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A QuantCrit Approach: Using Critical Race Theory as a Means To Evaluate If Rate My Professor Assessments Are Racially Biased

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ABSTRACT

Research on race is a paradigm in qualitative methodology. Researchers believe that when analyzing discrimination, numerical data may miss the subjective characteristics of bigotry. Since the early 1990s, research utilizing critical race theory in education employed a qualitative approach. Recent research using critical race theory includes a quantitative approach called QuantCrit. The online faculty evaluation site called Rate My Professor (RMP) is designed to allow students an opportunity to appraise faculty performance. Using evaluations of faculty in a Pennsylvania college from both RMP and IOTA360, this research examines the validity of RMP in analyzing minority faculty's teaching. As predicted by applying a QuantCrit approach, results support that RMP evaluations show a race bias.

Keywords: African American, Critical Race Theory, discrimination, faculty evaluations, minority, QuantCrit, racism

BACKGROUND

Issues of race, class, and gender are deliberated in colleges throughout the United States. Social science disciplines often acknowledge the vestiges of bigotry, and courses on racism, diversity, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other manners of discrimination rooted in America's history are designed to enlighten students on the systemic and institutionalized manners of

discrimination that yet persist. Critical Race Theory (CRT) stipulates that race matters because of its systemic nature, that there are consistent reminders of it, and that an inherent white ownership of American cultural and legal doctrine requires that any progress in social equity must benefit non-minorities also (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Bell (1992) believed that the American structure relegates African Americans into a perpetual underclass that is enduring, and more recent CRT research places emphasis on school systems as a protagonist supporting inequality (Hiraldo, 2010; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

The schooling system doesn't simply instill manifest knowledge. One of its primary latent functions is to fortify traditional norms and normative behaviors. It is the schooling system that assists in the integration of citizens into society (Henslin, 2007). CRT takes the approach that minority integration into America reproduces disparity and that the institution of education is a leading protagonist of socialized inequality. CRT theorists do not claim that race relations have not changed. The central premise is that race matters and African Americans are the recipients of differential treatment in society (Bell, 1992; Hiraldo, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Much of the Civil Rights era was predicated upon the ideology that laws, integration, education, and assimilation dilutes racism. CRT theorists argue that laws, education, and integration may alter race relations but do not eradicate racial discrimination. Take, for instance, the Black Lives Matter movement. A 2017 Pew Center poll shows that 73% of postgrads, 63% of college graduates, 54% of those with some college education, and 47% of high school (or less) respondents support the Black Lives Matter movement (Neal, 2017). More educated people support the movement, and yet, social movements to offer liberty to minorities are nonetheless necessary. According to the National Science Foundation (2015), the largest percentage of doctorates conferred to African Americans is in the field of education, and as African Americans desire to effectuate change and establish egalitarianism, many well-educated minorities become college administrators (Hiraldo, 2010). Administrators, who are responsible for the fiscal health of an institution, place value upon student evaluations and may include them in decisions of faculty tenure and promotion. In contrast, faculty, who are responsible for educating students into their chosen professions, may see evaluations as likability of faculty appraisals similar to satisfaction surveys (Patton, 2010). Either the faculty is liked or not and those who aren't liked often offer rigorous courses. Given the importance that administrators place on student evaluations and their responsibilities of budget jurisdiction, online assessments provide evaluation data that seem

cost efficient. Online evaluations, however, have low response rates (Patton, 2010) and increase measurement error.

Research supports the distinction between online and face-to-face student evaluations. Nowell et al. (2010) showed that student evaluations of faculty who teach online are lower, on average, than faculty who teach in a traditional classroom orientation after controlling for factors that are not under the faculty's control (e.g., class size and time). In essence, when looking at characteristics that are under the faculty's control and are related to instructor capabilities, the difference between online evaluations and face-to-face class evaluations was significant. Since smaller sample sizes inflate measurement error, faculty often prefer evaluations of their classroom courses given the lower response rates of online students (Sax et al., 2003). CRT posits that race is another factor out of a faculty member's control that may influence student evaluations. Students often place salience upon unmonitored online evaluations that are easily accessible and gives them some information on faculty and the courses they deliver.

Rate My Professors (RMP; www.ratemyprofessors.com) is a free online website for users at any higher education institution to anonymously provide evaluations of their instructors. These evaluations are disconcerting for a number of reasons. First, RMP content does not include dialogue between faculty and administrators. In addition, anyone, a student or not, can complete RMP evaluations. Third, much of the ratings' content has very little to do with faculty's professional capabilities. Faculty ability, for instance, has nothing to do with physical attractiveness and yet, RMP has a hotness chili pepper to grade attractiveness. The website's novelty approach is very popular with people. Along with the superficial nature of assessing physical attractiveness, could other characteristics, unrelated to pedagogy, influence RMP evaluations? Since racism is salient in society and has motivated discriminary practices in education and employment opportunities (Baker 2017; Omi & Winant, 1994), open forums like RMP could have a race bias in evaluations. If race matters, according to CRT, it would likely influence teacher ratings. While faculty may believe that the information stated on its site do not accurately depict the course delivered, students may use RMP evaluations to make decisions about which courses to take. From the CRT perspective by using a QuantCrit approach, this research examines if there is a race bias in faculty evaluations on RMP.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical Race Theory

Evolving in Bell's (1992) thesis titled "Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism," CRT posits that the structural inequalities embedded in America are ongoing due to the persistent apparatus supporting social inequity created through the legacy of discrimination. CRT has several fundamental creeds that allow for its application. First, society will often place salience on overt and vicious forms of racism and yet miss the subtle forms that perpetuate inequality. When the media coverage about the slayings of Trayvon Martin and Tamir Rice are discussed, they offer validity to concerns about the continued existence of racism. Yet, it is the covert, non-violent, and painful manners of racism that the discriminatory apparatus supports. Second, that racism is enduring. Although minorities have earned citizenship since the 19th century, discrimination is still pervasive. Third, race relations change when there are converging interests between minorities and whites. Minority social gains are couched in an ideology of social equity placed on a gradient leaning toward whites. Fourth, white privilege is a property right for whites—the right of home ownership, employment, and upward mobility in employment, and the lack of social restrictions that minorities face. Fifth is perceptions of equity and colorblindness under the law. When whites experience tangible losses (e.g., jobs) to minorities on Affirmative Action legislative justifications, they claim their 14th Amendment rights have been violated. In essence, the law designed to establish citizenship equality (e.g., U.S. Constitution) of minorities is used against Affirmative Action by whites.

The Education Pipeline

According to CRT, discrimination against people of color is an enduring element of American society. Groups desire to maximize their gains and minimize their losses (Hobfoll et al., 2002; Hobfoll & Dekel, 2007). Resource acquisition and control may converge around issues of race. Resource competition, resource scarcity, and resource control motivate intergroup conflict, and the group suitability of an individual is often based upon the other group members' acceptance of the original person's phenotype, which is often embedded in issues of race (Stephan et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2009). Education is a resource that can be exchanged for economic gain in America. This is the intersection between education and race. At each phase in the education pipeline, from entering college and

getting adequate support to going into respective employment careers, racial diversity decreases (King, 2016). According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2013) only 19% of faculty in America are racial/ethnic minorities and many of these are adjunct faculty. In the 2011–2012 school year, 19% of the students who graduated high school were Latino. Yet, only 13% of first semester college freshmen were Latino. The African American percentages were flat for the transition from high school to college, but 57% of students who graduated high school were white and 62% who entered college were white. In essence, white college student populations were the only racial/ethnic group that increased in their percentage of students entering college while other groups show percentage declines (King, 2016).

The education pipeline provides training to students at key points in their college learning experience as they prepare to be educators. At the final ends of the pipeline, that of entering the workforce and maintaining employment, while educational institutions claim that they desire diversity in faculty, they often will erroneously state a lack of qualified applicants when search processes and hiring decisions are made. According to a report by the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), when minorities get employment in colleges, they are less likely to receive tenure and be promoted above the associate professor level (Museus, Ledesma, & Parker, 2015). This idea of sifting and sorting through the education pipeline supports the idea that only the most competent minorities survive this gauntlet process. Hiraldo (2010) discussed minority positioning in higher education reinforcing the property right interests of whites. Most African Americans who earn doctorate degrees, for example, do so in education administration. Most tenured faculty in colleges and universities are not minorities. The secure positions for professionals, in academia, are those of tenure. It is the contract of tenure for faculty that has been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court as a property interest in Perry v. Sinderman (Justia, 1972), which buttressed the current race inequality. CRT supports that these property interests serve to separate minority administrators from the minority students and reinforce the students' dependence on non-minority faculty. It is in this vein that the legacy of race relations perpetuates racialized oppression although the legal mechanism did not implement discrimination in a linear manner.

Race and Educational Standards

CRT offers critique of liberal doctrine. In education, as in most social institutions, the perception is that liberalism is unnecessary since social norms and laws are neutral. As institutions of education promote

diversity, it is important that diversity is not couched in color blind racial ideology. The premise that race is perceived through a color blind racial ideological lens denies the reality of established norms that promote inequality. Given the legacy of discrimination, minimizing race is similar to the apathy that promotes racism. To be clear, color blind racial ideology promotes conventionalism supporting a status quo which, in-turn, supports racial inequity in America (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). CRT acknowledges that race matters in America. The durability of racial inequality is not only in the economic, political, and social realms of society, but it also penetrates educational norms and pedagogical instruction by educators. The white privilege doctrine turns the epistemological rationale for quality educators upon its head. Kuh, Nelson, and Umbach (2004) examined the role of race and gender in pedagogical delivery. Faculty of color and women are more likely to perform better on the effective use of several educational practices including (a) academically challenging curricula for students, (b) collaborative learning, (c) an emphasis on diversity experiences, (d) facilitating critical thought, and (e) fostering better educational experiences for students (Kuh et al., 2004). According to the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU, 2002), the activities that they stipulate as important in student–teacher engagement are (a) collaborative learning opportunities, (b) class assignments in which higher order intellectual tasks are required, (c) assignments that ask for diverse perspectives, (d) challenging activities, and (e) analysis versus memorization. The overlap between the AACU and Kuh et al. (2004) is substantial and yet, most faculty positions are held by white males. Along the lines of interest conversion in CRT, of those post-Civil Rights increases in minority faculty, most are of white women.

Student Evaluations

A primary difficulty with student evaluations is that they may be motivated by student gratification with the ease of the course, the students' grade in a course, or a host of factors for which faculty are not responsibe, rather than reflective of mastering the material (Aleamoni, 1999; Kulik, 2001; Lawrence, 2018; Neath, 1996). Take, for example, faculty office hours. Fusani (1994) showed that one in four students never contacted an instructor outside of the classroom. Griffin et al.'s (2014) research reported that 66% of students never used office hours in their course. Although students do not attend office hours, they often evaluate faculty with criteria that includes the student's ability to understand course content and access to the professor. Other factors that are not under the faculty's control are class

size, course level, tutoring, and whether the course is an elective or not (Griffin et al., 2014). Scriven (1995) also cited assignments outside the classroom, course attendance, and textbook costs as associated with student appraisals, although these factors may have little to do with faculty competence. In this manner evaluations prove as a means to evaluate faculty on student's perceptions of their grade and how much they like the faculty (Germain & Scandura, 2005). Student perceptions of the grade they should earn correlate with the evaluations of instructors (Snyder & Claire, 1976). Thus, if there are ample opportunities to receive the grade desired, the instructor's rating is more favorable (Aronson & Linder, 1965).

Research by Bavishi, Madera, and Hebl (2010) further supports that students evaluate professors on issues beyond their control, such as on race and gender. Bavishi et al. had a sample of students who had just begun their college experience rate the capability of a faculty by examining the faculty's resume. The researchers manipulated perceptions of the race of the faculty by changing their organizational affiliations and disguised gender through changing the name on the resume. The researchers found that resumes appearing to be from white males got the most favorable resume rating, even when students were examining the same resume and the only changes were organizations and gender name. When the resume had an African American organization affiliation designation, it was given the least favorable rating (Bavishi, Madera, & Hebl, 2010).

RMP and IOTA360 Solutions Evaluation Tools

RMP has over 19 million ratings about professors and colleges (www.ratemyprofessors.com).   As a point of advertisement, the website discusses these ratings as a manner of "joining the fun." Items included in the rating of a professor include the amount of homework and reading students must fulfill, as well as if faculty are caring, respectful, and inspirational. RMP's design offers no means to filter out people who have not taken a course with the professor who is being evaluated. In essence, people who do not know the professor may offer a rating to inflate or deflate the faculty's rating.

IOTA360 is another website that offers an evaluation instrument so that students may assess faculty competence (iota360.com). Among other questions, IOTA360 faculty evaluations request student feedback on syllabus clarity, course design, and instructor expectations. These criteria are part of the faculty's job responsibilities. At a college in Pennsylvania students are given access to IOTA360 evaluation surveys of faculty several weeks before the semester ends. During these few weeks, students are

prompted several times to complete the evaluation. In addition, the evaluations are secure and only the students in the course, who have their own personal code, can access the evaluation survey.

QuantCrit Approach

CRT describes the structural factors embedded in institutions that reinforce racial inequalities. Historically, much of the research has been qualitative and over the last 15 years has focused upon education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Quantitative methods have been less than desirable given the manners in which such data is used to mislead, perpetuate inequality, and dilute attempts at social justice. In 2001, for example, the American Council on Education reported that 32% of all doctorates were conferred upon Asians. A close examination of the data, however, shows that 86% of those doctorates earned by Asians were to non-U.S. citizens from Asian nations (Teranishi, 2007). In the present, attempts are being made to revive quantitative approaches to examine race issues (Gillborn et al. as cited in Garcia et al., 2017). Gillborn et al. authored several defining principles for a QuantCrit approach. These principles include that (a) racism is multifaceted and not readily quantifiable, (b) data sources may be biased and often benefit white race interests, (c) race categories are not fixed or innate and therefore, first-hand knowledge of minority experiences is important in such analysis, and (d) statistical assessment is not the entirety of race analysis but may be part of the encounter for race equity. In this manner, Gillborn et al. stated the valuable but limited role that quantitative approaches play in examining racism. Zuberi (2001) discussed the use of data during the eugenics movement of the 20th century and in 2001, posed the question "How do we deracialize the social conditions that produce racialized inequalities?" In "The Death of White Sociology: Essays on Race and Culture" Ladner (1973) stated that personal values and social location should be filtered out of quantitative approaches in research. Garcia et al. (2017) made clear that any quantitative analysis on racial justice must take into account the intersection of powerful social, political, economic, and historical factors. The social implications of institutionalized education is that it is a middle class pedagogy and in addition, historically, schools have taught an ethnocentric white doctrine. The QuantCrit approach taken in this research acknowledges the intersectionality of these factors and their embeddedness in the institution of education. This research uses a QuantCrit approach to deconstruct how social dynamisms through online media evaluation tools may reinforce perceptions of race inequality.

RESEARCH METHOD

RMP is a free website that gives people the opportunity to evaluate the performance of college professors. In RMP, people may appraise whether they would "take the professor again," the "level of difficulty" of the course(s), the "hotness" of the professor, and the "overall quality" of the course(s). In addition to these four criteria, statements may be made in which the student describes the professor through a tag and, in addition, makes open-ended statements about the professor. Several of the possible tags may include *tough grader, participation matters, beware of pop quizzes, respected, lots of homework, test heavy, inspirational, get ready to read, hilarious, caring, graded by a few things,* and *amazing lectures*. Furthermore, RMP scores are on a Likert scale of 1–5 for the overall quality of a professor's course and the overall difficulty of the professor's course. The overall quality of a professor's course is rated by how well the professor teaches, how helpful he/she is during and after class, and the professor's approachability. The level of difficulty is a lone question based upon a scaled score (1–5).

This research utilizes the aggregate overall quality and difficulty RMP scores of minority and non-minority faculty in a college located in Pennsylvania. The RMP non-minority teaching quality evaluations scores range from a low 2.8 to 4.8. The mean score is 4.16. The non-minority level of course difficulty scores range from 1.0 to 3.8. The mean course difficulty evaluation score for non-minority faculty on RMP is 3.10. The range of scores for RMP evaluations of minority faculty's teaching quality is a low of 1.9 and a high of 5.0. The mean teaching quality score for minority faculty was 3.71. The range for the minority faculty course difficulty score is a low of 1.9 to a high of 4.0 with a mean of 3.10.

