The responses of African American college students to the campus environment at a large Texas university were studied through interviews that focused on student adjustment to the college environment and the university's response to students of color. Many studies have documented that black students are affected by the perception of discrimination on campus. Recently, educational affirmative action policies have come under direct attack, and this has been particularly true in Texas, where anti-affirmative action policies have been extended to nonrace-based financial aid and scholarships. At the large institution studied, students of color and other students were aware of the "other" education a university provides, the opportunity for personal growth and development that comes from social and intellectual interactions on campus outside of class. Students of color at the university studied thought that the university does not provide sufficient outlets for social integration for any minority student. Even though the university advertises more than 700 opportunities for student participation, few make black students welcome. The university is known for its strong sense of tradition, and the traditions of the university do not make the black student comfortable. Overt racist symbols and incidents are common on campus and in the surrounding town. Very few faculty members or administrators are black, and there are few opportunities for mentoring or personal relationships with minority faculty. The paper makes some recommendations for policy to support minority students: (1) form activities to involve these students; (2) recruit minority faculty, staff, and students; and (3) develop the sensitivity needed to hear the "white noise" on campus. (Contains 53 references.) (SLD)
WHISTLING DIXIE, RAISING THE CONFEDERATE FLAG AND OTHER WELCOMING MATS:
AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS TALK ABOUT CHANGE AT BIG TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY

ROBIN L. HUGHES
The University of Texas at El Paso

Houston, Texas February 11-16, 2002

Author's Address
The University of Texas at El Paso
500 University Street, Education Building Room 507
El Paso, Texas 79968
(915) 747-7591
rhughes@utep.edu

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
WHISTLING DIXIE, RAISING THE CONFEDERATE FLAG, AND OTHER WELCOMING MATS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENT TALK ABOUT CHANGE AT BIG TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Change Versus Development

The terms change, growth and development are often used interchangeably by the laity. However, they still evoke a complex dialogue among student development researchers. "Change refers to alterations that occur over time in students' internal cognitive or affective characteristics. Change may be qualitative or quantitative, and it implies no directionality, encompassing both regression and progression. It is a descriptive, value-free term" (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991, p. 16). On the other hand, development implies directionality, specifically in the direction towards a positive goal. Development also implies that growth is valued and pursued as a desirable psychological, educational, and perhaps even as a moral end (Perry, 1970; Feldman, 1972). Thus, student growth occurs as a progression of developmental capabilities of the student, and accordingly; the university should have a concern for, and play a major role in development of the whole student (Rodgers, 1990; Evans, Forney, Guido-Dibrito, 1998).

Student development theory, and likewise, student affairs administrators have as their aim that students progress toward positive societal and academic goals as described by the university. Accordingly, it is indeed that the student will contribute to the betterment of society and the economy, and that institutions of higher education will strive to guide students through principles of human development.

The Model Student- Models of Student Development

Theories and models of student development typically fall into two categories. First, college impact models focus on the role that the environment or sociological phenomena play during the student change process (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Second, developmental theories, more commonly referred to as; (1) person-environment, (2) cognitive, (3) typological, and (4) psychosocial study the nature, structure, and processes of individual growth. Numerous studies have well documented that they are critical components that interplay in the identity development, and thusly social and academic success of all students. In fact, salient research continues to study the effects of college on students. However, the impact that college has on black students, and their change, development and growth while in college continues to be an enigma that needs perpetual attention.
According to Wright (1987) early research concerning Black college student development was virtually ignored in the literature. While the 1960s and 70s brought about voluminous research on minority students, that research was concerned largely with comparing minorities to white students on several psychological and social dimensions (Evans, Forney, Guido-Dibrito, 1998). Rarely did investigators concern themselves with defining factors that promoted minority students overall intellectual and psychological development (Pounds, 1987; Wright, 1987). During the past 30 years; however, fields such as psychology, sociology, and later education have assumed the critical task of understanding the complexities that are involved in the identity development of Black students.

Black Identity Development

The self-image that a person has is critical to achieving autonomy, enhancing growth and stimulating development; however, how others view an individual is thought to play a critical role in identity development (Steele & Aaronson, 1997; Tatum, 1997)). In fact, regardless of how an individual has progressed through development, “we define who we are in part by discovering whom we respect, how they feel about us, and how to deal with reactions that do not confirm our self image” (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 198).

