

THE INFLUENCES OF GENDER, RACE, AND
SELF-CONCEPT ON THE INVISIBILITY
OF COLLEGE FRESHMEN

By

SHARLENE Y. TAYLOR JOHNSON

Bachelor of Arts in Liberal Arts and Sciences
University of Illinois
Chicago, Illinois
1971

Master of Education
Northeastern State University
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
1988

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
July, 1997

Thesis
1997D
J69i

COPYRIGHT

BY

SHARLENE Y. TAYLOR JOHNSON

July 1997

THE INFLUENCES OF GENDER, RACE, AND
SELF-CONCEPT ON THE INVISIBILITY
OF COLLEGE FRESHMEN

Thesis Approved:

Degan K. Aune

Thesis Adviser

D. Harris

John E. Steinbrink

Diane Montgomery

Thomas C. Collins

Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my major advisor, Dr. Lynn Arney for her supervision, guidance, and support. My sincere thanks is also extended to my other committee members Dr. Edward Harris, Dr. John Steinbrink, and Dr. Diane Montgomery whose assistance and encouragement are invaluable.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my family for their encouragement, love and devotion during this process. I would like to give my special appreciation to my husband, Samuel, for his continued love and encouragement during the most difficult times of this process. I also would like to thank Sam for the special sacrifices he made in order for me to complete my dissertation.

I would like to extend a special thanks to my three children; James, Keith, and Blair, whose educational experiences created my desire to pursue this study. I would like to thank them for understanding as I watched, from a distance, their accomplishments during the course of this dissertation. I also wish to reveal how thankful I am to my three children because of their unwavering faith in my success and their youthful prayers to motivate me. Finally, I would like to thank my parents and sisters for their continued love, support and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. ATTENTION DISPERSAL	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Significance	3
Definition of Terms	4
Summary	9
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	10
The Relationship between Visibility and Silencing	10
Concepts Related to Invisibility and/or Silencing	12
The Relationship of Gender and Race to Silencing and Invisibility	17
The Interaction of Gender and Race	21
The Self-Esteem and Self-Concept Factor	24
A Synthesis of Theoretical Concepts	25
Rationale and Hypotheses	27
III. METHODOLOGY	30
Chapter Overview	30
Sample selection	30
Description of the Sample	31
A Transformation of the Sex-Race Term to Sample Distribution and Concomitant Modification of Hypothesis Four	35
Instrumentation	36
Data Collection Procedures	43
Statistical Procedures	44
IV. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA	45
Results of Hypothesis Testing	45
Summary	70

Chapter	Page
V. CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND FINAL SUMMARY	71
Conclusions	71
Implications	76
Recommendations	78
A Final Word	79
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 81
 APPENDIXES	 89
APPENDIX A – OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW	90
APPENDIX B – CONSENT FORM	92
APPENDIX C – THE GROUP COMMUNICATION PROFILE AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL TEST OF SELF-CONCEPT	94

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Demographic Data Describing the Respondents	32
II. Ages of the Respondents	33
III. Gender and Ethnicity of the 258 Respondents	34
IV. Ethnicity of the Respondents at Each Institution	34
V. Results of Two-way ANOVA by Race and Gender	47
VI. Results of Forward Regression for Visibility with Self-Concept as Dependability	49
VII. Results of Forward Regression for Visibility with Self-Concept as Competency	50
VIII. Results of Forward Regression for Visibility with Self-Concept as Sociability	51
IX. Results of Forward Regression for Visibility for Total Self-Concept	52
X. Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Dependability for Silencing	56
XI. Results of Forward Regression for Self-concept as Competency for Silencing	57
XII. Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Sociability for Silencing	58

Table	Page
XIII. Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as	
Total Self-Concept for Silencing	59
XIV. Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as	
Dependability for Support	63
XV. Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as	
Competency for Support	64
XVI. Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as	
Sociability for Support	65
XVII. Results of Forward Regression for Total	
Self-Concept for Support	66

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
1. A Synthesis of Theoretical Concepts	26
2. Visibility for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Dependability	53
3. Visibility for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Competency	54
4. Visibility for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Sociability	55
5. Silence for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Dependability	60
6. Silence for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Competency	61
7. Silence for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Sociability	62
8. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Dependability	67
9. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Competency	68
10. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Sociability	69
11. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Total Self-Concept	70

CHAPTER I

ATTENTION DISPERSAL

I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunt Edgar Allen Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasm. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids, and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their "inner" eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality. (Ellison, 1952, p. 7)

As an African American male, the major character in Ralph Ellison's (1952) classic work, Invisible Man, describes himself as invisible because people silence him by refusing to see him. As an African American female educator who also has experienced many instances of silencing, this researcher felt that there was a significant need to study the inequitable distribution of attention in educational settings. Is the "Invisible Man" experience a common one for students?

Statement of the Problem

Ellison's literary work exemplifies Derber's (1979) theory of attention. According to Derber (1979), because the capability for giving attention is finite, those who wish to receive it must compete with other members of a group who also wish to get attention. Those visible individuals, who win the most attention, gain and maintain this recognition by silencing those who are less able to compete in the society. Silencing, then, is one technique used by the powerful to receive a disproportionate share of attention. In situations where attention is extremely scarce, for example, when a large number of people are competing for a limited amount of attention, those who silence others do so overtly

and aggressively. In situations where attention is more abundant, silencing becomes less overt and more tacit (Derber, 1979).

The amount of attention people receive is contingent on their formal and informal power (Derber, 1979). In a capitalistic and patriarchal society, those persons with greater power, for example, white males and the wealthy, will silence the less powerful members of a society in an attempt to gain a greater share of the attention. Derber (1979) suggests that the powerful receive and maintain power by allocating powerless roles to the less powerful. Certain groups, for example females and minorities, are expected to assume "other-oriented" or "attention giving" roles which empower white males and the wealthy, who assume "self-oriented" or "attention getting" roles (Derber, 1979, p. 50).

Visibility in society is contingent upon the amount of attention that individuals receive. Derber's (1979) contention, that invisibility results when individuals receive less attention than they require, may be the result of not gaining and maintaining enough attention. Derber (1979) suggest that this lack of visibility or attention is "linked to social power and illuminates the status hierarchy of society" (p.10). Thus, invisibility may be explained by the ways attention is distributed in society.

A review of the literature indicates that there are only limited studies which test attention distribution and invisibility in an educational context. These studies, however, are not directly connected to Derber's theory (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Spender, 1982; Weis & Fine, 1993), but they do tend to confirm inequitable attention distribution along gender lines with females receiving less than males (Lewis and Simon, 1986; Spender, 1982; West and Pagano, 1992) and African Americans receiving less than whites (Cary, 1991; Fordham and Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1978). Other literature suggests that, while this conclusion is true for African American females, these women do not regard themselves as invisible and refuse to be silenced, even if others choose not to hear them (Cary, 1991; Fordham, 1993; Gilligan, 1982). The purpose of this study is to test Derber's theoretical proposition that attention is inequitably distributed along gender and racial lines in an

educational context. The study determines whether the variables of gender and race contribute singularly or interactively to students' perceptions of visibility.

The results of a recent study sponsored by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation [AAUW] (1992) might explain why some individuals who experience a great deal of silencing do not regard themselves as invisible. The researchers found that African American females have significantly higher self-esteem than white females. It is possible, therefore, that self-esteem constrains or enhances (moderates) the relationship between gender-race and perceptions of visibility. Therefore, a second related purpose is to determine the nature of the relationship between visibility and gender, race and gender-race when moderated by self-concept.

Significance

This study is significant for both theoretical and practical reasons. The theoretical significance will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the practical significance.

This study contributes to theoretical knowledge by testing, in an educational setting, Derber's (1979) proposition that the gender and race of individuals influence the amount of attention receive and the degree of visibility experience. Although Derber's theory was developed by and grounded in two qualitative research projects, quantitative testing in an educational context has been limited and not connected to Derber's theory (see Sadker & Sadker, 1994). By using a quantitative research design, the researcher can pilot test two of Derber's theoretical propositions in an educational setting to set the direction for future research. Additional studies would allow the generalization of results to a broader population than is possible with this pilot study.

Furthermore, this study helps resolve contradictory findings in the research literature on visibility and related topics by (1) determining whether gender and race best explain visibility singularly or in interaction and (2) identifying and testing a potential moderating variable. If confirmed, Derber's theory is refined in a way to account for the inconsistent research findings relating to whether gender and race are main effects or more

appropriately interaction terms. In addition, this study determines whether self-concept moderates the relationship between visibility and gender or race, singularly or in interaction.

This research study has implications for practice as well as theory development. Because insufficient attention may result in negative outcomes for individuals, particularly children (see Bowlby, 1953), it is important that educators understand how and why attention is distributed inequitably. If Derber's contention that attention is inequitably distributed along gender and racial lines is true in an educational context, then some students who receive less than their share of attention may feel invisible. In addition, if receiving sufficient attention is a prerequisite for healthy human development (Bowlby, 1953), then it would seem to be important for educators to be aware of systematic patterns of invisibility in schools.

Derber's theory helps educators understand how one group of people gains the lion's share of attention that might better be given to others with equivalent needs. By understanding the reasons for invisibility and the inequitable distribution of attention in classrooms, those involved with staff development of teaching professionals or the training of teachers modifies their preparation in ways which helps them reduce silencing behaviors and promotes a more equitable distribution of attention in their classrooms.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are important for understanding the literature on silencing. They are used in the study as follows.

1. attention: Attention is a finite resource which is distributed in the same way that money is distributed in a capitalistic society (Derber, 1979).
2. attention deprivation: Attention deprivation occurs when an individual is unable to obtain and maintain the "minimum" amount of "attention" to "gain" a "presence" (Derber,

1979, p. 17). This term is synonymous with invisibility.

3. attention getter: An active role in face to face interactions in formal and informal organizations which is frequently assigned to males and/or the powerful.

4. attention giver: A passive role in face to face interactions which is usually assigned to women and/or the powerless (Derber, 1979).

5. gender: ". . . the learned and socially evaluated behaviors and attitudes people associate with the word 'feminine' and 'masculine' " (Bate & Taylor, 1990, p. 3). This term is contrasted with sex which refers to ". . . the two categories of physical features that distinguish men from women . . ." (Bate & Taylor, 1990, p. 3)

6. invisibility: "The 'invisible' person does not gain even the minimum attention required to feel that his or her presence has been acknowledged and established" (Derber, 1979, p.17). Conceptually, this term is synonymous with attention deprivation. The operational definition of invisibility is the individual's perceived experience of being silenced, often in face to face situations in organizations, and not being supported by groups in these same organizations in ways that allow an individual to feel comfortable in actually participating with group members. This concept is measured by the Group Communication Profile (Arney & Barnes, 1997).

7. patriarchy: ". . . any system whereby men achieve and maintain social, cultural and economic dominance over females and younger males" (Jary & Jary, 1991, p. 357).

"Cultural and social forces, as well as biological differences, are seen as the antecedents of patriarchy" (Jary & Jary, 1991, p. 357).

8. perceptions of being silenced: A belief by an individual that powerful others have actively kept him or her from getting the attention required to become visible. Perceptions of being silenced may or may not be the same as actually being silenced (Arney, 1995).

9. perceptions of being supported: A belief by an individual that group members have supported him or her in gaining and maintaining the attention required to become and stay visible. Perceptions of being supported may or may not be the same as actually being supported (Arney, 1997).

10. power: "Power is the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1977, p. 166).

11. race: Race "describes the descendants of a common ancestor; or a distinct variety of human species; . . . lineage; descent" (Webster's Encyclopedia of Dictionaries, 1988, p.302).

12. racial stratification: Racial stratification is a hierarchical organization by skin color based on assumed inborn differences (Ogbu, 1994). Membership in racial strata is by birth and descent. This membership is permanent. According to Ogbu (1994), "the permanent racial groups are visible, recognized, and named" (p. 269).

13. self-concept: ". . . the person one thinks himself to be, basing his view on the attitudes toward his own personality, body, characteristics, role in life, capabilities, potentialities, and opportunities" (Fine, 1967, p. 151). For purposes of this study self concept is operationalized by defining total self concept as dimensions competency, dependency and sociability scores on the Lathrop's (1987) Multidimensional Test of Self-Concept (MTS).

According to Webster (1988), competency is defined as "able, properly qualified, proper, suitable, skillful" (p.79). Dependable is defined as the belief that he or she is reliable, trustworthy, and supported (Webster, 1988). Sociability is defined as the belief that he or she is friendly, fond of company and genial (Webster, 1988). The MTS is a "semantic differential measure of self-concept as the discrepancy between the current state of the individual, or real self-concept, versus the state of well-being or self-concept that the individual would desire, the ideal self" (Lathrop, 1987, p. A-13).

14. self-esteem: Self-esteem is "a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself" (Coopersmith 1967, p.5). According to Goldenson (1984), self-esteem is also "an attitude of self-acceptance, self-approval, and self-respect. A feeling of self-worth is an important ingredient of mental health; a loss of self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness are common depressive symptoms. Having self-esteem means being on good terms with one's superego" (p.662). Wolman (1989) concluded that "self-esteem is a positive attitude toward oneself and one's behavior. Quite often it is a lasting personal disposition, but the self-evaluation may shift depending on one's environment" (p.309).

15. silencing: Silencing is defined as:

any systematic behavior acted out in face-to-face situations in organizations, which over time, deprives groups of individuals without status and power of the degree and quality of attention required to remain visible. Such behavior can be violent or non-violent, overt or subtle, verbal or non-verbal, and intentional or unintentional. The behavior is not silencing unless it has been systematic, that is consistently applied over time. (Arney and Barnes, 1997).

Silencing is also a technique used by some individuals to gain and maintain attention "under conditions of unusual scarcity" (Derber, 1979, p.16). Silencing will be measured by the Group Communication Profile (Arney & Barnes, 1997) which combines silencing and

supporting behaviors experienced by students to yield a visibility score. Examples of silencing behaviors include "shifting conversational topics, ignoring contributions made by certain individuals, and inattentive listening" (Arney, 1997, p1).

16. stigma: Stigma "refers to an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1963, p. 3) and is a discrepancy between virtual social identity and actual social identity. Virtual social identity is what an individual thinks they should be and actual social identity involves the social characteristics and attributes an individual possesses (Goffman, 1963). Stigma was operationalized by assigning lower stigma indicators to males, i.e. a "1"; higher indicators to females, i.e. a "2"; lower indicators to Caucasians, i.e. a "1", and higher indicators to minorities, i.e. a "2". The stigma score was the total of the race and gender scores combined. A stigma score for a Caucasian male was 2; for an African American male and a Caucasian female the score was a 3; and for an African American female the stigma score was a 4.

17. supporting: Supporting is any systematic behavior acted out in face-to-face situations in organizations, which over time encourages groups of individuals without status and power to seek out the attention necessary to gain and maintain visibility (Arney, 1997). Examples of supporting behaviors include "active listening, reacting in a positive way to contributions of all members, and staying on a topic until it has been thoroughly discussed" (Arney, 1997, p1).

18. token: When a limited number of individuals of one social type are included in a larger group of individuals of another social type they are called tokens. The proportion of dominant types to tokens ranges from a ratio of 99:1 to a ratio of 85:15 (Kanter, 1977, p.208).

Summary

Because attention is inequitably distributed along gender and racial lines in an educational setting through silencing, perceptions of invisibility vary. This study addressed the question of whether the variables of gender and race contribute to students' perceptions of visibility. A second related problem is to determine the influence of self-concept on the relationship of gender, race and visibility. This study contributes to theoretical knowledge by testing, in an educational setting, Derber's (1979) proposition that the gender and race of individuals influence the amount of visibility they experience. This study has practical implications because it is important that educators understand how and why attention is distributed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study addresses the question of whether visibility is experienced differently along gender, racial, and racial-gender lines in higher educational settings. A second question is whether self-concept moderates the relationship between gender, race, and gender-race and visibility. The literature upon which this study rests is based and presented in the following order: (1) the relationship between visibility and silencing, (2) concepts related to visibility and silencing, (3) the relationship of gender and race to silencing and invisibility, (4) the interaction of gender and race, (5) the self-esteem and self-concept factors, (6) a synthesis of theoretical concepts, (7) and rationale and hypotheses.

The Relationship between Visibility and Silencing

In the literature, invisibility and silencing are implicitly connected. For example, Ellison (1952) writes about his major character being invisible when others refuse to recognize him; Derber (1979) describes invisibility as resulting when insufficient attention is given to individuals; and Anderson (1990) suggests that invisibility can occur when groups of people are excluded from the dominant culture. Arney and Barnes (1997) have stated:

Silencing is any systematic behavior acted out in face to face situations in organizations, which over time, deprives groups of individuals without status and power of the degree and quality of attention required to remain visible. Such behavior can be violent or non-violent, overt or subtle, verbal or non-verbal, and intentional or unintentional. The behavior is not silencing unless it has been systematic, that is, consistently applied over time.

