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DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION VOLUME 7

# BLACK AMERICAN MALES IN HIGHER EDUCATION: RESEARCH, PROGRAMS AND ACADEME

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## CONTENTS

### LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

ix

### PREFACE

xiii

### IDENTITY, IDENTIFICATION, AND SOCIALIZATION: PREPARATION AND RETENTION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

*Davido Dupree, Marybeth Gasman, Kevin James and  
Margaret Beale Spencer*

1

### AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES AND THE LOGIC OF A GEOSPATIAL HIGHER EDUCATION PROJECT

*William F. Tate*

21

### DISCRETIONARY TIME CHOICES AND COLLEGE SEARCH: EXTRACURRICULAR PARTICIPATION AS A SIMPLE INDICATOR OF THE PROPENSITY OF YOUNG BLACK MEN TOWARD POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

*Crystal Renée Chambers*

37

### ENHANCING IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

*Jonathan L. Johnson and Michael J. Cuyjet*

57

### WHERE ARE BROTHERS IN THE ACADEMY?: SCHOOLS SUCCESSFUL AT PRODUCING BLACK MALE GRADUATES

*Rhonda Vonshay Sharpe and William A. Darity Jr.*

79



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PROMOTING COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS AMONG SCHOOL-AGE BLACK AMERICAN MALES <i>Ivory A. Toldson, Ronald L. Braithwaite and Rashika J. Rentie</i>	117
ROLE OF HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN RECRUITING AND RETAINING AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES <i>Goldie S. Byrd and Christopher L. Edwards</i>	139
AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN U.S. SCIENCE <i>Caesar R. Jackson, Mark A. Melton and Sandra C. Jackson</i>	169
AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN ENGINEERING: PAST, PRESENT, AND A FUTURE OF OPPORTUNITY <i>John Brooks Slaughter</i>	193
AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN ACADEMIC SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING <i>Cheryl B. Leggon</i>	209
ON BLACK MEN'S DIMINISHING EXISTENCE IN ACADEME: AN INTROSPECTIVE VIEW <i>John L. Taylor</i>	223
BLACK AMERICAN MEN IN MEDICAL EDUCATION: FROM THE 1970S TO THE PRESENT <i>Gregory Strayhorn</i>	247
UNDERREPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION: BREAKAGES IN THE PIPELINES <i>Floyd D. Weatherspoon</i>	267

FACTORS AFFECTING THE PRESENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES ON COUNSELING AND PSYCHOLOGY TRAINING PROGRAM FACULTIES <i>William L. Conwill</i>	287
DIFFERENTIAL GENDER EFFECTS OF A STEM-BASED INTERVENTION: AN EXAMINATION OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN RESEARCHERS IN COMPUTING SCIENCES PROGRAM <i>Jerlando F. L. Jackson, Juan E. Gilbert, LaVar J. Charleston and Kinnis Gosha</i>	317
IN PURSUIT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES AS SCHOLARS: PRESCRIPTIVE VIEWPOINTS <i>Roger L. Pulliam and Richard C. McGregor Jr.</i>	331

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## PREFACE

This volume, Volume 7 – *Black American Males in Higher Education: Research, Programs and Academe*, is the sequel to Volume 6 – *Black American Males in Higher Education: Diminishing Proportions*. Volume 7 continues the examinations and discussions initiated in Volume 6. Volume 7 is a collection of 16 chapters where the contributing scholars examine the situation or state of Black American/African American males in higher education, particularly as pertains to higher education environments and those programs and policies that affect them. Additionally, there are discussions of research findings and theoretical concepts that seek to provide explanations for observed outcomes pertinent to African American males in higher education settings.

The situation for African American males in higher education spans the numbers who enter post-secondary institutions for graduation and move on to professional and academic fields. In each of these areas, there is a general broad lag that has occurred when comparing African American males with other groups whether the discussions center around gender or race and ethnicity. As is germane for all groups but particularly so for African American males in these times, college experiences significantly affect their social interactions, racial and gender identities, and expected outcomes as professionals in the U.S. workforce. These and related issues are investigated by a diverse group of scholars representing an array of academic disciplines and institutions and who provide a range of perspectives pertaining to the central theme of this volume.

In Chapter 1, Dupree, Gasman, James, and Spencer explore the roles of identity and identification of African American males at different stages of development (e.g., from preparation to matriculate in institutions of higher education to leadership in those same institutions). They focus on the unique racial identity processes of high-achieving African American males in a pipeline program for rising high school juniors designed to increase the numbers of underrepresented minorities in graduate and professional programs. The authors investigate coping strategies used by high-achieving African American male adolescents to improve their academic performances. Finally, the authors examined the relationship between the

involvement of African American males in the bands at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and retention in and graduation from college.

In the second chapter by Tate, the purpose is threefold. The first is to review extant social science literature related to African American males in metropolitan America as part of an effort to better understand developmental challenges and opportunities for intervention. The second purpose is to describe the possibilities and political value of GIS mapping as a tool to perturb current inaction related to African American males. The third is to describe the value added by the science of GIS in light of the state of affairs with African American males. The final section will offer a set of recommendations that are a product of the chapter's analysis.

In the next chapter, Muhammad examines the way in which young Black men spend their discretionary time whether in extracurricular activities or in unstructured settings. In particular, the author explores whether young men who are not engaged in extracurricular participation are less likely to engage in the post-secondary education search process. The author suggests that independent of scholastic performance indicators, the absence of extracurricular participation for young Black men may be a signal of a lack of propensity toward post-secondary education.

In Chapter 4, Johnson and Cuyjet explore ways in which the retention of African American male college students can be enhanced by efforts to assist them in their personal identity development and to provide them with a sense of community in the collegiate environment. The authors discuss the relations among identity development, sense of community, and successful matriculation in higher education.

In the fifth chapter, Sharpe and Darity provide a wealth of data that provides a comprehensive view of Black male post-secondary enrollment patterns and they focus on schools that are successful in producing Black male graduates. In particular, the authors seek to divert the conversation about African American males and education by highlighting enrollment trends and post-secondary degree attainment and the institutions that have been successful at awarding those degrees to African American males. Their analysis points to Howard University as being consistently in the top 20 list across disciplines and degree levels.

In the following chapter, Toldson, Braithwaite, and Rentie explore strategies that promote college aspirations among school-age Black American males. They focus on the relationship between college aspirations and academic achievement. To do so, the authors examine personal, emotional, family, social, environmental, and school factors that are associated with college.

In the seventh chapter, Byrd and Edwards examine the role of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the recruitment and retention of African American males in higher education. The authors argue that since their inception, HBCUs have served as the place where African Americans receive educational, social, civic, political, and cultural grounding. It is at HBCUs, the authors assert, where African Americans receive nurturing, support, and a foundation for their interaction in more discriminatory environments. The authors suggest that HBCUs will need to devise supported programs to engage African American males much sooner than at the post-secondary level. Byrd and Edwards provide models that HBCUs might adapt in reversing the proportional downward recruitment and retention trends among African American males in higher education.

In Chapter 8, Jackson, Melton, and Jackson turn attention to the status of African American males in U.S. science. These authors review trends in the production of African American males in science. They identify points of departure from positive trends, explore possible causes, and seek to identify actions that facilitate access to and success in science.