Black students, bring with them, a unique history of subordination and subjugation that make them particularly vulnerable to how members of other cultures and races perceive them (Steele & Aaronson, 1995). Minority status (history of how minority groups voluntarily migrate or involuntarily migrate to a country) also influences how Black students perceive themselves in school and should be considered when exploring black identity development (Gibson, 1987; Ogbu, 1987; Sedlacek, 1987; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Steele, 1992; Steel & Aaronson, 1995). These concepts can most readily be illustrated by the general treatment of Blacks in mainstream America.

For example, Blacks have traditionally been characterized as a less intelligent than Whites, the dominant group in America. Historically, whites have assigned roles to blacks that reflect their devalued status, reserving the most highly valued roles in the society for themselves. Black, on the other hand are usually said to be innately incapable of being able to perform the preferred roles. Accordingly, the extent that blacks internalize the images that the dominant group reflects back to them may hinder their beliefs in their own abilities (Tatum, 1997, p 23). In post-secondary settings the subordinate-dominant role is often experienced as stereotype threat to the black student while in school, or the constant fear that majority students are “sizing up” their ability to perform in school or question how they got to school in the first place (Steele & Aaronson, 1995).
Although these constructs are critically important to the delineation of sound contributions to Black identity development theory; historically, models did not consider a thorough examination of social environmental factors, specifically the role that economics, poverty, racial bias, and acculturation play in the developmental processes of Black students. The traditional models of minority personal identity development, instead, were richly grounded in the dominant culture ideals, epistemologies, and ontologies (McEwan, Roper, Bryant, & Langa, 1990; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991) thereby routinely dismissing misinterpreting, and distorting Black student experiences (Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Cross, 1991, 1995; Helms, 1993).

As a result, in recent years, Black identity theory has come under considerable scrutiny. Some noted scholars assert that, rather than questioning historical bifurcations, reconceptualizing, or critically analyzing Black identity development, many theories consistently conceptualize through the lens of the dominant paradigm (Cannella, 1997; Helms, 1993; McEwan et al., 1997; Sheurich & Young, 1997; Tierney, 1996). In a compelling argument for research using alternative paradigms, Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert that theory and data that researchers generate depend upon their procedural norms, which in turn depend upon their shared values. If the facts are about persons other than the researchers, “they have indeterminate validity, no secure status as truths, until we know whether those other persons assent to and regard as their own the norms and clues of the researchers” (Heron, 1981, p. 31). As such, many scholars have called for not only more research in the nature of Black identity development, but the methods in which research epistemologies are constructed should be investigated.

The Campus Climate

Numerous studies document that Black students are affected by the perception of discrimination on campus (Fleming, 1984; Harris & Nettles, 1991; Steele & Aaronson, 1995; Watson & Kuh, 1996). White students, too, are affected by the racial climate that the university embraces. Gilliard (1996), found that White students’ sense of belonging was negatively affected by a poor racial climate, positively affected by having non-White friends and positively affected by the perception that the campus accepted and respected Black students. Similarly, Nora and Cabrera (1996) found that White students’ persistence in college was both directly and indirectly affected by perceptions of discrimination. According to Nettles (1988), there are several attributes that affect college academic performance for both black and white students. They include; the size and the ethnic composition of the institution, aspirations toward a college degree, academic preparation for college, study habits, a student’s satisfaction with peers,
academic integration with the institution, and feeling of discrimination were factors that affected college academic performance for both Black and White students.

The University’s existing and historical administration policies also play a critical role in the racial atmosphere of the university (Duster, 1993; Katz, 1991). How the university reacts to external elements such as affirmative action policies regarding admissions, and how the university views the introduction of diverse curriculum into the pedagogy also impact the racial climate (Duster, 1993; Hurtado, 1996, Hughes, 2001). Essentially, how students and universities welcome minority students is a significant factor (Duster, 1993; Katz, 1991; Tierney, 1996; Tinto, 1993b). Quite understandably, a university that claims to welcome ethnic minorities but does little in terms of subsidizing cross-cultural programming, and has a history of limited access will most likely not fare well in the recruitment or retention of minority candidates (Peterson, Blackburn, Gamson, Arce, Davenport, & Mingle, 1978; Richardson & Skinner, 1992; Hughes, 2001).