In Invisible Women, Spender (1982) delineates some silencing techniques which are responsible for creating invisible women. She explains that men, who generally speak a great deal more than women, tend to "define the topic and provide the terms for describing and explaining the world" (p. 34). She further suggests that women are "silenced and interrupted . . . and are given little space to forge meanings and little or no opportunity to share them or pass them on" (p. 34). Also, according to Spender (1982), topics and issues women initiate or discuss from a knowledgeable standpoint are often "classified as wrong and dismissed" by many males (p. 34). Even when the topics and issues are initiated by men, when they are discussed from the women's perspective, these topics and issues "are frequently treated as unreasonable or neurotic" (Spender, 1982, p. 34). The relationship between silencing and invisibility, however, is assumed by Spender (1982) rather than clearly articulated.

Sometimes invisibility is defined as the total or near absence of a particular group of people from the mainstream which occurs because the members of society have excluded them and refuse to recognize exclusion as a problem. Anderson (1990) explained, "This sociological way of seeing the world had a forceful impact on the field of education, resulting in the discovery of 'invisible' or 'hidden' phenomena of all sorts" (p.40). Anderson's (1990) concluded that there were still many schools in America with almost no children of color. He further concluded that invisibility was a social reality, but "for the administrators I studied, the 'construction of their inner eye' was such that they either could not or would not see the phenomena [of invisibility] that surrounded them" (Anderson, 1990, p. 41).

In a study published in 1993, Wise and Fine suggest that African American teachers and students are still invisible in American education because of racist hiring practices and student tracking practices. In this sense, racism and tracking result in invisible groups.

Most authors connect invisibility and silencing in a deterministic way. If groups of individuals are silenced, they become invisible to those who silence them. This belief is extended so that when people are silenced frequently and over an extended time, it is believed that they are in fact so silent that the self is invisible (Freud, 1923; and Maslow, 1954; Erikson, 1963). However, the reality of invisibility may or may not be synonymous with perceptions of the invisibility state. Some individuals who are frequently ignored may refuse to let that factor influence their own perceptions of visibility (Arney, 1996).

Although thought to be invisible by the dominant group, the invisible may see themselves as visible instead and eventually become noisy and perhaps annoying to members of the dominant group (Fordham, 1993).

Silencing techniques include deprivation of attention, exclusion, denial, institutionalization, tracking systems, and racist hiring practices. These activities are thought generally to precede invisibility and directly influence levels of visibility. Some theorists, however, posit that certain groups of individuals may perceive themselves as visible even when members of the dominant cultures believe they ought to be invisible.

Concepts Related to Invisibility and/or Silencing

Invisibility and/or silencing are usually not the major focus of any theoretical or empirical piece but rather are parts of a larger work dealing with attention, power, gender issues, racial themes or economic patterns. Authors of these major works use terms that may or may not be synonymous with invisibility and silencing. If not synonymous, these terms are closely related to invisibility and/or silencing. Concepts that relate to invisibility and/or silencing include the following: attention, attention deprivation, stigma, power, tokenism, and patriarchy.

Attention

Derber (1979) does not discuss silencing as a concept, but he does discuss the way people get attention for themselves by utilizing certain techniques to shift attention away from others to themselves. Therefore, Derber uses a different label, shifting, to talk about

silencing, but he does so in a limited way since his major focus is on attention and its antecedents.

Bowlby's (1952) research with infants provides a developmental view of attention. Before an infant learns to function as an individual, there is an innate need for attention. This desire or need at first is a survival technique. The infant cries for food, to be changed, or to be comforted. Crying is the infant's only means of getting attention. Early childhood psychiatrists believe that "the relationship that develops in infancy with the maternal figure or care giver, plays an essential role in the establishment of a healthy individual" (Bowlby, 1952, p. 11).

Attention, like other resources necessary for survival in an individualistic society, is not distributed equitably, but rather given to those with the greatest power. Even though the individual has a competitive drive to gain attention, some individuals have a better chance than others of getting attention. According to Derber (1979), the emotional desire or need for attention crosses all human interaction, but the distribution of attention is closely related to the social power, status, and/or stigma individuals have in society. He categorizes people with power as "attention-getters" and people of less worth as "attention-givers" (Derber, 1979, p. 41). Because attention tends to be focused on self in an individualistic society, attention, like other resources, is finite and somewhat "scarce" (Derber, 1979, p.16).

Attention Deprivation

Bowlby (1953) later discovered that institutionalizing infants is potentially damaging to healthy childhood development because it results in little contact between the children and nurturing adults. He found that infants who were hospitalized or placed in orphanages did not develop as happy, balanced children and became convinced that healthy childhood development was contingent on the amount of attention the infants received from their mothers in infancy. He believed that humans developed certain "attachment behaviors" with their caretakers that made them secure and promoted

development of a healthy individual (Bowlby, 1953, p.182).

A debilitating lack of attention for persons at any age can result in negative outcomes. The invisible person does not get enough attention in the same way the poor person does not get enough money. According to Derber (1979), "poverty has an interacting parallel in invisibility" (p. 17). Derber (1979) makes the case that 1) poor people are also invisible and can't buy attention and 2) poor people are also not of sufficient status to receive attention. Derber (1979) contends that "the invisible person does not gain even the minimum attention required to feel that his or her presence has been acknowledged and established" (p. 17).

Stigma and Power

Society and organizations attribute certain characteristics to individuals which establish their "social identity" or status (Goffman, 1983, p. 2). When certain assumptions are made "as to the what the individual . . . ought to be," Goffman (1983) termed these social imposed characteristic as "virtual social identity" (p. 2). The individuals "actual social identity" consists of characteristics the individual can prove to possess (Goffman, 1983. p. 2). When there is a discrepancy between an individual's virtual and actual social identity the result is stigma. According to Goffman (1983), stigmatized individuals are regarded as "non-persons" (p. 18).

Survival and success in America are equated with power. According to Kanter (1977), "power is the ability. . . to get and use whatever. . . is needed to get a job done" (p.166). There is a "monopoly on power" and it is not shared with some groups (Kanter, 1977, p. 166). One route to power is through visibility, but individuals must be visible in order "to attract the notice of others" (Kanter, 1977, p. 179). The invisible person's presence is not acknowledged or established (Derber, 1979), and therefore, cannot lead to power. To become powerful and successful in the American culture, invisible individuals must capture the attention necessary to be upwardly mobile.

Tokenism

Tokenism has been advocated as a way for some invisible persons to get power. Kanter (1977) suggests that the ratio of dominants to non-dominants in any group manifests itself in one of four ways. A group that consists of only one kind of person is described as "uniform" (Kanter, 1977, p. 208). This "homogeneous" group can represent a particular "sex, race, or ethnicity" and has a "typological ratio of 100:0" (Kanter, 1977, p. 208). A "skewed" group has a "large" population "of one type [of people] over another" with a ratio up to "85:15" (Kanter, 1977, p. 208). The larger group "controls the group and its culture" and is often labeled "dominants," while the smaller group or individuals are labeled "tokens" (Kanter, 1977, p. 208). Kanter (1977) suggests that tokens often do not have power in a skewed group.

A "tilted" group generally has a ratio of 65:35 and in this situation "the dominants are just a 'majority' and tokens become a 'minority'" (Kanter, 1977, p. 209). Minorities within this group "can form coalitions and can affect the culture of the group" (Kanter, 1977, p. 209). In this group, individuals are seen as individuals as well as part of a minority. The fourth group has a "ratio at about 60:40 and down to 50:50" and is referred to by Kanter (1977) as "balanced" (p. 209). Within a balanced group, interactions may or may not create "subgroups" that "generate type-based identifications" (Kanter, 1977, p. 209).

Kanter's (1977) studies focused on women but the results of the data may be generalized to all token groups. Kanter (1977) has identified "three perceptual tendencies" that have evolved as "special" outcomes of tokenism: "visibility, contrast, and assimilation" (p. 210).

High visibility causes tokens to get a larger share of attention, but the attention is focused on those physical characteristics in which differentiates tokens from dominants. Kanter (1977) contends that most tokens stand out and that "visibility tends to create performance pressures on the tokens" (p. 212). The tokens work "under public and

symbolic" scrutiny (Kanter, 1977, p. 212). Their mistakes are magnified and attributed to their groups' stereotypes (Kanter, 1977). Tokens are treated as symbols, experts, and/or representatives of their groups, and they are usually expected to justify their worth to members of dominant groups (Kanter, 1977).

According to Kanter (1977), the token's performance is equated with "tokenism eclipse" when "the token . . . [has] to work hard to have her achievements noticed" (p. 216). Tokens also reported a "fear of retaliation" when the tokens " 'show up' a dominant" (Kanter, 1977, p. 217), thus, causing a "fear of visibility" (Kanter, 1977, p. 221) where the tokens may try to "limit [their] visibility" (Kanter, 1977, p. 220).

Contrast is the second perceptual tendency of tokenism identified by Kanter (1977). "The presence of a token. . . makes dominants more aware of what they have in common" (Kanter, 1977, p. 221) and also "threatens that commonalty" (Kanter, 1977, p. 222). The dominants realize that the token offers a "challenge to the dominants' premises" and "the token's presence is uncomfortable" because tokens do not "share the same unspoken understandings" of the dominants (Kanter, 1977, p. 222). The contrast effect, according to Kanter (1977), leads to an exaggeration of both the "commonalty" of the dominants and the "differences" of the tokens and can result in the tokens being excluded from the group unless they "prove [their] loyalty" (p. 222).

Assimilation is the third perceptual tendency. A token's individual characteristics are made to fit a stereotype, so that the individual is "assimilated" (Kanter, 1977, p. 230). Kanter (1977) contends that these "stereotypical assumptions. . . , mistaken attributions and biased judgments. . . tend to force tokens into playing limited and caricatured roles" (p. 230). These "familiar roles and assumptions" promote ways "to keep tokens in a bounded place" (Kanter, 1977, p. 231). Tokens' status roles are often "misperceived" as ones in lower-level categories (Kanter, 1977, p.231). "People make judgments about the role being played by others on the basis of probabilistic reasoning about what a particular kind of person will be doing in a particular situation" (Kanter, 1977, p. 231). This

misperception may be attributed to "a function that has been called 'statistical discrimination' rather than outright prejudice" (quoted in Kanter, 1977, p. 231 from Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1973, p. 106). Many tokens would rather "accept stereotyped roles than fight them," even though doing so means that their own identities are distorted (Kanter, 1977, p. 236).

Patriarchy

The behavior of silencing is referred to by Lewis and Simon (1986) as a way of arranging practices that limit and organize time and space differently and unequally for different people. This piece of work tells the story of female graduate students who rebel against silencing practices existing in their graduate class. While a powerful piece of literature, the researchers do not limit their analysis to silencing exclusively but do relate silencing to patriarchy. They concluded that patriarchy prevents women from attaining power. Powerless individuals are "inevitably silenced" according to the role expectations imposed on them by the powerful who have "social, political, and economic" advantages "that make possible the privilege of men over women" (Lewis and Simon, 1986, p. 458).

The Relationship of Gender and Race to Silencing and Invisibility

Certain groups in the American culture are systematically silenced and invisible because of patriarchy and the class systems created by capitalism (Derber, 1979; Spender, 1982; Fordham, 1993), or the power they fail to maintain, or the subordinate roles they assume. This section will link important literature and show the relationship of gender and race to silencing and invisibility.

Gender

Derber (1979) suggests that women are "vulnerable. . . to. . . invisibility"(p.18). Individuals who are "less assertive, aggressive, or animated, or especially shy or insecure" are frequently assigned the role of attention-givers (Derber, 1979, p.18). Women have traditionally been attention-givers, due partly to "the universality of female subordination" that exists within every society (Ortner, 1974, p. 67). Ortner (1974) and others contend

that women's physiological structure makes her subordinate because of her role in the reproduction of the species. Women's social role is seen as being closer to nature, "because of the female's reproductive role, and, thus, she is associated with domesticated and working functions in society" (Ortner, 1974, p. 76). Women and minorities are not empowered because of their subordinate roles in society (Derber, 1979). This subordination has created limited visibility for women in the American society.

Sadker & Sadker (1994) and Spender (1982) confirm that females do not receive as much attention from teachers in classrooms as do males. In explaining the ways that women are rendered invisible in educational contexts, Spender (1982) suggests that the following conditions contribute to invisibility: omission of knowledge created by any group except white males, male control of policy and decision making structures, greater allocation of attention to white males in class settings, and a tendency to focus on topics of greater interest to white males in classrooms.

As victims of benign neglect, girls are penalized for doing what they should and lose ground as they go through school. In contrast, boys get reinforced for breaking the rules; they are rewarded for grabbing more than their fair share of the teacher's time and attention. (Sadker & Sadker, 1994 p. 44)

This sexist curriculum makes females "educational spectators instead of players" (Sadker & Sadker, 1994, p. 13).

In explaining one aspect of sexism in schools, Sadker & Sadker (1994) listed several conditions that support the conclusion that males are the favored gender. Conditions that showed and defined males as the favored gender included 1) receiving "the lion's share of the teacher's time and attention. . . 2) [being] "the featured figures in most textbooks. . . 3) [receiving] the majority of scholarship dollars. . . and 4) [being] destined for high salaries and honored professions" (Sadker & Sadker, 1994, p. 197). Sadker & Sadker (1994) contend that "gender bias is a two-edged sword" that "miseducates boys" and shortchanges girls (p. 197). Under these conditions, males that fail in schools become very "visible" and "schools invest extra resources on their behalf" (Sadker & Sadker, p.

197).

Earlier Spender (1982) concluded:

that human beings invent or construct knowledge in accordance with the values and beliefs with which they begin. What knowledge gets made, and what does not, why and how it is used, can provide much illumination about the people who have made it and the society in which they live. If there is little knowledge about oppressed groups, and if what there is portrays oppressed groups as inferior or incompetent, then it is perfectly reasonable to assume that those making the knowledge are not oppressed. . . . As a society . . . we are largely dependent on the knowledge they [the powerful] make. (p. 2)

Spender (1982) also suggests that those who are creating the knowledge about oppressed groups "are not interested in challenging the basis of oppression" (p. 2).

Justification for this oppressive knowledge can be "presented . . . as 'truths', 'proven' and 'objective' knowledge" (Spender, 1982, p. 4) based on historical and educational facts in order to perpetuate the oppression. These acts of oppression can be viewed as a powerful form of silencing used by the powerful to gain greater attention at the expense of the less powerful or oppressed. Spender (1982) confirms that females, who are silenced considerably more frequently in classrooms than males, are, as a result, invisible.

In the educational setting, Clarricoates (1978) found that even when females did better academically than males, their elementary school teachers believed that the males were brighter than the females. Brody & Good (1970) and Martin (1972) found that the student's gender determined the interaction of their teachers. Males had more negative contact with teachers because their behaviors evoked more in order to control classroom discipline (Brody, 1974; Brody & Evertson, 1981). Girls tended to be cooperative, less active, called on less frequently, and given fewer opportunities to respond in class (Brody & Good, 1970).

Race

The relationship between racism and the lack of attention or invisibility in children begins at an early age. Young children begin to see themselves in roles they observe in their environments (Comer, 1991). Comer (1991) believes that attitudes that powerful people, like parents and teachers, have about children are internalized by the children and they respond to those expectations. Rist (1978) contends that school integration and the early assimilation policies, which ignored African American cultural differences, only perpetuated silencing and invisibility. The denial of the African American culture and individual differences through assimilation in schools basically institutionalized invisibility for African Americans in society.

In a study by Irvine (1991), African American students received fewer favorable interactions than did white children as they progressed through school. African American females' interactions were academically reinforced but became fewer as they got older. African American females "rarely interacted with teachers or peers" (Irvine, 1991, p. 75), received more negative interaction, were isolated, and "became invisible" (Irvine, 1991, p.75). African American males were "more likely to be in the lowest academic track; more likely to be isolated socially and academically from white students; more likely than white males to be disciplined; and more likely to be judged inaccurately by teachers" (Irvine, 1991, p. 78).

Affirmative Action established the creation of tokens in institutions to alleviate the effects of discrimination against minorities and women. However, change has been slow. Women and people of color remain less economically and politically viable or mobile than white men because token individuals are negatively visible. According to McKay &

Fanning (1992), tokens individuals are more subject to "judgments" from others that "limit their ability to open. . . [themselves] with others, express. . . [their] sexuality, be the center of attention, hear criticism, ask for help, or solve problems", thus "causing enormous pain" and "self-rejection" which leads to negative self-esteem (p. 1).

The Interaction of Gender and Race

The effects of the interaction of gender and race on visibility and silencing is less established in the literature silenced than the dominant group. However, some evidence is emerging that gender and. Females are more silenced than males and minorities are more race interact to influence the nature of this relationship.

A number of studies have shown that not all groups of females are invisible. African American females, who are often silenced in the classroom, do not perceive themselves to be invisible and do not act invisible (Fordham, 1993). Fordham (1993) and others (Gilligan, 1982; Cary, 1988; Christian, 1990; Davis, 1971; Evans, 1988; and Pagano, 1990) concluded that African American females do not consider themselves to be invisible although they are, indeed, silenced frequently. African American "womanhood is often presented as the antithesis of white [femaleness], or 'the nothingness'" (Christian 1990; Walker, 1982 in Fordham, 1993, p.4). According to Fordham (1993), their nothing gender and their social stratification compel African American women and other women of color to seek a more visible image. Although most African American females have been compelled to be silenced in order to achieve the things that white females take for granted, many African American females refuse to be silenced because, to do so, would render them non-people. These African American females resist silencing and are "unwilling and unable to be silent" (Fordham, 1993, p. 6).

