

Introduction

The decade of the 1960's marked a watershed in American history, when, in response to the Civil Rights Movement, our society made major efforts to address some of the wrongs imposed on its Black citizens for centuries. Increasing Black access to higher education was seen as a major solution to the problem of racial inequality, and the decade witnessed the beginning of a dramatic increase in the enrollment of Black students in predominantly white colleges and universities. This response by institutions of higher learning to the Civil Rights Movement was abetted by unusually favorable conditions within higher education; public support for higher education was high, and colleges and universities were experiencing a period of continual expansion.

Today, thirty years later, both the mood of the country on racial issues and the state of higher education have changed. The national moral response to Black demands for equality has been tempered by ambivalence and the persistent problems associated with downturns in the nation's economy. Higher education generally has moved from a period of boundless expansion and optimism to one of retrenchment and financial constraint. This has been reflected in a dilution in higher education's commitments to Blacks and other minorities. The enrollment of Black students in four-year, predominantly white institutions, has fallen short of anticipated goals and has, in fact, declined from 1975 to 1985. Black faculty and administrators have remained a minute proportion of the tenured and senior staff in white colleges and universities. In addition, studies of Black students suggest that many have negative experiences in white institutions, suffering lower achievement and higher attrition.

Higher education's complacency on this issue has been shaken recently by the outbreak of ugly racial incidents on a number of college campuses across the United States. This has led to considerable self-examination at many colleges and universities, and, in some cases, a revitalization of the commitment to Black and minority students. But how to implement this commitment is by no means clear.

Despite a generation of experience with a significant presence of Black students in white institutions of higher education, we have only a limited and imprecise understanding of the factors that affect the increases and decreases in an institution's enrollment of minority students, and, once enrolled, of the factors that provide these students with an institutional and educational experience that is personally gratifying and academically successful. Thus, even when an institution is ready to commit more resources to the minority endeavor, the institution's leadership lacks clear directions on how best to expend these resources.

To a considerable extent, our lack of hard knowledge in this arena is due to the fact that the historic change in higher education's opening to Black and minority students has been the subject of very little systematic, quantitative, and analytic research. This volume uses data from the National Study of Black College Students and other sources to address this problem by contributing to the growing body of knowledge about Black student experiences and outcomes in U.S. higher education.

BACKGROUND TO STUDY

The study which forms the basis for this volume has been nearly fifteen years in the making. The germ of the idea for this study was planted in 1975. At the time, I was a new Assistant Professor in sociology at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. In this capacity and as one of the few African American faculty at the institution, I was often called upon to serve on committees concerned with the status of "minorities and the disadvantaged" in the University.

Successive committees examined the situations of the African American faculty, students and staff and determined them to be severely disadvantaged relative to their white peers. In this respect, the situation for African Americans at the University of North Carolina was very much the same as on most other predominantly white campuses across the nation.

As each committee sought to fulfill its charge to report on the status of "minorities" and to formulate solutions, certain realities emerged with startling consistency. Chief among these was the recognition of a tremendous void in the empirical information which was actually available. Time

and time again, genuine efforts to address the problems were stymied by an absence of reliable systematic data. In numerous other instances, individuals and offices not genuinely committed to correcting the readily apparent problems resorted to the convenient excuse of inconclusive or nonexistent empirical evidence as justification for inaction, thus thwarting pressures for change. It was quite clear that little progress would result without the generation of reliable, comprehensive data.

Into this void came the National Study of Black College Students. The project was intended first and foremost to produce desperately needed data on the characteristics, experiences, and achievements of Black students at the University of North Carolina. Second, the project sought to generate data which captured the specific reality of Black students, therefore conscious decisions were made to restrict the sample to Black students and to incorporate measures that tapped the reality of Black students. The data resulting from this study were to be systematically analyzed with the empirical findings to provide the basis for recommended changes in University policies and practices.

From 1976 through 1979 several waves of data were collected on African American students who attended the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. In 1980 the first comparative data were collected, comparing Black students who attended North Carolina to those who attended the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor. Subsequently the study was expanded to incorporate a national sample of Black undergraduate, graduate and professional students on eight historically Black and eight predominantly white campuses.

