (e.g., gang leader, sports, noneducational groups).

8. *Knowledge acquired in a field.* Has unusual or culturally related ways of obtaining information and demonstrating knowledge. The field itself may be nontraditional.

SELF-CONCEPT

Many studies demonstrate that the way Black students feel about themselves is related to their adjustment and success at White institutions (Bayer, 1972; Bohn, 1973; Desionde, 1971; Dixon-Altenor & Altenor, 1977; Gruber, 1980; Kester, 1970; Stikes, 1975). An early study by Bradley (1967) of "Negro" undergraduate students in predominantly White colleges in Tennessee showed that they had not achieved a feeling of belonging. This aspect of self-concept,

that of seeing oneself as part of a school, or identified with it, is a common thread running through the literature on Black students' self-concept for several decades. For instance, Sedlacek and Brooks (1976), Astin (1975, 1982), and Tracey and Sedlacek (1984, 1985, 1987) provided evidence that identification with an institution is a more important correlate of retention for Blacks than for other students.

In addition to the usual school pressures, a Black student must typically handle cultural biases and learn how to bridge his or her Black culture with the prevailing one at the White university. DiCesare, Sedlacek, and Brooks (1972) found that Blacks who made this transition were more likely to stay in school than were Blacks who did not. Burbach and Thompson (1971) and Gibbs (1974) found that cultural adaptation had an influence on the self-concept of Black students; Sedlacek and Brooks (1972a) and White and Sedlacek (1986) found that this was also true for Blacks in special programs.

Pfeifer and Sedlacek (1974) noted that successful Black students may receive considerably different profiles on standardized personality measures than their White counterparts. The successful Black student is likely not only to seem "atypical" but is also inclined toward and experienced in taking less common paths to goals than the successful White student. Thus, there is evidence that important cultural differences between Blacks and Whites affect the manner in which self-concept is put into practice.

An important area of literature that has been developing concerns racial identity. Cross (1971) presented the model and Hall, Freedle, and Cross (1972) studied four stages of Black identity: (a) *pre-encounter,* when a person thinks of the world as the opposite of Black; (b) *encounter,* when experience disturbs this view; (c) *immersion,* when everything of value must be Black; and (d) *internalization*, when it is possible to focus on things other than one's racial group. Hall et al. (1972) demonstrated that it is possible for lay observers to identify these stages.

Parham and Helms (1985a) found that Black self-esteem is low in the pre-encounter stage, becomes more positive as one reaches the encounter stage but drops as one enters immer-

sion, and is unchanged during internalization. Parham and Helms (1985b) found that Black male students were more likely to endorse the pre-encounter stage and less likely to endorse internalization than were Black female students. Ponterotto, Anderson, and Greiger (1985) found that Black female students in the internalization stage had more positive attitudes toward counseling than did Black men in the same stage. Carter and Helms (1987) found that these stages were related to value orientations of Black students. Using other instruments, Kapel (1971); Olsen (1972); Polite, Cochrane, and Silverman (1974); Smith (1980); and Semmes (1985) provided further evidence that cultural and racial identity are related to self-concept.

REALISTIC SELF-APPRAISAL

An important variable that exists in combination with self-concept is how well Black students at White schools are able to assess how they are doing. This self-assessment pertains to both academic issues and student life. Success for any student involves the ability to "take readings" and make adjustments before the grades are in or before fully developing a lifestyle that is not conducive to success. Because faculty members, students, and staff often view Black students differently than they do White students, it is harder for Blacks to get straightforward information on which to base their evaluations of how they are faring.

White faculty members may give less consistent reinforcement to Black students than they give to White students (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). For Blacks who are trying to make realistic self-appraisals, faculty reinforcements that are too negative cause as many problems as those that are solicitous. For example, Christensen and Sedlacek (1974) demonstrated that faculty stereotypes of Blacks can be overly positive.