In Fordham's (1993) study at Capital High, she found that, in order for African American females to succeed academically, they were forced to exist in "silence and/or emulate the male dominant 'Other'" (p.6). In some instances, an African American female's "speech is masked and disguised in ways that nullify and negate the perception of her femaleness" (Fordham, 1993, p.6). Gilligan (1982), discovered that some females' "ability to see and to speak in two ways also enables girls to resist the pressures and the temptations they face simply to fit themselves into the world in which they are living by taking on a male perspective" (p. 148). The African American female takes on the classification of the "neutered 'other'" (Cary, 1991, in Fordham, 1993, p. 9) while embracing her "unconscious perceptions of African American womanhood" (Fordham, 1993, p. 6). Based on research from others (Cary, 1988; Christian, 1990; Davis, 1971; Evans, 1988; and Pagano, 1990), Fordham (1993) concludes that African American females are frequently "loud" because they resist female and racial silencing and do not consider themselves invisible.

There is some evidence that African American males are less visible than their white male counterparts. African American males are often removed from dominants' conversations, leaving them with a threatened feeling and a questioning of their knowledge (Hecht, Collier, and Rebeau, 1993, p. 132). This threatening situation may cause many African American males to withdraw or become more talkative (Hecht, Collier, and Rebeau, 1993, p. 132), creating feelings of being powerless or invisible, resulting in the individuals becoming overly assertive or confrontational (Hecht, Collier, and Rebeau, 1993, pp. 136-137).

Due to the "dehumanizing treatment" (White-Hood, 1991, p.4) they receive in society, many African American males are often identified and/or labeled as feared by their peers, aggressive, and "stereotyped by body build, language, clothing, and mannerisms" (White-Hood, 1991, p.4). In schools, many of their social groups are called "herds" or "gangs" (White-Hood, 1991, p. 4). This study found that the African American male's silencing experiences, and therefore invisibility, had been perpetuated through a white, male-dominated patriarchy system.

Further it is postulated that some males have dissimilar school performance and are less visible than others in a stratified patriarchal system. In a review of the literature on African American students' school performance, Fordham (1993) determined that there was a gender-differentiated at all levels of the academy. Fordham (1993) further concluded that:

(1) America's patriarchal system is stratified, with some males having more power and privileges than other males in the patriarchy; and (2) African American females are doubly victimized by the existence of a two-tiered patriarchy. (Fordham, 1993, p. 5)

The two-tiered patriarchy may have caused an interesting phenomenon with the way African American males and females are viewed in America. African American females in early studies have been "portrayed as aggressive and domineering; males as submissive, docile, and nonproductive; and families as matriarchal and pathological in much of the research" (Bogel, 1973; Hyman & Reed, 1969; Jewell, 1985; Staples, 1971 in Irvine, 1993, p. 64).

Oddly enough some research indicates that the silencing of African American males may have been perpetuated with the assistance of African American females.

Researchers have also observed gender and race differences in other aspects of male/female relationships (Cazenave, 1983; M. Clark, 1985; Cromwell & Cromwell, 1978; Dejarnett & Raven, 1981; Ericksen, Yancey, & Ericksen, 1979;

Gray-Little, 1982; Mack, 1974; Peretti, 1976; Ransford & Miller, 1983; C. Robinson, 1983), implying that African American males are more negatively stereotyped by the females of their race and are more traditional about heterosexual, intimate relationships (particularly African American males who are middle class) than other race and gender groups. (Hecht, Collier, and Ribeau; 1993, p. 83)

The Self-Esteem and Self-concept Factor

How individuals feel about themselves and what they believe about themselves may be important factors in the way they experience silencing behaviors. This section will discuss the meaning and relationship of self-esteem and self-concept to attention and visibility.

Self-Esteem: its meaning and relationship to attention and visibility

According to Coopersmith (1967), self-esteem is a "personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself"

(p. 4-5). It is also:

an attitude of self-acceptance, self-approval, and self-respect. A feeling of self-worth is an important ingredient of mental health: a loss of self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness are common depressive symptoms. Having self-esteem means, being on good terms with one's superego. (Goldenson, 1984, p. 662)

Wolman (1989) defines self-esteem as

a positive attitude toward oneself and one's behavior. Quite often it is a lasting personal disposition, but self-evaluation may shift depending on one's environment. (p. 309)

Coopersmith's (1967) studies on self-esteem reveal that students with low self-esteem are convinced of their inferiority: they are fearful of social encounters; discouraged and depressed; and isolated, unloved, and incapable of expressing or defending themselves. They are "fearful of others; don't like being noticed or being the center of attention; are sensitive to criticism; feel self-conscious; and are preoccupied" (Coopersmith, 1967, p. 4).

Numerous other variables may contribute to the individual's self-esteem.

According to Wolman's (1989) definition of self-esteem, family support, personal security,

personal wealth, and the various roles played by each individual in different environments may all affect the individual's feelings of worth.

The individual's self-esteem influences the likelihood of their being invisible or not. Individuals with low self-esteem who are silenced will be more likely become invisible. They don't like being the center of attention and most likely will not resist silencing or defend themselves (Coopersmith, 1967). Individuals with low self-esteem don't see themselves as worthy of gaining attention and support (Goldenson, 1984). Individuals with high self-esteem tend to maintain their visibility by resisting those who would silence them. Because they believe that they are capable individuals, they are likely to place the responsibility for being silenced on the silencer rather than on themselves.

Self-Concept: its meaning and relationship to attention and visibility

Self-esteem and self-concept are closely related. While self-esteem relates to feelings about oneself, self-concept relates to thoughts about oneself. Fine (1967) defines self-concept as what "the person one thinks himself or herself to be, basing this view on the attitudes toward his or her own personality, body, characteristics, role in life, capabilities, potentialities, and opportunities" (p.151). Goldenson (1984) defines self-concept as "the individual's conception and evaluation of himself, including his values, abilities, goal, and personal worth" (p. 662).

According to Fine (1967), an individual's self concept is based on social interactions with others. If significant others think of an individual as invisible, the individual is likely to think of herself or himself as invisible since he or she uses other people to define self. Individuals with poor self-concepts do not gain the attention they need to maintain visibility in their own eyes or the eyes of significant others. Those individuals with poor self-concepts, by definition, do not know who they are, and are therefore, invisible to self and others.

A Synthesis of Theoretical Concepts

By using the concepts related to visibility outlined in the literature review, it is

possible to diagram the relationships among the concepts as indicated in Figure I.

Patriarchy is a system where males have dominance socially, culturally and economically over females and minorities. Females are generally assigned to more relationship oriented roles as followers. The class system in America is based on economic accumulation, status and power. African Americans have traditionally been placed in the lowest class due to the institution of slavery when they were contributing to the accumulation of wealth of their owners. The phenomenon of slavery rendered them without power, economic wealth and status. The class system influences the roles assigned to minorities. The interaction of the class system and patriarchy also influences the roles assigned to various racial-gender groups.

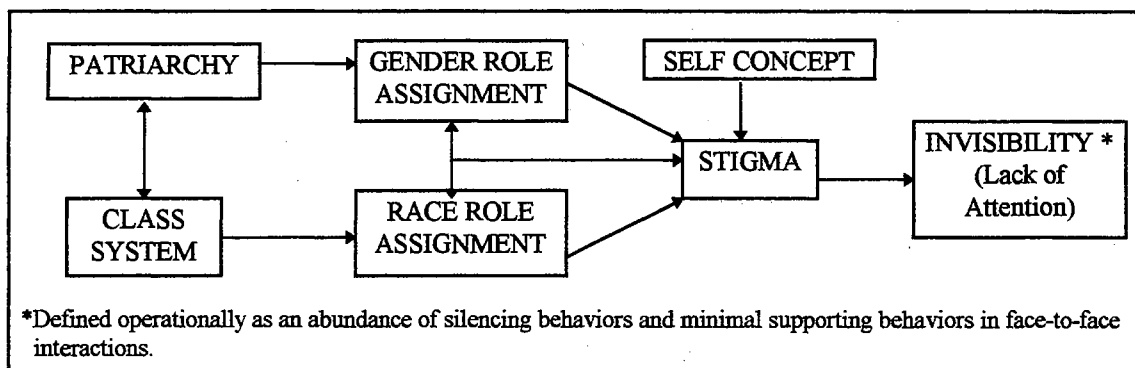


Figure I. A Synthesis of Theoretical Concepts

Since stigma is the difference between virtual social identity and actual social identity, members of various racial-gender groups who occupy roles in organizations which are not congruent with virtual social identity are said to be stigmatized. Colleges and universities are institutions which prepare students for professional and leadership roles. The affluent and powerful send their children to college. Women are often sent to college to meet and marry affluent males. Consequently, with this model it is possible to understand why females and minorities might have greater stigma in college settings than

other students. Those students who are stigmatized tend to receive little attention and often regard themselves as invisible. Stigma usually results in greater invisibility. Stigma, however, can also be moderated by the individual's self concept which can serve as a shield to protect people from the consequences of stigma. People with higher self-concepts who are stigmatized may be more visible than those stigmatized individuals with lower self-concepts.

Rationale and Hypotheses

Women are not empowered because of their assigned, subordinate roles in a patriarchal society. Studies indicate that females are silenced more frequently in classrooms than males. Furthermore, even though females performed better academically than their male counterparts, their elementary school teachers believed that the males were brighter than the females. Therefore, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that

H1: Levels of invisibility will be experienced differently by males and females.

Specifically, female students will experience lower levels of visibility than male students.

The relationship between racism and the lack of attention or invisibility in children begins at an early age. School integration and early assimilation policies ignore African American cultural differences and perpetuate cultural silencing and invisibility.

African American students receive less favorable attention than white children as they progress through school. African American students are socially isolated and become invisible. Furthermore, African American students are more likely to be in the lowest academic track, disciplined more, and judged inaccurately by teachers. Therefore, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that

H2: Levels of invisibility will be experienced differently by students of different races. Specifically, African American students will experience lower levels of visibility than white students.

Results of some research indicates that, gender and race interact to influence perceptions of visibility. For example, because of levels of patriarchy, African American males have less power than white males in integrated settings. This discrepancy in power results in African American males gaining less attention and experiencing more silencing and invisibility than their white counterparts.

Because African American females, experience the double stigma of blackness and femaleness, they may be aggressive in gaining visibility. Even though the visibility gained may be negative, they get sufficient attention to meet and avoid social extinction. Furthermore, African American females have gained some level of visibility because of historical and economic conditions which forced them to work outside the home.

White females, on the other hand, gain limited visibility by being a member of the dominant race, but at a marginal level, by being a member of a subordinate sex. In addition, because of cultural and economic conditions, white females have often not worked outside the home and have experienced less visibility than African American females. Consequently, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that

H3: Levels of invisibility will be experienced differently by white males, white females, African American males, and African American females.

Because of patriarchal conditions, males and females have different experiences, even though both genders exist side by side in the same culture. Females and minorities tend to become attention givers while Caucasian males are attention getters. Attention

givers who have a healthy sense of self, however, would more likely be dissatisfied with the status quo and attempt to gain sufficient attention to meet their needs. Those with less fully developed self-concepts in a sense are invisible to themselves and would be less likely to recognize their own needs for attention. Consequently, these individuals would be less likely to resist the status quo. It is hypothesized, therefore, that

H4: Self-concept will moderate the relationship between gender-racial stigma and visibility.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY
Chapter Overview

This chapter describes the procedures used to determine whether the contributions of gender and race of students, or the interchange between these variables, are contributing factors to perceptions of visibility. It describes the procedures used to determine whether self-concept moderates the relationship between visibility and stigma, as defined by gender and race of students. The organization of this chapter is as follows: (a) sample selection, (b) description of sample (c) instrumentation, (d) data collection procedures, and (e) statistical procedures.

Sample selection

This study includes a sample of 258 college freshmen from selected classes at three institutions of higher learning in Oklahoma: a comprehensive university, a regional historically Black college university (HBCU), and a state junior college. The three universities were chosen because each has a student population which provided the researcher with respondents of the needed race and gender and each was accessible to the researcher. College freshmen were selected as they first entered higher education institutions to determine levels of invisibility of college bound high school graduates between high school graduation and the first two weeks of their freshmen year.

It was determined that at least 210 subjects would be required to run the statistical procedures required by the study in a way that would stabilize the findings. According to Kerlinger & Pedhazur (1973), some researchers recommend a ratio of thirty subjects for each independent variable to control for shrinkage of the multiple correlation. Since the statistical procedure included seven independent variables, including main effects and

interaction terms, 210 subjects were needed.

At each institution, the researcher asked appropriate administrators for permission to survey students from freshmen orientation or freshmen only classes. Two of the universities contacted the researcher with three names of instructors and class times in which the surveys could be given. At the third university, the researcher knew a faculty member who contacted two other faculty members who taught freshmen classes. All faculty members contacted allowed the researcher to survey their classes.

All members of each targeted class participated in responding to the questionnaires in August of 1996 between the second and third weeks of the fall semester for each institution. Since the focus of this study was on Black/African Americans (non-Hispanic) and White/Caucasian (non-Hispanic) males and females, the data collected from these groups were the main focus of the analysis. Racial groups were identified as (1) White/Caucasian (non-Hispanic), (2) Black/African American(non-Hispanic), (3) American Indian/Native American/Alaskan native, (4) Hispanic, (5) Asian/Pacific Islander, and (5) other. Subjects were needed with equal distribution across subgroups and categories three, four, and five were collapsed to form one category of "other" minority.

Description of the sample

The comprehensive university had 2,479 freshmen enrolled with 1,236 male and 1,243 female students. The racial representation of these freshmen students was 83.5% White/Caucasian, 7% American Indian/Native American, 4% African American, 3% Alien Internationals, 1.5% Hispanic, and 1% Asian.

The HBCU had 1,576 freshmen enrolled with 631 male and 945 female students. The racial representation of the freshmen students was 83.8% African American, 12.2% White/Caucasian, 2% Alien Internationals, and less than 1% of Asian, Hispanic, and American Indian/Native Americans.

The state junior college had 5,716 freshmen enrolled with 2,344 male and 3,372 female students. The racial representation of the freshmen was 81% White/Caucasian, 8%

African American, 6% American Indian/Native American, 2% Hispanic, 2% Asian, and 1% Alien Internationals.

The questionnaires were administered the between the second and third weeks of the 1996 fall semester for each institution. A total of 258 students in 10 different classes answered the questionnaires. All members of each targeted class participated in responding to the questionnaires. The researcher administered the questionnaires to each class to assure test accuracy.

The demographic data information in Table I was obtained from the 258 respondents who completed the questionnaire. These freshmen students attended school at a comprehensive university, a regional historically Black college or university (HBCU), or a state junior college in Oklahoma.

TABLE I
Demographic Data Describing the Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Frequency Percent
<u>Institution</u>		
Comprehensive	76	29.5
HBCU	93	36.0
Junior College	89	34.5
Total	258	100.0
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	84	32.6
Female	174	67.4
Total	258	100.0
<u>Ethnic Groups</u>		
Caucasian	138	53.5
African American	97	37.6
Non-African American	23	8.9
Total	258	100.0

As can be verified in Table I, there were 76 respondents from the comprehensive university, 93 respondents from the historically Black college or university, and 89 respondents from the state junior college. Eighty-four respondents were male and 174 respondents were female. The ethnic groups consisted of 138 Caucasian respondents, 97 African American respondents, 23 Non-African American respondents.

The data in Table II indicate that freshmen respondents between the ages of 17 and 19 constituted 59.3 percent of the total group while freshmen respondents who were 20 to 21 years of age constituted 15.1 percent of the total group. Freshmen from 22 to 39 years of age constituted 22.6 percent of the total group. The remaining 2.2 percent ranged from 40 to 59 years of age. Most of the 22 year old and older freshmen respondents attended the state junior college.

TABLE II

Ages of the Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Frequency Percent
<u>Age</u>		
missing	2	.8
17 - 19	155	59.3
20 - 21	39	15.1
22 - 39	51	22.6
40 - 59	11	2.2
Total	258	100.0

Table III describes the gender and ethnicity of the 258 respondents. In this sample, there were 39 Caucasian males, 99 Caucasian females, 32 African American males, 65 African American females, 13 Non-African American minority males, and 10 Non-African American minority females.

TABLE III
Gender and Ethnicity of the 258 Respondents

Ethnic Groups	Males	Females
Caucasian	39	99
African American	32	65
Non-African American Minorities	13	10
Totals	84	174

Table IV describes the ethnicity of the 258 respondents at each of the institutions. There were 73 African Americans respondents at the HBCU, 10 African American respondents at the comprehensive university, and 14 African American respondents at the junior college. There were 6 Caucasian respondents at the HBCU, 80 Caucasian respondents at the comprehensive university, and 52 Caucasian respondents at the junior college. Of the remaining respondents participating in this study, 6 Non-African American minorities attended the HBCU, 9 Non-African American minorities attended the comprehensive university, and 8 Non-African American minorities attended the junior college.