During these early years the research project was funded by seed grants from the Spencer Foundation and with faculty research grant funds being provided by the Universities of Michigan and North Carolina. Study instruments and procedures underwent successive revision through 1981 when funding from the Spencer Foundation supported the establishment of the current collaborative multicampus design. Over the ensuing years, the project was generously funded by grants from the Ford Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Joyce Foundation.

The research design for the National Study of Black College Students has been distinguished by the involvement of research collaborators from each participating campus. Collaborators were involved in questionnaire construction, sample selection, and campus liaison. As compensation, research collaborators received consultant payments and copies of the data sets for their respective campuses. Since the creation of a collaborative network of Black scholars doing research on Black students in higher education was another conscious goal of the study, various opportunities

were created for study collaborators to meet regularly, to participate jointly in national conferences, and to publish joint research papers from the data.

The involvement of African American and other graduate students with related interests as research assistants was another important offshoot of the study. Our intention was to provide Black students specifically—and other students more generally—with professional training and experience in all phases of social-science research. Several dissertations, graduate student presentations during national meetings, and publications including graduate students as coauthors resulted from this research.

BLACK STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE RESEARCH RECORD

Over the past thirty years, profound changes have occurred in Black student patterns of college attendance in the United States. Whereas previously, the overwhelming majority of Black college students were enrolled in historically Black institutions, by 1973 that percentage had dropped significantly to roughly one-fourth of Black enrollment (Anderson 1984). Three-fourths of all Black students in college currently attend predominantly white institutions of higher learning (National Center for Education Statistics 1982). An estimated fifty-seven percent of all baccalaureate degrees awarded to Black students during 1978–1979 were granted by predominantly white colleges and universities (Deskins 1983).

However, Black students on predominantly white campuses continue to be severely disadvantaged relative to white students in terms of persistence rates (Astin 1982; and Thomas 1981), academic achievement levels (Nettles et al. 1985; and Smith and Allen 1984); enrollment in advanced degree programs (Hall, Mays, and Allen 1984); and overall psychosocial adjustments (Allen 1982, 1985, and 1986; and Fleming 1984). Black students on historically Black campuses are disadvantaged relative to students (both Black and white) on white campuses in terms of family socioeconomic status (Thomas 1984; and Morris 1979), and high-school academic records (Astin and Cross 1981). Caliber of university instructional faculty and facilities (Fleming 1984), academic specializations selected (Thomas 1984), and enrollment in advanced study (Pearson and Pearson 1985; and Blackwell 1982) are also lower for Black students on Black campuses.

Past research suggests that the fit between Black students and white colleges is, indeed, not a very good one. Black students differ in fundamental ways from the white students who are commonly served by these schools. They, therefore, experience more adjustment difficulties, more lim-

ited academic success, and higher attrition rates with definite consequences for their aspirations.

Studies of Black students attending predominantly white postsecondary institutions commonly incorporate the following concerns regarding Black students:

1. Their social and economic characteristics (Allen 1982; and Blackwell 1982);
2. Their levels of adjustment in predominantly white institutions (Fleming 1984); and
3. Their academic success (attrition rate) in these institutions (Braddock and Dawkins 1981; and Nettles et al., 1985)

Black students in college are different from their white peers in several respects. For example, the parents of Black students are typically urban, have fewer years of education, earn less, and work at lower status jobs than is true for the parents of white students (Blackwell 1982).

Yet, despite social, and economic disadvantages, Black college students have equal, or higher, aspirations compared to their white counterparts (Allen 1986, and 1985). However, Black students are less likely to attain their aspirations than white students. Lower educational attainment is pronounced for Black students in general, and for Black females in particular (Hall, Mays, and Allen 1984; Smith and Allen 1984; and Gurin and Epps 1975). Black students attending predominantly white colleges apparently experience considerable adjustment difficulty. Many of the adjustment problems are common to all college students but African American students also experience additional problems. For instance, many of these students often find it necessary to create their own social and cultural networks given their exclusion (self-and/or otherwise imposed) from the wider university community. Of all problems faced by Black students on white campuses, those arising from isolation, alienation, and lack of support seem to be most serious (Allen 1986, and 1985).