Affirming the Actions- Affirmative Action Policy

Recently, educational affirmative action policies have come under considerable attack (Milem, 1999; Schmidt, 1998), particularly as they relate to admissions policies and standardized scores (Gose, 1998). The theme heard frequently among students is that affirmative action policies undercut the university’s traditional colorblind, equal opportunity approach to recruitment (Duster, 1993) and universities have provided new fuel to the relentless anti-affirmative action fire through their interpretations of court rulings on affirmative action.

The State of Texas has taken the lead on such rulings. In the case of Hopwood v. Texas, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled raced-based admissions policies at the Bigger Texas State to be unconstitutional. However, Texas extended the purview of the ruling by instituting anti-affirmative action policies throughout the higher educational system. This not only set the tone for admissions policies, but anti-affirmative action policies were extended to include non-race-based financial aid, and scholarships. In addition all programs supporting minority students operate under the aegis of the Hopwood ruling.

Other states have followed the trend setting the stage for a new racial climate throughout the United States. For instance, at the University of Washington, race will no longer be used as criteria in admissions decisions. At the University of Michigan, a student contends that he was denied admissions to a law school program due to race-based preferential treatment. And at the Universities of Maryland and Oklahoma, students filed suits alleging that the universities held standards lower in order to admit minority students. The underlying premise is that this subverts the
university's meritocratic principles and the university policy is characterized as unfairly admitting "unqualified," "undeserving" students regarding who, other students claim, steal the spots to which "qualified" students are "entitled." However, when accounting for the level playing field in admissions policies, the numbers are vastly skewed.

In fact, by virtue of legacy, more White students have entered the gates of the ten most elite American institutions of higher education through "alumni preference" than the combined number of all of the Blacks, and Hispanics who entered through affirmative action (Duster, 1993). Regarding SAT scores and predictability and success, those Black students with the lowest SAT scores had the best chance of graduating if they attended the most selective colleges. In fact, of those students with combined SAT scores below 1000 who attended the selective institutions, 88% graduated. In addition, they were more likely than their White counterparts to go on to graduate school or earn a professional degree (Bok & Bowen, 1998; Gose, 1998). What standardized tests have provided to the scores of court cases is evidence to the contrary of the "what is fair debate". They have been shown to be better predictors of academic achievement among "non-caste" students (Ogbu, 1987). They remain evasive in their predictive capabilities (Goldman & Wadawski, 1971), particularly when they pertain to Black students and minorities, and provide little interpretive value at all (Sacks, 1997).
RESULTS

The other education is typically described by students as the ability to invests time and effort into outside activities, and for the university to serve as a resource to those opportunities for involvement. The other education plays a significant role in the students overall academic and social development. According to theory, the greater the student's involvement, in college, the greater will be the amount of student learning and personal development. ... the most important hypothesis in the theory is that the effectiveness of any educational policy or practice is directly related to the capacity of that policy or practice to increase student involvement (Astin, Student Involvement: a developmental theory for higher education p 210).

Black students stressed the importance of "the other education"; however, the other education that they sought was viewed from another context. The majority of Black students claimed that the university does not provide sufficient outlets for social integration for any minority student. Most Black students explained that they would like to become involved in other activities on campus but for the most part, student activities do not include activities for students of color. In addition, they did not feel welcomed at some of the major socializing events or the 700 activities that are supposed to be open to all students on campus.

Perhaps one of the most well-noted events that occurs during the Fall semester is that of Bonfire where students gather to celebrate the Big Texas State University /Bigger Texas State (referred to as "u."). football game. Black students are warned by other Black students that it is not for them and most maintained that they do not understand the tradition, as evidenced by the following student's comment:

"I don't get Bonfire either. We went and all we saw were a bunch of drunk White people."

Students claim that the traditions here do not cater to Blacks. During one visit to the Office of Multicultural Services, several students agreed that, "Although the University claims to support diversity and multiculturalism, they continue to endorse programming that traditionally segregates the student body." Black students in particular did not feel welcomed when they attended events like Bonfire and most of BIG TEXAS 's traditional events. Several students questioned the motivation of the tradition of Bonfire and the significance of the gestures.
Well if you think about it—when this school was built 100 years ago, it housed confederate soldiers who were probably anti-Black, White Confederates. Look at all of the statues around here; White Confederates. Some slave owners. I believe that their hand signals may mean something else. Who knows?