In the subsequent chapter, Slaughter focuses on African American males' rates of matriculation, persistence, and graduation in engineering education. The author presents a 35-year history of various efforts to achieve racial diversity in the engineering workforce. He points out that although the male/female ratio of African American engineering graduates has remained around 2:1 for nearly two decades, it is important to recognize that African American male graduates have never been more than 4.2 percent of the total number of males graduating with bachelor's degrees while their female counterparts have represented as many as 9.2 percent of all females graduating in engineering in any given year. Slaughter discusses some of the reasons for the underrepresentation of African American males in engineering and provides some recommendations for increasing their representation.

In the 10th chapter, Leggon investigates the representation of African American males in academic science. She points out that research focusing on efforts to diversify the U.S. science talent pool tend to ignore African American males. Leggon analyzes trends in degrees earned at the bachelor's, master's, and doctoral levels, and the baccalaureate origins of African American doctoral scientists by broad field (biological/agricultural sciences, physical sciences, mathematics, computer science). The author presents syntheses about what is known and what needs to be known about what works (and what does not work) to attract and retain African American males in academic science.

In Chapter 11, Taylor examines trends in Black men's presence in academe. The author focuses on the relevance and existence of Black males in doctoral programs and in the professoriate as full-time tenured, tenure-tracked, assistant, associate, and full professors. He provides an introspective view and implores a personal narrative in the exploration of the challenges that belie the meager numbers of Black male doctoral students and professors. Taylor asserts that such an introspective approach increases our ability to unravel some of the intricacies, complexities, and nuances of the Black male experience in faculty and doctoral ranks.

In Chapter 12, the focus is on Black American men in medical education, where Strayhorn presents an overview of the status of Black American men in medical education over the last three decades. He examines trends in medical school enrollment, residency selection, and the presence of medical school faculty.

The next chapter highlights the presence of African American males in the legal profession. Weatherspoon explores some the underlying and critical causes of the continuing declines in the participation of African American males in the legal profession. In particular, he examines the effect of race neutral institutional policies that have had adverse effects on enrollment as well as other barriers. Moreover, Weatherspoon explores factors that may impede the hiring of African American males who graduate from law school.

In the 14th chapter, Conwill examines the profession of psychological counseling but additionally speaks to critical issues that are uncommonly addressed in academia. The author discusses social, political, and cultural factors that work in concert to shape both faculty and advanced graduate student participation in the field. In addition, Conwill discusses the perceptions regarding the underrepresentation of African American males on the faculties of psychology training programs and additionally, distinctions that are drawn between Black American males and their counterparts from immigrant backgrounds. He also broached the topic related to the perceived effects of skin color and class on participation in professions related to counseling and psychology. Moreover, Conwill further discusses factors that include limited resources for prevention and sustained intervention, parent involvement in the school, school readiness, implicit universal notions of masculinity that obscure the range and complexity of African American males' notions of masculinity, cultural mistrust, level of social and academic integration, and school system factors such as hiring.

The authors of Chapter 15 focus on programmatic efforts to increase the participation of African Americans in computer science. Jackson, Gilbert,

Charleston, and Gosha examine the effects of a STEM-based intervention program on African American male and female computer science students and the promises such program has for African American males.

In the final chapter, Pulliam and McGregor discuss models to accelerate the development and growth of African American males' entrance and presence in higher education particularly at the undergraduate level. The authors focus on both informal and formal educational experiences that can be advanced via higher educational settings, and present prescriptive views and recommendations to that extent.

Within this volume, the contributing authors' findings and discussions advance our understanding of both the barriers and opportunities involving the participation of African American males within the wide spectrum of higher education settings. The diversity of disciplinary approaches presented in the volume provides a rich knowledge source for developing data-driven, thoughtful policies, and research-based programmatic efforts. We believe that the synergistic characteristics of the chapters provide an exceptional view of the various stages in the educational and workforce pathways that can be leveraged to enhance the contributions of African American males to society, and there is no reason for this not to occur. We wish to thank and acknowledge the contributing authors for their contributions to this volume.

Henry T. Frierson  
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## FACTORS AFFECTING THE PRESENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES ON COUNSELING AND PSYCHOLOGY TRAINING PROGRAM FACULTIES

William L. Conwill

### INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The severe underrepresentation of African American males in counseling and psychology is significant, especially in light of these fields' mandates as health professions. In this chapter, I will use a within-race intersectionality paradigm (gender, class, skin color) to inform my analysis of factors that affect the presence of African Americans males on counseling and psychology faculties. I will briefly elucidate factors that, early on, effectively "weed out" African American males from the pool of aspirants for higher education, and thence, from counseling and psychology programs and faculties. I will apply cooperative inquiry – a radical peer-to-peer research method regarded as a well-developed action research approach – to explore Black males' experience along a range of narratives.

This application will provide examples of the risks and benefits that intersecting systems of gender, class, and skin color create in the experiences

of African American males as they progress toward professional training as counselors and psychologists, and as they attain faculty positions. I close with some implications of and recommendations for augmenting the number of African American males on counseling and psychology faculties. Recommendations include improved recruitment processes, changes in policy and educational culture, appropriate course content, and inclusive mentoring for teaching and research.

The underrepresentation of Black males on counseling and psychology faculties is clearly severe. In 2004, for example, among approximately 1,200 counselor educators in Counseling and Counseling-Related Educational Program (CACREP)-accredited programs, only 41 (3.4%) identified themselves as African Americans, and that included males and females. Academic psychology faculties hardly fared better, according to a 1996 *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (JBHE) study. As recently as 12 years ago, in five of the top programs in psychology (Harvard, Carnegie Mellon, the University of Illinois, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Pennsylvania), with a total of 149 faculty members from those respective schools, none were Black (The JBHE Foundation, 1997). Among African Americans with doctorates in these fields, the increases that have occurred are primarily due to the presence of women.

#### *Why is the Severe Underrepresentation of African American Males Critical?*

According to the American Psychological Association's (APA) (2003) Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice and Organizational Change for Psychologists, a document in the making for nearly 30 years, gender, race, ethnicity, class, and other components of multiple identities *matter*. For this reason, then, the difference between proportions of Black men on counseling and psychology faculties and in the general population is significant, and these professions should address it.

Counseling and psychology are health professions, and the charge or mandate for such professions (Conwill, 2001) is the welfare of the population, through proper training, through research on representative populations, and through appropriate practice. For example, the medical profession has recognized the importance of *gender* as a salient issue in research and patient care, and has been training increased numbers of women for its faculties for over 30 years. Analogously, the issue of race operates so prominently in the United States that the professions of

counseling and psychology should consider race when making decisions about the make-up of their faculties. Therefore, the small and diminishing percentage of Black males on counseling and psychology training faculties compromises the mandate for these two helping professions.

#### *Who is "Black"? Which Black Males are We Talking About?*

In our present social scientific context, "Black" does not denote simply the descendants of Africans formerly enslaved for over 250 years in the United States. The once-simple Census category now reflects advances in our theoretical construction of intersections of race and ethnicity (Conwill, 2007). The 2000 Census notes that "Black" now means those who report they are "Black," "African American," "Negro," "Afro American," "Nigerian," and "Haitian."