Whether it is because of adjustment or other difficulties, Black students on the average have weaker academic records than their white peers. These academic difficulties for Black students on white campuses are often compounded by the absence of remedial/tutorial programs and information-sharing with whites, whether faculty and/or students (Hall, Mays, and Allen 1984). Despite the initial difficulties most Black students experience, many make the required adjustments and are academically successful in predominantly white institutions (Allen 1986; and Peterson et al. 1978).

Unlike studies of Black students on white campuses, studies of these students on Black campuses assume a proper fit between students and

institution. Comparisons of Black students on Black campuses with those on white campuses are more often based on conjecture than fact. The presumption is that predominantly white campuses provide superior environments for Black student education. Much is made of differences between student populations at historically Black and predominantly white colleges. The typical parents of Black students on Black campuses earn less money, have lower educational achievement, hold lower status jobs, and are more often separated or divorced (Thomas 1984). Consistent with observed economic discrepancies, typical Black students on Black campuses have lower standardized test scores and weaker high-school backgrounds than do typical Black students on white campuses (Astin and Cross 1981).

A natural outgrowth of the research has been the recognition of the "special mission" of Black colleges. To a large extent, Black colleges enroll students who might not otherwise be able to attend college because of financial or academic barriers (Thomas, McPartland, and Gottfredson 1980). These institutions pride themselves on their ability to take poor and less-prepared Black students where they are, correct their academic deficiencies, and graduate them equipped to compete successfully for jobs or graduate/professional school placements in the wider society (National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities 1980).

When Black student campuses are compared on the dimension of psychosocial development, those on Black campuses fare much better. In an early study, Gurin and Epps (1975) found that Black students who attend Black colleges possessed positive self-images, strong racial pride, and high aspirations. More recently, Fleming (1984) demonstrated psychosocial adjustment to be more positive for Black students on Black campuses when compared with those on white campuses.

In sum, the evidence suggests that Black students on Black campuses are more disadvantaged in socioeconomic *and* academic terms than are Black (or white) students on white campuses. However, Black students on Black campuses display more positive psychosocial adjustments, significant academic gains, and greater cultural awareness/commitment than is true for their peers on white campuses.

Researchers have identified persistent differences by gender in college experiences and outcomes. As might be expected, these differences cross the color line. In one of the earlier, more comprehensive comparisons of Black men and women attending Black colleges, Gurin and Epps (1975) found that women's goals were lower on all measures of educational and occupational aspirations; males were three times more likely to plan on pursuing the Ph.D.; women were more likely to aspire to jobs in the "female

sector” of the economy, jobs that required less ability and effort while providing lower prestige; and males were more likely to be influenced in their goals and aspirations by the college attended.

In general, Black females were found to experience clear disadvantages when compared to Black men on the Black campuses studied. Gurin and Epps (1975) studied Black students enrolled in ten traditionally Black institutions from 1964–1970. Roughly ten years later, Fleming (1984) studied a comparable sample of three thousand black college students which was expanded to incorporate students attending predominantly white colleges. Fleming found that white males on white campuses, and Black males on Black campuses, derived far more benefits from college than was true for Black women. Patterns were reversed for the Black males studied by Fleming; they suffered most on white campuses and were most satisfied on Black campuses. On white campuses, Black males were withdrawn and unhappy, feeling themselves to have been treated unfairly. In addition, they experienced considerable academic demotivation. At the other extreme were Black males on Black campuses who, like white males on white campuses, felt potent and “in charge.”

Findings from a study of Black students on white campuses further elaborate gender differences in educational experiences and outcomes (Smith and Allen 1984; Allen 1986). Analysis of a national sample of over seven hundred undergraduate students revealed that Black males were more likely than Black females to have both high aspirations and good grades. This was a surprising finding given the fact that, on average, Black females in this sample out-performed Black males in the classroom as measured by grades. When Black males and Black females with comparable achievement levels were compared, the males consistently reported higher postgraduate aspirations. Thomas (1984) found that their occupational aspirations were highest and least traditional when Black females attended private colleges.