In one instance, a student describes her first experience of attending the Bonfire celebration.

I was so excited freshman year to attend Bonfire and Yell Practice. Me and some friends were all happy to go. My first yell practice happened the day that Tupac died and when we arrived there were a lot White students on the back of a pick up truck that yelled out, “Tupac Whoop!” I never went back.

Some Black students did reply that if they had to do it all over again, meaning going to college at Big Texas State University, they would try and become more involved in student activities on the campus. However, after three to five years, they remained hesitant in the decision to become involved now. When asked to explain the reason for their hesitation, one student replied that he would try, but he still could not decide whether he would be any more welcome, or accepted.

The Confederate Flag

A direct result of critical mass is that groups are more tolerant and perhaps less hostile to those who are different (Tinto, 1900). Students are more likely to learn about other groups if they are prevalent on the campus, and contrastingly are more likely to harbor prejudicial feelings if they are ignorant of diverse groupings. Black Students reported that it was typical to experience racism and intolerance in Shangriville daily in the city or on campus.

Frequently, Black students made references to the Confederate flag being “plastered” across campus and waved in front of the Student Center as overt forms of racism. However, they claimed that they were so used to it, on t-shirts, hair bows, windows, cars and trucks and that its effect had almost become innocuous. Some claimed that it had made them complacent in their battles against racism. One student stated that she “had to choose her battles” and this one, she was not going to fight.

All Black students reported being victimized by various overt racist symbols and racial incidents. When asked whether the incidents were isolated events or whether they occurred by happenstance, several students reported that
they dealt with some form of overt or covert racial incidence on a daily or weekly basis. For instance, one student explained:

Here on campus another student and I were waiting for a parking space. I had arrived before she did, so I took the spot and went to class. When I returned from class, I noticed a note on the car that read “typical nigger.”

Still another student reported walking across campus where White students were playing music that was racially offensive.

David Allen Green’s “Nigger Fucker” [was the title of the song] … and when they saw me they turned it up. I know that they wanted a reaction from me (to fight them) and I refused to give in to them. If I had of … the University police would have been involved and the administration. I would be the one to get in trouble because they did not harm me physically. They test you here.

Although the student would have been obviously provoked into a physical altercation to defend himself, he was more concerned that he would be held responsible for the incident. Therefore certain inalienable rights provided by the constitution are forfeited by Black students in fear of unfair redress by the University system.

Black students also spoke of the perceived prejudicial experience in Shangriville where merchants reportedly routinely follow Blacks around the stores and refuse to wait on them. Several students noted that the apartment complexes also practiced a strange ritual of housing Blacks in the back of the apartment complex. One student in particular informed the researcher that it was well known by Black students throughout the campus that this particular complex routinely practiced this procedure in order to hide its Black residents from potential White residents.

One Black student concluded that:

We live in two worlds here. The White world and the Black world. And we have to change to accommodate those worlds. My speech even changes.
The University's Chilly Campus Climate

Big Texas State University boasts over 700 organizations in which students may join and one of the largest and most recognized student oriented freshman camps for entering students. However, the majority of Black students expressed discomfort and possible tension during the initial arrival to the university. These students typically saw themselves as being recruited for athletic purposes or potential monetary payoffs. The following student describes her recruitment experience as deceptive.

They (BIG TEXAS ) offered me a scholarship. I came for the money. They invited me to attend the university or come for a visit during SBLA. All I saw was the Black people. I was tricked. When I arrived, there were only two to three Black people in my classes. I knew Big Texas State University was White, but it did not know that it was this White.... I just wanted to go home [after arriving at BIG TEXAS ].

Unlike White parents that send their children to Ol' State, many Black students were warned by their parents of the potential danger and pervasive intolerance historically affiliated with the University and the city of Shangriville.

I came from a Black neighborhood. I went to a Black school. I was told to watch out before I arrived at Big Texas State University .... My parents told me to watch out.

In addition, the Black students are warned by parents that, "Big Texas State University operates as if in a historical time warp". Parents' conversations with children leaving for college included a discourse of societal problems that most people would believe were circumvented through Civil Rights legislation of 1964.

They told me that they [Big Texas State University and all affiliated with the school] were back in time.... My parents warned me about White people and Shangriville.... My dad's uncle was killed by the KKK.