IOTA360 Solutions offers standardized evaluation products that colleges utilize to examine their faculty. Some of the questions used for the evaluation of faculty are "exams and quizzes and assignments reflect important aspects of the course," "how challenging is this course when compared to other courses," "this course stimulated my critical and analytical thinking," "assigned readings/materials are valuable in learning this course content," "the pace at which we are covering the material is about right," and "this course is meeting the objectives outlined by its competencies." In addition, students may answer questions that evaluate their desire to learn material. These questions include "effort put into this course when compared to other courses," "I am motivated to learn in this course," and "on average how many hours do you spend on this course." To

maintain equivalence with the RMP quality of course factors the data recorded by IOTA360 student evaluations were "instructional material adequate," "the pace of the course is about right," "the course stimulates analytical and critical thought," "the instructor is well prepared for class," "the instructor responds effectively to student questions," "instructor creates an environment in which students equally," "instructor knows when students do not understand," "instructor willing to assist outside of class," and "students can freely approach professor." The IOTA360 student evaluation responses are on a Likert scale from 1 to 4. The responses range from *Strongly Disagree* (1), *Disagree* (2), *Agree* (3), and *Strongly Agree* (4). These survey questions address the RMP factors for the overall quality of the professor's class. For white faculty, the range of IOTA360 student evaluation scores was 2.8 at the low boundary and at the upper boundary it was 4.0. The mean white teaching score from was 3.71. For minorities, the mean student evaluation score was 3.42. The minority scores range from 2.1 at the lower boundary to 4.0 at the upper boundary.

Participants

During the summer of 2018, a purposive sample of 48 instructors in a college in Pennsylvania was used to examine if there is a race difference in student evaluations. Race designation was gained from the college's records office. Through voluntary reply, race designation is recorded by the Department of Human Resources during the hiring process. Similar to Census Bureau designations, whites were non-Hispanic white. There are 153 full-time faculty at the college. Of the 153 full-time faculty, 125 are white. To get an appropriate sample, faculty who are not white were included in the minority strata, and these other race groups include African Americans, Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics, and people who are biracial. There are 28 are minority faculty. The minority faculty classifications are 13 African Americans, 10 Asians, four Latinos, and one faculty with two stated race designations. The data from the sample was separated along minority ($n = 21$) and non-minority ($n = 27$) strata for the total ($N = 48$) faculty. The samples were matched with IOTA360 data. These were the race designations used in the IOTA and RMP assessment. These data allow to examine the following hypothesis:

Since RMP is an uncontrolled online evaluation tool, students and non-students may access it. Students who participate may be motivated by a highly positive or negative affect of the professor. Thus, a large proportion of students may avoid participating. To examine the validity of RMP as an evaluation tool, this research compares RMP evaluation results to IOTA360

student evaluation results. IOTA360 gives students access to evaluate their faculty and they are persistently asked to participate. IOTA360 has been shown to depict professor capabilities.

Hypothesis 1: RMP results will differ from IOTA360 results in student evaluation of faculty quality.

Twenty-first century racism is often a subjective experience for minorities with objective results. The application of CRT has traditionally taken a qualitative approach due to the subjective nature of racism. The QuantCrit design lends itself, however, to analyzing statistical differences in academic credentials when comparing minorities and non-minorities. As stated previously, minorities have a more demanding journey through the education pipeline. Perceptions about the pipeline can be examined qualitatively, but degree completion is a quantitative assessment. By the time minorities are hired, there should be a leveling effect when comparing the credentials between the groups. Most institutions of higher learning require faculty to have a master's or doctoral degree to be hired for a faculty position. Given that they are credentialed and have already been through much of the education pipeline, for those who are employed as faculty, race should not influence differences in student ratings. For research purposes, the operationalization of education is that faculty with a master's degree were given a value of one and those with a doctorate were given the value of two.

Hypothesis 2: Minority and non-minority faculty will have similar levels of educational capital and thus, perceived similarities of intellectual competence in their chosen fields.

Since students may perceive that they are purchasing a product instead of an opportunity to learn, they may seek out courses that are not rigorous. Yet, competent faculty may offer demanding classes to facilitate student acumen and mastery of subject matter. After all, people do not want an incompetent surgeon to perform surgery upon them. Thus, competent faculty are motivated to create thorough courses to maintain integrity and ensure that graduates have a commensurate skill set, but students may desire listless courses and the likelihood of social promotion affects enrollment. Thus, it is predicted that the lower the faculty rating by people in RMP, the higher the course difficulty rating.

Hypothesis 3: High RMP teaching quality scores will associate with low RMP course difficulty scores.

CRT supports that society may be willing to confront overt manners of racism. It is the covert and yet structurally entrenched forms of discrimination that perpetuate inequality. Given the salience of race and the aspiration to appear impartial in evaluating minority faculty, people will desire to justify low ratings of minority faculty. Since evaluations are anonymous, based upon CRT they will be likely to have latent discrimination embedded in their application and in the aggregate, minorities will be scored as less competent. Therefore, people who evaluate faculty on RMP will appraise minority faculty courses as more difficult and minority faculty as less capable of teaching than non-minority faculty.

Hypothesis 4: Minority faculty will be more likely to get higher course difficulty scores and lower teaching quality scores in RMP when compared to non-minority faculty.

RESULTS

Tables 1–6 in the analysis uses a comparison of independent means t-test approach. The formula for a *t* test of independence presents as follows:

$$
\frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{\sqrt{\dfrac{(N_1 - 1)\sigma_1^{\,2} + (N_2 - 1)\sigma_2^{\,2}}{N_1 + N_2 - 2} \,*\, \left[\dfrac{1}{N_1} + \dfrac{1}{N_2}\right]}}
$$

Where $\overline{X}_1$ is the mean of group one (e.g., RMP), $\overline{X}_2$ is the mean of group two (e.g., IOTA360), σ_1^2 is the variance of group one scores, σ_2^2 is the variance of group two scores, N_1 is the number of respondents in the first group, and N_2 is the number of respondents in the second group.

Tables 8–9 use an analysis of variance (ANOVA) approach. Table 8 allows for a robust comparison of IOTA360 and RMP course difficulty and teaching competence scores. Table 9 removes the white RMP scores for statistical assessment. The ANOVA formula presents as follows.

$$
\text{SUM OF SQUARES BETWEEN} \qquad \frac{\sum^{K} \underline{X}_i^2 - \text{C.T.}}{\sum_{n1}}
$$

SUM OF SQUARES WITHIN $\qquad \sum_{ij} \sum (X_{ij} - \overline{X}_i)^2_{ij}$

<u>SSB (k-1)</u>

SSW (n-k)   = Computed Ratio

Where k is the number of categories, and $\sum X^2_i$ is the sum of the squared scores. C.T. is the correction term. $(X_{ij} - \overline{X}_i)^2_{ij}$ is the variance within sum of squared scores. The computed *F* score ratio is the sum of squares between divided by (k − 1) as the numerator of the computed ratio, and the sum of squares within is the denominator of the computed ratio.

Table 1 below shows the *t* test of independent means results for quality of teaching at a college in Pennsylvania as measured on RMP and IOTA360. The mean RMP teaching quality score is 3.96. The mean for the IOTA360 evaluations is 3.60. The *t* test results show statistical significance at $p < .05$ with $t = 2.5748$ at 94 degrees of freedom (*df*). RMP scores are statistically higher than IOTA360 evaluation scores.

Table 1. Rate My Professor versus IOTA360 student evaluations (teaching quality).

	N	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Rate My Professor	48	3.96	0.807	0.117
IOTA360	48	3.60	0.554	0.080

Note. t test = 2.5748*, *df* = 94, two-tailed test, *$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 1 states that the RMP results of faculty quality will differ from those of IOTA360. Table 1 shows that this statistical difference does exist. The next hypothesis focuses upon the similarities between the levels of education when comparing non-minority faculty with minority faculty. Faculty education level was designated as 1 (for master's degrees) or 2 (for doctoral degrees). Table 2 shows the results from this analysis.

Table 2. Non-minority and minority education acquired.

	n	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Non-minority education	27	1.26	0.447	0.086
Minority education	21	1.48	0.518	0.112

Note. t test = −1.5663, *df* = 46, two-tailed test

The *t* test for Table 2 above shows that there is no statistically significant difference between non-minority and minority faculty's level of education. The minority faculty have a slightly higher average level of education at 1.48, but the mean is not substantially different than the white mean level of education at 1.26. The standard deviation of non-minorities was 0.447 and the standard deviation for minorities was 0.518. The *t* test showed not to be statistically significant and supports that the level of education between the faculty race groups is similar.

Table 3. Rate My Professor teaching quality and course difficulty.

	N	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Quality	48	3.96	0.807	0.117
Difficulty	48	2.86	0.690	0.100

Note. *t* test = 7.1915***, *df* = 94, two-tailed test; *** $p < .001$.

Table 3 shows the results when comparing RMP teaching quality scores with RMP course difficulty scores. Notice that the RMP teaching quality mean is higher than the RMP course difficulty mean. The *t* test results show that the difference between the course difficulty and quality of teaching results in RMP are substantially statistically significant at $\alpha <$ .001. The *t* test is 7.1915 at 94 *df*. The results from the analysis of Hypothesis 3 are corroborated in a statistically meaningful way. Higher difficulty scores are associated with lower teaching quality scores.

Table 4 shows the correlations and coefficients of determination results examining the relationships of RMP teaching and difficulty quality when comparing minorities and non-minorities. The statistics show that for teaching quality scores for white faculty, the 4.16 mean is much higher than the white course difficulty mean of 2.69. The correlation coefficient is −0.5531. There is a fairly strong relationship between difficulty and teaching quality scores for white faculty. In addition, as perceptions of course difficulty diminish, teaching quality increases. Minorities have a similar relationship. Yet, the mean teaching quality score for minorities is only 3.71, while the perceptions of course difficulty are higher than whites at a 3.10 mean value. The correlation for minorities is −0.5093. The coefficient of determination states that perceptions of course difficulty explain about 31% of the quality of teaching for whites and 26% of the teaching quality for minorities. The difference between the white faculty and minority faculty coefficients of determination is 5% better in predicting quality of teaching scores when using course difficulty scores for whites than for minorities.

Table 4. Non-minority and minority mean, correlation, and coefficient of determination (Rate My Professor [RMP] and difficulty).

	n	*M*	*R*	R^2
Non-minority RMP	27	4.16	−0.5531	0.3059
Non-minority difficulty	27	2.69		
Minority RMP	21	3.71	−0.5093	0.2595
Minority difficulty	21	3.10		

Hypothesis 4 states that minority faculty will be more likely to get higher difficulty scores and lower quality scores in RMP when compared with non-minority faculty. Table 4 bears this out. Table 5 shows that the teaching quality scores are statistically different at $t = 1.969$ at 46 *df* at $p < .05$.

Table 5. Non-minority and minority Rate My Professor results for teaching quality.

	n	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Non-minority	27	4.16	0.738	0.142
Minority	21	3.71	0.839	0.183

Note. *t* test = 1.9685*, *df* = 46, one-tailed test; *p <.05.

According to Table 6, the t-test result is significant at -2.034. Thus, minorities are more likely than whites to have their courses rated as 'difficult' in the RMP evaluations. This supports hypothesis 4 that minorities will have lower teaching quality scores and higher course difficulty scores when compared to non-minorities.

Table 6. Non-minority and minority Rate My Professor results for difficulty of course.

	n	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Non-minority	27	2.70	0.708	0.136
Minority	21	3.10	0.627	0.137

Note. *t* test = −2.0342*, *df* = 46, one-tailed test; *p < .05.

Examining IOTA360 student evaluations in Table 7 shows that the *t* test was not statistically significant at 1.853, *df* = 46, $p < .05$ for a two-tailed test. Therefore, IOTA360 results show that, statistically, non-minority and minority faculty are similar.

Table 7. Non-minority and minority IOTA360 results for teaching quality.

	n	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Non-minority	27	3.71	0.484	0.093
Minority	21	3.42	0.613	0.134

Note. *t* test = 1.8534, *df* = 46, two-tailed test

The IOTA360 results show less difference in teaching quality when comparing minority and non-minority faculty than do those from RMP. Thus, students who can be confirmed to be class participants do not evaluate faculty differently, in a statistical manner, based upon race. In contrast, people who go on RMP to evaluate white professors evaluate them much more positively than they do minorities and much more favorably than IOTA360 results (see Table 5 for RMP results and see Table 7 for IOTA360 results). On a scale from 1to 5, the RMP mean evaluation teaching quality score is 4.16 for white faculty. It is 3.71 for minority faculty. Thus, it seems as if the RMP evaluations have a racial lag on minority evaluation results when contrasted with results for white faculty.

This perceived lag on minority RMP scores can be viewed through an ANOVA computation of white and minority RMP and IOTA360 evaluation scores. Table 8 shows the ANOVA results from this assessment.

Table 8. Analysis of variance for non-minority and minority IOTA360 and Rate My Professor evaluations.

	SSE	*df*	MSE	*f*
Between	6.8026	3	2.2675	5.0349**
Within	41.4332	92	0.4504	
Total	48.2358	95		

Note. SSE = sum of squares error; MSE = means square error. **$p < .01$.

The ANOVA results in Table 8 show that the difference between white and minority RMP and IOTA360 scores is highly statistically significant. The *f* score is 5.0349 and statistically significant at $\alpha < .01$. The mean for white RMP teaching quality scores ($\bar{X} = 4.16$) is much higher than the mean for white IOTA360 ($\bar{X} = 3.71$), minority RMP ($\bar{X} = 3.71$), and minority IOTA360 scores ($\bar{X} = 3.42$). Table 9 is another ANOVA, but it omits the white RMP scores to verify that these white RMP scores are causing the statistical difference.

Table 9. Analysis of variance of non-minority and minority IOTA360 evaluations and minority Rate My Professor results

	SSE	*df*	MSE	*f*
Between	1.3995	2	0.6997	1.69353
Within	27.2702	66	0.4132	
Total	28.6697	68		

Note. SSE = sum of squares error; MSE = means square error.

Table 9 shows that when comparing the IOTA360 results for white faculty with the RMP results of minority faculty, and IOTA360 evaluation scores for minority faculty, there is no statistical difference. The *F* score is 1.69353 and is not statistically significant at α = .05. Therefore, it is the white RMP scores, as shown in Table 8, which cause this difference. RMP teaching quality scores show atypical favoritism toward non-minority professors.

DISCUSSION

Since the latter 20th century, faculty have perceived that student evaluations are more akin to course satisfaction surveys than evaluation of faculty competence. Students who receive low grades tend to project their academic results upon the professors' pedagogical capabilities through giving faculty poor evaluations (Aleamoni, 1999; Kulik, 2001; Lawrence, 2018; Neath, 1996). Given the legacy of discrimination and students' desire for the path of least resistance, RMP is a response to student angst that may more likely be hostile to minority faculty. In 1992, Derrick Bell (1992) discussed the permanence of racism, and CRT supports that minority faculty are more likely to be negatively evaluated. This research addresses four hypotheses to examine if RMP shows a racial bias. The first hypothesis was "RMP results will differ from IOTA360 student evaluations of faculty." The statistical results show this to be the case. The RMP scores were statistically higher than IOTA360 results in Table 1. The next issue that white professors likely to get better results on RMP evaluations and IOTA360 evaluations than minorities. To address any difference of racial bias, initially, it is important to see if minorities and non-minorities have similar training experiences. To examine this issue Hypothesis 2 states "Minority and non-minority faculty will have similar levels of educational capital and thus, perceived similarities of intellectual competence in their chosen fields." The results in Table 2 show that there is no statistically significant difference between

minority and white faculty in education capital. Next, this research examines if "high RMP teaching quality scores are associated with low RMP course difficulty scores." Table 3 shows a large statistically significant difference between course difficulty and teaching quality scores. High teaching quality scores are related to low course difficulty scores in RMP. The fourth hypothesis states, "Minority faculty will be more likely to get higher course difficulty scores and lower teaching quality scores in RMP when compared with non-minority faculty." Table 4 shows that the correlation coefficients are negative and moderately strong for both minorities and whites. The coefficients of determination show that for whites, 31% of the variability in RMP teaching quality scores are explained by knowing how people rate the difficulty of the course and 26% of the teaching quality scores can be explained by course difficulty scores for minorities. Table 5 further corroborates the difference between evaluations of teaching quality in minorities and non-minority faculty, and Table 6 does so for course difficulty race differences. Since the IOTA360 evaluations are offered to all of the students in a course, the response rate is much higher and therefore, a more accurate depiction of faculty performance than is RMP. Table 7 shows that there are no statistically significant differences between the assigned race groups. Yet, there seems to be a white privilege status in RMP teaching quality scores at the Pennsylvania college (see Tables 8 and 9).

