

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]

A

**THE MEANING OF A SOCIAL WORK
CAREER CHOICE AMONG MINORITY
STUDENTS: A SYMBOLIC
INTERACTIONIST INQUIRY.**

by

CAROLANN DANIEL

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York

2005

UMI Number: 3169900

Copyright 2005 by
Daniel, Carolann

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3169900

Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2005

CAROLANN DANIEL

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1.6.05
Date

Michael F. Friedman
Chair of Examining Committee

1.6.05
Date

Michael F. Friedman
Executive Officer

Harriet Goodman

Charles Green

Andrea Savage
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

THE MEANING OF A SOCIAL WORK CAREER CHOICE AMONG MINORITY STUDENTS: A SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST INQUIRY

by

CarolAnn Daniel

Adviser: Professor Michael Fabricant

As the number of culturally and linguistically diverse clients increases, the need to increase the visibility of minority social workers at all levels of the profession is more critical than ever. However, recruitment and retention of minority students is seriously undermined by a lack of knowledge of the reasons minorities choose social work as a career and the barriers they face both entering and completing graduate social work programs.

The study examined the background of minority students who choose social work as a career and the factors that influence them to do so. The study also documented the range of barriers that exist for minority students who want to become social workers and those enrolled in graduate social work programs. Sample selection was purposive and data was collected through in-depth interviews. Of the 41 students interviewed, 26 were undergraduates and 15 were enrolled in an MSW program.

The majority of the students came from poor or marginally poor backgrounds where the educational attainment of both parents was relatively limited. They were motivated to become social workers because of a desire to help others and to be role models in their community. One significant difference between these respondents and those previously studied is their desire to act as social change agents to ensure that their

communities receive the services they need in a sensitive and professional manner. For the majority of participants the career decision-making process was highly influenced by significant others. However, the perceived fit between their values and the values of social work was a more important determinant than family influences in the career decision- making process.

Factors in the under-representation of minority students in graduate social work programs include personal considerations, economic hardship and institutional barriers such as lack of commitment to recruitment and outreach. The findings suggest that once enrolled there are yet more subtle factors that may limit minority students' ability to persist. These include interpersonal difficulties with faculty and peers, racial/cultural isolation, relevance/sensitivity of the curriculum and classroom practices. Participants suggested a number of strategies to increase retention of minority students in graduate social work programs. These include the development of a buddy system to ease the transition to graduate school and to facilitate academic and social supports, a critical mass of minority faculty and students, a culturally relevant curriculum, and increasing financial assistance.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank all the students who participated in the study. I am deeply touched by your openness and willingness to tell your story. In spite of all the hurdles you have had to overcome, your altruistic efforts toward your community have served as a source of inspiration to me. I hope this project does justice to each of your stories.

I would also like to thank my dissertation committee for their guidance and suggestions. I am especially thankful to my chair, Mike Fabricant for his time and generosity. Your suggestions, acute insights and unwavering support were extremely helpful to me and took this project to a semblance of form that I will continue to draw from in future endeavors.

Finally, I want to thank my husband Rufus and my sons Che and Zachy for their patience and understanding during this lengthy and difficult process. Rufus I am especially thankful for your unconditional support and encouragement. You were there every step along the way. This project could not have been completed without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	IV
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	VI
LIST OF TABLES	XI
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
GENERAL BARRIERS TO ACCESSING AND COMPLETING GRADUATE SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION.....	4
THE DYNAMIC INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF CROSS CULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK AND THE DIFFICULTY IN RECRUITING AND RETAINING MINORITY STUDENTS.	9
<i>Cross-cultural Curriculum/Competence</i>	10
<i>Race/Ethnicity and Social Service Provision</i>	17
<i>Cultural and Language Difficulties</i>	22
GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	23
CHAPTER II.....	25
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	25
RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF MINORITY STUDENTS	28
<i>Recruitment</i>	28
<i>Retention</i>	34
FACTORS IN THE DECISION TO ENTER SOCIAL WORK	38
<i>Social Work as a Career Choice</i>	38
SOCIAL WORK CAREER CHOICE OF ETHNIC/RACIAL MINORITIES	42
CHAPTER III	45
THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING	45
CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORY.....	45
<i>Trait and Factor Theory</i>	45
<i>Developmental Theories</i>	48
<i>Decision Making Theories</i>	50
LIMITATIONS OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORIES.....	54
THE CAREER BEHAVIOR OF ETHNIC/RACIAL MINORITIES	57
SOCIALIZATION OF GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION	61
SOCIALIZATION OF MINORITY STUDENTS IN GRADUATE SOCIAL WORK PROGRAMS.....	67
INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS AND THE EXPERIENCES OF MINORITY STUDENTS IN	69
SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION.....	69
CHAPTER IV.....	72
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	72
CHARACTER OF THE STUDY	72
THEORETICAL ORIENTATION	73
RESEARCH DESIGN	75

DESCRIPTION AND SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE.....	77
<i>Unit of Analysis</i>	77
<i>Sampling Strategy</i>	78
<i>Procedure for Sample Selection</i>	79
<i>Sampling Design: Some Tradeoffs</i>	80
METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION.....	81
<i>The Structured Interview as a Method of Data Collection</i>	82
PILOTING OF THE INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	90
DATA ANALYSIS.....	91
METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES.....	94
<i>Research Bias</i>	94
<i>Issues of Validity and Reliability</i>	95
<i>Generalizability</i>	98
CHAPTER V.....	100
RESULTS: WHO CHOOSES SOCIAL WORK.....	100
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE.....	100
<i>Parental Occupational Choice</i>	102
<i>Percent of Students Whose Family Received Social Services</i>	104
<i>Family Characteristics</i>	104
<i>Birth Order of the Sample</i>	104
<i>Family Role</i>	105
CHAPTER VI.....	107
THE CALL TO SOCIAL WORK.....	107
EARLY UNDERSTANDINGS OF SOCIAL WORK.....	107
GENERAL ATTRACTION TO SOCIAL WORK: BENEFITS OF THE DEGREE.....	110
<i>Opportunity to Express Commitment to the Community</i>	110
<i>Autonomy and Flexibility</i>	113
SORTING OUT CAREER OPTIONS.....	115
<i>The Choice for Social Work</i>	115
<i>The Counterpull of Family</i>	118
<i>Dilemma and Choice</i>	119
<i>Practice Concerns</i>	119
<i>Marginalization</i>	121
<i>Community Concerns</i>	123
CONCLUSION.....	125
CHAPTER VII.....	127
A DREAM DEFERRED: BARRIERS TO PROFESSIONALIZATION.....	127
UNDER-PREPAREDNESS FOR ACADEMIC STUDY.....	127
SOCIAL PREPAREDNESS FOR GRADUATE STUDY.....	131
LACK OF SOCIAL SUPPORTS FOR GRADUATE EDUCATION.....	132
RESOURCE BARRIERS.....	135
THE MYSTERY OF THE SOCIAL WORK CAREER PATH.....	137
MOVING FROM ACCESS TO SUCCESS: THE STRUGGLE TO PERSIST.....	137

<i>Invisibility and distance from program staff</i>	138
<i>The Struggle for a Cross Cultural Education Experience and the Strain of Relation to Faculty</i>	140
<i>Teaching Cross-Cultural Content</i>	141
<i>Informal Encounter with faculty</i>	150
<i>The Need for Mentoring Relationships with Minority Faculty</i>	152
<i>Peer Relationships</i>	154
CULTURAL AND RACIAL ISOLATION	159
<i>Lack of Relevance of the Curriculum to Minority Issues</i>	160
FINANCIAL HARDSHIP	161
CHAPTER VIII	164
STRATEGIES TO ENCOURAGE RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF MINORITY STUDENTS TO GRADUATE SOCIAL PROGRAMS	164
RECRUITMENT.....	164
<i>A Stronger Recruitment Program</i>	164
<i>Change the Image of the Social Work Profession</i>	165
<i>Increase Financial Assistance</i>	167
RETENTION	168
<i>Increase the Number of Minority Faculty</i>	168
<i>Increase the Number of Minority Students</i>	169
<i>A Buddy System for Students</i>	170
<i>Culturally Relevant Curriculum</i>	171
<i>Financial Assistance</i>	172
CONCLUSION.....	173
CHAPTER IX	174
DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS	174
REVIEW OF THE FINDINGS	175
<i>Personal and Family Characteristics</i>	175
<i>Social Work as a Career Choice</i>	176
<i>Career Choice and Decision-Making Process</i>	179
FACTORS IN THE UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF MINORITY STUDENTS IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION.....	182
<i>Personal Considerations</i>	182
<i>Economic Hardship</i>	187
<i>Higher Education/University Barriers</i>	188
<i>Lack of commitment to recruitment or outreach</i>	188
INTERPERSONAL DIFFICULTIES	188
CONCLUSION.....	202
CHAPTER X	204
IMPLICATIONS FOR GRADUATE SOCIAL WORK PROGRAMS AND THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION	204
ADMISSION, RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION.....	204
CURRICULAR PRACTICES	207

CLASSROOM PRACTICES	223
INSTITUTIONAL CLIMATE	226
SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	229
FINAL SUMMARY	230
APPENDICES	233
APPENDIX A:.....	234
ORAL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT	234
APPENDIX B:.....	235
INFORMED CONSENT FORM.....	235
APPENDIX C:	
INTERVIEW SCHEDULES	237
APPENDIX D:.....	248
RESPONDENT CODES.....	248
REFERENCES.....	249

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1:	101
Demographic Characteristics of Minority Pre-Social Work and Social Work Students	101
Table 5.2: Parental Primary Occupation	103
Table 5.3: Perceived Level of Financial Difficulty.....	103
Table 5.4: Percent of Students who Received Social Services	104
Table 5.5: Birth Order of the Sample.....	105
Table 5.6: Role Played in Family of Origin.....	106

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For most of its history, social work has been concerned with the poor and disenfranchised. These individuals are more likely to be members of ethnic/racial minority groups. For example, 2002 poverty rates indicate that non-Whites are 162 percent more likely to live in poverty than Whites. In that same year, 22.7 percent of African Americans and 21.8 percent of Latinos lived below the poverty line. This compares with a poverty rate of 7.8 percent for non-Hispanic Whites (Wollman, 2004). In such large urban areas as New York City, poverty rates for ethnic/racial minorities are even higher than for their national counterparts. In 2002 poverty rates among African Americans and Latinos in New York City were 28.7 percent and 25.1 percent respectively (CSS, 2002).

In addition to the racial and ethnic dimensions of poverty in the United States, the astronomical rise in the rate of incarceration among some minority group members also means that these families are now more likely to require social work services. Currently, more than two million people are imprisoned in the United States, and a disproportional number of these individuals are members of minority groups. In New York State, for example, more than 94 percent of those in prison are African Americans and Latinos (Gonnerman, 2004). Incarceration creates economic, psychological, and interpersonal problems in the prisoner's family similar to those experienced by divorced families or those grieving over the death of a loved one (King, 1993). If social work services to

these families are to be effective, they must be culturally appropriate. Specifically, they must be in accord with the values, attitudes, and beliefs of these clients.

Further evidence of the need for social workers who can work effectively with racial and ethnic minority clients is provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2001). Census projections indicate that by the end of the century minorities will constitute a majority of the U.S. population (Farley, 2002). Currently, nearly one of every three Americans is a member of a minority group. Moreover, while the nation's White population is decreasing (75.6 percent in 1990 to 69.1 percent in 2000), the minority populations have been steadily increasing. Between 1990 and 2000 the Latino population grew from 9 percent to 12.5 percent, and the African American population increased from 12.1 percent to 12.3 percent. In the same period, the population of Asians and Pacific Islanders increased from 2.9 percent to 3.7 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001a).

As the number of racial and ethnically diverse clients has increased, the demand for professional social workers with the sensitivity, knowledge, and skills to provide effective social work services to these clients has also grown. These new demands have resulted in significant changes in service delivery and academic training. At the service delivery level, human service organizations have been urged to hire multicultural professionals. However, research suggests that the under-representation of ethnic diversity in service provision and staffing continues to be a problem (Berger, 1989; Fong & Gibbs, 1995). Fong and Gibbs (1995) suggest that the main problem with this approach is that few minority professionals are available to staff these agencies. Academic programs have responded with courses in multicultural awareness, knowledge,

and skills (CSWE curriculum statement, 2001). While educating all practitioners to be culturally competent is a step in the right direction, studies have not assessed the success of training practitioners to be culturally competent, and it is not yet clear that services for ethnic minority clients have improved. Moreover, several authors have noted that many of the cross-cultural programs currently offered in social work schools are ineffective because of the lack of integration of cross-cultural courses into the overall curriculum; the tendency to develop cross-cultural courses in a haphazard and fragmented manner; and the lack of a strong conceptual framework linked to specific competencies (Van Soest, 2003; Newsome, 2004; Weaver, 1994; Brown, et al., 1993; Longres, 1997; Webster, 1997; Fong & Gibbs, 1995). Brown et al. (1993) report, that ineffective practice due to a lack of cultural knowledge and self-awareness were the most often identified problems in students' preparing to work with diverse clients.

After three and a half decades of implementation neither of these strategies have resulted in a significant increase in the number of practitioners who can effectively meet the needs of minority clients. Fong and Gibbs (1995) report that traditional mental health agencies have been relatively unsuccessful in delivering culturally appropriate services to ethnically diverse clients, even in situations in which they have been funded to serve catchment areas with specific minority populations.

There is also strong evidence that ethnic and racial minority clients prefer an ethnically similar counselor and that some clients assign higher credibility to ethnically similar counselors and are often reluctant to accept services from White social workers (Sue & Sue, 1999; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Wade & Bernstein, 1991; Broman et al. 1989). Research has also shown that ethnic and racial minorities express greater willingness to

see racial and ethnically similar counselors, experience a more positive counseling process, and benefit more from counseling with an ethnically similar counselor than with an ethnically dissimilar counselor (Flaskerud, 1991; Sue et al., 1991; Kim, 2003). Others (Longres & Seltzer, 1994) point out that because minority and majority individuals are socialized differently, they often develop different ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving that are unique to their social group. These differences are likely to surface during the worker-client relationship and may impede the helping process. In social work terms, this means that both groups are likely to operate from a different set of assumptions with regard to problem identification and resolution.

A key to addressing these problems is increasing the number of ethnic and racial minority individuals who can work with ethnic minority clients. This means that graduate social work programs must recruit and retain minority students in greater numbers. The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) defines minority students as those individuals who are African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, Chicano/Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans.

General Barriers to Accessing and Completing Graduate Social Work

Education

Recent surveys of social work graduate programs indicate that students from minority groups constitute only a small portion of the total enrollment and number of graduates. For example, in 1972, 22.3 percent of MSW degrees were awarded to minority students. During the next twenty years the minority share dropped steadily, with the lowest point reaching 13.9 percent in 1987. Beginning in 1988 the number of

minority graduate students gradually increased, peaking in 1996 at 21.7 percent (Bowie & Hancock, 2000). While this rise was extremely promising, the figure was still lower than it had been twenty-five years ago. Within the last several years the number of MSW degrees awarded to minority students fluctuated between 21.9 percent and 26.7 percent (Lennon, 2002).

Research also suggests that social work education is likely to face a number of challenges in its attempt to increase the share of minority students who attain an MSW degree. A number of researchers (Tinto, 1987; Lang, 1992; Orfield & Paul, 1988; Farley, 2002; Swail et al., 2003) suggested that the access and success of minority students in graduate programs may be linked to five major issues. They included academic preparation for college, completion of a bachelor's degree, increases in college cost, the quality of the social climate within colleges and universities, and the reputation of social workers within minority communities.

Other studies show that the level of academic preparation in high school is positively related to predisposition toward college, progress toward earning a bachelor's degree by age thirty, and rates of college completion. For African American and Latino students the level of academic preparation is an especially critical factor (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Adelman, 2002; Adelman, 1999). However, continued racial segregation in elementary and secondary schools is reflected in poorer facilities and less enrichment to curricula and academic programs for minority students. This disparity often translates into a widening gap between the learning experiences of minority students and their non-minority counterparts. The result is that minority students are often less prepared for college entry. Without the prerequisite skills needed to survive the rigorous curriculum

of most colleges, many students leave college during their first year of enrollment (Tinto, 1983; Richardson & Skinner, 1992). Adelman (1999) noted that completing a rigorous curriculum during high school is more of a predictor of college persistence than test scores for African Americans and Latino students.

Because a bachelor's degree is a prerequisite for enrollment in a graduate social work program, the continued racial and ethnic differences in the rate of completion of a bachelor's degree means that the number of minority students eligible to enroll in graduate school is smaller than the number of Whites. Thus, completion of a bachelor's degree is another critical juncture on the road to an MSW degree. However, Berkner, et al. (2002) reported that only 33.6 percent of African American and 34.1 percent of Latinos who enrolled at a public four-year institution completed their undergraduate degree within six years. These findings are significant in comparison with data that show that nearly half of White students (48.1 percent) complete their degrees in the same amount of time. Swail et al. (2003) noted that the lower representation of African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans among bachelor's degree recipients is one indication of the difficulty of retaining these groups in college. They reported that in the 1999–00 school year, African Americans received 9 percent of the bachelor's degrees even though they represented 12.1 percent of full-time first-year enrollment; Latinos accounted for 6.3 percent of degree recipients at 8.1 percent of enrollment; and Native Americans were 0.7 percent of bachelor's degree recipients with 1 percent enrolled as full-time, first-year students.

Studies have also identified the decrease in financial aid programs and the shift from need-based to merit-based financial aid as key factors in declining minority access

and retention in higher education (Taylor & Olswang, 1997; Lynch & O’Riordan, 1998; Lang, 1992; Farley, 2002; D’Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Mullens, 1993; Bowie & Hancock, 2000). Bowie and Hancock (2000) noted that in 1986, 82.4 percent of African American students in graduate social work programs received financial aid. By 1996 only 16.4 percent of these students received financial aid. At the same time, the low economic status of minority families means that they are unable to pay for their children’s education. To attend and remain in college, children of minority families will require financial aid. In 2001 the Census Bureau reported that the median household income for African American families with college-age children was \$36,824, and \$41,652 for Latinos; however, median income for White households was \$61,643. Researchers further maintain that while financial aid programs have decreased, college tuition increases have outrun inflation rates in almost every year for the past decade. When coupled with a generally low income and lack of available financial aid, the cost of tuition also serves as a severe deterrent to minority students.

The interactional climate at most institutions of higher education may also create difficulties for minority students. Both qualitative and quantitative studies indicated that minority students often experienced college as unwelcoming as and less positive than it is for Whites. Studies (Feagan et al., 1996; Cabrera et al., 1999; McCormack, 1995; Steele, 1997; Basham et al., 1997; Bowie & Hancock, 2000; Weaver, 2000) have revealed that discrimination, marginalization, and isolation have been common experiences for minority students on predominantly White campuses. Feagan et al. (1996) reported that White students, faculty, and staff often have made assumptions about Black students because they are black. Fegan’s study revealed that Whites have low expectations of the

ability of Black students, and they lack interest in minority research and issues. Bowie and Hancock (2000) found that students did not feel accepted or tolerated at their graduate social work institution. More than half of them said that they were affected by racism on their campus. They also reported that faculty and staff were insensitive to the needs of minority students. Finally, they reported feelings of isolation or discomfort often or always in their classes. Farley (2002) suggested that the isolation, alienation, lack of support, and discrimination experienced by minority students in colleges and universities was one of the most serious problems affecting achievement, retention, and graduation rates.

While social work has been more successful than other professions in increasing the percentage of minority students in graduate programs—21 percent of all professional degrees were awarded to minority students (American Council on Education, 2000)—it would be premature to suggest that social work has reached its goal in this area. Dramatically larger numbers of racial and ethnic minority social workers will need to be trained to meet the needs of the rapidly increasing numbers of ethnic and racial minority clients. Fong and Lum (2004) warned that as the numbers of ethnic and racial minority individuals increase, their needs will become more complex and demanding. They noted that while the social work profession has been successful in identifying the need for culturally competent practice, it has not been effective in addressing this need.

**The Dynamic Interplay between the Underdevelopment of Cross Cultural
Education in Schools of Social Work and the Difficulty in Recruiting and Retaining
Minority Students.**

Recognition of the importance of culturally competent practice began in the early 1970s. The terms *multicultural intervention* and *cross-cultural intervention* are used interchangeably. They refer to “a process in which a trained professional from one cultural/ethnic/racial background interacts with a client of a different cultural/ethnic/racial background for the purpose of promoting the client’s cognitive, emotional, psychological, and/or spiritual development” (D’Andree and Daniels, 1995, p.18). The goal of cross-cultural education is to train professionals to be culturally competent in their response to an emerging culturally diverse population. Research suggests that minority clients have different values, norms, experiences, hopes, fears, and aspirations that, if not considered, can present serious barriers in the helping process (Green, 1999; Schlesinger & Devore, 1995; Lum, 1999, Fong & Lum, 2004; Sue & Sue, 1999; Weaver, 2001). Sue and Sue (1999) presented mounting evidence that racial/ethnic minority groups may not only define problems differently from their Anglo counterparts but also may respond differently to counseling styles. They noted that (a) minority clients may not be oriented to traditional modes of helping; (b) self disclosure may be incompatible with their cultural values; (c) they may prefer an active/direct approach to an inactive/nondirective one; (d) and the ambiguous nature of counseling may be antagonistic to their values. Other researchers maintained that minority groups have different worldviews, communication styles, and help-seeking behavior that have major implications for the intervention process and outcome (Bryan et. al., 2005; Proctor &

Davis, 1994; Lee & Green, 1999; Weaver, 2000, Lum, 1999). Throughout the literature on cross-cultural interaction there is consistent agreement that effectiveness is most likely to be enhanced when the social worker uses intervention approaches and defines goals consistent with the life experiences and cultural values of the client.

Cross-cultural Curriculum/Competence

As more and more social workers are called upon to work with clients who have backgrounds and cultural experiences that are highly dissimilar to their own, concerns about their preparedness to work with culturally diverse groups have taken on greater significance. The social work community has responded to this concern with a surge of educational programs, innovative articles, and research on multicultural/cross-cultural competence. However, many authors (Weaver, 2000; Fong & Lum, 2004; Longres, 1997, Fong & Gibbs, 1995; Tsang & Bogo, 1997; Schmitz et al., 2001) have concluded that these programs have failed to help students integrate cross-cultural knowledge into work with minority clients. Tsang and Bogo (1997) maintained that although these models are more comprehensive and inclusive than previous models, the practice principles upon which they were based are “nebulous and diffuse, lacking the procedures or techniques that focus the worker’s attention on the most relevant and salient factors” (p. 75). Additionally, these models have not been validated empirically (Newsome, 2004; Tsang & Bogo, 1997). Fong and Gibbs (1995) concluded that while the issue of cultural competence has been recognized for some time, there is still a large disparity between the stated goal and its implementation in training programs.

Others (Mildred & Zuniga, 2004) noted that although theoretical, practice and pedagogical issues have been addressed at length, several fundamental issues have persisted. These include issues around curriculum content, structure, and teaching methodologies.

Several authors who have studied curriculum content have pointed out that the cross-cultural literature is deficient in its conceptualization of cross-cultural social work and marginal in its treatment of ethnic minority issues (Newsome, 2004; Webster, 1997; Tsang & Bogo, 1997; Green, 1999; Grant, 1997; Van Soest and Garcia, 2003; Longres, 1997; Schmitz et. al.2001). Schmitz et.al. (2001) Asserted that a framework for guiding educators in the development of a multicultural curriculum is still missing. As a result “there is little concrete information to guide preparation of social work professionals and students for multicultural practice”(p.612). Others (Mildred and Zuniga, 2004, Fellin, 2000) concluded that the lack of prescriptive change goals for cross-cultural practice has led to the confusion and inconsistencies around multicultural education. A number of researchers also noted that the practice literature tends to be superficial when it addresses the social context (Van Soest & Garcia, 2003; Dominelli, 2004; Fellin, 2000; Longres, 1997; Dewees, 2001). Dewees (2001) points out that social work has historically reflected the dominant interest and that this may in part account for the continued failure to address issues of power and privilege.

Faculty comfort level with ethnic minority content also plays an important role in shaping the knowledge and skills transmitted to students. The literature suggests that faculty values, and knowledge of multicultural issues influence the ways in which cultural content is introduced into the curriculum (Van Soest, 1997; Weaver, 1998, 2000;

Walters et al., 1998; Torres & Jones, 1997; Singleton, 1994). Torres & Jones (1997) noted that faculty are often challenged when they have addressed multicultural issues because very few are sufficiently knowledgeable in the most basic components of cross-cultural social work. Weaver (1998) maintained that it is unrealistic to expect faculty to promote multicultural or cross-cultural competence if they themselves are lacking in this subject matter. She noted that faculty who completed their education before the recent emphasis on cultural competence may feel insecure about their own knowledge and may not include diversity or oppression content in their teaching. Other studies have suggested significant faculty discomfort and resistance to cross-cultural content (Van Soest & Garcia, 2000; Singleton, 1994). In a study of BSW and MSW programs, Singleton (1994) found that some faculty avoided minority content because they were uncomfortable with it or felt they did not have enough knowledge to teach it. Others felt it was contrived, was not relevant in courses, and would displace more essential material. Manoleas(1994) suggested that in order for cross-cultural work to be effective, there had to be uniform support and buy-in throughout the social work education system. This means that teachers in all methods, including those who teach policy and research courses, need to raise questions about the cultural exceptions to the principles they are teaching.

Faculties are not alone in avoiding minority content; there is evidence that students do so as well. In a recent study of 437 social work students, Swank et al. (2001) found that most students either minimally accepted or were indifferent to multicultural experience. Moreover, almost half of the students accepted a multicultural education when it was considered voluntary. When it was presented as mandatory, their support

turned to ambivalence and opposition. Mildred & Zuniga (2004) have asserted that students often resist multicultural education “by denying the relevance of diversity issues to social work practice, refusing to acknowledge any need for self reflection around these issues, and/or consciously or unconsciously sabotaging classroom activities that address them”(361).

Other issues that have been raised include the lack of clarity about what information should be included in the cross-cultural curriculum and why certain groups are included over others. Beginning in 1971, The Council on Social Work Education stipulated that all accredited social work programs had to include content on women, as well as certain ethnic and racial minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asians). In 1992 CSWE further strengthened the curriculum policy mandates to include content on lesbians and gay men, persons with disabilities, and other populations at risk (Van Soest, 1995). From the beginning implementing the curriculum policy has met with difficulties. Some faculty suggested that the inclusion of such content was contrived and would displace more essential materials (Matsushima, 1981). Gould (1995) noted that cross-cultural content as conceptualized in social work education is “tailored primarily to fit the needs of dominant White students by including sufficient information about specific cultures to enable students to engage in what is believed to be ethnically sensitive practice” (p. 200). Most experts agree that at a minimum cross-cultural education should include culture-specific content and information, core theoretical constructs, such as acculturation, oppression, prejudice, racial identity, forms of cultural identity, and examination of the worldview or cognitive filter that groups use to make sense of the world

(Sue & Sue, 1999; Ponterotto, 1995; Lum, 2000; Newsome, 2004; Lynch & Mitchell, 1995). Some suggested (Schmitz et. al, 2001) that the process should begin with awareness and understanding of the student's own cultural background and its significance in interaction with others. Newsome (1999) noted that unless students are educated on how race matters, we will miseducate even those students with the highest commitment. Lynch and Mitchell (1995) suggested that social workers must be informed about the legal system and the ways in which it fosters injustice. They asserted that this understanding is essential if social workers are to become effective advocates for the disempowered. A number of researchers have argued that commitment to the social justice and social change goals of social work called for transforming current patterns of power and social privilege (Swigonski, 1996; Garcia & Van Soest, 2000; Schmitz et. al. 2001; Dominelli, 2004; Uehara et al., 2004). Others stressed the need for faculty to have the self- awareness, skill, and support to teach courses on multicultural social work. Weaver (2000) maintained that like students, faculty must become aware of their own biases, stereotypes, and cultural indifference before they can adequately address cross-cultural issues. However, as some researchers have pointed out (Ridley et al.1994; Garcia & Van Soest, 1997), little has been written about the development, and implementation of cross-cultural training for educators.

Van Soest and Garcia (2003) asserted that the last few years have witnessed a broadening in the conceptualization and language of cross-cultural education. They note that there is a more complex exploration of diversity and domination. Nonetheless, there is still a crisis of meaning. Fellin (2000) notes for example, that multiculturalism is

sometimes used to include all groups, only cultures of people of color, or a combination of people of color and populations at risk.

Difficulties in defining multicultural content are exacerbated by a lack of clarity in presenting this information. Most authors agreed that experiential or active learning and attending to both content and process were necessary to facilitate cross-cultural learning (Nagda et. al. 1999; Weaver, 1998; Schmitz et. al. 2001). The essence of experiential learning is that certain knowledge can be gained more effectively through experience than through didactic class content (Weaver, 1998). However, as Weaver (1998) has noted, the literature continues to suggest that the lecture format has remained the most widely used format for presenting cross-cultural information.

In addition to problems with teaching methodologies, there is also a lack of consensus on how to convey the information to students. For instance, there is significant variation in the depth and scope of multicultural training across programs. Some researchers focus on stand-alone courses while others stress the infusion of multicultural content in all areas of the curriculum (Takahashi, 2004; Lee & Green, 1999). VanSoest & Garcia (2003) suggested that a combination of both infusion and discrete courses can benefit students through increased horizontal integration of program curricula. A number of researchers have shown (Ridley et al. 1994; Weaver, 2000) that in most programs cross-cultural content has been delivered in one or two special courses. In others, time has been allocated to minority content as part of specific subject areas such as Human Behavior. Many scholars believe, however, that a single course does not offer enough depth, may lead to stereotyping about specific groups, and does not encourage generalization or integration of multicultural awareness, knowledge, or skills (Midgett &

Meggert, 1991; Quintana & Bernal, 1995; Weaver, 2000). Weaver (2000) identified a number of cross-cultural models and teaching strategies for incorporating cultural content into the curriculum (Amodeo & Jones, 1998; Garcia & Van Soest, 1997; Lee & Green, 1997; Thornton & Garrett, 1995; Van Voorhies, 1998; Walters et al., 1998). These scholars contended that total infusion in all areas of the curriculum was the most effective approach because it encouraged integration and generalization of multicultural skills across intervention. They also suggested that this should be supplemented with electives that could provide in-depth training on specific issues (e.g., African Americans and mental health).

Self-reflection and exposure to different types of people are critical in the development of cultural competence (Manoleas, 1994; Longres, 1997). Fong & Gibbs (1995) noted that fieldwork education has been challenged to provide students with more culturally sensitive supervision. The incorporation of multicultural content into the curriculum is based on the assumption that it will raise the level of awareness of students about the experience of minority members. Weaver (1998) maintained, however, that in most instances the cultural content included in human service programs was inadequate, and that students often began their field placement unprepared to deal with cross-cultural issues. To date, it is unclear whether an awareness of cross-cultural issues changes the attitude of students, nor is it clear how such a change might occur.

In short, the importance of cross-cultural practice has been a priority for the profession for some time, but there have been no systemic studies to see whether the outcomes have been successful. Specific and effective principles and procedures to guide practitioners in use with actual clients are also unavailable. Moreover, as Tsang and

Bogo (1997) reminded us, the issues to be worked out in cross-cultural practice are not limited to the presenting problems: "They are impacted by a complex range of processes, including the social position of the participants and the associated power distribution, the engagement of two or more cultural systems with different meaning contents and rules, and differences in reality construction and expectations regarding the helping process . . . and the desired solution" (p. 75). Thus, having the necessary skills and cultural competence required for effective problem resolution is only one aspect of a complex situation.

Race/Ethnicity and Social Service Provision

The problems associated with minority clients being served primarily by non-minority social workers have been well documented and widely discussed in the literature (Green, 1999; Lum, 1996; Longres & Seltzer, 1994; Wilson & Stith, 1993; Gutierrez, 1992; Chau, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1999; Kim 2003; Bryan et al, 2005). Lum (1996) noted, that clients were often seen as less attractive if their beliefs, attitudes, and social realities differed from those of the worker. Others (Sue & Sue, 1999) pointed out that the inability of a clinician to establish rapport and a relationship of trust with culturally diverse clients is a major therapeutic barrier. They noted further that when there is little trust and understanding between the client and the worker the process could be ineffective and destructive. Bryan et al. (2005) found that clients whose worldview was the same as that of their counselor perceived stronger client-counselor working alliance and counselor empathy than those in the mismatched condition. Many of these authors reported that minority groups are frequently hesitant to seek social work services, and

when they do, they usually terminate after one session. One reason given for the underutilization of services among minority members is a lack of social and cultural sensitivity among service providers in understanding the specific needs of their clients. Diller (1999) noted that the under-representation of non-White service providers was a key factor in the underutilization of mental health services by people of color.

There is consistent evidence that minority clients prefer an ethnically similar provider over an ethnically dissimilar one (Flaskerud, 1986; Flaskerud & Liu, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1991; Sue et al. 1991; Atkinson & Lowe, 1995; Gim et al., 1991; Lu et al., 2001). Flaskerud (1986) found that both ethnic and language similarity between counselor and client were predictive of dropout status. In a study of 300 ethnically diverse clients in four public community mental health agencies, Flaskerud (1986) reported that clients who were matched with their counselor based on language and/or ethnicity were less likely to drop out of therapy without the counselor's consent than were clients mismatched for language and/or ethnicity. Five years later, Sue et al., (1991) tested the ethnic match hypothesis by examining 3000 charts of each of four ethnic groups: Latinos, Asians, Whites, and African Americans. The results showed that ethnic matching was related to lower dropout rates and better treatment outcomes for Latino and Asian patients. More recently, Kim et al., (2001) concluded that an ethnic match between a qualified Asian American counselor and an Asian American client is preferred.

Researchers believe that minority clients terminate social work services because they do not perceive what they are offered to be helpful. A number of studies reported that minority clients rated ethnically different counselors as less credible and less able to be helpful than ethnically similar counselors (Atkinson & Matsushita, 1991; Watkins &

Terrell, 1988; Gim, Atkinson, & Kim, 1991). Atkinson and Matsushita (1991) reported that regardless of acculturation level, Asian Americans rated ethnically similar counselors as more credible than White American counselors. In their review of the literature on ethnic matching, Atkinson and Lowe (1995) showed that culturally responsive mental health services benefited from an increase in the perceived credibility of the therapists and from minority clients' willingness to return to treatment and to engage in greater depth of disclosure.

Still others report that minority clients are suspicious, mistrustful, and guarded in their interactions with White workers (Ridley, 1995; Jones, 1997; Atkinson & Hackett, 1998). They maintain that minorities are distrustful of Whites because of their sociopolitical situation. Currently, most minorities in the U.S. live under individual, institutional, and cultural forces that demean them, disadvantage them, and deny them equal opportunity and access (Sue & Sue, 1999). These experiences often affect their view of helping professionals and have created psychological barriers between minorities and White Americans. Further, when racial and cultural dynamics intrude into the helping process, the result is often misdiagnosis, confusion, pain, and reinforcement of the biases and stereotypes both groups have about one another (Sue & Sue, 1999). The implications are clear. A worker perceived by clients as highly credible is more likely to elicit motivation to work/change and to self-disclose. Both of these conditions are necessary for effective intervention to occur.

Some studies indicate that racial or ethnic similarity appears to be less important than counselor educational or attitudinal similarity (Atkinson et al., 1986; 1989; Gim et al., 1991). Others concluded (Kim, 2003; Tan, 1989; Lu et al., 2001) that an ethnic

match was not as helpful as a cultural match. Kim (2003) notes that depending on the level of acculturation, the nature of the client's problem, or the client's reaction to an ethnic match, cross-cultural counseling (i.e., a counseling practice by a counselor of one culture working with a client of another culture) may not be preferred. Most experts agree, however, that exposure to minority groups in a variety of settings is an important ingredient in successful cross-cultural work. Manoleas (1994) maintained that given the highly segregated nature of our society, it would be unlikely that students would come to graduate training having had these experiences. He noted that, as a result of their limited interactions with minority families and community institutions, non-minority workers may have based their views of minority clients on stereotypical portrayals of minority families found in the literature and the mass media.

Although it would be unrealistic to assume that an increase in minority social workers would solve all of the aforementioned problems, several studies suggested that once they completed their training, minority social workers were also more likely to return to serve populations of similar backgrounds. In a study of student expectations and motivation for practice Abell & McDonald (1990) reported that when gender, age, race, and experience were examined for their potential impact on students' immediate or future career plans, only race was significant. Less than 4 percent of minorities planned to enter private practice as compared to 27 percent of Whites. In a more recent study, Hancock and Bowie (2000) reported that the desire to operate a private practice was the least important variable in the career development of African American students in graduate social work programs. In general, the interests and aspirations of minority students were more in accord with the traditional mission of the profession than those of

Whites (Limb, 2001). Many of these individuals may have been exposed to social work values through employment in church-based or grassroots services where the value of giving back to one's community was greatly encouraged (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Finally, Lu et. al. (2001) noted that both qualitative and quantitative data strongly supported the view that there is a linguistic/cultural impact on clinicians' personal styles and their practice. In their study of culturally sensitive clinical styles with Latino clients, they reported that while the non-Latino counselors displayed cultural awareness and sensitivity, the Latino clinicians were able to demonstrate more culturally relevant insights and additional cultural competence.

Beyond reducing the effectiveness of social workers who are called upon to work with clients from diverse groups, lack of sensitivity to the needs of ethnic and racial minorities represents a serious threat to the profession's viability and relevance in the twenty-first century. If social work is to remain a viable and relevant profession, there is an urgent need to recruit and retain more minority students in graduate social work programs.

In addition to reducing some of the problems associated with the ineffective efforts of non-minority workers who serve minority clients, an increase of minorities in social work programs could help to sensitize non-minority students and faculty to minority family issues and concerns and reduce stereotypical perceptions (Wilson & Stith, 1993). Given the small percentage of minority males in the profession, the presence of trained minority male social workers is especially needed. The presence of males would contribute a unique perspective to the service delivery system.

Cultural and Language Difficulties

As the demography of the United States shifts, individuals in need of help not only come from a variety of cultural backgrounds, but may also be unable to speak English (Berger, 1989). Romero (1985) noted that many minority clients have a restricted vocabulary in Standard English, and, when forced to communicate in English, may appear flat, nonverbal, uncommunicative, and lacking in insight. Language is also an important aspect of any intervention process because, as Sue and Sue (1999) pointed out, "it structures meaning, determines how we see things, is the carrier of our culture, and affects our worldview" (p. 107). It is not surprising then that the lack of English proficiency has been identified as a major barrier in the provision of mental health services to newly arrived immigrants. Padilla, et al. (1991) noted that communication through a second language could result in misdiagnosis among clients whose English is limited and that compliance could be affected by whether the provider was able to communicate in the client's native language. While working with an interpreter can be helpful, the process can also be very difficult and frustrating. For example, assessing clients and their needs can be more complicated because the social worker has less information available. It is also difficult to establish rapport because indirect communication can seem impersonal and mechanical (Baker, 1981). Marcos & Urcuyo (1979) noted that even the best interpreters make mistakes, so the worker could never be sure he or she accurately understood the client or was being understood. While cross-cultural work is often difficult, working through an interpreter only compounds the difficulty of such work (Baker, 1981).

Even if social work education programs were willing to effectively address all of the aforementioned concerns, the profession would still fall short of developing the type of social work delivery system that adequately meets the needs of an increasingly diverse client population. In order to facilitate the establishment of such a system, a committed effort must be initiated to determine how to increase the number of professionals who are familiar with the language, norms, values, and lifestyles of minority clients and who, as the literature suggests, are often better able to recognize, to understand, and to respect their reality. This in turn provides a basis for creating the trust essential to effective delivery of social services.

Goals and Objectives of the Study

As previously noted, there is a shortage of professionally trained ethnic/ racial minority social workers. If the social work profession is to meet the challenge of increasing minority representation in the field, we need to understand why minority students choose social work as a career and what factors serve as barriers to recruitment and retention in graduate social work programs. This study aims to increase our understanding of these factors as perceived by minority students themselves. The implications of the findings for schools of social work as they relate to recruitment, admission, and retention of qualified minority students are also considered.

In-depth interviews were utilized to answer the following questions:

1. What factors, if any, influence minority students to choose social work as a career?
2. What are the barriers to successful recruitment of minority students into graduate social work programs?
3. Once enrolled, what are the barriers to successful completion of a master's program in social work?

Compared with existing research in this area, this study is unique in that it gathers information on the characteristics, motivations, and career choice process in a group of students about whom no data are available. No recent studies have been reported that include student perceptions of the barriers to recruitment and successful completion of a master's program in social work.

In view of the shortage of professionally trained minority social workers, the findings of this study should be of interest to schools of social work and to the social work profession generally. It is hoped that the findings will influence the direction and priorities of the recruitment and retention efforts of these schools. The results of this study can also become a benchmark for further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Efforts by the social work profession to increase the diversity among its ranks have been ongoing for more than three decades. In response to internal pressure groups of minorities and women, and the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) adopted a mandatory standard requiring nondiscrimination practices in the recruitment and admission of students and the employment of faculty and staff in schools of social work (Trolander, 1997).

Moreover, while many forces opposed the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, the social work profession did not. In 1962 CWSE adopted accreditation standard number 1234, which effectively banned ethnic, racial, and religious discrimination with respect to the selection of students, faculty, and staff, as well as all aspects of the organization and programming of schools of social work (Trolander, 1997). In 1965 the philosophy of the civil rights movement shifted from a focus of equal treatment of minorities to minority preference programs. CSWE reflected this shift by requiring that each accreditation review address issues of discrimination and that schools provide information on how they deal with discrimination in student admission, programming, and hiring of faculty (Van Soest, 1995).

By 1969 the Council had strengthened the standard by requiring schools to demonstrate their efforts to include racial and cultural diversity in the student body,

faculty, and staff. According to Trolander (1997), these actions made CSWE the first among national accrediting bodies to institute an affirmative action standard.

In 1968 CSWE established the Special Committee on Minority Groups, later the Commission on Minority Groups. This group was charged to advise the Council on recruitment of minority students and recruitment and development of minority faculty. The Commission was also to provide advice on the development of social work materials that focused on minority groups. To accommodate the concerns of different minority groups, the committee addressed only issues that were common among the various minority groups. To deal with the individual concerns of the respective groups, task forces representing each group were set up (Le Doux, 1996). One year later the committee identified five minority groups that should receive special attention: African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Asian Americans. The Commission on Minority Groups also listed obstacles to recruiting minority students and faculty and made suggestions for overcoming these obstacles (Le Doux, 1996).

In 1971 the Council conducted a major survey to determine what had been done and what needed to be done to increase the number of minority students and faculty in schools of social work. The findings indicated that social work faculty and students did not reflect the ethnic minorities within the communities they serve. As a result, an Ad Hoc Committee on systemic barriers to recruitment, retention, and promotion of ethnic minority faculty and students was established (CSWE, 1971).

CSWE took several actions to increase diversity in the programming of schools of social work as well as to recruit minority students and faculty. These actions included grants to intensify its efforts to increase the number of minority students and faculty in

schools of social work. It conducted a survey of nondiscriminatory practices in accredited graduate schools of social work, offered workshops on issues and concerns of minority clients, and published several reports on the subject. The Council also assisted schools in developing minority recruitment programs through information exchanged in its publications, workshops, its annual program meeting, surveys, and individual meetings with schools.

During the 1972–73 academic year, it became clear that the Council's minority preference efforts were having some effect. A survey of minority students in schools of social work indicated that 23 percent of the students enrolled were minority members. This was an increase when compared with 1969 figures, which showed that only 17.4 percent of the students were minorities (Trolander, 1997).

Reflecting the mood of the country, by 1978 support for CWSE's antidiscrimination efforts and for affirmative action was starting to wane. The Commission on Minority Groups reported a decline in the percentage of minority faculty and students in schools of social work. Attempts to strengthen accreditation as a tool to achieve parity also came to a halt. However, CSWE's effort to develop minority content in social work curricula continued. In 1983 a new curriculum policy statement extended the provisions of the 1971 policy statement by requiring that programs of social work education provide content related to oppression and to the experiences, needs, and responses of people subjected to oppression. In 1992, these mandates were expanded and broadened to include oppression in relation to gay men, lesbians, people with disabilities, and other populations at risk (Van Soest, 1994).

Recruitment and Retention of Minority Students

Recruitment

While individual schools have independently continued most of the recruitment efforts started by CSWE, a number of studies (Oliver & Brown, 1988; Fellin, 1983; Reber et al., 1998; Berger, 1989) have suggested that many schools are ineffective at recruitment because their efforts are poorly focused, inconsistent, inadequately financed, and understaffed. Reber et al. (1998) noted that even when well planned, recruitment efforts lacked acknowledgement by the university administration and by the social work department as necessary and important. Others maintained that recruiting people of color had become more challenging as a result of increased openness and accessibility of other professions to members of racial/ethnic groups and because of social work's decreased emphasis on advocacy (Gibelman & Schervish, 1997).