In addition, Census respondents can now list themselves as Black and as members of more than one racial or ethnic category. For example, children with one White and one Black parent may consider themselves "multi-racial." According to the March 2004 statistics from the United States Census Bureau, those classified as "Black alone or in combination" (versus "White alone, not Hispanic") comprise 37,645,000 (approximately 13%) of the 288,281,000 of the total United States population (US Census Bureau, 2004). The majority of Blacks (34%) live in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia. Although Hispanics are the largest ethnic minority group in the United States, Blacks currently are the largest racial minority group in the United States.

#### *The Racially Disengaged Stance in Faculty Selection*

For many in academe, faculty conversations about the small proportion of Black males in the department and the implications for recruitment and retention can be more or less uncomfortable. For example, in response to a request to consider a Black male applicant, a White male faculty person might say, "But I don't see color; I just see the person. Isn't that what we all want, to get the right *person* for the job? Right?"

This attempt to take a racially disengaged stance (Lugones, 1990, p. 50) is a normative ploy to deny awareness of racial and gender privilege. The trope of racial disengagement also permits a disavowal of the caste-like status of Blackness in America. In *Ethnic America*, for example, while able to discuss Japanese, Germans, Jews, Italians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans by ethnicity whether they were White or not, Thomas Sowell (1981) identified

Blacks by color. Thus, by equivocating ethnicity and color, Sowell evaded an uncomfortable consideration of the intersection of race and ethnicity that would reveal the preeminence of what W.E.B. DuBois dubbed "the color line." Black Hispanics know that this means they are denied certain privileges allowed for White Hispanics because of their color. The Census Bureau's current practice of recognizing ethnicity, adopted about the same time as the publication of Sowell's text, actually underscores the significance of race as an entrenched system of oppression in America.

*"But We're Looking for Quality ..."*

When counseling and psychology department search committee members say "But we're looking for quality," does that mean that they do not think Black males have academic qualities they seek? The answer is complex. To begin, many Blacks from the Caribbean who live in the US, that is for example, more than 70% of the Guyanese and 75% of the Jamaicans, have post-secondary education, and have employment in universities, research, and industry (<http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-5.pdf>). Although these "new" Blacks can suffer racialization, or disadvantageous treatment as a group, they can also benefit from the attribution of positive characteristics, according to their ethnicity as signaled by accent, customs, or other visible ethnic markers.

Besides those national ethnic distinctions that are increasingly noted as a feature of Black American identity (Collins, 1998), certain class factors related to alleged quality of education of Blacks who immigrate to the United States from the Caribbean or Africa also complicate any simplistic understanding of why males who are "just Black" – that is, readily identifiable through linguistic markers as "homegrown bruthahs" from the communities settled by descendants of formerly enslaved Africans in the United States – are less likely candidates for psychology and counseling faculties.

The "new" Blacks are not as threatening because they are not "just Black." This invidious distinction frequently surfaces in street parlance, connoting the discriminatory power of underlying intersection systems of social stratification such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, and skin color.

The racially disengaged stance allows departments to avoid the uneasy, emotionally charged discussion of the need for Black males on the faculty, and to evade the examination of their own role in furthering the status quo – which can be viewed as racial oppression and prejudicial ignorance in the profession. This is especially so in departments that stress consensus in decision making. Unfortunately in this case, anecdotal evidence suggests

that this so-called consensus frequently operates through the exclusion of those with opposing minority opinions when agenda are set.

Departments commonly quash the discussion by saying they "cannot find qualified Black male applicants," or not even focus on Black males at all. They can then comfortably meet their "diversity quotas" by hiring Indian men from the Asian subcontinent, White women married to Latino men, Black men from the Anglophone Caribbean with heavy British accents – anyone except a "homegrown bruthah," a Black male whose ancestors suffered centuries of enslavement in the United States.

## INTERSECTIONALITY AND IDENTITY IN EDUCATION

Now that I have shown how ethnic and national identity and class feature in descriptions of Black males, I will introduce a within-race intersectionality paradigm (gender, class, skin color) to explore the issue of the under-representation of a particular category of Black males on counseling and psychology faculties.

"Intersectionality" refers to interactions of systems of gender, race, skin color, class, and other classifications used to stratify people socially. Intersectionality, then, signifies a particular manner of looking at gender, race, and other ways that people use to describe themselves and others. In this section, I will explain how an intersectionality paradigm helps us analyze the Black male experience in academic settings.

### *The Intersectionality of Identity, and Associated Risks*

As a theory, intersectionality holds that individual systems of social oppression – such as those based on race or ethnicity (racism), gender (sexism), religion (intolerance), nationality (chauvinism), sexual orientation (heterosexism), and class (classism) – do not act independently of one another. Instead, they interact, thereby creating specific discriminatory conditions that place certain sectors of the population – such as African American males – at more risk than others.

The idea that a person can identify simultaneously as a male or female, as poor or well-to-do, and as a member of a particular ethnic group describes an intersectionality of identity (LaFromboise, Berman, & Sohi, 1994, 1995; Pope-Davis & Coleman, 2001). Black men, for example, can perceive and

experience themselves as male, as Black, and as middle class all at the same time. They do not experience these multiple identities as separate. Similarly, Black women experience themselves as whole persons when confronting established systems of race, gender, sexuality, and class that create interpersonal and institutional hurdles for them (Collins, 1990, 1998; Greene, 1996; Sharpley-Whiting, 1999; Williams, 1990, 1994).

#### *How do Intersectional Models Work?*

Intersectionality seeks to examine the ways in which various socially and culturally constructed categories interact on multiple levels to manifest themselves in people's lived experience in the forms of privileges and benefits or as risks. When I first started working with this notion of intersectionality, I created a visual model that demonstrated the way various systems intersected. I introduced this simplified ecological three-dimensional model of the intersectionality of gender, race, and class (see Odum, 2007; see Fig. 1)

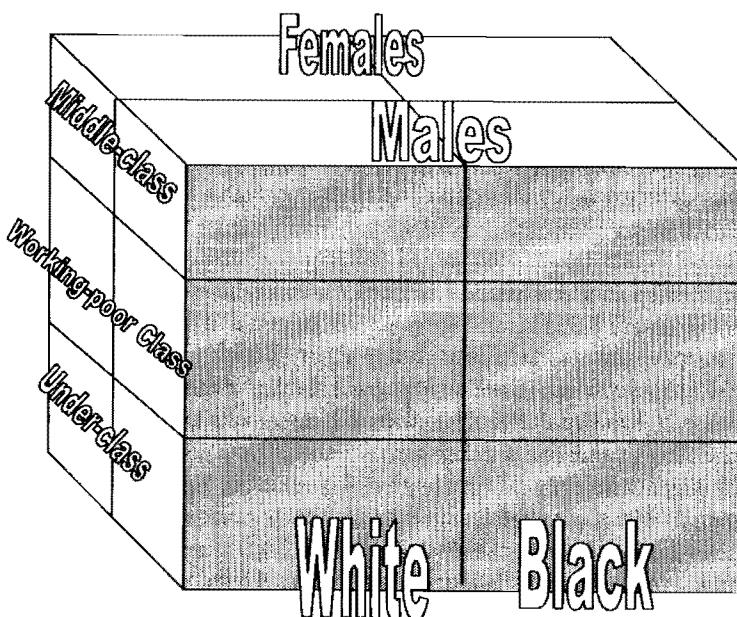


Fig. 1. Metadisciplinary Ecological Model of the Intersectionality of Gender, Race, and Class.

to show in three-dimensional space how systems of gender, race, and class intersected to form virtual bionetworks, with variable loadings from the different stratification systems. The model describes the dynamic nature of the interactions of gender, race, and class systems at their axial intersections, allowing both qualitative and quantitative analyses, and guiding intervention.