TABLE IV
Ethnicity of The Respondents At Each Institution

	HBCU	Comprehensive University	Junior College
African Americans	73	10	14
Caucasians	6	80	52
Non-African American Minorities	6	9	8

A Transformation of the Sex-Race Term Due to Sample Distribution
and Concomitant Modification of Hypothesis Four

Because there were so few males, for example 39 Caucasians, 32 African Americans, 13 Non-African American minorities, it was necessary to modify one of the hypotheses and the way it was operationalized. According to Kerlinger and Pedhazar (1973), there should be at least 30 subjects for each independent variable. Since hypothesis four contained three independent variables (sex, race, and self-concept), at least 90 subjects would have been required in each cell.

To compensate for this situation, sex and race were combined in a way to form one variable. Derber's (1979) concept of gender and race were merged with Goffman's (1983) concept of stigma. Goffman (1983) suggests that stigma is the discrepancy between ideal and actual social identity which is discrediting. Since Derber (1979) suggests that females and members of lower socioeconomic groups are assigned attention getting roles in face-to-face situations, it was assumed that, in an educational setting where it is important for students to be able to capture the attention of their instructors and classmates, a discrepancy would likely exist between actual and social identities for women and minorities. Consequently, a white male was assigned a stigma score of two or one point for being a male and one point for being a Caucasian. Caucasian females were assigned a three, with two points for being a female and one point for being a Caucasian. African Americans were also assigned a three, with two points for being an African American and one point for being a male. African American females were assigned a four with two points for being a female and two points for being African American. The higher the score the greater the race-gender stigma. The hypothesis that was tested was that self-concept would modify the relationship between stigma and visibility.

Instrumentation

Two instruments were used to collect data, The Communication Profile Index (Arney & Barnes, 1997) and The Multidimensional Test of Self-Concept (MTS), Revised (Lathrop, 1987).

The Communication Profile Index (Arney & Barnes, 1997) is a Likert-style instrument that measures perceptions of being silenced, supported, and visible in formal organizations in face-to-face situations. The items on the instrument describe situations in which silencing or supporting behaviors occur. Respondents determine whether this scene occurs very frequently, frequently, occasionally, infrequently, or very infrequently. The Communication Profile Index consists of 38 items. A sample item for silencing is as follows:

When I speak in groups, I notice others beginning to have their own private conversations. This happens:

1. very frequently.
2. frequently
3. occasionally
4. infrequently
5. very infrequently (Arney & Barnes, 1997, p. 4)

A sample item for supporting is . . .

When I speak out in class, people react to my comments well.

1. very frequently.
2. frequently
3. occasionally
4. infrequently
5. very infrequently (Arney & Barnes, 1997, p. 4)

The level of visibility is determined by adding the silencing and supporting scores together so that higher levels of visibility occur when minimum silencing behaviors and maximum supporting behaviors are perceived.

The Communication Profile Index was piloted with a sample of 269 individuals who represented different genders, races, educational levels and occupations. Sixty

percent of the sample was female and forty percent male. The racial representation of the sample was 66% White/Caucasian, 22% African American, 7% Native American, 2% Hispanic, and approximately 2% other or nonresponsive respondents (Arney & Barnes, 1997). Racial groups were identified as (1) White/Caucasian (non-Hispanic), (2) Black/African American (non-Hispanic), (3) American Indian/Native American/Alaskan native, (4) Hispanic, (5) Asian/Pacific Islander, and (5) other.

The educational background of the respondents ranged from 1.9% with less than high school or G.E.D.; 20.5% high school graduates; 34.7% with some college or post high school; 24.6% with Bachelors degrees; 8.6% with Masters degrees; 7.5% with hours beyond masters; 1.5% with Doctorate or professional; and 0.7% nonresponsive (Arney & Barnes, 1997). According to Arney & Barnes (1997), respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 69 with a median age of 36.

The occupational status of the respondents was 8.2% full time student only; 53.7% employed full time only; 16% employed full time and part time student; 11.9% full time student with part time employment; 1.9% retired; 4.1% unemployed; 2.6% other; and 1.8% nonresponsive respondents (Arney & Barnes, 1997). Basing their findings on the 1980 U.S. Census Occupational Codes (Miller, 1991), Arney & Barnes (1997) concluded that 47% of the respondents were professional, technical, and kindred workers. Sixteen percent were managers and/or administrators. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents were sales persons; clerical, craftsmen, kindred workers; operatives, drivers, nonfarm laborers; nonhousehold service; and private households workers.

A factor analysis of the 38 item instrument identified four factor scales which were labeled support, silence, low-profile, and high-profile. The Support scale contained 14 items which measured the individual's perception of receiving support when speaking. The Silence scale contained 11 items which measured the individual's perceptions of being silenced by others. The "low profile" scale, consisting of 4 items, measured "a rather quiet means of getting attention" (Arney & Barnes, 1997, p. 5). The

"high profile" scale contained 6 items "and reflected more extroverted attention-getting behaviors" (Arney & Barnes, 1997, p. 5).

According to Arney & Barnes (1997), "the Support and Silencing scales have acceptably high internal consistency reliability with coefficient alphas of .88 and .84 for the two scales, respectively" (p.6). The Low-profile scale had an unacceptably low reliability with a coefficient of .48 and the High-profile scale also had low reliability with a coefficient of .58. Arney & Barnes (1997) concluded that both the Low-profile and the High-profile scales were "not sufficiently well-developed for use as a research tool" and, therefore, were not used in this study (p. 6).

A high score on the Support scale indicates high visibility resulting from perceptions of comfort in face-to-face situations in formal hierarchical settings. A high score on the Silencing scale means that individuals perceive minimum silencing experiences and concentrated levels of visibility. According to Arney & Barnes (1997), the Support scale "had a mean of 51.49 with a standard deviation of 8.24" (p. 6). The Silencing scale "had a mean of 40.91 and standard deviation of 6.35" (Arney & Barnes, 1997, p. 6).

The Pearson correlation between summative scores on the Support and Silencing scales was .48. The correlation corrected for attenuation due to unreliability is .56. Thus, although the two scales share approximately 32% (corrected) of their variance, they appear to represent unique constructs. (Arney and Barnes, 1996, p.6)

Arney & Barnes (1997) compared the Support and Silence scores for two groups of individuals, one group being described as invisible and the other group being described as visible. Graduate students who wished to use this instrument in their research nominated people whom they considered visible or invisible based on whether the nominees were taken seriously when speaking in groups or were not taken seriously when speaking in groups. The nominees, unaware of the high and low designated labels, were

asked to respond to items on the questionnaires. The visible and invisible groups each had 18 respondents. The mean Support score for the designated Invisible group was 46.44 compared to 57.11 for members of the Visible group. The mean Silence score for members of the Invisible group was 39.89 compared to 44.44 for the Visible group (Arney & Barnes, 1997). "Results of univariate t-tests showed the differences to be statistically significant [Comfort $t(34) = 3.70, p < .001$; Silence $t(34) = 2.06, p < .05$]" (Arney & Barnes, 1996, p. 7).

Although the pilot study did not combine the Silencing and Support scale to yield a visibility index, in a subsequent study conducted by Wright (1996) a visibility index was computed. In that study Wright (1996) reports a reliability score of .90 for support, .90 for silencing and a .92 for the visibility index. Higher scores indicate higher levels of visibility. In this study, the reliability coefficient alpha for visibility was .77. The coefficient alphas for silencing were .85 and .51 for supporting behaviors.

The Multidimensional Test of Self-Concept (MTS), Revised (Lathrop, 1987) was used to measure the self-concept (S-C) of students. The test developer wanted to test how students felt about themselves and what they believed to be true about themselves. This measure is a "semantic differential measure of self-concept as the discrepancy between the current state of the individual, or real self-concept, versus the state of well-being or self-concept that the individual would desire, the ideal self" (Lathrop, 1987, p. A-13). The researcher believed that "self-concept is a multidimensional construct and should be measured as such" (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-7).

The MTS (Lathrop, 1987) was developed by administering the 36 items from the Counselor Rating Form (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975) to 150 students at California State

University, Chico. The initial item screening and a factor analysis indicated that the 36 items should be reduced to 18. The factors were named sociability (S), competence (C), and dependability (D). A revised test was suggested and piloted with a 329 individuals in Chico, Ca. (Lathrop, 1987). According to Lathrop (1987), the gender of the subjects was equal, the age range was from 14 to 73, and the occupations covered students, professionals, and retired persons.

The MTS test consists of three scales which measure "sociability, competence, and dependability" (Lathrop, 1987, p.A-3). This Likert-style scale is scored with a seven point range. "The reliability was assessed as generalizability, split half, and test-retest" (Lathrop, 1987, p. A-3). According to Lathrop (1987), "the internal consistency coefficients ranged from .72 - .84 across the scales" (p. A-3).

Lathrop (1987) found no significant difference in self-concept between males and females. The second variable was "Age Group based on approximately equal 1/3rds [one-thirds] of the population being classified into each group" (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-1). There was a "slightly higher (but significant) Dependability score for the oldest age group . . ." reported (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-1).

The reliability of the MTS sociability, competence, and dependability scales were analyzed separately and yielded the following Generalizability (G) coefficients (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-2):

<u>Scale</u>	<u>G</u>
Sociability	0.863
Competence	0.781
Dependability	0.827

The results of the internal consistency (Alpha) scales were (Lathrop, 1987, p.B-3):

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Alpha</u>
Sociability	0.843
Competence	0.728
Dependability	0.789

The results of the test-retest analysis for each sub-scale, discrepancy score, and total self-concept were (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-3):

<u>Scale</u>	<u>"Are"</u>	<u>"Like"</u>
Sociability	0.660	0.740
Competence	0.714	0.582
Dependability	0.688	0.695
S Discrepancy	0.436	
C Discrepancy	0.543	
D Discrepancy	0.583	
Total S-C	0.572	(self-concept)

However, because of the 3 month delay in re-testing, lower values were expected and Lathrop (1987) concluded that "people do change over time" (p. B-3).

According to Lathrop (1987), a factor analysis using Lisrel V was conducted to analyze the structure. Items S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, and S6 were loaded on one factor with C items and D items loaded on a second and third factor, respectively. "The intercorrelated between factors was left free to vary in accordance with the theory that since all of these factors were measuring some aspect of overall self-concept, some common content should be present" (p. B-4).

In this study on the Multidimensional Test of Self-Concept, the reliability coefficient alpha for total self-concept was a .64. The reliability coefficient alphas for the subscales of sociability were .79, for competency a .83, and for dependability a .78.

According to Lathrop (1987), this "indicated an overall goodness-of-fit index of 0.80 and a chi-square/d.f ratio of 2.52" (p.B-4). "Since the goodness-of-fit index was lower than 0.90, the standardized solution for the factor structure (lambda y) was searched for modifications that should be made" (p. B-4).

Since item D6 (genuine-phony) yielded the smallest standardized value (0.412), the normalized residuals were searched with this item specifically noted. Of the 153 residuals, 19 had values greater than /2.0/ and 11 of these were associated with the D factor. Five of these 11 significant residuals were due to item D6. Further, 7 of the high modification indices in theta epsilon (above 5.0) were associated with this item. Accordingly, this item was revised to read "Faithful-Disloyal" (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-4).

Lathrop (1987) concluded "that the various aspects of self-concept are not totally independent - implying that it is quite reasonable to talk about the overall self-concept of an individual" (p. B-4).

Studies to test the validity of the MTS were conducted to see if the "basic construct had general applicability to current research topics in the area of psychology" (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-5). Hudson's (1988), Precursors of Academic Self-concept was the first study of construct validity of the MTS. Hudson (1988) utilized a path analysis study. A full model was furnished containing "all 6 scales of the MTS (S, C, D x Are - Like to be) with two scales from the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale as precursor to a measure of Academic Self-Concept" (from Lathrop, 1987, p.B-5). Consequently, a reduced model was produced after non-significant paths were eliminated.

The coefficient of multiple correlation (R) was reported with a value of 0.23. Based on Hudson's (1988) study, Lathrop (1988) concluded that " high Academic Self-concept is positively related to high "Competence - As You Really Are", high "Sociability - As You Really Are" and high "Cömpetence - As You Would Like to Be" (p. B-5). Lathrop (1988) therefore, concluded that studies on self-concept should use a multidimensional measure of self-concept.

The second study to test the validity of the MTS was Lathrop's (1988), Co-pair ratings of self-concept which analyzed bias in co-pair ratings of self-concept. Subjects living together were classified as intimate or platonic and "rated their own self-concept on the MTS, rated their "room-mate" on the "Likeability", and estimated their "room-mate"'s self-concept on the MTYS [sic]" (Lathrop, 1987, p. B-6). On the MTS Likeability scale,

no bias on the Intimate co-pair rating was reported, but the Platonic ratings were significantly affected (Lathrop, 1987). Consequently, Lathrop (1988) concluded "that bias should be low where self-knowledge is high and vice versa" (p. B-6).

It would seem that, with this measurement, more than the traditional notion of self-concept is being measured. The test developer believes that the multidimensional concept of self-concept as operationalized with the MTS (Lathrop, 1987), denotes both the thinking and feeling aspects of self-concept. Concurring with Lathrop's (1987) conclusion "that the various aspects of self-concept are not totally independent," it is reasonable to believe that for the purpose of this study, in using this instrument, self-concept seems to be measuring both thinking and feeling dimensions or a blend of the traditional self-concept and self-esteem (p. B-4).

Data Collection Procedures

The appropriate permission was granted from each institution's administrators to survey students from freshmen orientation or freshmen only classes. Two of the universities contacted the researcher with three names of instructors and class times in which the surveys could be given. At the third university, the researcher knew a faculty member who contacted two other faculty members who taught freshmen classes. All faculty members contacted allowed the researcher to survey their classes.

The researcher administered both the Communication Profile Index (Arney & Barnes, 1994) and the Multidimensional Test of Self-Concept (Lathrop, 1987) to students at three higher educational settings in August of 1996 to ensure consistency in administration and avoid instructor influence. Students were instructed to omit their names on the questionnaire. The surveys were color coded in order to identify each of the universities. The only identifying marks on the surveys were the initials of the instructors who wished to receive the results of their class surveys. Data were entered and scored using computer assistance.

Statistical Procedures

Descriptive and inferential statistical procedures were employed for the analysis of data relative to the descriptive information for the sample and relative to each of the four hypotheses considered in the study.

Descriptive procedures included frequency distributions and descriptive statistics for the demographic data collected regarding the sample. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for all of the subscales of the instruments were also generated to provide descriptive information regarding the instrumentation used in the study.

Inferential statistical procedures used for testing the four hypotheses included a two-way ANOVA for main and interaction effects of race and gender and a regression analysis of the moderating effects of self-concept on the relationship between stigma and visibility.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This research was designed to test the theoretical proposition that attention, defined as visibility, is inequitably distributed along gender and racial lines in an educational context. It addressed the question of whether the variables of gender and race contribute interactively to students' perceptions of visibility. Finally, it was designed to determine the nature of the relationship between stigma, as gender-race, and visibility when self-concept moderates it. Four hypotheses were formulated and tested using analysis of variance and multiple regression procedures. Each of these hypothesis and the results will be reported in the sections which follow.

Results of Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis I:

Levels of invisibility will be experienced differently by males and females. Specifically, female students will experience lower levels of visibility than male students.

According to the results displayed in Table V, this hypothesis was not confirmed. There is no significant difference ($p = .75$) in levels of visibility for male and female students.

Additional ANOVAS were run to determine the gender differences in levels of silencing and support. According to Table V, there was also no significant differences between males and females in their perceptions of silencing ($p = .28$) or supporting behaviors ($p = .15$).

Although the basic proposition in Derber's (1979) theory was not confirmed, there are parts of his theory that might explain why males and females in this study were equally

visible. Derber (1979) contends that personality traits, such as aggression, animation, shyness or insecurity, can influence individuals' invisibility. For example, more assertative, aggressive, animated or more secure individuals would likely be visible regardless of gender. Furthermore, Derber (1979) suggest that education is usually associated with the dominant class as the means for self development and increases their rights for attention. Education is a symbol of self-development, a measure of worth, and related to ability; all of these factors might shape an individual's status and visibility (Derber, 1979). Since all of the students in this sample were pursuing an education and since the design of the study did not control for personality differences, it may be premature to suggest that Derber's theory was lacking.

Hypothesis II:

Levels of invisibility will be experienced differently by students of different races.

Specifically, African American students and other minority groups will experience lower levels of visibility than white students.

According to the results displayed in Table V, this hypothesis was not confirmed. There is no significant differences ($p = .18$) in levels of visibility for White/Caucasian students, Black/African American students, and Non-African American minority students. In addition, no significant differences were found between ethnic groups with regard to silencing ($p = .37$) and support ($p = .20$).

As stated earlier, the basic proposition of Derber's theory is not confirmed, but the student's personality differences and educational status may explain why hypothesis II was not confirmed. These factors may have influenced the outcomes because of the various personality differences of the African American students and the fact that these freshmen students have experienced educational success and are gaining educational status.