Of critical importance is the assertion that recruitment programs for minorities in higher education may face an uphill battle because of past negative educational experiences among minority students (Berger, 1989; Sanchez et al., 1980). These authors contended that years of uncertainty, ascribed inferiority, or postponed gratification may have served as a deterrent to enrollment. Additionally, they noted that someone who has already experienced these behaviors and is seeking a coherent pattern of adult life may have avoided graduate education. Indeed studies have shown that perception of discrimination and the school's previous contact and experience with minority students are some of the factors which appear to influence students' decision to pursue graduate education (Sanchez et al., 1980). This was true not only for social work but for other fields as well.

A study examining the recruitment efforts of BSW and MSW programs indicates that recruitment made a difference and that enrollment declined when it was curtailed (Fellin, 1983). However, Frost et al. (1987) found that only 4 percent of faculty time was spent on recruitment for all students, regardless of program size. The strategies most often used were brochures to assist with recruitment, use of alumni for speaking engagements and assistance in the development and distribution of recruitment materials, and outreach programs to colleges.

To maximize the effectiveness of the small amount of time spent on recruiting, several authors suggested that schools utilize students and alumni in a targeted manner, enhance communication between social work schools and employers, establish regular feedback from applicants who enroll and from those who were accepted but who chose not to attend, and assign specific recruitment responsibilities to faculty (Reber et al., 1998; Sanchez et al., 1980; Fellin, 1983; Metscher et al., 1994; Frost et al., 1987). These authors speak to the importance of using students as recruiters, particularly with minorities. For instance, Sanchez et al. (1980) found that word of mouth or informal communication networks were more important in minority students' decisions to attend school than formal communication networks. They speculated that because of past experiences with discrimination at educational institutions, minority students may have found the word of other students more trustworthy than those of school officials.

In a study of strategies used to recruit Native American students, Metscher et al. (1994) reported that in addition to informal verbal interactions at Native American gatherings, programs with the highest number of Native American students used a variety of approaches to recruit students to their institutions. These included financial aid, paid

internships, promotional materials, and formal recruitment at high schools, community colleges, and their own campuses.

Berger (1989) and Frost et al. (1987) note that BSW programs may be an important feeder into graduate education for minorities. Evidence for this was provided by a follow-up study of minority students in a BSW program in New York City that found that more than 30 percent of the students who graduated with a BSW degree were attending or had completed graduate programs.

Other approaches used by schools of social work to recruit minority students, include reaching out to people already working in the field; arranging collaborative projects with unions, hospitals, and local colleges; establishing minority student caucuses at colleges; and holding open house functions (Berger, 1989). Jones and Jordan (1984) proposed expanding part-time programs and reducing the one-year, full-time enrollment now required of all MSW students.

To maximize the scarce resources allotted to student recruitment activities, schools of social work need specific information about the factors likely to influence the success or failure of recruitment efforts. In an instructive study of 225 minority students in a graduate social work program Fellin (1983) found that the curriculum of the school was the most frequently mentioned factor that influenced students' decision to attend the school. They were attracted by a curriculum relevant to their career interests and by the responsiveness of the curriculum to minority concerns and issues. The location of the school, the prestige of the school, its financial incentives, and the influence of significant others have also been mentioned as significant factors (Green, 1999; Wilson, 1998; Mullen, 1993; Le Doux, 1996; Kleinbaum & Kleinbaum, 1976).

As early as 1976, Kleinbaum and Kleinbaum reported that the vast majority of students in their sample chose a school because of its academic reputation, financial aid, and/or the advice of a friend, relative, or teacher. These findings stand in marked contrast to the decision making of White students, the majority of whom chose their school for social reasons. More recent studies (Bowie & Hancock, 2000; Le Doux, 1996; Mullen, 1993) reported that for minority students, the decision to enroll in graduate school was influenced by their desire for career advancement and for enhancement of their professional status and credibility. This suggests that the aspirations of minority students are strongly influenced by their own professional development in the social work field.

Because minority students are also likely to come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than Whites, financial aid is an important element in their recruitment. In 1999 CSWE reported that nearly one in three full-time graduate students receiving financial aid was a member of an ethnic minority group. These findings were also true for doctoral students who are members of minority groups (Lennon, 1999).

Recently, the lack of financial aid available to minority students has contributed in part to the decline in enrollment of minority graduate students (Berger, 1992; Reber et al., 1998). Other factors shown to facilitate minority recruitment efforts include the strong presence of minority faculty and staff, as well as a large pool of applicants from which to draw (Metscher et al., 1994). The active and direct involvement of faculty, advisers, and significant others in the identification and encouragement process were also noted (Fellin, 1983; Berger, 1989).

Frost et al. (1987) noted that since schools act as gatekeepers to the profession, the quality of the entering students is of crucial importance. Not only is the quality of the

education offered at stake, but student quality also impacts the ability to meet the needs of clients (Wilson, 1998). In response to concerns about standards in social work education, Helper and Noble (1990) discussed the need for a minority recruitment plan that seeks to help applicants satisfy rather than avoid the admissions criteria. Such a plan, they suggested, would include tutoring services for regular academic work and in preparation for entrance examinations; assigning faculty to provide career counseling; paid internship, tuition, and living expenses; and pairing each student with another student or community agency sponsor. In a national survey of social work applicants, however, Shaw (1985) reported that selection and filtering mechanisms used by most schools of social work favored students who were middle class and/or those who had had previous social work experience. He noted that middle-class students were able to use recruitment to their advantage and were likely to apply earlier. Social work experience was not only a powerful predictor of recruitment success; it was also associated with early application. He theorized that the advantage given by social work experience lies—at least in part—in knowing the system and in having the right contacts.

In a study of educational opportunities for minorities, Metscher et al. (1994) reported that institutions use a number of alternative admissions approaches with Native Americans and other minority applicants. The most common approaches are flagging applicants for various indicators of academic success and reserving scholarships for admitted students. Instead of relying on single-source indicators such as grade point average, they took into account a range of factors. These included previous work experience, personal and cultural experiences, and motivation to enter the field of social work. However, others (McNeece, 1978) found that a majority of social work schools

considered grade-point average to be the best predictor of an applicant's chance of success. He noted that undergraduate grade-point requirements are closely related to the enrollment of non-White students in graduate schools and that schools with larger proportions of minority students were more likely to rely on applicants' work experiences, references, and concern for human well-being as criteria for admission.

Finally, Corvo et al. (2003) suggest that social work programs may have difficulty recruiting the kind of students they want because of the way they market themselves to prospective practitioners in bulletins, catalogs, and other print materials. For example, Whitley and Wolk (1999) found that African American students are more likely to express interest in macro social work than Whites. However, as Corvo et al. (2003) pointed out, the greater emphasis on and availability of micro concentrations, along with the more common descriptions of micro courses in print materials and in photographs, appeared to create the impression that social work education is primarily training in clinical practice. They noted also that the ratio of Whites to non-Whites depicted in the images in the bulletins suggested that social work is a predominantly White profession. Data related to the ethnicity of NASW (National Association of Social Workers) members—more than 85 percent of its current members are White (NASW, 2004)—also indicated that the social work profession is largely White. Taken together, the narrow images of social work portrayed in social work education marketing materials may have served to discourage minorities from viewing social work as a place where they can fulfill interests in macro practice directed towards social and political change (Corvo et al., 2003).

Retention

Once students are recruited and admitted to social work programs, activities to encourage retention are equally important so that an open door does not become a revolving door. However, a review of the literature shows that beyond the data on enrollment and graduation rates, there is very little specifically addressing the issue of minority retention in graduate social work programs. Articles discussing the retention of minority students in social work programs focus primarily on individuals pursuing a baccalaureate degree. A few studies of minority persistence in social work graduate programs have been conducted. More than two decades ago, Creecy et al. (1979) reported that adjustment and adaptation to the school environment, personal and family problems, and issues associated with real or perceived discrimination in the university setting all affect the persistence of minority students. Twenty years later, these issues were also identified by Green (1999). In that study some of the problems encountered by minority students included academic difficulty, family responsibilities, resilience factors, such as comfort level in a homogeneous setting, ability to resolve racial problems, perception of faculty and discrimination.

Students with good academic performance were more likely to remain in school; those with family responsibilities were less likely to graduate. Green (1999) notes that for many minority students, entry into graduate education requires bridging several cultures—graduate school, racial/ethnic, and social work. Students' ability to cope with these changes was also significantly related to persistence. Four resilience factors stood out: comfort level in a homogeneous setting, ethnic pride, the ability to resolve racial problems, and the ability to deal with the stresses of graduate education. The study

suggests that students with a high level of comfort in a homogeneous setting and ethnic pride were more likely to persist. Students most able to resolve racial problems and deal with stress were also more likely to complete a graduate program.

Student perception of faculty and their perception of discrimination in the college setting are also related to retention. Green (1999) found that students who perceived faculty as capable and fair were likely to persist and that those in predominantly White institutions identified more episodes of faculty discrimination. This finding is consistent with other studies of minority students in higher education (Nora & Cabrera, 1996; Wilson & Stith, 1993). Nora and Cabrera (1996) identified the perception of discrimination in the faculty/student relationship as a critical factor in minority student persistence. Longres and Seltzer (1994) suggested that because of the power differentials in a racially stratified society, tension was created when minority and majority groups interacted. This was true not only for the helping process but also for the relationship between faculty and minority students. They noted that tensions could also arise from differences in culturally based assumptions and expectations and from White professors and minority students playing out some of the conflicts in race relations in the larger society.

In addition to difficulties in the relationship with faculty, Longres and Seltzer (1994) pointed to a number of stressors that affected the retention of minority students in graduate programs. These included difficulty keeping up with academic expectations, social isolation, and a backlash of resentment and negative labeling as a result of opportunities of affirmative action. They noted that minority students may have difficulty keeping up with academic expectations because of inadequate educational opportunities

earlier in life. Consequently, they could be easily overwhelmed and would have to work long and hard to meet the expectations of graduate school. They suggested that social work programs can help these students by offering nonstigmatizing educational assistance. In addition to the need to put extra effort into studying, minority students often find themselves socially isolated in the college environment. Longres and Seltzer, (1994) noted that racist social norms around dating, friendship networks, and information sharing contributed to the isolation of minority students. This particularly occurs in college settings where minorities are underrepresented. Although it is often counterproductive to college success, many minority students treated their educational experience as a necessary exile from friends and family.

Although affirmative action has opened doors for many minority students, it has also caused a backlash of resentment that confronts minority students in their interactions with White faculty, students, and staff. Some Whites complain that minority students are pushed ahead, even when they are not qualified and cannot meet standards. Many minority students become frustrated because they are unable to prove their worth (Longres & Seltzer, 1994).

Singer and Strobino (1990) reported that variables, such as managing the demands of work, school, and family, along with the lack of both minority faculty and students as role models, were significant factors in completing the graduate program. They suggested that if retention strategies do not take variables external to the school into account, the diversity of the student body may be compromised.

Other factors important in the retention of minority students include improving the supportiveness of the school environment, increasing the integration of minority

content, and providing opportunities for peer support (Wilson & Stith, 1993; Mullen, 1992; Bowie & Hancock, 2000; Weaver, 2000). Weaver (2000) reports that Native American students experience social work school as unsupportive. For many the school environment produces culture shock, causing some to drop out in their first semester. Peer support emerged as one of the strongest themes in that study. Peers are identified as critical in affirming cultural identity and helping students to succeed. Respondents indicated that the cross-cultural content of the curriculum was often limited and superficial. Most indicated a need for more cultural content, but noted that some professors and students did not value cultural content.

Financial hardship also surfaced as an issue affecting the retention of minority students (Green, 1999; Jones & Jordan, 1984; Longres & Seltzer, 1994; Mullen, 1993). Students with fewer concerns about finances were more likely to remain in school. Because minority social work students often had to work, they had to balance work with family, social, and educational responsibilities.

Recruitment and retention of minority students have been a concern for schools of social work and for the social work profession for some time. While these studies have added to our understanding of the problems encountered in the recruitment and retention process, schools are seriously handicapped by a lack of knowledge of the reasons why minorities choose social work as a career and the barriers they face both entering and completing graduate programs.

Factors in the Decision to Enter Social Work

The literature on motivation for a career choice in social work among ethnic/racial minorities is very limited. However, there is a growing body of literature on the characteristics and motivations of those who choose social work as a career. Pertinent social work literature will be reviewed and referenced. The larger body of literature on career development from other disciplines will also be incorporated into this discussion.

Social Work as a Career Choice

As early as the 1950s, factors influencing a career choice in social work have been explored from several perspectives. Studies have focused on demographic variables, values orientations, family dysfunction, and psychosocial trauma in the family of origin. Kadushin (1958) described the typical social worker as a female of above-average intelligence, of middle-class parents, in a large urban city. Other studies indicated that most social workers are also married, young, and White (Council on Social Work Education, 1989; Pins, 1966; Hardcastle, 1987; Golden, Pins, & Jones, 1972).

In his landmark study in 1963, Pins surveyed 2,771 first-year social work students in the United States and Canada in the 1960–61 academic year. The findings revealed that direct work experience (74%), college courses or instructors (40%), and social workers themselves (24%), were the greatest influence on students' decision to select social work as their career. He also found that the final decision to choose social work as a career came relatively late (last year in college or after graduation). Additionally, for most students social work as a career path was not a first choice.

As a follow-up to Pins's 1963 study, Golden, Pins and Jones (1972) conducted a study to determine the motivation for selecting social work as a career choice. The results indicate, as in the previous study, the major factors influencing students' career choice were work experience, college courses, and social workers. With respect to the timing of the decision to enter social work, the majority of students did so subsequent to undergraduate graduation. Women learned about social work sooner than men and began to consider it as a career for themselves earlier than men.

Researchers have also studied personal values and their relationship to career choice. Polansky (1959) found that social work students identified with the least-privileged populations in society and were willing to accept low pay. In a study of 18 different professional groups, Rosenberg (1957) discovered that social workers placed higher value on working with people over intrinsic rewards such as money and status. Gockle (1966) explored the reasons why students chose social work and reported that social work students were more attracted by the opportunity to work with people than by other values. These findings are consistent with those of later studies that indicate that status and monetary concerns are not considered as important as other factors in the decision to make social work a career (Golden, Pins, & Jones, 1972; Getzel, 1983). In 1983, Getzel surveyed students in eight schools of social work in the New York City area to determine why they chose social work as a career. The majority identified service to others, followed by a commitment to social change and a concern for the person in the environment (Getzel, 1983). Others reported that social workers tended to be empathetic (Bedford & Bedford, 1985) and to have values and attitudes that were different from those of students in other fields (Enoch, 1988).

Researchers have also identified dysfunction in the family of origin as significant in the choice of a social work career. Marsh (1988) compares certain life events in the family background of social work and business undergraduate students. The findings reveal a high incidence of alcoholism among the parents of social work students. Eighty percent of social work students, but only fifty-nine percent of business students, had someone in the family with alcoholism. Social work students were also twice as likely to have a family member who was drug-dependent. Marsh (1988) hypothesized that while dysfunction in the family may foster empathy and responsible care taking, it may also leave a legacy of vulnerability that could interfere with care taking.

Similarly, Russell et al. (1993) found that social work students were significantly more likely to come from families in which substance abuse was a problem and to have had a family member who was a victim of violence. They were also more likely to have been sexually abused. In another study, Black, Jeffreys, and Hartley (1993) found that social work students had a higher incidence of traumatic events in their lives than did a cohort of business students. With the exception of alcoholism, the findings were consistent across a spectrum of traumas, including death of a significant other, physical and sexual abuse, and mental and physical illness. These findings of trauma, illness, abuse, etc., should be viewed with caution, as they are not independent factors. That is, the presence of any one increases the likelihood of the others.

Romp and Royce (1994) examined the influence of selected life events in the choice of social work as a career. They reported that 71 percent of social work students had experienced one or more of seven traumatic life events. These respondents were nearly three times more likely than the comparison group to view such experience as

influencing their choice of career. The psychosocial trauma experienced by these students were death of a parent or sibling; family breakup; child abuse and neglect; parent unhappily married; serious or life-threatening illness, alcoholism, or drug addiction; and emotional problems.

While these studies seem to suggest that social workers come from families that are less than healthy, studies of family dysfunction and trauma in other helping professions have produced similar findings. Pope and Feldman-Summers' study, as cited in Krenek and Zalewski (1993), investigated the prevalence of familial psychopathology among 282 helping professionals, finding that 58 percent of respondents had a history of familial pathology.

Using a comparison group of physicians, Krenek and Zalewski (1993) cross-validated Pope and Feldman-Summers' (1992) study. Although no significant differences were found between psychiatrists, psychologists, and physicians in reported prevalence of psychiatric disorders among family members, the presence of a psychiatrically disturbed relative within the family of origin was positively related to a respondent's choice of a mental health career. In another study investigating the prevalence of family dysfunction among 340 female psychotherapists and 2,623 women in non-mental-health professions, Elliot and Guy (1993) found that psychotherapists reported higher rates of parental alcoholism, psychiatric hospitalization of a parent, and greater dysfunction in the family of origin than did the women in non-mental-health professions.

The role of childhood experiences in career development has not been neglected in the social work literature. Bulcke (1994) studied 87 undergraduate social work

students in a Canadian university and found that a majority of female students reported early, disturbing family experiences, such as alcohol abuse, sexual abuse/assault, and experience with divorce/separation that significantly influenced their career choice.

In a study of the role of family experience on career choice, Lackie (1982, 1983) surveyed 1,577 social work alumni from the Smith College school of social work to identify patterns of family experience that precede entrance into the social work profession. Over two-thirds of the respondents identified themselves as parentified and as mediators in their family of origin. A disproportionate number of them were first-borns. Sixty-one percent reported that while growing up they experienced stressful family situations, such as scarce financial resources, parental discord, depression, and a crisis orientation to life. Lackie concludes that many social workers become caretakers early in their lives and that choosing social work as a career may be an attempt to deal with an earlier imbalance of parentification/infantilization.

Social Work Career Choice of Ethnic/Racial Minorities

While the studies cited in the preceding section generally provide insight on factors influencing the selection of social work as an occupational choice, they are limited in their ability to explain the career motivations of ethnic/racial minorities. None of the studies identify factors that might influence minorities to choose social work.

Research specifically concerned with the career choice of ethnic/racial minorities in social work is new. In a national survey of African American and Hispanic doctorates and ABD's, Le Doux (1996) found that the decision to pursue a career in social work was influenced by a number of personal and structural factors. The vast majority of respondents indicated that a desire to help others attracted them to the social work profession. The desire to help others came from having been a victim of poverty or having been in a negative situation in which others provided assistance. Early socialization into giving back to the community was also identified as contributing to the desire to help others. Respondents reported that they were attracted to the employment and career options in social work. Others were led to social work through positive interaction and encouragement from a social work role model. Once a part of the profession, respondents remained in the field because of the "fit" between the value-base of the profession and their personal orientation. More specifically, social work's philosophy of equality of opportunity, nondiscrimination, and self-determination reinforced the personal values of these individuals (Le Doux, 1996).

Similarly, in a study of African American males in a BSW program, Wilson (1998) reported that a number of personal factors, including student attributes, activities, and values, also appear to have influenced these students' career choice. These students described themselves as helpers and people who enjoyed working with others. They also felt they had the ability to help others in need because of their own experiences. The values described in this study were the desire to help others, to fight poverty, and to challenge injustice in society. Wilson (1998) noted that fighting poverty was an issue of particular significance for students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. The

respondents in this study also identified a desire to give back to the community and to be a role model to young people as strong influences on their career choice. They chose social work because they thought that psychology focused too much on the individual rather than on the equally important influences of the environment. Involvement in community service offered opportunities to try out social work roles and was also a significant factor in their decision to choose a career in social work

The preceding discussion supports the hypothesis that career choice motivations are multi-determined and derive from a range of factors. An understanding of career choice theory provides a useful framework to explore the processes involved in career choice and decision-making among minorities.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

Career Development Theory

Questions about when and why individuals select a particular occupation date as far back as 1908 and are credited to the work of Frank Parsons. Concerned with the exploitation of workers by monopolists, he proposed reforms in business, social institutions, and education to help workers match their work with their interests and abilities (Brown, 1990). Since that time attempts to answer when and why an individual selects a particular occupation have resulted in a myriad of theoretical frameworks (Le Doux, 1996). What follows is a brief review of the most influential theories of career development. Career behavior and barriers specific to ethnic/racial minorities are also discussed.

Trait and Factor Theory

The trait and factor theory was the first structural theory of occupational choice and decision making to emerge. Leong and Brown (1995) summarized the essence of trait and factor theory in the following propositions: Each individual has a specific set of traits that can be reliably and validly measured; occupations require that individuals have specific traits to be successful; it is possible and desirable to match a person's unique set of traits to those required by occupations; the closer the fit between the personal characteristics and those required by an occupation, the greater the likelihood of satisfaction and productivity in the occupation.

The most established of the trait and factor theories is Holland's theory of career choice (Brown et. al., 1996). The central concept of Holland's structural theory of career choice is that people seek work environments that allow them to express the character of their personalities and to take on agreeable roles and problems. The theory posits that individuals can be classified using six personality/interest types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, or conventional. The realistic orientation is characterized by interest in activities requiring physical strength and masculinity. People oriented toward this role avoid tasks involving interpersonal and verbal skills and seek concrete rather than abstract problems. The traits that characterize the investigative personality type are thinking rather than acting, organizing and understanding rather than dominating, and associability and rather than sociability. In contrast to the realistic and investigative types, social people seek close interpersonal situations where they might be expected to engage in interpersonal dialog and avoid situations where they might be required to engage in intellectual problem solving or use extensive physical strength. The conventional type is concerned with rules and regulations, self-control, and strong identification with power and status. As a result, they seek interpersonal and work situations where structure is readily available. Enterprising people are verbally skilled and are concerned about power and status. They differ from conventional people in that they aspire to power while conventional people are attracted to others who have power. Finally, the artistic people dislike structure and prefer tasks emphasizing physical skills and interpersonal interactions (Osipow, 1983). Individuals can be oriented toward one or more personality types.

These same classifications are also used to describe six model environments. The theory proposes that a finite number of work environments exist within the United States. These are realistic environments (farmers, truck drivers), investigative (chemists, biologists), social (teachers, social workers), conventional (bookkeeper, bank tellers), enterprising (politicians, salesmen), artist (musicians, artists) (Ospow, 1983). People search for environments that will let them exercise their skills and abilities and express their attitudes and values. Behavior is determined by interaction between personality and environment (Holland, 1992). If one personality orientation is dominant over the others, the individual will seek an occupational environment that corresponds to that orientation. If, however, two or more orientations are similarly strong, the individual will vacillate in selecting an occupation. The theory also holds that an array of factors restricts the range of career options available to people. These may include financial resources, educational opportunity, and the general economic conditions in society. When people are blocked from expressing the most dominant feature of their personality, they will pursue the next most dominant one (Osipow, 1983). For example, a student who is blocked from becoming a social worker might become a singer, representing the second major orientation, the artistic. Individuals tend to choose career paths that match their most salient interest. Environments are considered satisfying when they resemble the personality patterns of the individual (Spokane, 1996). For example, a social type who wants to contribute to human welfare would seek out a work environment such as a social service agency where he/she is able to implement this life goal.

Underlying this theory is the important notion of congruence. Congruence refers to the degree of fit between the individual's personality and the type of environment an

individual is considering entering. People resolve incongruence by seeking a new and congruent environment or by changing behavior. The greater the degree of congruence, the greater the stability of behavior. In contrast, incongruent interactions stimulate change in behavior (Spokane, 1996).

Developmental Theories

In contrast to the trait and factor approaches, which focus on the person-environment fit in occupational choice, the developmental approaches attempt to explain changes across the life span. They tend to emphasize a continuous, linear, and dynamic process that involves both psychological and social factors (Arbona, 1995). The Life Span, Life Space Approach to Careers (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996) is the most comprehensive of the current career development theories. The theory posits definable stages of career development that form the framework for specific career-related tasks to be mastered or accomplished. These stages include growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. Each stage can be further delineated as a sequence of three or four major developmental tasks or societal expectations about preparing for, engaging in, and reflecting upon a productive life. Each developmental task that is successfully mastered lays the groundwork for mastering the next task along a developmental continuum. Failure to master a task can result in difficulties at a later stage.

According to Brown et al. (1996), the life stage of growth (ages four to thirteen) includes the career development task of becoming concerned about the future, convincing oneself to achieve in school and at work, and acquiring competent work habits and attitudes. During the exploration stage (ages fourteen to twenty-four) the career

development task is crystallizing, specifying and implementing an occupational choice. It is during this stage that daydreaming crystallizes into a publicly recognized vocational identity. Through exploration of preferred occupations, individuals complete the task of specifying an occupational choice. This occupational choice is then implemented by completing the necessary training and securing a position in the field.

The life stage of establishment (twenty-five to forty-four) involves the developmental career tasks of stabilizing, consolidating, and advancing. Stabilizing involves securing a place in the organization, assimilating into the organization, and performing one's job well. Consolidating one's position in the organization involves demonstrating good work habits and attitude and getting along with co-workers. The third task in this stage is advancing to new responsibilities on the career ladder (Brown et al., 1996).

The maintenance stage (forty-five to sixty-five) is a period of holding on, keeping up, and innovating. It is also characterized by a period of renewal during which individuals decide whether to stay in their established profession or move on to something else. If they decide to change professions, they must recycle through the earlier stages. If they decide to hold on, then the individual maintains what he/she has achieved, updates skills and knowledge, and develops innovative ways to get the work done (Williams & Savickas, 1990). The final stage in the career development process is disengagement (over sixty-five). As the name implies, it is a period of deceleration, retirement planning, and retirement living. The theory suggests that after a long time in maintenance, individuals experience a decline in interest in their occupation. As a result they begin to disengage from the job and actively contemplate retirement. Eventually,

retirement planning and living become the central activities in their lives (Brown et al., 1996).

The lifespan component of the theory is concerned with the process of choosing a career and adjusting to the roles in the life space, especially the work role. The theory also asserts that self-concept determines occupational choice. However, self-concept and the manner in which it is implemented vary as a function of one's stage of development (Leong & Brown, 1995).

Another key concept of the theory includes the concept of vocational maturity, which involves a person's ability to meet the demands of vocational tasks appropriate to his/her age or life situation and role salience. The greater the congruence between an individual's vocational behavior and the expected vocational behavior at that age, the greater the individual's career vocational ability (Osipow, 1983).

The life space component of the theory provides the context denoted by the constellation of social positions and roles assumed by an individual. People make decisions about their occupations, such as whether to make an organizational commitment, within the circumstances imposed by the many roles that give meaning to their lives. For example, the same job might hold different meanings for different individuals because one may be a parent and spouse, while another may be a sister, activist, and daughter (Leong & Brown, 1995).

Decision Making Theories

A fundamental assumption of the decision-making models is that people choose a career goal or occupation that will maximize gains and minimize losses. Such theories

assume that career development is sequential, patterned, and normative (Herr & Cramer, 1988, as cited in Le Doux, 1996). Of particular importance is Krumboltz's widely used Learning Theory of Career Decision Making (Brown et. al. 1996). One goal of the theory is to consider why people enter particular educational programs and why they may alter their educational and occupational paths at certain points in their lives. The theory is associated with the work of Bandura and is rooted in reinforcement theory and traditional behaviorism. It maintains that personalities are shaped through interactions with the environment. It also hypothesizes that the development of career preferences and skills and the selection of a particular career are influenced by learning experiences.

Regardless of the specific learning experience involved, there are central processes that act to either increase or inhibit the likelihood that an individual will perform a behavior. An individual is likely to behave in a certain way if he/she has been positively reinforced for engaging in activities associated with the successful performance of a pertinent activity (for example, studying hard and getting good grades). Likewise, individuals are considered less likely to express preferences and more likely to reject an activity if they have been punished for engaging in that activity. A student who consistently fails a class will learn to dislike that particular subject (Osipow, 1983).

Four factors influence the career decision-making path of individuals: genetic endowment and special abilities, environmental conditions and events, learning experiences, and task approach skills. Genetic endowment and special abilities are inherited qualities and may serve to limit or enhance an individual's interest in and ability to perform certain occupational or educational tasks. Genetic endowments may include ethnicity, gender, physical appearance, and physical abilities. Individuals may be born

with greater or lesser ability to profit from environmental learning experiences.

Environmental conditions and events that affect career decision-making include social, cultural, political, and economic forces, natural disasters and location of natural resources. These forces are generally outside the control of individuals and include situations, such as the number and nature of job opportunities, monetary and social rewards of various occupations, the education system, etc. Learning experiences are those unique events in a person's history that result in a chosen career path (Krumboltz, 1981). For example, a person who enjoys helping others may have had a long history of learning experiences in which helping others was rewarded with praise and other social consequences, or a person may have observed others receiving such rewards.

As a result of the interaction between these four influencing factors, people form generalizations or beliefs about themselves and the world. Through these experiences the individual develops and learns to apply a wide range of skills. These task approach skills are learned cognitive and emotional responses that individuals use to make judgments about their past behaviors and to formulate predictions of future events (Johnson et al., 1995). The task approach skills are important in the career decision-making process. They include recognizing an important decision point; defining the task manageably and realistically; examining and accurately assessing self-observations; generating a wide variety of alternatives; gathering needed information about the alternatives; determining information sources most reliable, accurate, and relevant; planning; and taking action (Leong & Serafica, 1995). Task approach skills affect an individual's aspirations, actions, and future career path. More specifically, they may result in behaviors, such as applying for a job, to schools, or to a training program (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996).

Gottfredson's (1996) theory of circumscription and compromise combines elements of trait and factor theories with developmental theories. As such it is concerned with both the content of career aspiration and the process of decision making. The theory shares three basic assumptions with other theories of vocational psychology: that career choice is a developmental process beginning in childhood; that occupational aspirations reflect people's effort to implement their self-concept; and that satisfaction with career choice depends on how well that choice fits the self-concept. Self-concept refers to one's view of who one is both publicly and privately and includes elements such as appearance, abilities, personality, gender, race, values, and class status. Some elements are more central to one's sense of self than others. Although people may not be able to articulate their self-concept, they are able to act on it and protect it (Brown, 2002).

This theory departs from others in several important ways. First, it views career development as an attempt to implement a social self rather than a psychological self. Second, it focuses on how cognition of self and occupation develops. Third, it posits that choice is a process of eliminating some options and narrowing others. The theory also deals with the process of compromise as individuals try to pursue their interest. It asserts that people hold images of occupations such as the personality of people in those jobs, the work they do, the rewards they receive, the conditions of the work, etc. They then identify the occupations they most prefer by assessing the compatibility of different occupations with their images of themselves. The greater the perceived compatibility between an occupation and one's image of oneself, the stronger the preference. Occupations that conflict with the core of the self-concept will be most strongly rejected. Circumscription is the process through which individuals narrow the range of

alternatives. On the other hand, compromise involves relinquishing the most preferred alternative for less compatible but more accessible ones. The theory also holds that compromise can occur in anticipation of external barriers or after they are encountered (Brown et. al., 1996).

Limitations of Career Development Theories

The relevance of these theories for minority groups is a topic frequently discussed in the career development literature (Leong & Chou, 1994; Smith, 1983; Leong & Brown, 1995; Arbona, 1995; Griffith, 1980; Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). This discussion suggests that in their current form, most of the major career development theories are not applicable to minorities. These theories are considered inadequate in explaining the career choice and development of ethnic/racial minorities for the following reasons: they were developed primarily from research with White middle-class males; they tend to stress a continuous, uninterrupted, and progressive career pattern wherein both psychological and economic resources are available to aid the individual's purposeful career development; they tend to exaggerate the role of personality and ignore the social/culture influences; they are based on individualistic rather than collectivist values and on erroneous assumptions about such things as freedom of choice and individual control over choice making (Walsh & Osipow, 1983).

Osipow and Littlejohn (1995) summarize the major concepts of the most influential career theories as follows: (1) there is a matching of needs, values, interest, and attributes with work requirement and a self-conscious search by individuals for a good vocational fit in the universe of jobs; (2) it is assumed that individuals have

encouragement, ability, and resources to identify their salient work attributes; and (3) through a process of rational compromise individuals review their attributes and opportunity/access and identify a career aspiration that is consistent with their resources, gender-role, occupational attractiveness, etc. Individuals whose access is blocked by barriers such as race, gender, social class, etc., will move down their list of attractive occupations until they find one that they can implement. These authors note that these concepts all assume that all cultures have good opportunity for education, upward mobility, and family support and encouragement. However, for Asian Americans, African Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos, these assumptions are often invalid. They note that although all four groups are separate and distinct, they all have a history of disenfranchisement and exclusion from mainstream American society, particularly in the educational system, the labor force, and the socioeconomic infrastructure (Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). For career theories to be useful, "life and social circumstances must permit, even encourage, people to be future oriented, to have hope, to perceive real options and to increase their prospects for conceptual work in contrast to manual work" (Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995, p. 255).

While the notion of self-concept permeates the career choice and development literature, Brown (1995) notes that the relationship between self-concept and career behavior has yet to be systematically investigated with minority groups. He suggests that discrimination and poverty might be more important determinants of career behavior, particularly for African Americans. He notes that discrimination may not restrict only the range and type of opportunities, as is commonly believed, but may also shape occupation and self-concept. Further, Super and Bohn (as cited in Brown, 1995) suggest that

occupational discrimination appears to operate by motivating some people to overcome them, deterring others from trying, and preventing others who try from achieving.

The concept of vocational maturity has also been criticized for its lack of relevance to minority groups. Vocational maturity is the degree to which the developmental tasks of various stages of career development are accomplished. Brown (1995) notes that since most minority group individuals occupy the lower socioeconomic strata, the concept may be racially/ethnically biased. He suggests that minority status may overlay additional tasks not currently taken into account. For example, one added task for minority individuals is coming to terms with how race may affect their career development and developing appropriate coping strategies. Ogbu (1986) notes that a glass ceiling often blocks upward mobility for minorities.

Holland's theory proposes that people seek work environments that allow them to express their personality, and that if they are blocked from pursuing the most dominant character of their personality they will pursue the next most dominant. Brown (1995) notes that while Holland's theory recognizes that a range of "isms" can restrict career options available to people, the theory fails to articulate the long-term implications of experiencing restricted choices on the development of work personalities. Others suggest (Osipow, 1983) that the occupational environments described by Holland may not be equally available to ethnic minorities, who are often channeled into lower realistic jobs.

The assumption that people have an array of career choices has particular relevance to ethnic/racial minorities. Giffith (as cited in Smith, 1983) maintains that choices for minorities are often limited by a restricted opportunity structure. For example, the career options for minority individuals are often constrained by their history

of disadvantage and disenfranchisement in the social, political, economic, and educational realms of society's options. The unwritten rules of the "old boy" network have also excluded minorities, further restricting their potential for upward mobility.

The Career Behavior of Ethnic/Racial Minorities

To date there is no single theory of career development that addresses issues pertinent to racial/ ethnic groups in the United States. However, the literature suggests that several significant variables may impact career development. These include family history, the community in which one is reared, socioeconomic status, and exposure to a variety of work role models. How much of an influence these variables have, under what circumstances, when and for whom, has not been adequately clarified in the literature.

Osipow and Littlejohn (1995) suggest a need for a multicultural theory of career development that addresses more subtle variables of career choice and development. These include variables such as self-concept, racial and cultural identity development, worldview, and self-efficacy.

Self-concept is the way one views oneself and is a function of individual and environmental factors. More specifically, the expression of self-concept is due in part to the individual's personal development and environmental factors that shape that development (Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). For minorities the external environment or larger society is often discouraging and hostile. Their cultural beliefs and values are often devalued by the larger society, compromising the development of a healthy sense of self.

In addition to the general developmental cycle, ethnic minority individuals are believed to progress through stages of minority identity development as well. These stages determine whether people reject their own cultural identity in favor of the majority culture, reject the majority culture in favor of their own culture, or find a sense of value and balance between their culture and mainstream culture (Cross, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1999; Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). Because identity development poses challenges for minority individuals, it may prolong the consolidation of self and its expression in a career (Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). This means that individuals who have a low self-concept are likely to choose an occupation that is inconsistent with their personal abilities and interests.

Sue and Sue (1999) define "*worldview*" as the way in which a person perceives his/her relationship to the world. A worldview is attitudes, values, opinions, and concepts. It also affects ways of thinking, defining events, making decisions, and behaving. Sue and Sue suggest that minority individuals hold worldviews that are different from those of members of the dominant culture. Based on their past experiences, people learn one of two worldviews: the locus of control rests with the individual, or the locus of control rests with some external force. Research on the generalized expectancies of locus of control suggests that ethnic minorities score significantly higher on the external end of the continuum (Sue and Sue, 1999). This means that minorities view their disadvantaged status as the responsibility of the larger society and not as the result of their personal capabilities. In career terms this means that they are more likely to see differential treatment in the workplace not as a result of their incompetence but as the result of prejudice and discrimination. Osipow and Littlejohn

(1995) contend that this may push minority individuals to avoid work settings that they perceive to be prejudicial. They do not confront unfair practices directly.

In addition to worldview, Leong and Serafica (1995) note that the career development of racial and ethnic minority members may also be affected by the degree to which they identify with their ethnic group. Ethnic identity refers to the sense of belonging to an ethnic group and includes such aspects of the self as beliefs, perspectives, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that are derived from ethnic membership. Leong and Serafica (1995) note that the influence of ethnic identity is most often seen in career choices. Ethnic minority individuals may choose human services as a career because it allows them to help other members of their group. In addition, White et. al. (1990) point out that African Americans develop within a collectivist culture that leads them to exhibit a willingness to subordinate individuality for the sake of family and community.

Self-efficacy is an individual's confidence in his/her ability to successfully initiate and complete a task. It affects an individual's willingness to initiate specific behaviors as well as their persistence in the face of barriers (Bandura, 1986). Osipow and Littlejohn (1995) point out that one's perceived efficacy is shaped by opportunities that allow for attempts at accomplishing a task, observations of others successfully performing a task, encouragement or persuasion from others with regard to the task at hand, and an appropriate amount of anxiety that is not debilitating. They note that minorities have very few opportunities to try certain careers or gain access to information about a career prior to entering into it. This, they suggest, is a result of the inadequate and uneven dissemination of information in society and a lack of role models in positions capable of assistance. Wilson (1996) maintains that these circumstances are due in part to the

declining presence of working and middle-class residents in many inner city neighborhoods. He suggests that where jobs are scarce and where there is a degraded school life, neighborhood residents are deprived of key resources, such as role models for children and job information networks. Johnson, et al. (1995) note that given the narrow range of Native Americans in varied occupations, students have few role models from whom they can obtain information about educational preparation, degree requirements, and type of work and responsibilities associated with a career choice. As a result students are likely to draw on sources of information that may be inadequate, skewed, or incorrect.

Perceived minority status can also have a damaging effect on career self-efficacy. Perceived minority status is an individual's perception that his or her ethnic group is discriminated against and oppressed (Leong & Serafica, 1995). Lent and Hackett (1987) suggest that this damaged sense of collective self-efficacy may explain how discrimination becomes internalized and affects the educational achievement and career development of ethnic minorities. In career terms, perceived minority status can have a damaging effect on an individual's career and development because it embodies the notion that ability, hard work, and perseverance are not enough to bring about career success. For some individuals this could dampen career aspirations, exploration, and planning for legitimate occupations. For others it could redirect them toward antisocial career paths (Leong & Serafica, 1995).

The preceding section provides an overview of career development theory and its limitations for explaining minority career development and behavior of ethnic/racial minorities. While no theory of career development addresses issues pertinent to a career choice in social work, the literature provides an important framework for considering the

occupational choices of minority students. Equally important is an understanding of their experiences as they attempt to implement their occupational aspirations. What follows is a review of the literature on graduate and professional socialization, socialization in graduate social work programs, and the institutional factors that may hinder minority students' access to and successful completion of graduate social work programs.

Socialization of Graduate and Professional Students in Higher Education

To fully understand why minorities continue to be underrepresented in graduate social work education, social work graduate institutions need information about what influences their career choice decisions and their socialization experiences in graduate education programs. Socialization is a process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and disposition that make them more or less effective members of a particular career culture (Brim, 1966, as cited in Weidman et al., 2001).

Until the late 1960s the functionalist theory of professional socialization flourished due in part to a period of social conformity following World War II (Atkinson, 1983). Functionalism stressed homogeneity and socialization of recruits into a common core of universal values, norms, and role definitions (Ladinsky, 1963). A core assumption of the functionalist model is that individuals seek social approval and resolve the conflicting demands placed upon them by conforming to the greatest pressure. Students in a professional school are expected to become more alike as they assimilate into a common background of knowledge, skills, and values (McDonald, 1995). Within this perspective, the process of socialization is seen as an orderly linear process whereby program faculty admit students, socialize them into the intricacies of professional life in

some prescribed fashion, and graduate them after their program of study has been completed (Goode, 1957).

One of the most influential studies from a functionalist perspective is Merton, Reader, and Kendall's (1957) study of young men's professional socialization to medical school. It examined medical school as a social environment that functioned to change student behaviors into those appropriate to the role of the physician (Merton, 1957). Merton concluded that socialization is an orderly developmental process and that students were socialized as colleagues by the medical faculty. Moreover, professional socialization was conceptualized as a process through which an individual modified his self-concept through the acquisition of personality characteristics in interaction with significant others. Merton (1957) suggested that students' socialization to the medical role occurred both formally and informally. The formal process involved the acquisition of formal instruction in the knowledge and skills of the profession. During the informal process the student learned of role expectations through informal interactions with faculty and peers. These informal contacts served as mechanisms through which students created networks, clarified standards, and controlled behaviors (Merton, 1957a).

Merton (1968) introduced the concept of "anticipatory socialization" to describe the process of learning a role that would be assumed in the future. He suggested that anticipatory socialization served the twin function of aiding an individual's rise into the group and, once a part of the group, easing adjustment to it. He also discussed the importance of manifest and latent functions in the socialization process. Manifest functions are those consequences of adjustment to the system, which are intended and

recognized by practitioners within the system; latent functions are those consequences contributing to adjustment that are neither intended nor recognized.

While Merton's study was considered to be one of the most influential in the area of professional socialization, by the early 1970s functionalist orthodoxy was increasingly criticized and rejected (McDonald, 1995). Conflict theorists noted that socialization was not a linear process and that it depended on the social status of those involved in the process (Lacey, 1977). Ladinsky (1963) noted that functionalism tended to project an image of professions as operating on universalistic rather than particularistic criteria. Also, it did not adequately deal with issues of diversity, conflict, or human agency. Symbolic interactionism presented an alternative view of professional socialization and quickly became the second most dominant theory in the sociology of professions (McDonald, 1995). It gave rise to a number of studies, one of the most significant being Becker et al.'s *Boys in White*. Symbolic interactionism took as its subject matter the actions and interactions between individuals and groups. It examined the ways in which individuals constitute their social worlds as participants and the ways in which they construct their careers (McDonalds, 1995). It paved the way for an examination of students' view of educational life and for a concern with educational process. Becker, Greer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961) used participant observation and conducted formal and informal interviews with medical students and faculty to characterize the medical school culture and students' perspectives on that culture. Unlike Merton (1957), they concluded that students are socialized into a student role rather than a professional one.

Atkinson and Delmont (1985) identified a number of key differences between functionalism and symbolic interactionism. Functionalism assumed a community of

intentions between professional students and socializing agents, characterized by a unitary professional identity where roles are internalized unconsciously and where staff and students share common values and perspectives. In contrast, symbolic interactionism characterized socialization as a process of discontinuity, conflict, and resistance. Rather than a unitary professional identity, there are multiple identities that give rise to the possibility of conflicts of interest. More important, however, students are seen as conscious role-playing agents in the process. Woods and Hammersley (as cited in Barretti, 2003) noted that a central aspect of symbolic interactionism is its focus on teacher and student experience as revealed in their own words, interpretations, and feelings in the course of everyday life in schools.

Since the 1950s, considerable research has been dedicated to the study of professional socialization. Some characterize professional socialization as a series of steps. Others see it as a sequence of functions, or stages in a steady state (Abbot, 1988 as cited in McDonald, 1995). One of the most recent and widely recognized conceptual frameworks for socialization in higher education is the Stein and Weidman Graduate Socialization Framework (1990), which uses a structural-functional perspective to explain how higher education socializes graduate students to meet the required normative dimensions of social and occupational roles. However, unlike the linear relationships assumed by previous models in the functionalist tradition, the elements in this framework are assumed to be bidirectional. Socialization is the interaction between and among the various constituent elements rather than a strictly linear phenomenon (Weidman et al., 2001).

The theory suggests that identity and role commitment are developed through experiences with both formal and informal aspects of the university culture as well as through personal and professional reference groups outside of the academy. The final outcome is identification with and commitment to a role that has been both normatively and individually defined.

The theory proposes that learning is a significant component of socialization. Graduate education is intended to prepare students for both social and intellectual roles, and student performance reflects their knowledge and skills. The theory also suggests that socialization is a process that can be analyzed at both the institutional and individual levels. At the institutional level, novices are granted access to the authority and status of professional roles by adopting the required norms, attitudes, and values of the professional community. On the personal level, role expectations evolve as a result of the individual novice's shaping his/her own professional self. Socialization experience differs among students because of different interpretations of the meaning of events in which the individual is involved. Moreover, competing socializing agents and the novice's own personal needs or interpretation of the context may alter the socializing experience and its impact.