#### *Positionality and Multiple Identities*

This model is *metadisciplinary*, meaning that its perspective is based on an overarching viewpoint rather than a single disciplinary standpoint. It is also *ecological*; that is to say, the model understands behavior and the environment as mutually influential. This metadisciplinary ecological model illustrates that people can experience various systems of social inequality and various identities simultaneously, dependent on their *positionality* (Gates, 1990). The model assumes a material-semiotic methodology (Wilkerson, 1998) that is sensitive to the diversity of embodied selves and that acknowledges each person as the locus of reason, subjective experiences and emotions, and meaning. The intersectionality model can account legitimately for a Black male's experience as a prospective or actual counseling or psychology faculty member.

#### *Units of Measurement in Intersectional Models*

Let us look again at the model in Fig. 1. Each block or intersection of gender, race, and class is an ecology or an environment. Using an environmental analogy, we see that each person's knowledge base is a function of his or her interactions with others from the same ecology and from ecologies at other intersections of gender, race, and class. Hence, the sustaining ecologies or bionetworks formed by these axial intersections constitute self-regulating systems that reinforce those who share or do not share salient aspects of their lived experience. Thus, for example, the experiences of a middle-class White female teacher and a lower class Black male student serve as units of measurement in an intersectional analysis of their different environments.

These units of measurement, that is, the experiences comprising the knowledge bases of a middle-class White female teacher and a lower-class Black male student affect each other as they interact dynamically in the academic setting to form a multidimensional representation, or model, of social relations. Accordingly, the interactions between our two actors are partly functions of their lived experiences derived from within their respective environments.

The intersectional model's use of a critical lens to examine the determinants of interactions among people from different backgrounds makes it useful in understanding the differential experience of Black males in academic settings. By critical, I mean that we question the influence of systems of gender, race, and class as we contextualize behavior, rather than take them as givens. Broadening the context of interactions to include the positionality of the ecologies (again, see Fig. 1) in which Black males develop defensive behaviors in school permits an examination of dynamics that might remain invisible unless we adopt a critical analytic lens to examine and to take into account the differences in their perspectives. The educational contexts can range from kindergarten to the counseling and psychology faculty at universities. Formulations based on this broader interpretive paradigm facilitate the examination of antecedents that single-source perspectives tend to obscure.

#### *Positionality and Multiple Identities*

We occupy different positions in society that are more or less advantageous, dependent on how we identify ourselves and others. Thus, in our social interactions, systems of domination and subordination such as gender, race, and class reinforce and crosscut each other mutually (Anthias, 1998; Collins, 1990), and affect Black males and females differently. For example, lower class Black female, subjugated on three dimensions (Hernton, 1990) – gender, race, and class – in terms of positionality, stands as the “other” of the ‘other’ (Gates, 1990; Wallace, 1990). She is the lesser half of a lower class male whose masculinity is necessarily inadequate and compensatory, according to the tenets of White patriarchy dominant in the United States.

From the perspective of a life thus marginalized, the Black female is, according to feminist standpoint theories, in a unique position of experience (Collins, 1986). The Black male, in a similar vein, might perceive the necessity of proving his worth through threats and actions of physical dominance to offset or compensate for his reduced class or race status. This inclination can mark the Black male as an object for exclusionary practices in educational settings and even throughout his career.

#### *Permeability of Virtual Intersectional Environments*

Teachers may treat males and females differently. The teachers' behavioral shifts may also occur in a gendered fashion within race, with the teacher treating lower class Black males and females differently from those from middle-class homes.

Finally, as intimated above, class status shapes how males and females from various cultural groups experience gender (Collins, 1986). Teachers' attention to class indicators may influence their behavior as they interact with children from different races and genders. In this last case, the teacher might treat the son of a prominent Black physician, for example, with more consideration than she would give to the daughter of a single White woman on welfare. Thus, the effects of the class system may modulate some teacher's slights or privileged regard for certain Black students than would be accorded customarily by race and gender favoritism or bias.

In summary, intersectional models help us understand how systems of advantage and disadvantage can create ongoing risks in the educational environment, especially for Black males (Noguera, 2002). Besides liabilities emanating from interactions of gender, race, and class systems, dark-skinned Black males experience additional major risks. These risks can continue throughout their academic careers, especially targeting and culling dark-skinned Black males from the pool of college, graduate school, and faculty entrants.

#### *A Within-race Intersectionality Paradigm of Gender, Class, and Skin Color*

In the United States, skin color has played the role of a significant marker for qualities such as intelligence, morality, and criminality since the nation's inception. This history makes it awkward for both Black and White counselors and psychologists to talk about dark-skinned Black males in the context of acceptable candidates for faculty positions. With the within-race intersectionality paradigm (intersectionality of gender, class, skin color) employed below, I supply a framework to explore the underrepresentation of Black males on counseling and psychology faculties. This framework recognizes that the dark-skinned Black male's fused positionalities of gender, class, skin color make it necessary for him, for example, to “tamp it down” in the educational setting or risk treatment as a sexual or a criminal threat.

## **THE BLACK MALE IN ACADEMIC SETTINGS**

Readers should not discount the narrative examples in this section as fictional. These stories and counter-stories represent gleanings based on

actual accounts. I use cooperative inquiry (Heron, 1996) to examine different ways of knowing to make my points.

Cooperative inquiry helps to structure and make sense out of the experiences of Black males at different points in their educational careers, with some paths leading to their selection as faculty in counseling and psychology programs. The various ways of knowing include experiential (direct face-to-face encounter with people), presentational (expressing meaning through drawing from stories, etc.), propositional (deriving understanding from ideas and theories, and expressing it in informative statements), and practical (expressed through skills and competence).

#### *Black Males in Psychology and Counseling: College and Graduate School*

What challenges do Black males face on the road to becoming a psychologist or counselor? According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (2002), multiple class-related factors militate against the presence of Black males in college. These include high dropout rates from high school; low college graduation rates; high military enlistment rates; earlier entrance into the workforce instead of college; high death rate of college-age Black males; and the disproportionate rate of Black males in prison.

#### *Black Males in College*

While the percentage of Blacks enrolling in college increased from 27% in 1972 to 39.3% in 1997, proportionately more females than males continue their schooling to the baccalaureate (58% versus 42%), master's (63% versus 37%), and professional degree levels (53.5% versus 46.5%) (Kaba, 2005). Moreover, the number of Black females who obtain doctoral degrees has surpassed the number of Black males. Many Black males express a sense that White faculty members discriminate against them (Thomas et al., 2007). They also feel that White administrators, staff, and faculty are primed to accept accusations against Black males on college campuses without question. Many have stories about police stopping them for interrogation for no reason except suspicion that is often unfounded.