CONCLUSION

This research uses a QuantCrit approach to examine if RMP evaluations are biased against minorities. Using a quantitative CRT approach, the results support that minority faculty are given lower teaching quality scores and higher difficulty of course scores than are non-minorities. Given the inequities embedded in the schooling system, this research analyzes if race plays a role in faculty evaluations at a college in Pennsylvania. The student rationale for the difference between white and minority results could be that minority faculty are less competent in their ability to serve students. Yet, this position is not supported. Initially, the literature supports that minorities must go through a much more rigorous process to acquire an advanced degree (King, 2016), have more difficulty getting tenure, and struggle to gain upward mobility after being hired (ASHE, 2015). In addition to the education pipeline being more rigorous for minorities, the IOTA360 results (see Table 7) show that minorities and whites have similar levels of education capital (see Table 2) and similar capabilities according to IOTA360 teaching quality student evaluations (see Tables 7 and 9). Thus,

the most rationale reason for these statistical differences is white privilege and systemic racism. In addition, the difficulty scores in RMP were significant. The persistence in low difficulty scores for white faculty suggests a bias that is not due only to the course design. Another explanation for the lower RMP competence scores for minorities is the lack of controls to deny non-students the ability to evaluate a professor. It is impossible to know who is rating the faculty and therefore, the RMP evaluations lack scientific validity.

IMPLICATIONS

Although offering important findings, the QuantCrit approach had limitations. First, the sample was small due to data limitations. Of the 50 faculty selected through purposeful sampling, two were eliminated due to a lack of RMP results. Thus, the two strata with 27 white faculty and 21 minority faculty barely approaches research standards. Secondly, the small sample size limits the external validity of these results beyond the institution in Pennsylvania. Future research could focus upon increasing the sample size of this research design. Third, the relationship between IOTA360 evaluation index questions and RMP evaluation index questions were not exactly the same and there is a possibility that participants in the evaluation tools had differing perceptions of their meanings. Although this is unlikely and they seem very similar, nevertheless there is such a possibility. Fourth, IOTA360 does not offer a course difficulty evaluation that could mimic RMP's and therefore, IOTA360 course difficulty ratings were excluded. Fifth, since race is a subjective construct, racial inequality is multidimensional and not easily measured numerically. This research minimized that factors other than race could explain the higher teaching competence scores for whites. The two factors embedded in the design that could explain competence differences are level of education and types of occupation. Teaching competence was shown to be comparable (see Table 2) and these evaluations are on tenured faculty teaching in similar fields. From a CRT theoretical purview, these factors lend support that the statistical differences in this research is likely due to the social privilege status that white faculty experience.

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Strategies for Recruiting Non-Hispanic Black Men into the Field of Pediatrics

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this work is on the root causes of the current lack of African American/non-Hispanic Black (NHB) men in the field of medicine and, especially, in pediatric medicine. The lack of diversity could serve to the detriment of the future directions of pediatric medicine. With supporting data, we argue that the low statistics of NHB men in the field reflect a social issue that can be resolved by the action of pediatricians across America. Therefore, we are convinced that the included information and suggested strategies are a valuable contribution to all scientific communities. Success of NHB male inclusion in medicine ultimately benefits the health of the public by facilitating cultural competence and increasing racial and ethnic concordance.

Keywords: American Association of Pediatrics, historically black colleges and universities, non-Hispanic Black, STEM, YMCA

The American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) has long advocated for more opportunities for parents and children to experience seeing a racially, ethnically, and/or culturally concordant family pediatrician, supporting culturally competent care in the profession of pediatrics (Committee on Pediatric Workforce, 2013). Yet while the United States has made many great advances in medicine, advances in overcoming racial disparities have proven more challenging, especially in the field of pediatric medicine. The field of pediatrics alone is represented by a total of 5.49% of African American/non-Hispanic Black (NHB) pediatricians, of which a mere 1.47%

are NHB males (see Table 1) for a total of about 1,300 men (Association of American Medical Colleges [AAMC], 2013). Diversity will generally be more valuable as the majority–minority shift warps America's demographics (e.g., the 24% of Hispanics under 18 in 2012 will increase to 38% in 2060, while the 53% of Whites under 18 in 2012 will decrease to 33% by 2060) and knowledge on other ethnicities becomes ever-more essential (AAMC, 2015). Therefore, the belief emerging is that diversifying health and the pool of medical professionals will help to close disparity gaps and address shortages in terms of the number of practicing physicians in diverse geographic areas (Saha, Guiton, Wimmers, & Wilkerson, 2008).

However, a major issue is that African American/NHB men are among some of the least represented groups in medical and pediatric practices. The American Association of Medical Doctors reports that only 4% of all U.S. medical doctors are NHB, and less than half (45.8%) are men, resulting in less than 2% representation in total (AAMC, 2016). This is already an uphill battle due to the fact that Black or African Americans have the lowest rate of acceptance (34%) to medical school compared with the other rates (42%–44%) for Hispanic/Latino, Asian, and White matriculants (AAMC, 2016). It is hard to imagine how fewer than 2,000 NHB men (AAMC, 2013) will have appropriate representation among millions nationwide, especially as the nation's children will be constituted of 44.5% ethnic minority by 2020 (Committee on Pediatric Workforce, 2013). There are transparent benefits to having more NHB men in pediatrics and medicine. These benefits will be discussed, followed by an explanation of why it is still a problem to incorporate NHB males in pediatrics. Finally, three proposed strategies to solve the problem serve as a call to action for pediatricians across America.

Table 1. Numbers of pediatricians by race/ethnicity and gender in 2013.
From "Demographics of Women Physicians and Pediatricians" by American Academy of Pediatrics, n.d. (https://www.aap.org/en-us/Documents/dwmep_women_med_ demographics.pdf). Copyright 2014 by the American Medical Association.

	White	**Black**	**Hispanic**	**Asian**	**Other**	**American Indian/ Alaskan**	**Total**
All	47,040	4,776	6,188	13,875	1,531	207	87,111
Male	20,356	1,277	2,557	5,170	713	67	36,639
Female	26,684	3,499	3,631	8,705	818	140	50,472

THE BENEFITS: WHY NHB MALES ARE NEEDED

A general benefit to having NHB men active in pediatric medicine includes increasing cultural competency. Dr. Paul B. Rothman, Dean of the Medical Faculty and CEO of Johns Hopkins Medicine, understands this (Rothman, 2016). He asserted that patients have higher satisfaction with racial and lingual concordant physicians and visits last about 2 min longer, which is why he has advocated a fund to retain minority faculty and expand the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) programs to more youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Rothman, 2016). Also, a study examining over 100 schools in a 2-year period shows that White students in diverse medical schools report being statistically more culturally competent than White students who attended more homogenous schools (Saha et al., 2008). This suggests positive impacts of diversity in medical school because it not only increases representation but also enables non-minority students to be more prepared to work with populations that are experiencing some of the worst disparities in the nation. Given that Whites currently remain at the majority of medical school matriculants (51.2%) and medical school faculty (63%; AAMC, 2016), it is important to expose these members of society to as much opportunity as possible for growth in cultural competence.

The most direct incentive for NHB men to be in pediatrics, however, is the fact that they will practice medicine in geographic areas where disparities are most prominent. A study from the AAMC revealed that minority graduates across the US are about twice as likely as non-minorities, 11.6% versus 6.1%, to practice in federally designated manpower shortage areas (Symposium, 2001). This trend has continued into the modern day era. In 2015, as many as 51% of Black or African American medical students planned to practice in underserved communities, compared to 23% of Whites and Asians (AAMC, 2016). Numbers for desirability to practice in underserved communities have remained relatively consistent from 2005 to 2015, apart from Hispanics who showed a steady 6% increase from 33% in 2005 to 39% in 2015 (AAMC, 2016). What exactly are some disparities that exist in these underserved communities that NHB male pediatricians can address?

Some examples of the worst disparities in America are infant mortality and life expectancy from birth. Although infant mortality has been improved through programs like Women, Infants, & Children Nutrition Program (WIC), mortality of Black babies is the worst (Noguera, 2003) and can still be twice as high as White babies (Khanani et al., 2010). As for life

expectancy from birth, differences between White and Black people have historically remained large (Williams & Sternthal, 2010). Black men lived 7.4 years shorter than White men in 1950, but have only improved to a 6-year difference by 2006 (Williams & Sternthal, 2010). It is imperative that these outcomes are attended to from birth. So, if more minority doctors than non-minority doctors tend to aid children and families who tend to be minority and face disparities, one clear solution to America's issues would be to recruit and supply more NHB pediatricians.

While medical schools have shown marginal improvement in diversity in recent decades, the significance of fully inclusive minority representation is still difficult to capture at present. For example, the number of medical graduates from underrepresented communities generally increased from 9% in 2003 to 15% in 2009 (Committee on Pediatric Workforce, 2013). However, while 1,410 Black men applied to medical school in 1978, only 1,337 applied in 2014 (Gallegos, 2016). This trajectory has shown minimal change over time and, perhaps, a degradation of the number of NHB male applicants over 30 years even though there are more seats to fill than ever before (Gallegos, 2016).

THE PROBLEM: WHY ARE NHB MALES RELUCTANT TO ENTER INTO MEDICINE AND PEDIATRICS?

From elementary to college, NHB males discern that they are unwelcome in a society that mitigates the intellectual accomplishments of men of color, making their opportunities more challenging. The struggles of discrimination have a negative effect on esteem and academic performance for Black boys (Noguera, 2003), which is supported by medical school application rates. In 2002, 18.2% of Black high school sophomores aspired to be a doctor, but only 6.7% of applicants identified as Black/African American by 2012 (Morrison & Cort, 2014). This is in direct contrast to the 48.1% of White sophomores and 5.8% of Asian sophomores who experienced upward trends of 60.2% and 23% as applicants (Morrison & Cort, 2014). Results like these do not help combat the stigma NHB men face.

Stereotypes of lower expectations for Black men contaminate youth, especially entering teen years (Rao & Flores, 2007), during which race becomes a more rigid aspect of their identity (Noguera, 2003). For example, the false perception that there are more Black men in prison than in college is automatically perceived as a barrier for pursuing a career as a physician (Rao & Flores, 2007). Perhaps it started with other things like a teacher

treating them differently, which plants the root of distrust between the student and teacher (Noguera, 2003). Maybe it was when peers excluded them for no apparent reason, or perhaps a stranger called them the "N" word. Internalizing subconscious negative stereotypes, such as "blackness being equal to ignorance," are detrimental to NHB men in their pursuit for higher education and advanced careers (Ben-Zeev, Dennehy, Goodrich, Kolarik, & Geisler, 2014).

NHB male pediatricians would be effective in recognizing where children, particularly NHB boys, face heightened anxiety and confidence issues versus their peers. NHB boys are at the highest risk than any other cohort to be exposed to adverse stressors like inadequate nutrition, poverty, substance abuse, and high-crime neighborhoods (AAMC, 2015; Noguera, 2003). Correspondingly, since African American medical school applicants are more likely to report lower socioeconomic status (AAMC, 2015) and are more likely to practice in underserved communities (AAMC, 2016), NHB physicians likely seek home communities where they make the most impact and are familiar with hardships of NHB youth in the community. The lack of Black male physicians translates to the lack of role models to motivate NHB men to pursue the field of medicine, which has always caused a major predicament (AAMC, 2015). What strategies can be implemented in order to make a change and increase the number of NHB men in pediatrics?

THREE STRATEGIES:
COMMUNITY, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

Strategy 1

A first step would be to have pediatricians embrace community involvement. The right way to do this is the hard way, which is to engage with NHB boys and men outside of the office. Many NHB youth lack the resources or knowledge to pursue opportunities such as medicine (Noguera, 2003; Thomas, Manusov, Wang, & Livingston, 2011), so it will be up to public health professionals to be creative and practical in community outreach (AAMC, 2015).

Pediatricians and medical scientists should continue to do important, extensive research in underserved areas and diverse settings such as preschools, schools, and after-school sites such as park and recreation centers. For instance, a pediatrician can sponsor a local junior high soccer team or contribute to college scholarships. Research at a local institution or community service at a local church are other examples of outreach for pediatricians to follow, as modeled by doctors at institutions like historically

black colleges and universities like Morehouse College and Howard University, because health is much more than what is seen at hospitals (AAMC, 2015). The doctor's office is not always the answer, and as such pediatricians will need to "take it to the streets" so to speak, and to get buy in, and ultimately earn trust from the communities they serve.

Strategy 2

A second strategy includes pediatricians becoming integrated in secondary education. Institutions that are successful at getting NHB children to higher achievement levels employ strategies such as higher expectations, an orderly learning environment, and strong relationships with parents (Noguera, 2003). Coincidently, success in medical school matriculation is most often attributed to magnet programs, advanced courses, and supportive teachers (Thomas et al., 2011). NHB males are often discouraged from topics like math and history because of society's pressure for them to be involved in sports (Noguera, 2003), and one of the leading complaints among academic medicine is improved advising for high school and college for NHB males (AAMC, 2015).

As a consequence, pediatricians should reach out to schools and act as networks and mentors for adolescents (AAMC, 2015), assisting them along path toward a medical career and minimize the stress involved in the prerequisite and application process. As an NHB male, Clark was referred by his high school chemistry teacher to a local NHB male pediatrician. Clark was moved to believe that he could also contribute to society and impact medicine after his shadowing experience. Another example of action for pediatricians is to work in collaboration with an academic institution for allowing NHB males to get a glimpse of the medical education experience, such as Young Doctors DC (AAMC, 2015) or Oklahoma University Mini Medical School (Oklahoma Center for Neuroscience, 2010). The word-of-mouth of a teacher, parent, or neighborhood stakeholder is valuable, and NHB youth need explicit guidance to seek more opportunities within academics.

Strategy 3

A third and most essential strategy is for pediatricians to challenge the stereotype that frames NHB men as incapable of caring for children. As previously stated, NHB boys are predisposed to being highly influenced by unfavorable stereotypes from culture and media (Ben-Zeev et al., 2014; Rao & Flores, 2007). A major misrepresentation that plays into the stigma of NHB males is that most of them have a fatherless upbringing. This is simply

false, as 2.5 million Black fathers live with their children, while 1.7 million do not, according to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Jones & Mosher, 2013). Actually, Black fathers are more likely than White and Hispanic fathers to spend time playing with their children every day, talk with their children about the day, and help their children with homework (Jones & Mosher, 2013). Black fathers are least likely than other ethnic groups to report that they never do any of these things (Jones & Mosher, 2013).

The stereotype that Black fathers are absent in the home is highly damaging to NHB youth because it is associated with very negative outcomes. For example, research shows that child growing up without a father is at least twice as likely to be incarcerated as a child with a mother and father (Harper & McLanahan, 2004). Dealing with the emotional instability from lower income and stepparents/other relatives can also increase disadvantaging odds, worsening consequences of less supervision and struggles with attachment, which leads to delinquency (Harper & McLanahan, 2004). To be clear, fatherlessness is still a major issue among Black households, as there are more fathers missing from households in comparison to White and Hispanic ethnic groups (Jones et al., 2013). This could be due to several reasons, such as Black children with more dead or incarcerated fathers, "serial impregnator" fathers, or, much like children of the other ethnic groups, those who have dads who are simply at more distance because they live out of town or out of the country (Levs, 2016). To the contrary though, most men, including Black men, are doing their part (Jones & Mosher, 2013; Levs, 2016), so NHB males should be reminded of that.

As a message to all pediatricians, adults need to learn to become aware of how public perceptions affect young NHB males along the continuum of education (AAMC, 2015). NHB pediatricians can be especially helpful as role models and contribute to this area in several ways. For example, NHB pediatricians can highlight good statistics and examples of NHB fathers (Jones & Mosher, 2013) and focus on the importance of the active fatherhood role in homes (Harper & McLanahan, 2004) for families who come in or that they encounter in the community. This is the reason NHB youth should be encouraged to be involved with children. A daycare job, volunteering in the YMCA, or caring for a newborn cousin can be the spark that motivates NHB men to become excited about a career in the field of maternal and child health, and thus pediatrics. As such, pediatricians play an important role and are in the position to model values like tolerance and inclusion.

CONCLUSION

The lack of NHB men in pediatrics is unfortunate because diversity will be key to making a culturally competent medical workforce and decreasing health disparities in the US. In a perfect world, life for NHB males would be easier without the mentioned barriers. Nonetheless, with appropriate approach to the proposed strategies, the authors are optimistic that NHB males have the capacity to be resilient while the medical setting becomes more inclusive towards all. The encouragement of NHB men to aim higher in terms of education and career aspirations, linked with the fearless challenge of discouraging discrimination, will foster a better understanding of our differences and bring us closer to the message of unity for which this country stands.