The approach of Stein and Weidman (1990) suggests that socialization in graduate programs is a developmental process based on passage through a sequence of levels, each reflecting more intense role commitment. It proposes that socialization occurs in four stages: anticipatory, formal, informal, and personal. The anticipatory stage includes the preparatory and recruitment phases as the student enters graduate school with stereotypes and preconceived expectations about the chosen field. These ideas are

based on information received from the mass media, interaction with role incumbents, and observations of others interacting with role incumbents (Weidman et al., 2001). Stein (1992) notes that during this phase, role information is generalized and stereotypical. However, these views are soon modified based on a clearer understanding of what a student needs to know and do to be successful. During the anticipatory phase communication tends to be top down, from the professor or supervisor to the student. Novices learn new roles and procedures that must be followed for successful completion of the program. Generally they look to faculty for guidance and direction regarding program success (Staton, 1990, as cited in Weidman et al., 2002).

The formal stage continues to be a period of role idealization. However, it is in this stage that the novice receives formal instruction in his/her chosen field. There is general consensus among socializing agents, such as faculty, current role incumbents, and students about the expectations of the program. Staton (1990) notes that at this stage the novice is primarily concerned with task issues, such as the difficulty or ease of mastering academics and successfully negotiating the university environment. While successful completion of academic work signals their passage toward program completion, incumbents must also be able to become members of the informal realm to achieve total success.

The informal stage of role acquisition is a period of learning about informal role expectations. While some information comes from the faculty, it is through immersion into the student subculture that students receive behavioral clues, observe acceptable behavior, and receive social and emotional support. Twale and Kochan (2000) note that student peer groups facilitate communication and provide emotional

identification, cohesiveness, and connectedness. They ease anxiety about fitting in and assign status to individual members. During this process students begin to feel like professionals.

In the personal stage of socialization, students form a professional identity and begin to reconcile their previous self-image with their new professional image. As they mature and take on the values and attitudes of their chosen field, they gain confidence in themselves and in their ability to carry out their professional roles. It is during this phase that they integrate their personal needs and social roles, attitudes, and occupational roles (Staton, 1990).

Socialization of Minority Students in Graduate Social Work Programs

Although the process of professional socialization has been of interest to researchers in many disciplines since the 1950s, there are very few conceptual discussions or empirical studies on the process of professional socialization in social work education (Barretti, 2003). Moreover, the socialization literature within social work is largely concerned with students' socialization to professional values rather than the process by which a student becomes a professional (Merdinger, 1982).

However, to date most of the literature on the impact of social work training on students' values and attitudes yields conflicting results. A number of studies report that professional education had a positive impact on students, i.e., there were significant attitude or values changes (McLeod & Meyer, 1967; Merdinger, 1982; Feldman, 1971; Sharwell, 1974). Others find no changes at all (Varley, 1963; Judah, 1979; Lusk & Miller, 1985; Yamatani et al., 1986; Landau, 1999). Critically, none of these studies consider the impact of race and/or ethnicity.

One exception is Barretti's (2003) study of the socialization of BSW students in social work education. Consistent with more general studies (Beck et al., 1961; Judah, 1979) of professional socialization, this work suggests that students actively construct their professional socialization. She notes that students entered social work school with well-defined expectations of their role models that correspond to their vision of ideal social workers. Students do not necessarily become professionals in social work programs, but rather, professionalization may have occurred through previous work roles. The study also finds that professional socialization is not uniform or consistent and does not produce a homogeneous class of practitioners who subscribe to the same values. Critically, the study finds that minority students had different and sometimes marginal socialization experiences. Minority students report a perceived sense of social alienation, lack of sensitivity from White peers, and racial tension both inside and outside of the classroom. Students also report an absence of role models of color in their program. These findings are consistent with other studies of socialization of minority students in professional education. For example, in a study of graduate minority women, Turner and Thompson (1993) found that minority women reported being socially isolated, with little or no faculty mentoring experiences and a lack of collegiality with other students. On the other hand, majority women reported having mentoring relationships and experiences that were both student initiated and faculty initiated.

Weidman et al. (2001) suggest that because socialization and training norms revolve around a White male standard, minorities may regard their instruction and expectations as unrealistic. Moreover, their values may conflict with those of the White

male academic culture. As a result socialization has been most successful for those who could fit the status quo (Turner & Thompson, 1993).

Institutional Factors and the Experiences of Minority Students in

Social Work Education

The institutional context in which students are educated can profoundly affect their social and academic experiences. It is critical to understanding the patterns of educational outcomes among diverse students. Solorzano et al. (2000) suggest that when the institutional climate is positive, at least four elements are present. These are the inclusion of significant numbers of students, faculty, and administrators of color; a curriculum that reflects the historical and contemporary experiences of people of color; programs to support the recruitment, retention, and graduation of students of color; and a college mission that reinforces the institution's commitment to pluralism. The literature seems to suggest that these elements are less likely to be present in graduate social work programs.

Longres (1994) maintained that, given the small number of minority faculty and peers in most graduate social work programs, minority students often found themselves isolated without appropriate role models and mentoring relationships. In a study of Native American experiences in social work education, respondents reported feelings of cultural isolation and loneliness. They received little or no institutional support and were dependent on their peers for positive socialization experiences (Weaver, 2000). Bowie and Hancock (2000) found that faculty sensitivity to minority students was

minimal or nonexistent. A similar pattern emerged regarding administrative sensitivity to minority student needs.

A number of social work studies (Weaver, 2000; Basham et al., 1997; Bowie & Hancock, 2000) reported that minority students were often frustrated by the absence of a culturally relevant curriculum in their graduate program. Weaver (2000) reported, for example, that respondents described feelings of invisibility and of disrespect. They felt that cultural content was not valued and when it was discussed, they were often put in the position of serving as the representative expert on minority issues. Basham et al. (1997) pointed out that cross-cultural content in the curriculum is inadequate, incorrect, or inappropriate for understanding and working with people of color. Moreover, issues relevant to race in the classroom were often ignored, handled badly, or processed in a way that generated conflict.

Despite concerns from graduate school administrators about the need to increase diversity in graduate programs, the level of institutional commitment is often not sufficiently pronounced to influence the intent. Oliver and Brown (1988) noted that efforts to diversify the student population were often hampered by ideological and structural barriers. They contended that issues of fairness, justice, and equality are often overshadowed by unegalitarian practices that are couched in the language of “building a quality program” or “obligations to accept the best students.” Others (Raber et al., 1998) suggested that poor understanding of and lack of commitment to minority students and faculty recruitment programs have also contributed to the under-representation of minority students in social work programs.

Swail et al. (2003) noted that the lack of diversity in the student population, faculty, staff, and curriculum often restricted the nature and quality of minority students' interactions inside and outside the classroom, threatening both their academic performance and social experiences. Researchers also seemed to agree that a lack of institutional commitment to the mission of pluralism in higher education also contributed to the negative experiences of minority students on college campuses.

Solorzano et al. (2000) defined pluralism as "a situation in which underrepresented racial and ethnic groups are present on the college campus and viewed as equals on the college campus; and where all students are willing to affirm one another's dignity, ready to benefit from each other's experience and willing to acknowledge one another's contributions to the common welfare of students and faculty on the college campus" (p.61).

The literature suggests that the experiences of minority students in social work programs is not pluralistic but is one of marginalization, discrimination, negative labeling, low expectations, and attitudes described as symbolic racism (Longres & Seltzer, 1994; Swank et al., 2001; Weaver, 2000; Bowie & Hancock, 2000; Hendricks, 1993, Barretti, 2003). Others note that the overall cultural milieu is White, and that students of color are expected to adjust to it or be excluded (Basham, 1997). Hill (1991) maintains that marginalization is often perpetuated when new voices are added but the priorities and core of an organization remain unchanged.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used to discover what factors influence minority students to choose social work and the barriers to successful recruitment and completion of a master's program in social work. It discusses the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the study and the procedures followed in collecting and analyzing the data. A description of the study design, decisions made and their corresponding rationale are also outlined. Finally, it examines issues of validity and reliability as they relate to the credibility of the findings and the limitations of the study.

Character of the Study

At present, relatively little is known about why ethnic/racial minorities select social work as a career. While theories explaining the career choice process can be found in the literature, there are no complete theories that can adequately explain or predict factors involved in the selection process by ethnic/racial minorities who choose social work. Given the limited state of knowledge, this study is exploratory in nature. The aim of exploratory research is to develop as comprehensive and accurate a picture of the area under study as conditions allow. Because exploration is by definition flexible, it allows shifting from one line of inquiry to another. It can adopt new points of view as the study progresses, moving in different directions previously unthought-of. The relevance of some of the data may change as new information becomes available and understanding improves (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As Blumer (1969) cautions, however, this

flexibility does not mean the inquiry has no direction, only that the original focus is broad but becomes progressively sharpened as the inquiry proceeds.

Since there is relatively little information about the career choice process of minority students, an exploratory study is valuable in two important ways. First, the fuller descriptive account it yields will give an adequate explanation of the issues under study without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis. Secondly, the descriptive information unearthed through exploration may provide the answers to theoretical questions and aid in the process of theory building.

Theoretical Orientation

The methodological task of this study is to uncover the perspectives of minority students who chose social work as a career. This requires entering their world of meanings. Thus, it was necessary to choose a method/theory that is particularly attuned to meanings of social experience. Symbolic interactionism constitutes such an approach.

Designed to yield verifiable knowledge of human group life and conduct, symbolic interactionism is grounded in a number of basic assumptions. The first is that humans act toward objects on the basis of the meanings these objects have for them. An object is anything that can be designated or referred to. For example, it can be physical like a chair or tree, social like a priest, social worker, relative, etc., or abstract like a philosophical doctrine or concept. Two, these meanings are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact. Thus objects are seen as a social product. Third, the meanings to the actors become evident through a formative process of interpretation whereby meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and

formation of action. Moreover, because people live in different worlds they are guided by different sets of meaning (Blumer, 1969).

These ideas have several implications for the focus of this study: First, to understand the actions of minority students, it is necessary to identify their world of objects (in the sense of their meaning) with regard to the social work career process. That is, what meaning does social work have for minority students engaged in the career choice process? The answer can be found in the descriptive accounts that they give of how they see social work, and how they are prepared to act toward it. Second, it is necessary to view career choice as a dynamic process, during which participants are noting, interpreting, and assessing things they deal with in order to become professional social workers.

Because meaning arises out of the way objects are defined to individuals by others with whom they interact, objects necessarily have different meaning for different individuals. Therefore another task in understanding the career choice process of minorities is to ferret out those areas where meaning overlaps, converges, and/or diverges for members of this group.

From the standpoint of symbolic interactionism, human conduct is formed and guided through a process of designation and interpretation. Thus, to uncover the career decision-making process of minority students, one also has to understand this interpretive filtering process. This involves understanding the subjects' wishes and wants, their objectives, the available means for their achievements, the actions of others who are important to them, their self-image, and the likely results of their action.

Research Design

To gather information on the career choice process of ethnic/racial minorities, it was necessary to select a methodology that offered the potential for capturing the complexity and reality of the decision-making process. A qualitative design was considered well suited to this task. As Miles and Huberman (1994) point out, qualitative inquiry emphasizes people's lived experiences. It is "fundamentally well suited for locating the meanings people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives: their perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, presuppositions, and for connecting these meanings to the social world around them" (p. 10). The relevance of a qualitative design for this inquiry is further supported by Lincoln and Guba (1985), who maintain that "human behavior, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities (p. 106).

While qualitative methods have roots in many disciplines and traditions, all share the goal of understanding participants from their own point of view. In social work terms, this approach emphasizes the "person in environment." More pointedly, it seeks to capture the "reality" of the world as it exists for the career selector. Since there are no empirical studies that present the voice of ethnic/racial minorities regarding the career choice process, this research promises to reveal new insight or understanding of the world of career choice and decision making among minorities. To the extent that the findings can be used to focus future minority recruitment efforts, they have implications for the direction and future of the profession.

In addition to its emphasis on understanding the perspective of participants, its attention to process and design flexibility make qualitative inquiry well suited to

discovering what meanings minority students bring to the social work career choice process.

Choosing an occupation is a complex process that is widely believed to be motivated by an array of both internal and external factors. However, most research in this area tends to emphasize personality traits while ignoring socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and sociocultural influences (Authur et al., 1989). A qualitative approach permits an exploration of these dynamic contextual processes and their effects on participants.

Although research on the career choice process of minorities is in its infancy, most researchers now admit that a different configuration of factors seem to influence the career development of people of different cultural and racial background. Hence individuals from minority groups are expected to encounter different problems and barriers. Some issues relevant to the career behavior of ethnic/racial minorities include occupational segregation, discrimination, mobility, attitudes, values, aspirations, and expectations. This list of issues suggests that part of the complexity of the career choice and decision-making process is its multidimensionality. Since qualitative research strives for a person-in-environment perspective, this approach allows the researcher to focus on the total experiences of the career choice process among minorities without reducing it to a few narrowly defined and quantifiable variables. Given the limited state of knowledge about this group, and the complexity of the issue under study, a qualitative approach is social work as a profession and its place within the social reality of their world. The design flexibility is especially appropriate here because it provides also essential for in-depth understanding of their perceptions and feelings regarding a framework out of which

practical decisions can be made in the field as understanding emerges, develops, or unfolds (Patton, 1990).

Given the underdeveloped state of knowledge on this topic, and the lack of valid and reliable instruments available to operationalize the various dimensions of career choice among minorities, a survey approach was considered premature. Moreover, what information has been gathered has relied on samples of White middle-class males. Most researchers agree that current instruments may need revising to capture the minority career choice experience. Moreover, while they might appear to be more rigorous, quantitative approaches focus on selected variables, necessarily stripping from consideration context variables that might, if studied, greatly influence the findings. A qualitative approach can address this imbalance by providing contextual information (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). More specifically, a qualitative approach allows for probing the self-definition of the participant's circumstances and their meaning for career choice. Another advantage of a qualitative approach is that it permits the study of an issue in depth and detail. However, because this generally involves a small non-random sample of respondents, generalizability of the study is reduced.

Description and Selection of the Sample

Unit of Analysis

Patton (1990) has noted that decisions about sample size, sampling strategy and interpretation of the data are all influenced by the level of social life on which the study is focused. For this study the researcher chose a group of students who constitute the

minority experience within an undergraduate and a graduate school and their experiences within this particular setting.

Given the general lack of knowledge about the experiences of minority students, a collective case study approach was included as part of the design. Stake (1994) notes that the case study is not so much a methodological choice but a way of thinking about what qualitative data analysis should focus on. He suggests that the collective case study is not a study of a collective but instrumental study extended to several cases. It allows the researcher to study individual cases in an integrated system. However, it does not reduce the experiences of students to independent, isolated experiences. Rather the whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts.

Sampling Strategy

A homogeneous sampling strategy (Patton) was used to focus the study. The objective was to select a group of participants who could provide in-depth information about the career choice process and the barriers to completing a graduate degree.

Three criteria were identified to focus the selection of the sample. These were (a) enrollment in an undergraduate liberal arts college, or enrollment in an MSW program accredited by the Council on Social Work Education; (b) membership in an African American, Latino/a, or Asian American group; and (c) interest in social work as a career. The objective was to select a sample that would allow for the fullest possible understanding of the social work career choice process of minority groups.

The sample size consisted of 41 students from a large urban university in New York City. Given the purpose of the study, in-depth interviews with this number of students were considered sufficient to provide diverse, sufficient data to answer the questions under study. Of the 41 participants, 26 were undergraduates and 15 were enrolled in an MSW program; 24 are of African descent, 15 Latino/a, and 2 Asian American. There were 31 females and 10 males. These figures are consistent with the Council on Social Work Education data regarding demographic trends in social work education. Their data indicate that women represent more than 75 percent of students in graduate social work programs, and African Americans are the largest minority group (Lennon, 2003).

Procedure for Sample Selection

In an exploratory study of this type, the objective in selecting respondents is to identify interviewees who can honestly and openly share the type of information that is necessary to understand the meanings, perspectives, and motivations that minority students bring to the career decision-making process. The first issue to be considered in the sample selection process is one of access. Faculties at each school were consulted regarding recommended strategies for identifying and recruiting potential respondents. It was determined that the best way to reach a large number of students was to attend classes where students interested in social work were likely to be in attendance. Once permission was secured from individual faculty members, I went to several sociology and psychology classes. Recruitment was also conducted through three minority graduate student clubs (the Latino Alliance, the Diversity Task Force, and the African American

Social Work Group). The student clubs were selected because they provided a forum to meet a large number of minority students assembled in one place. Students who indicated that they had decided to pursue a career in social work were approached to solicit their agreement to be interviewed and to allow the interview to be tape-recorded. Some refused to be interviewed. This did not affect the projected sample size. All interviews were initiated by a phone contact from the researcher in which the nature of the study, the expected length of each interview, a place where the interview would be done, and a specified time convenient to the interviewee and the researcher were discussed.

Sampling Design: Some Tradeoffs

As discussed earlier, the study used a homogeneous sample. While this allowed the researcher to select a group of students with intimate knowledge of the topic, there are tradeoffs associated with this choice. For example, because a homogeneous strategy reduces variation within the sample, it is difficult to make comparisons. A stratified sampling design would have facilitated comparison and identification of the core experiences and shared aspects of the phenomenon under study. Useful information could be gained by comparing the differences in perception, meaning, and motivations of White and minority students who choose social work as a career and their experiences in a professional school.

In an exploratory study of this nature one might also consider an intensity sampling strategy. This approach allows the researcher to select cases that can illuminate the nature of success or failure of the phenomenon under study. Such a study would have

sampled minority students who decided not to pursue a social work degree as well as those who did. The aim here is to capture major differences rather than to identify a common core (Patton, 1990).

While the experiences of minority students might have been more sharply illuminated through such samples, three factors influenced the final sample selection process. First, identifying students who have dropped out of the program presented a major obstacle since schools are often reluctant to provide identifying information about past students. It was decided, therefore, to limit the sample to students currently enrolled in a social work graduate program. Second, including White students as well as minority students who decided to choose social work would necessitate increasing the sample size to facilitate a meaningful comparison. This idea was rejected because of inadequate resources to carry out such an endeavor. Third, the current homogeneous sample is focused exclusively on minority students because of the lack of information about this particular subgroup of students. Historically, these students are also difficult to recruit and retain in social work graduate programs. Moreover, since the goal of this study is to increase information about the career choice process among minority students and to identify barriers to professionalization, a homogeneous sample of minority students is more likely to provide the depth of information needed to achieve this goal.

Method of Data Collection

Because of its flexible nature, exploratory research is not tied to a particular set of data-gathering techniques. Its maxim is to use any ethically allowable procedure that offers the possibility of getting a clearer picture of what is going on in the

world of respondents (Blumer, 1969). The structured interview was selected as the method of data collection and an interview guide was developed to ensure comparability among interviewers.

The Structured Interview as a Method of Data Collection

The structured interview in this study refers to a meeting at which the interviewer asks every respondent a set of questions in the same order or sequence. Given the unfamiliarity and complexity of the study question, this approach was deemed most suited to discovering the factors that may influence the decision of ethnic/racial minorities to become social workers and the barriers they face in realizing this goal. The objective is to collect data capturing the meaning participants impute to social work, as well as their individual perspectives and experiences regarding the social work career process. The long interview was chosen as the method of data collection because, as McCracken (1988) points out, it allows us to “step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves (p. 9). It is sharply focused, highly intensive and productive.

In addition to being consistent with the purpose of the study, the long interview helps to ensure efficient participation in exploring a greater breadth that one wants to explore. Most of the participants have work and family responsibilities that compete for the limited amount of time they have to devote to academic life. Since the long interview is highly focused, maximum use can be made of the students' time. In order to ensure accuracy, all of the interviews were tape-recorded.

Although consistent with the study's purpose and the criteria for the study sample, there are several tradeoffs in exclusively using the structured interview as a data collection instrument. For example, since the process is systematic, it reduces flexibility and spontaneity. Additionally, while the format increases the likelihood of receiving comparable data across subjects, it reduces the opportunity to understand how subjects themselves structure the topic at hand (Patton, 1990).

As noted earlier, the long interview is primarily concerned with understanding the meaning of events and experiences. It asks that participants explore their past to reflect on how their experiences may have affected their present behavior (i.e., the decision to enter social work). It also asks that they provide concrete details about their experiences and clarify the context in which they occurred. While I was careful to ask all of the questions on the guide, in trying to understand their experiences and the connection to their present situation, I was forced to make revisions of the guide in process. For example, after several participants spoke about feelings of wariness in connection with their undergraduate experience, questions were posed that sought to explore more fully the nature and character of their wariness. It was within this context that I learned how their experiences as undergraduates shaped their graduate education and career decisions. As new information emerged in the course of the interview it was incorporated into the guide. Consequently, the guide was revised several times during the interview process.

Observational methods have been closely associated with qualitative research and have served as a critical source of knowledge. The purpose of observational data is to describe the setting that was observed, any activities in the setting, the people who participated in them and the meaning that these activities hold for the people who are

being observed (Patton, 1990). Patton (1990) identifies several advantages of participant observation. First, by directly observing participants in action the researcher is better able to understand the context in which decisions are made. Second, there is less need to rely on a predetermined conceptualization of the phenomenon under study. Third, it has the flexibility to yield insight into new realities. A fourth area of strength is that the researcher has access to information that participants might be unwilling or unable to talk about.

In spite of these benefits, participant observation was not chosen as the method of data collection because of the significant amount of time that it demands. Moreover, in this type of study, observations are limited because they focus only on external behavior. The fact is we cannot observe how individuals have organized their world and the meaning they attach to what is going on in their life. We have to ask questions to gain access to this kind of information. The long interview allows the researcher to enter into another person's world. It achieves qualitative objectives within a manageable methodological context (McCracken, 1988).

The Development of the Interview Guide

An interview guide based on the literature and the researcher's experience was developed to discover the factors influencing minority students' career choice of social work and the barriers to professionalization. The guide provided a checklist of questions to be asked when interviewing the participant. Each question was chosen and carefully worded to capture a particular dimension of the study. These dimensions were selected from a literature review of the social work career choice process generally, and the career

decision-making process among minorities in particular. A review of the barriers to graduate education was also completed. The substantive issues associated with each dimension are described in the following paragraphs.

In analyzing the career behavior of ethnic/racial minorities, the literature suggests that several significant factors may impact career development. These include family history, the community in which one is reared, and the individual's socioeconomic status.

Other influences relevant to the career behavior of minorities include the amount and level of accurate occupational information they have access to and their perception of the opportunity structure. Individuals who have a good broad-based knowledge of careers are considered better prepared to make career-related decisions. Knowledge of self, knowledge of occupations, and current information about the education and training needed to obtain a job are also necessary for making career decisions (Walsh & Osipow, 1983). Since opportunities for upward mobility are less available to minorities than Whites, perception of the opportunity structure in the profession of social work might also have implications that need to be explored.

Another area of occupational information with implications for social work is the often-negative portrayal of the profession within popular culture and minority communities. Consequently, one of the tasks of this inquiry is to clarify the information minorities have about social work, identify the source of the information, and analyze its influence on career decision making.

The literature suggests that perception of discrimination in the workplace may also influence decision-making. Minority individuals may cluster in certain occupations that they perceive to be open and avoid others that they consider to be closed to them.

This raises questions for the profession given the overrepresentation of minority individuals in the lower levels of the field and their absence in the higher ranks of the profession. The present study explores respondents' perspective on the factors that account for this disparity.

The lack of available and visible role models in the area of occupational choice has been shown to influence decision making for minority students (Parham & Austin, 1994). These perceptions have critical significance for the profession of social work given the small number of minority faculty in graduate schools of social work both at the master's and doctoral levels.

In general the literature has argued that the value system of ethnic/racial minorities is different from that of Whites and may significantly influence their career development. It has been noted that some minority groups emphasize a collectivist ideal over the American ideal of individualism. This means that they may subordinate self-realization needs to group needs. In career behavior terms, these individuals are expected to regard occupational choice as a potential contribution and obligation to the group rather than an opportunity for self-expression and actualization. How individual or group orientation among minority students influences both retention and specific job aspiration within the field is germane to this inquiry.

Ethnic identity has also been found to be strongly correlated to an individual's values orientation and may influence career choice and behavior. Fugita and O'Brien(1985), as cited in Leong and Chou (1994), suggest that strongly ethnically identified persons tend to consider their own interest and their desire to help their group when choosing a career. For example, in a study of motivation for social work among

male BSW students, Wilson (1998) finds that African American students were the only ones to mention the opportunity to be a role model for youths as a major determinant of their career choice in social work. At least one aspect of this finding has implications for social work and its ability to recruit individuals from some minority groups. I have in mind the profession's move away from its social commitment to poor communities and more toward clinically based practice. Gil (1998) notes that social work is increasingly influenced by psychiatry and psychology, and this has shifted its focus from working with low-income people. It has also put a greater emphasis on assisting individuals to adapt to conditions rather than being change agents. Such shifting may be perceived as precluding minority students from implementing their racial self-identity.

Another recurrent theme in the literature is the degree to which perception of vocational opportunity is influenced by racial identity. Leong and Chou (1994) proposed that for persons with a strong ethnic identity, awareness of discrimination in certain areas of work may discourage them from pursuing their interests. In contrast, others may see discrimination as a challenge they want to meet to help dispel stereotypic beliefs and attitudes about their group in the workplace.

The significance of others in influencing career decision-making of ethnic/racial minorities has been given some attention in the literature. Leong and Gim (1993) found that Asian American career choices were strongly influenced by parental pressure. Studies of factors influencing the motivation of minorities who choose social work (Wilson, 1998; Le Doux, 1996) have also reported on the importance of significant others in their career choice decision. In light of these findings, it is important to understand

how the attitudes of significant others about social work influence the decision making and perceptions of minority students interested in the field.

Data on the career aspirations/expectations of minorities have been more extensively reported than other areas of their experience. In general, studies have found that the education and occupational aspirations of some minority groups are as high or higher than those of Whites. However, their expectations for achieving their goals are often lower. Economics, education, and discrimination are often believed to be barriers present in the process of pursuing their goals (Brown & Brooks, 1990).

An important area of inquiry in this study is the barriers that minority students face in moving toward professionalization. As noted in previous chapters, minority graduate students in academic programs experience the school culture and are socialized into their chosen professional field differently than their White counterparts. This study will therefore focus on minority students' perspectives on their socialization experiences in graduate social work school.

Each of the aforementioned dimensions is associated with a question on the guide (see Appendix C). Their significance to the career choice process has been acknowledged. What has not been adequately clarified in the literature is the degree of their influence, the circumstances in which they operate, and when and for whom they are relevant. Given the limited knowledge available, interview questions were developed to stimulate interviewee expansiveness in thinking about particular aspects of their experiences. Thus, for each factor discussed above, sub-questions were developed to explore dimensions of their experience more specifically. To capture early information on social work the following questions were asked:

- How did you first learn about social work?
- Is there an event or incident that stands out in your mind?
- At that time what did you think social workers do?
- Can you describe this work?
- Since then how has your view of social work changed?
- Can you give me some examples?

In addition to specifying the questions to be asked of each respondent, the guide also contained probes that might be used during the interview process. Probes are used to assist the respondents in filling out the descriptive picture in greater detail. They also remind the interviewer to elicit a response to certain items if they are not mentioned. Although some questions were connected to probes, many on-the-spot probes were developed spontaneously to clarify a particular response. They included detail-oriented probes, such as “What was said about social work?” “Who said it?” “When was it said?” “How was it said?” “What influenced your decision to move in this direction?” “Was this an issue for you?” “What kind of help would be most desirable to you?” Elaboration probes were also used. They included questions, such as “Could you say more about this?” “Could you elaborate on that?” or “I am not quite sure what you mean, could you talk some more about that?”

In addition to exploring the experiences of undergraduate students, the study aimed to understand the problems and barriers minority students face while enrolled in graduate social work programs. A second set of questions was developed for students enrolled in graduate school. These questions focused on the original decision to enter a graduate program, the application process, and their experience as students in the

program. Respondents were asked to identify who or what made it easier or harder for them to apply and remain in graduate school. The final question asked all respondents to identify what they perceived to be major barriers for minority students in the achievement of a graduate degree. They were also asked to recommend strategies to facilitate the success of minority students interested in going to graduate school and for those currently enrolled in the program.

Piloting of the Interview Guide

In general, a pilot interview is done to move the researcher toward a clearer understanding of how the research problem is to be posed, to develop ideas regarding significant relationships or associations between themes or sub-themes, and to evolve the conceptual framework in light of new information about the area of under investigation. In this study, the interview guide was piloted with five students of African American and Latino background. Following the interview, participants were specifically asked to assess the clarity of the questions and their effectiveness in eliciting aspects of their experience salient to the career choice process. They were also asked about their reactions to the order in which the questions were asked, the length of the guide, and the appropriateness of the probes. The pilot interviewees indicated that the guide was comprehensive in that it covered all the areas that were relevant to the career choice process. However, as to the order of the questions they suggested that questions regarding race should appear earlier for two reasons. To begin with, they noted that asking questions on race early in the interview process suggests that the interviewer has an awareness of the importance of race in their lives and is not afraid to discuss such

matters. Secondly, because of the taboos surrounding race and race issues, it gives respondents permission early in the process to reflect on the critical realities of this relationship to their lives as students. These students had no criticisms regarding the interview format, the clarity of the questions, or the length of the guide. Revisions to the guide were made based on their comments.

Data Analysis

How a qualitative study is managed once the data is collected can strongly influence the ease of analysis and the kind of analysis that is conducted. The concern here is ensuring high-quality accessible data and accurate documentation of the experience. The data analysis in this study proceeded in three phases.

The first phase was the presentation of the descriptive data. This involved converting all the field notes into “write ups” (information contained in the raw field notes that stimulated the researcher to remember things said or done during the interview that was not recorded) and transcribing the taped interviews.

The second phase involved content analysis. This required reading each of the individual transcripts several times in search of “regularities, patterns, explanations . . . and propositions” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 11) and noting them on the transcripts. The next step in this phase of the analysis was coding the data. Core themes were identified, initially through descriptive coding and then through more in-depth categorical and theoretical coding. Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe coding as naming and categorizing phenomena through close examination of the data. Codes are also used to organize the data so that the researcher can quickly find, pull out, and cluster segments of

a particular question. Initially, coding largely followed the questionnaire but attention was also paid to unexpected insights. Once coding begins, Lofland (1984) suggests coding the data with an eye for a predetermined set of phenomena. These include acts, activities, meanings, participation, relationships, and settings. Some of these typologies were helpful to the researcher in thinking about the categories or codes to be developed.

The first step in this phase of the analysis involved reviewing each interview line by line within a paragraph and assigning labels. These labels were then broken up into segments and coded by suggested themes. The themes were then clustered into substantive categories. At this point in the analysis the focus was on understanding preliminary categories and subcategories that emerged from the data. Critically, these analyses revealed clusters of experiences among respondents that provided an underpinning for categoric and subcategoric development.

In the third phase of the analysis, a cross-case analysis was done to more systemically identify common elements among interviews, clarify patterns and themes, and to deepen understanding of the phenomenon under study. This was done by setting up a matrix display to organize and condense the data. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe a matrix display as a stacking up or including all the single-case displays on one large sheet to facilitate the review of all relevant data. One of the first tasks of the cross-case analysis was to determine how many of the interviews shared similar characteristics. When the same characteristics appeared in more than one case, this was noted in the margin of the matrix. All of the information from all of the cases was gradually refined, summarized, and reduced through clustering of the data. Quotes that illustrated a particular theme were displayed on the matrix to support the conclusions. Several

patterns in the data were revealed in this process. Such patterns included the frequent reference to relationships to others in the university setting, and the cultural and racial isolation experienced in their respective programs. Probing revealed detail descriptions of salient and more general events and experiences. Further refinements in the categoric clustering and grouping of the data yielded subcategories and sub-themes for each of the major themes identified.

Inductive and deductive approaches were used to more thoroughly understand the challenges for minority students who choose social work as a career. This process allowed the researcher to apply her experience and knowledge in clustering the data, naming themes, and making inferences about the career choice process and the challenges of graduate education for minority students. The first task in this process was to ensure that the concepts and theories came directly from the data. This process began by taking chunks of data or fragmenting information contained in the interviews, looking at it interpretively, and assigning a more interpretive code. This culminated in a process in which the researcher developed core categories and subcategories, then produced a coherent categoric structure for explicating the questions under study. Throughout this process rigorous attention to the detail of the data was maintained at all times. Core themes were categorized to further illustrate the relationship both within and between concepts. Coding and analysis ended when theme saturation occurred. Theme saturation means that no new data are added because that category has been adequately explained or any new information would be redundant (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Methodological Issues

Patton (1990) suggests that the credibility of qualitative inquiry depends in part on three distinct but related issues. They are the techniques and methods used to ensure validity and reliability of the findings and the credibility of the researcher. This section will take up each of these issues.

Research Bias

A qualitative study requires that the interviewer become the research instrument. The process calls for the interviewer/researcher to play a neutral role, never interjecting his or her opinion of the respondent's answers, to establish a balanced rapport, and to perfect a style of listening that rewards the respondent's participation but does not evaluate the responses (Converse & Schuman, 1974, as cited in Fontana & Frye, 1994). In other words, the interviewer must maintain a balance between providing enough openness and flexibility for participants to tell their story while adhering to the interview structure. This need for balance suggests that the researcher can have a profound effect on the quality of the findings. One concern is the extent to which the predispositions of the researcher may affect data analysis and interpretation. Walcott (1988) notes that researchers who declare their biases provide readers with an important perspective on the reported results. What follows is a discussion of my potential biases and the ways in which I attempted to deal with them to increase the validity of the findings.

The greatest potential bias to this study is the researcher's desire for students of color to become professional social workers in larger numbers and for minority clients to have greater access to culturally appropriate services. Research suggests that minority

students are underrepresented in graduate social work programs. The literature also provides evidence that minority clients often hesitate to seek services and when they do, they usually terminate after one session. Among the reasons given for the underutilization of services among minority clients is a lack of social and cultural sensitivity among service providers (Sue & Sue, 1999). The literature also indicates that minority clients often prefer practitioners from their own ethnic group. In light of these realities, increasing the number of minority professionals who are familiar with the language, values, and lifestyles of minority clients offers some hope for dealing with underutilization of services by minorities.

Another potential bias is the fact that the researcher shares both race and/or gender with a large number of the participants. Consequently, I was careful not to ask leading questions, or to offer any suggestions to participants in filling in their experiences. I also made no comments during interviews, particularly regarding their experiences as students in the university setting or their interpretation of these experiences. Through rigorous interview recording, transcribing, and reflecting practices, I was able to minimize biased recall of interviews during the data analytic phase of the project. Researcher bias was further minimized by continual self-monitoring of the research methods, and the effects of the researcher's presence on participants.

Issues of Validity and Reliability

In this type of study the validity of findings is not assessed by whether the empirical indicators used to operationalize concepts are valid representations of the phenomenon under study, but whether or not the researcher has represented the social

world of respondents as they see it (Wiseman, 1970). Reliability, on the other hand, refers to the consistency of the data. The issue here is that should another researcher choose to replicate the study using the same methods, would his/her findings deviate from the current study.

In qualitative research, verifying the validity and reliability of the findings can be handled in a number of ways. For example, various researchers have developed their own conceptualization of drawing and verifying conclusions, i.e., establishing the authenticity and truthfulness of the answer. For instance, Walcott (1990) suggests rejecting the concept of validity altogether by developing a case for no single “correct” interpretation. Similarly, Schwandt (1990, as cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994) maintains that it is not possible to specify criteria for good qualitative work given the contingent, contextual, and personally interpretive nature of qualitative research. Others (Blumer, 1969) suggest that the only way to ensure the fit between the data and what the respondents actually say and do is to remain close to the empirical social world of respondents. Still others have taken a different position. For example, Kirk and Miller (1986) believe that validity and reliability are relevant concepts for qualitative research. Miles and Huberman (1994) take this a step further by offering a checklist in the form of questions for assessing the truthfulness and authenticity of naturalistic research. These questions incorporate five main issues: the objectivity/conformability of qualitative work (i.e., the replicability of the study); reliability/dependability/auditability (i.e., the degree to which the process of the study is consistent, reasonably stable over time, and across researchers and methods); internal validity/credibility/authenticity (i.e., the truthfulness of the conclusions to the people studied and to the readers); external

validity/transferability/fittingness (i.e., the generalizability of the study); and utilization/application/action orientation.

Additionally, Lincoln and Guba (1985) advise that researchers crosscheck their work through member checks and that they document their methods and procedures in enough detail to leave an audit trail for others to follow. Others (Alkin et al., 1979) argue that there should be more focus on the credibility of the researcher, given the researcher's role as the instrument of data collection and the center of the analytical process.

The foregoing discussion highlights the lack of consensus regarding validity and reliability in qualitative research. However, because the results of this study can have real consequences in the lives of people, a number of procedures were taken to ensure that the conclusions are confirmable and credible.

One strategy used to achieve validity was to check the comments of one participant against those of others. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that this approach contributes to the trustworthiness and credibility of the findings. Researchers also note that validity can be achieved by spending considerable time in the research setting. I collected data through 41 interviews during more than 75 hours of in-depth probing of the experiences of participants. This number of interviews generated voluminous data that enabled the researcher to provide the reader with thick descriptions of the world of the participants, further strengthening the validity of the findings. Moreover, as Seidman (1991) notes informants working with researchers who share racial or cultural similarities are likely to respond frankly and in depth on issues of common concern (i.e., a woman of color talking to students of color about their educational experiences).

Since the researcher is a member of a minority group and has also gone through the social work career process, it was also necessary to find ways of maintaining distance so as not to impose thoughts, beliefs, and experiences on participants. In order to maintain objectivity the researcher engaged in constant self-questioning about the areas under study and was alert to the need for testing and revising personal beliefs and conceptions. More importantly, however, it involved listening very carefully to the stories that respondents told and asking for clarification/corrections to ensure an accurate understanding of their meaning.

Because the researcher was known to many of the participants as a “professor,” issues of reliability are also relevant. In this case reliability had to do with whether the persons interviewed changed their stories because of the presence and actions of the researcher. One approach used to guard against this problem was to ensure that each respondent was clear on the researcher’s current role.

Generalizability

It is important to note that several aspects of the study limit the generalizability of the findings. One limitation is that the results are based on a sample drawn from one large urban university in the northeast. It is unclear if the results are generalizable to other institutions of higher education across the United States. Another limitation is that the study is based on self-report of intended behavior or belief. Beliefs are seldom perfect predictors of eventual behavior and student responses may not be strongly correlated with their subsequent behavior. A longitudinal study would have allowed the observation of behavior regarding career choice as individuals move through the various

stages of life. Observations also would have offered greater understanding of how relevant variables interact to shape cross-cultural career choice behavior over time.

Despite these limitations, the study provides a depth of understanding that otherwise would be less available. This information can inform other studies about the social work career choice process of minority students and the challenges they face in pursuing graduate social work education. Another unique and related contribution of this research is its use of qualitative methods. It is one of the few studies developed to understand minority students' perspectives and experiences from the standpoint of the student themselves. This feature also adds to the complexity, depth and detail of the inquiry. By looking at a group of minority students holistically and in its particularity, our understanding of the personal experiences and perspectives, the situation and the resulting interaction is greatly enhanced. The case study approach yielded thick descriptions of individual cases and identified patterns and relationships. It does not reduce the experiences to independent, isolated parts. Stake (1994) notes that our understanding of what has happened is enriched partly by what others reveal as their experience. Thus, rather than focusing too strongly on the generalizability of the results, the case study approach can be better understood as assisting in the construction of knowledge and theory.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS: WHO CHOOSES SOCIAL WORK

This study has a twofold purpose. The first objective is to identify and describe the factors that influence minority students' choice of social work as a career. The second is to describe the perceived barriers to recruitment and retention of minority students in graduate social work programs. Based on the concept of symbolic interactionism, the study seeks to explore the meaning of social work for minority students and to explain how these meanings are shaped by the students' social interaction with others in their environment. The long interview has been used to explore early understandings of social work, factors influencing career choice, career aspirations and perceived barriers to recruitment and retention in graduate social work programs. This chapter describes the demographics of the forty-one participants interviewed for this study. It is followed by an analysis of their socioeconomic status and family characteristics.

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Personal data are presented in Table 5.1. More sociology majors (46.3%) were represented in the sample than any other majors. The majority of the students were female (80.5%), enrolled full-time (85.4%), with an average GPA of 2.97. Of the twenty-six undergraduates interviewed, half (50.0%) were juniors or seniors. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 51 with a mean age of 28.39. Two-thirds (70.7%) were born in the United States.

Table 5.1:
Demographic Characteristics of Minority Pre-Social Work and Social Work Students

Characteristics	Percentage
Gender	
Male	19.5
Female	80.5
Enrollment	
Full time	85.4
Part time	14.6
Age	
24 and younger	51.2
25-40	39.0
41 years and older	9.8
Academic Status	
Freshman	7.3
Sophomore	0
Junior	24.4
Senior	24.4
Major	
Business	2.4
Community Health	2.4
Psychology	4.9
Sociology	41.4
Women Studies	2.4
Religion	2.4
Mean Grade Point Average (GPA)	2.97
Place of Birth	
Born in the US	70.7
Foreign-born	29.3
N=41	100

Parental Occupational Choice

To describe family socioeconomic status, this study examined three factors: parents' primary occupation, the students' level of financial difficulty while growing up, and their history of receiving social services. As seen in Table 5.2, the respondents are from working-class backgrounds. They reported parental employment in one of five categories: semiskilled, low-skilled, skilled laborers, professionals, and managers. More than half (51.2%) the fathers were employed in semiskilled or low-skilled work, which included employment as factory workers, maintenance workers, security guards, porters, grocery clerks, custodians, cab drivers, messenger dispatchers, etc. One fifth (21.9 percent) worked as skilled laborers in positions such as mechanics, plumbers, railroad clerks, construction workers, cotton farmers, and tailors. Another fifth (19.6 percent) were identified as professionals and managers, employed in a range of occupations including accountants, biologists, college professors, business managers, administrators, and teachers. The occupations of three fathers were listed as unknown.

Almost half the mothers were employed as semi-skilled and skilled workers. Semi-skilled workers had jobs as factory workers, childcare workers, office clerks, hotel workers, housekeepers, and administrative assistance. Skilled workers were employed as seamstresses, secretaries, beauticians, and nurses' aides. Another 12 percent worked in professional and managerial areas, working as nurses, day care directors, and administrators. A surprisingly high number of mothers (43.9%) were homemakers, making it the second largest area in which mothers could be found.

Table 5.2: Parental Primary Occupation

Category	Mother N'41 Percentage	Father N'41 Percentage
Professional	9.8	9.8
Skilled Labor	7.3	21.9
Semiskilled Labor	34.2	51.2
Managerial	4.8	9.8
Home Maker	43.9	0
Unknown	0	7.3
N=41	100	100

Perceived Level of Financial Difficulty

The perceived level of family financial difficulty is presented in Table 5.3. More than half the students (51.2 percent) in this study indicated that their families had difficulty making ends meet. Over two-fifths (41.5%) considered their financial situation average. Another 4.9 percent indicated that their financial difficulties were severe. Only one student indicated a higher than average income.

Table 5.3: Perceived Level of Financial Difficulty

Level of Financial Difficulty	Percentage
Severe Financial Difficulty	4.9
Difficulty Making Ends Meet	51.2
Average Income	41.5
Higher than Average Income	2.4
N=41	100

Percent of Students Whose Family Received Social Services

The percent of students who received social services is presented in Table 5.4. More than two-thirds (70.7%) of the students stated that their families received some form of public assistance while they were growing up. This means that although some respondents considered their family finances to be average, they were still poor enough to qualify for social services. Only 12 (29.3%) students indicated that their family did not receive social services while they were growing up.

Table 5.4: Percent of Students who Received Social Services

Received Social Services	Percentage
Yes	70.7
No	29.3
N=41	100

Family Characteristics

Birth Order of the Sample

The birth order of the respondents is presented in Table 5.5. Almost half (46.3%) identified themselves as first-borns. This interesting finding is consistent with research in this area (Lackie, 1982, 1983; Marsh, 1988, Bedford & Bedford, 1987) that suggests that first-borns are more likely than younger borns to enter occupations that are extensions of childhood experiences of nurturing and responsibility for others. Social work is an appropriate profession for expressing nurturing impulses in a professional caretaker role. While several studies have consistently documented this phenomenon in social work students, none have analyzed the data by ethnicity. The current study suggests that

minority students are very much like their White counterparts in that those who enter the helping professions are more likely to be the oldest child in their family. Additionally, 24.4 percent of respondents identified themselves as the second-born child, 9.8 percent as the third child, and 2.4 percent as the fourth. Seventeen percent of the respondents had five or more older siblings.