To complicate matters, many predominantly White colleges and universities have a "boys-will-be-boys" party atmosphere that, unfortunately, can target Black males. Smith, Yosso, and Solórzano (2007), for example, give an account of the on-campus "mugging" of a White female professor by Black males during the summer orientation for incoming

freshmen. Over the next several days, with multiple police detentions, Black males began to miss important meetings and classes. The problem began with members of a White fraternity dressing in black face and wearing Afro wigs early for a "ghetto-fabulous" party. Some of the pranksters in black face "stole" the purse of their sister sorority's faculty advisor as she was walking to a campus event so they could blow up her driver's license picture and paste it over the face of a life-sized picture of the Mona Lisa for their costume party. Their joke soon got out of hand when police responded to the faculty member's cry for help.

The repercussions of the incident were ruinous. Female staff and students called to report a Black man who "fitted the description," or who looked at them with a snarl when they locked their car doors. A female dorm orientation counselor called from the residence halls to report that a Black man made her nervous when he got on the elevator with her, and she had to get off before he stole her purse. While the police were rounding up the Black males on campus and throughout the community, the university was in the process of selecting its 2005 freshman class. The university had admitted 22 Black males as part of its 2005 incoming freshman class. Police authorities had detained all 22 in at least six different facilities. The young Black males were awaiting charges in connection with the incident.

Other stories detailed the aftermath of dangerous and unfounded accusations of sexual assaults of White females by Black male students in a co-ed dorm and other settings. Most readers are aware of traditional leap to racial judgment against Black males under these circumstances on predominantly White college campuses.

#### *Black Males in Graduate Psychology and Counseling Programs*

Now let us consider the number of Blacks matriculating in psychology and advancing to higher degrees. Blacks earned 7.1% of the 66,728 bachelor's degrees in psychology and 5.3% of the 10,957 master's degrees awarded in 1993; and 3.7% of the 3,260 doctorates awarded in 1994 (The JBHE Foundation, 1997). Likewise, in 2002, Blacks were 8.4% of the total enrollments in US graduate schools (The JBHE Foundation, 2005). The JBHE Foundation (1997) also reported that in five (Harvard, Carnegie Mellon, the University of Illinois, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Pennsylvania) of the top programs in psychology, with 149 faculty members, none were Black. A JBHE Report Card (2002) on the progress of Blacks on the faculties at the nation's top-ranked colleges and universities (3.6%, or one half a percentage point from the results of the JBHE survey conducted six years before) estimated that it would take more

than a century for the highest ranked universities to achieve faculty diversity that coincided with the racial make-up of US society.

At any rate, with the number of college-educated Blacks increasing, we cannot presume that their class status will not affect their decision to take advantage of therapy at expected utilization rates, especially for relief of historical traumatization, stress from racial insults, and betrayal on the job. In fact, Halford Fairchild, a leading proponent of culturally sensitive psychological practice for more than 30 years, reported a decade ago that the number of clients at the private sector offices of Black counselors and psychologists is increasing (Jones, 1997). Perhaps more importantly, the need for trained practitioners for working with the Black population in the public sector is immense, especially within the schools, the prison industrial complex, and in vocational preparation (Conwill, 2001). The professional development of those who will serve the growing number of Black males and females in these settings is in the hands of the faculties of counselor education and psychology training programs.

#### *Black Males in Counseling and Psychology: The Long Fight for Agency*

The protracted struggle to address the dearth of Black psychologists and counselors at the doctoral level and on university training program faculties within the overwhelmingly White memberships of the American Counseling Association (ACA) and the APA continues to this day (APA, 2003; Delgado-Romero, Galván, Maschino, & Rowland, 2005). These two bodies (APA and ACA) are the main professional organizations for counselors and psychologists, respectively. The professions of counseling and psychology fought input from Blacks for decades. Only after the firestorms of protests in the 1960s and 1970s did the principal professional organizations allow Black representation and participation beyond a nominal level.

#### *The Association of Black Psychologists*

Late in the 1960s, a group of approximately 200 Black psychologists met at the APA convention in San Francisco to confront a number of conditions that militated against the presence of Blacks in the profession (Williams, 2008). Among the conditions, they addressed were: the lack of diversity in the APA governing body and workforce; the lack of Blacks in graduate psychology training programs; the publication of racist "scholarship" in the organization's journals; and the lack of attention to minority concerns (Utsey, Gernat, & Bolden, 2003). On September 2, 1968, Charles William

Thomas, II, and Robert Lee Green founded the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi). The ABPsi undertook the task of developing perspectives on Black family life, language patterns, and philosophical ideas that the White psychological establishment had ignored.

Sadly enough, the split between Black and White psychologists divided Black psychologists as well. Undoubtedly, according to one of my informants who was a spectator at the late 1960s' Black psychologists' protest in San Francisco, the sense of Black inferiority implied by arguments echoing "separate but equal" education created a reaction formation among many Black psychologists who had not attended predominantly White institutions (PWI). At that time, Howard University was about the only historically Black college or university (HBCU) offering a Ph.D. degree in psychology, and some of its graduates allegedly felt that APA membership without equality was more prestigious than membership in ABPsi. The rift between Black and White psychologists continues to this day in many ways.

#### *The Association for Non-White Concerns*

During the same turbulent period of the 1960s, Black activists within the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) worked furiously for recognition. Heroic struggles to raise their concerns at national conventions spawned Machiavellian challenges from White leadership and constituencies over several years and through several conventions to silence them despite strong support for and interest in their cause. After multiple attempts for recognition and for a voice in the profession, the Black activists founded the Association for Non-White Concerns (ANWC) in Personnel and Guidance as a division of AGPA in 1972. ANWC changed its name to the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) in 1985 to reflect the efforts of the organization more accurately (Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development, n.d.).

Many of the pioneers in this movement were Black males – Samuel H. Johnson, Robert L. Clayton, Willie S. Williams, Clemmont Vontress, Johnny McFadden, Charles Thomas, Joseph L. White, Asa G. Hilliard, Na'im Akbar, Thomas Parham, and Robert L. Williams. There were also Black women leaders, such as Gloria S. Smith, Joyce H. Clark, and Queen Fowler. White allies such as Paul Pedersen, Allen Ivey, Michael D'Andrea, Judy Daniels, and others also joined them.

These pioneers lobbied for more Black and other ethnic minority faculty. They also fought for compulsory multicultural awareness and training in the profession. Over time, their emphasis on the need for mandates from the APA and ACA created changes in training curricula, and student and

faculty diversity. Although strong resistance against these mandates continues, many contemporary training programs in major institutions now have courses on multicultural counseling issues; many even have Black male students.

#### *Continuing Underrepresentation in the Profession*

Unfortunately, however, the underrepresentation of African Americans males on Psychology and CACREPs' faculties is still severe. Among approximately 1,200 counselor educators on faculties in CACREP-accredited programs in 2004, only 41 (3.4%) identified themselves as African Americans (Johnson, Bradley, Knight, & Bradshaw, 2007). Cultural considerations (the stigma of mental illness, distrust of and antagonism against mental health professionals) or market conditions (the cost of services, the lack of a market among Blacks and Whites) may lie at the root of the low appeal of psychology and counseling as fields of study for Black males. At the doctoral level in psychology, however, Blacks are more likely to enter a clinical (service provider) subfield (Bernal, Trimble, Burlew, & Leong, 2003; also see Jones, Hohenshil, & Burge, 2009).