A critical reading of the research literature on Black students in U.S. higher education reveals fundamental gaps in our knowledge. To be sure, the evidence attesting to severe problems with Black student access to U.S. higher education is overwhelming and incontestable. Black students who comprise 13 to 15 percent of all college-aged youth, are only 10.7 percent of the nation’s high-school graduates and a mere 8.8 percent of college undergraduates (American Council on Education 1988). Beyond the concern with Black rates of access to higher education is the concern with success rates. Again, the literature provides conclusive evidence. Black students have lower academic achievement levels in college and higher attrition or dropout rates than do white students. Black students also express greater dissatisfaction with the college experience and are less likely to pursue advanced study.

The literature is decisive in documenting the twin problems of limited access and success for Black students in higher education. Where previous research fails is in the examination of complex relationships underlying the creation and persistence of Black student disadvantages in higher education. Prior studies have not provided a systematic, comprehensive perspective on the complex societal, institutional, interpersonal, and individual factors implicated in the creation and persistence of Black disadvantage in higher education. In short, the area is underdeveloped both theoretically and methodologically. Studies that provide comprehensive explanation of student outcomes are nonexistent.

From a critical view, the literature on Black students in higher education has been underdeveloped theoretically. Few if any studies provide an overarching theory or emphasize a theoretical approach to the problem. Instead, researchers have tended to approach the question narrowly, ignoring the relationship of Black student status in college to the status of Blacks in the larger society. For the most part, researchers have used an applied perspective, seeking easy solutions to the problem of Black access to and success in higher education. Inevitably, the narrowness of the perspective has limited the possibilities of achieving lasting, effective solutions.

Associated with the theoretical underdevelopment of research in this area is a noticeable lack of sophisticated methodological and statistical approaches. Thus, one finds the field to be characterized more so by analytic approaches which are descriptive and simplistic. In those rare instances where advanced, sophisticated statistical analyses were employed, findings were often compromised because the samples that are used tend to be geographically restricted and nonrandom. Perhaps the most serious and recurrent methodological flaw in studies of Black college students, however, has been the failure to explicitly match the methodology of a study to its theoretical and practical aims. Researchers have relied heavily on data which were not specific to the experience of Black college students, were superficial or insufficiently detailed, and were cross-sectional rather than longitudinal.

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS: METHODS AND DATA

The National Study of Black College Students (NSBCS) seeks to empirically examine the educational experiences of Black students in U.S. higher education and ultimately to provide solutions to the myriad problems which these students face. Since 1981, the study has collected mail survey data from over four thousand undergraduate, graduate, and professional

Black students on sixteen public university campuses across the country. Participating students completed questionnaires which provided information about their family backgrounds, high-school and college academic experiences, interpersonal relationships on the campus, problems with racism and discrimination, adjustment to college, and academic progress/performance in college.

The study was based at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor where all operations of mailing, receiving, processing, coding, punching, and computer tabulation of questionnaires were conducted. All of the schools participating in this study were public, four-year universities since these are the type of institutions which currently account for the majority of Black student enrollment and degree completion. The participating institutions were selected on the basis of regional diversity and accessibility.

The selection of students for participation in the study was random, based on lists of currently enrolled Black students supplied by the various university Registrar offices. In each case, a probability sample in the form of a systematic random sample was drawn. Prior to selection, students were stratified by year of enrollment (in the case of years where data collected were cross-sectional) and by program (in the case of graduate and professional students). Four waves of data were collected by the National Study of Black College Students:

1. *1981 Cross-Sectional Study* of 1,050 Black undergraduate, graduate, and professional students across the different levels and years of enrollment. The participating universities were: Arizona State University at Tempe, Memphis State University in Tennessee, State University of New York at Stony Brook, University of California at Los Angeles, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. The 1981 adjusted response rates were: undergraduate, 27 percent (695); and graduate professional, 37 percent (353).
2. *1982 Base-Year Longitudinal, White Schools Study* of 1,300 Black first-year undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. The participating universities were eight predominantly white institutions: Arizona State University, Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Memphis State University, State University of New York at Stony Brook, University of California at Los Angeles, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. The adjusted response rates for 1982 were: undergraduates 39 percent (902); and graduate professionals, 47 percent (407).
3. *1983 Base-Year Longitudinal Study, Black Schools Study* of 1,134 Black undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. The participating schools were eight traditionally Black institutions: Central State Univer-

sity in Wilberforce, Ohio; Florida A & M University at Tallahassee; Jackson State University in Jackson, MS; Morgan State University, Baltimore, Md.; North Carolina Central University in Durham; North Carolina A & T University in Greensboro; Southern University in Baton Rouge, La.; and Texas Southern University in Houston. The 1983 adjusted response rates were: undergraduates, 25 percent (833); and graduate professional, 28 percent (247).