Table 5.5: Birth Order of the Sample

Birth Order in Family of Origin	Frequency	Percentage
1 st	19	46.3
2 nd	10	24.4
3 rd	4	9.8
4 th	1	2.4
5 or older siblings	7	17.1
N=41		100

Family Role

The role respondents played in their family of origin is presented in Table 5.6. The majority of students who participated in this study indicated that they played the role of caretaker in their family of origin. The caretaker role, as noted earlier, is very common among social work practitioners. Lackie (1984) suggests that the career choice of social work for those who consider themselves as early caretakers might be an attempt to put to rest an impossible legacy through more limited and manageable caretaking. Here again experiences in the family of origin influenced respondents' decision to pursue a career in social work. As can be seen in Table 5.6, another 22 percent identified themselves as both caretakers and achievers, and 17 percent as achievers. This finding is

not surprising, given the low economic status and the racial/ethnic makeup of the sample. Most of these participants are from families whose members have traditionally not attended college. Most respondents indicated that they are the first in their family to go to college and to pursue graduate education. A few indicated that they were the first in their family to graduate from high school. A very few (4.9%) respondents identified themselves as the family clown and 14.6 percent as the rebellious child in their families of origin. Only one participant identified himself or herself as the scapegoat. This is also consistent with Lackie's study, which found that characterizations such as overt scapegoats, the infantilized child, and the symptomatic member represent a very small percentage of the population of social work students. Since learning occurs in the context of personal experience, then social work education may need to help students develop the capacity to construct new forms of professional selves, and to enhance their awareness of how the past affects both career choice and professional functioning (1984).

Table 5.6: Role Played in Family of Origin

Role in Family of Origin	Frequency	Percentage
Family Clown	2	4.9
Family Care Taker	16	39.0
Rebellious Child	6	14.6
Family Achiever	7	17.1
Family Scapegoat	1	2.4
Caretaker/Achiever	9	22.0
N=41		100

CHAPTER VI

THE CALL TO SOCIAL WORK

Early Understandings of Social Work

Respondents were asked to describe their early understandings of social work, their general attraction to the profession, their long-term career goals, and their career decision-making process. The graduate students looked retrospectively at the choices they made while the undergraduates thought about the choices they would make in the future. Their responses are presented in this section.

Most participants first learned about social work through their experiences as recipients of social services or through the experiences of friends, family, or neighbors who received social work services. As noted in the previous section, most of the participants are from low-income communities. Consequently, respondents and their families were in frequent contact with social workers because of poverty, substance abuse, difficult family situations, and brushes with the law. As one participant stated:

I grew up in a family of eight, and it seemed like there were always social workers in and out of our house. SV

For some, these encounters left a lasting and positive impression:

I was young when my mother became very sick, and a lot of people came by and helped us out. We had many social workers and home attendants. They really helped us out. I will never forget what these people did for us. DV.

My first experience with social workers was as a consumer. I was homeless and trying to find a way home. It was a social worker who actually gave me the tools that I needed to get into a program. RS

My first experience with social work was as a client. I was having a lot of problems, and they helped me a lot. Basically, it saved my life, being in therapy. Throughout the years I've been in contact with different social workers and it's been really very helpful. RM

Many respondents noted that social services provided them opportunities to turn their lives around. However, for the vast majority of the participants, social workers were perceived as people largely responsible for making life miserable for the poor and, in particular, poor people of color. Being dependent on public social service institutions for support and services, respondents suggested, often subjected them to patronizing, punitive, demeaning, and arbitrary treatment by people associated with welfare bureaucracies. One participant recalled accompanying her mother to the welfare office:

I used to go to the welfare office with my mother to translate and I always left feeling terrible—as if we had done something wrong. It just didn't make sense to me the way they talked down to you. I didn't understand it. We were there to get help and we were treated as if the money was coming out of their pockets. AA

Similarly, another participant recalled:

When I was in the shelter, people there who called themselves “social workers” did not help you one iota. I had no access to them. You had to negotiate this very clandestine hierarchy to even get close to a social worker. I felt very unsupported and desperate. That was my first experience with people who call themselves “social workers.” RS

All of the participants were in agreement that social workers were perceived very negatively in their communities. Although at times helpful, they could also make life very difficult. More to the point, they were seen in communities of color primarily as people who work in public agencies and who are responsible for breaking up families:

I grew up in a very poor community and there was a very negative view of social workers. They were known as the people who took away your kids and your government benefits. They were the people who came to check up on you. MP

I knew very little about social workers until I was much older and the little information I had was very negative. I heard about social workers who took the

kids away and that kind of thing or about the welfare departments and the people who work there. I heard that they are moody ladies or men and that they are very harsh. They never picked up the phone and they were not helpful. Even when I saw social workers on television it was usually negative also. RS

Where I am from, the term social work has always had negative connotations. Social workers are people who went into other people's home and investigated their lives. KS

Being dependent in our society implies being legitimately subject to the arbitrary and invasive authority of social service providers who enforce rules with which the poor must comply. Social service workers also exercise enormous power over the conditions of poor people's lives. It is from this perspective that most of the participants came to know social workers:—"they are the people who came around, checked out the house and took away your benefits if they didn't think you deserved it." MP

However, these participants' views of social work gradually changed through courses, internships, and exposure in college. Social work over time was seen as important and necessary work that is not limited to child welfare. Increasingly, respondents viewed social workers as playing a vital role in an ever-isolating society. Some noted that social workers are the voice of the underserved and the marginalized. These students discussed how and when their early understandings of social work changed. The following statements underscore the significance of undergraduate college courses, social work internships, and pre-professional employment in exposing undergraduate students to the values and benefits of the profession:

I found out in college that social workers don't just work at welfare agencies, that they can work anywhere basically and that they do help. A lot of the people in welfare offices aren't really professional social workers. They call themselves social workers and all social workers get judged by them. JR

I definitely don't have the same beliefs about social work that I had then. It's an amazing field. There is so much that you can do . . . the turning point for me was

working in a social services department in a psychiatric hospital. Being exposed to social workers there and what they did made me want to become part of that profession. They are caring people who do very important and necessary work. SG

Through courses in college and in my internship, I found out that social workers are in many different fields and that it is really important work. It makes a difference in society even though it's not acknowledged. SM

General Attraction to Social Work: Benefits of the Degree

Once respondents became aware of social work as a profession and what social workers do, they were more likely to be attracted to social work because of its focus on solving problems related to poverty. They saw social work as an opportunity to express their commitment to the community and to right some of the wrongs committed by the social service system. Respondents were also attracted to the autonomy and flexibility of the social work profession.

Opportunity to Express Commitment to the Community

Many participants described very difficult situations in their lives while growing up in impoverished communities of color. They recalled stories of people who helped them overcome their troubles. It is within this context that they indicate an obligation to do the same for others who have been left behind. One participant described this sense of obligation to others in her community:

In a lot of ways I am very lucky. I mean I did grow up on welfare in the South Bronx and through all that I made it and I think it's time to give something back. Somewhere along the line somebody helped me and it changed my life. Somebody took the time to listen to my bullshit and my anger and everything else and hung in there and helped me move along to get where I am right now. That made a really big impact on me. . . . I feel really blessed and so I think I have a responsibility to give part of that back. AA

Similarly, others noted:

I am from East Harlem, which is like the ghetto—very low in status. Seeing what I see every day—welfare dependency, addiction, homelessness, I would like to do anything I can to alleviate that even if it's one person at a time. I am not a Mother Teresa, but I have an obligation to do something about that. DR

I wanted to become a social worker because I was interested in working with people in the community and helping them to better their lives. I wanted to help people get the same opportunities that I had struggled to have and maybe help them to have an easier time to get there. MH

I wanted to become a social worker because I want to create a situation through my own work where people have access to programs that can better serve them. That no one would have to go through what I went through in order to get services. RS

This last remark reveals how some participants interpret their commitment to the community. They had been wronged by social workers and felt compelled to right wrongs to insulate others from the degrading and punitive treatments suffered at the hands of social workers. Through their work as social workers many respondents envisioned developing opportunities to help others gain access to services. They expected this to help neighborhood residents put their lives back together in dignified, meaningful ways. Informants described their feelings subsequent to encounters with the welfare system and their desire to protect others in their community from similar experiences in the excerpts that follow:

I remember that feeling I had every time I left the welfare office, and I just don't think it should be like this. That people should never be treated this way. I know I am not going to make a big dent, but, hopefully, the people that I am able to help won't leave bitter, like I did. LG

As a young child I used to go to the welfare office with my parents as their translator. As I got older and more politically aware, my role changed from just a translator to advocate. I became very familiar with the welfare system. Just seeing the lack of services gave me the need to help. Not just any way of helping because sometimes help can be given in a way that is demeaning. The way help

was given to us was very demeaning, and it's something that always stuck in my mind. MP

I was in contact with welfare since I was a kid. I would like to do the job better than some of the ones I came in contact with. I also know the community well, and I believe I can make a difference in the lives of the people that are still there. I believe that I can be more effective. SV

Historically, residents of poor communities, particularly members of minority groups, often do not participate in making decisions that affect the conditions of their lives (Young, 1990). Young (1990) notes that minorities are often situated where they must take orders and rarely have the right to give them. Thus, one aspect of a minority frame of reference is feeling powerless. Social work as a profession may be particularly attractive to this segment of the community because it allows them to exercise autonomy over their own lives. Social workers can express themselves openly and can command respect from others. Their work allows them to express creativity and judgment. Perhaps most importantly for study respondents, social work offers opportunities for them to support and to give back to their communities. These respondents discuss the source of their desire to give back and their sense of responsibility to their communities:

I would say it probably goes back to my early childhood upbringing. I have lived the life of the have-nots, and I understand and identify with that struggle. So I could not pursue a goal that would require me to take advantage of others because I know how it is to experience being taken advantage of. . . . I have also been connected to the church all of my life, and if you are serious about being in the church, whether you are a mere member, or whether you are in some administrative position, then you will be influenced. So I think that the church probably had the biggest influence on me. JW

My paternal grandmother was a social worker in her own right. She was always involved in helping people in the neighborhood. Everyone knew her. She used to cook a pot of rice and beans for whoever would show up. Most of the people that showed up were the homeless and alcoholic men. So helping others was something I learned from my family while I was growing up. SS

I always wanted to be a resource for my community. I was profoundly influenced by Martin Luther King. I saw him as a helper, and I wanted to be like him, but I never really figured out how I was going to do it until I became involved with social workers. RS

In summary, respondents' desire to "give back" and their sense of responsibility to help others came from early life experiences with poverty, the church, community leaders, and their families. However, the collectivistic values of the participants may have evolved from a more fundamental point. Many researchers have confirmed that involvement with family and responsibility to the community are central values of minority communities of color (Schiele, 1997; Akbar, 1991; Asante, 1988). These authors suggest that this is due in part to the influence of Afrocentric values, such as collectivity, mutual aid, and cooperation. These values are emphasized and developed very early in one's upbringing. They are also supported by a traditional African belief that there is no perpetual separation between an individual and others. Since individual identity is conceived as a collective identity, there is a strong emphasis on social responsibility and concern for the community.

Autonomy and Flexibility

In addition to providing opportunities to express important values, social work is also attractive to many of the respondents because of its perceived flexibility. Flexibility is described as the ability to move easily from one type of job to another. Since social workers can be found in many types of public, nonprofit, and private sector institutions, there are opportunities to match their evolving interests or commitment (population, setting) with new job choices or options. Another perceived aspect of professional flexibility, and thus a source of attraction to the field, is the range of intervention methods

available to help clients. Respondents noted they could work with clients individually or in groups. Finally, social work is perceived as offering opportunities to work independently. The many aspects of social work's flexibility and its attractiveness to minority students are illustrated below:

I had contact with lots [of] social workers when I was growing up and the job didn't seem stressful. They came and went when they wanted to and I like that. In social work you can do it your own way. You use your own methods. There is no one standing over your back telling you how to work with your clients. I knew this was for me because I don't work too well with someone over my back. I can make my own schedule and that's really good for me too. DV

With teaching I was always under someone else. . . whereas now I have more responsibilities. I can do things in my own style, and its okay and accepted as long as I consult with my supervisor. In teaching there was no flexibility, no room for my own creativity. RST

I like social work because I saw that I could have more opportunities to do the kind of work that I like to do. I could work with kids but I don't have to be a teacher, and I can work with them individually or in a group. I could work in a hospital setting with babies or I could choose to work with the elderly. I could choose to work with the mentally ill. It's much broader than being a nurse or a teacher, which is what I thought I wanted to do before I got into social work. JT

For me social work was attractive because it's not a confining field. It's really broad and that makes it exciting because I know I can jump into something else within it with the same degree. I like the fact that you can work with prisoners one year and be in a hospital the next. The variety of things you can do in social work is really amazing. That's what attracted me most SG

With social work you could work in a lot of different places, not just the school. I could work anywhere really, because social workers are everywhere. Just the fact that it's so flexible and that the degree is also so flexible was really ideal for me. You could use it toward anything you want. Whereas in teaching you're pretty much stuck teaching unless you go into administration or something like that and that's not what I wanted. I wanted to be able to do a lot more. It's not that I don't like working with the kids and teaching them, but I find what I am doing in my field placement more gratifying. RST

Sorting Out Career Options

The Choice for Social Work

The task of sorting out career options is very complex for anyone. For some minority groups it is all the more complicated because of racism and discrimination which have characterized their lives. In the context of social oppression, minority groups such as African Americans are believed to adapt by psychologically constructing a set of assumptions and beliefs about who they are; what opportunities are available to them in life, and finally what strategies must be employed to meet their individual and collective needs (Parham & Austin, 1994). Based on experiences with racism and discrimination combined with a cultural emphasis on social responsibility, young adult African Americans may identify with and choose a career path based on their perception of that career's relationship to their own racial identity. As noted earlier, respondents felt a strong sense of personal responsibility and accountability for ensuring that minority clients are treated with dignity and respect. The study findings indicate that ethnic identity may in fact have played a central role in the perceived vocational options of these respondents. All forty-one participants noted that the cultural, mental, and economic well being of their community is an important part of their ethnic identity. Therefore, they did not consider other avenues of helping, such as psychology and counseling because they perceived them to be individualistic and without the capacity to address community issues. As one participant commented:

For me psychology is more individualistic. You are trying to get into an individual's mind and that's not what I want. I don't want to solve one person's problem. I want to work with the community. I am not trying to cure anyone. I want a career where I can be myself and bring all of my experiences from living in the community to helping people in my community. LH

For others the choice of social work was clear because of its emphasis on values such as self-worth, dignity, and self-determination. These values not only resonated with the values of the participants but also with their notions about solving human and societal problems as the following excerpts reveal:

I was always very aware of injustice growing up, and, as I got older and I understood what social workers did, I wanted to be part of that profession. Then I saw the code of ethics, and they really resonated with me because it's the way I thought about conducting my own affairs. Self-worth, dignity, and self-determination really stood out for me. RM

I think your environment has a lot more to do with what's in your head. I want to help people find their way again, but I want to do so in a way that honors who you are and where you came from. In social work you have more opportunities to do it this way. I feel like psychology is really rigid. There isn't much room for change. You have to do things a certain way. With social work you can move and flow and change as people move and flow and change. You meet people where they are. RS

For this group of students, socio-cultural and environmental influences appear to play a central role in their career choice decisions. The public agencies encountered by respondents as children presumed to know what was good for those they served. They assumed that poor people did not know what was good for them. The attraction to social work emerged as a counterpoint to this history and practice. For these informants, social work values are perceived as recognizing clients' innate potentialities, capacities, and strengths. They also imply freedom to make choices in an atmosphere of dignity and respect.

In addition, respondents were drawn to the intervention approaches of the social work profession. Informants were especially drawn to the "strengths" perspective and the person-in-environment paradigm, which allow the practitioner to draw upon resources available both within client systems and their environment. The strengths perspective

affirms that clients know their situations best and given options, can often determine the best solutions for their circumstances. The person-in-environment paradigm emphasizes working with an individual but also recognizes the enormous impact of family, groups, communities, and other forces in the client's environment. The perception of the environment as central to the intervention process becomes apparent in the passages below:

I like the idea of social work. There is a real sense of the community and its power. I like the balance that social work has that acknowledges the environment and where we live with the clinical. Psychology seems to emphasize the personal aspect and they don't take into consideration the environment and the power that it has to foster change. ML

I chose social work because I didn't want to be tied to some philosophy or idea of how you help people. Social work seemed more flexible. You can meet people where they are as opposed to bringing them to us. I didn't want to see people as sick. When I needed help, I wasn't sick. I was a little misguided and I needed support, but I wasn't sick. I needed to have access to the things I could use to make my situation better. I saw social work as a better tool for that. RS

To me, social work addresses broader issues than psychology. It takes into consideration the society. It works with the community and utilizes what's already there, the strengths of the people in that community. I have always seen psychology as being specific to the individual and working only with what the individual brings to the table. KS

These students are also suggesting that needing help is neither deviant nor pathological. They make clear that accounting for the ecological structure of their environment and its effects on the community is a necessary part of any intervention strategy. Additionally, their responses highlight the intersection between their values and the formulation of ideas regarding appropriate intervention approaches. Finally, their statements evoke an idea of social work that is oriented toward affirming mutuality, rather than oriented solely toward private needs and desires.

The Counterpull of Family

Many studies have identified the importance of significant others in the career choice and decision-making process of students. All the respondents perceived that family, friends, and others in the community significantly influenced their career choice. Some influences were described as facilitators and others as barriers. For example, a few participants stated that once they made their career goals known, they were assured by significant others that they are good listeners, that they enjoyed helping others, and that their values appeared to fit with the values of social work. However, the vast majority of participants reported that they were discouraged by family and friends who saw social work as a poor career choice. The reasons most often given were the poor financial rewards that social work offers, the lack of prestige that the profession has in communities of color, and the emotional and psychological demands of the work.

My mother wasn't really hung up on the whole thing and I know I have disappointed her. Maybe that's why it took me so long until I could get to this point. I didn't want to let her down. She is supportive of the fact that I am in school, but she is not happy about the whole social work thing. When I told my best friend what I wanted to do she said to me, "Are you sure you know what you're doing?" and I said, "Yes, I know what I am doing." She said, "You know there's not a lot of money in that," and I said, "You know I am not doing it for the money." She kept asking me, "Are you sure you want to do that? Are you sure you want to be dealing with people's problems all day? Do you really think you can make a difference? You are not going to get any respect." These are the comments I would get, and it really upsets me. That's when I really get discouraged. AA

This is not a profession where everybody pats you on the back and tells you how much they are looking forward to you being a social worker. My family was not receptive to me being a social worker. They told me I was not going to get paid and that I was going to be burnt out. I think a lot of the discouragement I receive was due to their lack of understanding about social work. KG

Many people discouraged me from going into social work. I was told that I'd be poor for the rest of my life because I am not going to make any money. Some people told me that it's an emotional roller coaster and that social workers are not

respected. I know in my heart that this is what I want to do, but when you get these kinds of comments it's really discouraging. MT

These respondents are describing the difficult process of choosing a profession that is devalued by their community and the ambivalence that comes from going against the wishes of significant others. Because the support of significant others is so important in their career decision-making process, intense conflict may be aroused by this decision.

Dilemma and Choice

In addition to the negative response of others to their career choice, the respondents also identified their own concerns regarding a career in social work. They included burnout, inability to affect change as a result of the social service bureaucracy, and the negative and stereotypic perceptions of poor and minority clients. Without exception, study participants are concerned about supporting their families on a social work salary and the lack of respect that social workers receive from the larger community. They also described concerns such as feelings of otherness and rejection by community members who perceived their pursuit of higher education as a "sellout" or "acting White."

Practice Concerns

Seven of the graduate students cited burnout as one of their major practice concerns. Edelwich and Brodsky (1980) identified burnout as a progressive loss of idealism, energy, and purpose experienced by people in the helping professions as a result of the conditions of their work. Participants' concerns about burnout included

insufficient training, too little pay, bureaucratic and political constraints, and the gap between their aspirations and accomplishments. These ideas are summarized below:

I am really interested in social justice but it doesn't seem to be a big priority for a lot of agencies. So I am concerned about getting burnt out because of my frustration and anger at injustice. SS

My concern is that I will be at a particular level and I won't be able to grow. So I am concerned about burnout and my effectiveness. I feel there will be a lot of obstacles, but burnout is definitely a major concern. KG

My biggest concern is not being able to do the work that I want to do because of the bureaucracy and getting burnt out in the process. AO

One thread running through all the concerns cited by respondents is how poorly social workers are compensated and the low status of the profession within the larger community. But as one participant stated, "I am not motivated by money or professional status." CS. For these participants social work is a calling—a call to do something for their community.

Everyone says why do you want to do social work? You are settling for less. You are not going to make any money. But everything is not about money. I know people who are making money and they are not happy with their job. I believe everyone has a calling. It is something you can feel within yourself. How can I say this? There is something for everyone to do in this life. I feel my character and my experiences lend themselves to this type of work. You have to look within your soul and ask what it is that I have to contribute to my community. That's the way I look at it. CS

Sometimes it's discouraging to know that you are going into a profession that is not respected. Half the time we are not seen as professionals at all. A lot of people don't think we deserve the higher salary or that we do anything worthwhile. I think that's discouraging, so I have had to weigh that against helping people and doing the kind of work that I really want to do. RST

When I tell people that I am going into social work they always say, what are you going into that field for? You are not going to make any money. But for me this is not about money. This is something I can do for my community. I can't explain why, but I just know that this is what I want to do. DV

Marginalization

Discrimination within the profession as a result of race also surfaced as a concern.

All forty-one of the respondents perceived the profession of social work as a microcosm of the larger society. They noted that as individuals from minority groups, they are potential targets of prejudice and discrimination within and outside the professional.

These students discuss their perception of the kinds of discrimination they are likely to face:

I think race is definitely going to affect how far I get in the profession. I have worked in the hospital setting and most of the people on the front lines of social work are people of color. When you go to the top of the administration, they are usually White people. This always strikes me as funny. I mean all these people that are doing frontline work, you would think that some of them would move up, but when they do it's only at a certain level. KG

I know that wherever I go there are going to be issues. Whether it's my chosen profession or trying to catch a cab on Park Avenue. There are going to [be] individuals and institutions that will have issues with me because I am a Black man. Because of all they associate with being a Black man. I am lazy, violent, etc. So I am concerned about racism and sexism. There is a lot of lip service given to these issues in the literature but I don't see it in practice. I still see a lot of racial and gender issues from social workers to clients and from social workers to each other. RS

I am not worried about getting a job as a social worker. I am more worried about my chances of getting the kind of position I want. I know everyone says race doesn't matter, but you just have to look around you. Who are the decision makers? In my placement it's a White male who heads the program and the two supervisors are White women. All of the support staff is Chinese and Latinos. When you look around at other agencies, it's basically the same setup. RM

As the last statement suggests, many students are less concerned with getting a job and more concerned with upward mobility. For some this has promoted a belief that they will have to work harder to get ahead. This is consistent with what researchers believe to be the cultural orientation of some minority groups. More specifically, researchers contend that the existing ecological conditions have led minority people to

believe that they have to be twice as good to go half as far. The following anecdotes illustrate a part of this orientation:

Being around White people I think I will have to work harder to prove myself. I am not sure if it's coming from me or the messages I am getting from society, but I have this sense that I will have to work harder to get where I want to go. I have to be able to show that I am not a lazy Latino. MH

I would like to say that it's going to be fine, based on the history of Blacks in this country I know that I am going to have to work harder than a White person. I believe that if I do what I have to do and work hard, that it's possible to turn things around in my favor. RH

As an Asian American I think it will be more difficult to get certain positions. I am going to have to work harder to prove that I can do the job. (Why is that?) Because I am not White. On the other hand because they see me as a model minority, which means I won't make trouble, that could also help me. AT

Color and racism is a big issue in this country and no matter where you go it will be there. At the same time I believe there are a lot of opportunities to excel if you work harder. FO

Despite perceived barriers due to discrimination, these students continue to believe in the American dream and, in particular, the notion that hard work will ultimately be rewarded. Their statements also suggest that hard work and persistence are the most effective means to overcome discrimination in the workplace. For others career mobility has less to do with discrimination and more to do with playing the game. As these students explain:

There is a game that is being played and minorities have to learn to play it. It forces you to develop a double personality, one for home and one for the job, but if you want to survive you have to learn to play it. MP

Now that I am in the field I have learned that a big part of getting ahead is learning how to play the game. I have also learned that I am not good at playing the game but I know what I have to do to survive. You have to pick and chose your battles. ML

To get ahead you have to know how to play the game. I think it's hard for minorities because we were not socialized that way. So I am concerned about being caught up in this game. DS

In their discussions of career mobility these students appear to have developed an expectational stance about social work. That is, they expect that as minority people their career mobility will have more to do with their race and ethnicity than with the quality of their work. In response, they have developed several adaptive strategies for getting ahead, which reflects their perceptions of social and economic realities. These include working twice as hard as their White colleagues, tempering their ambitions, and learning to play the game.

Community Concerns

Many students have also expressed concern about the adverse effect a decision to get an advanced degree might have on their cultural identity and sense of integrity. For example, in some communities of color higher education is often equated as learning to "act White," while simultaneously, giving up on education is perceived as acting like a minority person. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) identified this phenomenon as an oppositional cultural frame of reference. It is applied by minorities only in those areas traditionally defined as the prerogative of White Americans, both by Caucasians and by people of color. In general those are believed to be areas in which only Whites can perform well and where discrimination/ barriers minimize opportunities for access and rewards for minorities who succeed. Additionally, the criteria for performance in such aspirational areas are perceived as established by Whites and, equally important, where

competence and rewards are evaluated and determined by Whites. It is within this context that minority students are pursuing graduate social work education.

Critically, because they are seen as crossing cultural boundaries, they face opposition from members of their community and may experience internal stress. The stress is prompted by a sharing of their groups' sense of collective identity and cultural frame of reference, and not wanting to be seen as behaving in a manner that they themselves define as "acting White." This gives rise to the tension between doing well academically and professionally on the one hand and the demands of the community for conformity to group-sanctioned attitudes and behaviors that validate their minority identity and cultural frame on the other. These graduate students best illustrate the ambivalence and affective dissonance that are generated by this situation.

One of my concerns is that the further I get into my career the less I am able to identify, and the more lonely and isolated I feel. You begin to feel separate not just from your community but from your family. On the one hand, you have White people who see you as an exception to the rule and then you have people of color who feel like you think you are better than they are. Then you have yourself caught between the two and trying to keep grounded. It's a very difficult place to be in. MP

Sometimes I wonder if all this is worth it because the more education I receive, the more highlighted my status as a minority becomes. As much as I wanted not to be "other," the more I find that in many ways I am seen as "other." Not just in the profession but in my community and this really scares me. RM

Now that I have this new awareness of race and poverty I feel a lot more burdened about my community. There is a sense of your people having a really hard time. So you feel this burden to do better and become more educated. The irony is that the more educated you are the lonelier you feel and the more separated you are from your culture and your people. . . That balance has been very difficult to attain. A lot of times I find myself feeling a lot of guilt that the more educated I become, the more I advance career-wise, the harder it is for me to find those feelings. I have to dig deeper than I used to, and it scares me that it's not as familiar as it use to be. Then you feel guilty that it's not as familiar. That's the experience that we go through that other people don't understand—the sense of wanting to really relate to the client and the community. ML

These statements suggest that the experiences of minority students are characterized by marginality both inside and outside of the academy. They do not feel accepted in their communities as a result of taking on a professional identity. At the same time, they are not accepted fully in their chosen profession either. The dilemmas they face clearly suggest that the successful minority student's life is fraught with conflict and ambivalence. To be differentiated and labeled as "other" or, worse, as a "sellout," may lead to social isolation. Individuals may also experience psychological stress because they are uncertain that Whites will accept them if they succeed professionally. Thus, success itself may arouse a sense of uncertainty over the individual's future identity. As a graduate student puts it: "It's really hard because you are on this career path which is helpful to you but which also judges you and that is heavy stuff." MP

Conclusion

These findings indicate that the majority of respondents are nontraditional students in that they are older and often have family responsibilities. Most identified themselves as first-borns and caretakers or achievers in their family of origin. They indicated that their families had difficulty making ends meet while they were growing up and that they received some form of public assistance. Experiences both positive and negative shaped their views of social work. A primary motivation for the participants' decision to enter social work is a desire to help their communities. Respondents perceived social work as offering an opportunity to express a commitment to their communities and to right wrongs that were committed against them and others by social

workers in the past. They were also attracted to social work because of its flexibility and the opportunities it offers to work independently. Additionally, they chose social work over other helping professions, such as counseling and psychology, because of its values and its commitment to working with the poor and disenfranchised. Respondents were influenced in their career choice by family, the church, and experiences with poverty and inspirational community leaders. Despite their commitment to the social work profession, respondents also expressed professional and community concerns about their future career path. They were especially concerned with being marginalized both within the profession and in their communities.

CHAPTER VII

A DREAM DEFERRED: BARRIERS TO PROFESSIONALIZATION

This section of the study explores factors associated with career choice, particularly as they relate to recruitment and retention for both graduate and undergraduate students. It attempts to answer the question, what are the barriers to recruitment and retention of minority students in graduate social work programs?

Analysis of the data reveals that several factors limit the pool of applicants to social work graduate programs. They include academic under-preparedness, lack of social supports for graduate work, resource barriers, and lack of understanding of the social work career path. Once enrolled, minority students also face challenges stemming from their social interaction with others in the program, cultural and racial isolation, lack of relevance of the curriculum to minority issues, and financial hardship.

Under-preparedness for Academic Study

Many scholars have concluded that postsecondary educational success is influenced by a combination of factors including pre-entry attributes (e.g., prior schooling, skills and abilities, and social supports) and institutional experiences (e.g., academic performance and interactions with faculty, staff, and peer groups). Pre-entry attributes such as segregated elementary and secondary schools have also been linked to the declining access and success of minority students to higher education. Moreover, when compared to majority White schools, minority schools have more tracking, less enriched curricula, more crowded classrooms, and teachers with fewer advanced degrees. Minority schools also have fewer resources for counseling students and wider differences

in scores on achievements tests (Lang, 1992). Since minority families earn substantially less than White families, there are fewer family resources available to provide enrichment experiences outside of school. This complex set of factors has serious implications for the success of minority students in college because it affects every aspect of preparedness for academic study. It is within this context that many of the participants are making a decision to pursue graduate education.

Several studies have confirmed that academic preparation also influences the educational experience. Tierney (1992) reported that American Indian students who showed the greatest persistence were those who considered their high school college-preparatory coursework adequate. Self-perception of academic ability and expectations for academic performance have also been shown to be significantly related to persistence. Gloria (1993) found that educational preparation predicted educational self-efficacy, which was a powerful predictor of academic persistence among Chicanos. One participant recalled how her inadequate preparation in high school frustrated her adjustment to the college environment:

It took me six years to finish my BA. I really had a hard time adjusting to the whole college atmosphere. I came out of high school in no way prepared for the kind of work that was expected of me. I felt really frustrated and scared. I thought to myself, how does anyone do this? . . . But when half your class is getting left back you are okay because you can read. But there is a lot more to college than knowing how to read. So I was really unprepared. ML

Others went further by connecting the marginalization and feelings of academic under-preparedness during their undergraduate experience to their difficulty in making the decision to pursue graduate education. Research has shown that the experiences of minority students are very different from those of White students and that these experiences affect achievement and retention (Gossette et al., 1998; Allen, 1992; Taylor

et al., 1995). In sum, the quality of undergraduate experience(s) acted as a barrier to minority students' application to graduate school.

I don't know how I got through the BA. It was really hard adjusting to the college environment, the studying, the classes, the professors—some of them were really nasty, which was really discouraging. Actually, the whole thing was difficult. It is not an experience I would want to repeat. DV

I'll be honest with you. I have been in school for almost six years and it hasn't been easy. I'm a little bit afraid to plunge right into grad school because I think I might get stuck in school for another six years. I mean the thought of that really scares me. DR

To get through the BA was really tough for me. I wanted to take a year off because I just didn't think I could make it. It was the classes, the professors, the students, the studying—the whole thing. It was a lot to deal with. So when I realized that I would have to go for another two years I thought to myself, do I really want this badly enough? I decided that I did. But it was a tough decision. My parents really gave me a push. I'm the only child they have that went to college so they encouraged me to go further. They kept saying to me, if you could do it, do it now. You don't want to stop now and get lazy. Go while you have the opportunity. So I think that also helped. RS

Related to their difficulty in negotiating the college environment is students' perception of their academic abilities. Many of the respondents assessed their academic ability as deficient and concluded that it would be difficult to envision a successful graduate experience. This is consistent with recent research. Mayo and Christenfeld (1999) found that internalization of negative messages about academic capacity affected minority students' perception of how well they could perform a task, not their actual ability. They concluded that internalization of negative messages can greatly influence the success and retention of minority students. In their narratives these students describe how their perception that academe is for smart White people affected their ability to visualize themselves in graduate school.

The fact that I want to do this is still surprising. I mean me, a master's degree? It's something I feel I have to do but I keep asking myself, am I doing the right

thing? . . . Am I going to be able to cut it? I mean that was never part of the plan. You finish high school and you were set. That's the way it is in my family. You didn't have to go further than that. . . . So the master's is a scary thing for me because it's such an impossible, not-even-thought-about thing. It's not something we do. That's what White people do. Even when I came back to school my intent was just to get a bachelor's degree. Then I read that it's better if you get a master's degree. But that wasn't my intention. That is something that was like out of my reach. AA

I never thought of going to grad school until I worked in the field. I remember my supervisor asking me about my future goals and grad school. I thought to myself, I can't go to grad school. That's not something Puerto Ricans do. That's something White people do. I just thought since nobody in my family has ever done it or is talking about it, it's not something that we do. It was really difficult for me to see myself in graduate school. MP

I am the second person in my family to go to finish high school. So for me graduate school is way out of my league. My supervisor was the one who encouraged me to do this. But I kept thinking, do I have what it takes to be there. I am getting way over my head. Then I thought, maybe I shouldn't bother trying if I am going to fail. SS

Participants connected these feelings of insecurity and of not belonging with the historically powerful messages they received that minorities and lower-class individuals are not capable of intellectual achievements. An African American student stated:

As a Black man in this country I feel like everyone is discouraging me all the time. Everyone expects me to fail. No one believes in me. This is what you are working with and it's terrifying. RS

Similarly, another student suggests that although academically able, she did not put forth the effort necessary to do well in school because of the negative messages that she had received about her abilities. Her desire to go to graduate school was born only after she met a minority professor who encouraged her and gave her positive feedback about her abilities to succeed.

No one told me I could or was expected to do well. So I never tried. It was only after I met a Latina professor who really encouraged me that things turned around. I started to get A's a lot and I felt really good. Prior to that I didn't think I was

going to make it. She made me understand that not only was I capable of doing well but I can go as far as I wanted to. ML

These statements illustrate another aspect of the ambivalence that many minority students bring to the academic experience. More specifically, their experience suggests that majority Caucasian Americans traditionally refuse to acknowledge that minorities and, in particular, African Americans are capable of intellectual achievements. Consequently many minorities begin to doubt their own intellectual abilities and to define academia as a White person's prerogative.

Social Preparedness for Graduate Study

In addition to academic under-preparedness, respondents also had to confront their social preparedness and how they might fit in the complex social ecology of higher education. Most participants grew up in mono-cultural communities, and their first encounter with Whites was in college. For many, difficulty negotiating relationships with White students made it difficult for them to become part of the college community. Their stories highlight how one's sense of fit, fear, and self-doubt can lead to social isolation and alienation.

It took me six years to complete my BA and in that time I never made one White friend. I felt really intimidated. I grew up in the projects and went to school there with other Black and Latino kids. I never really had any interaction with White people. Of the kids I knew from high school that went to college I was the only one to go to a four-year school. Most of the others went to community college. So I didn't really know anyone. I never really felt part of the whole thing. Even in my major there were very few students of color and I was the only Latina. It was really difficult for me, I felt really isolated. I didn't really participate in class. I felt intimidated about speaking up because I wasn't sure whether I was saying stuff in the right way or using the right words and didn't want to be misunderstood, so most of the time I kept quiet. I just didn't want to confirm their stereotypes about Latinas who can't speak English or Spanish. ML

Similarly, another student stated:

I experienced college as very isolating. I did all my work on my own. I didn't really know anyone and I was afraid of making friends. I was working and going to school and I was scared. I was also the only Black male in most of my classes and that had me really spooked. Everyone seemed so sure of themselves, but I was afraid of not being able to do the work so I kept to myself. RS

The feelings of isolation that these students identify are consistent with findings in the literature. Both qualitative and quantitative studies have documented that feelings of isolation are common among minority students. In a study comparing White, African American, Latino, and Asian students, Ancis et al. (2001) found that Whites experienced greater satisfaction overall within the university than any of the minority students. Other studies confirm that minority students knew far fewer people on campus when they arrived. D'Augelli and Hershberger (1993) find, for example, that African Americans are less likely to know people on campus when they arrive. More than one-third of African American respondents reported that they knew no one on campus upon arrival compared to 10 percent of White students. In addition to differences that existed prior to their arrival on campus, minorities are also more likely to experience the college environment as socially isolating during the course of their undergraduate experience (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993).

Lack of Social Supports for Graduate Education

A second cluster of themes which appear to function as a barrier to graduate enrollment include lack of family support for graduate study and the absence of a social network to familiarize study participants with the graduate experience. Studies have shown that for minority students, family background is particularly important to their

educational achievement. Researchers have long noted that the more education parents have, the more they support and encourage their children's education (Bowker, 1992; Lin, 1990). However, most of the participants in this study reported that their parents had very little schooling and worked primarily in semiskilled or low-skilled jobs most of their lives. Parents lacked awareness of the need for graduate education. Consequently, respondents described family members' inability to appreciate their desire to pursue a graduate degree and the pressure to get a job and contribute to the family income immediately after receiving a BA. Their stories demonstrate how their family experiences can be barriers for minority students who wish to pursue graduate education.

I'm the first person in my entire family to do a master's. My motivation to continue is not from my mother telling me congratulations or anything like that. She doesn't understand why I want to go further. It makes it harder but I understand. She didn't finish high school. In fact, I think she only finished fourth grade. So for her it's like you've been in school for long enough, when are you going to get a job. JT

My parents were always supportive until I got my BA. When I told them I wanted to go to grad school they weren't very supportive. It's not that they don't want me to do well or to support what I am doing. I think they just don't understand the concept of grad school. For them it's like, you have a college degree and you want more education? You need to get a job. It's just a whole different world for them. MP

There are people in my family who didn't understand the path that I was choosing to take. They didn't understand my desire to keep furthering my education. They saw it as my way of avoiding a commitment to a job. That of course is not the case. I am in school full-time and I also have two jobs. MH

The lack of a social network of people familiar with the graduate education process also affects access for many minority students. Padilla et al (1997) points out that majority students have an abundance of built-in supports in the larger society and the college environment to help them successfully transition to college life. They often have greater cultural continuity between their home and the college environment, which

provides them with a sense of familiarity and security. It is also more likely that majority students will have older or experienced students, professors, staff, and administrators of the same ethnicity who can serve as role models. Additionally, a stronger likelihood exists that individuals in their families previously attended college and can help them smooth the transition.

The results of this study indicate that similar social and institutional supports are often lacking for minority students as they transition into college. Most of the participants indicated that they perceived little cultural continuity between home and school. They also noted that few or no members of their families had attended college and have limited understanding of what to expect. These circumstances were compounded by the dearth of academic role models of the same ethnicity. As a result, the vast majority of those who applied to graduate school stated that they relied on supervisors and professors for information and assistance regarding the application process.

It took me almost a year to complete the application because I didn't think that I could get into graduate school and I didn't know anyone who had. My supervisor was the one who guided me through the whole thing. She kept telling me I could do the work and that I would get into every school I applied to. After I was accepted, she also helped me to get some of the acceptance fees waived. I really couldn't have done without her. AO

My professors made it easier for me to apply and to complete the application process. Actually, I could not have done it without them. RM

One thing that had a very strong influence on me was having an African American professor. My internship supervisor was also African American. I found it easier to go them and ask for help. They really encouraged me and were very helpful in getting the whole package together. I was also encouraged by the fact that they had gone through this process before. For me the fact that they did it also meant that I could do it too. RST

This latter statement demonstrates the importance of having role models not only to provide guidance and support in making career decisions, but also in fostering a sense of belonging. The researchers literature shows that minority students often experience culture shock and alienation in college (Weaver, 2000; Swail et.al. 2003). Research also shows that faculty members are important role models for students. Their interaction with students have also been identified as a major factor in student retention and level of satisfaction inside and outside of the classroom (Swail et. al. 2003).

Since most of the participants were the first in their family to go to college and in some cases to finish high school, they could not rely on their families for support or guidance in making this very important decision. These findings are supported by research which indicates that minority students' social networks contained significantly fewer people who were college graduates and that the number in the network who had graduated from college was significantly related to the degree of support regarding college attendance (D'Augelli et. al. 1993).

Resource Barriers

With more than a third of minority families living below the poverty line, socioeconomic status is a major factor in degree attainment for minority students. Every respondent in this study reported that lack of money to pay for graduate school was a barrier to enrollment. This is consistent with other studies, which have demonstrated a significant link between financial resources and access to higher education. Conley (1999) concluded that differences in wealth almost entirely explained the Black/White gap in educational attainment. For some students, the lack of financial resources means

that they will have to work if they decide to pursue graduate education and to rely heavily on financial aid. This perception is supported by research that has consistently shown that a far greater proportion of minority students' work while in college compared to Whites (Taylor & Olswang, 1997). These researchers also noted that a large proportion also rely on financial assistance.

Critically, the lack of money to pay for graduate school means that many respondents will have to postpone returning to school until they have earned enough to support their education. A number of respondents stated that because they received some help from their family to pursue an undergraduate degree, they found it difficult to ask for continued support through graduate school. The family investment in their undergraduate studies was already perceived as a sacrifice. Some suggested it was their turn to give back. As one student stated:

I hate to say this but money is a big thing when you have to think about other people. Taking care of yourself is one thing, but when you have other people depending on you it's a whole other thing. I was lucky because I got some help from the family to go to school. Now it's my turn to help out. When you are confronted with that reality, it's really hard to turn around and say you want to go to school for two more years. AV

An Asian American student explained her situation this way:

I am barely getting by doing this BA and a master's is even more money. My parents are really helping me out and with the money I get from working, I am able to stay in school. I feel bad about asking my parents for more help because I have two other siblings who also need their help. My parents have also had to put some of their goals on hold to help me pay for college. I don't see how I could continue to ask them for their support for two more years of college. So money is huge. It's a big problem. AT

The Mystery of the Social Work Career Path

In addition to academic under-preparedness and lack of social and financial supports for graduate study, participants' lack of knowledge of the social work career path is also a barrier to recruitment and enrollment for graduate education in the field. The vast majority of undergraduate students interviewed stated that they were unfamiliar with the graduate education process and the steps needed to become professional social workers. While some had heard of areas such as casework and group work, they did not understand basic differences between these methods. When students completing their BA were asked about the career path of social work they responded:

I heard that you need to get a Master's but I am not sure how you would go about doing it. I am hoping that you can explain some of it to me. JS

I don't really have that much knowledge about the whole thing. I have read about the different methods but I can't honestly say I know what they really entail or what is what. AT

I think people who are interested in social work should get as much information and experience as they can. I read that it's better to get a Master's, but I am not sure what's involved in doing that. SM

Moving from Access to Success: The Struggle to Persist

A second interview, specific to graduate students and intended to identify and describe perceived barriers to retention, was conducted with fifteen students enrolled in a graduate social work program. The findings are presented in this section. Three major themes regarding difficulty were gleaned from the data. They include social interaction with others in the program, cultural and racial isolation and financial hardships. More refined thematic analysis also suggests several subcategory of challenges.

Research has consistently shown that interaction with others in the college environment is critically important to minority students' satisfaction and completion of graduate programs (Green, 1999; Nettles, 1990; Blackwell, 1987; Mullen, 1993; Patterson-Stewart et al., 1997). In some cases these interactions affect achievement nearly as much as personal effort (Watson & Kuh, 1996). Participants in this study provided in-depth descriptions of events, situations, and interactions within the graduate environment, which informants perceived affected their adjustment and development. Three subcategory dimensions of the larger theme of social interaction with others were identified. They included interpersonal relationships between minority students and program staff, between minority students and faculty, and between minority students and their peers.

Invisibility and distance from program staff

One thread running through the interviews is the feeling of being "invisible" and the chronic inability of White faculty, students, and administrators to see minority students as individuals. Instead, they report they are viewed in stereotypical group terms. A graduate student describes such an experience. He connects his feelings of invisibility to his experience of being marginalized in the larger society, that is, by the tendency of White Americans historically to treat African Americans as an undifferentiated mass of people.

I would go into the office to get some information, and each time I went I would be asked the same question over and over again: "Are you a student here?" How long does it take for you to be recognized? There are only a handful of Black men in the school. Part of the problem, I believe, is that they are not really seeing K. They are seeing a Black person and Black people don't belong in grad school.