#### *What Factors Affect the Number of Black Males in Counseling and Psychology?*

What makes a Black male graduate student or faculty member want to enter and stay in a counseling or psychology program? In general, the prospect of a pleasant workplace environment where he feels valued.

#### *A "Critical Mass" of Other Blacks in the Profession*

A good start to producing such an environment would be the reduction of a sense of objectification that comes from being "the only one." If Black males' numbers are to increase, we should examine what "push" and "pull" factors influence their choice to enter the counseling and psychology professions.

According to a national survey of 199 counselors in the ACA who self-identified as Black, Blacks who do enter the counseling profession expressed satisfaction with their jobs, despite limited opportunities for advancement to supervisory and administrative posts (Jones et al., 2009). They liked their profession (86%), and most would choose it again. This bespeaks altruism.

#### *Reduced Inequities in the Professions of Counseling and Psychology*

Over two-thirds (68.4%) stated that racism did not affect their job satisfaction, and those who were affected felt that racism was the reason there were limited numbers of Blacks employed as counselors. Most (79.1%) were women. The 24 women who noted sexism as a negative factor in their job satisfaction mentioned the lack of women in positions of authority. The mean salary for all participants was \$54,953, with nearly a \$14,000 gap between men's (\$65,879) and women's (\$52,068) mean salaries. Men were licensed for five years more than women, on average. The respondents were primarily practitioners, except for an educator. If this sample is typical, the limited number of Black males on the faculties of counseling and psychology programs is not surprising.

#### *How Can We Recruit More Black Males into Counseling and Psychology Programs?*

The key to increasing of the number of Black male students among counseling and psychology departments is an enhanced number of Black males on the faculty (Johnson et al., 2007). Moreover, controlling the hegemony of White racists among the faculty is a beginning.

#### *Reduce White Racist Hegemony*

The hegemony of racist White faculty is a serious challenge that Black male graduate students face in counseling and psychology training programs. Many White faculty members avoid self-confrontation about the benefits they reap from institutionalized racism and White privilege (see Fine, Powell, Weis, & Wong, 2004; McIntosh, 1995; Winant, 1997). They experience and exhibit anxious responses to Black students who wish to develop research agenda related to a positive perspective on Black people because of its implications for their own behavior.

#### *Provide Financial Support for Black Males*

Denial of financial and moral support is another tactic racist faculty may employ to invite Black male graduate students to leave their programs. This denial is tantamount to "starving out" Black students. Informing Black students of their rights when faculty members retaliate against them by revoking fellowships and assistantships because they disagree with the professor's racist teachings is important in this regard. We can do little about these professors besides urging the rest of the faculty to practice anti-racism.

### *Recognize the Relevance of Research from Black Perspectives*

Racist faculty members act as if they do not understand the premises or the prospects of research from a positive Black perspective. They redirect the Black student by asking him to "rethink" the question. They demand interminable "rewrites." They disapprovingly call the Black student's perspective "political." They accuse the student of "thinking like a Black man instead of a scholar." However, they have no problem encouraging research by Black males that upholds their beliefs in White superiority. This is a form of racial "priming" (Smith et al., 2007, p. 559), or teaching racist stereotypes through a racially conservative, "race-neutral," or "color-blind" process that racializes Blacks.

### *Combat White Racism*

This behavior can result in Black misandry (Smith et al., 2007), an exaggerated pathological aversion toward Black males. White faculty racism increases the burden for Black faculty because students come to the latter to vent their rage when they experience racist teachings and behavior. Racist faculty members may consider Black males foreign interlopers on campus, and alert others of their presence. They may see Black males as thieves, rapists, disorderly and promiscuous predators, and intellectually inferior troublemakers. Unfortunately, while poisoning the minds of their White students, these faculty members also sicken the Black students they teach. Black students may feel they have no refuge against this type of racist professor.

### *Improve Collegiality and Positive Peer Relations Among White and Black Faculty*

More hurdles await the Black male who successfully completes doctoral studies and seeks and gains employment as a counselor educator or a psychology faculty member. The Black male professor cannot enjoy the on-campus anonymity of a White professor. His Black male hypervisibility is virtually inescapable (Constantine, Smith, Redington, & Owens, 2008). His colleagues push him to the fore to show that they have diversified the faculty, and look to him to tend to Black male students who "do not fit in."

Additionally, he does not receive the courtesy of the benefit of the doubt if accused of violations by students. He may suffer departmental condemnation even after the indictment has been proven by witnesses to have been vindictive and without substance. If he is fortunate, he will not have been "the first" on his faculty. Otherwise, he may suffer decades of quiet rage and

indignation following many years of exclusion, slights, and insults despite recognitions and commendations outside his "home" department.

### *Be Aware of Differences Between Black Male and Female Faculty Experience*

As our model of intersectionality suggested, we can expect the Black male's experience to differ from that of a Black female. The infamous "noose-hanging" incident at New York's Columbia University is an example of the clear and present danger of the heightened threats leveled at Black women in academia (Boxer, 2007). In addition to isolation, hostility, and racial insults, the Black female counselor or psychologist-in-training can expect slights to her womanhood as well (Jones et al., 2009). For instance, Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (2008) provide the following example of the insults Black women can suffer in this regard. When a Black female faculty member informed her White assistant professor colleague that she had advanced to full professor status, the latter blurted out incredulously, "Who did you f--- to get there in nine years?"

Although Black males may not experience such direct physical threat, verbal insults, however more subtle, may plague them as well. The reason may be that to many racists, they appear dangerous and lacking in self-control. In one notable account of this type of racist perception among Whites, the only apparently relevant question a White psychology professor had in his follow-up call to a letter of reference written by a White female psychologist for a Black male – besides the delicate inquiry about his behavior around female students – was "Is he controllable?" Unfortunately, this sort of racist academic colonialism (Hurtado, 1992) in counselor education and psychology programs is more unrestrained and pervasive than we would like to believe (Constantine et al., 2008).

### *Curb Racist Nastiness*

In other words, White racist faculty members continually "show their color." Their Whiteness bleeds through even though they may have marched zealously with Black folks long ago and far away as a progressive associate. It bleeds through steadily from the beginning to the end of their years in the professorate as they subtly intimate through smirks, winks, and blinks that Blacks are intellectually, culturally, and morally inferior. It bleeds through in spurts when they openly disparage a Black faculty member in front of other White faculty and even students, or exclaim "one-shot wonder" when hearing of a Black colleague's publication in a name-brand research journal.

Their Whiteness hemorrhages when they mock the competence or belittle the achievements of Black faculty. Examples include claiming it is a "fluke" when the Black faculty member obtains prestigious funding for a large project; or deprecating the "rigor" and "quality" of a Black faculty member's work involving the mental health issues of Black people (Constantine et al., 2008). Finally, directing students and even junior faculty away from ethnic minority faculty is another transparent racist strategy. Such behaviors discourage collegiality. Yet, many Black faculty report that this practice permeates academic circles. This is not to excuse it or to say it is not reprehensible, but to say that we should see it for what it is.

#### *Share the Load for Responsible Racial Tension Resolution*

Another factor that affects Black males early in their career is the emotional load emanating from the expectation that they keep people from being upset when confronted with their racism. Black males are led to believe that they are not supposed to show anger or hostility no matter how racially insensitive or ethnocentric others act. Typically in tandem with this expectation, Black male faculty may have the departmental responsibility for disseminating multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills. This can lead to their marginalization, through White faculty support of student recalcitrance and sabotage.