TABLE V
Results of Two-way ANOVA by Race and Gender

<u>HIERARCHICAL sums of squares</u> <u>Covariates entered FIRST</u>					
<u>VISIBILITY</u>					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig of F
Main Effects	632.974	3	210.991	1.188	.315
Gender	18.415	1	18.415	.104	.748
Race	613.837	2	306.918	1.728	.180
Gender Race Interaction	66.606	2	33.303	.187	.829
Explained	699.581	5	139.916	.788	.559
Residual	44057.128	248	177.650		
Total	44756.709	253	176.904		
<u>SILENCE</u>					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig of F
Main Effects	155.731	3	51.950	1.019	.385
Gender	60.548	1	60.548	1.189	.277
Race	102.412	2	51.206	1.005	.367
Gender Race Interaction	59.793	2	29.897	.587	.557
Explained	215.525	5	43.105	.846	.518
Residual	12681.746	249	50.931		
Total	12897.271	254	50.777		
<u>SUPPORT</u>					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig of F
Main Effects	371.389	3	123.796	1.729	.162
Gender	147.097	1	147.097	2.054	.153
Race	229.209	2	114.605	1.600	.204
Gender Race Interaction	126.613	2	63.306	.884	.414
Explained	498.002	5	99.600	1.391	.228
Residual	17974.901	251	71.613		
Total	18472.903	256	72.160		

Hypothesis III:

Levels of invisibility will be experienced differently by white males, white females, African American males, and African American females, non-African American males, and non-African American females.

This hypothesis was not confirmed. A two-way ANOVA procedure was performed to determine the difference in visibility levels for various gender-ethnicity groups. According to Table V, there were no significant differences in levels of visibility ($p = .83$), silencing ($p = .56$), and support ($p = .41$).

Personality differences and educational status (Derber, 1979) may also explain why hypothesis III was not confirmed as discussed in the previous section. Perhaps college students are more assertive and secure because of the confidence they gain in high school as scholars and leaders. These personality traits would then tend to minimize the effects of gender and race in a university setting.

Hypothesis IV:

Self-concept will interact with stigma, as gender and race, to moderate its relationship with visibility.

This hypothesis was confirmed. According to the results displayed in Tables VI, VII, and VIII, self-concept as dependability ($p = .00$), competency ($p = .00$), and sociability ($p = .00$) moderates the relationship between stigma and visibility. According to the results displayed in Table IX, self-concept as the total did not moderate the stigma - visibility relationship ($p = .69$).

Derber's (1979) and Goffman's (1963) theories do not provide a historical context that explains why self concept acts as a shield for some groups but not other groups. Self concept as dependability, competency, and sociability protects some groups better than other groups, but total self-concept didn't protect any one group more than the other.

TABLE VI

Results of Forward Regression for Visibility with Self-Concept as Dependability

<u>DEPENDABILITY</u>					
Multiple R	.33093				
R Squared	.10952				
Adjusted R Squared	.10592				
Standard Error	12.66096				
Analysis of Variance					
	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		
Regression	1	4889.15447	4889.15447		
Residual	248	39754.34953	160.29980		
F =	30.50007	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.002798	5.0656E-04	-.330931	-5.523	.0000
(constant)	92.339659	1.033863		89.315	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Stigma	.085689	.090207	.986868	1.424	.1558
Dep	-.060981	-.050269	.605125	-.791	.4297

TABLE VII

Results of Forward Regression for Visibility with Self-Concept as Competency

<u>COMPETENCY</u>					
Multiple R		.33093			
R Squared		.10952			
Adjusted R Squared		.10592			
Standard Error		12.66096			
Analysis of Variance					
		DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	
Regression		1	4889.15447	4889.15447	
Residual		248	39754.34953	160.29980	
F =	30.50007	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.002798	5.0656E-04	-.330931	-5.523	.0000
(constant)	92.339659	1.033863		89.315	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Stigma	.085689	.090207	.986868	1.424	.1558
Com	-.075931	.057770	.515443	.909	.3640

TABLE VIII

Results of Forward Regression for Visibility with Self-Concept as Sociability

SOCIABILITY

Multiple R	.33093
R Squared	.10952
Adjusted R Squared	.10592
Standard Error	12.66096

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	4889.15447	4889.15447
Residual	248	39754.34953	160.29980

F = 30.50007 Signif F = .0000

Variable	B	Variables in the Equation		T	Sig T
		SE B	Beta		
INTERACT	-.002798	5.0656E-04	-.330931	-5.523	.0000
(constant)	92.339659	1.033863		89.315	.0000

Variable	Beta In	Variables not in the Equation		T	Sig T
		Partial	Min Toler		
Stigma	.085689	.090207	.986868	1.424	.1558
Soc	.110688	.084462	.518495	1.332	.1840

TABLE IX

Results of Forward Regression for the Total Self-Concept

<u>TOTAL SELF-CONCEPT</u>					
Multiple R		.33404			
R Squared		.11158			
Adjusted R Squared		.10800			
Standard Error		12.64626			
Analysis of Variance					
		DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	
Regression		1	4981.40379	4981.40379	
Residual		248	39662.10021	159.92782	
F =	31.14782	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
SELFCON	-.012159	.00217	-.334039	-5.581	.0000
(constant)	92.457158	1.042201		88.713	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.106439	-.025139	.049558	-.395	.6930
STIGMA	.032853	.034825	.998282	.548	.5844

According to the graph in Figure 2, low stigma and high stigma members report dramatically higher levels of visibility as their self-concept become more positive than their mid-stigma counterparts. Mid-stigma group members report somewhat higher levels of visibility as their self-concepts become more positive, but the difference is not as great as for lower and higher stigma groups. Derber's and Coffman's theory were more effective in describing visibility levels of low and high stigma groups than mid stigma groups.

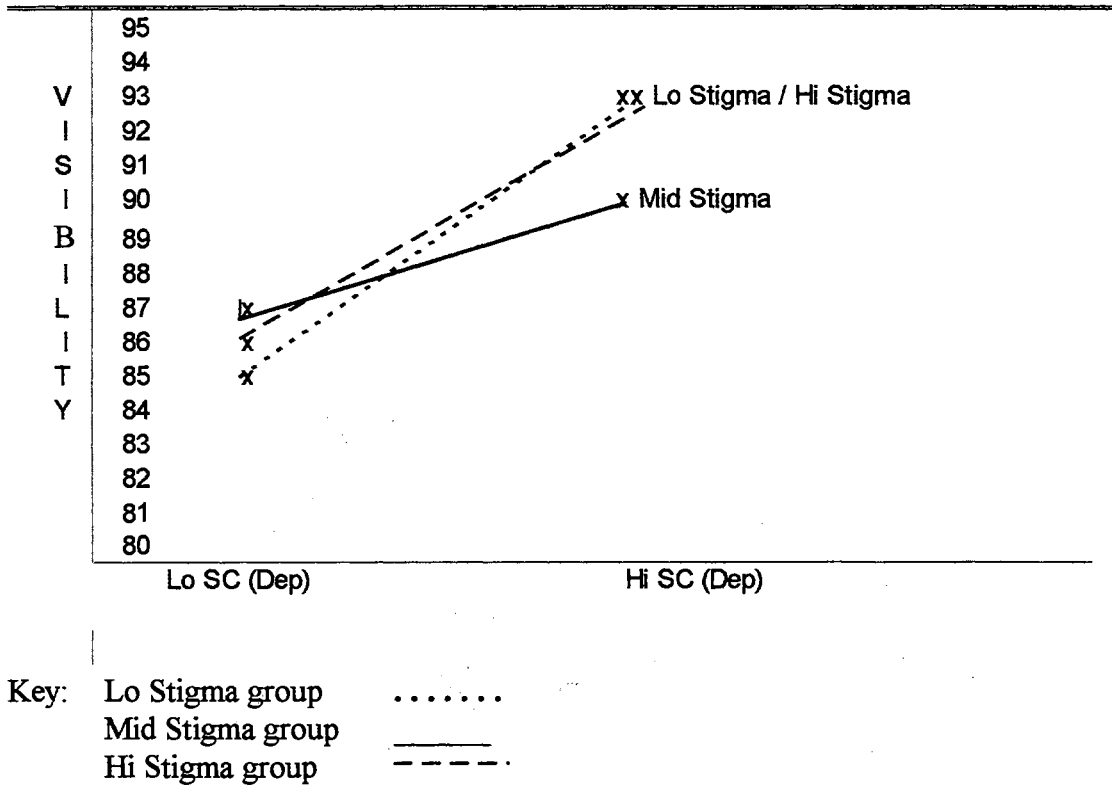


Figure 2. Visibility for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Dependability

According to the graph in Figure 3, the high stigma group members show dramatic increases in visibility as their self-concepts become more positive. Although there is an increase in levels of visibility for mid-stigma and low stigma members as their self-concepts become more positive, the increase is more gradual. Derber's and Goffman's theories were more effective in describing visibility levels of high stigma groups than mid and low stigma groups.

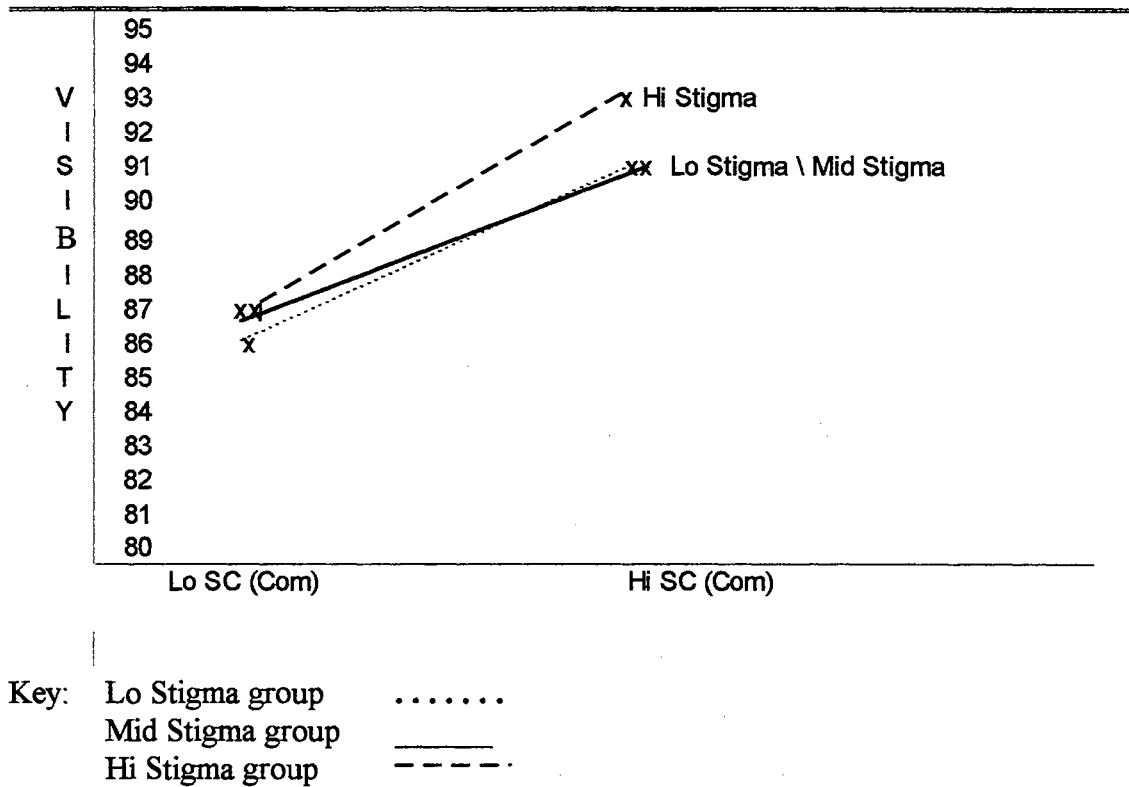


Figure 3. Visibility for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Competency

According to the results reported in Figure 4, high stigma members experienced a dramatic increase in visibility as their self-concepts became more positive. More similar were the patterns for the low and mid stigma groups members. For them, there was a more gradual increase in visibility as self-concepts improved until midway between positive and negative self-concepts when the low stigma members' visibility dramatically increased. Derber's and Goffman's theories were more effective in describing visibility levels of high stigma groups than mid and low stigma groups.

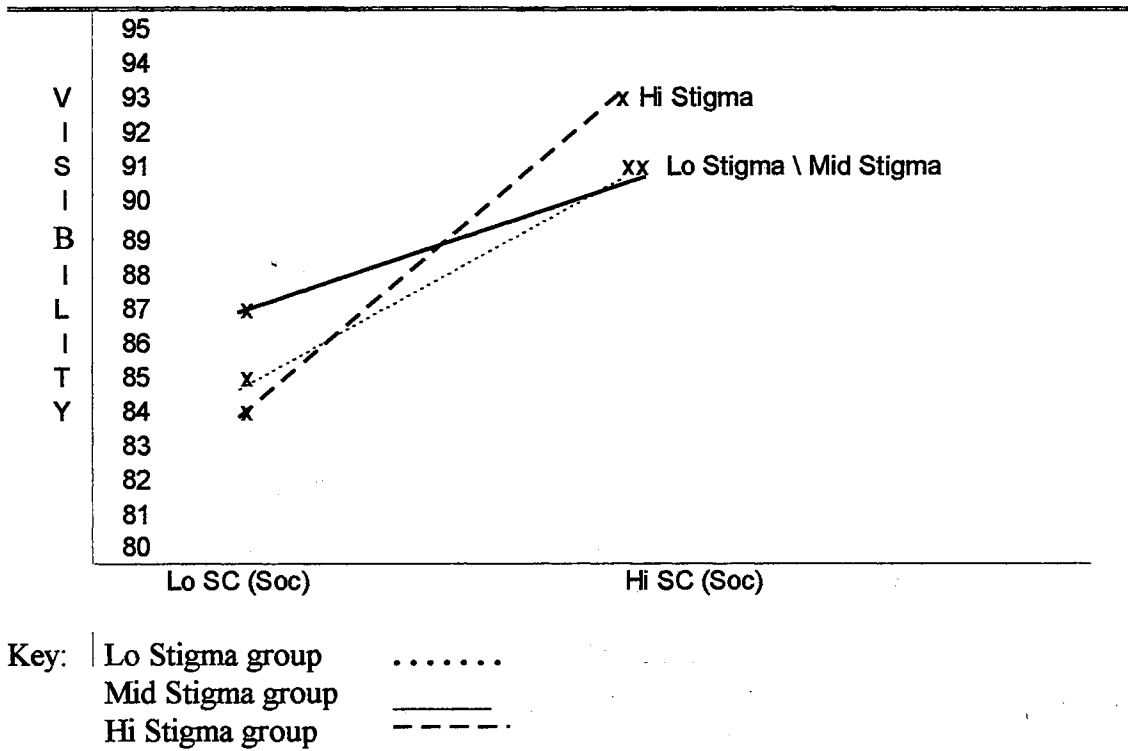


Figure 4. Visibility for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self- concept as Sociability

Although not hypothesized, it is interesting to note that self-concept as dependability (see Table X), competency (see Table XI), and sociability (see Table XII) moderates the relationships between stigma and silencing behaviors. According to the results displayed in Table XIII, self-concept as the total did not moderate the stigma - silencing relationship.

TABLE X

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Dependability for Silencing

<u>DEPENDABILITY</u>					
Multiple R	.26305				
R Squared	.06919				
Adjusted R Squared	.06546				
Standard Error	6.89217				
Analysis of Variance					
	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		
Regression	1	879.27685	879.27685		
Residual	249	1182.00601	47.50203		
F = 18.51030	Signif F = .0000				
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.001185	2.7539E-04	-.263049	-4.302	.0000
(constant)	43.141054	.560935		76.909	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.136402	.140436	.986673	2.234	.0264
DEP	-.104377	-.084054	.603625	-1.328	.1853

TABLE XI

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Competency for Silencing

<u>COMPETENCY</u>					
Multiple R	.26305				
R Squared	.06919				
Adjusted R Squared	.06546				
Standard Error	6.89217				
Analysis of Variance					
	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		
Regression	1	879.27685	879.27685		
Residual	249	1182.00601	47.50203		
F =	18.51030	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.001185	2.7539E-04	-.263049	-4.302	.0000
(constant)	43.141054	.560935		76.909	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.136402	.140436	.986673	2.234	.0264
COM	-.060615	-.045048	.514112	-.710	.4783

TABLE XII

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Sociability for Silencing

<u>SOCIABILITY</u>					
Multiple R		.26305			
R Squared		.06919			
Adjusted R Squared		.06546			
Standard Error		6.89217			
Analysis of Variance					
		DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	
Regression		1	879.27685	879.27685	
Residual		249	1182.00601	47.50203	
F =	18.51030	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.001185	2.7539E-04	-.263049	-4.302	.0000
(constant)	43.141054	.560935		76.909	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.136402	.140436	.986673	2.234	.0264
SOC	.042838	.140436	.517154	.503	.0264

TABLE XIII

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Total Self-Concept for Silencing

<u>TOTAL SELF-CONCEPT</u>					
Multiple R	.27692				
R Squared	.07669				
Adjusted R Squared	.07298				
Standard Error	6.86438				
Analysis of Variance					
	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		
Regression	1	974.47334	974.47334		
Residual	249	11732.80952	47.11972		
F =	20.68080	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
SELFCON	-.005370	.001181	-.276923	-4.548	.0000
(constant)	43.258056	.563795		76.727	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.093200	.096914	.998373	1.533	.1264
INTERACT	.140476	.032502	.049427	.512	.6090

According to the graph in Figures 5, low stigma and high stigma group members with positive self-concepts report lower levels of silencing than their counterparts with less positive self-concepts. For members of the mid stigma group, silencing levels are not influenced by self-concept; silencing levels are similar whether self-concepts are positive or negative. Derber's and Coffman's theory were more effective in describing silencing levels of low and high stigma groups than mid stigma groups.