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The Value of Love in Higher Education: Ethical Dilemmas for Faculty and Students Racialized as Black in Britain

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ABSTRACT

In the context of the rise in open racism following post-credit crunch Brexit Britain, movements seeking educational reform to address racism within the academy emerged. However, such efforts must grapple with the ever-increasing corporatization of higher education. This article aims to disrupt the duplicity of widening participation rhetoric, which makes claims to moral values but in practice is governed by a neoliberal agenda. Using bell hooks' ethic of love, I discuss a case study of a widening participation program and a liberal arts university. I claim that so-called resource dilemmas are better understood as moral dilemmas and that centring a love ethic in this process of reframing enables us to rethink how we navigate such dilemmas in higher education.

Keywords: decolonizing higher education, ethical dilemmas, love ethics, students and faculty racialized as black

> *If black folks want to be free, they must want to be educated. Without freedom of mind there can be no true and lasting freedom.*
> – bell hooks

Education has traditionally been viewed as one of the primary vehicles by which people racialized as black can gain access to social mobility and liberation. The fight for the abolition of slavery, independence movements across the global south, the struggle for civil rights on both sides of the

Atlantic, and the provision of supplementary schools across Britain have all been underpinned by educational ideals. It is not surprising then that in the context of post-credit crunch Brexit Britain, and the Grenfell and Windrush scandals,[1] movements aiming at educational reform, such as Rhodes Must Fall Oxford, Why Is My Professor White, and the range of efforts to "Decolonise My Curriculum," emerged in the midst of the rise in open expressions of racism. However, what is often omitted in the recounting of the aforementioned social movements is that in addition to education being at the heart of their mission, an ethic of love has also been central to their ideological positioning and their success. It is crucial to note the ethic of love because while education has tended to be at the heart of major social justice movements, social justice is not always at the heart of education. Indeed, education has been a powerful tool of social control and domination. The context of ever-increasing corporatization of higher education has meant those of us wishing to grapple with how to reform and re-form higher education in Britain such that it reflects the needs of students racialized as black, have to demonstrate the viability of proposed changes in commercial terms even as the prevailing narratives around "widening participation" tend to speak in the vernacular of "access," "inclusion," and "individual potential" (Archer, 2007; Molesworth, Nixon, & Scullion, 2009). But as Shilliam (2015) noted, "The doors have been opened but the architecture remains the same." As such, this article aims to disrupt the duplicity of widening participation rhetoric, which makes claims to moral values but in practice is governed by a neoliberal agenda. To do so, I will use my experiences as program lead of one such "widening participation initiative" at a liberal arts university as a case study, relying on bell hooks' ethic of love as a way to reframe common resource dilemmas encountered by administrators, faculty, and students. I suggest that these resource dilemmas are better understood as moral dilemmas and that centering a love ethic in this process of reframing enables us to rethink how we navigate such dilemmas in higher education.

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[1]The Grenfell Tower fire took place on 14 June 2017 in the London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. It was described by some as social murder ("John McDonnell," 2017). The Windrush scandal involves the coming to light of unlawful detention, deportation and mistreatment of British residents of Caribbean descent by the British Government. See https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/25/windrush-scandal-immigration-legal-aid

WIDENING PARTICIPATION FOR STUDENTS
RACIALIZED AS BLACK IN THE UK

In Britain, there has been a significant increase in the number of students racialized as black participating in higher education (Higher Education Statistical Agency, 2018). However, the academy remains a very alienating space for such people (National Union of Students, 2011). Over the past decade there has been a resurgence of educational activism within the academy pushing for higher educational content and experiences that better reflect the demands of today's global university. This has resulted in the launch of a small number of programs across the country at the graduate and undergraduate level that specifically aim to shift the hegemony of whiteness in the academy (Back, 2004; Sian, 2017). These include the first Black Studies undergraduate program opened at Birmingham City University in 2016, and The University of Bristol's MA in Black Humanities, launched in 2017.

The program I am currently leading is part of this recent emergence of degree programs aimed at better serving African/Caribbean communities. Our undergraduate theology program was founded in 2014 by the UK's first professor racialized as black in theology, Robert Beckford. The rationale for the program was fourfold: First, to address the lack of formal theological training among leaders and pastors within Britain's predominantly black Pentecostal denominations. As Beckford outlined (2014), there is a need for more contextual theological training for church leaders and to move away from the practice of "buying" degrees. The second driver was to provide higher education opportunities to people racialized as black, particularly those who have been systemically marginalized from higher education. Given the enduring racial disparities in compulsory educational provision and outcomes in the UK (Coard, 1971; Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010; Strand, 2007), people racialized as black are often excluded from participation in higher education before they've begun. Additionally, we are seeing a within-group variance along the axes of class and nationality such that in some cases, middle class students racialized as black, and in particular mixed students, have had relatively better outcomes compared with working class students racialized as black or mixed, mainly on account of educational strategies adopted by middle class parents, which seem to have some mitigating, though not cancelling, effect on the encounters with racism (Ball, Rollock, Vincent, & Gillborn, 2013; Rollock, Gillborn, Vincent, & Ball, 2015; Vincent, Rollock, Ball, & Gillborn, 2012). Similarly, students racialized as black who are born outside of the UK are

achieving significantly better educational outcomes than those born here. And indeed, as Shilliam (2016) showed, there is a disturbing effect of declining educational outcomes as successive generations of persons racialized as black are born and raised in the UK. Basically, the longer a family stays in the UK, the worse things get. As such, the program aimed to stem this tide. Although the increase in student participation for those racialized as black might be interpreted as an indicator that the higher education landscape is improving for marginalized groups, such statistics should be read with caution and with an intersectional and nuanced analysis of the category of students racialised as 'black'. Third, the program sought to challenge the overwhelming whiteness of academic Theology by offering a contextual Theology degree with a decolonized curriculum, taught primarily by a faculty racialized as black. Implicit here was a commitment to what hooks (1994) called "engaged pedagogy." In order to recruit and provide a genuinely different kind of educational experience for students racialized as black, all aspects of the educational process inevitably come under scrutiny. Finally, in the university's own locale, there was a very real and immediate need to provide a counter-narrative to the increasingly vociferous and public right-wing xenophobia that reemerged during the "credit crunch" and gained momentum in the Brexit referendum (Quinn, 2018).

In spite of its radical intent, the theology program fits squarely within the university's strategic objectives, "To actively reach out to students from disadvantaged groups to raise aspirations, attainment and employment and work in partnerships with schools and colleges." (Strategic Framework 2015-2020) and specifically aligns with its "cross-cutting" Widening Access, Inclusion and Participation theme. However, mirroring the experiences of many other such initiatives (Vignoles & Murray, 2016), in our case, the gulf between institutional strategic objectives and the aspirations of those who develop progressive educational programs that seem compatible on the surface, actually reveal fundamental differences in values and commitments. It is to those conflicting values that I shall now turn.

BELL HOOKS' LOVE ETHIC

Drawing on the pioneering work of Paulo Freire among others, bell hooks has written extensively on education and pedagogy (hooks, 1994, 2003a, 2003b, 2010). However, the values that underpin education are my focus here. As such, for the purposes of this article, my focus is on hooks'

work on love and an ethics of love as a way to frame our discussion of ethical dilemmas in education. Like all ethical frameworks, hooks' love ethic is concerned with how we live, the choices we make, what we do, and whether what we do is consistent with the values that are meant to underpin our actions. There are three core assumptions in her ethics of love: (a) that it is necessarily liberatory and resists domination, (b) that it is relational, and (c) that it is transformative and transforming.

Liberatory/Resisting Domination

In her book *All About Love*, hooks (2000) claimed that, "Awakening to love can only happen as we let go of our obsession with power and domination" (p. 87). She further wrote, "Domination cannot exist in any social situation where a love ethic prevails" (p. 98). In this sense, a love ethic is a set of values that enable us to resist, dismantle, and move beyond systems of domination—imperialist, white supremacist, capitalist, or heteronormative patriarchy (hooks, 2005) in any and all domains of life. Loving ethical decisions then are made in acknowledgment of and in reference to systemic domination and power relations. Such decisions neither deny the existence of domination, nor seek to maintain power relations rooted in domination as an ethical standard. Domination by definition requires some group be dominated, thus the fundamental criterion for hooks' love ethic is that it "presupposes that everyone has the right to be free, to live fully and well" (p. 87). The existence of certain groups systemically denied these rights is evidence of a lack of love and decisions made in what hooks calls "lovelessness." Lovelessness in this sense is the antithesis of liberatory justice. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his discussion of the way forward for a post-civil rights America that was deeply divided by race and class and dealing with unkept promises of those abusing power who claimed a commitment to justice, reminded us that "Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice. Justice at its best," he says, "is love correcting everything that stands against love." (King, 2010, p. 38). Complicity with and the active maintenance of domination is evidence a love ethic is not in operation. For hooks, this is both a micro and a macro issue. A love ethic requires us to "cultivate our awareness" and appreciate the relationship between our ordinary lived experiences and the structural and systemic injustices we seek to address. Drawing on Thomas Moore's *Care of the Soul*, hooks (2000) reminded us that "Embracing a love ethic means we utilize all the dimensions of love—'care, commitment, trust, responsibility, respect, and knowledge' in our everyday lives" (p. 94). Love then is what we must do to resist structural, systemic domination.

Relationality

For hooks then, it follows that an ethics of love is necessarily concerned with the "we" and the "everyone." A person living by a love ethic cannot limit the scope of their ethical import to themselves as an individual or even to a singular group identification or notion of community that fails to recognize the relationship between perceived members of the group and those deemed non-members. hooks (2000) asserted that living by a love ethic is shown "by embracing a global vision wherein we see our lives and our fate as intimately connected to those of everyone else on the planet" (p. 88). This theme of "interdependence" and connectivity is echoed throughout black feminist scholarship and functions as an important resistance to the individualistic rhetoric of liberal and neoliberal discourse (Davis 1981; Davis & Barat, 2016; hooks 2000, 2005; Lorde & Clarke, 2007). The language of interconnectedness enables us to appreciate the ethical implications of our actions beyond our own front door even as we recognize that for most of us it is actually at the level of the personal, individual, and local that our ethical principles will be tested. Indeed, for hooks (2000) it is a "choice … to honor the primacy of a love ethic" (p. 87). Here the language of choice is intended to inspire personal accountability rather than the radical freedom of neoliberal discourse.

Transformation

Indeed, it is these kinds of conceptual shifts that are indicative of hooks' (2000) love ethics: "A love ethic transforms life for the good" (p. 89). For hooks, the current state of global affairs suggests we cannot be neutral in our ethical stance. Right now our societies exist within this dynamic of domination and dominated, and as such are built on fear (hooks, 2000). Therefore, transformation is a necessary aim and indicator of a love ethic. Leaving things as they are is not a neutral choice; it is a fearful, loveless choice. As hooks (2000) urged us to appreciate that change is an inescapable part of life, so seeking to avoid change doesn't mean we will escape it, rather it means that the changes we will inevitably experience will be ones that are imposed on us from above.

For hooks (2000), failing to overcome our fears is a "betrayal" of self (p. 91). "Our souls feel this lack when we act unethically, behaving in ways that diminish our spirits and dehumanize others" (p. 89). However, the betrayal is not only in that we might fail to live according to our own values insofar as we fail to fulfill our sense of social responsibility. hooks (2000) argued that living by a love ethic is personally and spiritually transformative for the individual who chooses to do so. "I know no one who has embraced

a love ethic whose life has not become joyous and more fulfilling," she claimed. "The widespread assumption that ethical behavior takes the fun out of life is false" (p. 88). In this sense a love ethic has the power to become self-reinforcing; the more we live it, the better life will be. Ultimately, hooks argued, love is really the only "sane and satisfactory response to the problems of human existence, [then] any society which excludes, relatively, the development of love, must in the long run perish of its own contradiction with the basic necessities of human nature" (p. 92). At first glance, such a bold claim might sound like hyperbole. However, interestingly, it is those disciplines (theology and philosophy) with which our program is concerned and which have proven themselves persistently resistant to change, that are indeed perishing (Hunter & Mohamed, 2013; McIntyre, 2011).

"RESOURCE" ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

If we take seriously the sociopolitical, economic, and psychic conditions of people racialized as black in Britain, both generally and specifically in higher education, the challenge that education itself might be used in service of social justice or domination is not something that we can take as an interesting historical axiom. And, if, as noted above, we can view educational settings as one example of a context where social control can be exerted such that education functions as a force and/or even a system of domination, it follows that an ethic of love has failed to prevail in that context. From the perspective of a person racialized as black/mixed in the UK, I find it a relatively uncontentious claim to say that a love ethic has not prevailed in the U.K. academy. So what are we to make of the seemingly inclusive, socially concerned, egalitarian rhetoric of widening participation? In this section I discuss three representative dilemmas, one each from the perspective of administrators, faculty, and students, which are typically discussed in terms of resources. Viewing these dilemmas through the lens of hooks' love ethic, my aim in this reframing is to shift the content and dynamics of discussions about resources such that the ethical import of these conversations is not systemically masked or procedurally erased.

Something or Nothing Dilemma (Administrative/Strategic)

The fight to justify the allocation and use of resources presents one of the most significant and enduring challenges to providing liberatory education—is systemic change cost effective and who should pay for it? Moreover, given resources are always finite, in the context of competing demands, on what basis can liberatory programs be prioritized? Widening participation agendas offer a window of possibility in this otherwise bleak

landscape. In our university the strategic approach to widening participation includes the following commitments:

> *To actively reach out to students from disadvantaged groups to raise aspirations, attainment and employment and work in partnerships with schools and colleges (Strategic Framework, 2015-2020);*

> *The University will actively work towards providing a fully inclusive curriculum as part of the strategy to ensure student success and attainment (Learning and Teaching Strategy2015-2020).*

However, what it actually costs in real terms to make this aim a reality is often either grossly underestimated or not considered in sufficiently concrete terms at all. Any given program or initiative needs resources for it to operate and those needs will change over time, so there needs to be institutional backing that is willing to bear the financial burden of start-up and also respond to changes in need in order to sustain the initiative. As Martin Luther King noted, "Power without love is abusive and reckless and love without power is sentimental and anemic" (King, 1967/2010, p. 38). This presents a dilemma for those faculty/administrators wanting to start up and develop programs that meet the needs of disadvantaged, marginalized, or underserved students: One must request resources to start or sustain the initiative. However, if on the one hand, resource demands are too low, the initiative will have to find a way to start and/or sustain itself without sufficient resources, thus compromising the program and everyone invested in making it a success. On the other hand, if resource demands are too high, the initiative will be deemed not cost-effective and might never get off the ground. I call this the *something or nothing dilemma*. Does one do what one can and make lemonade out of lemons as we are well practiced in doing, or does one refuse to do anything until proper resources are made available and thus accept that liberatory programs and student opportunities might not, and indeed, might never, be implemented on account of being perceived as financially nonviable?

Although, clearly, discussions of resources are necessary for any educational provision, the ethic that underpins them invariably impacts the parameters of such discussions. Where a love ethic is the driver, such that higher education is viewed as a vehicle for the basic right of all people to be "free," to "live fully," and to "live well," *why* an institution should allocate resources to fulfill its WP agenda and what resources are available for this purpose would not be at the forefront of discussion. Rather, the need to

sustain such initiatives would be taken as a given, and discussions of resources would begin with "where" and "how" and not "why" and "what." How and where are the institution's resources going to be used toward these ends, where resources refers to all resources allocated to educational provision, not a percentage ring-fenced for special activities that are viewed as supplementary or additional to the core business. If a love ethic prevailed, WP would not be a cross-cutting theme but rather the primary mission for any institution that recognized higher education as transformative and saw its mission as "transforming individuals, creating knowledge, enriching communities and building a sustainable future" in line with its "core values," which include, "the development of the whole person, respecting and nurturing the inherent dignity and potential of each individual" (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2015).

Despite the use of egalitarian language in many WP strategies, U.K. university funding is student-performance–based. The default to a loveless ethic based on the primacy of commercial viability is compounded by the use of color-blind profiling of student performance. On the one hand, such thinking attributes previous low academic attainment to students despite the real and enduring presence of intersectional structural disadvantages that distort and constrain academic ability in compulsory education. This means such students are less likely to be seen as attractive degree candidates because they are perceived as needing more support (read as higher costs) to get a good degree classification. On the other hand, this same thinking overlooks the persistence of structural factors in the job market that find graduates racialized as black struggling to find employment relative to other groups, once degree classification is accounted for. The result is that students who would be ideal candidates for a program underpinned by the values espoused in the rhetoric of a WP program become glaring financial liabilities that place at risk the commitment to commercial viability assessed using color-blind performance metrics (Hunte, 2017; Zwysen & Longhi, 2018). Without systemic resistance to the use and application of such metrics and the performance-based model of funding more broadly, WP strategies and indeed any other strategic goals that operate from a more loving moral foundation, will be thwarted by the capitalist ethic that invariably prioritizes profit over people (Lorde & Clarke, 2007). As hooks (2003b) warns, "[W]ithout serious educational reform, education will continue to mirror the plantation culture where the slave was allowed to learn only forms of knowledge that justified enslavement" (p. 93).