In general, through access to conservative White faculty members with racist agenda, disgruntled White students who are uncomfortable with multicultural directives can complain vigorously enough to cause senior White faculty and department heads to "investigate" minority faculty who teach courses with critical content. These racist students do not hesitate to describe Black faculty members as "arrogant." This charge is easily refuted by reference to Thompson and Louque's (2005) description of the culture of arrogance among educators as a mindset based on four beliefs: (1) Whites are smarter than Blacks; (2) Blacks do not have the aptitude to do outstanding work; (3) Whites know what is best for Black students; and (4) the research of Black scholars is inferior to the work of Whites.

Despite acknowledging their own experiences with pressure from students, senior White faculty members give these students ear when they complain about Black instructors. These disgruntled White students can effectively isolate Black faculty, and suppress attempts to introduce new information and pedagogical approaches based on multicultural models.

These students' activities are often smoke screens for resistance to the positional authority of Black faculty (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2008). Insidious and often invidious whispers about the Black faculty member's

competence follow, and soon, the combined discomfort of faculty and students who feel uneasy about discussing the nature of racism in America, and racism against Blacks in particular, subverts the objectives of multicultural mandates. An earnest discussion of these issues requires courage among faculty members if the students are to understand the lesson.

#### *Is a Dark-Skinned Black Male on the Faculty a Relevant Recruitment Issue?*

Graduate programs and faculties' recruitment of *dark-skinned* Black males may be crucial. Dark-skinned Black male faculty can provide a role model for those dark-skinned Black males who ordinarily may not look to other people, including light-skinned Black males, for leadership and mentorship (Bennett et al., 2004). Admittedly, nurturing Black male students is not *all* about color. It is also about culture and consciousness. Meeting the needs of Black male students in our graduate counseling and psychology requires that White faculty members learn to critique their own responses to Black males whose research interests involve areas in which the White professor feels culturally deficient or racially uncomfortable. Seeking consultation with other Black faculty across departmental and disciplinary divides may provide a temporary solution for finding help with this issue.

#### *The Deep Roots of Colorism in Counseling and Psychology*

For centuries, skin color dictated the American experience. Laws and customs privileged White skin. Even in educational settings in the Black community, one can encounter regrettable anecdotal evidence of significance of skin color as a marker. For example, while consulting at an urban elementary school, I heard an otherwise politically correct Black teacher comment that a student was "real dark, but smart!" Thus, it is reasonable for us consider skin color as an important axis of inequality affecting the presence of Black males in counseling and psychology programs. Moving more closely to home, in the fields of psychology and counseling, the culturally biased assessment of intelligence and morality has racialized Blacks historically.

#### *Skin Color Matters*

This makes skin color of Black male faculty members an important concern, since dark-skinned African American men often find themselves outside of informal academic networks (Heggins, 2001). We may feel it is politically

incorrect to admit skin color could be a factor in attracting Black applicants, but the above observation by Bennett and colleagues makes sense when we consider how dark-skinned people might feel when everyone they see on the faculty is light-skinned. Skin color matters.

Most of the preceding examples of Black male experience focused on the sometimes hellish challenges that Black males must surmount to enter and complete doctoral training programs in counseling and psychology. Although there are few Elysian Plains on the horizon for Black males in counseling and psychology, there are examples of wonderfully encouraging accounts of triumph and mastery of the game.

#### *What do Black Male Success Stories Sound Like?*

Are there any encouraging stories of Black males who entered graduate school and embarked upon the trail of professorial ranks? Yes. We will now take a look at three very different successful Black males' paths. Our first example involves a graduate student. His bold and confident steps led him into the trenches of our school systems. Our second example is a brief story about a young professor who truly enjoys the life of an academic for the sense of adventure that it affords. Our third example describes the trajectory of an exceptionally charismatic leader who has always been "at the top of his game."

#### *Example 1: "I was Born for this Role!"*

This promising young Black male doctoral student was prospering even though he attended a university I knew as a formerly hostile environment for Black students. He had gone to graduate school with a strong sense of himself. The counseling department faculty that had recruited him wanted someone who was interested in alleviating some of the typical crises faced by teachers (Conwill & Parks, 2007; Kronick, 1997; Noguera, 2002) in the local urban school system. From the beginning of his training, he was well on his way to integrating his identity as a strong, heroic Black man. He was learning – with support and encouragement from his faculty – to address challenges that young Black males face at the high school level. He had already begun developing creative cultural interventions using hip-hop lyrics.

He had gone to graduate school with a sense of mission. He focused his research efforts on Black males whose futures were most likely to be the stuff of tragedy; on those seen as sexually threatening; and on those whose

middle-class White teachers see as both victims and participants in their own educational demise (Noguera, 2002). Many of his research participants were candidates for the bottom layers of the so-called "achievement gap," where, instead of transformative education, the prevalent discourse was on their disengagement from school, their misguided constructions of masculinity, and their inclusion as fatalities in the "epidemic of failure" (Davis, 2003, p. 518).

This doctoral student had a sense of what Black males with failing records in school needed. He had courageously taken on the task of being a Black male role model for those who were confused at why teachers did not set limits for them in the classroom (Emihovich, 1982; Kunjufu, 1988); who saw learning as antithetical to their identity as Black males (Cose, 2002); or who considered school a place for acting out and testing teachers' fear of Black males (Fremon & Hamilton, 1997). He wanted to show them that the answer to the question "Is it possible for a young man to be both Black and smart?" was "Yes!"

He is well equipped to shepherd young Black male high school students to graduation. He can direct them to college, where, for many, the struggle will continue (Thomas et al., 2007). He was well on his way to academic success as a professor.

#### *Example 2: "This Looks Like an Exciting Life!"*

Another rising young Black male counselor educator with whom I spoke was on the faculty of a PWI in the South. He had not considered a career path as an academic until a faculty member took him aside during his senior year of college and told him he should apply to a doctoral program in counselor education because he would make a great professor. Curious, he applied for the program at his *alma mater*. After a couple of semesters in the program, he felt that the life of a counselor educator would be exciting, and found that he could work on some exciting projects with supportive faculty. His experiences were refreshing and positive, especially at the end of his college years and the beginning of his ascent through a graduate counseling program.

As his first job out of graduate school, he accepted a temporary position at a major university that was known to "run through" junior-level Black faculty and then unceremoniously send them off. Undaunted, he too went on his way, and quickly landed his first tenure-accruing appointment in a university setting where he could put his skills to work fruitfully. Having established relationships during his initial appointment with a network of

colleagues who saw him as the future of the profession, he thrived as a faculty member.

He received recognition for his academic excellence, and for his research and organizational leadership skills in the service of the counseling profession. He has grown professionally by serving in leadership positions in associations that promote awareness of multicultural awareness and social justice, and without sacrificing his Black identity.

*Example 3: "I Want to Lead a Top Organization in my Field!"*

Our final example of a Black male success story in counseling or psychology involves a young man who received careful mentoring as a graduate student at a prestigious Southern PWI university, garnering accolades for his research along the way. At the completion of his doctoral studies, he joined the faculty at the same institution. He continued his advancement in rank, and received recognition as an exceptional scholar. His professional colleagues elected him to the presidency of a major organization, giving him national exposure and high visibility.