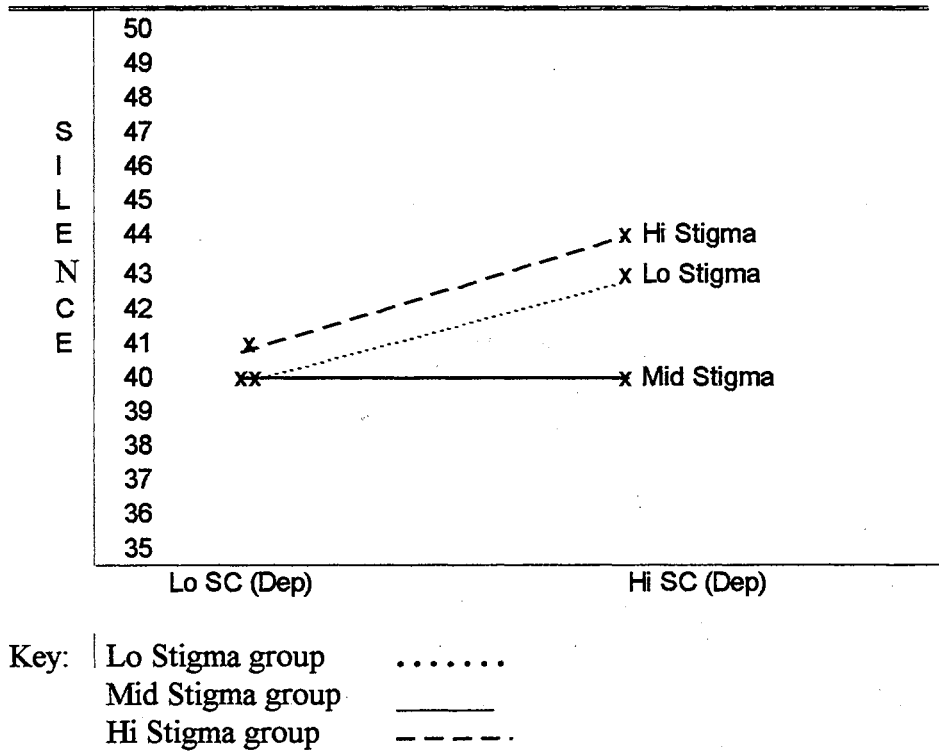


Figure 5. Silence for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Dependency

According to the graph in Figure 6, for the high and mid stigma groups, silencing decreases only slightly with higher self-concepts. The low stigma group with more positive self-concepts, experience somewhat less silencing. Derber's and Goffman's theories were more effective in describing silencing levels of low stigma groups than high and mid stigma groups.

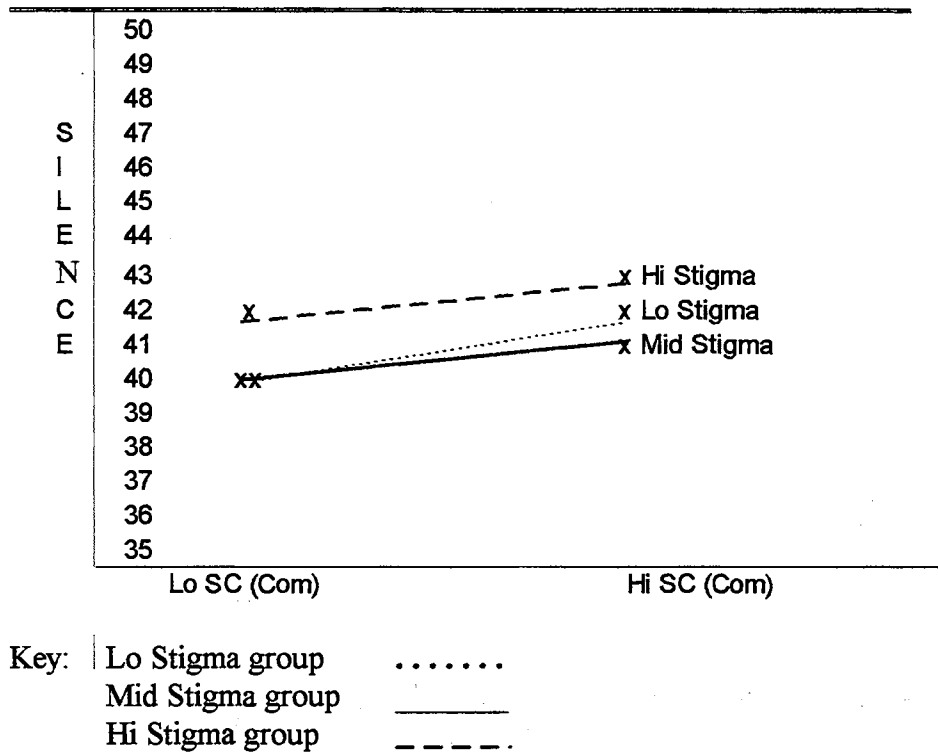


Figure 6. Silence for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Competency

According to the graph in Figure 7, for the high and low stigma groups, silencing decreases steadily as self-concepts become more positive. For the mid stigma group, however, self-concept does not influence levels of silencing; silencing levels are similar whether self-concepts are positive or negative. Derber's and Coffman's theory were more effective in describing silencing levels of low and high stigma groups than mid stigma groups.

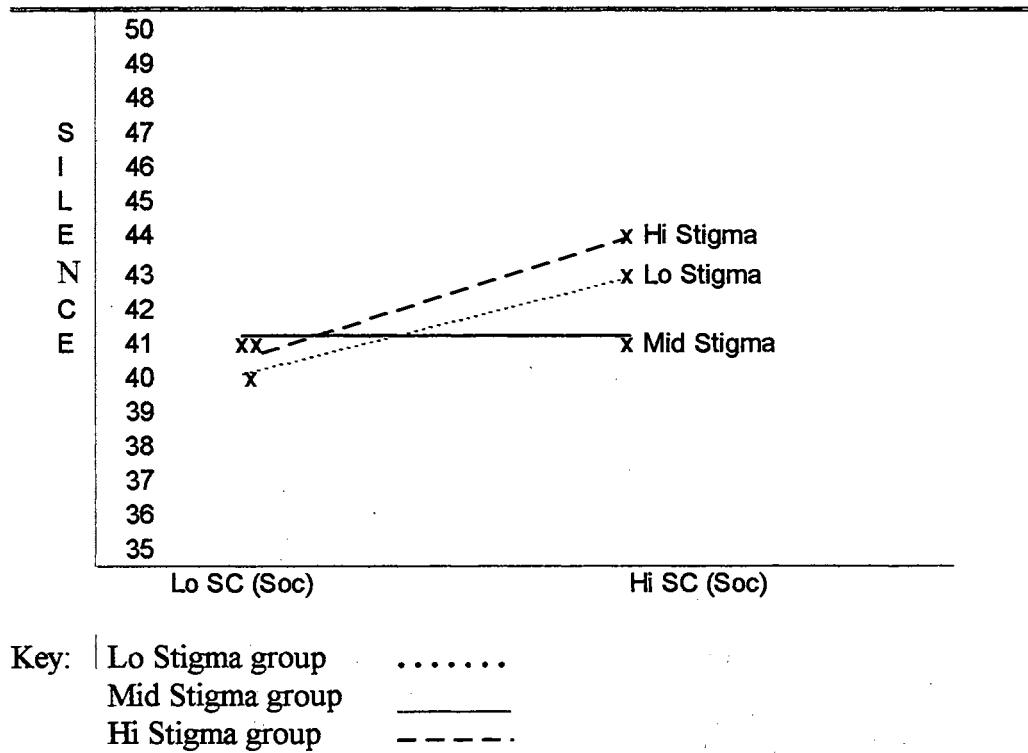


Figure 7. Silence for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Sociability

Although not hypothesized, it is interesting to note, self-concept as total, dependability, competency, and sociability moderates the relationship between stigma and support (see tables XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII).

TABLE XIV

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Dependability for Support

<u>DEPENDABILITY</u>					
Multiple R		.29290			
R Squared		.08579			
Adjusted R Squared		.08213			
Standard Error		8.19760			
Analysis of Variance					
		DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	
Regression		1	1576.54475	1576.54475	
Residual		250	16800.16954	67.20068	
F =	23.46025	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.001585	3.2733E-04	-.292900	-4.844	.0000
(constant)	49.104207	.665436		73.793	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.10217543	.022587	.986525	.357	.7218
DEP	-.010934	-.008886	.603723	-.140	.8886

TABLE XV

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Competency for Support

COMPETENCY

Multiple R	.29290
R Squared	.08579
Adjusted R Squared	.08213
Standard Error	8.19760

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	1576.54475	1576.54475
Residual	250	16800.16954	67.20068

F = 23.46025 Signif F = .0000

Variable	B	Variables in the Equation		T	Sig T
		SE B	Beta		
INTERACT	-.001585	3.233E-04	-.292900	-4.844	.0000
(constant)	49.104207	.665436		73.793	.0000

Variable	Beta In	Variables not in the Equation		T	Sig T
		Partial	Min Toler		
STIGMA	.021743	.022587	.986525	.357	.7218
COM	-.165841	-.124398	.514382	1.978	.0490

TABLE XVI

Results of Forward Regression for Self-Concept as Sociability for Support

<u>SOCIABILITY</u>					
Multiple R		.29290			
R Squared		.08579			
Adjusted R Squared		.08213			
Standard Error		8.19760			
Analysis of Variance					
		DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	
Regression		1	1576.54475	1576.54475	
Residual		250	16800.16954	67.20068	
F =	23.46025	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.001585	3.2733E-04	-.292900	-4.844	.0000
(constant)	49.104207	.665436		73.793	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.021743	.022587	.986525	.357	.7218
SOC	.130525	.098103	.516444	1.556	.1211

TABLE XVII

Results of Forward Regression for Total Self-Concept for Support

<u>TOTAL SELF-CONCEPT</u>					
Multiple R	.29290				
R Squared	.08579				
Adjusted R Squared	.08213				
Standard Error	8.19760				
Analysis of Variance					
	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		
Regression	1	1576.54475	1576.54475		
Residual	250	16800.16954	67.20068		
F =	23.46025	Signif F =	.0000		
Variables in the Equation					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INTERACT	-.001585	3.2733E-04	-.292900	-4.844	.0000
(constant)	49.104207	.665436		73.793	.0000
Variables not in the Equation					
Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
STIGMA	.021743	.022587	.986525	.357	.7218
SELFCON	-.010685	-.002483	.049362	-.039	.9688

According to the graph in Figure 8, low stigma and high stigma group members with positive self-concepts report higher levels of support than their counterparts with less positive self-concepts. For members of the mid stigma group, visibility levels are not as greatly influenced by self-concepts as for members of the low and high stigma group. Derber's and Goffman's theories were more effective in describing support levels of low and high stigma groups than mid stigma groups.

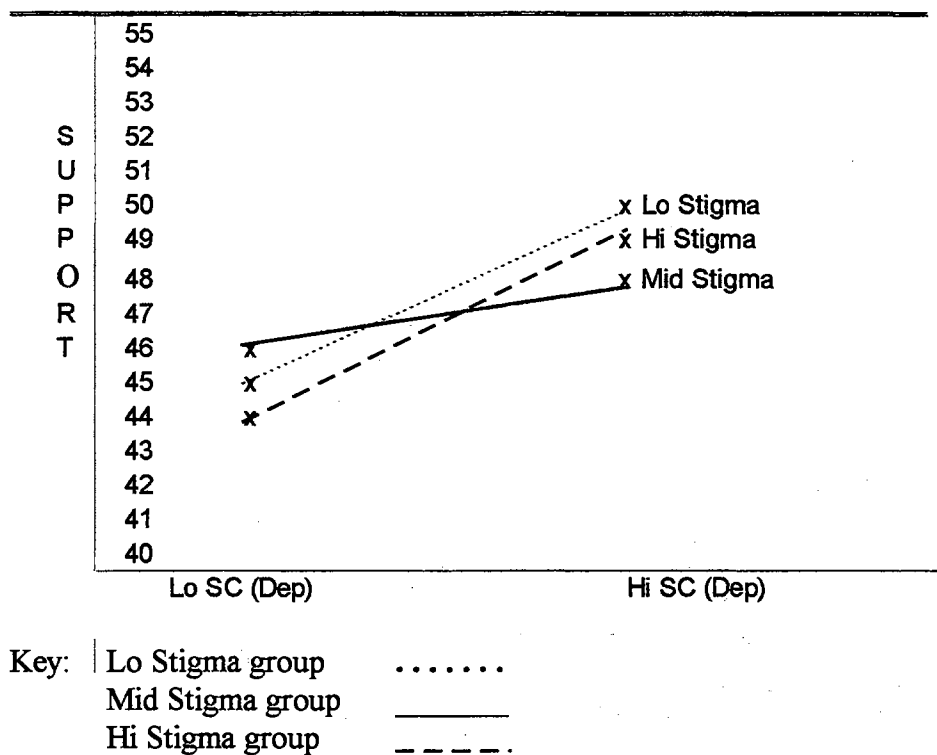


Figure 8. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Dependency

According to the graph in Figure 9, members of the high stigma group experienced dramatic increases in visibility as self-concepts becomes more positive. Members of the low stigma and mid-stigma groups experienced more gradual increases in visibility as self-concept increases. Derber's and Goffman's theories were more effective in describing support levels of high stigma groups than mid and low stigma groups.

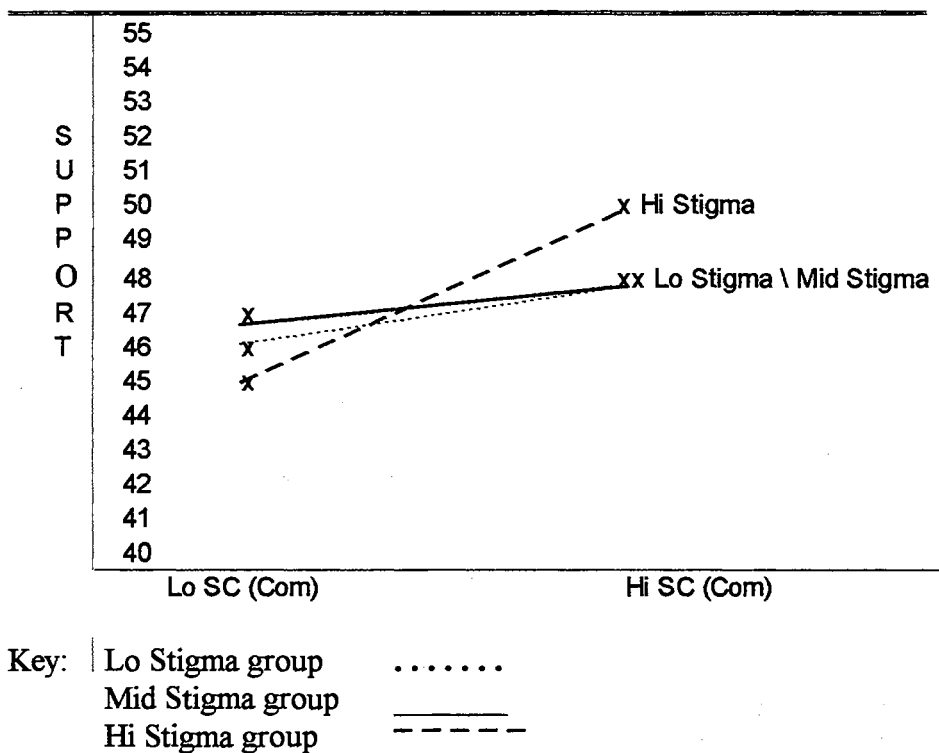


Figure 9. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Competency

According to the graph in Figure 10, members of the high stigma group, with more positive self-concepts, perceive dramatically higher levels of support. While this is also true for the low stigma group as well, the increase is not as dramatic. For the mid stigma group, self-concept does not make much of a difference. Derber's and Goffman's theories were more effective in describing support levels of high stigma groups, somewhat effective in describing describing support levels of low stigma groups and not effective in describing mid stigma groups.