Taking it further, however, a love ethic would demand that we resist the dominator perspective that views students racialized as black on a

"deficit model" (Shilliam, 2016) and/or seeks to explain the persistent differences in educational outcomes of students (and faculty) racialized as black and their white counterparts in terms of factors that are either individualistic or beyond the university's purview. Instead, the academy would take a critically reflective look at itself, recognizing it is an agent of transformation. It would respond to the evidence that shows how its own policies, procedures, and practices maintain and reproduce racial disparities both inside and beyond the academy. Subscription to a love ethic would open up the possibility to genuinely view "learners as partners" in the educational process such that commitment to transform would be equally transformative. A university operating from an ethic of love would appreciate that in actuality, to fail to listen to and learn from students, faculty, and the scholarship produced by persons racialized as black, is to not only commit a kind of epistemic violence that is morally problematic (Dotson, 2011), but also is to commit one's institution to providing a substandard education for all its students because to only be knowledgeable about the intellectual traditions of the Eurocentric mainstream is to be inadequately prepared to navigate the global context the 21st-century student occupies. In embracing transformation, a university governed by an ethic of love would itself be renewed and elevated for the betterment of everyone concerned.

Wellbeing Dilemma (Faculty)

Working to educate non-traditional–aged students from Africa and the African diaspora, who have complex, globally connected lives beyond the classroom, who are largely unprepared academically for higher education, and for many of whom English is a second, third, or fourth language, might well be called a labor of love. Doing so as a team comprised of only one full-time faculty, one full-time professor split between programs, and between five and eight sessional faculty, with remote administrative support and minimal and remote student support, within an off-site undergraduate theology degree program might also be called insanity! Given the need and the demand, however, when presented with the something-or-nothing dilemma outlined above, the founder of our theology program chose to turn lemons into lemonade. However, such pioneering decisions have ramifications for all faculty working on the program. It is important to note here that in the creation and development of liberatory educational initiatives in higher education, the lines between administrator/founder/program starter and faculty is typically non-existent; those faculty who push for change will invariably be the ones expected to

carry the lion's share of the work and responsibility for the initiative they champion. Faculty committed to liberatory education will work toward those ends in the capacity of faculty. Insofar as WP agendas speak to "innovative curricula," "interdisciplinary dialogues," and "integrating teaching and research excellence," such activities are assumed to be standard expectations of one's role. However, the amount of work meeting such aims, especially for disadvantaged groups, takes in reality does not fit into the framework of their role as faculty at all or indeed the time one is being paid to allocate to any given aspect of the role (Gorcynski, 2018; Gorski, 2018).

This brings us to a question that plagues any faculty member committed to liberatory education—how does one use their time? There are multiple sites of tension here. One involves doing the multiplying work of developing decolonized courses of the kind they themselves have never sat in and for which there are no standard texts, course books, or teaching materials, and that are not supported by existing institutional infrastructures such as library materials. Another involves providing the necessary pastoral support for any and all students racialized as black, whether assigned formally as those students' tutor or not, and which itself will be far more demanding precisely because of the alienating culture of the academy. Others involve having to serve as "diversity" rep on every board and committee, showing up for every Black History Month event, and jumping through the mental and linguistic hoops of trying to make one's own research projects fit the criterion of legitimacy when applying for grants and other opportunities (Dotson, 2012). Moreover, how does one articulate these difficulties when policies appear to suggest there is institutional support for such activities. How does one articulate the gap between what is on paper and what happens in reality? This *wellbeing dilemma*—a tension between faculty's own wellbeing and the wellbeing of others—is acutely felt by those who view their position as a purpose and not just a job (Gorski, 2018). How does one, on the one hand, contribute to the struggle and, on the other hand, ensure one's own personal and professional wellbeing are not sacrificed in the process?

The corollary to this is also linked to the administrator's dilemma. If faculty and administrators do indeed manage to make lemonade, it sends the message to those who control resources that the liberatory educational initiative can indeed be sustained with the existing level of funding, thus undermining efforts to acquire more institutional support. But if the lack of or need for more resources is highlighted, faculty/administrators can run the

risk of giving budget controllers the impression that the program requires more money than it's worth.

Again, in this case, operating from an ethic of love opens up new possibilities. In addition to addressing the material elements of the dilemma noted in the previous section, hooks' (2000) noted that

> *commitment to a love ethic transforms our lives by offering us a different set of values to live by…we learn to value loyalty and a commitment to sustained bonds over material advancement. While careers and making money remain important agendas, they never take precedence over valuing and nurturing human life and well-being. (p. 88)*

Consequently, professional success must be reimagined on one's own terms.

Social Mobility Dilemma (Students)

Like faculty, students must also weigh up their own ethical resource dilemmas. Getting a degree is an expensive business in Britain (Kentish, 2017). The promise of higher education is that it will, as our WP strategy states, improve student's social mobility. However, a student racialized as black in Britain wanting a liberatory educational experience is confronted with a complicated web of structural and personal forces with which they will have to grapple. In addition to the more obvious classist currencies that operate in education and the workplace—an Oxbridge or Russell group degree will lead to more income and opportunities than a non-Russell group degree (Grove, 2017)—students racialized as black are acutely aware of racial biases that can also diminish the benefits of higher education. It's important to note that in Britain, the better a person racialized as black is educated, the greater the disparity between theirs and their white counterparts' earnings (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). Consequently, students racialized as black are often further concerned about the potential negative impact studying a subject with "black," "African," or "race" in the title might have on their future job prospects or earnings. While such a degree might suggest "diversity" and a willingness to "think outside the box" to the future employer of a white graduate, for a black student such phrases are more likely to signify racial trouble, disruptiveness, and an unwillingness to comply. So when a student decides to embark on a degree they are faced with a *social mobility dilemma:* On the one hand, do they spend their (or their parents'/ family's) money on a degree with a liberatory curriculum that exposes them to the kind of material and experiences that are edifying and run the risk of decreasing their

employability or, on the other hand, do they enroll in a degree program that exposes them to the kinds of materials and experiences that are alienating but that at least are perceived to minimize the difficulties they will have translating that certificate into material gain and social mobility?

hooks' love ethics encourages us to consider the situation differently, and indeed many of our students clearly do. This might be in part on account of their age. Our students do not necessarily view the degree as the primary vehicle for improving their employment outcomes. That being said, this is not because they are financially comfortable. Many have made extreme sacrifices, financial and otherwise, to participate in higher education. Their motivations are typically rooted in a desire to help their communities and be more impactful in their church contexts. Interestingly, the national student satisfaction survey, the other primary metric used for performance-based funding in UK higher education, does not enquire about these kinds of motivations or benefits of higher education.[2] "Employability" after the degree is the focus. But what does that mean for a program that graduates non-traditional age students who either already have a job, work part time due to family or community commitments, and/or whose motivations to attend university were not related directly to employability?

As is the case with the wellbeing dilemma, the social mobility dilemma requires this kind of reorienting one's values away from the limited version of the good life offered by capitalism and making life decisions according to that process of reorientation. A love ethic, insofar as it resists making the individual the central unit of analysis, means we can imagine our life aspirations in terms of its core themes—do my aspirations contribute to dismantling domination? If so, I must start by rejecting the classist and racist assumptions that prevail in higher education and the work place. Is my life's work going to be toward my own individual advancement and thus consistent with the aims of capitalism, or will it be concerned with projects that work toward ensuring all people are free and living well? If so, I will seek employment in organizations that are similarly committed to an ethic of love and as such will not interpret my interest in racial or any other kind of justice as a threat or problem. Am I looking for my degree to be part of my own transformation and in turn to be a platform from which I am

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[2] The National Survey of Student Engagement was piloted as an alternative measure in the UK in 2016. It contains some questions that enquire about the application of students' learning beyond the classroom, but it is primarily concerned with whether a student engages in the kinds of behaviors that are viewed as maximizing the educational experience rather than their motivations for studying.

empowered to transform others for the better? If so, avoiding the kind of psychological trauma reported by students who have endured the diminishing effects of so much of the U.K. academy will supersede the desire for prestige, mainstream validation, and even material gain (Lawton, 2018; National Union of Students, 2011).

Valuing Love

Ultimately, a love ethic is about what we value and the normative impact of what we value. In the context of higher education, programs that show themselves to place little value on the presence, histories, intellectual traditions, and humanity of people racialized as black thrive on an ethic of what hooks (2000) called lovelessness. Such lovelessness at the heart of education tends to support placing value in practices and thinking that maintain systems we know devalue people racialized as black. The idea that higher education is primarily about a bottom line is an idea, but it is not the only idea. hooks' love ethic offers us an alternative approach—a vision of love that values care, respect, knowledge, integrity, and cooperation. Hooks (2000) stated that,

> *Individuals who choose to love can and do alter our lives in ways that honor the primacy of a love ethic. We do this by choosing to work with individuals we admire and respect; by committing to give our all to relationships, by embracing a global vision wherein we see our lives and our fate as intimately connected to those of everyone else on the planet. (pp. 87–88).*

Taking this assertion in the spirit of love as critical reflection, we can ask ourselves different sets of questions than those posed in the ethical dilemmas outlined above. When we say higher education, what does that higher really mean? Is a liberatory education that empowers and can be passed down to our children and community more valuable than the one that is not? How do we ensure education is edifying for all people? Do we admire and respect the people we work with and did we choose our place of employment according to that criteria? Do we prioritize work over our relationships, and what if we didn't have to because we work with people we love and respect? What does social mobility really mean for a person racialized as black in the UK? Are there additional reasons education is valuable? How different would our life choices be or have been if we lived by a love ethic? If we take seriously the impact the constant barrage of fear-mongering and messages of hate and division has on our psyche, if we believe in the profound possibility of education, then it is not such a stretch

to, in hooks' (2000) words, "collectively regain our faith in the transformative power of love by cultivating the courage, the strength to stand up for what we believe in, to be accountable both in word and deed" (p. 92). In the context of Brexit Britain, Grenfell, and the Windrush scandal, can we really afford to do otherwise?

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Where Are All My Sista's @?!: Exploring the Graduate School Experiences of Black Women and Implications on Faculty Career Choice

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ABSTRACT

As access to higher education, including graduate school, is pushed to the top of the education agenda, individuals from minoritized groups have enrolled in graduate school in increasingly large numbers (Hannon, Woodside, Pollard, & Roman, 2016). While this may all sound promising, a serious problem still exists. The number of Black female faculty members has not followed pace. This qualitative pilot study used Black Feminist Thought to understand how Black women's experiences in graduate school influence their decision to pursue faculty careers. This study exposed the importance of socialization, advising, and mentoring for promoting Black women's success in graduate school and to create a pipeline of Black female faculty members.

Keywords: Black women, graduate school, intersectionality, socialization, Black feminist thought, faculty careers

As access to higher education, including access to graduate school, has been pushed to the top of the education agenda, individuals from minoritized groups have begun to enroll in graduate school in increasingly large numbers (Hannon, Woodside, Pollard, & Roman, 2016; Moyer, Salovey, & Casey-Cannon, 1999). The National Center on Education Statistics (NCES, 2013) reported that enrollment in graduate school has increased for Black women by 410% since 1976. While this may all sound promising, a serious problem still exists. The number of Black female

faculty members has not followed pace. In fact, the NCES (2013) reported that of the 791,391 faculty in the United States, only 24,283 are Black women. More troubling is that of these Black female faculty, only 2,647 are full tenured professors. That number has unfortunately remained the same for more than a decade. In an exit interview conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago more than 50% of all Black doctoral graduates in 2013 cited seeking employment in the academy as their goal after graduation. However, data suggests that they are not entering the academy as faculty and instead are selecting alternative career paths (Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013).

While the graduate student population continues to increase, Black women report their graduate school experiences as negative. These negative experiences typically leave the women feeling isolated, marginalized, undervalued, spotlighted, silenced, and having to conceal or possess multiple identities to survive (Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Shavers & Moore, 2014). Knowing that the path to an academic career begins in a graduate program, understanding how Black women experience graduate school is critical to improve not only the graduate school experiences of this population, but also to provide a pipeline of new Black female faculty (Levin et al., 2013).

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of Black women in graduate school, and to understand how those experiences shape their career choices. This qualitative study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the experiences of Black women in graduate school?

2. How do these experiences shape their career choices?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Prior to 1970 there was very little research on the experiences of specific groups in graduate school, such as Black women, since the number of Black women enrolled in graduate school was very low (E. Ellis, 2001). As a result, there was inadequate knowledge about the graduate school experiences of groups, specifically Black women, prior to that time; however, since the mid-1990s more research has been conducted in this area, and the emerging themes are discussed in this section. These themes provide potential reasons for why Black women are not seeking academic

positions (Moyer et al., 1999). Levin et al., (2013), argued that upon entering graduate school, students have a specific career in mind; however, they change their minds based on their graduate school experiences. Emerging from the literature are three key themes for consideration as they relate to the graduate school experiences of Black women.

Socialization

A large part of any new experience, including graduate school, is socialization. Socialization into graduate school is defined as an individual's ability to connect to peers, faculty, and advisors, and to find opportunities for research and service in areas of one's interest (Gildersleeve et al., 2011). Graduate school socialization moves one step further and is described by Weidman, Twale, and Stein (2016) as "the process through which individuals gain the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for successful entry into a professional career requiring an advanced level of specialized knowledge and skills" (p. 5). Black women, due to the intersection of both race and gender, occupy a unique space in society, which differs from Black men, as well as other populations, and makes successful socialization more critical. The key to the socialization process is understanding and adopting the institution's cultural norms, and those that reflect their discipline (Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Weidman et al., 2016). Failure to do so often results in penalties or harsh consequences, such as being excluded from certain groups and opportunities (Weidman et al., 2016). Black women who fail to obey those cultural norms are not accepted, which exacerbates their feelings of isolation (E. Ellis, 2001). Thus, when socialization does not occur, individuals cannot move from the position of outsider to insider (Weidman et al., 2016). This lack of socialization leaves Black women in the position of an outsider, which could prevent them from seeing themselves in certain roles, including as faculty members.

Self-Perception and Self-Doubt

One area that socialization influences is self-perception. How one perceives their own academic ability is important for success. Black women in graduate school report negative feelings, low academic confidence, and anxiety about completing graduate level work (Coker, 2003; Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Schwartz et al., 2003; Shavers et al., 2014). Having their academic worth challenged by other students and faculty invalidates Black women's sense of worth, which makes them feel like they are presented as tokens on campus (Gildersleeve et al., 2011). In a study conducted by Shavers and Moore (2014) they investigated self-preservation strategies of Black female

doctoral students and found that the women developed an "academic mask" to shield them from sharing their full selves with those in their academic programs. The women described instances where they had to present themselves as professional as possible, even when they were unsure about themselves, to prevent negative assumptions about their academic ability. How others view Black women may influence their own self-perception and could jeopardize their graduate school success.

Mentoring and Advising

Black women have difficulty finding mentors in graduate school. Due to their negative experiences, they can find it hard to find mentors. Mentoring is like advising; however, mentoring takes advising one additional step. Advising is defined as "providing expert advice in a specific field," while a mentor is defined as a "trusted advisor" (Dixon-Reeves, 2001; L. Patton, 2009; L. Patton et al., 2003; Thomas, Willis, & Davis, 2007). The literature on both mentoring and advising is conflated and can be mistaken to suggest they are the same. However, mentoring is much more personal than advising and extends beyond superficial interactions and requires a much greater degree of transparency. Therefore, mentoring relationships are a critical component for the successful completion of any doctoral program (E. Ellis, 2001; Thomas et al., 2007; Wilde & Schau, 1991). Black women have been shown to benefit greatly by positive mentoring relationships that provide trust and support (H. Ellis, 1992; L. Patton, 2009; Thomas et. al., 2007). Most definitions of mentoring include trust and support and have also been described as "going beyond mere career development to include a strong personal relationship" (Thomas et al., 2007). In addition, graduate students have long rated mutual support and comprehensiveness of relationship as two of the most important factors in successful mentoring (Wilde & Schau, 1991). Yet formal mentoring programs and opportunities are still absent from many doctoral programs outside of each student's assigned advisor.