Some researchers have identified poor communication with faculty, particularly White faculty members, as a problem for Black students (Allen, Bobo, & Fleuranges, 1984; Jones, Harris, & Hauck, 1973; Van Arsdale, Sedlacek, & Brooks, 1971; Willie, 1971; Willie & McCord,

1972). Thompson and Michel (1972) found that what they called *grade deflecting*, or the difference between the grade expected and the grade received, by Black students correlated positively with students' perceived prejudice of the instructor. Switkin and Gynther (1974) and Terrell and Barrett (1979) found that Black students were generally less trusting than were White students.

Blacks may find it especially difficult to get close enough to faculty, staff, and other students to become a central part of the informal communication system that is critical in making self-assessments. Nettles, Thoeny, and Gosman (1986) found faculty contact outside the classroom to be a significant predictor of grade point average (GPA) for Black students. Braddock (1981) found such faculty contact more important to Black student retention at predominantly White schools than at predominantly Black schools. Fleming (1984) found that Blacks in predominantly Black colleges were better able to make self-assessments than were Blacks at predominantly White schools, presumably in part because Blacks were more involved in the communication and feedback system in Black schools.

UNDERSTANDING AND DEALING WITH RACISM

There are two components in this variable. First, does the Black student understand how racism works? Can the student recognize it when it is occurring? Does the student have an effective way of handling racism, a way that allows Black students to pursue their goals with minimum interference? It is a curvilinear variable in that a Black student can have difficulty with racism because of naiveté about it or preoccupation with it. An optimal strategy is one in which Black students have differential response patterns to racism. They take action when it is in their best interests and do not take action when it might cause them more trouble than it is worth to them. Each student must make those decisions individually. A Black who "chooses" to confront all examples of racism may be effective in many ways, but he or she is unlikely to remain in school

or get high grades.

Handling racism is further complicated by the distinction made between individual and institutional racism (Barbarin, 1981; Racism/ Sexism Resources Center for Educators, 1983; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). Institutional racism involves policies and procedures, either formal or informal, that result in negative outcomes for Blacks. Institutional racism is often more of a problem for Blacks than is individual racism. Tracey and Sedlacek (1987) pointed out the uniqueness of this problem for Black students. How well White students are able to negotiate the campus system predicts their success in school. The same is true for Blacks, except that their treatment by the system will, in many ways, be because they are Black (Deslonde, 1971; Garcia & Levenson, 1975; Webster, Sedlacek, & Miyares, 1979). The following are some of the more common forms of racism faced by Black students at predominantly White institutions.

Admissions

There is considerable evidence that traditional measures such as standardized tests and high school grades are not as valid for Blacks as they are for Whites (Baggaley, 1974; Borgen, 1972; Pfeifer & Sedlacek, 1971, 1974; Sedlacek, 1977, 1986; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1984, 1985, 1987). Most institutions, however, have continued to employ traditional measures for Black students from the 1960s to the 1980s (Breland, 1985; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1970a; Sedlacek, Brooks, & Horowitz, 1972; Sedlacek, Brooks, & Mindus, 1973; Sedlacek, Lewis, & Brooks, 1974; Sedlacek, Merritt, & Brooks, 1975; Sedlacek & Pelham, 1976; Sedlacek & Webster, 1978).

The negative outcomes in admissions for Blacks include being rejected for admission because of invalid measures or being accepted on the basis of "lower standards" that may result in reduced self-esteem of Black students and the increased probability that White students and faculty will stereotype Blacks as less able than Whites. This stereotype, in turn, leads to more negative treatment of Black students.

There are also many forms of institutional racism in the methods employed to study admissions of Black students, including predicting 1st-year performance before Black students have fully adjusted to the White campus (Farver, Sedlacek, & Brooks, 1975; Kallingal, 1971; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1984, 1985, 1987) and using statistical and research procedures that are biased against Blacks (Sedlacek, 1986). These procedures result in invalid bases for admission decisions made about Blacks. Sedlacek and Brooks (1973) presented an example of using research information to work against racism in admissions.