Several students commented that one needs only to visit the campus once to experience the pervasive racial or ethnic bifurcation prevalent throughout the BIG TEXAS campus. Students commented that the University sends out
subliminal messages to students of color through geographical locations of the administrative offices that serve students of color.

They house multicultural services in the basement. That is strategic.... What kind of subliminal message are they sending?

Why is it not located somewhere else on campus? Why does it have to be in the basement?

One student provided the following sophisticated observation and commentary:

There are few Black and Hispanic professionals on the BIG TEXAS campus ... but most of the custodians are either Black or Hispanic. Why?

In fact, the students' observations were astute. According to the Office of Institutional Studies and Planning (1998b), there were 15 Executive Administrative positions filled by Blacks or 4.82% of the total 311 potential positions. However, service and maintenance positions filled by Blacks accounted for over 40% of the population (filled by Blacks) and those filled by Hispanic accounted for 31%—while only 27% of those service maintenance positions were filled by Whites. This figure becomes more interesting in light of the fact that the total number of Whites comprise 70% of the total staff employed by the university and over 90% of the professional staff. And even more surprisingly, out of a total of 782 Blacks employed at the Big Texas State University campus, 65% are relegated to service and maintenance positions, yet they account for only 1.91% of the executive administrative staff (Office of Institutional Studies and Planning, 1998b). In contrast, of 3,409 Whites employed in non-faculty positions, only 8.8% are employed as service maintenance staff.

Interestingly enough, the demographic make-up of Shangriville suggests that Blacks are disproportionately employed in non-professional positions by the University. According to the Census Bureau figures for 1999, Blacks and Hispanics comprise 30% of the total 134,213 population reported to inhabit the cities of Bryan Shangriville. Black citizens constitute 16,418 of the population and Hispanics 23,840. However, the disproportionate hiring practices of
minority professional at the institution are hardly reflective of a committed marketing tool to attract more Black or Hispanic professional staff or scholars.

Professors

Astin (1984) encourages educators to focus less on what they do and more on what the student does or wants. And what students wanted included engagement in the classroom. Students often expressed their frustrations with boredom in classroom settings. They agreed that one of the qualities that they desired from professors included the ability for them to "make them cry"—which meant to the students engaging them by taking advantage in frequent teachable moments.

Faculty clearly have some impact on most students; however, as evidenced by substantial student commentary, their role has been minimal as agents of change for Black students. When Black students were asked whether professors on the Big Ol' State campus had helped them to change or grow, the answer was a resounding "No." Students looked upward and to the left in order to recall "anyone on the campus that had helped them or mentored them while in college."

After several attempts at trying to think of a professor that had served as a mentor or even a resource, one Black student replied that although he was in the Engineering Department, the professor that had been most helpful to him was a Black professor in the English department. After speaking with the student for several minutes, what came out was that the student had heard him speak on several occasions and enjoyed his lectures. However, he had never spoken with nor did he know him personally.

Two Black females noted that the only professors or administrators that had been beneficial or instrumental during their college careers were Black and that they could call on them at anytime. One student even referred to a Black professor as being her "other mother."

The Black students felt that if the University really cared about them, then some services, administrators, and professors should be employed that would be able to address their needs. They did believe that professors of other ethnicities would help but professors and administrators of color would have a vested interest in and an understanding of the cultural capital of the students. Black students claimed that Black faculty and administrators were better equipped to help students with issues that dealt with race because perhaps they themselves had similar experiences addressing some of the issues that they encountered at Big Texas State University.
Black students claimed that simple things that White students often take for granted become daily issues for Blacks, and that perhaps, if the university hired more professional staff of color their questions and concerns might be more readily addressed. One student expressed her frustration by commenting that, “simply finding a barber or someone who does “Black hair” is difficult in this town”.

Other students were frustrated that there were no administrators of color represented at the university as evidenced by the following comments.

They don’t have anyone here for me to address issues with. When I have a question (academic), I need to speak with advisors that are all White. The administration is all White. The professors all White.

I have all White advisors. There is a constant reminder that they control your life. Who is the puppet and who is the puppeteer here?