In addition to mentoring, advising relationships are also key to the overall experience of doctoral students, and more so of Black women, who have reported that poor academic advising stifles progress toward degree completion and potentially could cause a student to discontinue study (Aryan & Guzman, 2010). However, of the nine factors E. Ellis (2001) examined, mentoring was reported by all of the participants as critical for social and academic integration into a doctoral program, and influenced their overall satisfaction with doctoral study (p. 33). While having a mentor has been shown to influence the persistence of Black women in doctoral

programs, having a mentor who is also Black and female has been shown to be equally as important (Schwartz, Bower, Rice, & Washington, 2003). Black women may feel most comfortable and trusting of mentors who understand what it is like to be both Black and female, because they have a greater understanding of the issues and challenges they face as Black women (Collins, 2000). This is supported by Collins (2000) in her theory of "othermothering," which describes that Black women can feel a responsibility for other Black women. Through othermothering Black women can provide support, nurturing and caring as a "strategy to undermine oppression" (p. 209). Participation in positive mentoring experiences has the potential to help Black women overcome and reduce their negative experiences by providing them with tools to navigate the academy. Thus, allowing them to feel more connected to their institutions and potentially influence their decisions to pursue faculty positions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Black Feminist Thought

Black feminist thought (BFT) specializes and focuses on formulating and expressing the distinct, and self-defined perspective of Black women (Collins, 1989). BFT seeks to provide insight and understanding for the broader society and the interpretations of the life experiences of Black women in their own voice, as they have created meaning. BFT is framed by one central idea: Black feminist ideas originate and are generated by Black women. That central idea is supported by three themes: (a) others may research and document BFT but they cannot produce BFT; (b) Black women share a common and unique perspective that can be shared among Black women; and (c) the intersectionality of class, religion, age, and sexual orientation provides for many diverse representations of these commonalities.

The experiences of Black women represent a diverse and ever-changing narrative within the larger context. Understanding these themes involves further investigation into the construction of identities of Black women. First, we must consider how Black women both define and value themselves. As Black women create an identity within the dominant society, they must make a choice whether to accept or deny the normative identities that are prescribed for them or to challenge those images and create counter images for themselves. BFT argues that in the dominant culture, Black women are negatively stereotyped to dehumanize and control Black women (Collins, 1986). The process of self-definition and self-evaluation is

extremely important in identity creation and how Black women create meaning from their experiences. Jones, Wilder, and Osborne-Lampkin (2013) asserted the importance of listening for the "true and real experiences of Black womanhood with the Black woman at the center of analysis" (p. 330). BFT centers on resistance, activism, and voice. These core ideas were central to the development of study and the interpretation of its findings.

METHODS

The negative graduate school experiences of Black women explain in part why they are not selecting careers in the academy after graduation. However, understanding what shapes their identification with the academy during graduate school, and what ultimately directs them to choose careers as faculty, has not been widely examined (Levin et al., 2013). As a result, little is really known about what influences the career choices of Black women in graduate school. Since the purpose of this qualitative investigation was to understand how the graduate school experiences of Black women affect their decisions to pursue careers as faculty, selecting a method that focused on making meaning of one's experiences was essential. This study was conducted as a pilot study, in preparation for a dissertation to evaluate feasibility for a larger study. For that reason, to conduct this pilot study, an adapted version of Seidman's three-interview model was selected. In Seidman's original model, participants are interviewed three separate times for approximately 90 minutes each. In the first interview for this study, participants were asked to provide a focused life history as it related to the topic. This set the stage for the remaining two interviews, which were more focused and directed. In the second interview, the participants concentrated on specific details of their lived experience in relation to their graduate school experiences. Finally, in the third interview, participants were asked to reflect on their experience and derive meaning. For this study, however, only two interviews were conducted. The focused life history interview was completed in accordance with Seidman's framework; however, I combined his subsequent interviews into one and divided the interview protocol into separate sections to capture both the lived experiences and the derived meaning.

RESEARCH SETTING

The site for the pilot study was a large, public, predominantly White undergraduate institution in the Northeast. According to the Carnegie classification, the institution is primarily an undergraduate degree–granting

institution that also awards graduate and professional degrees. The institution is situated in an urban center and has a combined undergraduate and graduate enrollment of approximately 30,000 students. The undergraduate student body is comprised approximately 15,000 White students and fewer than 1,000 Black students. The graduate student body contains approximately 8,000 students with fewer than 400 of those graduate students reported as Black. Of those Black graduate students, it is unclear how many are women, as the institution did not have that information publicly available.

Participants

Participants for the study were located using a convenience sampling method. Participants were located through the researcher's peer and faculty network. Once identified, emails were sent to participants to provide an outline of the study and request voluntary participation. Seven participants were identified and two agreed to participate. Prior to enrollment in the study, participants were briefed on the study purpose and required to complete an informed consent form. Enrollment criteria for the study required participants to self-identify as Black, female, and be enrolled in a doctoral program with at least 2 years completed and a minimum of 50% of their coursework completed.

The first participant, Tamara, was a 37-year-old, single, first-generation college student born to immigrant parents. At the time of the study, Tamara was enrolled in a doctoral program in higher education management. She had been working on her degree full-time for over 5 years and was in the process of completing her comprehensive exams. Prior to enrollment in her current institution, she attended two different institutions to complete her bachelor's and master's degrees and previously worked full-time in higher education in various student advisory, student affairs, and admissions positions. Upon graduation, she desired to return to higher education in an executive capacity in the area of student affairs as well as teach on a part-time basis.

The second participant, Tracey, was a single mother of one in her early 40s and a first-generation college student. Tracey was in her fifth year of full-time enrollment in a doctoral program in higher education management and was completing her comprehensive exam during the time the study was conducted. Tracey attended two Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) to complete her bachelor's and master's degree before enrolling in her current institution to complete her doctorate degree. She was employed full-time in higher education in a high-level

administrative position working in the areas of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM). After graduation Tracey indicated that she would like to continue working in this area and to teach.

Researcher Subjectivity

Qualitative research is conducted with a human being as the mechanism by which data is collected. The purpose of research is to understand a phenomenon, test theory, understand multiple perspectives, and report the findings in a balanced and neutral fashion (Collins, 2002). As a result, qualitative researchers must acknowledge their biases, personal experiences, and theoretical inclinations before beginning the research. My role as a Black female doctoral student at a Predominantly White Institution (PWI)during the study, had the potential to influence the research process, data analysis, and findings. I was motivated to conduct this study based on my own graduate school experiences. I have completed two master's degrees at two separate institutions and found that I had similar experiences at both institutions. I was acutely aware of the lack of Black female professors in both instances. Upon enrolling in my doctoral program, I noticed that my White counterparts had more information than I, and appeared to be more connected than I. They knew when and how to complete milestones and were involved in academic opportunities such as participating on research teams. As a way to better understand my own experience, I began research in this area, which led me to conduct this study. While allowing another researcher to conduct the interviews was an option, access to the participant population to be studied is made easier when the participants view the researcher as a complete participant rather than a participant observer (Creswell, 2013). Being viewed as a member of the participant population as a Black female doctoral student allowed the participants to feel more comfortable sharing their experience since they did not view me as an outsider. Therefore, it is important to note that the experiences of the researcher shaped this study.

Data Collection Procedures

As part of this study, semi-structured interviews, as defined by Hatch (2002), were conducted. Semi-structured interviews are interviews in which the researcher designs specific questions to ask the participant during a set period; however, the researcher may deviate from the interview protocol to ask follow-up questions if necessary (Hatch, 2002). Since the study was a pilot study to determine feasibility for further investigation, the three-interview series model developed by Seidman (2013) was adapted to a

two-series model. For this study, in the first interview the participants were asked about their life history and why they decided to pursue a doctoral degree, if they had a career path in mind prior to applying, if that career path has changed during their time enrolled, and what, if anything, impacted that decision. Open-ended questions that allowed the participants to talk about their experiences and tell their own story were utilized. In the second interview, participants were asked to clarify answers to questions previously asked. It was in this interview that the participants were asked to reconstruct the details of their experience for the researcher (Seidman, 2013).

Data Analysis Procedures

Understanding the data collected and getting at the essence, or what is expressed, in the raw data, is how researchers reduce the amount of data and convey the meaning of that data to the reader (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The audio interview transcripts were transcribed manually by the researcher, which allowed the researcher to become immersed in the data. The transcripts were then coded through the process of deductive, thematic coding. Deductive coding is defined by M. Patton (2002) as a process of analyzing data with an "existing framework" (p. 453). The themes presented in literature review and concepts within BFT were used to analyze the interview transcripts and used as codes for analysis.

Trustworthiness

Upon completion of the manuscript, the participants were asked to review the document to ensure that the researcher did not misrepresent their statements. This process is known by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as "member checking," which is done to increase the credibility of the study and to provide a level of "factual and interpretative accuracy," also known as trustworthiness or validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was implemented in an effort minimized any researcher bias from being presented in the findings of the study.

FINDINGS

Numerous themes emerged that provide insight into the experiences of Black women in graduate school and how those experiences affect their career choices. The women had very strong feelings about their experiences. Those categories included advising/mentoring, institutional support, and faculty/peer interaction. These themes provide the basis for the findings of this study.

Advising and Mentoring

Both the women reported having multiple advisors during their program. Advising was reported as being haphazard and lacking organization. While both women reported their current advisor as better than their prior two, they still felt that their current advisor "didn't always get it." They felt the difference in their races acted as a barrier for common ground and a starting point for understanding. This impediment prevented them from having successful advising relationships. When asked to discuss this further, Tamara offered the following:

> *My first advisor, I only saw a total of 15 minutes over 2 years. My second advisor, she helped me get through my milestones, but because of her lack of organization that wasn't enough for me to get through my independent work, um and actually her work and mine kind of align more but she didn't understand the race thing. She thought she did but she didn't.*

There was, in her opinion, a lack of commitment from her first advisor and a lack of organization with her second. This was interesting because she said her second advisor had research interests that were more closely matched with her own; however, other issues within the relationship overshadowed this alignment. Tamara had a similar experience with her first two advisors and stated that:

> *With my first two advisors, I was always the advisor. I would walk in and say, "this is what this says, can I have your sign this?" I felt like I was the advisor in that process. With my current advisor, she provides more scaffolding than my past advisors.*

It was clear that the women faced many struggles with advising up until they met their current advisors. What is more interesting is that the women are both in the same program and had different advisors for their first two advisors and both now have different advisors for their third advisor. Neither of the women had an advisor who was the same race, but both indicated that their current advisor was the same gender. They also indicated that their advisors were minoritized women, which they felt helped them to better relate to their advisors in some regards.

Also discussed were their mentoring experiences. The women in the study both said their current advisor served as a mentor, but they also had additional mentors outside of this relationship. When asked to describe what

they felt were the characteristics of a good mentor, Tracey cited the following:

> *Someone that is in my corner. Someone that is equipping me. Stretching me a little bit. Helping me to accomplish my goals. I think mentors provide space for you in terms of connections. I feel like mentors provide connections, networks sometimes. Think about opportunities that you did not think about and present them to you.*

The women were both certain that mentors were significant to their doctoral success, especially as they completed the independent work phase. Having a mentor who had already navigated the process was also deemed critical.

Neither of the women had a Black woman in their program to act as a mentor and both had to find Black women outside of their program to fill this role. The women felt that it was important to have another Black woman as a mentor, because she could understand the specific challenges Black women face.

Institutional Support

By design, doctoral programs are supposed to prepare future faculty, researchers, and leaders within their selected discipline. Institutions have a responsibility to provide adequate support to students of every race, gender, and ethnicity. For students from underrepresented populations, it is even more critical because statistics show that the attrition rates for graduate students are over 50% (Lovitts, 2010). Part of socialization is institutional support, which can be demonstrated in a variety of ways. In the following excerpt, Tamara described her experience in her current institution in comparison to her previous: "This experience has been the total opposite of everything I have ever experienced. So, I've always been supported and this was the first time I was at an institution that didn't care about me." This powerful statement summarized her entire graduate school experience. Not having institutional support can have damaging effects on an individual and could potentially impact persistence through degree completion. In Tamara's case, her strong external support system and commitment to finish have helped her to continue her doctoral studies, despite her experience. Her statements demonstrate that in the following quote:

> *So, I went to an HBCU so that was a different experience. I think the push was you always have to do more. So, you just don't do a bachelor's degree you need to do a Ph.D. You need*

> *to go to graduate school and you need to give back. I guess coming from an HBCU, that experience was different. I always had people in my corner or people looking out for me. Like constantly peers, professors. The system was working collectively to move me along. Here you didn't have the same level of support.*

Many aspects of institutional support are intangible and critical for students since they make up the "hidden curriculum" socialization is intended to uncover. Lack of institutional support resulted in poor socialization for these women. As a result, they were in a hurry to complete their programs instead of embracing the full doctoral experience.

Peer and Faculty Interaction

Peer and faculty interaction are also integral part of obtaining a degree, but even more so during doctoral studies. Doctoral studies are comprised of coursework, research, and writing to demonstrate subject matter mastery. Students are required to work closely with their peers in group settings to review papers and complete projects. They are also required to work closely with faculty for degree guidance. The women participating in the study noted that their doctoral experience was different than their peers. They cited a lack of understanding the "hidden curriculum" and "understanding the process" as key issues. Tamara described the hidden curriculum as the unspoken rules, rituals, and expectations within a program or school. Both women described feeling left out and alone in trying to navigate the process while watching others move through the milestones with ease. Tamara described her experience in the following way:

> *What made it horrible was there was no one like me. There was no one in the faculty like me. There was, my voice wasn't in the curriculum. It was very cliquish. Us and them. All the White students in the program were either family or friends of someone in the program so they didn't have to do anything. They knew the hidden curriculum.*

Their interaction with faculty was similar and they felt like no one understood them as Black female academics. Having to explain themselves constantly to everyone was a struggle and ultimately caused the women to feel withdrawn and to look for support and interaction outside of their departments and institutions.

DISCUSSION

This study is important because it offers a greater understanding for how Black women experience graduate school. Black women are one of the largest growing graduate populations; however, literature shows that Black woman experience graduate school in a negative way. These experiences include difficulty in socialization, issues with self-doubt, and lack of proper advising and mentoring (Aryan & Guzman, 2010; Coker, 2003; Collins, 2000; Ellis, 2001; Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Shavers & Moore, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2003). The literature is further supported by the findings in the study as the participants presented similar experiences. These experiences reported by the women in this study add to the body of knowledge regarding the experiences of Black women in graduate school. This study also demonstrates the need for additional research in this area.

While the study set out to understand the relationship between the experiences of Black women in graduate school and their desire to pursue faculty careers, it was not completely clear if their graduate school experience influenced that decision. They made references to their experience and their future career choices; however, it was not clear if their experience was the primary determinant for their decision not to pursue faculty careers.

The connection between the experiences of Black women in graduate school and their decision on whether to pursue faculty careers requires further investigation. The negative graduate school experiences the women described have shaped their idea and understanding of what it would look like to become faculty members, and neither is inclined to pursue faculty positions after graduation. This is disheartening, because both women expressed their desire to teach, conduct research, and mentor graduate students, which are the primary duties of a faculty member. However, these women are choosing to complete their degrees and work in higher education in other capacities, because they believe that will allow them to be present in the academy and to influence change for Black women yet to come.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study have several far-reaching implications. First, Black women are still reporting negative experiences in graduate school. As institutions claim to place diversity and inclusion as institutional priorities, it is important for them understand that Black women are not experiencing graduate school in a positive way. Increasing the enrollment of this group is

not enough. Understanding how Black women experience graduate school should be a priority for institutions serious about connecting with Black women and finding ways to support them. Second, development of curriculum that speaks to their scholarship and interests is also important. Presenting scholarship that Black women can relate to in every discipline must be considered as part of program development. Third, creating academic and non-academic spaces and communities where Black women can find support is imperative. This requires institutions to be intentional in their development of every initiative on campus. This includes in faculty and staff hiring practices, enrollment practices, and non-academic programming. Finally, institutions need to acknowledge that they are failing in this area because the first step in a new direction is to acknowledge the need for change.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This pilot study demonstrated that further research into the graduate school experiences of Black women, and its connection with their career choice, is sorely needed. Additionally, research into Black women's persistence is needed to explore the positive experiences of Black women in graduate school to change the conversation away from a deficit-based perspective to a positive perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

The experiences of Black women in graduate school are reported as negative and this study further confirms those findings. Black women remain underrepresented in the ranks of the student body and the faculty. As the diversity and inclusion agendas of universities become more focused, it is important for institutional leadership to consider the experiences of Black women during graduate school to better understand how Black women experience graduate school. Also, ensuring that Black women occupy positions where they can provide mentorship and advising to Black female graduate students is one way institutions can provide support to this population. Implementing focused and specific initiatives to support Black female graduate students may help to shed some light on how Black women make career decisions, in particular, decisions on whether or not to pursue a faculty career.