Relationships with Faculty

The difficulties Black students have with White faculty are discussed above under "Realistic Self-Appraisal." Black students have consistently reported believing that White faculty are prejudiced toward them (e.g., Allen et al., 1984; Babbit, Burbach, & Thompson, 1975; Boyd, 1973; Butler, 1977; Dinka, Mazzella, & Pilant, 1980; Egerton, 1969; Jones et al., 1973; Semmes, 1985; Smith, 1980; Thompson & Michel, 1972; Westbrook, Miyares, & Roberts, 1977). This prejudice can take such forms as lower expectations of Black students than are warranted, overly positive reactions to work quality, reducing the quality of communications, and reducing the probability that faculty know students well enough to write reference letters.

Black students have expressed concerns about the lack of Black faculty and staff in a number of studies (Boyd, 1979; Matthews & Ross, 1975; Southern Regional Education Board, 1971; Willie, 1971). Absence of powerful Black figures as role models has strong effects on the feelings of loneliness and isolation of Blacks. The lack of a variety of viewpoints or cultural perspectives relevant to Black students can also affect their learning, development, and identification with the institution. Sedlacek and Brooks (1973) discussed an example of racism in academic coursework and how to reduce it.

Campus Life

Problems for Black students have been documented in residence halls (Piedmont, 1967) and fraternities (Tillar, 1974), with campus police (Eliot, 1969; Heussenstamm, 1971; Leitner &

Sedlacek, 1976), and in interracial dating (Day, 1972; Korolewicz & Korolewicz, 1985; Merritt, Sedlacek, & Brooks, 1977; Patterson, Sedlacek, & Perry, 1984; Petroni, 1973; Schulman, 1974; Tillar, 1974; Willie & McCord, 1972), athletics (Green, McMillan, & Gunnings, 1972; McGehee & Paul, 1984), and campus life in general (Babbitt et al., 1975; Dinka et al., 1980; Fenton & Gleason, 1969; Fleming, 1984; Heyward, 1985; Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1985; Minatoya & Sedlacek, 1980; Reichard & Hengstler, 1981; Trow, 1977; Westbrook et al., 1977; Willie & McCord, 1972).

Burbach and Thompson (1971) reported that contradictory norms on campus cause problems for Black students. Martinez and Sedlacek (1982) found that when Whites entered a predominantly White university in the early 1980s they expected the social norms to be conservative on social and political issues (e.g., government policies, abortion rights) but liberal on personal freedoms (e.g., drug use, sexual behavior). Black students tended to expect the norms to be exactly the opposite. Martinez and Sedlacek (1983) also found that students in general were more tolerant of people with racist or bigoted attitudes in 1981 than in 1970 on a predominantly White campus. That the campus environment could be seen as confusing and hostile to Black students should not be hard to understand.

Attitudes of White Students

The discomfort of White students around Blacks and the negative stereotypes of Blacks held by White students have been well documented during the period studied (Peterson et al., 1978). These underlying attitudes do not seem to have changed throughout the years. For example, a series of studies at the University of Maryland employing the same instrument, the Situational Attitude Scale (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1972b), and the same methodology, has shown consistently negative attitudes of White students toward Blacks in a wide variety of situations (e.g., Carter, White, & Sedlacek, 1985; Minatoya & Sedlacek, 1984; Miyares & Sedlacek, 1976; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1970b; White & Sedlacek, 1987). Studies at other institutions have supported this finding (e.g., Gaertner & McLaughlin,

1983; Greenberg & Rosenfield, 1979). Sedlacek, Troy, and Chapman (1976) have demonstrated, however, that it is possible to alter racial attitudes in an orientation program using an experimental-control group approach.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

As part of a viable support system, Blacks need to have identification with and be active in a community. The community may be on or off campus, large or small, but it will commonly be based on race or culture. Because of racism, Blacks have been excluded historically from being full participants in many of the White-oriented communities that have developed in the United States and in the educational system. Thus, Blacks need a supportive group that can give them the advice, counsel, and orientation to sustain them as they confront the larger, often hostile systems they must negotiate. Many researchers have documented that Blacks seem to be more community oriented than are Whites (Bayer, 1972; Centra, 1970; Davis, 1970; Greene & Winter, 1972; Lyons, 1973; Reichard & Hengstler, 1981; Southern Regional Education Board, 1972). Additionally, Bohn (1973) and Pfeifer and Sedlacek (1974) found that a high score on the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (Megargee, 1972) Communality scale, which measures a community orientation, was associated with Black student success (i.e., retention and grades).