4. *Spring 1985 First Longitudinal Follow-Up, White Schools Study* of 456 Black undergraduate, graduate, and professional students responding from the 1982 predominantly white state universities base-year group. The Spring 1985 adjusted response rates were: undergraduate, 35 percent (283); and graduate professional, 46 percent (173).
5. *Fall 1985 First Longitudinal Follow-Up, Black Schools Study* of 471 Black undergraduate, graduate, and professional students from the 1983 historically Black universities base-year group. The Fall 1985 adjusted response rates were: undergraduates, 48 percent (384); and graduate professional, 57 percent (87).

The studies reported in this volume use only data from the 1981, 1982, and 1983 waves of the National Study of Black College Students.

The National Study of Black College Students data files are among the most extensive and comprehensive currently available. To our knowledge, no other studies provide data of comparable breadth, depth and relevance on the experiences of Black Americans in U.S. higher education. However, this study, like all studies, suffers from some limitations relative to the quality of data obtained.

To begin, we focus on a group that is notoriously difficult to study; studies of African Americans, young people, or college students are routinely plagued by low response rates. This research looks at young, Black college students; thus, response problems are confounded. In addition, finite resources, timing of the study and other issues require that researchers make difficult choices. Who will be in the sample? How detailed should questions be? How long will the field study last? These are the difficult questions to be addressed as one plans and executes a research project. As the researcher chooses, certain consequences or trade offs result for the quality of data obtained.

Since its inception, this project has sought to achieve the optimal balance between often competing concerns, such as representativeness of the sample, validity and reliability, questionnaire length, study response rates, relevance to Black students' lives, and costs of research. From the necessary trade offs have come unique, rich, and powerfully revealing datasets.

THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS

Ideology represents the silent partner in research. It is the hidden agenda operating alongside theory and method to shape the outcome of a particular study. Rarely is the contribution of ideology acknowledged, for to do so is to fly in the face of cherished traditions. Convention would have us adopt a view of research as strictly objective and empirical, free from the soiling influence of personal values, preferences, or assumptions about what is normal. In fact, ideology or the value-stance of the researcher plays an important role in all research.

Contrary to popular opinion, the data do not “speak” for themselves. Instead, the message of the data is channeled through researchers who function as translators or mediums. Inevitably, these researchers hear—or better still, see—the data differently. They are influenced in this respect by their personal characteristics *and* their values. Thus it is that researchers using the same theory, methodological approach, and data will often reach diametrically opposed conclusions.

Generally speaking, ideology has received insufficient attention as a variable in the research process. Even less attention has been given to the role of ideology in research on the status of African Americans in U.S. higher education. Researchers have tended to assume or apply paradigms that are not necessarily cognizant of nor sensitive to the circumstances of Black people in this country. Many choose to study Black college students exactly as white college students are studied. Such approaches fail to make allowances in conceptualization, theory, method, or interpretations for the different histories of these two groups or, for that matter, their very different present and future.

Traditional paradigms for the study of higher education also tend to view the educational process in consensus terms. Educational institutions, the educational process, and the place of education in society are represented in the literature, as encompassing society’s basic values. In this sense, educational systems are believed to echo the “common voice” of a culture.

In ways both explicit and implicit, classical theorists such as Rousseau, Durkheim, Dewey, and others portray educational systems as cultural signatures. To understand a culture’s schools is to understand that culture. Societies are seen as rationally organizing their educational systems to achieve the goal of creating good citizens—citizens who are versed in the requisite skills and values of the society and who are prepared to participate fully in the life of that society.