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From Studentship to Academia: The Academic Female STEM Trajectory in Ghana

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ABSTRACT

At all levels of education in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) disciplinary fields, there are disparities in participation according to gender. This study explores the educational and professional experiences of female faculty in STEM in universities in Ghana. In-depth semi-structured interviews were undertaken employing 20 participants from universities in Ghana. Findings indicate that despite their success fueled by the support system available to them, gender disparities, fostered by patriarchy, characterized these women's educational and professional experiences. Their gendered experiences were exacerbated in the higher education workplace as some sources of support turned to be sources of discrimination. This was because the women were perceived as threats to the patriarchal status quo as they surged in the academic STEM trajectory.

Keywords: gender, women, STEM, academia, discrimination

Education is vital to socioeconomic development globally. However, female marginalization in education is replete in most parts of the world. The United Nations' (UN) Universal Declaration for Human Rights anchors the freedoms of all peoples regardless of gender/sex, sexuality, race, creed, culture, and socioeconomic status (Bodnar, 2010). At the international level there have been commitments aimed at addressing gender gaps in education.

Goal 5 of the Education for All (EFA) anchored by Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) depicted the global commitment to gender equality and equity from 2000 to 2015. In contemporary times, gender equality and equity issues are pivotal in post-2015 discourses. The fifth goal of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) focuses on gender equality and women empowerment.

Gender Disparities in Ghana's Education System

Enhancing women's education is both a sociocultural and economic development issue (King & Hill, 1995). The Ghanaian Constitution enshrines human rights.[1] Nonetheless gender disparities are prevalent in Ghana characterized by financial difficulties associated with women's education coupled with the forecast that boys will likely generate more investment returns (Appleton, Hoddinott, & Mackinnon, 1996; Avotri, Owusu-Darko, Eghan, & Ocansey, 2000; Herz, Subbrarao, Habi, & Raney, 1991), as well as sociocultural considerations, gendered social practices within households, lack of role models for girls in schools, and hostile school environments documented as sexual harassment from male students and inadequate institutional facilities (Atuahene & Owusu-Ansah, 2013; Morley, Leach, & Lugg, 2009, 2010; UNESCO, 2007). These factors fuel the perception that Ghanaian culture frowns upon the value of female education and women (Lambert, Perrino, & Barreras, 2012; Senadza, 2012).

The cultural ethos of the Ghanaian society impinges on the education of women. Stephens (1998, p. 1) put it, "The home domain is shaped by issues of kinship, descent, and the practice of fostering. Cultural values of elders, attitudes toward knowledge, women's role in society, and expectations of the economic value of schooling influenced girls' educational experiences." The kinship system in Ghana is based on patriarchy and gerontocracy where power structures are determined by age and gender—boys get more support to access and stay in formal schooling

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[1] Under Article 37(1) of the 1992 Constitution, the state resolves to ensure equality among others for all. Article 37(2) (b) of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana states that the State shall enact appropriate laws to ensure the protection and promotion of all basic human rights and freedom. Article 17(4) provides that Parliament is entitled to enact laws that are reasonably necessary for the implementation of policies and programs aimed at redressing social, economic, or educational imbalance in the Ghanaian society. Article 16 prohibits the holding of persons in slavery or servitude among others.

longer than girls, who are consigned as informal citizens and workers (Laird, 2005).

Despite Ghana's free education for all history between 1957 and 1985, illiteracy levels are high and female students enrolled in primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education are very low. Gender gaps favoring male students from primary, secondary, and tertiary levels are 8.4%, 22.2%, and 55.6%, respectively (Shabaya & Konadu-Agyeman, 2004). Nguyen and Wodon (2013) specifically highlighted the gender disparity in educational participation between boys and girls from primary school to senior high school in Ghana. They stated that with respect to the age cohort of 21 to 24 years, 84.1% of girls commenced primary school compared with 90.7% of boys. Their primary school completion rate was 86.5% and 92.7% for girls and boys, respectively. Concerning their transition from junior high to senior high school, the completion rates widened, favoring boys at 65.1% and 51.2% for girls. Between enrollment and completion, access is a constantly negotiated gendered process that is enacted on a daily basis (Dunne, Akyeampong, & Humphreys, 2007) among the schools and teachers, families and communities, as well as educational administrators (Humphreys, Moses, Kaibo, & Dunne, 2015), breeding identities of school dropouts in Ghana, incorporated the gender dimension.

Women's access and achievement in Ghana's higher education is constrained (Daddieh, 2003). Recruitment, subject choice, and attrition in higher education are gendered. Students who had earlier preferences for subjects they enrolled in made gender-traditional choices often, with more girls than boys encouraged by their parents and friends in making such choices (Mastekaasa & Smeby, 2008). For example, the cultural belief that males are more proficient in mathematics than females often leads to their enrolling in that subject more than their female counterparts (Seymour & Hewitt, 1997; Wagner & Berger, 1997). Male students' attrition was less attributable to gender composition of educational programs than females (Mastekaasa & Smeby, 2008).

Gender Disparities in STEM Fields in Ghana's Education System

The education of females in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)[2] is imperative from the three perspectives based on empirical studies on gender and STEM (European Commission, 2012; Lee & Pollitzer, 2016; Marginson, Tytler, Freeman, & Roberts, 2013). The first perspective is that of human rights—the need for all to be educated and be given equal opportunities. The second perspective is scientific—women boost scientific outcomes in terms of diversity, creativity, bias reduction, and promotion of robust knowledge and solutions. The third perspective is developmental—that is, the ability of men and women to acquire knowledge in and benefit from STEM opportunities. The STEM fields are prerequisites to societal and individual advancement. Traditionally, women have been underrepresented in STEM disciplinary fields (UNESCO, 2017).

According to UNESCO (2017), issues hampering progress for girls' participation in STEM in Ghana are gender stereotyping: sociocultural beliefs about girls' inability to study STEM, inadequate citizens' awareness of the importance of STEM, and unfriendly and gender insensitive teaching methodologies. Other issues are absence of clear policy guidelines on gender in the education sector, lack of capacity in terms of funding and competent staff by the gender and science units of the Ghana Education Service (GES) to play their mandated roles effectively, and limited intersectoral collaboration among the various government ministries and agencies in the promotion of girls' education. Relative to STEM enrolments in Ghanaian publicly funded universities,[3] a third of students enrolled in the 2007–2008 academic year were women, out of which less than 40% were enrolled in STEM majors (Ministry of Education, 2009).

Women's low participation and underrepresentation in STEM majors in higher education (as well as the lower levels) partly accounts for their slow integration into STEM occupations (Xie & Shauman, 2003). In comparing women in STEM research careers in Ghana, Kenya, and Karela, Campion and Shrum (2004) concluded that gender disparities stem from systemic deficits in the acquisition of social rather than material resources.

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[2] Gender disparities in STEM disciplines are not globally lopsided. In Malaysia, Iran, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Saudi Arabia, and Oman, science majors are disproportionately female (Sassler, Glass, Levitte, & Michelmore, 2017).

[3] Almost all STEM majors in Ghana's higher education system are offered by these universities

The literature on gender and STEM focusing exclusively on Ghana features the experiences of senior women in academic STEM settings (Boateng, 2017) and a comparison of the experiences between female graduate students, faculty, and scientists in academic and professional STEM settings (Boateng, 2016). As a corollary, the objective of this article is to explore the experiences of women in STEM academia relative to the STEM pipeline in Ghana. The STEM pipeline is operationalized within this study's context as the trajectory from early education to a higher education academic career in STEM. Another impetus for this chapter is the general belief that there is a limited understanding of women's underrepresentation in STEM careers (Morgan, Gelbgiser, & Weeden, 2013). The research question guiding this chapter is: What do female faculty in STEM in Ghanaian universities experience in their educational and professional journeys?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Factors Inhibiting Female Interest in STEM Fields

Scholars explain the low presence of women and girls in STEM careers and fields, citing biological, social, and psychological factors (Erinosho, 1994) that hamper the efforts of women undertaking STEM fields in educational institutions.

The biological factors cited have to do with the phenotypical constitution of women with regards to their "analytical and visual spatial skills which are required for abstract reasoning in science" (Erinosho, 1994, p. 1). Those who hold this view premise their conviction on gene factors (Gray, 1981); hormonal factors (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968); and brain lateralization (Sherman, 1979). This conviction has been challenged on the grounds that women's biological make-up has no direct correlation to their capabilities. Innate differences vary more in individuals than across sexes (Erinosho, 1994).

This social dimension is based on the influential roles the home, school, and society play in aligning females to feminine ideals (Erinosho, 1994; Witt & Wood, 2010). STEM fields have been attributed with characteristics such as "remoteness, abstractness, impersonality, detachment, and objectivity" (Birke, 1986; Hills & Shallis, 1975). These characteristics are associated with males while "passivity, coyness, and subjectivity" are attributed to females (Birke, 1986). The social dimension is further elaborated by two theories. The first, *the cognitive-developmental theory* attributes the social processes that produce gender identity as the

source of problems women face, upon which the school context becomes the quintessence of masculine science. The general dearth of science teachers/faculty in school denies female students appropriate role models (Erinosho, 1994). School curriculum and materials are illustrative of socially held female passivity (Erinosho, 1994). These facts are consonant with the findings of Murray, Meinholdt, and Bergmann (1999) that the STEM classroom environment, manifested in the course and curriculum structure, faculty, and male students' beliefs and behavior hamper persistence and success of females at the post-secondary level of education. The second, *the social learning theory*, traces the problems of women relative to STEM fields to externally oriented gender-role socialization, which right from infancy assigns roles to children (Erinosho, 1994). Differentiated sex roles are sanctioned by the home, the school, and the society. At home, girls play with dolls and domestic appliances and develop verbal and nurturing skills while boys play with mechanical toys.

The growth of some personality variables such as interest, attitude, and self-concept is spurred by a lot of activities (Brooks & Vernon, 1956), which gives boys a head start relative to interest in science (Meyer & Penfold, 1961). Girls are brought up to develop emotions, concern, and feelings for nature more so than for mechanistic relationships with physical objects (Erinosho, 1994). Moreover, girls are believed based on past studies to have low self-concepts about their abilities in science and mathematics (Erinosho, 1994).

The biological, social, and psychological factors underscore the dire statistics pertaining to female participation in STEM in Ghana, as outlined previously. At various levels of education in STEM, women encounter conscious and unconscious teacher/faculty bias on the basis of gender (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012) as males are given the upper hand in the education process because they are engaged more by faculty/teachers (Johnson, 2007). For instance, males are asked analytical and critical thought high order questions while females are asked to recall facts based on lower order questions (Hall & Sandler, 1982).

Complementing the aforementioned factors at home and in school, Savigny (2014) and UNESCO (2007, 2017) further listed factors that breed gender inequalities and inequities in STEM career settings:

- Women's and men's career paths diverge as the former are promoted more slowly as they leave STEM careers into other fields. Suitable girls are not privy to information on STEM courses and careers and may turn to other fields.

- Many girls and their advisers are stereotyped into thinking that STEM jobs are for men.

- Many talents are lost as women leave the STEM fields.

- Cultural norms militate the mingling of men and women, and as a result, women do not have social networks at work.

- Achievements of women are underrated, as women have to garner high scores in order to get promoted.

Work and Family

Three concepts describe potential conflicts for women who attempt to balance work and family: role conflict, the demand for "ideal" workers, and tenure clock (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). Role conflict results from a combination of limited time and energy with additional roles and responsibilities that necessarily create tensions between conflicting demands and cause a sense of overload (Barnett & Marshall, 1992, 1993). This ultimately leads to physical and mental disequilibria (Fowlkes, 1987; Savigny, 2014). While the role conflict theory applies to women in all professions, the ideal worker and the tenure clock pertain uniquely to the academic environment (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006; Wolf-Wendel, Ward, & Kulp, 2016). The "ideal" worker is glued to their work interminably to satiate tenure demands, a role that leaves little time for childbearing or raising and/or even marriage (Williams, 2000). The conflict between work and home demands may make female faculty, who may be a wife and/or a mother, not an "ideal" academic worker (Ward & Bensimon, 2002). The tenure clock of academic work is structured on male normative paths that insulate them from family responsibilities, disadvantaging women with families (Grant, Kennelly, & Ward, 2000; UNESCO, 2017).

In the larger context in Ghana, public universities do not have a gender policy and the policy frameworks are in dissonance with gender concerns. A seeming exception is the University of Cape Coast's Strategic Plan which, like the National Council Tertiary Education's (NCTE) goal of increasing female enrollments, mentions gender but does not include modalities for addressing gender inequities (Manuh, Gariba, & Budu, 2007). In Ghana, there have been few efforts geared toward ensuring the parity between men and women in tertiary education or in the Ghanaian society at large (Britwum, Oduro, & Prah, 2014).

The trajectory of the faculty career from graduate school to full professor rank seems not encompass the career expected of an academic woman (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). To gain legitimacy, however, many

female scientists have focused on scientific identity based on research and career achievement ignoring marriage and child-caring responsibilities (Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, Neuschatz, Uzzi, & Alonzo, 1994). The disregard for the reproductive rights of women in academia is denotative of academic freedom being gendered. Opportunities necessarily for both men and women to undertake their academic functions are unequal. For example, women who return from maternity leave are negatively assessed by their students and senior colleagues, and thereon, frosty relationships develop between them and their senior colleagues (Lundgren & Prah, 2009; Britwum et al., 2014).

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Crotty (1998) stated the research process includes ontology/epistemology, theoretical perspective, and methodology. The ontological and epistemological bases for the data collection of the study was subjectivism, which heralds individual sensemaking of the social world in which they belong. Interpretivism, the theory underpinning the methodology of this study, holds that reality and knowledge are multiple and relative so humans construct them rather than being objectively imposed on them (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014). The specific methodology guiding the study was narrative analysis. This methodology deals with individual life accounts within their sociocultural contexts as conferring with objects in the world (Ruissman, 2008; Stephens & Breheny, 2013). Semi-structured interviews were utilized as the method to elicit responses from participants.

Research Settings, Participants, and Sampling

Criterion/purposive sampling was adopted to sample participants based on gender, discipline, and faculty rank. Ethical clearance was received to undertake the research study from the Institutional Review Board of a public American university. Participants were recruited from three publicly funded universities in Ghana, namely the University of Cape Coast (UCC), a predominantly non-STEM institution; the University of Education, Winneba (UEW), a predominantly non-STEM institution mainly focusing on education; and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

(KNUST),[4] a predominantly STEM university. A list of female faculty in STEM was obtained with assistance from the universities. These women were contacted via email to request study participation. From this sampling method, 14 participants were identified. Six further participants were identified based on the recommendations of the 14 participants.

Data Collection Method: Semi-Structured Interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore respondents' perceptions and opinions. Eighteen participants allowed their interviews to be audiotaped. Two participants did not consent to audiotaping, so their interviews have not been included in the data. Verbatim notes were taken when interviewing. Each of the interviews lasted for about an hour. The audiotaped interviews were transcribed and the notes were organized. The identities of the participants were protected during the transcriptions by assigning each participant a set of initials unrelated to their actual names. The interview data was returned to the respective participants to check for accuracy, thus, confirming the validity of interview content.

Data Analysis

Congruent with the methodology for the study, the thematic approach to the analysis of narrative data was employed because the topics and themes generated by the interviews are what is of interest.

FINDINGS

The Nascent STEM Years

The participants' evolution of their interest in the STEM subject began in their early schooling and continued throughout their education. The participants enjoyed massive support from their parents, especially their fathers, relative to their STEM interest. It did not mean that their mothers and other relatives did not help them in their STEM journeys, but their fathers were preponderantly active. Their fathers not only encouraged their daughters and took a keen interest in their daughters' studies but also extended their pride to their daughters' decision to undertake STEM subjects by informing their friends in the community about their daughters' aspirations. The actions of their fathers may seem to have been at variance

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[4] The only STEM university in Ghana

with the general patriarchal notions of disinterest or non-commitment to female education, in STEM specifically. The fathers were adamant that the successes of their daughters in their disciplinary endeavors and STEM was very relevant and a source of pride to them. One participant flashed back to her pre-high school years and talked about her father's exhibition of pride for her choosing engineering:

> *My dad was proud, very proud that I chose engineering. I mean he encouraged me from the word go. I would ask him questions, listening to the news and even before I applied to secondary school, he will say, this my daughter will be an engineer…He was just proud, sometimes you could hear him talk amongst his peers and that he has a daughter who is into an area that has few females that made him really, really proud…and up till today he says it every time to people, to his friends. He wouldn't finish a conversation without making you know that he has a daughter who has read engineering not just engineering but mechanical. (ML)*

Ironically for the participants, their fathers who were very supportive and proud of their decisions to pursue courses in STEM areas overwhelmingly dominated by men, underscored the society's cultural norm that places the preeminence of their domestic roles over their career roles in their daughters' working years. Thus their fathers played contradictory roles in their STEM journeys. It shows the resoluteness of culture. Although people try to absolve themselves from the discriminatory influence of culture concerning gender relations, they somewhat inadvertently end up being perpetrators of the same injustice they resolve not to mete out. It partly explains why the participants in this trajectory had surging experiences relative to gender discrimination. The engineering faculty further shed more light of her father's contradictory roles in her experiences:

> *I will attribute a lot of the things to culture. You see my dad, the one who encouraged me would still tell me look, you can go to all the universities in the world if you come and you sleep under my roof you will still go to the kitchen...I mean and he wasn't only saying that when he was happy. He was saying that when he was really upset…he had felt that because I think I had gone to school I could stop doing some things. (ML)*

Irrespective of the peak of educational pursuit females aspire to or attain, culturally in Ghana they are below the males, whether educated or not.