While Black students remained steadfast in their claims that they do not expect the University to provide them with professors or an administration that cater to Blacks only, neither did they expect segregated services. However, what they do want is representation from administrators of diverse backgrounds and they considered this representation to be paramount to their social well-being. They suggest that it is critical to have this advocacy from people that look like them. They questioned the reason for there not being a critical mass of faculty of color and were perplexed when they could not recall having seen a professor of color.

During one session this researcher was taken by surprise when a White student asked whether there were any Black professors on State’s campus, because he had only taken classes from White males and females. I explained to him that there were fewer than 40 Black faculty members. He pointed out that the University sends out a message that says we (BIG TEXAS) are somehow able to recruit Black football players but we cannot recruit Black professors. We care about our athletic teams being diverse but we (BIG TEXAS) are not equally committed to diverse faculty representation.
Peer Influences

Black students felt that establishing fictive kinships with professors on campus was an important part of their growth process. However, most claimed that they found most of their support through friendships, ties with peer group members, and parents. Black students commented that they obtained most of their support from peer groups or organizational affiliation.

One student explained that he received support through organizational affiliation and that he was particularly interested in keeping in touch with members and playing an active role because the organization was designed to meet the academic and social needs of Black engineers. The student also noted that he was surprised when he went to a conference hosted by the organization and saw so many Blacks. He felt more comfortable and welcomed at this annual meeting than on campus most of the time.

Several Black students reported that they had gone to high schools that were predominantly Black and that Big Texas State University was a culture shock. Not only was the institution predominantly White, but it is conservative, traditional, and militaristic three characteristics that might perhaps not promote a warm and fuzzy institutional climate. One student summed it up by saying that they knew that "it [the University] was White but not this White." However, he was still willing to try and make friends with everyone. He also noted that although he initially was hesitant in becoming friends with Whites, but after three years he has amassed friends of all races.

During one session students discussed whether they thought that White students were open to friendships with Black students. Although they believed that they were initially upon arrival to the University, they were inclined to believe that the University does not engender this support or collegial environment. Again, the notion that the University divides the students through traditions that "do not cater" to Blacks was a sore subject and students also claimed the university recruits a "different type of White person." Several students explained that, "Students who attend Big Texas State University are not representative of all White people. They love this school."

When I asked one of the students to explain the comment, not representative of all white people, she suggested that typically White students who attend Big Texas State University have not had much experience with Blacks and that she was tired of the being the "Black teacher." Several students shared her sentiments and said that they were often the "Black spokesperson" having to explain hair type, why oil was put in their hair, eating habits, and other things that "we know and take for granted about White people."
We don't ask all of those questions because we have to live in their world but they should make some effort to try and understand our culture without just questioning everything.

When this researcher asked if it were possible to learn without questioning Jessica replied that, "Yes, you could live and learn." She explained that the easy thing to do is to question and leave the discussion, but it is more difficult, though perhaps more beneficial, to experience other cultures through meaningful friendships and relationships beyond the classroom.

**DISCUSSION**

Students assert that "the other" education is a critical component necessary for their development and growth both academically and socially. They described this "other" as encompassing school-related experiences, organizations, and activities that were obtained outside of the classroom. Black students also suggested that student activities played a role in their development while in college; however, finding resources was more difficult for them. Although Big Texas State University lists over 700 activities and organizations to join, Black students neither felt encouraged to join nor be involved in most of them.

This research suggests that not only mentorship but intrusive and prescriptive mentorship plays a pivotal role in the lives of Black students. Fictive kinships (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) were of fundamental importance to the retention of Black students. In fact, students claimed that they were established early in the academic careers of students. It also provided advocacy, direction, and motivation for future employment, but really served a greater purpose in that students could speak with people that looked liked them and had "been there and done that." In fact, students claimed that just knowing someone of color could possibly help students maneuver easier on campus as well as off campus.

**Disenfranchisement**

A consistent theme seen in the responses of Black students is that the university sends out mixed messages to black students and the general public at large. The strategic placement of multicultural services in the basement, hiring mostly black cleaning and maintenance staff and very few faculty members of color sends out a message that perpetuates a stereotypical picture of Blacks that effects the students on campus and its image that is portrayed and
emitted to the public. The message implies that there are very few educated Blacks in the area. There are no black academics to be found and their efforts to recruit faculty and professional staff from ethnically diverse populations have been futile.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY

Form Involving Activities for Minority Students

- It has been well documented in this study and others that involvement is critical to the students social and academic development (Kuh, 1991, 1993; Kuh, Schuh et al., 1997); however, minority students often are not heavily involved in activities at Big Texas State University. Student development personnel should not only develop programming specifically for minorities but they should place an emphasis on finding new methods to involve minority student in current activities. As such, the University should adopt an on-going commitment to diverse programming throughout student affairs events.