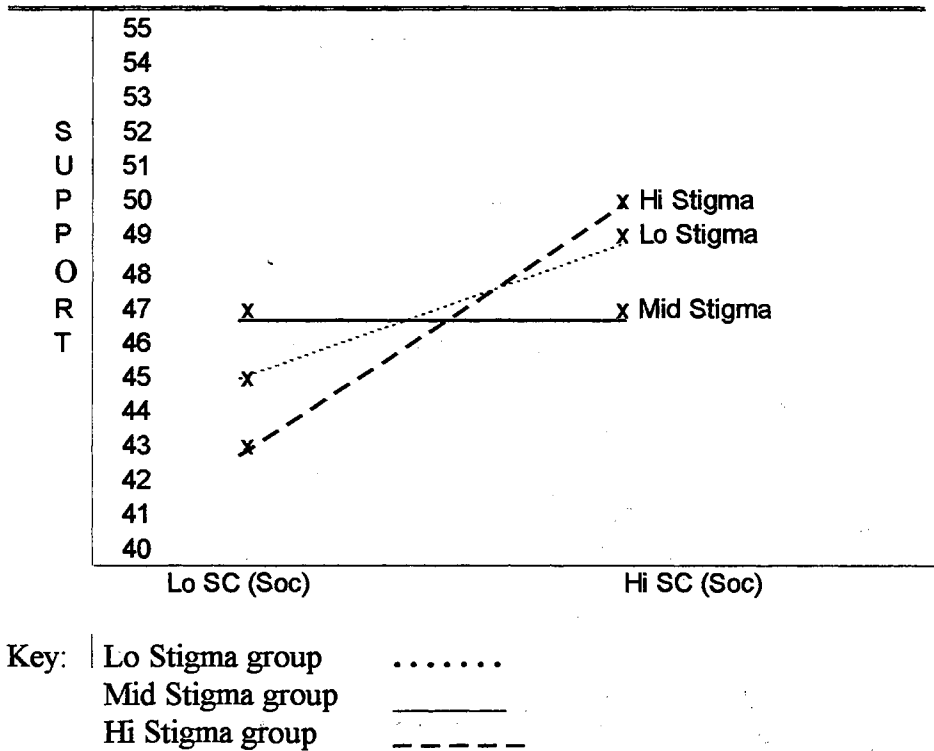


Figure 10. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Self-Concept as Sociability

According to the graph in Figure 11, for members of the high stigma group with more positive self-concepts, support decreases dramatically. While this is also true for the low stigma group, the decrease is not as dramatic for the low stigma group and even less dramatic for the mid stigma group. Derber's and Goffman's theories were not effective in describing support levels of high stigma groups, barely effective in describing describing support levels of low stigma groups and somewhat more effective in describing mid stigma groups.

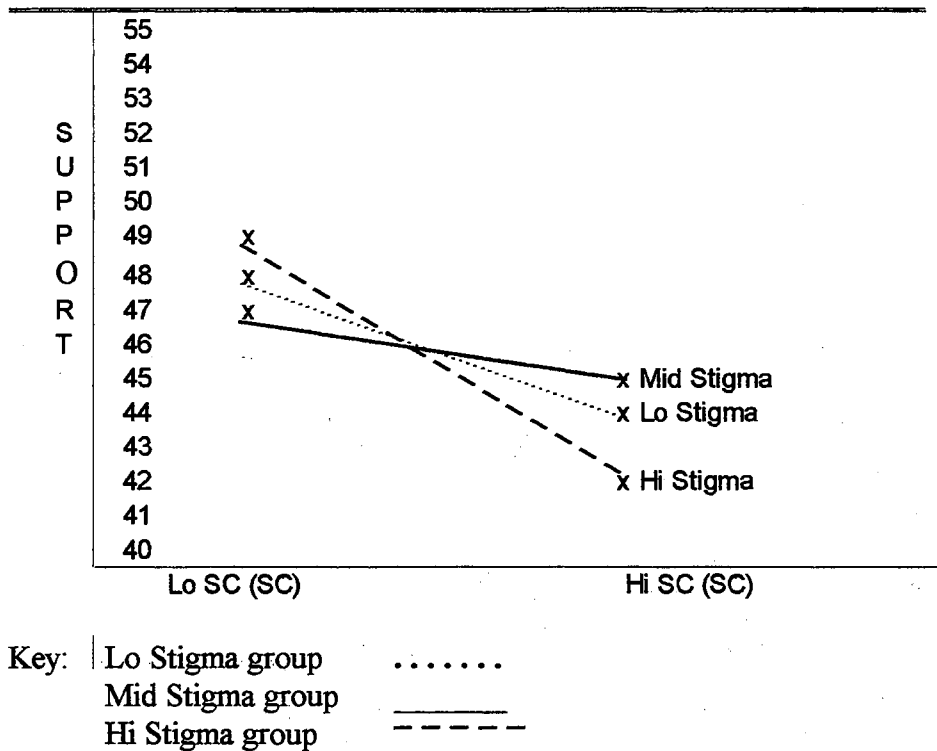


Figure 11. Support for Stigma Groups with Lo and Hi Total Self-Concept

Summary

The levels of invisibility experienced by males or females were not different. Furthermore, the levels of invisibility experienced by students of different races were not different. The levels of invisibility experienced by members of the four racial-gendered groups were not different. And finally, self-concept does moderate the relationship between racial-gender stigma and visibility. Derber's theory was not validated with gender, racial and gender-racial groups. Derber's and Goffman's theories were successfully applied to some, but not all, stigma groups.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS,
AND FINAL SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to test Derber's theoretical proposition that attention as visibility was inequitably distributed by gender and race. Three hypotheses were formulated to determine whether the variables of gender and race contributed singularly or interactively to students' perceptions of visibility. A fourth hypothesis was formulated to determine the relationship between visibility and stigma as gender-race when moderated by self-concept. The conclusions, implications, recommendations, and summary of the study are discussed in the following pages.

Conclusions

Based on the data presented in Chapter IV, hypotheses I, II, and III were not confirmed because no significant differences were found in levels of invisibility for male and female students, for students of different races, and for various race-gender groups of students. Hypotheses IV was confirmed. Self-concept as sociability, competence, and dependability, interacted with stigma, as gender and race, to moderate its relationship with visibility. Although not hypothesized, self-concept as sociability, competence, and dependability also interacted with stigma, as gender-race, to moderate the relationship with silencing. Although not hypothesized, self-concept as sociability, competence, dependability, and total self-concept interacted with stigma, as race-gender, to moderate

the relationship with support.

Seven conclusions have been inferred from the findings. The first three conclusions explain that the first three hypotheses were not confirmed because of the skewed nature and non-traditional status of the sample and the politically correct nature of higher education contexts. The fourth conclusion, which explains why race was not a good predictor of visibility, proposes that because Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) provide a nurturing and secure climate for African American students it's important to keep the doors of HBCUs open. The fifth conclusion suggests that Derber's and Goffman's theories are too general to explain why the self-concepts of respondents enhance or fail to enhance the visibility levels of certain racial-gender groups in terms of their unique historical experiences with patriarchy and the class system. The sixth conclusion supports the inclusion of self-concept in Derber's and Goffman's theories for some gendered-racial groups to increase the predictive value. The final conclusion introduces the argument that self-concept moderates the relationship between stigma and support in an unexpected way because of problems with reliability.

The first conclusion, attributes the lack of differences found in levels of invisibility for male and female students and for students of different races to a skewed sample of college freshmen. College students are accepted to higher educational institutions by set admission categories. Those categories are open, liberal, traditional, and selective (ACT, 1990). College admission is based on academic achievement, American College Test (ACT) or Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, and extracurricular achievements. These conditions suggest that most college freshmen have been successful during high school and would tend to experience lower levels of invisibility than their counterparts from high

school who do not attend college. Derber's proposition related to gender is not confirmed with this sample of college freshmen.

The second conclusion is that patriarchy and the class system are becoming more subtle, particularly in an educated setting in which political correctness is a norm. Under these conditions, it may not be as easy to make predictions based on gender and race alone as it was in higher educational institutions twenty years ago. Derber's proposition related to class is not confirmed with this sample of college freshmen.

The third conclusion is that the greater number of older freshmen students in this study may have played a significant role in the way that either males, females, or students of different races experienced levels of invisibility. According to Table III on p. 40, 90 or 35% of the respondents were between the ages of 20 and 39. Perhaps older students are more stable and secure than those just graduating from high school.

The fourth conclusion is that African Americans attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities are not tokens and, therefore, not as invisible as their counterparts who attend predominately white institutions. Approximately, 75% of the African American students in this sample attended a regional HBCU (Table IV, p. 36). These HBCUs have traditionally accepted the "formidable task of educating 'high risk' African American students- those not being recruited vigorously on any appreciable scale by predominantly white institutions" (Wright, 1968, p.31). In this study, African Americans attending the regional HBCU may have felt highly visible and secure at an institution that provides support for African American students.

The fifth conclusion is that Derber's and Goffman's theories do not include sufficient historical context to explain why the influence of self concept on visibility is not

the same for all stigma groups. Each group's unique historical experiences with patriarchy and the class system need to be considered. These unique experiences lead to visibility levels for Caucasian males and African American females which are enhanced or constrained by the nature of their self-concepts. Caucasian females and African American males, on the other hand, have had other experiences which reduce the moderating effect of self-concept on levels of visibility.

Self-concept serves as a shield for white males and African American females to protect them from the negative consequences of invisibility. As part of the patriarchal class system, white males have always been privileged in their maleness and their whiteness. It is logical then that white males with positive self-concept would be among the most visible and advantage. It is interesting to note, however, that even this privileged group is negatively effected when self-concepts are less positive.

African American females are highly resistant to invisibility although this group fares least well under patriarchy and a class system. Irvine's (1991) research contends that African American students do not receive as many favorable interactions as white students through elementary and secondary school. As a result, many African American students were not "academically reinforced" and became isolated and invisible as they grew older (Irvine, 1991, p.75). However, Fordman (1993) concluded that African American females often do not perceive themselves as invisible. This may have occurred because many African American females refuse to be silenced because to do so would render them non-people. Many African American females resist silencing and are "unwilling and unable to be silent" (Fordham, 1993, p. 6). Therefore, it is possible that some people who are silenced and ignored perceive themselves to be visible because they interpret reality in

ways that offer them support.

When we look at the African American female in a historical context, she was able to gain employment when her African American husband was not because the African American male was forced to compete in the white labor market with uneducated, white males. African American females, on the other hand, did not have the same competition in vying for unskilled positions and were frequently able to get positions when African American males could not. Therefore, in the African American household, the concentration of patriarchy is not as great because the African American female has historically contributed to the economic survival of the black family. It is difficult to reinforce patriarchy when women have an economic advantage.

It was suggested by Williams (1988) that some African American mothers encourage their daughters to pattern themselves after visible role models other than themselves. Therefore, some African American daughters looked to white males as models rather than more feminine models.

For African American males, self-concept does not shield them from the negative consequences of invisibility. African American males are in the second-tier of patriarchy, according to Fordham (1993) because it is white males who clearly occupy the first-tier. Black males frequently live with black females who are major economic contributors to their families. This situation elevates the status of African American females and decreases the status of African American males who, by patriarchal standards, are supposed to be the major wage earners.

In this study, positive self-concepts did not shield Caucasian females much from the negative effects of race-gender stigma on visibility. When Caucasian females entered

the workforce, they were relegated to attention-giving jobs, such as secretaries, nurses, teachers, and waitresses. As females began to move into other positions, they experienced lower wages than their male counterparts for the same jobs and hit glass ceilings when they entered middle management. Females also experienced the grueling obligation of career plus homemaking with no place for them to escape (Ehrenreich, 1990).

The sixth conclusion supports the addition of self-concept to Derber's and Goffman's theory for some gender-racial groups to increase their predictive value. Positive self-concepts can protect certain individuals from invisibility. Negative self-concepts can even cause white males to become invisible,

The seventh conclusion is that, under various conditions of stigma, members with more positive self-concepts report less support than their counterparts with poor self-concepts because the measure for support was not very reliable with this sample. The group with which the instrument was normed was more representative of the population in terms of levels of education, age, and occupation. Therefore, with the sample in this study, responses on the support factor of the CPI were not consistent and may account for the erratic relationship between total self-concept and perceptions of support.

Implications

Several implications can be derived from the conclusions presented in this study. First, things are changing in higher education institutions as the type of students entering college changes. Affirmative action has accelerated the process by requiring that previously excluded groups be included. The possible dilution of patriarchal and class practices in American higher educational contexts is triggered by the demographics and nature of the students admitted. Lewis and Simon's (1986) research found that female

graduate students rebelled against silencing. Fordham (1993) and Hecht, Collier, and Rebeau (1993) concluded that male and female African Americans rebel against silencing. This militant resistance against silencing appears to be quite prevalent in educational settings. The unwillingness of women and African American men in university communities to be silenced and the increased number of females and minorities in powerful positions combine with norms in institutions to be politically correct promote visibility.

Second, African Americans who attend HBCUs may feel highly visible and secure at institutions that establish special sensitivity to the traditional invisibility of most of their students. These HBCUs offer African American students an hospitable learning environment that provides a support system they may not receive in other educational settings.

Third, theories which do not take into account differences in assigned patriarchal and racist roles during various historical periods may not explain phenomenon accurately for targeted groups. For example, African American females experience slavery differently than African American males and patriarchy differently than Caucasian females. Therefore, Derber's (1973) and Goffman's (1963) theories do not accurately describe degrees of gender-race stigma, or differentiate levels of visibility with racial-gender groups.

Fourth, Derber and Goffman's theories have been enhanced by the discovery that positive self-concepts can protect some students against the invisibility triggered by racism and sexism. Negative self-concepts cause some groups, such as Caucasian males, to be invisible even when they should not be. Factors, instead of self-concept, may influence the levels of visibility for African American males and Caucasian females. The advantages of

being an African American male under patriarchal conditions is not strong enough to counter the effects of racial stigma even when self-concepts are positive. For African American males, having a positive self-concept is not sufficient to shield them from invisibility. The advantage of being a Caucasian female in a racist society is not strong enough to override the effects of sexism. A positive self-concept is not sufficient to dilute the effects of patriarchy for white females.

Finally, it was discovered that it may not be appropriate to use support measure as a single factor with college freshmen. Students who have successfully completed high school and met admission requirements to higher education institutions may not be as reliant on their contexts for support as members as the general population.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings, conclusions, and implications of this study. Some of the recommendations relate to practice while others pertain to the theories which guided this study.

1. Educators should encourage students to apply themselves in high school, particularly minorities and women since it is these groups who can gain greater attention and visibility with more education.
2. Educators should encourage boards of regents at colleges and universities to maintain affirmative action programs because they are working and should be continued. Admission policies should be reviewed to allow more African American students with potential for success the opportunity for a college education. Socioeconomic inequities and strict admission policies have eliminated many capable African American students. Set admissions categories

also eliminate many African American students who have the potential for success but are denied access to certain institutions because of inadequate high school curriculums, standardized test scores, and minority quota standards.

3. Educators should encourage vulnerable African American students to attend a Historically Black College or University at least for the first or second year of college.
4. It may be important to avoid political moves to close HBCU institutions since African American students experience greater visibility.
5. Researchers and theorists should consider historical context and cultural norms when developing theories which explain social phenomenon.
6. Educators should encourage programs which support development of healthy self-concepts for all students. The development of programs that help create positive self-concepts at an early age for all students is highly recommended. Programs that teach students to be competent, dependable, and sociable individuals provide students with the tools they need to be successful.
7. Researchers should conduct studies to determine what unidentified factors shield African American males and Caucasian females from invisibility.
8. Schools should identify and to be cognizant of the vulnerability of African American males and Caucasian females and provide staff development to teachers in ways to reduce the levels of invisibility in the classroom.

A Final Word

In Chapter I, the major character in Ellison's (1952), Invisible Man struggled with the phenomenon of people refusing to see him. The invisibility of the main character in

Ellison's book is based on W.E.B, Du Bois's (1903) veil metaphor of race relationships in America (Gates, 1989, p.x). According to DuBois (1903), the veil represented the demands that African Americans veil or mask their cultural self whenever they enter into the larger society. In the quotation, which can be applied to any student who is invisible in an educational setting, DuBois (1903) suggests:

the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world- a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world (Du Bois, 1903, p.3).

Educators must allow all those who enter the gates of schools to do so without masking their cultural identities. Veiled students, who are unable to see or be seen, can not take full advantage of the many opportunities extended to them.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, G. (1990, February). Toward a critical constructivist approach to school administration: invisibility, legitimization, and the study of non-events. Educational Administration Quarterly. 2, 38-59.
- Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers. (1973) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. 106.
- Arney, L. (1997). [Silencing]. Unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.
- Arney, L. & Barnes, L. (1997). Silencing.
- Arney, L. & Barnes, L. (1997). The Silencing-Hushing Instrument.
- Bate, B. & Taylor, A. (1990) ed. Women Communicating: Studies of Women is Talk. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing.
- Bates, P. (1990). Desegregation: Can we get there from here. Educational Leadership. 72. 8-17.
- Bogel, D. (1973). Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks. New York: Vikings.
- Bowlby, J. (1953). Child care and the growth of love. Baltimore: Penquin Books.
- Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and loss (Vol.1) Attachment. (2nd ed.). New York: Basic Books.
- Bowlby, J. (1988). A secure base. New York: Basic Books.
- Brody, J.(1974). Teacher-student relationships: causes and consequences. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

- Brody, J. & Evertson, C. M. (1981). Student characteristic and teaching. New York: Longman Press.
- Brody, J. & Good, T. (1970). Teachers' communications differential expectations for children's classroom performance: some behavioral data. Journal of Educational Psychology 61. 356-74.
- Cary, L. (1988). Black ice. New York: Knopf.
- Cazenave, N. A. (1983). Black male-black-female relationships: The perceptions of middle-class black men. Family Relations. 32. 3341-350.
- Christian, B. (1990). What Celie knows that you should know. Anatomy of racism. David T. Goldberg, ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Clark, M. L. (1985). Social stereotypes and self-concept in black and white college students. Journal of Social Psychology. 125. 752-760.
- Clarricoates, K. (1978). Dinosaurs in the classroom: A re-examination of some aspects of the "hidden" curriculum in primary schools. Women's Studies International Quarterly. 1. 353-364.
- College Planning/Search Book. (1990). ACT Publications, Iowa City, Iowa.
- Comer, J. (1991). Racism and the education of young children. Reflections on American education classic and contemporary readings. ed. Johnson, J., Dupuis, V., Johnson, J. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Coopersmith, S. (1967). The antecedents of self-esteem. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.
- Crain, W. (1992). Theories of development concepts and applications. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Cromwell, V.L. & Cromwell, R.E. (1978). Perceived dominance in decision-making and conflict resolution among Anglo, Black, and Chicano couples. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 40. 749-759.