Other researchers have shown that Blacks often believe that they do not belong on predominantly White campuses (Bradley, 1967; Kleinbaum & Kleinbaum, 1976; Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1985; Madrazo-Peterson & Rodriquez, 1978). The idea that there needs to be a "critical mass" or sufficient number of Blacks on a campus to develop a community or communities has been discussed by Astin and Bayer (1971), Willie and McCord (1972), and Fleming (1981, 1984). Thus, a relevant community is probably harder for Blacks to develop on a White campus than on a Black campus.

Bennett (1974) reported that Blacks preferred a separate residence hall floor. Davis (1970), in an experimental study, found that

Blacks who lived on an all-Black floor in a residence hall were more positive toward their institution than were those who lived on a mixed-race floor.

Athletics may be an important way for Blacks to develop a community on campus (Mallinckrodt & Sedlacek, 1987; Reichard & Hengstler, 1981). Mallinckrodt and Sedlacek found that Blacks who made use of campus gymnasiums were more likely to stay in school than were those who did not.

Mallinckrodt and Sedlacek (1987) also found that Blacks who were interested in activities sponsored by the student union had better retention than did those who were not interested. Webster and Sedlacek (1982) found the student union to be a central part of Black students' community development.

LONG-RANGE GOALS

The extent to which Black students are able to defer gratification is correlated with their retention and grades in school (Tracey & Sedlacek, 1984, 1985, 1987). The reason this is an issue is yet another form of racism. Blacks have had a more capricious experience in setting goals and receiving reinforcement for their accomplishments than have Whites. Sometimes things work out for Blacks; sometimes they do not. Whites are more likely to understand that if they accomplish A they can go to B. For Blacks, this is less clear. A key assumption in the higher education system is that students work currently for rewards received later.

Astin (1975) found that those Blacks with lower aspirations and vaguer goals than other Blacks were more likely to leave school. Nolle (1973) supported Astin's conclusion by noting that Black high school students with specific plans for college were much more likely to attend college than were those with less clear goals. Bohn (1973) found that Black college students who made plans were more successful than were those who did not. Greene and Winter (1971) found that Black leaders in campus organizations were more apt to have long-range goals than were other Black students. Other studies that provide general support for the importance of this

variable include Baer (1972) and Stikes (1975). Berman and Haug (1975) and Wechsler, Rohman, and Solomon (1981) provided evidence that developing long-range goals may be a bigger problem for Black women than for Black men.

STRONG SUPPORT PERSON

Because Black students are dealing with racism and face difficult adjustments to a White university, they are particularly in need of a person they can turn to for advice and guidance. As discussed above, however, Black students often find difficulty forming relationships with White faculty and staff (e.g., Boyd, 1973; Dinka et al., 1980; Simon, McCall, & Rosenthal, 1967). Additionally, Black faculty and staff are often not available, and Black students have expressed a need for more Black faculty and staff in general (Burrell, 1980; Willie, 1971; Willie & McCord, 1972) and more Black counselors in particular (Abbott, Tollefson, & McDermott, 1982; Wolkon, Moriwaki, & Williams, 1972). Genshaft (1982) found that therapists believed that Blacks were less attractive clients and had a poorer prognosis than did other clients. Parham and Helms (1981) presented evidence that client race was not a predictor of counselor race preference, but racial identity was. Blacks in the encounter and immersion stages wanted Black counselors, whereas those in the internalization stage had no preference (see previous discussion). Brooks, Sedlacek, and Mindus (1973), R. L. Taylor (1977), and Webster and Fretz (1977) have found that Blacks often turn to friends and family for support, which is further evidence of the importance of the variable.