It would be great if people just had an idea of me even if they dislike me for being K and not for being a Black man. KS

Similarly, others stated:

I use to think that education would make you an acceptable Black person and that an institution such as this [graduate social work program] would be more sensitive. What I mean by that is I have always thought that because of the way I carry myself that there would be no way that a person would make any negative assumptions about me—that I was a criminal, that I was a threat, or that I was intimidating. After dealing with these people [program staff], I am realizing more and more that it doesn't matter. Regardless of what I do or say I am still seen first and foremost as a Black man with all the negative feelings that go along with that. RS

The first thing they see is a woman of color, and yes you should see that because its part of who I am. But that's not the only thing about me. I also want them to see me and understand me not necessarily as a woman of color but as an individual. KG

Several respondents stressed the importance of a supportive and nurturing environment. A student discussed how his experience with program administration has undermined his earlier passion for social work. He seems to suggest that noncognitive personal variables such as feelings, attitudes, and perceptions of program staff erode the motivation needed for successful completion of the graduate school process. The student also noted that his is not an isolated experience but rather generalizable to many of his classmates.

It seems that something happens here to students in their first year. They lose their passion for social work and they just want to graduate and get out of here. They seem to have the idea that the administration doesn't care about them and that they are on their own. I think they get this message in the first year and by the second year they are burnt out. I still care very much about social work but that message has really brought my passions down. It really had a negative effect on me. SG

Research suggests that attrition at colleges and universities can often be traced to poor institutional supports and long-term negative conditioning. Although most students

enter their academic career with a positive attitude, over time many begin to adopt self-defeating behaviors. The authors conclude that teacher, counselor, and administrative nurturing of students would help increase retention and graduation (Jones and Watson 1990).

Critically, many minority students in graduate social work programs perceive program administration/staff as unable to appreciate the sacrifices they make to be part of the graduate program. The essence of these sentiments is captured in the following quote:

I think that the school should realize that being a grad student for most of us means a lot of sacrifice in a lot of different ways, and I don't think that the school acknowledges the sacrifice at all. I think the sacrifice is major and the adjustment is major. Because you are not just adjusting to a school environment. You are adjusting to an environment where you don't exist and when you do it's usually in a negative way. For some of us, we are also adjusting to no income, or having to continue to produce an income at the same time that you are struggling to do this. There are a lot of emotional consequences that tie into all that and I don't think they really look at this at all. KS

The Struggle for a Cross Cultural Education Experience and the Strain of Relation to Faculty.

Several threads emerged from informant responses about their cross-cultural education experience in graduate school and their relationship to program faculty. The themes that surfaced include: teaching of cross-cultural content, difficulty establishing relationships with White faculty, the need for mentoring relationships with minority faculty, cultural and racial isolation.

Teaching Cross-Cultural Content

In 1971, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) mandated that all accredited social work programs include cultural content about differences and similarities in the experiences, needs, and beliefs of minority groups. It was also suggested that the dynamics and consequences of social and economic injustice, oppression, and discrimination needed to be incorporated into the curriculum. The aim was to help students develop knowledge and awareness of cultural diversity and oppression and to translate this understanding into culturally appropriate practice with specific groups. Green (1995) maintains that the culturally competent practitioner is able to move beyond mere awareness or sensitivity to a more active application of skills and interventions that are culturally congruent with client circumstances. To achieve these objectives, teaching and learning methodologies which facilitate assimilation of difficult information, challenge personal worldviews, and impact personal and professional self-concept, are needed (Van Soest, 1994). While there is continued disagreement in the literature concerning the appropriate means to convey cross-cultural information to students, there is a strong preference for using a combination of theoretical and experiential learning techniques such as self-reflection, exposure to different types of people, and skill-building activities (Mildred and Zuniga, 2004; Nadga et al., 1999; Garcia and Van Soest, 1997; Schmitz, 2001, Thornton & Garrett, 1995). These techniques are considered critical in the development of cross-cultural competence.

However, the results of this study suggest that while the literature frequently cites the merits of experiential learning, these values are not always translated into the classroom experience. Every respondent reported that the teaching of cross-cultural

content has led to painful encounters between minority students and White students as well as White professors. While some pain is inevitable as individuals struggle to ensure their voices are heard and honored, participants described most of these confrontations as nonproductive, leaving people entrenched in original positions and unwilling to adjust their perspective(s) on the basis of new information and experience. Minority students resent the stereotyping that characterizes these discussions, and silently simmer in anger and frustration. Respondents recalled their frustration at having to listen to faculty members discuss African American cultural experience from a text while offering little opportunity to talk about their own lived experiences.

In my first semester, I was really angry. I couldn't believe some of the things people would say in class. I couldn't believe they were going to be social workers. How did they get into social work school? There were certain stereotypes that kept getting perpetuated. The worse part is that the professor would let them go on and on, without challenging them. AO

It's really maddening to sit there and listen to these professors talk about your experience from a textbook. The experiences that we go through are not something that you can read about in a book. It's not something that can be easily categorized or defined. You can never understand, for example, what it feels like to be so aware of who you are. . . . So it's very easy to get frustrated when you sit in class and listen to all this stuff that is not applicable to what you have experienced in your life or anyone that you know. I have had to learn how not to get frustrated. I call it sifting. Just sifting through all the stuff and taking from it those things that you think you can use and not get frustrated with having to do that. That's the real challenge. Not getting frustrated with the process. MH

I can see how people's opinion can be shaped negatively about different cultures if they are just learning about them from a book. I thought this was going to be an avenue for me to learn about others and to have them learn about me. Learning about your culture in a textbook and not being able to add anything to it is very difficult. So far it hasn't been a shared experience. KS

In interviews, minority students repeatedly noted faculty discomfort in teaching cross-cultural content. They agreed that cross-cultural content can lead to highly charged feelings for faculty and students. It was within this context that participants reported that

faculty were visibly uncomfortable in their discussion of oppression and race-related issues. For some, faculty discomfort in talking about sensitive issues such as culture or race cast doubts on their ability to develop interpersonal relationships with minority students. Others observed that faculty discomfort often led them to avoid or minimize cross-cultural content.

I wasn't sure what to expect, but one thing I really didn't expect is the way different cultures are seen and discussed. I expected to have thought-provoking conversations about different cultures, about racism and oppression and the way these things impact on the lives of our clients. I am really disappointed in that.
KS

I was surprise that race wasn't something we talked about much and that the professors don't encourage it. Perhaps it's for the best because I think the way some professors deal with these issues shows their discomfort. Some of them seemed uncomfortable just saying the word "African American." . . . I often wonder whether it's different in the other program [evening program] because I heard there are a lot more students of color in that program. AO

I think that one of the reasons that we don't go there often [discuss minority content] is because the professors are uncomfortable. Students quickly get the message that these kinds of discussions are off-limits so no one brings them up either. At the end of the chapter there might be something on multiculturalism, but that's as far as some professor are prepared to go. RM

All fifteen of the graduate students expressed disappointment at the lack of importance given to cross-cultural content. They believe such content enables all students to deal more effectively with minority clients. This point of view is consistent with studies of faculty and student responses to cross-cultural information. For example, in a recent study on multicultural content and class participation, Hyde and Ruth (2002) report that faculty ambivalence and discomfort with cross-cultural content often resulted in the tendency to avoid the more difficult content on oppression and privilege, in favor of abstract and general discussions on populations at risk. They conclude that these

responses on the part of faculty are likely to be imparted to students, which then heightens their own discomfort regarding cross-cultural information.

Such findings confirm the link between discomfort and avoidance. The earlier anecdote further suggests that informants feel that faculty may avoid cross-cultural content because of concern over its impact on a primarily White class of students. The respondents suggested that because the greatest proportion of students of color are in the evening program cross-cultural content might be perceived as less painful there. In her study of faculty comfort level in teaching about oppression, Singleton (1994) also documents this phenomenon. Specifically, she found that concerns about students' welfare was one of the rationales used for making teaching decisions about oppression content. Instructors, who expressed concerns about the impact on students in introducing oppression content, felt the topic would be too unsettling to inflict on students and, as a result, they avoided it

Students reported that faculty discomfort and lack of knowledge about how to address cross-cultural content in the classroom created difficult group discussions and complex group dynamics. This is not surprising as several studies have suggested that faculty are not well equipped to guide rigorous exploration of multicultural and oppression content (Garcia & Van Soest, 1997; Gutierrez et al., 1999; Singleton, 1994; Plionis & Lewis, 1998; Torres and Jones, 1997). Participants described situations where faculty discomfort and lack of knowledge about cross-cultural content created confusion about what is acceptable and legitimate in terms of how one behaves and what one says as a student of color. They received powerful messages that speaking up during charged

moments in such conversations could increase the discomfort of the professor and White students.

In this one class some of the remarks were particularly offensive and a number of us spoke up. Afterwards the professor actually called us in her office and told us that we were making the other students uncomfortable. Meanwhile, there was at least one White student who was saying the most outrageous, racist things and she wasn't called in. If that's not a clear message, I don't know what is. KG

I never really said anything because I didn't want my classmates or the professor to think that I am some Latina trying to make a raucous about things. So I would sit there and wish that some of the other Latina students would say something, but they wouldn't say anything either. Sometimes some of the things that were said were really offensive. It was horrible, but nobody felt that they could say anything. SS

Even though the professor sometimes thought my comments were great, they were often greeted with an uncomfortable silence from White students or an attack. I felt intimidated because I thought instead of seeing me as someone who is aware, they would see me as an angry person. After a while it's really hard to say what you want to say. It's really hard. MP

This last comment suggests that, in addition to individual concerns about interactions with faculty and peers, concern about collective identity is also an issue for minority students. She spoke of censoring herself to avoid reinforcing the stereotype of the "angry" Latina woman and other minorities as threatening. Others described being forced into silence out of fear of reprisal from faculty and White students. Some suggested that to speak up might be taken as a sign of aggressiveness, and consequently, White students might feel threatened. Minority students quickly get the message that speaking up in class about oppression and racial issues is risky and undesirable. This perception in turn tends to silence minority students on matters of central importance to their identity and emergent practice.

When issues such as racism would come up, the students of color usually draw a blank. Sometimes it gets really hard to sit there and not say anything, but you

have to choose your issues. You never know how these things might come back to haunt you over the next year. KG

This vignette suggests that speaking up about controversial issues might lead to repercussions from White faculty and peers. While most students are concerned with how they are perceived by others in the college environment, this dynamic is especially burdensome for minority students frightened of stereotype or reprisal in response to their comments during discussions of controversial racial or cultural issues. Another consequence of speaking up is the risk of ostracism by White peers. Such response on the part of White students can be at least in part attributed to their discomfort in dealing with racially charged issues.

A lot of White students are hypersensitive to racial issues, so if you make any comments that makes them the least bit uncomfortable, they don't want to associate with you. Sometimes they will turn around what you say and make it look like you are being racist. Once you are branded as a racist, they can invalidate anything you have to say. . . . I remember shutting down in one class, and afterwards, the professor came up to me and said, "You are angry. You have to learn to love all people." It's really frustrating because it seems like they are just not able to understand. MP

The next observation is particularly insightful about the tacit rules of respectability for minority students. The student suggests that for a minority student to be respectable entails being non-assertive and tempering your passions.

I think the fact that you are a person of color and you are passionate about something is threatening and scary to a lot of White students. In order not to lose them you have to tone it down. You can't be too assertive. It's frustrating and it pisses me off that I have to do this, but sometimes it's better to do this and be heard. Sometimes you have to lose to win. MP

A common concern among respondents was their European American peers' preparation to work with minority clients. They felt that if individuals have no exposure to minority people, they will not feel comfortable working in communities of color. Such

discomfort was a consistent strain in White students' interaction with students of color. Consequently, respondents questioned these students' ability to interact in any meaningful way with minority clients whose life experiences were both further removed and more pressing as well as complex. One student emphasized that when you work with some minority clients, you need some understanding of their socio-cultural situation.

Furthermore, it was noted that professionals have to convey a willingness to take risks.

The majority of the clients I work with are minorities. A lot of my co-workers don't understand them. Many of these families are very poor and they are "slumming it." Some of the social workers don't like going out to the projects. When clients see that you are willing to take risks with them, they listen to you, they respect you more. I really feel that when you work with some of these clients you have to have more than a degree. You have to have something in common with them. You have to have some understanding of them—their lifestyle, what they are really going through. You have to be able to see it like it is. DV

A lot of students don't even understand some very basic things about their clients. When you have a connection with the client you are more apt to listen to them. They are not seen as someone really alien. ML

I don't believe that you have to be African American to work well with African American clients. But you have to have some kind of connection with the client. You have to understand where they are coming from. . . . For me the most important thing is making sure that the client gets the services, and gets it adequately and in a way that treats them with a level of respect and empowers them. The lack of connection creates a situation where people are not able to do the most effective job. KG

There is some evidence in the cross-cultural literature that worker discomfort can interfere with building trust and that preoccupation with their discomfort can further distract from collaborating with clients (Tsang & Bogo 1997). Some researchers point out that cross-cultural relationships may be seriously compromised when social workers are reluctant to seriously examine their own "isms" (McMahon et al., 1992;

Christodoulou, 1991). Still others conclude that exposure to different types of people is critical in the development of cultural competence (Manoleas, 1994; Miehl, 2001).

Another concern for minority students in graduate social work programs is the focus of the cross-cultural literature. Respondents consistently noted that discussions of minorities were primarily focused on the pathological aspects of minority culture. These comments are consistent with criticisms of the cross-cultural literature in general. For example, critics have long argued that information about minorities is structured and transmitted in a stereotypical and superficial manner. It is within this context that pathological and dysfunctional aspects of the minority experience are often presented. At the same time, little attention is paid to structural sources of personal or individual difficulty and not enough emphasis is placed on the coping capacities of minority people.

I assumed because it was a social work school there would be more openness, because the majority of the people you are going to work with are people of color. The way people of color are talked about in the classroom is something that has been definitely discouraging. If you have no knowledge of people of color you may assume that this is all they have to offer. KG

There was a lot of frustration about the way clients are discussed. It started to feel like people of color are the only ones that are downtrodden and the only people on welfare and have serious problems. It just started to feel kind of not great for a lot of people. I know there is a large immigrant population and Jewish population that uses services, but they aren't talked about in the same kind of ways. It seems like whenever we talked about problems, it always came back to Black and Latino people as clients. DS

I was in class one time and it got so bad I wanted to say, hey wait a minute that's me your describing in those terms. Those are Black people that you are talking about . . . before I got here I didn't know being Black was so bad. It makes me wonder if you are not Black what you think being Black is. KS

Such telescoped representation of minority experience concerned many respondents. They noted that many classmates would have neither the tools nor the knowledge to do an effective job, thus undermining their ability to serve clients of color.

Concerns about the problematic focus of the cross-culture literature and its potential impact on communities of color is described below:

Most of the time I would sit in class and burn with anger at the way White students were talking about people in my community. I never really spoke up because when you do they think you are too emotional and that you take everything personally, but it really scares me that these people are going to be working in my community. MH

I'll be honest with you, sometimes in class I have to wonder about some of my fellow students when they were making all these remarks, which basically amount to putting the blame back on the clients. I couldn't believe my ears. These things should be cleared up before these students are allowed to practice. When I think that some of them will be working with people in our community, it really scares me. RM

A lot of us were really concerned not just about learning from others what the Black experience is, but also about what our classmates were hearing. . . . When you know that some of them are coming to this experience not very aware and they get this negative information and they walk away with it as if it's the law. So we're really concerned about what they were walking away with and how this gets put into practice. DS

While there is some debate in the literature regarding the definition and scope of cross-cultural content, most researchers agree that the knowledge base necessary to conceptualize, understand, and assess behavior of minority clients should include: the ability to respect and appreciate the values, beliefs, and practices of all clients, including those who are culturally different, and to perceive such individuals in their own cultural context instead of the practitioner's (Pinderhughes, 1997). Pinderhughes (1997) also notes that the ability to be comfortable with difference in others and to control and even change one's false beliefs, assumptions, and stereotypic knowledge of clients is also necessary for effective cross-cultural practice.

Preparation to acquire these skills involves knowledge about the dynamics of difference and power and how they operate in human functioning, the forces that oppress

and impede groups, and strategies to alter these discriminatory forces. Study participants suggested that what is commonly taught and how it is incorporated into the curriculum does not prepare them or their peers to acquire the aforementioned skills. These observations are consistent with the social work literature, which maintains that cross-cultural content has not been incorporated into the curriculum of schools of social work in a comprehensive or meaningful way (Weaver, 1998).

Informal Encounter with faculty

A large and growing body of research identifies faculty-student relationships as a significant variable in minority student academic achievement and retention (Feagan, 1992; Allen, 1992; Green, 1999; Stewart-Patterson, 1997). In every article examined, those students who persisted and ultimately graduated reported higher levels of positive interaction with faculty. Critically, two-thirds of respondents interviewed for this study reported difficulty relating to White faculty. Moreover, White faculty are often viewed with suspicion and mistrust. For example, many of the participants expressed reservations about admitting difficulties to White faculty because they feared it would be regarded as further evidence of their inadequate preparation for college and of not belonging. As one student explained:

We get a lot of messages in society that say minority students can't cut it. So we have to work twice as hard and be twice as good. You just have to be better and you have to show it. Going to faculty when you are having problems is like admitting that you really can't cut it. It's a lot easier to talk to your peers when you are having trouble or feeling confused or unsure of yourself. GP

Another student stated:

A lot of students shy away from going to White faculty and advisers because they don't want them to think that they can't cut it. RS

Others feared that asking for help might negatively affect their course grades.

One student noted that she is unable to open up to White faculty because when she has tried to have conversations in the past, she did not feel welcomed.

I wish there were more professors I could talk to about some of the difficulties I am having. Just somebody you can sit down with and say, I am having a hard time. I need help with this. For me I have only been able to do this with minority professors and there are not too many of them. It's hard for me to go to White professors and say I am having a hard time. Maybe because I have tried before and I haven't felt welcomed. I felt like I was being put down or like I wasn't smart enough. SS

Lower expectations of performance and assumptions about the student's lack of ability also surfaced as factors that tended to block communication with White faculty.

Study participants felt that White faculty do not believe that they can handle difficult coursework and other requirements the way White students can.

A lot of times professors would praise my work really enthusiastically and I could see that a lot of it was a surprise. They have this assumption that you can't do the work. So when you do it, they are really surprised because they expect you to fail. It used to make me so angry, but like everything else you try not to let it get to you. DS

There is a perception of us that we are not as bright as the White students. A lot of times we are not expected to be intelligent or articulate. I have had professors say to me, "You are so articulate," and I wonder, what did you expect? KG

While participants admitted having feelings of incompetence prior to their graduate experience, they also believed these feelings were exacerbated by further communication of incompetence from White faculty and staff. When this happens, some students withdraw psychologically, increasing the likelihood of dropping out. Several students noted that assumptions about their ability also made it difficult to get useful feedback from faculty. They indicated that faculty comments were either overly positive,

as the previous student stated, or overly critical. A Latina student described her responses to a feedback session with her adviser.

Last year my supervisor, who was a person of color, told me that she thought my ability to look at situations analytically in terms of the power structure, race, class, and gender was one of my strengths. This year I have another supervisor who is White, and she described the same characteristics as a weakness. When I spoke with her about it, she said that in this one particular log entry I focused more on race issues than the positive outcome of the situation. So my weakness was having a social justice lens. I shared this with my faculty adviser, who is also a White woman, because I wanted her to know how I felt about it. She really didn't get it. She thought that I was being defensive. I didn't understand why it was such a problem until I started thinking of all the assumptions and misconceptions that White people have about people of color. Then I thought, oh God why did I bring it up? I felt that I had made it worse by bringing it to her attention, because in addition to being overly sensitive to issues of race, now I will also be seen as overly sensitive to criticism. MP

Most people have difficulty assessing feedback about their performance.

However, as Feagan (1999) points out, minority students are particularly sensitive to the character and quality of the feedback they receive given the possibility of bias in mostly White college settings. The above-quoted student noted how her ability to analyze her work through a social justice lens was seen as positive by a supervisor of color but as a deficit by a White supervisor. While both supervisors might be correct in their assessment, in dynamic relationship to both prior experience and present setting, only one of the sources of feedback can be processed. The student also noted that by raising the issue with her White graduate adviser, she exposed herself to further misunderstandings.

The Need for Mentoring Relationships with Minority Faculty

Respondents expressed the need for mentoring relationships with minority faculty. This finding is consistent with research that has demonstrated that while interaction with faculty is critical to the success of minority students, students do not look

to White faculty and staff as role models for leadership. Instead, students of color look to other minorities to develop their own form of leadership (Patterson et al., 1997; Ramseur, 1991). These participants elucidated the meaning of having a minority faculty member as their adviser, describing minority faculty as supportive, genuine, respectful, and understanding. Participants also stated that they found it easier to share their vulnerabilities with minority faculty because of their shared experiences with oppression and marginality.

I have been very lucky. This semester I have a person of color as my field adviser, and that experience has been invaluable. A lot of students I know are frustrated with their faculty adviser. Having a person of color as my adviser has helped me in being able to talk about things that would be uncomfortable for me to say to a White professor (*What kind of things*). Like I am having trouble with my placement or I need help working through this. RS

I think it's hard for White faculty to understand what it's like to be a student of color. It doesn't mean that they can't be helpful, but it's just not the same. I need someone who can understand my doubts and fears about grad school. AS

Having a mentor who is a person of color gives students an opportunity to get some support. It's especially important to have a person of color on your side because you can say things to that person you would be scared to say to a White person. Like I'm getting too much work at my field placement. A White person might question if this is the case or whether you are just being lazy. MH

I was always able to build good relationships with minority professors. They make me feel good about pursuing this [graduate school]. Even when I am having problems, they make me feel I can do it. There is more of a genuineness in their interaction with you. I was never able to connect to White professors in the same way. MP

Apart from the cross-cultural conflicts that exist in the classroom and relationships with faculty and peers, students overwhelmingly stated that cross-cultural differences also interfered with the field instruction relationship. Students indicated that field instructors are generally reluctant to raise cross-cultural issues in practice. They also felt that cross-cultural differences and perceived supervisory responses have

influenced their willingness to raise concerns about their learning needs in the supervisory relationship.

In the field of community organizing, most of the organizers that I have worked with have been White, and sometimes as a Latina I see things like racial tension with a client or with the community and I would bring that up with my supervisors and they don't see it. It's hard to explain to a White supervisor that these things are happening without making things uncomfortable. So after a while you also pretend that you don't see it. AO

I find it really hard to express my concerns to my supervisors because I saw that when we express our dissatisfaction, they make it sound like we are complainers and of course no one wants to be perceived that way. So you just go with the flow. On the other hand, when the White students complain, they are seen as assertive or standing up for their rights, and that's encouraged. RM

There are a lot of issues in the field placement around race. There is a lot of tension. It really makes it hard to express yourself. I have learned a lot about being able to say I can't do that. Just saying, "you know what, I am not okay with that." I had a real hard time with that, and I still do because I feared them thinking I was lazy or I am just another minority person trying to get over. Just fearing that race thing again. You don't want them to think that you can't do the job. You just want to be liked and respected for who you are and your abilities. ML

Peer Relationships

Because most graduate programs have low minority enrollment and few minority faculty members, students of color often find themselves lacking both informal and formal support systems. The participants identified the importance of having minority peers available in their respective programs. One respondent described how she depended on her peers for support, especially when she was feeling scared or confused.

I remember the first day of class. I was so scared. . . . I thought that I was the only one that felt that way because I can't cut it. When we got together, there were other students that would just start to cry, "I can't take it anymore more, it's just too tough, I can't." And that made me stronger. I said, wait a minute, I'm not the only one. I'm not the only one who has these feelings. We are going to

get through this because we have each other. Those meetings really kept you going. You could talk to other students and realize that you're not alone. RST

Others described how they depended on their peers for comfort and validation.

We would get together and talk about what happened in class. I personally found some of the remarks very offensive, but nobody felt that they could say anything. After a while you start to think that it's just you, so it's good to hear other students say that they also found it offensive. AO

Most of the classes were structured in such a way that there wasn't room for discussion, even if you felt like you wanted to say something. After class we would meet and discuss what went on in class and how we felt about it. It was our way of expressing those things we wanted to but couldn't express in class. We found other avenues to channel the anger that gets pent up in class. This was always very helpful to me. GP

I think you need those venting sessions in the cafeteria with your friends to get you through this. You need people you can talk to when you are just feeling overwhelmed and discouraged. SS

The formation of student networks is an adaptive response to the lack of institutional supports that are necessary to effectively confront the challenges of graduate education. Difficulty forming relationships with White peers further intensified these students' need to create a supportive family that was considered essential to their survival. One respondent discussed her concern that outside of the classroom, all of her friends are students of color, and she suggested that White students did not want to form long-term friendships with their minority peers.

I find I mostly gravitate toward the Black and Latino students, which disturbs me. I always want to deal with everyone. We are all different and I want to know what you have to say. I find that the White students will talk to you but they don't seem interested in forming relationships. Although we may talk in class, away from class they don't really want to know you. FO

Another student remarked:

I have non-African American students as friends, but in my inner circle the people I call at three in the morning when I am struggling through a paper are

other students of color. . . . They can relate to my experience so they are very supportive of me trying to do this. DS

She further noted that minority students often had to initiate interaction with White students or risk being ignored. This student recalled an incident that made her feel ignored by fellow White students:

In one of my classes we had a lot of copying to do, so the professor suggested that we form small groups and divide up the copying. Immediately, I noticed that all the White students starting breaking up into groups. It was me and two other students of color in the class. No one asked us to join their group. It was as if we were not really there. Some students looked straight past us to ask other White students to join their group. Eventually myself and the other students of color formed our own group. But it's always the same. Whenever we have to work together, I notice that we always have to initiate the contact with them if we want to be included. MP

The psychological supports students of color provided to each other were multiple and varied. However, at times differences among color groupings surfaced. For example, respondents described situations in which class discussions quickly spiraled into an "us" against "them" mentality which was race-based. In such an atmosphere, loyalty to one's own minority group becomes primary, and dissent even within one's own minority group is discouraged. A number of students indicated that they were criticized by other minority students because they appeared to be siding with White professors or peers around a particular issue. Others spoke of their inability to challenge a number of colleagues for fear that they might be viewed as not authentic, not a "real" Black person. As a result, they choose to withdraw from class discussions and were effectively silenced. Because supportive peers are critically important to a student's sense of identity, relationships were preserved at the expense academic growth and development. By not speaking up, students are able to sustain the integrity of their social identity. This Latina student recalled her experience with her Latino peers. She described most of the Latino

students as overly concerned with how they are perceived by White faculty and students.

They are especially concerned with not appearing too radical or hypersensitive to race.

In order not to lose their support, she chose to silence herself at the expense of

professional development:

We were doing this assignment in class and we had to form small groups, so I was sitting in a group with a couple of other Latino students. We were given a case and we had to come up with a list of psychosocial issues that the client was facing and name the one that was having the biggest impact on the client. Right away I saw that a lot of the client's problems were due to racism. I raised that in the group and they didn't want to put it on the list. Some people agreed that it was an issue but they didn't want me to raise it. They thought that it would seem like we were hypersensitive to race. So we didn't put it on the list. After everyone did their feedback, the professor agreed with me that race was the most pressing factor for this client. I was really angry with myself that I didn't speak up more about this when I had the idea. A lot of the Latino students are really afraid of doing anything that they think might be perceived as radical, and if you try to speak up or do anything in a way that they feel will make them look bad, it's like you are the enemy. You are not one of us anymore. MH

Others stated:

I have had the experience in class when I opened my mouth and I would get this look that basically says—don't even go there. (*From whom?*) Other students of color. (*What happens if you decide to speak?*) They make you feel like you're some kind of sellout. SG

There is this unspoken code among some of the students of color when issues of race would come up. I remember times in class where something is said and all the students of color would draw a blank. Some of them were people who, based on my conversations with them outside of class, I know they had things to say and the expectation is that they would speak on it, but they would just sit there with this blank look on their face. DS

The term "fictive kinship," identified by Fordham and Ogbu (1986), provides a useful framework with which to appreciate minority students' responses to each other.

While this concept was originally used to denote a cultural symbol of African American collective identity, it can also be generalized to other minority groups. Fictive kinship expresses the moral judgment a group makes about its members. In this system,

“Blackness” is more than a skin color, and merely having African features and being of African descent does not automatically make one a “Black person”, nor does it make one a member in good standing of the group. One can be Black in color but choose not to be a member in the fictive kinship system. A person can be denied membership by the group because one’s behavior, activities, and lack of manifest loyalty are at variance with those thought to be appropriate and group-specific. Because group members are the only ones involved in evaluating other members’ eligibility for membership in the kinship system, they control the criteria used to judge one’s worthiness for membership (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) maintain that fictive kinship is closely tied to the boundary maintenance behaviors and attitudes of African Americans toward Whites. For example, the tendency is to emphasize group loyalty in situations involving conflict or competition with Whites and to negatively sanction behaviors and attitudes considered at variance with group identity symbols and criteria for membership. The influence of fictive kinship is extensive among the students in this study. It surfaces in conflicts between minority students and White peers and professors. It also appears in the students’ constant need to reassure one another of group loyalty and identity. Because support from peers is crucial to the respondents’ institutional survival and their identity, they are careful not to alienate themselves from other minority students by appearing to side with White professors and students.

Cultural and Racial Isolation

Lack of Diversity among Faculty, Staff and Students

In addition to the challenges of forming positive relationships with others in the institution, minority students often find themselves culturally and racially isolated in the college environment. Lennon (1999) reported that almost 80 percent of the social work graduate faculty and 75 percent of the student body are White. For some students, feelings of isolation and alienation may contribute to their desire to leave an unfriendly academic environment. Farley (2002) notes that isolation, alienation, and lack of support are among the most serious problems facing minority students on predominantly White campuses. A growing body of research has consistently shown that because of the cultural and racial isolation that minority students experience at institutions of higher education, they often have to defer their social, personal, emotional, and cultural development until after college (Feagan, 1992; Longres, 1994; D'Augelli et al., 1993). However, students' attempts to integrate themselves into the college environment is made more difficult because of the absence of minority voices in the faculty and student body and the practices and policies of the institution. It is not surprising then that participants were primarily attracted to their school because of its perceived racial/ethnic diversity. Several students described their shock and disappointment when they realized that the program was not as diverse as they expected.

First day of class I kept looking out for the African American and Latino professors. You can't imagine how I felt when I didn't see any. It's this feeling you get of wanting to feel safe and like you belong. When you don't feel that it's just not the same. You just don't build the same connections. It's really ironic too because I was recruited to (name of other social work school) and I didn't go. They gave me a big scholarship, but I didn't take it because I went to the school and I didn't see any people of color and that really scared me. I didn't think I was

going to be able to handle it. I chose this school because I had heard that it was more diverse. So you can imagine how I felt when I realized that this wasn't the case. ML

I felt very isolated when I came here. I expected a lot more people of color. I walked into the classroom and I thought, did I miss something? I didn't expect that the program was going to be a majority people of color, but I expected a lot more. That upset me. What else upset me is the lack of staff of color. How can this experience be relevant to me when I can't identify. . . ? DS

Others noted that the lack of minority presence in the program was not only shocking, but it also complicated their adjustment to the program.

I really wasn't quite sure what to expect when I came here, but the expectations I did have are different from the actual experience. . . . I expected a more diverse faculty. I was shocked at the faculty breakdown when I came here. I saw very few people of color. I had come to expect, based on the reputation of the school, that there would be more diversity among the staff. . . . Quite frankly, all of this has made the adjustment for me very difficult. KS

The school is not as diverse as I thought. I thought it would be more multicultural in its approach. When I first got here and saw all the White faces I was shocked. Honestly, I don't think I ever got over that. RM

I was really taken aback at the number of White students and faculty in the school. I thought it would be more diverse. I thought there would be more minorities because the school is in an urban area. It took me a while to adjust to this fact. SG

Lack of Relevance of the Curriculum to Minority Issues

The cultural isolation that many minority students experience in social work graduate programs is further reinforced by the absence of minority perspective or experience in the curriculum. Lack of relevance of the curriculum to minority issues also surfaced in discussions with graduate students. Participants stated that they wanted classes on issues affecting the minority community and the clients with whom they worked. One student expressed her frustration with what she perceives as a lack of relevance of the curriculum to minority issues:

This semester I have two electives to choose from. One has to do with Holocaust survivors and the other is about working with gays. I don't mean to say that these are not important issues, but neither of these courses are relevant to the needs of the people that most of us are working with. We need courses about working with prisoners and their families and people in housing projects and the ways in which the system works to keep our clients exactly where they are. ML

Others noted:

I am very disappointed that there isn't more of the kind of classes I would like to have taken. Most of what I have learned, I have learned in the field. There is no literature on how to be a minority organizer working in different communities. There is a lot of literature on being a White organizer working with minority people. I guess it's automatically assumed that you can do it, but I think it's really hard. SS

Considering the way the population is changing, there is definitely not enough curriculum focusing on minority issues. I think it's still the issue of visibility. RM

Financial Hardship

Lack of financial resources is another barrier that confronts minority students in graduate social work programs. Every respondent in the study expressed concern about paying for graduate school. They worried about a shortage of money the lack of money to stay in school. As noted earlier, most study participants are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and are among the first in their family to pursue an advanced degree. They cannot rely on their family for financial support. Moreover, while many held full-time jobs, and in some cases had more than one job, they stated that they had difficulty supporting their family and paying for school related expenses. Research findings in this area have conclusively shown that students who receive adequate financial assistance are more likely to remain in school than those who do not. These studies have also concluded that Federal cutbacks in financial aid and the shift from grants to loans has

increased the financial burden for minority and working class students (Amaury & Horvath, 1989; Taylor & Olswang, 1997; Lynch & O'Riordan, 1998). These students described their difficulties managing family, work, and educational responsibilities:

I am paying for school right now and I am also the only person in my house that is working, so I have to support my mother and sister. It's really tough. Sometimes I think about working part-time because it gets really hard on me, but how could I do that? I can't support my family and pay for school on a part-time salary. This is what I am dealing with right now. JS

As a single parent who went back to school it's been really hard. Going to school full-time only leaves a limited amount of time to work and working part-time does not make ends meet when you have to feed a family. DS

Money is a big barrier. I have been in school one semester and I have thought about dropping out several times because my family is going through some really rough financial struggles. SS

One interesting finding of the study is participants' reluctance to take out a loan to pay for their education despite their financial difficulties. This may be due in part to students' assessment that education does not always produce the rewards that are promised. Respondents do not trust that they will be able to achieve the kind of position that will allow them to comfortably support their families and pay off loans at the same time. St John (1991) documents that loans have been less consistent in facilitating access for minority students than for White students. Others demonstrated that African American and Latino students were less willing to finance their education with loans than their White counterparts (Mortenson and Wu, 1990). These students explain why taking a loan is not an option for them or their peers. They stated that family responsibilities and uncertainty about their postgraduate earning potential prevented them from considering student loans as a viable means of financing their education.

It's tough for us because we want to do it [pay for school] all on our own. We were raised to believe that it's not good to get loans and owe people, especially because you don't know what kind of job you are going to get once you graduate. So it gets really tough because you have to work, do your field placement, and go to school. That's the way it is for me, and I know it's the same for the other Latino students. AO

I didn't want to come out of school at thirty-something with a school loan knowing the kind of expenses that I already have. The reality is that when you look at what students of color make after we get out of school, there isn't a whole lot left after you take care of your family expenses. So I just don't feel I am in a position to be in any kind of debt. I think it's easier for White students to take loans because they get into management very quickly and there is more money there. Even if we start out at the same place, within a few years they are in management and from there they move on to program director. Most students of color end up in direct services. When you look at your earning potential, direct service doesn't pay. DS

Most students of color are not coming here in a financial position to take loans... We just can't afford to take out loans. We have family responsibilities. For me personally, I just couldn't see it. To come out of school in debt at this time of my life . . . I just couldn't see it. When would I ever finish paying off school loans? KG

CHAPTER VIII

STRATEGIES TO ENCOURAGE RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF MINORITY STUDENTS TO GRADUATE SOCIAL PROGRAMS

The shortage of minority social workers is well documented in the literature. However, very little social work literature analyzes the obstacles to and methods for increasing minority access to social work education. Study participants suggested several specific strategies to increase recruitment and retention of minority students in graduate social work programs. Strategies to encourage recruitment include a stronger recruitment program, changing the image of social work, and increasing financial assistance. Graduate students felt that increasing the number of minority faculty and students, a system to help students navigate the graduate process, increasing financial assistance to students, and developing a more culturally relevant curriculum would also encourage minority students to gain access to and complete the MSW degree.

Recruitment

A Stronger Recruitment Program

Of all the students interviewed for this study, only one had spoken to a recruiter before applying to graduate school. The participants suggested that schools should have a more aggressive recruitment program that reaches out to potential social work students at the undergraduate level. Respondents emphasized that schools may also need to target recruitment efforts to minority communities and employ former or current minority students to recruit minority applicants. Several students mentioned that contact with minority recruiters who had gone through the program would be helpful. As one student

put it, “ If I saw other people of color as recruiters for me, that means that social work is a viable profession and I would consider it.” DR

Participants also expressed a need for social work advisers or individuals to discuss career plans. Such individuals could provide concrete information regarding the graduate school, facilitate understanding about social work, and guide prospective students through the application process. The participants felt that many students who might otherwise become social workers are prevented from doing so because they do not have the information or the guidance needed to pursue such a career path.

I think it would make a big difference if the school has a representative or someone you can sit down with and actually go through the process of applying to graduate school. A lot of students don't really know what the procedure is. JS

I have a friend who is graduating next June and she is thinking about going to grad school. If it wasn't because I talked to her and let her know what I went through, what steps to take, she would be completely lost because she had no idea. She was just asking what's a personal statement? What's this? What should I say? Who should I ask for references? If students had somebody who could help them with these kinds of things, maybe they wouldn't feel so discouraged and it would be easier to take that first step. Once you know the steps you can enroll. RS

It seems like whenever we go to ask questions it's always seemed so rushed. Everything with people of color is rushed. You go to ask about something and they just dismiss you. When other people come, people are more patient. They tend to give them a little more information. So it would be good if there was someone who can just answer questions about the application and can guide you through the process. FO

Change the Image of the Social Work Profession

The importance of changing the image of social work was emphasized by most of the students interviewed for this study. Most of the graduate students noted that an important influence in their decision to become social workers was the opportunity to work in impoverished communities. They felt that others might become interested in

social work if the profession is seen by minority communities as advocating for the poor. However, as one student stated, "It seems like we allow too many people to get away with stereotyping and bashing the poor, and this sends a negative message." RM

Respondents also noted that social work has a very negative image in minority communities and that most people were unaware of the vast array of services that social workers provide. As reported earlier, among communities of color, the stereotype of social work is that they work in welfare offices. They are also known for taking away people's welfare benefits and children. Participants felt that if the community had a better understanding of what social workers do, it might change the negative image of social workers as well attract individuals to the field.

Part of changing the image of the profession, they suggested, is also tied to addressing social workers' low-salary scale. Because economic security is more often an issue for minority families, participants believe that this perception and reality disproportionately deflects students of color away from the field.

Everybody talks about how social workers are underpaid and it kind of upsets me a little because social workers work so hard to get the master's degree. Then they get paid less than someone who doesn't even have a high school diploma and that's pretty frustrating. It's discouraging people from going into the field. I know a lot of people who would love to do this kind of work but they see how hard I am working and they say I am not going to kill myself going to graduate school and for what? To get paid less than I do now? RS

It's discouraging that social work is one of the lowest paying of all professionals.
MP

When I first decided that I wanted to do this I spoke to a couple of people and basically every person who is in social work that I spoke with mentioned how lousy the pay is. A friend of mine who is now a lawyer was like, "That job doesn't pay anything, I can't believe you have to have a degree to do that." MS

Increase Financial Assistance

Finally, every respondent identified financial assistance as a key factor in recruiting minority students. This is consistent with a large body of research that has highlighted the issue of financial assistance and its relationship to access. St. John (1990) and McPherson and Shapiro (1998) discuss the effect of financial aid on student choices to attend or not to attend college. Respondents suggested that grants to pay for school tuition would reduce the need to work. They noted that the prospect of going to school part-time because of a lack of money is undermining. Many students, already tired from a lengthy negative undergraduate experience, do not wish to extend their academic career any longer than necessary. As these students noted:

I think the money issue is probably the biggest obstacle for students trying to get an MSW. Most of us are just getting by now and we all work. I don't see how I could do my studies adequately, work full time, and go to school. . . . I would have to weigh all my responsibilities. . . . If this is what it comes down to, I would probably choose not to apply—at least for now. JWS

I think a lot more people want to get their MSW but they just don't because they can't leave their jobs. They have families. You need money to do this and support your family at the same time. AV

I can't see working full-time and going to school full-time for much longer. I am doing that now and it's really tough. Going to school part-time only drags it out longer. We need to work. We have families. We don't have the kind of financial access that it would take to do this without working and that's discouraging. DV

Retention

If social work programs are to attract greater numbers of minority students, they need an understanding not only of the factors that attract students but also the retention issues students are likely to experience once in professional schools. Respondents were asked to identify strategies that might facilitate graduation from their program. They suggested several strategies for retention of minority students in graduate social work programs. These included increasing the number of minority faculty and students, developing a formal buddy system for students, establishing a culturally relevant curriculum, and increasing financial assistance.

Increase the Number of Minority Faculty

Every respondent noted that they could benefit from a mentoring relationship with minority faculty. It was suggested that minority faculty would be more sensitive to cultural and racial issues during the graduate education process. Others felt that a minority faculty would bring a more relevant perspective to the advisory process, increase feelings of safety, and promote understanding of how to better negotiate the graduate experience.

I think it is important to have people available that you can go to with your concerns. Someone you can turn to when you are having difficulties with your work. Someone to help you understand how to get things together, how to plan things because we have so many other responsibilities. Someone you can go to and talk about what's going on in your life right now. SS

We need professors that we can go to and talk about some of the difficulties we are having. Someone you can sit down with and say, I am having a hard time and not feel bad about it. A lot of us only feel comfortable doing that with a Black or Latino professor. AO

I think in its own way social work is very demanding and because a person is being developed as a professional they need support. Having a mentor is one way the school could help. But we need people we can talk to about any apprehension or fears that we have without it being seen as a weakness. JS

Another student stated that the presence of minority faculty offers the opportunity to see that becoming a professor is an attainable goal and would also reduce the isolation among minority students.

A very strong influence for me is having professors that are African American. To me it's like they did it and that means I could do it too. MP

Increase the Number of Minority Students

Almost all of the study participants identified the lack of other minority students in the program as a barrier to retention. In various ways they expressed feelings of isolation, alienation, and loneliness. They felt that adding more minority students to their program would be a means of obtaining additional support and combating feelings of loneliness. Others pointed out that minority students are needed in all areas of the program to allow for a diversity of ideas. They felt that a minority presence/perspective was particularly needed in the classroom to further sensitize White classmates who may not have had any meaningful interaction with minority individuals prior to coming to graduate school.

Some of my classmates have never had any interaction with people of color. These are people that are preparing to go out there and service minority communities. There is nothing to draw from when their experiences in the classroom are still coming from a one-sided view. They are preparing social workers to go out and practice in urban areas. I feel the lack of diversity is a disservice to these students too. So a more diverse student body is definitely needed. DS

Having a certain connection with other students of color also makes it easier for me to be in an all White setting. RM

A Buddy System for Students

Many students suggested that graduate school was a big transition for them. Consequently, it was suggested that the establishment of a buddy system where new students could learn from more experienced students would be helpful. They indicated that because students were in the field at different times, it was difficult to form relationships with others in the school. A system, which paired students, might it was suggested, facilitate such a relational bonding.

I think it would be helpful to have a kind of big brother, big sister person to guide you through the process. If nothing else, someone to help you through that first semester. Someone to help you figure out what classes or teachers to take to get the kind of experiences you are looking for. Even something as basic as that would be extremely helpful to an incoming student. DS

I wish there was a buddy system. This whole process was a big transition for me and I could use all the support I can get, especially from someone who has gone through it before. Because we are here just two days a week it's hard to get to know the second-year students. RM

As long as the environment remains as racially imbalanced as it is right now, I think a buddy system or something like it would be helpful to students in navigating the graduate process. GP

Others felts that a buddy system would also provide an opportunity for minority students to develop relationships to meet emotional and affective needs related to graduate study.

I think a student mentor or someone to encourage you would be helpful. Someone you can talk to about your struggles and fears would make it easier. Sometimes it's easier to talk to another student than your adviser. If I didn't have that support base I don't think I would be able to do this. KG

I think it would be good if the first-year students of color could hook up the with the second-year students to talk about their struggles. Based on my experiences so far, I know a lot of students would welcome that. AO

Culturally Relevant Curriculum

Respondents stated that the development of a consistent cross-cultural curriculum that is relevant to students of color would encourage minority students to remain in school. They suggested that many students came to the program because of their interest in working in communities of color. Given this, a curriculum that prepares students to work with a cross-section of clients in a culturally appropriate manner would increase their connection to the program. An emphasis on and inclusion of cross-cultural content might also reinforce the importance of cross-cultural issues to social work learning and practice.