- It should be the mission, however, of the entire University to support all students. Therefore, special programming interwoven throughout the administration would, perhaps, help to facilitate the mission and goals of the Office of Multicultural Services. In other words, it takes a village ...

Recruit Minority Faculty, Staff, and Students—Establish Critical Mass

- Efforts should be made to recruit faculty, staff and students that are more representative of the region and the state. In fact, recruitment efforts should include hiring individuals both Black and White that have experience working and living with ethnic minorities.

- Lastly, in regard to effecting change in the picture portrayed to our publics, strategic recruitment of staff and faculty of color is vitally important. During this study, the researcher visited several administrative offices across campus. Most offices suffered the "Doppelganger" (offices in which all of the faculty and staff were of the same ethnicity) effects as suggested by most Black students and many European-American students. In an effort to reach one of the goals and missions of the University's Vision 2020 Strategic Plan—to become a more diverse university—a more strident recruiting effort need to be made in order to establish a more diverse administration.
Develop the Capacity or Sensitivity to Notice the "White Noise"

- All environments have the ability to develop activities and traditions that students take part in; they are inherent to the institution. In fact, these things make up the campus ethos. Often times these activities become so prevalent to the majority of students lives that they may become unnoticed as a form of de facto segregation. As such, it is up to the administration to be environmentally in tune with the ethos of the university. Administrators should develop the capacity to read the environment and learn how to pay attention to what this researchers has termed the "white noise" of the environment that typically go unnoticed by the majority of students, parents, faculty and administrators.
REFERENCES


I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

**Title:** WHISTLING DIXIE, RAISING THE CONFEDERATE FLAG AND OTHER WELCOMING MATES: AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS TALK ABOUT CHANGE

**Author(s):** ROBIN L. HUGHES

**Corporate Source:** THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

**Publication Date:** February 10, 2002

II. REPRODUCTION RELEASE:

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, Resources in Education (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche, reproduced paper copy, and electronic media, and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce and disseminate the identified document, please CHECK ONE of the following three options and sign in the indicated space following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>Level 2A</th>
<th>Level 2B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="checkmark" alt="Level 1" /></td>
<td><img src="blank" alt="Level 2A" /></td>
<td><img src="blank" alt="Level 2B" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits.

I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permission to reproduce and disseminate this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC microfiche, or electronic media by persons other than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit reproduction by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries.

**Signature:**

Robin L. Hughes / Assistant Professor

**Organization/Address:**
The University of Texas At El Paso
500 University Education Building Room 507
El Paso, Texas 79968-0567

**Telephone:** (915)747-7591
**Fax:** (915)747-5838

**E-mail Address:** rhughes@utep.edu

**Date:** February 10, 2002
III. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY INFORMATION (FROM NON-ERIC SOURCE):

If permission to reproduce is not granted to ERIC, or, if you wish ERIC to cite the availability of the document from another source, please provide the following information regarding the availability of the document. (ERIC will not announce a document unless it is publicly available, and a dependable source can be specified. Contributors should also be aware that ERIC selection criteria are significantly more stringent for documents that cannot be made available through EDRS.)

Publisher/Distributor:

Address:

Price:

IV. REFERRAL OF ERIC TO COPYRIGHT/REPRODUCTION RIGHTS HOLDER:

If the right to grant this reproduction release is held by someone other than the addressee, please provide the appropriate name and address:

Name:

Address:

V. WHERE TO SEND THIS FORM:

Send this form to the following ERIC Clearinghouse:

However, if solicited by the ERIC Facility, or if making an unsolicited contribution to ERIC, return this form (and the document being contributed) to:

ERIC Processing and Reference Facility
4483-A Forbes Boulevard
Lanham, Maryland 20706

Telephone: 301-552-4200
Toll Free: 800-799-3742
FAX: 301-552-4700
e-mail: ericfac@inet.ed.gov
WWW: http://ericfacility.org

EFF-088 (Rev. 2/2001)