LEADERSHIP

Successful Black students have had successful leadership experiences. They have shown the ability to organize and influence others, often within their cultural-racial context. As with acquiring knowledge or in doing community work, Blacks often do not show leadership in traditional ways. Black students are more likely to exhibit leadership off campus, in the community, or in their church than are White

students. When Blacks show leadership on campus it is often through informal or Black-oriented channels, which are less likely to be validated by White faculty, students, or personnel workers.

Bayer (1972) found that Black students were oriented toward being community leaders. Greene and Winter (1971) showed evidence that leadership was important to Black students. Beasley and Sease (1974) demonstrated that scores of Blacks on the leadership portion of the American College Testing Program's student profile section correlated positively with GPAs.

Heyward (1985) concluded that Blacks do not look to White faculty and staff as role models for their leadership. They look to other Blacks or develop their own styles and forms of leadership.

NONTRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Because Blacks have not always been welcomed in the formal educational system, they have developed ways of learning outside the system. These ways are often creative and culturally relevant. Astin (1975) found that Blacks who were able to demonstrate knowledge they gained in nontraditional ways through credit by examination were more likely to stay in school than those who could not. The increase in student retention associated with demonstrating knowledge in this way was more than twice as great for Blacks as for Whites.

Hayes and Franks (1975) reported that Blacks saw more opportunities than did Whites for public discussions and debates, which could translate into learning opportunities. Black (1971), in a study at historically Black colleges, found that Blacks who developed an independent learning year fared better than did a group of Blacks in a control group who pursued the regular curriculum.

DISCUSSION

There has been considerable research on Black students in the last 20 years. What has been learned from this research? Although it is difficult to determine whether the problems of

Blacks on White campuses have changed during this period, it is clear that it is possible to better measure, define, and articulate those problems than at any time previously. Blacks seem to have continued to have difficulties with self-concept, racism, developing a community, and the other noncognitive variables discussed. There is a model available, however, to organize thinking about Black student problems and ways to measure those problems, to work with Black students or others on campus, and to improve student life for Blacks. Perhaps most important, the variables identified correlate with Black student academic success. There is less need to guess or hope that what is being done is helpful. Appendix A contains some recommendations for improving Black student life on White campuses in terms of each noncognitive variable.

Some of the noncognitive variables discussed and conclusions reached may seem applicable to all students. Although this may be true to some degree, the evidence presented is intended to show that the points raised are unique to Blacks, in intensity if not in form. For instance, many White students may have self-concept problems, but these do not include the alienating effects of racism. Whites may lack a support person, but the process of developing such a relationship is not the same as for Blacks because of racial and cultural variables. The researchers have demonstrated the many unique aspects of being Black on a White campus.

Another area of research that seems illuminating but did not exist until recently is the work on racial identity of Blacks, discussed under self-concept. One can measure change and development in an area that has been shown to be important to Blacks. There are many other specific results of the studies discussed above that should be interesting and useful to practitioners.

Why cannot one be more sure that life has changed for Blacks on White campuses? First, there has been very little evaluation research. Most of it has been descriptive. Descriptive research is helpful, but it does not focus on change. For instance, Black students have reported being concerned with racism from the 1960s through the 1980s. But is it the same

racism? Do past and present Black students mean the same thing when they refer to racism? Longitudinal studies over time or even cross-sectional studies done the same way in the same place are not common. Perhaps the way the literature was organized does not lend itself to the analysis of trends. The noncognitive variables are assumed to be underlying dimensions, which could take different forms at different times. For instance, institutional racism may be more likely to take the form of dropping a Black studies program or providing inadequate funding for a Black fraternity in the 1980s than involving police brutality or allowing Blacks into White fraternities in the 1960s. Some forms of racism (e.g., admissions, attitudes of White students), however, seem to have changed little over the years. In any case, it is still racism and it seems that Blacks are obligated to deal with it if they are to succeed in school.