A lot of us got into this because we wanted to help our communities. We came here to learn about how we can do that effectively, so I think the program needs to offer more courses that are particular to other communities. It needs to be more multicultural in its approach. KS

The school needs to offer more courses that are not so traditional but are specific to certain communities. They need to teach different aspects of different cultures that are based on what's really going on in communities of color. Let's just say they need to spruce up the curriculum so that it's more relevant to students of color. RM

I think more classes reflecting what's going on in our communities would help. In our foundation class there was one session on diversity. So there is definitely not enough of that. GP

Study participants also felt that more literature about people of color by people of color might better reflect their lived experiences and issues within communities of color. They felt that this change would increase retention by reducing students' perception and frustration about the lack of minority perspective in the current curriculum.

If the curriculum had more literature about people of color by people of color, it might feel less like someone telling you about your experiences. I got really tired of learning about what my experience was through the eyes of people whom I felt didn't have a clue based on how it was presented. I got tired of hearing about the

Black experience from White writers. There was this sense of hopelessness about that experience from these perspectives. ML

More diverse curriculum about people of color by professionals of color. I remember going to a meeting organized by the Black students and one of their biggest gripes was reading all these books by White people about how Black people are, about how Latinos are. MP

They [school of social work] need to put more energy into ensuring that students get a complete experience through making sure that the classes are diverse and the materials that are covered are culturally relevant so that students can walk away from the two years feeling like I have gotten a lot. I'm prepared to go out into the world and work because I came from a school that prepared me for what is going on in the field. SG

Financial Assistance

Most of the graduate students interviewed suggested that financial assistance was a key factor in minority retention. This is consistent with research, which shows a significant relationship between student persistence and financial aid (Cabrera et al., 1988; Nora & Horvath, 1989). Participants expressed frustration with having to both work full-time and go to school full-time. They indicated that the financial aid system needed to be more accessible, and that even when financial assistance is available it often falls short of the level of support necessary to permit full-time enrollment without having to work. Respondents concluded that students would be more likely to remain in school if the need to work full-time while enrolled full-time was reduced. Respondents summarized these ideas as follows:

The whole financial aid process is a nightmare. Sometimes it gets so frustrating that you get to the point where you start to feel you know what, I can't do this anymore. Just forget about it because it's just too hard. So more financial aid would definitely be a big help. It shouldn't come down to going to school or eating. DS

Sometimes it seems that this program is set up for you to fail. How can you literally do as much reading as they want you to do, go to placement, work, and take care of your family . . . ? I know people who were ready to quit in the first month. It's impossible to live and do this program. But we have to work to live. So more money in any form would make a difference. RS

It's difficult to live and not work for most people of color, so if there were more financial aid available to students I think we would see some real changes in the numbers . . . KS

Conclusion

The results of this study suggest that for minority students, graduate social work education is one of uncertainty, sacrifice, and strain. This is due in part to concerns that students bring with them, but more significantly, to the marginal experiences which seem to characterize their socialization into the social work profession. Several factors that may negatively affect retention of minority students at the graduate level emerged from the data. These include interpersonal relationships with others in the school environment, the number of culturally similar faculty and peers, cultural/racial isolation, relevance of the curriculum to minority experiences, and lack of financial resources. These findings are consistent with other studies examining the experiences of minority students in graduate and professional schools. Participants also suggested a number of strategies to increase retention of minority students in graduate social work programs. These include the development of a buddy system to ease the transition to graduate school and to facilitate academic and social supports, a critical mass of minority faculty and students, a culturally relevant curriculum, and increasing financial assistance.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

As the number of culturally and linguistically diverse clients increases, the need to increase the visibility of minority social workers at all levels of the profession becomes even more compelling. Their contribution is especially needed in the service delivery system and in the development of professional policies and practices.

The profession's inability to attract these individuals in larger numbers suggests that current recruitment and retention efforts may be ineffective. Moreover, research on minority recruitment and retention has resulted in a limited understanding about minority students who choose to become social workers and the factors that may influence their career decisions. Once they have enrolled, the social work literature is even more limited regarding these students' perceptions of barriers to completing the MSW degree. A thorough understanding of the characteristics and motivations of minority students who decide to become social workers and the barriers to recruitment and retention in graduate social work programs may provide some insight into how better to attract and keep these individuals in the profession.

The present study was designed to shed light on the background of minority students who choose social work as a career and the factors that influence them to do so. The study is also concerned with documenting the range of barriers that exists for potential social work students and those enrolled in graduate social work programs. By documenting students' subjective experiences, this research has deepened understanding of the social work career decision-making process and the graduate social work experience for minority students.

Review of the Findings

The major findings were presented in chapters IV through VII. A brief summary is given here with specific discussions regarding the respondents' personal and family characteristics, motivations for social work as a career, and career decision-making patterns. This is followed by a discussion of factors in the under-representation of minority students in social work education and the implications for admission, recruitment, and retention of minority individuals in graduate social work programs.

Personal and Family Characteristics

The findings suggest that in many respects the students in this study are similar to minority social work students described in previous studies (Le Doux, 1996; Green, 1999; Wilson, 1998). The majority of the respondents worked full-time while also enrolled in a full-time program. The average age is 30, and they are often the first in their family to go to college. These students are mature individuals with multiple roles and responsibilities.

The majority came from poor or marginally poor backgrounds where the educational attainment of both parents was relatively limited. Most respondents described their childhood as a time when the family had difficulty making ends meet and many received public assistance. In the majority of cases, both parents worked outside the home. Of those mothers who worked outside of the home, employment was primarily in traditional pink-collar work such as factory work, office help, health care, and childcare. With few exceptions fathers were employed in semiskilled and low-skilled

work. This finding contrasts with other studies that identify social workers as having middle-class parents.

Most respondents attended primary and secondary schools in their community, and admission to college seemed to be their first real immersion into mainstream culture. This may in part account for the discomfort that many students describe regarding the college environment.

The patterns of family life that preceded entrance to or interest in the social work profession were also different from those found by other studies. In this study, minority students identified themselves as the caretakers or achievers in their families, whereas in other studies, respondents identified themselves as mediators in their family of origin. Lackie (1983) notes that a caretaker not only takes care of others from an early age but also takes care of others in a later professional situation. Given the history of oppression for minority social work students, caretaking might be an attempt at healing other families as compensation for the impossibility of healing their own. It allows for symbolic gratification of one's own unresolved needs through identification with the client whom one is serving (Lackie, 1983). This suggests that a necessary part of social work education with minority students may be to help them develop clear definitions of the limits of professional responsibility.

Social Work as a Career Choice

The participants' motivations for entering social work were to be similar to those reported in previous studies. All the participants mentioned being motivated to become social workers by their desire to help others. They also wanted to be role models in their

community. This is consistent with recent studies of minority social work students (Le Doux, 1996; Green, 1999; Wilson, 1998). Other factors that attracted these individuals to social work are employment, career options—particularly the flexibility of the profession, the ability to work independently, and previous social work employment experience in their communities.

Unlike social workers described in previous studies, these respondents also differ in ways that may have important implications for the recruitment and retention of minority individuals in graduate social work programs. For example, one significant difference between these respondents and those previously studied is their desire to act as social change agents to ensure that their communities receive the services they need in a sensitive and professional manner. They have been wronged by social workers and feel compelled to insulate others from degrading, punitive, and arbitrary treatment.

That values play an important part in the social work career decision-making process is not new and has been identified in previous studies (Le Doux, 1996; Biggerstaff, 200). However, less understood is why participants choose social work instead of other helping professions such as psychology and counseling. The results of this study offer two possibilities. First, the value base of the social work profession and, in particular, self-determination, the person in environment and a commitment to social justice, might be consistent with the personal values of these individuals. Once they learned of the fit between their values and the values of social work, they were attracted to the field. Second, social work as a career choice may be a manifestation of the value of cooperation and community survival in operation. As noted earlier, minority group members often emphasize a particular psychosocial unit in that collectivism is valued

over individualism and cooperation over competition. In contrast, mainstream U.S. culture and society is based on the concept of individualism, competition, autonomy, self-reliance, and the ability to become your own person. Social work is perceived as emphasizing the group perspective while psychology emphasizes the individual.

Several themes emerged that may have contributed to this value stance among participants. They are early life experience with poverty and racism; early socialization regarding giving back to the community; and a personal sense of moral obligation. The “fit” between the articulated value base of the profession and their personal orientation is significant. These findings also raise questions regarding the role of the environment in shaping the value orientation of individuals and ultimately career decision-making. All those interviewed described various aspects of their early life experiences and the pivotal role these events played in their career decisions. This study seems to suggest that environmental factors such as job opportunities, financial rewards, and community value systems exert some influence in the career choice of minority students. The participants had to balance concerns about earning enough to live comfortably with a belief that the field of social work offers opportunities for work that are meaningful, flexible, and provide independence as well as autonomy.

The influence of ethnic identity may also be at work here. A number of researchers suggest that ethnic identity may be an important influence in the career choice of minorities (Leong & Serafica, 1995; Helms, 1990; White, et al; 1990). Individuals may choose a career because it allows them to help their group. White et. al. (1990) point out that African Americans develop within a collectivist culture and as such exhibit a willingness to subordinate individuality for the sake of family and community.

The results of this study seem to confirm these findings. For example, all the respondents stated that they chose social work as a career because they wanted to help their community. Unlike psychology, social work is perceived as oriented toward affirming mutuality in relationships.

Career Choice and Decision-Making Process

Most career theory models assume that people have complete information about career choices and have planned long-term. The results here, however, as in other studies of occupational choice among minority students, indicate that the majority of respondents learned about social work as a viable profession relatively late compared with other professions. Most of those interviewed became aware of social work as a profession while in college or after graduation, and many considered or tried other careers before deciding on social work.

These students also had very limited knowledge of social work prior to selecting it as a career. Even after they chose social work, lack of information about the profession may have interfered with acquiring the skills necessary for successful professional development. This suggests that one aspect of increasing the minority presence in graduate social work programs is for the profession to become more visible at the high school and undergraduate levels. When individuals are taught to engage in a step-by-step sequential process designed to move them to a career objective, they are able to make an informed choice while accruing the necessary prerequisites along the way.

Events that triggered awareness of social work as a career choice included participation in college courses, exploration of other careers as a result of disillusionment

with their first choice, having had a negative academic experience with their first occupational choice, and early experiences carrying out social work–like activities. Many participants also had social work experience and employment in social work settings. Shaw (1985) found that previous social work experience is one of the most important keys to unlocking access to social work education. As Le Doux (1996) suggested, employment in a social work setting served as an informal socialization mechanism into the profession. Later on, this informal socialization provided the opportunity for these individuals to move into the profession. Many participants reported that supervisors helped them apply to graduate school and complete the application process.

Other aspects of career choice theories were supported by this study. For example, Holland's trait-factor approach suggests that people search for a match between their personality and the job they select (Brown, 1995). Nearly all the students interviewed described the importance of the perceived fit between their values/and personality and the values of the social work profession. They also described social work in positive terms such as "gratifying" and "personally rewarding."

The role of significant others in encouraging or discouraging respondents from selecting social work as a career choice is also noteworthy. Many students in this study were highly influenced by the support they received from parents, family, and friends in the career decision-making process. Significant others encouraged the students by pointing out that they were good listeners, they enjoy helping others, and there was a fit between their values and what they understood as the values of the social work

profession. Other students were pointed in the direction of social work by community leaders and ministers who made them feel like it was “the right thing” to do.

However, for the vast majority the career decision-making process was made more difficult because of family members and friends who disapproved of their decision to enter the social work profession. These people emphasized the lack of prestige and the low financial rewards of social work, which could lead to difficulty supporting themselves and a family. Other students were fed negative images of the clientele and the work they would be expected to do. As a result, many respondents expressed feelings of guilt, disloyalty, and ambivalence around their career choice. Critically, they also expressed a strong personal and moral obligation to help others in need. This, they felt, superseded even their desire to please significant others. A number of studies on the occupational choice and career decision-making process of ethnic/racial minorities have pointed to the importance of significant others in the career decision-making process (Arbona, 1995; Leong & Gim, 1993). The findings here seem to further support their argument. However, they also suggest that values may be a more important determinant than family influences in the career decision-making process.

Respondents expected that they are as likely to face discrimination in social work as in other fields. Consequently, they had clearly developed expectations regarding the social work profession. They felt they had to prepare themselves to deal with discrimination in the field. However, some asserted that with enough hard work and commitment, they would eventually prevail, suggesting that despite their distrust of society, they continue to believe that they can make a difference in the lives of people in their communities. For others, pushing toward their goal in the face of discrimination is

an opportunity to prove to themselves and others that they can make it. It also offers a chance to dispel negative stereotypes about the abilities of minority individuals. Some scholars have found a tendency among minority individuals to avoid occupations in which they perceive they will experience discrimination (Evans & Herr, 1991). Others (Super, 1990) maintain that discrimination may operate the same way as socio economic status—detering some people from trying but motivating others to overcome them. Clearly, the respondents in this study fall within the later group.

Factors in the Under-Representation of Minority Students in Social Work Education

Many complex factors lead to the under-representation of minorities in professional social work education. They include personal considerations, economic hardship, and institutional barriers. This section takes up each of these issues, beginning with a discussion of how personal factors contribute to the under-representation of minority individuals in graduate social work programs.

Personal Considerations

To address barriers to recruitment, admission, and retention of minority students, it is imperative that faculty, staff, and administration in graduate social work programs understand the needs, background, and environments of these students. Thus a cultural view of issues of access and retention is critical. In this regard, Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualization of cultural reproduction and, in particular the notion of cultural capital, is instructive. For Bourdieu, cultural reproduction serves to preserve the appearance of neutrality while legitimating sectional interests (Atkinson, 1983). Within this context,

Bourdieu uses the notion of cultural capital to account for the differential distribution of educational success within the education system.

According to Bourdieu (1986), education promotes a consensual view of the legitimacy of certain varieties of knowledge while masking the social differences it promotes and reproduces. However, because education is not affiliated with class forces, it is easy to “misrecognize” the key role it plays as an autonomous yet crucially functional institution for maintaining and preserving class and cultural domination.

A key concept in understanding how the education system reproduces the social structure is Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of *habitus*, which refers to the distinctive modes of perception, thinking, appreciation, and action associated with any given collectivity. *Habitus* encompasses the characteristics of the group, especially its taken-for-granted worldview. The resources embodied in the habitus of different groups are reliant on varying modalities of “capital.” They include “economic capital,” “cultural capital,” “social capital,” and “symbolic violence.” Of these, cultural capital has the most relevance for illuminating how cultural considerations present barriers to access and success for minority students within the higher education system.

Cultural capital refers to a set of cultural and linguistic styles, dispositions, and behaviors that are learned and enacted socially (DiMaggio, 1982). One generation may pass on to the next the cultural codes required for comprehending and appreciating art. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that the family is the most significant site for the inculcation of the habitus because it provides the child’s most definitive framework for the systematic imposition of the group’s values and ideology. When the child reaches school age the education system takes over by refining and further inculcating the family’s habitus.

Encircling the learning that takes place within the family and the education system lies the force of social class. Social class modulates and inscribes the linguistic codes, and cultural predispositions peculiar to one's location within a given social formation. The net effect of these three systems- family, education, and social class is a deeply entrenched set of codes for thinking and acting. These structures then allow for the fluid operation of social life (Shirley, 1986). A person who is at home in a prestigious status culture can display tastes, styles or understandings that serve as cultural resources, making communication easier.

Bourdieu (1977) contends that cultural capital consists of precisely those subjects that schools do not teach but which elites value and teachers regard as legitimate, such as involvement in art, music and literature. He writes for example, "the system demands uniformly of all its students that they should have what it does not give" (p. 128). The education system assumes that individuals possess the necessary cultural competence to succeed, its habitus, or the character that defines school success, remains implicit. Thus middle-class students who are already versed in the mysteries of the education system appear much more readily to be naturally gifted (Atkinson, 1983). DiMaggio(1982) found that teachers communicate more easily with students who participate in elite status cultures, give them more attention and special assistance, and perceive them as more intelligent or gifted than students who lack cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu (1986), the university system plays an active role in furthering cultural reproduction stratified along class lines via its skewed distribution of cultural "decoding" skills. Within this context only those students from dominant class factions with a habitus that complements university discourse will prevail (Shirley,

1986). The results of the study reported here suggest that one aspect of the under-representation of minority students in graduate social work programs is that they lack the cultural capital necessary to gain access to and succeed in the higher education system. Many of the respondents lacked the requisite knowledge required to enable them to interpret and decode different aspects of the academic culture and institutions. Because they are the first in their families to attend college and in some cases to graduate from high school, they lack understanding of the expectations, knowledge, and skills required to do well in college. This includes heuristic or practical knowledge such as knowing when to drop a course rather than fail it, understanding when to change majors, and in the case of financial aid, knowing about key deadlines. Many respondents are also unaware of the career path to becoming a social worker and the expectations of a graduate social work program. Most were unaware, for example, that a master's degree in social work is necessary for professional practice or what education and skills are necessary to earn such a degree. With few role models or socializing agents to guide them, their college experience is analogous to trial by fire.

On the other hand, middle class students often have a greater cultural continuity between home and college that provides them with a sense of security and familiarity. They are also more likely than minority students to have others in their family who have previously attended college and can help them smooth their transition to higher education. Tierney (1999) notes, for example, that majority children often learn from an early age that attending college is not a choice. The question for them is not whether to go to college or whether they can afford it, but which college to attend. Majority students

are also more likely to have other students, faculty, and staff who can serve as role models and mentors.

As with other mechanisms of cultural capital, linguistic socialization is an invisible impediment which is often unacknowledged but which also presents a significant disadvantage for minority students. Bourdieu (1986) notes that schools require cultural resources such as linguistic codes which rank the word “I” over “we” and are oriented to the communication of individuated meanings. Majority students understand these codes implicitly. In contrast, most people of color tend to engage in social relations that are based upon shared identifications, expectations, and assumptions. In this context meaning is taken for granted and there is little incentive to elaborate and make oneself explicit and specific (Bourdieu, 1986). In the context of higher education, the loser in this situation is students from the dominated classes who lack the cultural capital to translate their own language code into university discourse.

There are other ways in which minority students’ linguistic socialization affects their sense of belonging in the college environment as well. For instance, a number of study participants stated that they had difficulty speaking up in class because they were uncertain about how best to present their views. They have had little or no practice in expressing themselves to other ethnic groups and were particularly concerned that their meanings would be unintelligible to others. At times they were also uncertain about grammar and speech. These experiences not only put students at risk for academic failure but also dampen lively exchanges among students or what some call “the heart of the educational experience” (Spelman, 1985, p.241). White students, on the other hand, by virtue of certain linguistic and cultural competencies acquired through family

upbringing, are often provided with the means of success in school. Thus while most White students must learn to negotiate in two spheres—their everyday and academic lives, minority students must develop a third set of interactional styles.

Economic Hardship

The lack of family resources and the continued increases in college tuition, coupled with the demise of state and federal student grants, mean that minority students are finding it extremely difficult to afford graduate education. Swail et al. (2003) highlight several issues linked to the declining access and success of minority students in higher education. These include increasing college costs, inadequate assistance to under-prepared students, and lack of commitment to equal opportunity by institutions of higher learning.

In addition to their inability to pay for college, lack of financial resources also has consequences for minority students' psychological well-being. The results of the present study indicate, for example, that all the participants held one or more jobs while enrolled full-time. Critically, Potts (1992) found that social work students enrolled full-time had lower levels of adjustment to the college environment when combined with full-time employment. Others (Taylor & Olswang, 1997) have noted that full-time students cited employment pressures as a primary reason for difficulty fulfilling school-related role demands. This suggests that schools of social work must give more attention to helping minority students address financial worries. The findings also substantiate the need to increase the amount of financial assistance available to minority students.

Higher Education/University Barriers

In addition to financial difficulties, the findings indicate that there are yet more subtle factors that may limit the pool of applicants to graduate social work programs and, once enrolled, their ability to persist. These include institutional barriers such as lack of commitment to recruitment and outreach, interpersonal difficulties with faculty and peers, the relevance/sensitivity of curricula, and classroom practices. Unless these issues are addressed they will continue to operate even if financial aid levels were to increase substantially.

Lack of commitment to recruitment or outreach

Despite concerns in the literature about the need to recruit strong minority candidates to social work graduate programs, none of the graduate program respondents had been recruited into the social work program they currently attend. Oliver and Brown (1988) note that even when social work programs acknowledge the need to recruit more minority students, their efforts are often ineffective because they are often conducted in a non-systemic, ad hoc fashion.

Interpersonal Difficulties

The results indicate that for minority students enrolled in graduate social work programs, the experience is rife with cultural dissonance, discomfort, and stress. In identifying the perceived barriers to persistence for minority students, three areas need to be highlighted. They include one's relationship with others in the school such as faculty and peers, the relevance/sensitivity of the curriculum, and classroom practices.

Faculty Relations: Stikes (1984) notes that White faculty are one of the several groups that can assist minority students in coping with a difficult college environment. Establishing professional relationships, advising, sharing knowledge and experience, referring, or just listening are faculty activities that can help students of color develop a sense of belonging. However, the findings suggest that minority students often have difficulty formulating relationships with faculty, and with White faculty in particular. These results are consistent with studies of college retention. Allen (1992) notes, for example, that the best predictor of academic success for minority students is their relationship with faculty. Others (Nettles, 1990) found that minority graduate students often feel alienated and isolated in their schools and typically view themselves as being outside the mainstream of their program. Others (Schwitzer et al., 1999) point out that minority students report poor communication with White faculty because of insensitivity to cultural differences. This has serious consequences for minority students since personal relationships with faculty are also an antecedent to the development of mentoring relationships. In a study of mentorship among social workers, Collins (1994) found that mentorship led to greater career success among protégés, and those who had a mentor were more satisfied with their careers than those who did not have a mentor. She further emphasizes that given the problems of marginality and alienation experienced by professionals of color in social work, the need for mentorship with minority students was crucial.

However, research has also shown that mentors tend to choose protégés with whom they can identify or who are socially similar to themselves. Blackwell (1987)

notes that “mentors tend to select as protégés persons who are of the same gender, and who share with themselves a number of social and cultural attributes or background characteristics such as race, ethnicity, religion and social class” (p. 11). Given the small number of minority faculty in schools of social work, this means that minority students are not likely to identify potential mentors. Moreover, because the protégé must first be selected and the mentor must agree to perform the role, these relationships form slowly, if at all. Despite these challenges, minority students can benefit from cross-cultural mentoring. Davis (1995) reports that Black students often find their social needs gratified through interaction with Black and/or White faculty members who identify themselves as caring and supportive. Others (Austin, 1982; Nettles, 1990) report that students who were able to interact frequently with faculty are likely to be more satisfied with their educational and personal development and their overall college situation. However, as Stewart-Patterson et al. (1997) maintain, to be effective, cross-cultural relationships need to develop in the context of a personal relationship that includes trust, genuineness, and respect.

Schools of social work at the bachelors, Masters and Doctoral level should actively recruit minority faculty. This would provide minority students with the same type of mentorship opportunities that White students have with White faculty. Moreover, research (Tinto, 1987) has shown that for minority students, the availability of like-person role models who have successfully navigated the waters of majority institutions is an especially important component of their own success. The presence of minority faculty also challenges the myth that higher education is a White preserve that cannot be penetrated. It offers students the opportunity to see that becoming a professor is an

attainable goal, and that education can provide tools that can help to reproduce such achievement. It can instill a sense of pride, confidence, and self-worth associated with good work and feedback from minority professors, which in turn can help their personal and professional development (Aymer and Bryan, 1996). These authors also believe that White colleagues benefit from the support of minority faculty as it may make their work with minority students easier.

When arranging for closer faculty involvement with minority students, the constraints of such participation must also be closely examined. As Kovak (1992) notes, this is particularly true for minority faculty, who are pressured internally within the institution and from minority students to help, even though they must devote the bulk of their time to research in order to receive tenure. Epps (1989, as cited in Kovak et al. 1992) speculates that given the small number of minority faculty at both undergraduate and graduate levels, no matter how committed they may be, there simply are not enough of them to meet the needs of all current and potential students. While it is critically important for all faculty to be committed to nurturing minority students, these findings underscore the need for White faculty to become involved in larger numbers to remove some of the excess burden now shouldered by minority faculty.

One thread running through respondents' discussion of faculty was their reluctance to admit difficulties to White faculty for fear of appearing incompetent or, as one participant stated, "giving them reason to believe that you can't cut it." These fears are consistent with research on minority student and faculty relations. Farley (2002) reported that minority students often fear they will expose ignorance or inadequate preparation when they meet professors. They fear these assessments might lead to lower

course grades. This belief among students of color may be the consequence of years of negative contact with educational institutions

Feelings of incompetence among minority students are often exacerbated by subtle messages of incompetence from White faculty. Katz (1991) captures this dynamic in his interviews with White university faculty members. He reports that White faculty thinks the grade performance of Black students is lower than that of White students. Perhaps most critically, their efforts to raise the performance of under-prepared students were not always pronounced. Also of significance is Nettle's (1990) finding that race in and of itself is a predictor of college grade point average.

The data also reveal that racial differences can and often do impede the evaluation process. This is consistent with research findings. As early as the 1970s, Christiansen and Sedlacek (1974) reported that minority students often complain they do not receive helpful feedback from White faculty, because their responses are often overly negative or overly positive. More recently, Cohen and Steel (1999) found that White faculty presumptions of lack of preparation and lack of ability also tend to block communication with minority students during the feedback process. This has further implications for faculty/student relations. Because race is a salient factor in cross-cultural encounters, Farley (2002) suggests that White faculty must become more sensitive to how the false perceptions or dissonant communications about the abilities of minority students might have a negative impact on the appraisal process. They should also be able to communicate students' limitations objectively without suggesting that the student is incapable. It is especially important, he points out, to combine critical feedback and high standards with a "you can do it" message.

Peer Relations: While the significance of faculty/student relations cannot be overstated, researchers have argued for some time that peer group relations are also closely tied to student retention (Weidman, et. al., 2001; Kemp, 1990; Nettles, 1990). Weidman et al. (2001) note that peer solidarity plays an important part in dispelling the anxiety manifest in assuming uncharted career direction and affirmation that students have chosen the “right field.” Student culture also affords opportunities to see the informal aspects of their chosen profession. Moreover, because minority students are often reluctant to consult faculty directly, peers are an important resource for gathering information about program policies and procedures. Peer relations are particularly important because they sustain and assist in-group identity. This is especially significant for minority students who, rather than separate themselves from past cultural associations, often strive to retain and nurture a sense of ethnic identity while in college (Padilla et al., 1997). Because they often lack the institutional and personal supports necessary for academic success, minority peers can also offer each other strategies for navigating a course through the often muddy waters of undergraduate and graduate education.

However, as the findings suggest, difficulties with peers is yet another hurdle that confronts minority students in graduate social work programs. Interpersonal conflicts with White peers was identified as a factor that negatively affected their graduate experience. Minority students felt that their peers did not understand them and were often racist in their characterization of minority individuals. Because most minority students lived monocultural lives before college, they also had difficulty initiating and negotiating relationships with non-minority students. On a day-to-day basis this means

that they were often locked out of White students' study groups and other department cliques.

In addition to conflicts with White students, interpersonal conflicts with other students of color was identified as a factor that negatively affected their graduate experience. Some of the difficulties they encountered with other students of color could be attributed to conflicts involving identity development and group loyalty. Sue and Sue's (1990) theory of racial/cultural identity development is instructive here. The theory describes five stages of development that oppressed people experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures. The racial/cultural identity development model offers a framework in which to appreciate where individuals are in terms of their response to racial tension within the education setting. The theory suggests that individuals may be expected to vary in the degree to which they identify with their respective groups as a result of the combined influence of personality characteristics, reference group orientation, and ascribed identity. Racial identity theory describes the pathway of racial identity development for a person of color through five distinct psychological stages: conformity, dissonance, resistance and emersion, introspection, and integrative awareness.

In the conformity stage, minority individuals are characterized by their unequivocal preference for the dominant culture. Because that reference point is usually a normative White standard, the person develops a very pro-White stance. Lifestyles, values, and cultural/physical characteristics of White society are highly valued while those of their own minority group are disdained. Individuals in this stage are unaware of

the degree to which their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors reflect the dominant group ideology, including majority cultural beliefs and attitudes about minority people. There is a general belief that White cultural, social, and institutional standards are superior while those associated with one's own group are perceived as something to deny or avoid (Sue & Sue, 1990).

The dissonance stage is marked by an individual's conflict between self-depreciating and self-appreciating attitudes and beliefs. The person encounters information or experiences (e.g., a personal experience with discrimination) that belies beliefs, attitude, and values held by the dominant culture, the individual begins to question and challenge the attitudes/beliefs of the conformity stage. Such encounters may shake self-image and make the person open to a new interpretation of self in relation to the world. There is growing awareness that racism and discrimination exist. There is also an awareness that heritage is inescapable and that not all aspects of minority and majority culture are good or bad. Dominant-held views of minority strengths and weaknesses begin to be questioned. Feelings of shame and pride are mixed, creating conflict. Stereotypes about minority groups are questioned and there is a sense of camaraderie toward other members of oppressed groups. As someone becomes aware that not all cultural values of the dominant group are beneficial, the individual begins to develop a growing suspicion and some distrust of certain members of the dominant group (Sue & Sue, 1990).

In the resistance and emersion stage, the minority individual tends to endorse completely minority-held views and reject the culture and values of the dominant group. White social, cultural, and institutional standards are viewed as having no validity for the

individual, whose most important motivation is a desire to eliminate oppression of minority people. People going through this stage experience strong feelings of guilt and shame that they have participated in the oppression of their own group and other minority groups. Cultural and racial characteristics that elicited shame and disgust now become symbols of unbridled pride. As part of the pendulum swing, the cultural values of minority groups are now accepted without question. Interactions are also restricted as much as possible to members of their own group. Attitude and beliefs towards other minority groups are also subject to change. The individual now forms alliances with other minority groups based on a shared experience with oppression and the need to come together to fight a larger enemy. There is a strong sense of anger at oppression and feelings of having been brainwashed by White society. There is also a personal questioning of why people should feel ashamed of themselves. Attitudes toward the dominant group are characterized by hostility and distrust. White society/culture is perceived as the entity most responsible for the plight of minorities. Some individuals may also experience an overwhelming sense of anger, pain, and hurt as their intellectual understanding of how oppression works increases (Sue & Sue, 1990).

In the introspection stage, the need for a positive self-definition begins to emerge. The individual comes to understand that the absolute reaction against the dominant culture in the previous stage inhibits him/her from channeling energies toward discovering him/herself. Previously held group views may now be seen as conflicting with individual ones. Cultural pressures to sever relationships with a White person because he/she is the enemy may conflict with this person's individual experience of White people that does not support this view. Increasingly, the individual may perceive

their own group's position as extreme and begins to demand increased individual autonomy. Moreover, there is increasing resentment over how one's group may attempt to pressure the individual into making decisions that may be inconsistent with the person's own values, beliefs, and outlook. Culturocentrism is now questioned, and there is an attempt to reach out to other groups to find out how they have dealt with oppression. Conflict is characteristic of this stage as the individual begins to recognize positive aspects of White culture, yet there is confusion about how to incorporate these elements into minority culture. As a result the person begins to spend more and more time sorting out these aspects of his/her identity (Sue & Sue, 1990).

During the integrative stage conflicts experienced in the previous stage become resolved, allowing for greater individual control and flexibility. The general belief is that there are acceptable and unacceptable aspects of all cultures and that people should be rejected or accepted on their own merits. The person becomes bicultural without a sense of having sold out his/her integrity. Tolerance and empathy are expressed for individuals who may be functioning in a less adaptive manner toward racism and oppression. The individual now reaches out to others to understand their cultural values and way of life. There is openness to the constructive elements of the dominant group. White racism is seen as a sickness that victimizes both the oppressor and the oppressed (Sue & Sue, 1990).

Although the identity development process is presented as a stage theory, in reality most people are believed to experience several stages simultaneously and living a mixture of social identities. It is not clear if the identity development process is the same for all minority groups, or what phase of identity development individual students might

be in. However, it could be argued that a student who made other peers feel guilty because they disagreed with the group or who sought to keep peers in line by questions such as “How Asian are you?” or “How Black are you?” was engaging in the type of behavior that Sue and Sue (1990) describe as the resistance and emersion stage. What is also clear is that minority students experience a great deal of culture-specific stress stemming from their self-initiated membership into a professional group while striving to remain loyal to their primary reference group. For most students, the combination of these powerful emotions may feel all-consuming. They have to come to grips with how to live out their new awareness of contradictions or reshape beliefs and values and shifts in identity. The results underscore the need to examine both general and culture-specific stressors of minority students to help them cope with a difficult college environment.

Curriculum Issues: Since minority persons are often major consumers of social work services as well as the focus of cross-cultural studies, the way the profession views their culture significantly impacts their graduate experience. While social work education has emphasized the need to implement curricula compatible with the multiethnic and multiracial populations that social workers serve, this study indicates that what is considered cross-cultural content and how this information is imparted remains a problem for the profession. With regard to what is taught, there is a dearth of appropriate paradigms or frameworks for discussing minority issues. Respondents have confirmed what multicultural scholars have been saying for some time: that the current multicultural curriculum lacks a coherent conceptual educational framework that addresses diversity and social justice, that the literature is plagued by inconsistencies and confusion, and that there is a limited perspective on the sociohistorical experiences of minority group clients

(Longres, 1997; Webster, 1997; Van Soest and Garcia, 2003; Schmitz et al, 2002; Newsome, 2004, Dominelli, 2004). Van Soest and Garcia (2003) maintain that these obstacles are a result of social work's unwillingness to look at Whiteness and privilege. The result is a cultural diversity curriculum that negates critical aspects of the experiences of the student body and the clients with whom they work.

Classroom practices: Students' assumptions that they will suffer negative repercussions if they speak out about controversial issues in the classroom also surfaced in the analysis of the study data. This reluctance to actively and thoughtfully discuss controversial topics is a consequence of peer interactions and perceived differences of power in the classroom. For students in college, the relationship with their peers is often intense and involves many different roles. Because their relationships with peers often takes precedence over their role in class, many are reluctant to participate in any discussion that may jeopardize their relationships outside of the classroom. This is particularly true of minority students, who often lack broad support in the institutional environment and depend on their peers to fulfill their student role. Because their numbers are so few, their investment in their relationships with each other is significant. Rejection from their peers could mean further isolation and alienation. The tension among these multiple, overlapping roles means that most students avoid the risk of participation at the expense of their professional development.

Perceived and actual differences in power in the classroom also inhibit discussions of controversial issues. Because of previous educational experiences, many students come to college believing that teachers are experts and accordingly should not be questioned and do not want to be questioned. Hence, those who disagree with

professors expect to receive lower grades. Other differences in power that affect classroom participation on controversial issues include the politics of voice, i.e., who speaks, who listens, and why. In our society members of minority groups have more to risk from expressing their views and are discredited more often when they choose to speak. Because educational institutions are embedded in the larger society, these dynamics also operate in the social work classroom. Moreover, most topics that emerge are emotionally loaded for both teacher and student and are linked to strongly held beliefs, values and feelings. Classroom discussions are also inextricably related to the life experiences of both students and teachers. As such, what students say, to whom and in what context result from conscious and unconscious assessments of the power relations and safety of the situation.

Miehls (2001) notes that since the social work classroom is populated with diverse individuals at different stages of their development, tensions are likely to surface along lines of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation. This is especially true with controversial issues. Findings from this study indicate that when the dynamics of power, positionality, and social identity are played out in the classroom, many students simply withdraw. This culture of silence between and among students with regard to minority content has several dimensions. One element is students' lack of skill or practice in intergroup communication. As mentioned previously, many of these students have lived majority lives in their communities and have had very little practice with cross-cultural communication. They may also maintain silence out of fear of being patronized or polarizing the class.

Another dimension of the silence is the internalization of the passive roles scripted for all students in the traditional classroom compounded by a variety of other factors for minority students. These students are silent because they do not expect that education will speak to the real conditions of their lives or others in their community (Freire, 1970). So they simply accept what is offered and wait for the day when they can graduate.

A third dimension of this culture of silence is a resistance to the “banking” (Freire, 1970) system of education or the imposition of passive learning. Freire (1970) described the banking concept of teaching as an act of depositing in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. The task of the teacher “is to fill the students with the contents of their narration—contents which are detached from their reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance” (Freire & Macedo, 1998). These students describe their silence as a smoldering anger not because of voicelessness but because they are unable to speak in their authentic voices. Their silence, therefore, is in defense of their autonomy and right to be heard. The very act of silencing their world pushes them into an unnatural state that propels them to push back. By taking an oppositional stance to received knowledge they are sabotaging the “banking” teaching mode of traditional classrooms. Instead they form informal peer groups that meet after class to “set the record straight” on previous classroom discussions.

Giroux (as cited in Solorzano & Villalpando, 2000) suggests that oppositional behavior can be based on a liberating, emancipatory or transformative logic and is not just a reactionary rebellion based on a sense of powerlessness. Solorzano and

Villalpando (2000) point out that, as a result of their ascribed marginal status within a university system that devalues their ethnocultural and sociocultural experiences, some minority students have chosen to voluntarily situate themselves on the “margins” as a site of resistance in order to transform the system. By distinguishing between a dominated marginal status imposed by an oppressive and contradictory higher education system, versus an empowering and self-defined marginal site they can incorporate human agency in determining their college experiences. However, the alienation of students of color cannot be solved by more passive pedagogy. Overcoming alienation requires a counter-alienation pedagogy—one that is creative, critical, and based on the experiences and viewpoints of students rather than on an imposed culture. Issues of power, authority and voice should also be integrated in order to dispel the myth that minority people have nothing to offer and that their stories are not important. Faculty can create a climate in which minority students feel free to express their feelings and to believe that they have a right to engage in and benefit from the educational process.

Conclusion

Increasing minority representation in professional education and practice continues to be one of the most compelling issues in the profession today. However, the results of this study suggest that minority students interested in pursuing a professional degree in social work face an uphill battle. Their challenges include personal issues, the high cost of tuition, interpersonal difficulties and situational stressors such as family, employment and financial responsibilities. When their educational experiences in graduate school are closely examined, it is clear that the power relations between

majority and minority groups exert a powerful influence on their socialization into the social work profession.

CHAPTER X

IMPLICATIONS FOR GRADUATE SOCIAL WORK PROGRAMS AND THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

Implications for graduate social work programs regarding admission, recruitment and retention of minority students, and the relevance/sensitivity of the curriculum and classroom practices will be discussed in this section. Given the importance of the institutional climate in the socialization of students, this section will also discuss ways to make graduate school social work programs more hospitable to minority students.

Admission, Recruitment and Retention.

Admission, recruitment, and retention of minority students are challenging problems with very serious consequences for social work clients and the profession. However, increased minority participation will not occur unless institutions make serious commitments toward these goals. Social work programs can begin this process by reexamining whether applications from people of color are being read with sufficient appreciation of context. Many social work programs do not use objective admissions standards such as GRE scores, but the subjective screening criteria used by some schools may also lock out many capable minority students. For instance, if interviews are used in the selection process, minority speech and mannerisms can negatively influence the evaluation. Minority students may interview less well not because of an inability to perform well in the field but because they lack relevant experience in the presentation of self in formal settings (Pruitt and Isaac, 1985). Moreover, the nature of the presentation

that they are expected to make, i.e., integration of their experience with their career expectations, is often at odds with their own ambivalence regarding graduate education.

Letters of recommendation can also be problematic because, as the data suggest, minority students often have difficulty forming relationships with White faculty and recommendations from relatively unknown Black faculty are often downgraded (Pruitt and Isaac, 1985). What is needed is a reevaluation of the admission and screening criteria. Graduate social work programs need to determine for themselves the kind of minority student who will succeed in their program. Because minority students are likely to have few or no college graduates in their family, pre-entrance counseling may be needed to familiarize students with the expectations and demands of graduate education.

The recruitment literature indicates that social work programs rely on a narrow set of recruitment channels that benefit the school and some students but may yield biased enrollment patterns. Graduate schools must establish new avenues to reach minority groups. To be successful in increasing minority enrollment, recruitment and retention efforts must be accepted and actively supported by administrators, faculty, students, and staff.

Other ideas for enhancing recruitment and retention efforts include forming linkages within minority social networks. These networks represent a way to compensate for minority students' resource deficits, provide necessary emotional support, and new social contacts (Brown and Oliver, 1988).

Finally, as the results suggest, increasing recruitment of minority students into the social work profession will necessitate a confrontation with the image of social work, by social work educators and practitioners. As Blackwell (1987) noted almost two decades

ago, social work suffers from a credibility gap within minority communities. On the one hand, its practitioners are committed to the principles of providing assistance to the disadvantaged. On the other hand, the community has an image of social workers as “public assistance workers,” an image rooted in the contacts and types of experience that potential students have had with social workers. Social work is also considered a low-status job with little financial return.

Given social work’s negative reputation in minority communities, recruitment programs might also benefit from the assistance of highly visible minority members who can put another face on social work and social work institutions. Recruitment efforts are seriously undermined if minority individuals have a negative perception of social work. Brown and Oliver (1988) suggest increasing an institution’s visibility by frequenting minority social events, operating booths at minority cultural events, and openly endorsing and requesting that minority groups use campus facilities for educational and cultural forums.

Since colleagues in social service agencies were major influences on the respondents’ decision to apply to graduate school, social work education programs can distribute information about programs to key individuals in these agencies. The present findings indicate that college professors were also influential in students’ decision to pursue graduate work. Recruiters who visit college campuses would do well to have contact with professors as well as students.

Minority recruitment programs cannot succeed unless they are part of a comprehensive recruitment and retention program. The literature suggests that enrollment, retention and graduation of minority students are contingent on six major

factors: outreach, orientation, a favorable institutional climate, a culturally sensitive curriculum, financial assistance and supportive services (Oliver & Brown, 1988; Blackwell, 1989; Tinto, 1987; Swail et al., 2003). The literature also suggests that an effective plan must include specific steps to (a) reduce cultural conflict; (b) increase culturally sensitive career counseling and guidance; (c) ensure faculty role models; (d) enhance peer support within and among minority students; (e) provide access to placement services that support self-worth; (f) have professionals of color speak on campus on issues pertinent to minority populations and (g) increase the number of supervisors of color in field placements (Basham et al., 1997; Oliver & Brown, 1988; Swail et al., 2003).

Curricular Practices

Lang (1992) suggested that recruitment and retention efforts should be measured both by the number of minority students enrolled and graduated, and by the institution's structural changes that accommodate the diversity of skills, cultural backgrounds, adeptness and historical legacies that minority students bring to the school. A number of scholars have noted that while schools of social work seek to attract a diverse student body, the curriculum continues to reflect the dominant cultural models and theories of education (Van Soest & Garcia, 2003; Dominelli, 2004; Fong & Lum, 2004). These scholars point out that a White European norm is still evident in the theoretical constructs used to determine assessment, intervention and evaluation of minority clients. To effectively recruit and retain students of color in graduate programs, social work must

develop and implement a curriculum that is compatible with the multiethnic groups that both serve and are served by the profession.

The literature suggests that the current foundation for culturally competent practice in social work is a multicultural perspective that attends primarily to respect, understanding, and celebration of difference (Ewalt, et al., 1996; Fellin, 1997; Maki, 1997; Van Soest & Garcia, 2003). The objective is to develop cultural competence by expanding students' knowledge of the belief systems and cross-cultural values of particular cultural groups and multicultural awareness as well as sensitivity in agency practice and the broader social environment. Within this conception of multiculturalism, students learn about the knowledge, values, beliefs and patterns of behavior of marginalized groups. The assumption is that awareness and understanding of difference will allow individuals to become more flexible, tolerant, and appreciative of diversity. Moreover, such knowledge would also allow students from the dominant culture to practice more effectively with clients from different cultures and in different situations.

Advocates maintain that one advantage of this approach is that it emphasizes culture and ethnic differences and similarities among population groups rather than being based on race and/or minority group status (Phinney, 1996). It also includes groups that are usually left out of a multicultural perspective—groups distinguished by social class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and physical or mental disability.

However, opponents point out that although the curriculum attempts to help students develop sensitivity toward and understanding of marginalized people it does so without explaining why they are marginalized or who benefits from their marginalization (Van Soest, 2004; Dominelli, 2004; Goode and Schneider, 1994). Moreover, they noted

that the effects of major historical, political and economic processes—increased race and class inequalities—are completely masked by this approach. Gould (1995) argued that a major problem with this approach is that students have come to view multiculturalism as information about other cultures that has to be mastered to work effectively with clients from different groups. Others noted that it reinforces the myth that an inclusive curriculum is an entitlement program and curriculum movement for racial minority groups, poor people, and gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgenderd people (Van Soest & Garcia, 2003). These authors also maintained that a curriculum aimed at developing sensitivity to others keeps it marginalized and held apart from the mainstream social work curriculum.