When a top national governmental institute began a search for director of a new office for a most promising type of approach in the field of behavioral health, an African American insider from the APA in Washington called me to ask who might be the best candidate. I gave the young man's name, but warned that his university would loathe losing him. In the end, he accepted the offer of a post in Washington, gaining even more acclaim for his outstanding leadership and organizational development skills.

Several years ago, he rose to the top executive post in his profession. His dream all along was to serve his whole profession as a truly inspirational leader. His blend of scientific acumen, charismatic leadership, and physical vitality made him an ideal chief during some of the most exciting times in the history of the behavioral sciences.

### IMPLICATIONS FOR PSYCHOLOGY AND COUNSELOR EDUCATION

From a critical race perspective, this cooperative inquiry explored some of the challenges and confirmations that Black males encounter in their quest as faculty members in psychology and counselor education programs. For example, they must complete high school, survive college, gain placement in counseling and psychology graduate training programs, and finally,

compete for faculty positions. Thereafter, they must manage their students and colleagues' distress at their presence until the latter see the benefits to themselves. Black males on the faculty offer models and mentors, especially for the upcoming cadre of Black male students. They provide support and understanding for Black female colleagues.

### Improved Recruitment Processes

My membership in a faculty learning community on combating racism in the academy and my participation as a Black male in multicultural counseling workshops and town hall meetings on racism have improved my knowledge of the experiences other Black males have had at their universities. My membership has also improved my dialog on racism with White colleagues. It has become easier for me to talk clearly and straightforward about the effects of racism on campus. These activities have prevented me from taking other racial and ethnic minority faculty members in my department for granted.

I could not have had these experiences if I were the "only one." I often think about just how lucky I am to have them around and to work with them. I had not had the luxury of working with so many faculty members from ethnic and racial minority groups since team-teaching the Merrill College Core Course at the University of California at Santa Cruz in the mid-1970s.

At that time, Merrill College, under the direction of Provost John A. Marcum, focused on domestic and international Third World settings, and the impact of the United States in the developing world. Merrill attracted liberal and radical faculty and students with its offerings of ethnic studies classes as well as student housing with ethnic studies themes. Merrill also gained a reputation as a campus center of openness and acceptance for gays and lesbians. Thus, my own early experiences as a faculty member shaped my expectations and vision of possibilities.

Working closely today with a number of departmental colleagues around multicultural themes and social justice feels comfortably familiar to me, but I realize I am at a program that has taken on the mission of teaching students to relate to these issues. Recruiting a number of ethnic minority faculty members was a required step. My department is, in a way, an oasis that has taken hard work to build. However, it is not Utopia. Changing the institutional culture where I work has required visionary insight and courageous leadership.

### *Changes in Policy and Educational Culture*

The reason my environment is so rich is that administrators at my institution made hiring ethnic minority faculty a priority, and encouraged a scholarship of engagement, wherein faculties work together to solve problems faced by the most needy in the college's ken. Typically, such problems, especially in school and community settings, draw ethnic minority junior faculty to them at their own peril. Encouragement to engage pertinent social issues even during early career exploration is appealing to Black male faculty, and frequently helps them express their Blackness, as we saw in some of our narratives above.

For Black male faculty to thrive, White students conversely, need instruction to manage their Whiteness when feeling defensive. They need to recognize the plantation model of education that many university faculties practice with isolated ethnic minorities (Bangura, 2006). White faculties and students alike need to learn to resist the impulse to treat Black faculty like dried-up mammies and tolerant old uncles while treating only the White faculty as the nurturing parents.

Although the inclination to hire female faculty is common in many industries because of the presumption that they are "easier to control," this should not deter counseling and psychology departments from hiring Black males. Instead, chairs should use the issue of the perceived need to control Black males as a teachable moment for concerned faculty, who should then interpret the lesson for their concerned students. This would help expose and reject the culture of racist arrogance in the academy (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2008; Thompson & Louque, 2005). Counselor education and psychology faculties should lead in the endeavor to establish the presence of Black males on university faculties, noting that the 2–3% we brag about these days is too paltry to address the need, let alone brag on. In short, counseling and psychology faculties have to go beyond "quota" mindsets and look to the present and future needs of the population when they hire new members.

### *Inclusive Mentoring for Teaching and Research*

Once they hire new members, departments should shape their mentoring programs to develop professional leadership skills and retention strategies among Black male faculty members. This will increase resources for students. With enough administrative support, students learning to apply

their theoretical knowledge in multicultural community settings can come to recognize that the insights and experiences that Black male faculty can provide are essential components of training for a diverse world, where global issues and local problems are common grounds, whether in school, family, or community settings. Resistant White faculty, however, need to learn to support their colleagues – Black and White – as well as their students in this awakening.

Thoughtful students are already aware of the lacunae in their training that could be filled by an ethnically diverse faculty. At the Annual Multicultural Roundtable at Columbia University, for instance, White students complain regularly that there are no racial or ethnic minority members at their internship agencies or their faculties. The agencies typically serve a dark-skinned Black and Spanish-speaking communities. They reported that this bothered neither their site supervisors nor their professors. Their educational settings were not designed in the spirit of CACREP or APA regulations for experiential learning, and were not going to address their need for inclusive mentoring as future teachers and researchers.

### *Appropriate Course Content*

A White senior colleague and I recently flew to a state university on the west coast to conduct a workshop on multicultural issues in counseling, and a town hall meeting on racism and other social injustices. The Mental Health Counseling faculty and students were all White except for an East Asian female student. With the department's present faculty resources, the students had not been able even to imagine what sitting competently in front of a culturally different client, especially a Black male, entailed. Such situations are unconscionable (Hansen, Pepitone-Arreola-Rockwell, & Green, 2000), unless the students realistically plan never to serve anyone other than White middle-class clients from the Northwest! Two young White faculty members had invited us as a way of providing training opportunities for their students.

The students were hungry for what we had to teach. They followed up on our workshop with more planning to increase their training in multicultural counseling issues, research, and practice. They suddenly understood what can happen when there are no representatives from any of the nation's main racial or ethnic groups on their faculty. They realized that they *needed* someone like me. I may not have felt that I was "in demand" before I arrived, but I certainly felt so afterward. That department *needed* a Black

male on the faculty for its own good. Properly trained Black males can deliver the education and supervision that counseling and psychology programs need.

## SUMMARY

In this chapter, I first described the need for Black male faculty in counseling and psychology programs, and explained how national and ethnic distinctions enter into discussions around Black identity. I then showed how intersecting systems of social inequality – that is, intersectionality – produce risks for Black males, and introduced an intersectional paradigm of a within-race model of the intersectionality of gender, class, and skin color to interpret Black males' educational experience in preparing for and attaining faculty positions. I also presented a brief account of the major interventions in the professions of counseling and psychology to achieve Black agency. In my examination of factors that affect Black males' satisfaction negatively or positively in the professions, I provided descriptive narratives at different points in their academic trajectories, ending with three examples of Black male success stories. I closed with implications for counseling and psychology programs and recommendations for improved recruitment processes, changes in the educational climate, inclusive mentoring, and appropriate course content.

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