Davis, A. (1971). Reflection on the black women's role in the community of slaves. The Black Scholar.

DeJarnett, S. & Raven, B .H. (1981). The balance, bases and modes of interpersonal power in black couples: The roles of sex and socioeconomic circumstances. Journal of Black Psychology. 7. 51-66.

Derber, C. (1979). The pursuit of attention. New York: Oxford University Press.

DuBois, W.E.B.(1906). The education of black people. New York: Monthly Review Press.

DuBois, W.E.B. (1903). The Souls of Black Folk. New York: Bantam Books.

Edwards, Richard. (1979). The Contested Terrain. New York: Basic Books.

Ericksen, J. A., Yancey, W. L., & Ericksen, E. P. (1979). The division of family roles. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 41. 301-313.

Erikson, E.H.. (1963). Childhood and Society (2nd ed.). New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Ehrenreich, B. (1990, Fall). Sorry, Sisters, This Is Not the Revolution. Time. 15.

Ellison, R. (1952). Invisible man. (3rd ed.) New York: Signet.

Evans, G. (1988). Those loud black girls. Learning to lose: Sexism and Education. London: The Women's Press.

Fine, B. (1967). Underachievers: How they can be helped. New York: E.P. Dutton.

Fordham, S. (1993, March). Those loud black girls: (black) women, silence, and gender "passing" in the academy. Anthrology and Education Quarterly. 3-32.

Fordham, S. and Ogbu, J. (1986). Black Students' School Success: Coping with the "Burden of 'Acting White.'" The Urban Review. 18(3). 176-206.

Fromm, E. (1955). The Sane Society. New York: Rhinehart and Winston.

Freud, S. (1923). The Ego and the Id. (J. Riviere, trans.). New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 1960.

Gates, H.L. (1989). Introduction: Darkly, as Through a Veil. The Souls of Black Folk. (1903). New York: Bantam Books. Vii-xxix.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Goffman, E. (1963). Stigma. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Goldenson, R. (1984). Longman's dictionary of psychology and psychiatry. New York: Walter D. Glanze.

Gray, H. (1989). Television, Black Americans, and the American dream. Critical Studies in Mass Communication. 6. 375-386.

Gray-Little, B. (1982). Martial quality and power processes among black couples. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 44. 633-646

Hecht M., Collier, M., & Ribeau, S. (1993). African American communication: ethnic identity and cultural interpretation. Newbury Park , Ca.: Sage.

How schools shortchange girls. A study of major findings on girls and education. (1992). The AAUW Report. Wellesley College. Mass. Center for Research on Women. 124.

Hrnoir, E. Eisenhart, C. (1991, Jan). Use with caution: The at-risk label. Young Children 46. 23-27.

Hodgkinson, H. (1991, Jan). Reform versus reality. Phi Delta Kappa. 9-16.

Hunter-Gault, C. (1993). In my place. New York. Vontage Books.

Hudson, C.N. (1988). A Model for the Precursors of Academic Self-concept. Paper presented to the Western Psychological Association meeting. April, 1988; Burlingame, CA.

Hughes, Everett. (1946) Race Relations in Industry. Industry and Society. W. F. Whyte. ed. 115.

Hyman, H.& Reed, J. (1969). Black matriarchy reconsidered: evidence from secondary analyses of sample surveys. Public Opinion Quarterly. 346-354.

- Irvine, J.(1991). Black students and school failure: policies, practices, and prescriptions. New York: Praeger.
- Jary, D. & Jary, J. (1991). The Harper Collins Dictionary of Sociology. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Jewell, K.S. (1985). Will the real Black, Afro-American, Mixed, Colored, Negro, please stand up? Impact of the Black social movement twenty years later. Journal of Black Studies. 16. 57-75.
- Kanter, R. (1977). Men and women of the corporation. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Kerlinger, F. & Pedhazur, E.(1973). Multiple Regression and Behavior Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Kozol, J. (1991). The new untouchables. Reflections on American education classic and contemporary readings. ed. Johnson, J., Dupuis, V. and Johnson, J. Needham Heights, Ma: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lacour, C. (1992). Doing things with words: "Racism" as speech act and the undoing of justice. Race-ing justice, en- gendering power. ed. Morrison, T. New York: Pantheon Books. 127-158.
- Lathrop, R. (1987). Multidimensional Test of Self-Concept, Revised. Educational Testing Service (ETS) Testing Collection: Princeton, NJ.
- Lewis, M. & Simon, R. (1986). A discourse not intended for her: learning and teaching within patriarchy. Harvard Educational Review. 56. 457-472.
- Lomotey, K. (1989). Cultural diversity in the school: Implications for principals. NASSP Bulletin. 73. 81-88.
- McKay, M. & Fanning, P.. (1992). Self-esteem. Oakland, Ca.: New Harbinger Publications, Inc.
- Mack, D. E. (1974). The power relationship in black families and white families. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 30. 409-413.

- Martin, R. (1972). Student sex and behavior as determinants of the type and frequency of teacher-student contacts. Journal of School Psychology. 10. 339-47.
- Maslow, A. (1954). Motivation and personality. (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row, Publisher 1970.
- Morrison, T. (1992). Race-ing justice, en-gendering power. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Ogbu, J. (1978). Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J. (1994). Racial stratification and education in the United States: Why inequality persists. Teachers College Record. 96. 264-298.
- Opatow, S. (1990). Moral exclusion and injustice: An introduction. Journal of Social Issues. 46. 1-20.
- Ortner, S. (1974). Is female to male as nature is to culture? Women Culture and Society. ed. Rosaldo, M. and Lamphere, L. Stanford, Ca: Stanford University Press.
- Pagano, J. (1990). Exiles and communities: Teaching in the patriarchal wilderness. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Peretti, P.O. (1979). Closest friendships of black college Students: Social intimacy. Adolescence. 11. 395-403.
- Placer, P. (1991, April). The meaning of "at-risk", whose meanings count, and why: experts, reformers, policymakers and teachers. Revision of paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Ill.
- Ransford, H.E. & Miller, J. (1983). Race, sex, and feminist outlooks. American Sociological Review. 48. 46-58.
- Rist, R. (1978). The invisible children: School integration in America society. Cambridge: Harvard Press.
- Robinson, C. R. (1983). Black Women: A tradition of self-reliant strength. Women to Therapy. 2. 135-144.

- Rosenthal, R. & Jacobson, L. (1968). Pygmalion in the classroom: Teacher expectation and pupil's intellectual development. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Sadker, M. & Sadker, D. (1994). Failing at fairness: How America's schools cheat girls. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Scott, J. (1990). Domination and the arts of resistance. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Spender, D. (1982). Invisible women: The schooling scandal. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd.
- Staples, R. (1971). Towards a sociology of the black family: A theoretical and methodological assessment. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 33. 119-138.
- Stevens, F. (1993, Summer). Opportunity to learn and other social contextual issues: Addressing the low academic achievement of African American students. Journal of Negro Education. 221-231.
- Walker, A. (1982). The color purple. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanich.
- Washington, B.T. (1989). The future of the American Negro. Chicago: Afro-Am Press (1969).
- Webster's encyclopedia of dictionaries. New American Edition (1988). Springfield, MA: Ottenheimer Publishers.
- Weis, Lois & Fine, Michelle (1993). Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race, and Gender in Education. The State University of New York Press. ed.
- West, T. & Pagano, L. (1992). Gender-Specific Language in Intercollegiate Debate: A Preliminary Investigation. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Chicago, Ill.
- White-Hood, M. (1991). African-American males in middle school: One school's efforts at empowerment. The Clearing House. 65. 4-8.

Williams, Patricia J. (1988). On Being the Object of Property. In Black Women in America, Social Science Perspectives. Micheline R. Malson, Elizabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, Jean F. O'Barr, and Mary Wyr, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wright, K. (1996). Derber's Theory of Attention and Kanter's Theory of Tokenism: Levels of Visibility Among Professional, Semi-Professional, and Non-Professional African American Women. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

Wright, S. J. (1968). The Promise of Equality. Saturday Review. July 20, 30-32.

Wolman, B. (1989). Dictionary of behavioral science. San Diego: Academic Press.

Vogt, W. (1993). Dictionary of statistics and methodology, a nontechnical guide for the social sciences. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

**OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW
BOARD HUMAN
SUBJECTS
REVIEW**

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 04-10-96

IRB#: ED-96-106

Proposal Title: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE WAYS ATTENTION IS DISPERSED
ACCORDING TO RACE AND GENDER IN SCHOOLS

Principal Investigator(s): Lynn Arney, Sharlene Johnson

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

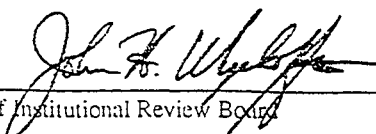
ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
AT NEXT MEETING.

APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A
CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD
APPROVAL.

ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR
APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval
are as follows:

Signature:



Chair of Institutional Review Board

Date: April 15, 1996

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

Dear Respondent:

The purpose of this research is to determine whether or not students' gender and race contribute to the way they communicate with one another in the classroom. A second related purpose will be to determine the nature of the relationship between self-esteem and the students' communication practices. This is an important study to do because some students receive more than their share of attention in the classroom and other students receive less than their share of attention. Perhaps by studying the patterns of communication in the classroom we can begin to understand how this happens.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may decide at any time not to participate by not completing or returning the questionnaire. If you chose to participate, however, your responses will be completely confidential because your name will not appear anywhere on the questionnaire packet. Furthermore, this letter is separate from the instrument, indicating that the connection between your name and the responses can not be made. Your copy of this form may be detached below the dotted line and kept for your records.

If you have questions or concerns, you may contact me, Sharlene Johnson, by phone at 918-746-1123 (work) or 918-663-9233 (home). Dr. Lynn Arney, my dissertation advisor can be reached by phone at 405-744-7244. Or if you prefer, you may contact Jennifer Moore at the Oklahoma State University, Office of University Research Services at 405-744-5700.

With my signature below, I authorize Sharlene Johnson to utilize my survey responses in conjunction with this research project. I understand that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusal to participate, and that I am free to withdraw my consent and participation in this project at any time without penalty. I also understand that I may keep a copy of this form by detaching this form below the dotted line.

Signature of Respondent

DETACH THIS PORTION FOR YOUR RECORDS IF YOU WISH

CONSENT FORM

Dear Respondent:

The purpose of this research is to determine whether or not students' gender and race contribute to the way they communicate with one another in the classroom. A second related purpose will be to determine the nature of the relationship between self-esteem and the students' communication practices. This is an important study to do because some students receive more than their share of attention in the classroom and other students receive less than their share of attention. Perhaps by studying the patterns of communication in the classroom we can begin to understand how this happens.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may decide at any time not to participate by not completing or returning the questionnaire. If you chose to participate, however, your responses will be completely confidential because your name will not appear anywhere on the questionnaire packet. Furthermore, this letter is separate from the instrument, indicating that the connection between your name and the responses can not be made. Your copy of this form may be detached below the dotted line and kept for your records.

If you have questions or concerns, you may contact me, Sharlene Johnson, by phone at 918-746-1123 (work) or 918-663-9233 (home). Dr. Lynn Arney, my dissertation advisor can be reached by phone at 405-744-7244. Or if you prefer, you may contact Jennifer Moore at the Oklahoma State University, Office of University Research Services at 405-744-5700.

APPENDIX C

**THE GROUP COMMUNICATION PROFILE
AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL TEST
OF SELF-CONCEPT**

THE GROUP COMMUNICATION PROFILE

Directions: Students often find themselves in a classroom situation in which they must work with three or more individuals to achieve a goal. For the purpose of complete this survey, think of yourself in your classes this semester unless indicated otherwise.

As you respond to the questions below, please select the response that best describes how often you experience each of the events in your classes, unless indicated otherwise. Respond by placing an "X" in the appropriate column.

I FEEL THAT THIS HAPPENS:

	A <i>very frequently</i>	B <i>frequently</i>	C <i>occasionally</i>	D <i>infrequently</i>	E <i>very infrequently</i>
1. I feel that I have to struggle to get people to listen to me.					
2. People use my ideas without giving me credit.					
3. In my high school math class, people assumed my grades were lower than they really were.					
4. People seem to ignore what I have to say.					
5. I feel rushed when I speak.					
6. I listen more than I speak.					
7. I feel unnoticed by others.					
8. People call on me to give my opinion.					
9. When interrupted, others encourage me to finish what I was saying.					
10. During class, I say what is on my mind.					
11. If an individual and I begin to speak at the same time, the other person lets me continue.					
12. I can hold a group's attention for long periods of time.					
13. When I speak out in class, people react to my comments well.					
14. I find myself talking more than I listen.					
15. When I'm talking, people try to change the topic.					

	very frequently	frequently	occasionally	infrequently	very infrequently
	A	B	C	D	E
16. I can't finish making a point before being interrupted by someone.					
17. When I speak, I notice others beginning to have their own private conversations.	I				
18. I cannot think of anything to say in class discussions.					
19. When I speak, I notice others looking at their watches.					
20. In class, I forget what I am going to say.	I				
21. When I talk in class, my words don't come out right.					
22. I can convince others of my point of view, even if I don't know what I am talking about.			III		
23. When I speak, others seem to listen.					
24. It's easy for me to speak up in class discussions.					
25. People seem to trust that I know what I'm talking about.					
26. I feel very comfortable asking questions.					
27. In meetings, my comments seem just as good as other people's comments.					
28. I think best on the spur of the moment.					
29. People don't look at me when I speak.					
30. I can get attention by staying quiet for a long time before I speak.					
31. I try to maintain a low profile during class discussions.					
32. I am more interested in getting an idea of mine accepted than getting credit for it.					
33. I have trouble getting the attention of my teacher or classmates.					
34. I have the feeling that people are "really" listen to me.					
35. I get credit for the ideas of other people in class discussions.					
36. I look for opportunities to be in the "spotlight".					
37. When I begin to speak, others encourage me to continue.					
38. I play the role of devil's advocate.					

MTS - AS YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE

Please rate yourself on this form as you would like to be. Remember that your name does not appear anywhere on this form.

- | | | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | |
|-----|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| 57. | depressed | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | cheerful |
| 58. | alert | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | unalert |
| 59. | undependable | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | dependable |
| 60. | close | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | distant |
| 61. | inexpert | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | expert |
| 62. | reliable | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | unreliable |
| 63. | incompatible | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | compatible |
| 64. | informed | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | uninformed |
| 65. | untruthful | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | truthful |
| 66. | enthusiastic | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | indifferent |
| 67. | insightless | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | insightful |
| 68. | responsible | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | irresponsible |
| 69. | unfriendly | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | friendly |
| 70. | intelligent | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | dumb |
| 71. | untrustworthy | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | trustworthy |
| 72. | sociable | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | unsociable |
| 73. | unskillful | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | skillful |
| 74. | faithful | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | disloyal |

75. How old are you? _____

76. Are you male or female? _____

77. Place an "X" in front of the phrase which best describes your racial group.

- _____ White/Caucasian
- _____ Black/African American
- _____ American Indian/ Native American
- _____ Hispanic
- _____ Asian
- _____ Other

PLEASE DO NOT PLACE YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THIS SURVEY!

2
VITA

Sharlene Y. Johnson

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Theses: THE INFLUENCES OF GENDER, RACE, AND SELF-CONCEPT ON
THE INVISIBILITY OF COLLEGE FRESHMEN

Major Field: Educational Administration

Biography:

Education: Graduated from Francis W. Parker High School, Chicago, Illinois in June 1966; received Bachelor of Liberal Arts and Science degree in History and Education from University of Illinois Chicago Circle, Chicago, Illinois in September 1971. Completed the requirements for the Master of Education degree with a major in Reading at Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 1988. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree with a major in Educational Administration at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in 1997.

Experience: Elementary and middle school teacher in Chicago, Illinois; Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma. Middle school dean of students and elementary principal in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Adjunct instructor at Langston University at University Center at Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Professional Memberships: Phi Delta Kappa, National Association of Elementary School Principals, National Alliance of Black School Educators, National Science Teachers Association.