Wachholz and Mullaly (2000) noted that as currently defined in the social work literature, cross-cultural practice tends to reproduce the present social order. In a content analysis of recent social work introductory texts, they found that the knowledge presented in social work textbooks tended to reproduce the existing social order and its attendant inequalities and that this reproduction is aided by the suppression and marginalization of scholarship that seeks its transformation. In this context, the sociocultural reality of minority groups is a secondary concern while the inner world of psychological processes is given center stage (Longres, 1997). As a result, change efforts are focused primarily on the individual. Chau (1991) maintains that multiculturalism that operates within these boundaries only serves to maintain the status quo. Others (Longres, 1997) noted that clinical services divorced from services aimed at community development and social change often converted economic and political problems into mental health problems. Dominelli (2004) asserts that as currently conceptualized, culturally competent social

work provides the framework for further oppression of clients. It does so by ignoring oppressive social arrangements that reinforce the status quo and hold clients solely responsible for their situation. This reluctance to politicize the life circumstances of clients may be at the heart of social work's lack of effectiveness with minority clients and other marginal groups.

Another core problem with multiculturalism as presented in the social work literature is its failure to problematize Whiteness and the Eurocentric norm. While minority students are encouraged to expand self-knowledge of their own multicultural identity, there is no evidence that Whiteness as a norm is adequately analyzed and challenged (Fellin, 1997). The assumption is that if students are able to recognize how they have been impacted by their culture, they can better understand the impact of culture on others. Armed with knowledge of self, they are less likely to project their own internalized cultural responses onto practice situations (Dungee-Anderson & Beckett, 1995).

The Need for a Relevant Conceptual Framework

In a time of escalating poverty, increasing racism, inadequate healthcare and education, effective cross-cultural practice is more relevant than ever. However, unless practitioners are responsive to the problems of the collective, cultural competence in the social work relationship can have only limited effects. This signals the need for a reconceptualization of cross-cultural practice that demands changes in images and power relations. While there are many views on multiculturalism, I believe that *critical multiculturalism* is a more relevant stance for social work practice because it is dedicated

to the elimination of human suffering. It envisions a restructuring of communal realities by seeking to move communities beyond being tolerant of each other to forming inter-communal coalitions. As such, issues of class, power, and domination are at the heart of analysis and knowledge building (Schmitz et al. 2001).

Unlike a liberal pluralist discourse, critical multiculturalism goes beyond acknowledging differences and analyzing stereotypes. It calls for dispersing power and empowering the dis-empowered. More specifically, it is about “understanding, engaging, and transforming the diverse histories, cultural narratives, representations, and institutions that produce racism and other forms of discrimination” (Giroux, 1996, p. 109). In this context students are seen not as receptors of cultural knowledge but as initiators of social movements.

Giroux (1996) outlines a number of key elements of critical multiculturalism that are particularly relevant for cross-cultural social work practice. First, because people of color are disproportionately underrepresented in cultural, public, and educational institutions, such as schools of social work, he suggests that a multicultural curriculum must provide students with the skills to analyze how various forms of representation serve to reinforce dominant moral and political vocabularies that both degrade and deprive people of their history, culture, and identity. Within this discourse students analyze stereotypes and show how institutions produce racism and other forms of discrimination. Second, rather than define multiculturalism simply as difference, educators are called upon to develop a “unity-in-difference position.” This means that the interrelationship of different cultures and identities can then become “a

borderland, a site of crossing, negotiation, translation, and dialogue” (Giroux, 1996, p. 121). It allows differences to be recognized, exchanged, and connected.

To educate students to be culturally competent, the curriculum must do more than represent cultural difference. It should also educate students to link the multiplicity of struggles to real material conditions that structure everyday life. Longres (1997) noted that as currently defined within the social work curriculum, multiculturalism has not led to empowerment for people of color due to continued focus on “private troubles” instead of on social reform and the achievement of equality, equity, or simply equal opportunity (p. 42). Critical multiculturalism presents a paradigm that goes beyond private troubles to include an understanding of the ways in which dominant institutions provide the context of massive unemployment among some groups, segregated schools, racist violence and marginalization.

A key element of multicultural practice is the assessment and intervention process. Domenilli (2004) noted that the current framework of culturally competent practice has led to a framework of depoliticized social work skills by practitioners and academics. However, decontextualized assessments do not explain how the dynamics of race, class, and gender intersect to create the economic, political, and social conditions that clients confront, nor do they examine the implications of these conditions for solving problems. This means that intervention strategies will continue to ignore the alarming poverty, escalating unemployment, inequality, and racial segregation that fuel the sense of hopelessness and disempowerment felt by minority groups. As noted earlier, a critical multicultural approach would confront these realities.

Finally, critical multiculturalists believe that systems of domination and subordination work to racialize everyone, regardless of social location. However, they reject a fixed concept of identities. Rather, identities are seen as multiple, unstable and historically situated. In this context students are engaged in examining the social, political, and psychological dimensions of membership in a racial group. They are offered the opportunity to “critically embrace their identities as a source of agency and possibility” (Giroux, 1996, p. 122).

Scholars have noted that educational activity becomes meaningful only when students are able to both examine various perspectives and to reflect upon the contradictions they uncover among them (Giroux, 2000; Webster, 1997; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Thus rather than transfer an unproblematic body of data to students, a critical multicultural curriculum enables students to get “beyond the world they already know in order to challenge and provoke inquiry of their existing views of the way things are and should be” (Simon, as quoted in Giroux, 1996). Because critical multiculturalism promotes critical thinking and offers specific strategies for cultural sensitivity, it may serve to spotlight the issues—namely: powerlessness, violence, and poverty—that are important to those who fall outside of the White, male, middle-class norm (Giroux, 1996).

Recommendations for a critical multicultural curriculum

In keeping with the guidelines of The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) (1996) and CSWE (2001), social workers have a professional responsibility to provide culturally competent services, to challenge social injustice, and

to promote social and economic justice. To achieve these professional mandates, the social work curriculum must prepare social workers to provide culturally competent and nonoppressive services and to transform oppressive and unjust systems into nonoppressive and just alternatives (Gil, as cited in Van Soest, 2004). Such a curriculum would include all groups historically subject to oppression including people of color, women, gay/lesbian/transgender people and people with disabilities. Curriculum content must also include the following themes: culture, race and racism, oppression, multiple identities, power, Whiteness and privilege, historical context and social change. These themes are explored below.

Culture

The significance of culture in a client's life has been a major part of the discourse on multiculturalism in social work. In order to be culturally competent, social workers must understand that culture is considered to be an important part of a client's individual and group identity. It is conceptualized as an uncontested, immutable and unchanging entity (Domenilli, 2004). Uehara et al., (2004) agreed that culture in social work is too often conceptualized as static, value free, and neutral—a system of artifacts, values, and traditions that are specific to each group. In this conceptualization each culture is considered equal to every other, and power is undifferentiated among them (Dominelli, 2004).

Within a critical perspective this conceptualization is problematic because it disregards the fluidity of culture and the political and historical context within which cultural relations are structured. Critical multiculturalism sees culture as “compromising

shared and lived principles of social life as they clash, shift, transform and emerge from the interactions and struggles of groups operating within fields of material inequality and asymmetrical power relations”(Uehara et al. 2004, p. 115). The suggested that a crucial task of a critical multicultural curriculum then, is to problematize certain taken-for-granted assumptions and to introduce students to a wide range of theories that can help them define and conceptualize the linkages between concepts such as culture and power.

Van Soest (2004) noted that the current focus on learning about other cultures is not sufficient for successful cross-cultural interaction. She suggested that while cultural competence does require an understanding and appreciation of diverse cultures it also requires an understanding of the sources and dynamics of oppression that are inextricably connected with cultural difference.

Race and racism

An understanding of race and racism is central to an understanding of oppression in America. However, this understanding is hampered by current conceptualizations of race and racism within the social work literature. Like culture, race is seen as fixed and objective. In contrast, the critical multiculturalist views race as an unstable and “decentered” complex of social meanings that are constantly being transformed by political struggle (Omi and Winant, 1994). Students should be helped to understand that race is a socially constructed category for which meaning changes over time. Omi and Winant (1994) pointed out, that the categories used to differentiate human groups along racial lines are imprecise and arbitrary. However as Van Soest and Garcia (2003) pointed out, this conceptualization of race does not minimize its social and political

reality. They note that race, like gender and sexual representation, is real in the sense that it has real consequences in the lives of individuals. It has played and continues to play a fundamental role in shaping and representing the social world.

A critical curriculum would help students connect what race means in various contexts and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organized based upon that meaning. This analysis avoids the dualistic framework of race as an illusion or as an essentialist formulation that is treated as having immutable and fixed characteristics (Omi and Winant, 1994).

The contested meanings of racism should also be identified and examined. Omi and Winant (1994) suggested that the absence of a clear understanding of racism is a significant obstacle to efforts aimed at challenging it. They located racism within a fluid and contested history of racially-based social structures and discourse. As a result, they argue that there can be no absolute standard for what constitute racism. They suggest that attention should be focused instead on the work essentialism does for domination and the need domination displays to essentialize the subordinated.

Van Soest and Garcia noted that historically, White students have viewed racism as an issue that people of color face and with which they must struggle. It is conceived as something external to White people—a nonessential reality. In contrast, students of color see the centrality of race in history and everyday experience (Omi and Winant, 1994). For them racism is a system of power within which people of color cannot be racist. A critical multicultural analysis would disrupt the fixity of these positions by challenging students to see racism as a system of oppression that shapes the life and daily experiences of everyone.

Oppression

Once a foundation of race and racism has been established, the complexities of oppression can be addressed (Van Soest & Garcia, 2003). Dean (2001) noted that by limiting our focus to studying beliefs, customs, and historical traditions of individual groups, we obscure the oppressive relations between groups. Students should be helped to explore the means by which systems of oppression shape the life experiences of those who are both disadvantaged and advantaged by them. Understanding the dynamics of oppression means examining how oppressive systems operate to divide oppressed populations from each other. It also means exposing the dynamics of internalized oppression that push people to deny and make invisible substantive parts of their identity and history. Such recognition allows students to understand and disentangle the many factors that often complicate their life experiences and those of clients.

Another aspect of this discussion is understanding how oppression interlocks with race, class gender, sexual orientation and other aspects of social identity to shape the life experiences of individuals and groups. Understanding that oppression overlaps facilitates openness and lays the foundation for connecting with others who are different (Adams and Marchesani, 1997).

Young (1990) identified a number of ways that different groups experience oppression. These “five faces” of oppression include exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. However, she cautions against ranking them as more or less serious. She noted that the presence of any of these “five faces” constitutes oppression and that most people experience some combination of them. Others have argued that a discussion of oppression must examine the patterns in

institutional practices and policies, the role of violence in enforcing and maintaining them, the ideology upon which they are based, their institutionalization or embeddedness within the norms, traditions, laws, and policies of society, and the invisibility endured by groups that are oppressed (Van Soest and Garcia, 2003).

Multiple identities

Once students are able to see the interconnections among the various forms of oppression, they are able to identify the agent (dominant) and targeted (subordinate) aspects of their social identity. Frankenberg (as cited in Domenilli, 2004) noted that identity and the various aspects that constitute it are contested terrains that are influenced by a number of interacting social forces and social relations. Others suggested that because race, class, gender, sexual orientation and other factors make up social identity, individuals can be both agents and targets of oppression (Adams & Marchesani, 1997). For example, a gay White male may be vulnerable to being discriminated against based on his sexuality but may struggle against his own tendency to discriminate against some else based on their gender or ethnicity. Students should be given numerous opportunities to explore both agent (dominant) and targeted (subordinate) aspects of their identities, the institutional and systemic relationships among these multiple identities and the ways in which they are regarded in mainstream culture. They should be helped to understand how their multiple identities have internally reinforcing and complicated effects. Such recognition enables students to transfer learning from the classroom to the complexities of everyday life.

A critical multicultural curriculum should explore how difference has been suffused with deviance, marginality and other pejorative meanings (Uehara et. al. 2004). Within this context they should be enabled to see how these constructions of difference constrain the opportunities and actions of members of marginalized groups while expanding them for dominant group members (Uehara et. al. 2004).

If students are to be culturally competent, they must be willing to examine their personal experience and history in terms of the ideological and discursive complexity of its formation (Sleeter & McClaren, 1995). They must be encouraged to reevaluate both their personal and professional identities and their role in the continuation of oppression. Schmitz et al., (2001) noted that social denial of personal prejudice and lack of knowledge about the impact of racism on self and others produces potential barriers in the cross-cultural relationship. Foucault 's (1980) discussion on how professions use power and knowledge to gain social control provides a basis for examining how social work maintains oppression.

Adams and Marchesani (1997) suggested that students can more readily increase awareness when classroom examples are drawn from their everyday environment. Recognition of course topics in the fabric of everyday life leads students closer to recognizing culturally biased assumptions and their professional influences. They noted that for most students, increased awareness does not appear in the form of academic knowledge but as gradual shifts toward greater receptivity, sensitivity, and openness to "the other."

Power

Pinderhuges (1988) asserted that power is an extremely significant concept for cross-cultural practice. Empowerment—a key social work goal—requires that social workers help their clients to understand the source of their powerlessness; they must also enable them to gain control over their lives. However, to identify the strengths and adaptational aspects of marginalized groups, students must be able understand the dynamics and interactional patterns of the majority group. Only a focus on power would permit these understandings.

To be effective, cross-cultural education must explore power and privilege as they relate to racial identity and the meaning of difference. It must also expose and challenge the legitimating and reproduction of power relations that result in structural inequities and domination. In this context, the lived experiences of clients should be analyzed to discover how the dynamics of power play themselves out. This type of analysis is important because of the hidden nature of oppression and the fact that oppressive practices often go unnoticed even by those who participate in them.

A concern about the direction of the profession and the power that resides in the social work role also bear thoughtful review. Foucault's (1980) work on understanding power and the nature of knowledge, illuminates aspects of power that lead to distortions about race, class and gender and the role of institutions in normalizing diverse experience for the purpose of social control (Saleebey, 1994).

Whiteness and privilege

Examining Whiteness and White power and privilege is a necessary part of understanding the way in which power operates to legitimize social categories (Giroux, 1996). Frankenburg (1993) noted that there is cultural/ethnic specificity to Whiteness that must be named. She suggested that to speak of Whiteness as an ethnicity is to remove it from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its own dominance. It is to assign everyone a place in relation to racism. Others (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995) maintained that unless White students are given a sense of their own identity as an emergent ethnicity, we naturalize Whiteness as a cultural marker against which otherness is defined. McLaren (1993) noted that when Whites are able to understand the ethnic nature of their own perspectives, they may become more sensitive to the power of Whiteness. However, when Whiteness remains unchallenged as the norm, Whites are free to separate issues of race from their everyday lives. Others noted that without addressing White ethnicity there can be no critical evaluation of the construction of the "other" (Coco Fusco, as cited in Sleeter & McLaren, 1995).

Van Soest and Garcia (2003) asserted that the challenge of including White people in a multicultural curriculum means making visible White culture's ties to domination. However, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) warned that Whiteness as the unchallenged norm constitutes a kind of neocolonialism that constructs non-Whiteness as deviant and pathological. This is especially relevant for social work practice, given its history of pathologizing the experiences of people of color. The opportunity to reflect upon these issues encourages students to problematize traditional cultural analyses that separate the study of subordinate group culture from the study of dominant culture

hegemony (Uehara, et al. 2004).

Historical context

A consideration of the historical context provides students with another glimpse of the forces that shape individual and group behavior and highlights the ways in which people have struggled against oppression at various points in our history (Adams & Marchesani, 1997). However, students should not only be introduced to the pain and suffering of oppressed peoples but to the victories that occur around various struggles for liberation. To provide historical context is to suggest new ways to reframe and to understand the various dimensions of oppression. Knowledge of the historical formation of racism, for example, can help to illuminate how its core structures continue to nurture current forms of racist hegemony (Adams & Marchesani, 1997).

Students should also be helped to fill in blanks of missing history with information on the historical backgrounds of racial laws and exclusionary practices directed at various groups. (Adams & Marchesani, 1997). Discussion can then be deepened to explore sources of misinformation, inequality, differential education, housing, income and employment opportunities for these groups. This information allows students to draw parallels with the internal dynamics of oppression systems.

Social change

Sleeter and McClaren, (1995) maintained that multiculturalism without a transformative political agenda is another form of accommodation to the larger social order. Others (Van Soest & Garcia, 2003, Chau, 1991, Longres, 1997) have argued that

given the pervasiveness of racism in the life situations of people of color and other oppressed groups social work education must do more than prepare students to respond to the consequences of oppression. It needs to help them develop strategies for responding to oppressive conditions. A critical multicultural curriculum challenges the facts, concepts, paradigms and explanations that are routinely accepted as truth in academic knowledge. This means that “students will inevitably uncover contradictions between the principles they verbalize and their behaviors, between inherited ideas they have been socialized into and new information and between self image and feedback from others” (Van Soest & Garcia, 2003, p. 21). When this happens, educators must enable students to see themselves as agents of change, capable of acting on their new knowledge and convictions and in concert with others. A necessary part of this understanding is the formative role of institutional and organizational policies and practices in both creating change and posing obstacles (Van Soest, 2004).

Classroom Practices

Beyond establishing cross-cultural knowledge, social work educators need classroom strategies that make their ideas explicit and readily available to students. Raske (1999) suggested that because the classroom reflects the power differential in the larger society, it is a laboratory in which to examine social inequity and its impact on the relationship between social worker and client. However experiences must be designed so that instructors learn from students as much as students learn from instructors. Unless this is done, the profession may miss the opportunity to begin a real dialogue around the lived experiences of minority-group clients.

Feminist scholars have described a number of ways to enhance understanding of race, class, and gender oppression across the curriculum (Cannon, 1990; Higginbotham, 1990; Dore, 1994). For example, Cannon (1990) proposes a set of ground rules for classroom discussion to help students critically evaluate the impact of hierarchy, oppression and privilege. The rules state that racism, classism, sexism and other forms of institutional oppression are learned through misinformation. Students agree not to blame themselves, one another, or victims of oppression for the condition of their lives but to accept responsibility for not repeating misinformation. The rules also state that all classroom discussion starts from the premise that all people do the best they can with what they have. Participants also agree to pursue information about their own group and to share it with other members of the class in a way that does not demean or devalue people for their experiences. They should actively combat the myths and stereotypes that prohibit cooperation among groups. Finally, the rules call for confidentiality in class discussions and the establishment of a safe and open atmosphere.

Feminist themes of process, voice, positionality, safety, power, and authority are also instructive. These strategies encourage students to value their own and each other's voices and to validate the feelings and emotions of all students

(Adams et. al, 1997). They include working toward community-based shared commitment to the profession and using the institutionally derived classroom authority of the professor to endorse a process of community building. Garcia and Van Soest(1997) suggested that faculty balance the need to create a safe space with their obligation to make certain that false beliefs are subjected to mature and thoughtful criticism. Analysis of who is "other" in the social work classroom is also important since it directs attention

to differences in power and status for both students and teachers. The implications of “otherness” provide the impetus for educators to acknowledge the partiality and situatedness of different perspectives in the classroom (Adams et. al, 1997)

To prepare students for empowerment work, Weaver (1998) suggested using experiential learning techniques that emphasize both self-awareness and exposure to different kinds of people. As a first step, she suggests a “cross-cultural buddy system,” in which students are assigned a partner from a different culture for the semester. Students are required to visit and write about an experience, such as visiting a mosque or attending a day-long religious teaching or celebration of a culturally different group.

Liberatory education is also an important strategy to help social work educators model empowerment practice. The purpose is to enable students to understand that oppressive forces are not part of the natural order of things, but the result of historical and social forces that can be changed (Freire, 1970). The role of the teacher is to provide structure, give information that promotes critical thinking, and ask questions until students begin to ask questions of themselves and each other (Shore & Freire, 1987). Shore (1993) notes that a “Freirean critical teacher is a problem poser who asks thought-provoking questions and who encourages students to ask their own questions. Through posing problems, students learn to question answers rather than merely to answer questions” (p. 26). In this process students experience education as something they do, not as something done to them. It also enables them to name and discuss coded situations and to develop critical consciousness (Shore, 1993).

The laboratory and intergroup education tradition provide many useful ideas for enriching the classroom experience. These ideas include the use of reflective practices

such as processing, debriefing, and feedback. These methods help participants understand their impact on each other, contextualize interpersonal and intergroup miscommunication, and bring undercurrents of conflict and criticism out in the open where they can be constructively addressed (Adams et. al., 1997).

Mildred and Zuniga (2004) noted that learning about difference may threaten deeply held ideas of self, identity, and status. Others (Van Soest, 1994; Garcia & Van Soest, 1997; Millsten, 1997) found that class discussions related to social, cultural, and racial diversity often arouse strong interactions among students and faculty. Gitterman (1991) proposed a method of collaborative teaching and learning based on the assumption that an organic link exists between learners and subject. The teacher must build the connection between students' lives, field experiences, and the curriculum. They must articulate the connection between the curriculum and their experiences. Students work collaboratively. They are required to move outside of themselves and incorporate others' problem-solving methods and viewpoints.

Institutional Climate

For most minority individuals in the United States, issues of alienation and isolation are at the heart of their identity. Hendricks (1993) noted that professional socialization can either heighten one's feeling of being different, or it can support a balanced integration of the personal and professional self. The findings here indicate that because of the special meanings attached to minority-group status, the respondents experience graduate school culture and their position in it as marginal to the school's mainstream culture. Issues of alienation and isolation are further reinforced by the

manner in which each student's cultural experience is addressed at each phase of the educational process. For example, under the paradigm used to discuss minority issues, minorities' experience and interpretation of life find little expression in the curriculum. Rather, they are defined by a network of dominant meanings that they experience as arising from elsewhere. This form of marginalization puts minority students in the paradoxical position of being marked stereotypically and simultaneously rendered invisible (Young, 1990).

The absence of culturally similar faculty and peers also contributes to the students' feelings of being "other." For Latino students, attachment to the Spanish language further increases their social isolation and feelings of difference (Hendricks, 1993). Consequently, most respondents continue to function in two completely separate worlds, behaving one way at home and another way in school/field placement without incorporating any aspects of either culture into the other. The lack of integration and the inadequacies of the cross-cultural training social work practitioners receive may also contribute to the widening gap between client and worker as well as between minority and non-minority social workers.

The continued absence of minority students and faculty in graduate social work programs has other consequences as well. Hardy & Laszloffy (as cited in Hendricks, 1993) maintained that "when minority students and faculty are underrepresented in a school, they tend to suffer from the "only one" syndrome, which produces enormous loneliness and isolation and may eventually lead to the development of "good effective, mainstream minority workers." They concluded that interacting with classmates and

faculty of different races on a daily basis may be effective in challenging students to integrate what they think they believe and what they really believe with regard to race.

In formulating solutions for improving interpersonal relationships among social work students, it is necessary to teach White students to be culturally competent in their interpersonal and professional interactions with minority individuals. While the literature has dealt with the experiences of White social workers' relationships with minority clients, there is less recognition of the special concerns of minority social workers in their encounters with White faculty and peers. The cross-cultural literature recommends increasing cultural awareness as a means to increase cross-cultural sensitivity. How this should be done is less developed. Patterson-Stewart et al. (1997) suggested that one element of becoming culturally competent for White faculty and peers is experiencing people of color in leadership positions. This is necessary to counter the negative communication about the abilities and achievements of minority individuals.

Minority students must also be given guidance on how to develop contacts with White faculty and students. Of considerable importance is the need to equip them with an understanding of how the graduate system works, how to cope with its hidden ramifications, and how to accept the fact that success may largely be a function of external forces. Minority students must also be empowered to define who or what they are going to be rather than allowing others to dictate how they should think, feel, or act. They should also be helped to see choices and possibilities where they exist (Amyer and Bryant 1996). They need to be able to say they are having a difficult time without fear of being perceived as incompetent. Amyer and Bryant (1996) noted that when individuals

realize that they have power over their lives, they can use this power to maintain and enhance their individual and collective selves.

Suggestions for Future Research

As an exploratory study, this research primarily sought to discover why minority students choose social work as a career and to explain the barriers to recruitment and retention in graduate social work programs. The study provides a basis for more research to be conducted over a longer period of time and with a larger sample population. A larger study population could also explore finer lines of inquiry. For example, a qualitative study could explore racial identity attitudes and the role they play in problem solving and coping. The results suggest that racial identity might be a useful variable to consider in developing more complex and complete models of coping and psychological health of minority students. Sue and Sue (1999) proposed a theory of identity that might be useful as a guide to this research.

Situational factors, such as multiple roles, identity developmental stage, minority status, and their impact on students' socialization into the profession are also important follow-up areas of inquiry for this population. Specific factors that distinguish the minority experience from that of White students and one minority group from another could also be investigated.

The marginal experience of minority students has implications for social work education and practice that should be also explored in future research. Questions might include: how do marginal practitioners use themselves in practice? Why are some students able to integrate their professional and cultural identities while others continue to

maintain separate and marginal professional identities? If cross-cultural conflicts are inherent in the socialization process, researchers could explore what factors can best help students confront these conflicts in an organized and integrated fashion. Lines of inquiry might explore potential values conflicts for minority students in schools of social work. These questions and issues would provide insight into the professional education of culturally diverse students and bring schools closer to understanding the kind of students they want to recruit and graduate.

The findings suggest that interpersonal dynamics in the college environment are very important to minority students' remaining in graduate social work programs. Research should be conducted to identify the specific personal dynamics that impact retention of minority group students. The role that intra-racial relationships play and the difficulties associated with these relationships should also be investigated in future research.

Finally, minority students need support and encouragement from program faculty and staff. Research on the specific types of support that these students need would help programs identify what is needed to provide a genuinely hospitable, conducive and supportive environment for minority students.

Final Summary

Although the social work profession has long recognized the need to recruit larger numbers of minority social workers to the field, little research has been directed at understanding why minorities choose social work as a career, what barriers to recruitment exist, and once enrolled, what barriers hinder program completion. This study highlights

personal and structural difficulties for pre-social-work students, cross-cultural challenges, marginal experiences, and difficult personal and professional choices faced by minority students in schools of social work. The study also offers suggestions for making the learning encounter involve fewer conflicts for graduate students and outlines strategies that schools can incorporate into initiatives aimed at increasing the number of students from diverse backgrounds in graduate social work programs. The study's findings advance social work education and professional practice. It can also be viewed as a form of advocacy research because it sheds light on the special concerns and needs of the minority graduate school population. Attention to the study's findings can also contribute to the recruitment, admission, and retention of minority students in graduate social work programs.

The various aspects of recruitment, admission, and retention deserve special attention from graduate social work programs. While the need to change practices in these areas will vary with the conditions at each institution, graduate programs must begin to act now. If they are to assist the profession in diversifying its workforce, schools of social work have an obligation to create a culturally diverse environment by recruiting underrepresented populations and helping them succeed. To meet this challenge, schools need to begin a dialogue between White students and minority students, among minority students themselves, between minority students and White professors, and among all students and all professors (Brummer, 1998). These conversations are an important first step in supporting the continued development of a highly trained and responsible cadre of culturally diverse and sensitive practitioners. Schools need to explore the ways they impose structural barriers that impede minority students from becoming professional

social workers and, once enrolled, from taking on professional values and skills. The aim of graduate schools of social work should be to discontinue those practices that undermine and frustrate the goals of minority students who want to become professional social workers.

APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Oral recruitment Script

I am a graduate student at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York and I am conducting a study as part of a dissertation for the Doctor of Social Welfare degree. I am looking for students to participate in an interview and answer questions about their motivation to become social workers and potential barriers they believe could prevent them from pursuing an MSW degree.

Currently there is very little known about what motivates minorities to choose social work as a career. The information you provide could be useful to social work educators in developing effective recruitment and retention programs aimed at attracting larger numbers of minority students to social work graduate programs.

The interview is completely voluntary and can be arranged at a time and place of your choosing. All information from the interview will be treated with the strictest confidence and no individual will be singularly identified in the reporting of the findings. If you are interested in participating in the study please call CarolAnn Daniel at 718 772 5575 or email me at cdaniel@shiva.hunter.cuny.edu.

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this very important study.

Appendix B:

Informed Consent Form

Instruction to the research participant:

Please read the following carefully

The Purpose of the study:

The purpose of this study is to identify factors that influence minority students to pursue social work as a career. In-depth interviews will be conducted in order to increase our understanding of how minorities learn about social work; their perception of social work as a profession; at what time in their life they decided to choose social work; what were the events/factors that most significantly affected that decision; how significant others may have influenced their decision and the perceived effect of their race/ethnicity on their decision making. The objective of the study is to generate recommendations to focus recruitment efforts that would substantially increase the number of minorities enrolled in graduate schools of social work.

As a participant, I will be asked to do the following:

1. Participate in an interview and answer questions regarding my motivation to choose social work as a career.
2. Identify events/factors that have influenced this decision
3. Consent to tape record the interview. Once the interview has been completed, I will be provided with an opportunity to review the tape and at that, time can decide whether all or part of the interview should not be used. The tape-recorded interview will be destroyed or returned to me within 48 hours after the interviewer transcribes it. The interview material will be kept confidential and the tapes will not be used for any purpose other than the study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Should I decide not to participate, this will in no way affect my grades or academic status. Withdrawal from this study at any time, after I begin, will not affect me in any way.

My identity as a participant in this research will remain confidential with regard to any publications and oral presentations of the results of this study. My records in this study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. My responses will be reported anonymously and my identity disguised if any of my responses could reveal my identity.

If I believe that I have experienced any problems as a result of my participation in the research or have any questions I can contact:

Harriete Goodman D.S.W., Professor
Hunter College School of Social Work
129 East 79th Street
(212) 452-7029

or

Carolann Daniel
Hunter College Sociology Department
695 Park Ave
New York, NY 10021
(212) 772-5575

The following risks may be involved as a result of my participation:

Recalling the events/factors that motivated me to choose a career in social work may bring up painful memories or emotional reactions from my past or present life. If this should occur, a referral will be provided so that I can obtain counseling.

The following benefits are expected from the study:

My experiences will be used to assist in the development of recruitment programs aimed at increasing the number of professionally trained minority social workers.

Limits of confidentiality:

As a certified social worker, the researcher is obligated to follow ethical codes of conduct. If during the course of our conversation, I verbalize instances where others or I could be in imminent danger, she must report these activities to the appropriate authorities.

I _____, volunteer to participate in the research study under the supervision of CarolAnn Daniel. I understand the information provided with regard to what I will be asked to do as a participant, and I had the opportunity to ask questions with respect to my participation. All of the questions I asked were answered to my satisfaction.

Signature

Date

Appendix C:

Interview Schedules

(Undergraduate Students)

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study. Before we begin, let me tell you something about the purpose of the study. I am interviewing minority students who are interested in social work as a career because I want to learn about events or factors, which contributed to your selection of social work as a career. I am also interested in what you feel are some of the barriers to successful recruitment and completion of the MSW degree.

Your participation is needed because you know better than anyone what factors influenced your choice. I have a few questions to ask you that will serve as a guide. However, I hope that you will feel free to offer any information about your experience that I may not have covered in my questions. You can be assured that all of the information you give me will be treated with the strictest confidence. Neither the tapes nor interview notes will be shared. All of the information will be presented anonymously in the dissertation. Can I record the interview?

Before we begin, do you have any questions?

Early Social Work Information

1. How did you first learn about social work? Is there an event or incident that stands out in your mind?

Probes: What was said about social work? Who said it- social work recruitment officer/counselor, instructor in social work, relative or friend, television/media?

2. At that time what did you think social workers do? Can you describe this work?

3. Since then, how have your views of social work changed. Can you give me some examples?

Attraction

1. Once you became aware of social work as a profession and what social workers do, what made you want to become a social worker?

Probes: A desire to help others, an opportunity to make a contribution to society or your community, an opportunity for personal and/or professional growth, a desire to serve economically disadvantaged people, the financial rewards, etc.

2. Where do you think these values/desires came from? Are there people, events or experiences that comes to mind?

Probes: Early life experiences, family influences, the way you were brought up, your experience with poverty, racism, sexism, etc.

Racial Identification/Perception of Discrimination

1. How do you identify yourself?

2. What aspect of being... do you identify with most?

Probes: culture, shared oppression, values, language, being a member of a special group etc.

3. As a/an (African American, Latino/a Asian American) how do you feel your race/ethnicity might affect your career as a social worker?

Probes: Where you work, with whom, level of mobility, type of work that you are able to do etc.

4. Do you believe that people should work with clients that are like themselves? Can you talk about this?

Probes: Gay with gays, young people with youths, minorities with minorities, etc

5. How important is it that co-workers share your racial/ethnic identity?

6. What is your impression of the social work profession in terms of its ethnic, racial and gender makeup?

7. If you found out that social work was different than you thought it was would this information influence your career direction? How so?

Perception of Opportunity Structure

1. Before deciding on social work, did you consider or try another career. If yes, what other career did you consider or try? Could you describe your experience?

Probes: What influenced your decision to change career direction? Lack of opportunity to express important values, lack of career mobility, discrimination, the financial returns, significant others, etc. Did you immediately move to social work?

2. What kind of opportunities did you envision in social work? Can you describe them?

Probes: Opportunity to work with people like yourself, job availability, mobility, working with populations that are meaningful to you, occupational versatility. How do they compare to opportunities in other fields?

3. Have you had any work experience in social work? If yes, name and describe.

4. How does this work differ from your prior work experiences?

5. What are your concerns regarding opportunity and a career in social work?

Probes: Poor financial rewards, lack of opportunities for mobility, racism, sexism, inability to affect change, professional status of social work, working in a bureaucracy.

Career Decision Making Experience/Influence of Significant Others

1. Clearly, early experience to the work and values of social work influenced your career choice. I am curious though, what else influence this important decision to choose social work as contrasted for instance with psychology, or counseling

Probes: How were you encouraged or discouraged? What were some of the pros and cons of choosing social work instead of other helping professions?

2. Were there other people who influenced you in making this decision?

Probes: Parent, husband, or wife, minister, or religious leader, peers, instructors, guidance counselors, relative or colleague who is a social worker

3. How did they support or discourage your decision?

Probes: What did they say? How did they say it?

Career Aspiration/ Expectations

1. Have you taken any social work courses? Could you describe your experience?
2. In general has college contributed to your aspirations to become a professional social worker? If so, how?
3. As you understand it what is the career path of becoming a professional social worker, how did this information affect your decision regarding the type of advance degree that is most desirable to you?
Probes: Do you need a degree? What kind of degree?, type of work experience, special courses etc.
4. Once you understood what it takes to become a professional social worker, how did this information affect your decision regarding the type degree that is most desirable to you?
5. As you think of career paths within social work, what type of work appeals to you most?
Probes: Client advocacy, counseling, family/marital therapy, community organization, program administration, children/youth services, child welfare.
6. Do you see any obstacles that may slow you down or event prevent you from reaching this goal?
Probes: Financial difficulties, change in family status, health, personal difficulties, difficulty with academic requirements, job opportunities etc.
7. How have these obstacles affected your thinking about the timing of your movement from a bachelor to a Masters degree?
8. What do you think schools of social work can do to help students like your self achieve their goal of becoming professional social workers?
9. In regard to the profession of social work and your career interest are there other issues that you would like to discuss?

Thank you for your time and participation in this study.

Demographic Information

1. Name _____
2. What is your present age? _____
3. Gender _____
4. What is your approximate GPA? _____
5. What is your major? _____
6. What is your current academic status, sophomore, junior or senior?

7. Have you or anyone in your family ever received social work services?
Yes ____ No ____
8. Were you born in the US? Yes ____ No ____
If no, which country were you born? _____
9. How would you describe your family's economic status when you were growing up?
____ Severe financial difficulties
____ Had difficulty making ends meet
____ Average income
____ Higher than average income
10. What was your parents' primary occupation when you were growing up?
Mother _____
Father _____
11. How many older brothers and sisters do you have? _____
12. What family roles best describe your experience growing up?
____ Family clown ____ Family achiever
____ Family caretaker ____ Family scapegoat
____ Rebellious child

Interview Schedule
(Graduate students)

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study. Before we begin, let me tell you something about the purpose of the study. I am interviewing minority students who are interested in social work as a career. I want to learn about events or factors, which contributed to your selection of social work as a career. I am also interested in learning about what you feel are some of the barriers to completing the MSW degree.

Your participation is needed because you know better than anyone what factors influenced your choice. I have a few questions to ask you that will serve as a guide. However, I hope that you will feel free to offer any information about your experience that I may not have covered in my questions. You can be assured that all of the information you give me will be treated with the strictest confidence. Neither the tapes nor interview notes will be shared. All of the information will be presented anonymously in the dissertation. Can I record the interview?

Before we begin, do you have any questions?

Early Social Work Information

1. How did you first learn about social work? Is there an event or incident that stands out in your mind?

Probes: What was said about social work? Who said it- social work recruitment officer/counselor, instructor in social work, relative or friend, television/media?

2. At that time what did you think social workers do? Can you describe this work?

3. Since then, how have your views of social work changed. Can you give me some examples?

Attraction

1. Once you became aware of social work as a profession and what social workers do, what made you want to become a social worker?

Probes: A desire to help others, an opportunity to make a contribution to society or your community, an opportunity for personal and/or professional growth, a desire to serve economically disadvantaged people, the financial rewards, etc.

2. Where do you think these values/desires came from? Are there people, events or experiences that comes to mind?

Probes: Early life experiences, family influences, the way you were brought up, your experience with poverty, racism, sexism, etc.

Racial Identification/Perception of Discrimination

1. How do you identify yourself?

2. What aspect of being... do you identify with most?

Probes: culture, shared oppression, values, language, being a member of a special group etc.

3. As a/an (African American, Latino/a Asian American) how do you feel your race/ethnicity might affect your career as a social worker?

Probes: Where you work, with whom, level of mobility, type of work that you are able to do etc.

4. Do you believe that people should work with clients that are like themselves? Can you talk about this?

Probes: Gay with gays, young people with youths, minorities with minorities, etc

5. How important is it that co-workers share your racial/ethnic identity?

6. What is your impression of the social work profession in terms of its ethnic, racial and gender makeup?

7. If you found out that social work was different than you thought it was would this information influence your career direction? How so?

Perception of Opportunity Structure

1. Before deciding on social work, did you consider or try another career. If yes, what other career did you consider or try? Could you describe your experience?

Probes: What influenced your decision to change career direction? Lack of opportunity to express important values, lack of career mobility, discrimination, the financial returns, significant others, etc. Did you immediately move to social work?

2. What kind of opportunities did you envision in social work? Can you describe them?

Probes: Opportunity to work with people like yourself, job availability, mobility, working with populations that are meaningful to you, occupational versatility. How do they compare to opportunities in other fields?

3. Have you had any work experience in social work? If yes, name and describe.

4. How does this work differ from your prior work experiences?

5. What are your concerns regarding opportunity and a career in social work?

Probes: Poor financial rewards, lack of opportunities for mobility, racism, sexism, inability to affect change, professional status of social work, working in a bureaucracy.

Career Decision Making Experience/Influence of Significant Others

1. Clearly, early experience to the work and values of social work influenced your career choice. I am curious though, what else influence this important decision to choose social work as contrasted for instance with psychology, or counseling

Probes: How were you encouraged or discouraged? What were some of the pros and cons of choosing social work instead of other helping professions?

2. Were there other people who influenced you in making this decision?

Probes: Parent, husband, or wife, minister, or religious leader, peers, instructors, guidance counselors, relative or colleague who is a social worker

3. How did they support or discourage your decision?

Probes: What did they say? How did they say it?

Career Aspiration/ Expectations

1. As you understand it, what is the career path of becoming a professional social worker?

2. In general has college contributed to your aspirations to become a professional social worker? If so, how?

3. As you understand it what is the career path of becoming a professional social worker, how did this information affect your decision regarding the type of advance degree that is most desirable to you?

Probes: Do you need a degree? What kind of degree?, type of work experience, special courses etc.

4. Once you understood what it takes to become a professional social worker, how did this information affect your decision regarding the type degree that is most desirable to you?

5. As you think of career paths within social work, what type of work appeals to you most?

Probes: Client advocacy, counseling, family/marital therapy, community organization, program administration, children/youth services, child welfare.

6. Do you see any obstacles that may slow you down or event prevent you from reaching this goal?

Probes: Financial difficulties, change in family status, health, personal difficulties, difficulty with academic requirements, job opportunities etc.

7. Some students have mentioned that it was a struggle to get the BA degree so the idea of another two years of school at the graduate level was something they struggled with. Was this an issue for you?

Probes: What were some of the problems you encountered trying to get your BA degree?

8. Five years from now what role do you see yourself playing in the profession of social work?

Probes: What kind of work would you like to be doing? With whom and where?

Barriers to Getting In

1. When did you first think about going to graduate school in social work?

2. Who or what made it easier for you to make the decision to apply?

Probes: Were you recruited by anyone affiliated with a social work school? Who recruited you, where, what was said, how was it said, how did they help and or did they not help you

3. When you actually started the application process, who or what made it easier for you to proceed.

4. Who or what made it harder for you to proceed?

Barriers to Staying In

1. Why did you apply to this school?
2. Now that you are in the program what was your experience like in the first couple of classes?
Probes: Did you feel deficient, inexperience? With whom did you feel affinity? Did you feel isolated?
3. What do you think are the major barriers for minority students trying to get an MSW degree?
4. What suggestions do you have in terms of what strategies a graduate social work program could take to encourage the enrollment and retention of minority students?

Thank you for your time and participation in this study.

Demographic Information

1. Name _____
2. What is your present age? _____
3. Gender _____
4. What is your approximate GPA? _____
5. What is your major? _____
6. What is your current academic status, sophomore, junior or senior?

7. Have you or anyone in your family ever received social work services?
Yes ____ No ____
8. Were you born in the US? Yes ____ No ____
If no, which country were you born? _____
9. How would you describe your family's economic status when you were growing up?
____ Severe financial difficulties
____ Had difficulty making ends meet
____ Average income
____ Higher than average income
10. What was your parents' primary occupation when you were growing up?
Mother _____
Father _____
11. How many older brothers and sisters do you have? _____
12. What family roles best describe your experience growing up?
____ Family clown ____ Family achiever
____ Family caretaker ____ Family scapegoat
____ Rebellious child

Appendix D:
Respondent Codes

Undergraduate Students

LH	EV
JS	CC
LG	HD
RH	DS
MT	SV
SM	AA
DR	DS
PO	
AT	
MV	
CS	
FO	
MS	
DT	
JW	
TG	

Graduate students

MP
AO
SG
SS
KS
DS
RS
JT
RST
S\DS
MH
RM
DV

REFERENCES

- Abell, N., & McDonnell, J. (1990). Preparing for practice: Motivations, expectations and aspirations of the MSW class of 1990. *Journal of Social Work Education, 26*, 57-64.
- Adelman, C. (1999). Answers in the tool box: *Academic intensity, attendance patterns, and bachelors degree attainment*. Jessup, MD: Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education.
- Adelman, C. (2002). The relationship between urbanicity and educational outcomes. In W. G. Tierney and L. S. Hagedorn (Eds.), *Increasing access to college: Extending possibilities for all students*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Akbar, N. (1991). *Paradigms of African American research*. In R.L. Jones (Eds.). Black Psychology, Berkeley, CA: Cobb and Henry Publishers.
- Alkins, M. C., R. Daillak & P. White. (1979). *Using evaluations: Does education make a difference?* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Allen, W. (1992). The color of success: African American college student outcomes at predominantly White and historically Black public colleges and universities. *Harvard Educational Review, 62*, 26-44.
- Amaury, N. & F. Horvath. (1989). Financial assistance: minority enrollments and persistence. *Education and Urban Society, 21*, 299-311.
- American Council on Education (2000). *Minorities in higher education, 1999-2000*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Ancis, J., Sedlacek, W. & Mohr J. (2000). Students' perceptions of campus cultural climate by race. *Journal of Counseling and Development 78*, 180-186.
- Arbona, C. (1995). Theory and research on racial and ethnic minorities: Hispanic Americans. In F.T. Leong (Ed.), *Career development and vocational behavior of ethnic and racial minorities* (pp.37-56). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Asante, M. (1988). *Afrocentricity*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Astin, A. (1982). *Minorities in American higher education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Atkinson, D. & Lowe, S. (1995). The role of ethnicity, cultural knowledge and conventional techniques in counseling and psychotherapy. In J. D. Ponterotto, J. Casas, L. Suzuki & C. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp.387-414). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Atkinson, D. R. (1983). The effects of culture and social class on client preference for counseling methods. *Journal of Non-White Concerns*, 11, 84-88.

Atkinson, D. R., & Matsushita, Y. J. (1991). Japanese American acculturation, counseling style, counselor ethnicity, and perceived counselor credibility. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38, 473-478.

Atkinson, D. R., W.C. Poston, M.J. Furlong & P. Mercado (1989). Ethnic group preferences for counselor characteristics. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 36, 68-72.

Atkinson, D. R., W.C. Poston, M.J. Furlong (1986). Afro-American preferences for counselor characteristics. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 33, 326-330.

Atkinson, D.R., & Hackett, G. (1998). *Counseling diverse populations* (2nd ed.) Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Atkinson, P. (1983). The reproduction of the professional community. In R. Dingwall and P. Lewis (Eds.) *The sociology of professions*. Oxford: SSRIC Center for Socio-Legal Studies.

Atkinson, P., & Delmont, S. (1985). Socialization into teaching: The research which lost its way. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6, 307-322.

Aymer, C. & Bryan, A. (1996). Black Students' experience on social work courses: Accentuating the positives. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 26, 1-16.

Baker, N. G. (1981). Social work through an interpreter. *Social Work*, 26, 391-397.