As the research on Black students was examined one thought seemed to stand out. How ironic that educators so often think of Black students as less capable than other students. Black students need to have the same abilities and skills as any other student to succeed in school, and they are dealing with the same problems as any other student. They also, however, are confronting all the other issues discussed in this article. One could make the case that the best students in U.S. colleges and universities are Black students. The typical Black graduate from a predominantly White school may possess a wider range of skills and be able to handle more complex problems (e.g., racism) than most other students.

How can student affairs professionals use what has been presented here? Generally, one should be able to be much more sophisticated in student services work for Blacks using the information in this article. There exists much information demonstrating that Blacks are not a monolithic group and indicating how one might approach them individually or collectively. There is also more information about the many ways the educational system works against the best interests of Blacks. One can use this information to work with non-Black students, faculty, and staff to improve Black student life. Below are a number of specific things that can be done based on a review of this literature.

1. Organize programs and services for Black students around some specific variables that have been shown to be important. Whether it is one of the noncognitive variables presented here or some other scheme, use it. There is little excuse for vague, general programs or "seat-of-the pants" needs analyses given the state of knowledge available.

2. Evaluate all programs. This should be done with an experimental-control group model if possible. If one has specific goals, and can measure concepts better, it should be possible to dramatically increase this type of research, and report it in student affairs journals.

3. Work at refining the variables and concepts presented here, either through programs or further research. The student services profession is on the brink of being able to work with more useful, higher order concepts than those currently employed on behalf of Black students; help the process along.

4. Share the information from this review and the results of individual work in Black student services with others outside student affairs. Much of what has been done in the profession would be of use to such people as faculty and academic administrators.

5. The last bit of advice is more personal. Be confident. Many researchers over many years have developed a literature that can be used. Whatever a person's role, he or she should be able to fulfill it better with this information.

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APPENDIX A.

Recommendations for Improving BlackStudent Life on White Campuses
by Noncognitive Variable

Self-concept: Measure self-concept (see Hall et al., 1972; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1984). Develop counseling programs or workshops employing racial identity (Helms, 1984) or noncognitive variables (Westbrook & Sedlacek, in press).

Realistic self-appraisal: Work with faculty and academic administrators on communication with Black students. Faculty should initiate contact more than they usually do and employ feedback in varied and frequent ways. Help Black students interpret feedback from system. Examine Kochman (1981) for differences in Black and White communication styles.

Understanding and dealing with racism: Become familiar with racism and what can be done about it (Racism/Sexism Resources Center for Educators, 1983; Sedlacek, in press; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). Specific forms of racism can be addressed by (a) employing nontraditional admission predictors that are more valid for Blacks than those currently employed (Sedlacek, 1986; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1987), (b) increasing the numbers of Black faculty and staff (Peterson et al., 1978), and (c) working to change attitudes of White students, faculty, and staff (Sedlacek, Troy, & Chapman, 1976).

Demonstrated community service: Help Whites understand the need for Black communities on and off campus. Use student union programming (Webster & Sedlacek, 1982) and facilities management (Mallinckrodt & Sedlacek, 1987) as methods of developing Black communities on campus.*Long-range goals:* Financial aid dispersed as a lump sum may hurt Black student development in this area. Consider a program that gives Black students funds for accomplishing individually set goals. Goals can be set at longer and longer intervals. A midwestern university employs this system successfully. In the short run, use the concept that Black students may be motivated to use available student services by promoting a more immediate reward system than commonly employed (Arbona & Sedlacek, 1987).

Strong support person: Develop relationships with Black students early, ideally before matriculation through recruiting and orientation programs. Develop a pool of faculty, staff, peers, or off-campus mentors and link Black students with others individually or in groups.

Leadership: Foster and identify nontraditional and racially based forms of student leadership on and off campus. Formally encourage schools and specific departments to offer leadership awards for such achievements as eliminating racism, Black journalism, and race-related community projects. Make faculty aware of nontraditional student leaders in their departments. Help students to recognize their nontraditional leadership and include such leadership roles in résumés and applications for jobs and further education.

Nontraditional knowledge acquired: Encourage Blacks to demonstrate knowledge gained outside the classroom through credit by examination or listings on résumés and applications. Encourage faculty to identify extramural learners and work with them.