It is only from a consensus framework that the following quote could emerge—a quote which presumes a consensus between schools, community, family, and individual which is not necessarily reflective of the experiences of Blacks in America:

It is in our public schools that the majority of our children are being formed. These schools must be guardians par excellence of our national character. (Durkheim 1925/1961:3–4)

In light of our history, first as an enslaved population, then as rural peasants and later as an urban proletariat—and throughout a discriminated caste group—African Americans have maintained ambivalent ties to this country's educational system.

More often than not, schools in this country have been the setting for Black contest and struggle, as African Americans fought for full citizenship and participation in the society. Historically, educational institutions and educators have been among the most active and effective instruments for the oppression of black people. Schools systematically denied Blacks equal access while helping to establish the “pseudoscience” literature which proclaimed African Americans' deficit and provided rationales for their continued subjugation.

For reasons of self-protection and survival, therefore, African Americans have found it necessary to adopt an adversarial stance vis-a-vis the U.S. educational system. In response to a system which, at best, ignored them but, more often, persecuted them, Blacks have been required to adopt a self-consciously conflictual stance. Thus, Dewey's, Durkheim's, and Rousseau's espoused ideals about education simply do not fit the reality of African Americans in a country founded on the principle of Black subordination.

Instead of being at one with the educational system, Blacks have found themselves at odds with that system. In this respect, acts of defiance and challenge become acts of self-affirmation. Carter G. Woodson reminds us that:

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other people. The Negro thus educated is a hopeless liability to the race. (Woodson 1933/1969:xxxiii)

An essential tension exists between African Americans and American society. This tension is played out in the educational arena as in other

spheres of life. Blacks look upon schools as potential routes to upward mobility and thus seek to take from them that which is positive and uplifting. Blacks also know the schools as tools of oppression. Thus, they strive to reject aspects which would crush their self-image, aspirations and striving.

This drama of stress and strain, of uneasy peace between student and teacher and between community and school, borne of conflicts over racial/cultural content and goals must find fuller expression in the literature if that literature is to be taken seriously. Thus it is that this book—and the study on which it is based—consciously addresses the politics of the Black-white cultural and ideological struggle in higher education. We embrace Richard Shaull's premise offered in his introduction of Paulo Freire's seminal text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

There is no such thing as a *neutral* educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, *or* it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (Freire 1982:15)

To the extent that the serious theoretical, methodological, and ideological issues referenced in this introduction are recurrent, our knowledge about Black student access to and success in college suffers. The observation that these issues are indicative of shortcomings shared more broadly in the field is axiomatic. Thus, if one looks critically at the literature and reviews the work of regular contributors (such as Allen, Astin, Braddock, Blackwell, Fleming, Nettles, Peterson, and Thomas) it is clear that all can be criticized—more or less vigorously—for failings on the noted issues of theory, method, and ideology. The studies reported here sought to overcome shortcomings previously associated with this area. Needless to say, many of these problems remain, for these are not perfect studies. However, these studies do represent substantial improvement over prior research in several key aspects.

BOOK OUTLINE

This book reports findings from the National Study of Black College Students, a study of Black college students' characteristics, experiences, and achievements in U.S. higher education. The study's chief purpose is to examine connections between Black student adjustment, achievement, and

career aspirations as related to student background, institutional context, and interpersonal relationships. Over four thousand undergraduate, graduate, and professional students on sixteen campuses across the nation (eight historically Black and eight predominantly white) participated in this study.

This book approaches the study of Blacks in college from an interdisciplinary perspective, reporting the findings of history, psychology, geography, sociology, and education as they relate to and clarify the circumstances of Black students in U.S. higher education. This book begins with papers that survey the broader issues and data pertinent to assessments of African American experiences in colleges and universities. The papers in section one derive from other data sources and are intended to frame the historical, geographic, and empirical context for the interpretation of findings from the National Study of Black College Students.

The second and third sections of this book are concerned with the specific consideration of empirical results from the National Study. Section two presents findings from the analysis of undergraduate student data, while section three presents results from the graduate and professional student data.

The final section of the volume summarizes key findings from this research, offers an assessment of broader political and theoretical issues in the study of Black college students. This section also presents examples of successful interventions. Appendix materials offer detailed discussion of technical issues of the study.