Balgopal, P.R., C.E. Munson & T.V. Vassil (1979). Development Theory: A yardstick for ethnic minority content. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 15, 28-35.

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood cliffs, NJ: Prentice hall.

Barretti, M. (2003). *The professional socialization of undergraduate social work students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Basham, K. K., Donner, S., Killough, R. M., Rozas, L. W. (1997). Becoming an anti-racist institution. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 67, 564-585.

Becker, H. S., Geer, B., Hughes, E. C., and Strauss, A. (1961). *Boys in white: Student culture in medical school*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bedford, A. & Bedford, J. (1985). Personality and personal disturbance in social workers: research note. *British Journal of Social Work*, 15, 87-90.

Berger, R. (1989). Promoting minority access to the profession. *Social Work*, 34, 346-349.

Berger, R. (1991). Untapped sources for recruiting BSW students. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 27, 168-175.

Berger, R. (1992). Student Retention: A Critical phase in the academic careers of minority baccalaureate social workers. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 28, 85-97.

Berkner, L., He, S., Cataldi, E. F., and Knepper, P. (2002). Descriptive summary of 1995-96 beginning postsecondary students: six years later. *Washington DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences*.

Berry, M. (1983). Blacks in predominantly White institutions of higher learning. In J.D. Williams (Ed.), *The state of Black America*. New York: The National Urban League.

Biggerstaff, M. (2000). Development and validation of the social work career influence questionnaire. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 10, 34-54.

Black, P. N., Jeffers, D. & Hartley, E. K. (1993). A Personal history of psychosocial trauma in early life of social work and business students. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 29, 171-80.

Black, T.R. (1993). *Evaluating social science research: An introduction*. Sage Publications.

Blackwell, J. (1987). *Main streaming outsiders: The production of Black professional* (2nd ed.), Dix Hills, NJ: General Hall.

Blumer, H. (1980). Mead and Blumer: The convergent methodological perspectives of social behaviorism and symbolic interactionism. *American Sociological Review*, 45, 409-419.

Blumer, Herbert (1969). *Symbolic interactionism*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Eds.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bowie, S. L., & Hancock, H. (2000). African Americans and graduate social work education: A study of career choice influences and strategies to reverse enrollment decline. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 36, 429-448.

Bowker, A. (1992). The American Indian female dropout. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 31, 3-19.

Boyd-Franklin, N. (1989) *Black families in therapy: A multisystems approach*. New York: Guilford.

Broman, C. L., Neighbors, H. W., & Taylor, R. J. (1989). Race differences in seeking help from social workers. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 16, 109-123.

Brown, D. (1990). Summary, comparisons and critique of the major theories. In D. Brown, L. Brooks & Associates, *Career choice and development*, 2nd Ed. (pp.338-63). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Brown, D. (1995). A values-based model for facilitating career transitions. *Career Development Quarterly*, 44, 4-11.

Brown, D., L. Brooks & Associates (1990). *Career choice development: Applying contemporary theories to practice* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Brown, D., L. Brooks & Associates (2002). *Career choice and development* (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers

Brown, M.T. (1995). The career development of African Americans: Theoretical and empirical issues. In F. Leong (Ed.). *Career development and vocational behavior of racial and ethnic minorities* (pp.7-36), Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.

Browne, C. Broderick, A. & R. Fong (1993). Lessons from the field: social work practice with multicultural elders. *Educational Gerontology*, 19, 511-523.

Brummer, N. (1988). Cross-cultural student assessment: issues facing White teachers and Black students'. *Social Work Education*, 7, 3-6.

Bryan, K., G. Ng & A. Ahn.(2005). Effects of client expectation for counseling success, client-counselor worldview match, and client adherence to Asian and European American cultural values on counseling process with Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 67-76.

Bulcke, G. (1994). An Exploration of factors that motivate career choice in social work among a sample of undergraduate social work students. Unpublished masters thesis, Canada.

- Cabrera, A. F. & La Nasa, S. M. (2000). Three critical tasks America's disadvantaged face on their path to college. In A. F. Cabrere and S. M. La Nasa (Eds.) *Understanding the college choice of disadvantaged students*. New directions for Institutional research, no. 107. San Francisco, CA: Jossey- Bass.
- Cabrera, A., N. Amaury, P. Terenzini, E. Pascarella & L. Serra Hagedorn. (1999). Campus racial climate and the adjustment of students to college: A comparison between White Students and African American Students. *Journal of Higher Education*, 7, 134-160.
- Cannon, L. W. (1990). Fostering positive race, class and gender dynamics in the classroom. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 18, 126-134.
- Carter, R. T. (1990). Cultural value differences between African Americans and White Americans. *Journal of College Student Development*, 31, 71-78.
- Chau, K. L. (1990). A model for teaching cross-cultural practice in social work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 26, 124-133.
- Chau, K. L. (1991). Social work with ethnic minorities: Practice issues and potentials. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 1, 23-39.
- Cheatham, H. (1990). Afrocentricity and career development of African Americans. *Career Development Quarterly*, 33, 334-346.
- Christodoulou, C. (1991). Racism: A challenge to social education and practice: The British experience. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 1, 99-106.
- Cohen, G., & Steele, C. M. (1999). The mentor's dilemma: Providing critical feedback across the racial divide. *Personality and Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 17-22.
- Collins, P. (1994). Does mentorship among social workers make a difference? An empirical investigation of career outcomes. *Social Work*, 39, 413-422.
- Community Service Society. (2002). *Poverty in New York City: An update and perspective*. New York: Author.
- Conley, D. (1999). *Being Black, living in the red: Race, wealth, and social policy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Conyers, J. E. (1968). Negro doctorates in sociology: A social portrait. *Phylon* 29, 209-223.
- Corvo, K., Selmi, P., & Montemaro, S. (2003). Icons of conformity: The Marketing of social

Council on Social Work Education (1971). CSWE establishes special task forces related to minority groups. *Social Work Education Reporter*, 19.

Council on Social Work Education (1983). *Curriculum policy for the master's degree and baccalaureate degree programs in social work education*. Alexandria, VA: Author.

Council on Social Work Education (1992). *Curriculum policy for the master's degree and baccalaureate degree programs in social work education*. Alexandria, VA: Author.

Council on Social Work Education (2001). *Curriculum policy for the master's degree and baccalaureate degree programs in social work education*. Alexandria, VA: Author.

Creedy, R.C., Wright, R. & Berg, W. (1979). Minority students in social work doctoral programs: Some considerations for recruitment and retention. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 15, 58-63.

Cross, W. (1991). *Shades of Black*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

D'Andrea, M., & Daniels, J. (1995). Promoting multiculturalism and organizational change in the counseling profession: A case Study. In Ponterotto, J., Casas, J. M., Suzuki, L.A., & Alexander, C. M. (Eds.). *Handbook of multicultural counseling*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.

D'Augelli, A. & S. Hershberger. (1993). African American undergraduates on a predominantly White campus: Academic factors, social networks, and campus climate. *Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 67-81.

Davis, D. (1995). *Perceptions of the college experience: African American students on a predominantly White campus or a qualitative piece of the retention puzzle*. Paper presented at the conference for the recruitment and retention of minorities in higher education, Syracuse, NY.

DeGraw, R. (1989). The Navajo cultural immersion project. In P.S. Denise & I.M. Harris (Eds.), *Experiential Education for Community Development* (pp. 223-231). New York: Greenwood Press.

Devore, W. & E.G. Schlesinger. (1996). *Ethnic sensitive social work practice*. Needham Heights, MA: Allen & Bacon.

Deweese, M. (2001). Building cultural competence for working with diverse families: Strategies from the privilege side. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social work*, 9, 33-51.

- Diller, J.V. (1999). *Cultural diversity: A primer for the human services*. New York: Brooks/Cole.
- DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural capital and school success: The impact of status culture participation on the grades of U.S. high school students. *American Sociological Review*, 47, 189-201.
- Dominelli, L. (2004). Culturally competent social work: A way toward international anti-racist social work? In L.Gutierrez, M. Zuniga & D. Lum (Eds.). *Education for multicultural social work practice: Critical viewpoints and future directions*. (pp.281-318). VA: Council on Social Work Education.
- Dore, M. M. (1994). Feminist pedagogy and the teaching of social work practice. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 30, 97-106.
- Dungee-Anderson, D., & Beckett, J.D. (1995). A process model for multicultural social work practice. *Families in Society*, 76, 459-468.
- Edelwich, J. & Brodsky A. (1980). *Burn-out: stages of disillusionment in the helping professions*. New York: Human Sciences Press.
- Elliot, D & Guy, J. (1993). Mental health professionals versus non-mental professionals: Childhood trauma and adult functioning. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 24, 83-90.
- Enoch, Y. (1988). Why are they different: Background, occupational choice, institutional selection and attitudes of social work students. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 24, 165-174.
- Evans, K. M., & Herr, E. L. (1991). The influence of racism and sexism in the career development of African American women. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 19, 130-135.
- Ewalt, P., Freeman, E. M., Kirk, S. A., & Poole, D. L. (Eds.). (1996). *Multicultural issues in social work*. Washington, D.C: NASW Press.
- Farley, J. (2002). Contesting our everyday work lives: The retention of minority and working-class sociology undergraduates. *The Sociology Quarterly*, 43, 1-25.
- Feagan, J. (1992). The continuing significance of racism: Discrimination against Black Students in White Colleges. *Journal of Black Studies*, 22, 546-578.
- Feagan, J. R. Hernan, V., & Imani, N. (1996). *The agony of Education: Black students at White colleges and universities*. New York: Routledge.

Feldman, R. (1971). Professionalization and professional values: A cross-cultural comparison. *International Review of Sociology*, 1, 85-97.

Fellin, P. (1983). Student recruitment: Recommendations from an applicant survey. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 19, 31-37.

Fellin, P. (2000). Revisiting multiculturalism in social work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 36, 261-278.

Flaskerud, J. H. (1991). Effects of an Asian client-therapist language, ethnicity, and gender match on utilization and outcome of therapy. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 27, 31-42.

Flaskerud, J. H. (1986). The effects of culture compatible intervention on the utilization of mental health services by minority clients. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 22, 127-141.

Fong, G. W. & Gibbs, J. T. (1995). Facilitating services to multicultural communities in a dominant culture setting: An organizational perspective. *Administration in Social Work*, 19, 1-24.

Fong, R. & Lum, D. (2004). Developing an integrated model of cultural competence in social work education. In L. Gutierrez, M. Zuniga & D. Lum (Eds.). *Education for multicultural social work practice: Critical viewpoints and future directions*. (pp.19-30). VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Fontana, A. & Frey, J.H. (1994) Interviewing: The art of science. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Fordham, S. & Ogbu, J. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the burden of "acting White." *The Urban Review*, 18, 176-206.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power and knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Frankenburg, R. (1997). *Displacing whiteness: Essays in social and cultural criticism*. London: Duke University Press.

Freedman, S.G. (1993). *Upon this rock: The miracles of a Black church*. New York: Harper- Collins Publishers.

Freire, A., & Macedo, D. (1998). *The Paulo Freire reader*. New York: Continuum.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.

Freire, P., & Shor, I. (1987). *A pedagogy for liberation*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

Frost, C.H., M, Anderson & S. Sublett (1987). How to increase enrollment in undergraduate and graduate schools of social work. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 23, 75-82.

Fugita, S. & O'Brien, D. (1985). Structural assimilation, ethnic group membership, and political participation among Japanese Americans: A research note. *Social Forces*, 63, 986-995.

Gallegos, J. & D. Harris (1979). Toward a model for the inclusion of ethnic minority content in doctoral social work education. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 15, 29-35.

Garcia, B. & Van Soest, D. (1997). Changing perceptions of diversity and oppression: MSW students discuss the effects of a required course. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 33, 119-129.

Getzel, G. (1983). Speculations on the crisis in social work recruitment: Some modest proposals. *Social Work*, 28, 235-237.

Gilberman & Schervish (1997). *Who we are*. National Association of Social Workers. Alexandria, VA: NASW Press.

Gill, D. (1998). *Confronting injustice and oppression: Concepts and strategies for social workers*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gim, R. H., Atkinson, D. R., & Kim, S. J. (1991). Asian-American acculturation, counselor ethnicity and cultural sensitivity, and ratings of counselors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38, 57-62.

Giroux, H. (1996). *Living dangerously: Multiculturalism and the politics of difference*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Giroux, H. (2000). Racial politics, pedagogy and the crisis of representation in academic multiculturalism. *Social Identities*, 6, 493-510.

Gitterman, A. (1991). Working with difference: White teacher and African American students. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 5, 65-79.

Gladstein, M. & M. Mailick (1986). An affirmative approach to ethnic diversity in field work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 22, 41-48.

Glaser, B. & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

Gloria, A. (1993). Psychosocial factors influencing the academic persistence of Chicano/a undergraduates. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe.

Gockle, G. L. (1966). Social work as a career choice. In E. E. Schwartz, (Eds.). *Manpower in social welfare: research perspectives* (pp. 89-98). New York: National Association of Social Workers.

Golden, D., Pins, A. & Jones W. (1972). *Students in schools of social work*. New York: Council on Social Work Education.

Gonnerman, J. (2004). *Life on the outside: The prison odyssey of Elaine Bartlett*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Goode, W. M. (1957). Community within a community: The professions. *American Sociological Review*, 22, 194-200.

Goode, J. & Schneider, J. (1994). *Reshaping ethnic and racial relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a divided city*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gossett, B. J., Cuyjet, M. J., & Cockriel, I. (1998). African Americans' perception of marginality in the campus culture. *College Student Journal*, 32, 22-32.

Gottfredson, L.S. (1996). Gottfredson theory of circumscription and compromise. In D. Brown, L. Brooks & Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development*, 3rd ed. (pp. 179-231). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Gould, K. (1995). The misconstruing of multiculturalism: The Stanford debate and social work. *Social Work*, 40, 195-208.

Grant, C. (1997). Does multicultural education have an adequate conceptual and theoretical foundation? Yes. In D. de. Anda (Ed.), *Controversial issues in multiculturalism* (pp. 86-96). MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Green, J. F. (1999). *Factors in African American social work student persistence*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indiana.

Green, J.W. (1999). *Cultural awareness in the human services: A multi-ethnic approach*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Griffith, A. (1980). Justification for a Black career development. *Counselor education and supervision*, 19, 301-310.

Guiffreda, M. H. (1986). *The effects of counselor race, counseling approach, problem type and level of acculturation on Asian Americans' perceptions of counselor credibility and utility*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington DC.

Gutierrez, L., G.K. & Soifer, S. (1999). Perspectives of social work faculty on diversity and societal oppression content: Results from a national survey. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 35, 409-419.

Gutierrez, L.N. (1992). Empowering ethnic minorities in the twenty-first century: The role of the human service organization. In Y. Hasenfeld (Eds.). *Human services as complex organizations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Hall, E. & Post-Kammer, P. (1987). Black mathematics and science majors: Why so few? *The Career Development Quarterly*, 35, 206-219.

Hallinan, M. T. (2000). On the linkages between sociology of race and ethnicity and sociology of education. In M. T. Hallinan (Ed.) *Handbook of the sociology of education* (pp. 65-85). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Hardcastle, D.A. (1987). *The social work labor force*. Texas: School of Social work, University of Texas.

Hardy, K. V., & Laszloffy, T. A. (1992). Training racially sensitive therapist: Context, content, and contact: Families in Society. *The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 73, 364-370.

Helms, J. E. (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research and practice*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Helper, J.B. & Noble, J.H. Jr. (1990). Improving social work education: Taking responsibility at the door. *Social Work*, 35, 126-133.

Hendricks, C.O. (1993). *Cross-cultural conflicts in social work education: The Latino experience*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Yeshiva University: New York.

Hernandez, J., Strauss, J. & Driver E. (1973). The Misplaced emphasis on opportunity for minorities and women in sociology. *The American Sociologist* 8, 122-125.

Herrick, J. E. (1980). The perpetuation of institutional racism through ethnic and racial minority content in the curriculum of schools of social work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 15, 527-537.

Higginbotham, E. (1990). Designing an inclusive curriculum: Bringing all women into the core. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 18, 7-23.

Hill, P. J. (1991). Multi-culturalism: The crucial philosophical and organizational issues. *Change* 23, 38-47.

Holland, J.L. (1992). Making vocational choices: A theory of vocational personalities and work environments. (2nd ed.). Odessa Fl: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Hunter, J. D. (1991). The culture wars. The struggle to define America. New York, Basic Books.

Hyde, C. & Ruth B. (2002). Multicultural content and class participation: Do students self-censor? *Journal of Social Work Education*, 38, 241-256.

Janesick, V. (1994). The dance of qualitative research design: Metaphor, methodology and meaning. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Johnson, M. J., J. L. Swartz & W. E. Martin Jr. (1995). Application of psychological theories for career development with Native Americans. In F. T. Leong (Ed.). *Career development and vocational behavior of racial and ethnic minorities* (pp. 103-133), Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.

Jones, J.M. & Jordan, A.R. (1984). Part time education for minorities: A Black and White issue. *Journal of Continuing Social Work Education*, 3, 53-57.

Judah, E. H. (1979). Values: The uncertain component in social work. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 15, 79-86.

Kadushin, A. (1958). Determinants of career choice and the implications for social work. *Social Work Education*, 6, 17-22.

Katz, J. (1983). White faculty struggling with the effects of racism. In J. H. Cones III, J. Noonan and D. Janha, (Eds.). *Teaching minority studies- New directions in teaching and learning*, no. 16 (p. 29-38). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kemp, A. (1990) Matriculation to graduation: focusing beyond minority retention. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 18, 144-149.

Kim, Y. (2003). Understanding Asian American clients: Problems and possibilities for cross-cultural counseling with special reference to Korean Americans. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 12, 91-115.

Kincheloe, J., & Steinberg, S. (1997). *Changing multiculturalism*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

King, A. (1993). The impact of incarceration on African American families: Implications for practice. *Families in Society*, 74, 145-153.

Kirk, J. & Miller M.L. (1986). *Reliability and validity in qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kleinbaum, D. & Kleinbaum, A. (1976). The minority experience at a predominately White university. *Journal of Negro Education* 45, 312-328.

Kobrak, P. (1992). Black student retention in predominantly White regional universities: The politics of faculty involvement. *Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 509-527.

Krenek, R. & C. Zalewski (1993). Psychiatric illness in families of mental health professionals: Relationship to career choice and self-perceived therapeutic variables. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 8 439-452.

Krumboltz, J. D. (1981). A social learning theory of career selection. In D. H. Montross and C.J. Shinkman (Eds). *Career development in the 1980's: Theory and practice* (pp.43-66). Springfield, IL: Thomas.

Lacey, C. (1977). *The socialization of teachers*. London: Methuen.

Lackie, B. (1982). *Family correlates of career achievement in Social Work*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers, New Jersey.

Lackie, B. (1983). The family of origin of social workers. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 11, 309-322.

Lackie, B. (1984). Learned responsibility and order of birth: A study of 1,577 social workers. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 54, 117-133.

Ladinsky, J. (1963). Careers of lawyers, law practice and legal institutions. *American Sociological Review*, 28, 52-65.

Landau, R. (1999). Professional socialization, ethical judgement and decision-making orientation in social work. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 25, 57-76.

Lang, M. (1992). Barriers to Blacks' education achievement in higher education: A statistical and conceptual review. *Journal of Black Studies*, 22, 510-522.

Le Doux, C. (1996). Career patterns of African-American and Hispanic social work doctorates and ABDs. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 32, 245-252.

Lee, M., & Green, G. J. (1999). A social constructivist framework for integrating cross-cultural issues in teaching clinical social work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 35, 21-37.

Lennon, T. (1998) *Statistics on social work education in the United States: 1997*. Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education: Author.

Lennon, T. (1999). *Statistic on social work education in the United States*. Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education: Author.

Lennon, T. (2002). *Statistic on social work education in the United States*. Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education: Author.

Lent, R. W., & Hackett, G. (1987). Career self-efficacy: Empirical status and future directions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 30, 347-382.

Leong, F. T. and Serafica, F. C. (1995). Career development of Asian Americans: A research area in need of a good theory. In F. T. Leong (Ed.). *Career development and vocational behavior of racial and ethnic minorities* (pp.67-102), Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.

Leong, F.T. & E.L. Chou (1994). The role of ethnic identity and acculturation in the vocational behavior of Asian Americans: An integrative review. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 44, 155-172.

Leong, F.T. & M.T. Brown (1995). Theoretical issues in cross-cultural career development: cultural validity and cultural specificity. In B. Walsh & S. Osipow (Eds.). *Handbook of Vocational Psychology: Theory, Research and Practice* (pp.143-175), New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lewis, A.C.& S. Hayes (1991). Multiculturalism and the school counseling curriculum. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70, 112-118.

Limb, G. (2001). *MSW student views on social work's traditional mission, career motivations and practice preferences: Comparisons between and within caucasians, students of color, and American Indians*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Lin, R. (1990). Perception of family background and personal characteristics among Indian college students. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 29, 19-28.

Lincoln, E.C. & Mamiya, L.H. (1990) *The Black church in the African American experience*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Loftland, J. & Loftland, L. (1984). *Analyzing social settings*. California: Wadsworth.

Longres, J. (1997). Is a pluralistic multicultural approach to practice preferable to acculturation or assimilation approaches? No. In D. de Anda (Eds.). *Controversial issues in multiculturalism* (pp. 6-11). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Longres, J.F. & Seltzer, G.B. (1994). Racism: Its implications for the education of minority social work students. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 3, 59-75.

Loo, C. M. & Rolison, G. (1986). Alienation of ethnic minority students at a predominately White university. *Journal of Higher Education*, 57, 58-77.

Lu, Y., K. Organista, S. Manzo, L. Wong & J. Phung. (2001). Exploring dimensions of culturally sensitive clinical styles with Latinos. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 10, 45-67.

Lum, D. (1996). *Social work practice and people of color: A process stage approach*. New York: Brooks/Cole.

Lum, D. (1999). *Culturally competent practice*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Lusk, M., & Miller, D. (1985). A study of traditional and nontraditional graduate students of social work for values and cognitive development. *Journal of Continuing Social Work Education*, 3, 22-28.

Luzzo, D. A. (1992). Ethnic group and class differences in college students' career development. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 41, 161-173.

Lynch, K. & O'Riordian (1998). Inequality in higher education: A study of class barriers. *British Journal of sociology of Education*, 19, 444-479.

Lynch, R. & Mitchell, J. (1995). Justice system advocacy: A must for NASW and the social work community. *Social Work*, 40, 9-12.

Lynn, L. & Kurpiu, S. (1997). Psychosocial factors influencing academic persistence in American Indian college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 38, 3-11.

Macleod, J. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low-income neighborhood*. San Francisco: Westview Press.

Maki, M. T. (1997). Is a pluralistic multicultural approach to practice preferable to acculturation or assimilation approaches? No. In D. de Anda (Eds.). *Controversial issues in multiculturalism* (pp. 6-11). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Manoleas, P. (1994). An outcome approach to assessing the cultural competence of MSW students. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 3, 43-57.

- Marcos, L., & Urcuyo, L. (1979). Dynamic psychotherapy with the bilingual patient. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 33, 333-338.
- Marsh, S.R. (1988). Antecedents to choice of a helping career: Social work vs. business majors. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 58, 85-100.
- Marshack, E., Starr, R. & Haffey, M. (1987). Investment or resource drain: An empirical study of the career patterns of work-study graduates. *Journal of Continuing Social Work Education*, 4, 39-44.
- Matsushima, J. (1990). Resistance in infusing minority content in social work education. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 15, 217-225.
- Mayo, M. & Christenfeld, N. (1999). Gender, race and performance expectations of college students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 27, 93-115.
- McCormack, A. (1995). The changing nature of racism on college campuses: A study of discrimination at a northeastern public university. *College Student Journal*, 32, 150-156.
- McCracken, Grant (1988). The long interview: Qualitative research methods series no. 13. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- McDonald, K. (1995). *The Sociology of the professions*. London: Sage Publications.
- McLaren, P. (1994). Critical multiculturalism: Urban education and a pedagogy of liberation. *International Sociological Association*.
- McLeod, D.L. & Meyer, H. J. A study of the values of social workers. In E.J. Thomas (Ed.). *Behavioral science for social workers*, (pp. 401-416). New York: Free Press.
- McMahon, A. & Allen-Meares (1992). Is social work racist? *Social Work*, 37, 533-39.
- McNeece, C.A. (1978). Admissions policies and procedures in graduate schools of social work. *Arete*, 5, 143-155.
- McPherson, M. & Shapiro, M. (1998). *The student aid game*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Merdinger, J. M. (1982). Socialization into a profession: The case of undergraduate social work students. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 18, 12-19.
- Merton, R. (1968). *Social theory and social structure*. New York: Free Press.

Merton, R. K., Reader, G., & Kendall, P. L. (1957). *The student physician*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Metscher, T., Wedel, K., Dobrec, A., Wares, D. & Rosenthal, J. (1994). Opportunities for Native Americans in social work education. *Arete*, 19 10-12.

Midgett, T.E. & Meggert, S. (1991). Multicultural counseling instruction: A challenge for faculties in the 21st Century. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70, 136-145.

Miehls, D. (2001). The interface of racial identity development with identity complexity in clinical social work student practitioners. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 29, 229-244.

Mildred, J. & Zuniga, X. (2004). Working with resistance to diversity issues in the classroom: Lessons from teacher training and multicultural education. *Smith College Studies in Social Work* 74, 360-375.

Miles, M. & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Mitchell, L. K. & Krumboltz, J.D. (1996). Krumboltz's learning theory of career choice and counseling. In D. Brown, L. Brooks & Associates, *Career choice and development*, (3rd ed., pp. 179-231). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Mitchell, L.K. & Krumboltz, J. D. (1996). Krumboltz's learning theory of career choice and counseling. In D. Brown, L. Brooks & Associates (Eds.). *Career choice and development* (3rd ed. pp. 233-280). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Mokuau, N. (1991) Ethnic minority curriculum in baccalaureate social work programs. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 1, 57-75

Mortenson, T. G. (2001). College participation by family income, gender and race/ ethnicity for dependent 18-24 years olds, 1996-2000. *Post secondary Education Opportunity*, 114, 1-8.

Moternson, T. & Wu, Z. (1990). *High school graduation and college participation of young adults by family income backgrounds, 1970-1989*. ACT Student Financial Aid Research Report N0. 90-3. Iowa: ACT Educational and Social Research.

Mullen, E. J., Combre, J. W., Mattanni, M. A., Corwin, M., Gatenio, S., Castanuela, M., & Salas, S. (1993) *Enhancing minority recruitment and retention in graduate social work education*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Munoz, D. (1986). Identifying areas of stress for Chicano undergraduates. In M. A. Olivas (Eds.). *Latino college students*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Nagda, B., A. Spearmon, L. Holley, S. Harding, M. Balassone, D. Moise-Swanson & S. De Mello. (1999). Intergroup dialogues: An innovative approach to teaching about diversity and justice in social work programs. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 35, 433-449.

Nettles, M. (1987). *Financial aid and minority participation in graduate education: A research agenda for today*. A research report of the minority graduate education project. New York: Brooks/Cole.

Nettles, M. (1990). Success in doctoral programs: Experiences of minority and White students. *American Journal of Education*, 98, 495-522.

Newsom, M. (2004). Analysis of past and present movements in cultural competence theory and practice knowledge in social work education. In L. Gutierrez, M. Zuniga & D. Lum (Eds.). *Education for multicultural social work practice: Critical view points and future directions*. (pp.3-18). VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Newsome, M. (1999). Foreword. In D. Lum (Ed.). *Culturally competent practice: A framework for growth and action*. (pp.xii-xii). CA: Brooks/Cole.

Nora, A., & Cabrera, A. (1996). The role of perceptions of prejudice and discrimination on the adjustment of minority students to college. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 67, 119-147.

Norton, D. (1978). *The dual perspective: Inclusion of ethnic minority concept in the social work curriculum*. New York: Council on Social Work Education.

Oliver, J. & Brown, L. B. (1988). The development and implementation of a minority recruitment plan, process, strategy and results. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 24, 175-185.

Omi, M., and Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States from the 1960's to the 1990's*. New York: Routledge.

Orfield, G., & Paul, F. (1988) Declines in minority access: A tale of five cities. *Educational Record*, 55-62

Ortiz, V. (1986). Generational status, family background, and educational attainment among Hispanic youth and non-Hispanic White youth. In M.A. Olivas (Eds.). *Latino college students*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Osipow, S. H. (1983). *Theories of career development* (3rd ed.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Osipow, S.H. & Littlejohn, E.M. (1995). Toward a multicultural theory of career development: Prospects and dilemmas. In F.T. Leong, *Career development and vocational behavior of ethnic and racial minorities* (pp. 251-261). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Padilla, A. M., Lindholm, K.J., Chen, A., Duran, R., Hakuta, K., Lambert, W., & Tucker, G. R.(1991). The English-only movement: Myths, reality and implications for psychology. *American Psychologist*, 46, 120-130.

Padilla, R., et al., (1997). Developing local models of minority student success in college. *Journal of College Student Development*, 38, 125-135.

Parham, T.A. & Austin, N.L. (1994). Career development and African Americans: A contextual reappraisal using the nigrescence construct. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 44, 139-154.

Patterson-Stewart, K., M. Ritchie, E. Sanders (1997). Interpersonal dynamics of African American persistence in doctoral programs at predominantly White universities. *Journal of College Student Development*, 38, 489-498.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. California: Sage.

Pinderhuges, E. (1997). Developing diversity competence in child welfare and permanency planning. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 5, 19-38.

Pinderhughes, E. (1994). Ethnic minorities and people of color. In F.G. Reamer (Eds), *The foundations of social work knowledge* (pp. 264-308), New York: Columbia University Press.

Pinderhughes, E. (1988). Significance of culture and power in the human behavior curriculum. In Jacobs and Bowles (Eds.). *Ethnicity and race: Critical concepts in social work*. Silver Springs, MD: National Association of Social Workers Inc.

Pinderhughes, E. (1989). *Understanding race, ethnicity, and power: The key to efficacy in clinical practice*. New York: Free Press.

Plionis, E. & Lewis, H. (1995). Teaching cultural diversity and oppression: Preparation for risk - the Cloverdale model. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 12, 175-192.

Polansky, N. A. (1959). The Professional identity in social work. In A. Kahn (Eds.). *Issues in American social work* (pp. 293-318), New York: Columbia.

Ponterotto, J., Casas, J. M., Suzuki, L.A., & Alexander, C. M(1995). *Handbook of multicultural counseling*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.

Pope, K. D. & Feldman-Summers, S. (1976). National survey of psychologists sexual and physical abuse history and their evaluation of caring and competence in these areas. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 23, 353-361.

Potts, M. (1992). Adjustment of graduate students to the educational process: Effects of part time enrollment and extracurricular roles. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 28, 61-76.

Proctor, E. K., & Davis, L.E. (1994). The challenge of racial difference: Skills for clinical practice. *Social Work*, 39, 314-323.

Pruitt, A. & Isaac, P. (1985). Discrimination in recruitment, admission, and retention of minority graduate students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 54, 526-536.

Quintana, S. M. & Bernal, M.E. (1995). Ethnic minority training in counseling psychology: Comparisons with clinical psychology and proposed standards. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 23, 102-121.

Raber, M., S. Tebb, M. Berg-Weger. (1998). Recruitment and retention of minority students in bachelor of social work programs. *Journal of Baccalaureate Social Work*, 3 31-49.

Ramseur, H. (1991). Psychologically healthy Black adults. In R.L. Jones (Ed.). *Black Psychology*, Berkeley, CA: Cobb and Henry.

Raske, M. (1999). Using feminist classroom rules to model empowerment for social work students. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 19, 197-209.

Razack, N. (2001). Diversity and differences in the field education encounter: Racial minority students in the practicum. *Social Work education*, 20, 219-232.

Ridley, C.R., Mendoza, D. & B. Kanitz (1994). Multicultural training: Reexamination, operationalization and integration. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 23, 102-121.

Romero, D. (1985). Cross-cultural counseling: Brief reactions for the practitioner. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 13, 665-671.

Rompf, E.L. & Royce, D. (1994). Choice of social work as a career: Possible influences. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 30, 163-171.

Rosenberg, R. (1957). *Occupation and values*. Illinois: Free Press.

Rothenberg, P. (1990). Teaching racism and sexism in a changing America. In S. O'Malley, R. Rosen & L. Vogt (Eds.). *Politics of education: Essays from radical teacher*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Rothenberg, P. (1985). Teaching about racism and sexism: A case history. *Journal of thought*, 20, 122-36.

Rubin, A., Johnson, P. & DeWeaver, K. (1986). Direct practice interest of MSW students: changes from entry to graduation. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 29, 121-129.

Russell, R., Gill, P., Coyne, A. & Woody, J. (1993). Dysfunction in the family of origin of MSW and other graduate students. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 29, 121-129.

Sanchez, J. H., Mindel, C. H. & Saleeby, D. (1980). Factors influencing the decision of minority students to attend graduate school of social work. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 7, 665-667.

Schemo, D. (2002). A report finds minority ranks rise sharply on campuses but Blacks and Latinos lag at graduation. *New York Times*, September 23, A16.

Schiel, J. (1997). The contour and meaning of Afrocentric social work. *Journal of Black Studies*, 27, 800-819.

Schlesinger, E. G. & Devore, W. (1995). *Ethnic sensitive social work practice* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Schmitz, C., C Stakeman & J. Sisneros. (2001). Educating professionals for practice in a multicultural society: Understanding oppression and valuing diversity. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 82, 612-622.

Schwartz, E. (1993). Multicultural education: Disrupting patterns of supremacy in school curricula, practices, and pedagogy. *Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 493-506.

Schwitzer, A. M., Griffin, O. T., Ancis, J. R., & Thomas, C. R. (1999). Social adjustment experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Counseling and Development* 77, 189-198.

Segal, U.A. (1992). Values, personality and career choice. *The Journal of Applied Social Sciences*, 16, 143-159.

Sharvell, G. R. (1974). Can values be taught? A study of two variables related to orientation of social work graduate students toward public dependency. *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 10, 99-105.

Shaw, I.F. (1985). A closed profession? Recruitment to social work. *British Journal of Social Work*, 15, 261-279.

Shirley, D. (1986). A critical review and appropriation of Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of social and cultural reproduction. *Journal of Education*, 168, 97-112.

- Shor, I. (1993). Education is politics: Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy. In P. McLaren and P. Leonard (Eds.), *Paulo Freire: A critical encounter* (pp. 25-35). New York: Routledge.
- Singer, T.L. & Strobino, J. (1990). Retention of graduate students in social work: An issue of enrollment management for the nineties. *Psychological Reports*, 66, 995-1000.
- Singleton, S. (1994). Faculty personal comfort and the teaching of content on racial oppression. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 3, 5-16.
- Smith, E.J. (1983). Issues in racial minorities' career behavior. In B. Walsh & S. Osipow (Eds.), *Handbook of vocational psychology: Foundations, volume 1*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Snyder, D. & Bunkers, S. J. (1994). Facilitators and barriers for students in master's nursing programs. *Journal of Professional Nursing*, 10, 140-146.
- Solorzana, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 41, 171-187.
- Spelman, E. (1985). Combating the marginalization of Black women in the classroom. In M. Culley, and C. Portuges (Eds.), *Gendered subjects: The dynamics of feminist teaching*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Spokane, A. (1996). Hollands Theory. In D. Brown, L. Brooks & Associates, *Career choice and development* (3rd Ed.), 179-231. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- St John, E. (1990). Price response in enrollment decisions: An analysis of high school and beyond high sophomore cohort. *Research in Higher Education*, 31, 161-176.
- St John, E. (2001). The impact of aid packages on educational choices: High tuition-high loan and educational opportunity. *Journal of Student Financial Aid*, 31, 35-54.
- St John, E. P. (1991). What really influences minority attendance? Sequential analysis of high school and beyond sophomore cohort. *Research in Higher Education*, 32, 141-158.
- Stake, R. (1994). Case Studies. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. (pp.236-261). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Staton, A. (1990). *Communication and student socialization*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *American Psychologist*, 57, 819-829.

Stein, E. L. (1992). *Socialization at a protestant seminary*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh.

Stein, E. L., & Weidman, J. C. (1990). *The socialization of doctoral students to academic norms*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, MA.

Stikes, C. (1984). *Black students in higher education*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.

Strauss, A. & Schatzman L. (1973). *Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park CA: Sage.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (1990). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice*. New York: Wiley.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (1999). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice* (3rd. ed). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Sue, s., & Morishima, J. K. (1982). *The mental health of Asian Americans*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sue, S., D. Fujino, L. Hu. D. D. Takeuchi, & N. Zane.(1991). Community mental health services for ethnic minority groups: A test of the cultural responsiveness hypothesis. *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology*, 59, 533-540.

Sue, S., Fujino, D.C., Hu, L., Takeuchi, D. T., & Zane, N. W. S. (1991). Community mental health services for ethnic minority groups: A test of the cultural responsiveness hypothesis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 59, 533-540.

Super, D. E. (1990). A life span, life-space approach to career development. In D. Brown and L. Brooks (Eds.). *Career choice and development: Applying contemporary theories to practice* (2nd ed., pp. 197-261). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Super, D. E., Savickas, M. L. & Super, C. (1996). The Life span, life-space approach to careers. In D. Brown, L. Brooks & Associates, *Career choice and development*, (3rd ed., pp. 179-231). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Swail, W. S., Redd, K. E., & Perna, L. W. (2003). *Retaining minority students in higher education: A framework for success*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, no. 30. San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass.

Swank, E., Asada, H. & Lott, J. (2001). Student acceptance of a multicultural education: Exploring the role of a social work curriculum, demographics, and symbolic racism. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 10, 85-103.

Swartz, D. (1977). Pierre Bourdieu: The cultural transmission of social inequality. *Harvard Education Review*, 47, 4.

Swigonski, M. (1996). Challenging privilege through Afrocentric social work practice. *Social Work*, 41, 153-161.

Takahashi, R. (2004). Infusion of multicultural diversity content in social policy courses. In L. Gutierrez, M. Zuniga & D. Lum (Eds.). *Education for multicultural social work practice: Critical viewpoints and future directions*. (pp.55-75). VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Tan, S. (1989). Psychopathology and culture: The Asian American context. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 8, 61-75.

Tatum, B. D. (1992). Talking about race, learning about racism: An application of racial identity development theory in the classroom. *Harvard Educational Review*, 62, 1-24.

Taylor, C., & Howard Hamilton, M. (1995). Student involvement and racial identity attitudes among African American males. *Journal of College Student Development*, 36, 330-335.

Taylor, E., & Olswang, S. (1997). Crossing the color line: African Americans and predominantly White universities. *College Student Journal*, 31, 11-19.

Taylor, M. (1998). How attitudes vary with racial composition of local populations: numbers count. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 512-535.

Terrell, F. & Terrell, S. (1984). Race of counselor, client sex, cultural mistrust level, and premature termination from counseling among Black clients. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 31, 371-375.

Thornton, S. & Garrett, K. (1995). Ethnography as a bridge to multicultural practice. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 31, 67-74.

Tierney, W. (1992). An anthropological analysis of student participant in college. *Journal of Higher Education*, 63, 603-618.

Tierney, W. (1999). Models of minority college going and retention: cultural integrity versus cultural suicide. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 80-91.

- Tinto, V. (1987). *Leaving college*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Torres, J. & Jones, J. (1997). You've got to be taught: Multicultural education for social workers. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 15, 161-179.
- Triesman, U. (1992). Studying students studying calculus: A look at the lives of minority mathematics students in college. *College Mathematics Journal*, 23, 362-372.
- Trolander, J. A. (1997). Fighting racism and sexism: The Council on Social Work Education. *Social Service Review*, 71, 110-134.
- Tsang, A. & Bogo, M. (1997). Engaging with clients cross-culturally: towards developing research-based practice. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 6, 73-91.
- Turner, C. S. V. & Thompson, J. (1993). Socializing women doctoral students: Minority and majority experiences. *Review of Higher Education* 16, 355-370.
- Twale, D., & Kochan, F. (2000). Assessment of an alternative cohort model for part-time students in an educational leadership program. *Journal of School Leadership*, 10, 188-208.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census (2001). *Current population reports*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice: Author.
- Uehara, E., Sohn, S. Nagda, B., Erera, P & Yamashiro, G. (2004). Multiculturalism, social justice, and social inquiry issues for social work research education. In L.Gutierrez, M. Zuniga & D. Lum (Eds.). *Education for multicultural social work practice: Critical viewpoints and future directions*. (pp.113-124). VA: Council on Social Work Education.
- VA: Council on Social Work Education. Garcia, B. & Van Soest, D. (2000). Facilitating learning on diversity: Challenges to the professor. *Journal of Multicultural Social*, 9, 21-39.
- Van Soest, D. (1994). Social work education for multicultural practice and social justice advocacy: A field study of how students experience the learning process. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 3, 17-28.
- Van Soest, D. (1995) Multiculturalism and social work education: The non-debate about competing perspective. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 31, 55-63.
- Van Soest, D. and B. Garcia. (2003). *Diversity Education for Social Justice: Mastering teaching skills*. VA: Council on Social Work Education.

VanSoest, D. (2004). Structural barriers to multicultural competence in the field practicum. In L. Gutierrez, M. Zuniga & D. Lum (Eds.). *Education for multicultural social work practice: Critical viewpoints and future directions*. (pp.265-276). VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Varley, B.K. (1963). Socialization in social work education. *Social Work*, 8, 102-109.

Vav Soest, D. & Garcia, B. (2000). Sensitivity to racism and social work professor's responsiveness to critical classroom events. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 21, 39-58.

Wachholz, S., & Mullaly, B. (2000). The politics of the textbook: A content analysis of the coverage and treatment of feminist, radical and anti-racist social work scholarship in American introductory social work textbooks published between 1988 and 1997. *Journal of progressive Human Services*, 11, 51-75.

Wade, P. & Bernstein, B. (1991). Culture sensitive training and counselor's race: Effects on Black female clients' perceptions and attrition. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38, 9-15.

Walcott, H.F. (1990). On seeking and rejecting validity in qualitative research. In E. W. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.). *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Walsh, B.W. & S. Osipow (1983). *Handbook of vocational psychology: Foundations, volume 1*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Wachholz, S., & Mullaly, B. (2000). The politics of the textbook: A content analysis of the coverage and treatment of feminist, radical and anti-racist social work scholarship in American introductory social work textbooks published between 1988 and 1997. *Journal of progressive Human Services*, 11, 51-75.

Walters, G., Strom-Gottfried, K., & Sullivan, M. (1998). Assembling pieces in the diversity puzzle: A field model. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 34, 353-363.

Watkins, C. E., & Terrell, F. (1988). Mistrust level and its effects on counseling expectations in Black-White counselor relationships: An analogue study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 35, 194-197.

Watson, L. & Kuh, G. (1996). The influence of dominant race environments on student involvement, perceptions, and education gains: A look at historically Black and predominantly White liberal arts institutions. *Journal of College Development* 37, 415-424.

Weaver, H. (2000). Culture and professional education: The experiences of Native American social workers. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 36, 415-428.

Weaver, H.N. (1998). Teaching cultural competence: Application of experiential learning techniques. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 17, 66-79.

Webster, Y. (1997). Does multicultural education have an adequate conceptual and theoretical foundation. No. In D. de. Anda (Ed.), *Controversial issues in multiculturalism* (pp. 86-96). MA: Allyn & Bacon

Webster, Y. (1997). *Against the multicultural agenda: A critical thinking alternative*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Weidman, J. C., Twale, D.J., & Stein, E. L.(2001). *Socialization of graduate and professional students in higher education: A perilous passage*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, 28, no. 3, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

White, J.L., Parham, W.D., & Parham, T. A. (1990). Black psychology: The Afro-American tradition as a unifying force for traditional psychology. In R. L. Jones (Ed.) *Black psychology* (2nd ed., pp.56-66.) New York: Harper and Row.

Whitley, D., & Wolk, J. (1999). Preferred academic and career paths of potential MSW students: What are they thinking? *Arete*, 23, 53-65.

Williams, C. P., & Savickas, M. L. (1990). Developmental tasks of career maintenance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 36, 166-175.

Wilson, L.L. & Stith, S.M. (1993). The voices of African American MFT students: Suggestions for improving recruitment and retention. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 19, 17-30.

Wilson, P.P. (1998). *Perceptions of African American male students about their social work career choice: A developmental process*. Unpublished Dissertation, University of South Carolina.

Wiseman, J.P. (1970). *Stations of lost: The treatment of skid row alcoholics*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.

Wollman, N. (2004). *Poverty gaps decrease between races, ages, and genders-but not between rich and poor*. North Manchester: Manchester College, Peace Studies Institute. Work education. *Journal of Community Practice*, 11, 85-98.

Yamatani, H., Page, M., Koeske, G., Diaz, C., & Maguire, L. (1986). A comparison of extended and traditional masters's of social work students: A repeated measure analysis. *Journal of Social Work Education*. 22, 43-51.

Young, M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, M. (2000). Five faces of oppression. In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castenada, H. Hackenman, M. Peters & X Zuniga (Eds.) *Readings for diversity and social justice*. New York: Routledge.