The Higher Learning Phase in STEM

The participants pursued their STEM interests when they got to the universities, which served as the bridge between pre-higher education and career stages. The structural composition of the classes they were in was initially intimidating to them because most of them were admitted to the university from exclusive girls' senior high schools. This structural composition was compounded by the physical structures of their male mates. This vividly illustrates non-verbal communication as a subliminal way of communicating gender discrimination. The participants could read the meaning of such body structures contextually and movements thereof. The tacit narrative is that men are physically strong and that they wield power and authority. Women, according to this narrative, are supposed to be beneficiaries of men's patronages. The women felt the guys wanted them to follow their directions. They were not scathed, however, because the intimidation they felt was transient. They became focused on the purpose for which they went to the universities, apparently due to the high socialization and supports they had and benefited from in their pre-higher education stages. Socialization in STEM and supports were key to nipping intimidation emanating from gender discrimination in the bud:

> *I think it was a class of – I don't remember – but around twenty-two or thirty and we were only four ladies. Well, initially I felt intimidated for the very first time in my life; because here you are with – and I was very – I was smallish in size. And then the guys were all – the males were huge and tall and all of that; yeah…they felt like you're a lady – you know – that's the typical African. You don't have to – um – take any responsibility in the class, you have to listen to the gentlemen and all of that. And I am not like that, I'm so outspoken. When I quickly directed my attention to my studies, I was intimidated no more. (NT)*

Their academic relationships with their male mates were very cordial in spite of the fact that they were numerically outclassed by their male classmates. The women relished the benefit of team work in groups as their inputs were accepted and respected. They were recognized as worthy people by their classmates. They were not treated as second class people. What their male classmates did in their higher education years was an extension of what their parents and other relatives had done in their pre-higher education:

I was the only female in the class, we were seven and I was the only female in the class. In fact they really encouraged me I must say. They were very supportive to the extent that they wanted me to do my masters in that area, okay. They were very, very supportive. In the university I liked working in teams. The teams I was part of were mixed in terms of gender. Definitely, our ideas were welcomed. There were no gender biases. Both the males and females in the various groups complemented each other, accepting each other's ideas, and amicably coming to a consensus when there was a stalemate in terms of which direction the team should go (YM)

The Transition to and Life in the World of Academic STEM Work

The female participants grappled with excessive gender discrimination in their workplace environments and at home while navigating between their professional and family obligations. The reverse reality of their higher education experiences occurred in their career years. Some of their male colleagues in the universities who treated them well, studied with them, and encouraged them ironically became perpetrators of gender discrimination in their workplaces. The discrimination extended to the extent of attempts made by ex-mates to close down departments that some of the participants were heading. Their male colleagues preferred the departments closing down to successful departments led by the women. There were other atrocities meted out to women on this experiential path. One biology participant narrated how her former male classmate in the university, who later became her workplace colleague and senior, sabotaged her to the effect that she lost her scholarship to a Welsh university:

The men who tried to impede my efforts in academia were my friends in university and in academia until I was offered a position. When I was a student in [university name withheld], I studied with them. Some of them accompanied me to [hall name withheld] after studying late in the night. These friends turned into enemies when I was elevated. You know the opposition persisted even to the point that a British Council Commonwealth scholarship to [institution's name withheld] was awarded to me but one of my colleagues who was a Head of Department and his clique told me that the VC had written a letter revoking the scholarship. (RK)

Gender discrimination for the respondents in the academic STEM workplace was so pervasive that it was present even in the undertaking of service roles. Apart from having the conviction that their teaching and research duties as members of the academy were not fairly shared, they even mentioned that there was unfairness even in choice of service roles. One major service duty for faculty member is serving on committees. There was gender discrimination in one participant's department in terms of committee membership as those committees with pecuniary benefits were solely composed of men. All the arduous non-pecuniary duties were intentionally given to the women. The labor of female STEM women and their sacrifices were not rewarded:

> *When I came, I felt oh, a lot of the lecturers had taught and so I gave them that respect and I was being pushed around…here you have your teaching responsibilities and then you have other responsibilities, sometimes sitting on a committee to do some work, developing a program…or call it service…Some also came with money and the situation was that I did a lot of service work that did not come with money. They selected the men to be on committees whose work involved financial benefits. (DY)*

Female heads of departments were ignored by male subordinates even in the presence of other male subordinates. One head of department participant flashed back to an incident where she was ignored by a male janitor in the presence of her junior colleague in the workplace because she was strict in ensuring work was done well in her institution. This was a corollary to what happens in the larger society. It happened that the male janitor showed more respect to another male worker but ignored a woman who was the male worker's superior. She did not expect the janitor to revere her but it was significant that he showed respect to her subordinate but ignored her in the same instance. Women in leadership positions try as much as possible to be strict and harsh in order to get things done because of such perceptions:

> *When I was the head of department, I noticed because I was a woman, they [the men] fear and respect the men more than women. Men's voice carry more weight and authority. That is why we [the women] become harsh and as a result, things get done. When I get to work and get out of my car holding my bag and laptop, I walk with my male subordinate and the janitor man will come toward us and carry my colleague's bags and ignore me. (BE)*

The participants believed their husbands' non-supportive roles were due not to their busy schedules but also from the cultures of the tribes they hail from. These tribal cultures enjoin or expect women to venerate their husbands. The patriarchal ethos of venerating males begins when they are young. They are socialized into having the thought that they are superior beings, so they grow up with that thought when they become husbands. The insidious cultural expectations influence the behavior of their husbands. They based their conviction on other men, apparently from other tribes, in the same profession as their husbands who assist their wives in their housekeeping duties:

> *He is also an Ashanti man, he has grown up in the environment where women are supposed to worship and serve their men. So he is also having that thing, it's a deep seated thing in him, I don't think it's about his job but he feels that like this is a woman job, that's what I feel. He feels like this is a woman job, otherwise I don't see why he shouldn't be able to help. I am sure that other medical doctors who are helping their spouses very well, and they are given and all the necessary support at home. I think it's because of his background has also actually influenced him. But I am an Ashanti and we are also worshipping our male boys in the house, doing everything for them (DI).*

DISCUSSION

Educating women in STEM areas is beneficial to the society and economy. Despite the justification of female education in STEM in terms of human rights, scientific support, and developmental standpoints (UNESCO, 2007), women are marginalized in its participation. In the academic trajectory of women in STEM, the discrimination they experience varies but at the root of the discrimination is the pervasiveness of society's patriarchal clout on education and STEM (Wachege, 1992). Even when they are supported and encouraged to pursue their interests in STEM, the patrifocal beliefs continue (even by the people who support them) regarding the inferiority of women (Erinosho, 1994). Due to such beliefs, women experience less feelings of belonging and interest, and may also feel less able to succeed in STEM fields (Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009).

The structural/physical composition of males in lecture halls in many STEM disciplines is a source of gender discrimination (Boateng, 2017), especially for females who had attended exclusive girls' senior high

schools. However, many participants found that their male mates were supportive to them. This is incongruous to the finding that at the university level women experience a greater loss of confidence in their intelligence (Farrell & McHugh, 2017) and men underestimate the women's ability to do well in STEM subjects (e.g., Farrell & McHugh, 2017).

Patriarchy is ubiquitous as it extends to the STEM career milieu. The belief that STEM careers are only for the "brainiest" students, especially middle class males (ASPIRES, 2013), plausibly accounts for the disrespect and disdain shown to female STEM faculty by their former male mates in the university. The ubiquitous patriarchy not only extends to the academic STEM ambience in terms of teaching and research, but also to the service roles of faculty as well. Female leaders of the academic STEM are grossly disrespected even by their male juniors. Gender and other sociocultural (ethnic and tribal) factors are interlocked in the ingrained patriarchy fostered by the Ghanaian society. Societal expectation or requirement of women as primary caregivers encourage them to adopt career paths that are congruent with raising a family (Hakim, 2002) and places them below men regardless of their status in the academic STEM workplace. The cultural division of labor stereotyping certain careers compels women, at least wives and mothers, to take careers with flexible work schedules and workloads because of their child caring and home management roles or reduced work time if they choose STEM careers (Erinosho, 1994; UNESCO, 2007, 2017). Paradoxically, these women fail to become ideal workers who must satisfy the tenure demands of the male-driven academy (Ward & Bensimon, 2002; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). The patriarchal nature of the academy constrains women in academia from maximizing their potential (Lundgren & Prah, 2009). Considering the bigger picture, there are no gender frameworks in Ghanaian public universities (Manuh et al., 2007). This is coupled with the fact that tertiary educational institutions are replete with gender contradictions partly because their leaders do not have gender equity issues as priority concerns (Acker, 2000), which is evident in the passive response relative to Ghanaian universities (Manuh et al., 2007).

CONCLUSION

Gender inequalities and inequities in education are replete in most parts of the world. Such a situation is not different in Ghana. From the gamut of all educational levels, gender gaps characterize Ghana' education system. Although there is ample literature on gender disparities concerning Ghana's

education, there are few that touch on the experiences of females in the STEM fields (Campion & Shrum, 2004; Boateng, 2017), which are deemed to be male-dominated disciplinary domains. As a consequence, the objective of this study was to elicit narrative accounts of the educational and professional experiences of female STEM faculty in Ghanaian universities through in-depth semi-structured interviews.

It was found that the participants throughout their schooling and career (thus far) relied on their support systems to succeed. However, the silver lining of support was smothered by gender discrimination underpinned by ingrained patriarchy in the Ghanaian society. Regardless of the feat they have accomplished, they are perceived and actually treated as second fiddle to men. The participants' parents, especially their fathers, supported them in their education; however, their support was punctuated by their patriarchal beliefs that their daughters should relegate themselves to their male counterparts. During their STEM school years, women benefited from the support, cooperation, and collaboration of their male mates. Such support, cooperation, and collaboration plummeted as they proceeded to the STEM workplace where their former male mates became perpetrators of gender discrimination. Such patriarchal realities must be addressed by the various stakeholders in Ghana to nip gender inequalities and inequities in the bud.

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From 1965 to 2018: What Happened to Black Men?

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ABSTRACT

In 1965, there were a number of major events occurring in the United States, including the U.S. soldiers fighting in the Vietnam War; the historic march that took place in Selma, Alabama, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; the murder of Malcom X in Harlem, New York; and the signing of The Voters Rights Act by President Lyndon B. Johnson. It was a time that Black families were moving in a positive direction in the areas of housing, employment, and education. Since 1965, Black men in the United States have not made the same progress as their White and Hispanic counterparts. This article explores both the absence of Black males in households as well as the nesting syndrome created by mothers rearing Black men and its impact on Black males since 1965.

In 1965, 190,000 U.S. soldiers were fighting in the Vietnam war; Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and more than 2,600 others were arrested in Selma, Alabama during demonstrations against voter-registration rules; Malcolm X was shot to death at a Harlem rally; Blacks rioted for 6 days in the Watts section of Los Angeles; and the Voters Rights Act was signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. During the same year, Moynihan (1965) indicated in a report published by the U.S. Department of Labor, "The White family has achieved a high degree of stability and is maintaining that stability. By contrast, the family structure of lower class Negroes is highly unstable, and in many urban centers is approaching complete breakdown" (p. 5). When Moynihan made the prediction in 1965, Blacks probably did not expect that the impact would have a devastating and destroying effect on Black males. The forecasted breakdowns have expanded to Blacks disregarding other Black lives. According to the Federal Bureau of

Investigation's 2015 Uniformed Crime Report, in 2015, there were 2,380 Blacks murdered in the United States by a Black offender (FBI, 2015). Of the 2,380 Black murders in 2015, 2,299 of the offenders were Black men (FBI, 2015). Although the U.S. Department of Labor forecasted more than 50 years ago that Black families were "approaching complete breakdown", little to nothing has been done to diminish the negative effects the breakdown has had on Black men and the advancement of the Black family.

What has occurred since 1965 to create such negative connotations and statistics about Black males? Who is the blame for the shortcomings and downfalls of Black males in the 21st century? Some have blamed Black Mothers of extending their "nesting instinct" which has affected Black men into and beyond adulthood. Others have blamed Black Fathers' absence from households and not being an active participant in the rearing of their Black male offspring. In this article, both explanations will be explored.

ABSENCE OF BLACK FATHERS IN BLACK HOUSEHOLDS

According to the United States Census Bureau (2012), 57.6% of Black children live in households absent of their biological fathers. Former President Barrack Obama, then Illinois State Senator, stated in 2008, "[Black Fathers' have] abandoned their responsibilities, acting like boys instead of men." McAdoo and McAdoo (1997) asserted "…the stereotyped Black father is seen—by those who are not of color—as a visitor to his family, underemployed, marginal to his family, inattentive to his children, rather violent, and plainly not in the family picture" (p. 7). McAdoo and McAdoo (1997) further asserted the absence of Black fathers is linked to unemployment, imprisonment, high death rates, and the imbalance of the male–female ratio.

Although the absence of Black fathers in the lives of their Black male sons has been viewed as negative, a report authored by Jones and Mosher (2013) for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention indicated that Black fathers who do not live in the household with their children speak with their children more often than both Hispanic and White fathers. Furthermore, the report implies that Black fathers, whether or not they reside in the household with their children, are more involved with their children than both White and Hispanic Fathers.

WHAT HAPPENED TO BLACK MEN: A LEGAL REVIEW

According to a report published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, one in three Black men are expected to spend time in prison (Bonczar & Beck, 1997; Knafo, 2013). In 2014, 516,900 Black men were a part of the U.S. prison system, which was 37% of the total male incarceration population and 6% of all Black males in the US (BJS, 2015). In the same year, 67,810 Black men graduated from community colleges (Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, 2016). And as the US experienced in one of the most controversial presidential elections in 2016, nearly 1.4 million (one in eight) voting-age Black men were unable to cast a vote due to state-enacted voting laws ("Study: Non-Voting," 2016).

Legal scholars have conducted research in an attempt to determine the reasons for the large number of Black males incarcerated in the US. Findings of the studies have indicated that Black males are incarcerated at rates greater than any other race/ethnicity because they experience high rates of unemployment, lack education attainment, are victims of racial profiling and police discrimination, receive poor legal representation, are more likely to be referred to police as a kid than any other race/ethnicity, and are raised in single parent households often times ran by Black mothers (Quigley, 2015).

WHAT HAPPENED TO BLACK MEN: AN EDUCATION REVIEW

Education scholars have also conducted research attempting to determine reasons why Black males who enroll in U.S. postsecondary institutions do not persist to graduation. In the fall of 2016, 933,179 Black men enrolled in postsecondary educational institutions in the US, and by the end of that academic year, only 184,111 Black men completed post-secondary graduation requirements (Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, 2018). Research findings for Black men's lack of educational accomplishments have concluded that Black males have a difficult time balancing personal and school responsibilities, enter college unprepared for college level course work, experience financial hardships, and do not have stable housing and employment (Downs, 2016; Dulabaum, 2016; Moltz, 2009).

BLACK MOTHERS AND THE "NESTING SYNDROME"

According to American Pregnancy Association (n.d.), *nesting instinct* is described as pregnant women and animals who prepare for a newborn offspring that is soon to be born. When studying Black males who lack postsecondary educational accomplishments and make up high rates of mass incarceration, little to no research has been conducted on the roles and contributions of mothers who have created a "nest" for their Black sons.

Williams (n.d.), a Black woman, believed that Black women have generationally been taught to be independent, nurturers, and providers. She further argued that it began when Black men decided to have babies and not take care of them. While Williams thinks that every woman should be educated and able to take care of herself, she does not believe that women should excuse men from the same requirements.

Many women, who have raised today's incarcerated and un-and-undereducated Black men, have extended the nesting periods beyond preparing for their births. Some single Black mothers who are rearing Black boys, label them as the "man of the house." Many of those Black boys labeled as *man of the house*, move into adulthood not being required to make contributions to or be a vital part of the family structure. Many Black boys are reared to rely on their mothers and are not trained to be responsible, independent, and head of their own households. Those same Black boys age into adulthood and become Black men who have not developed maturity, independence, or responsibility. Often when the sons of Black mothers lack accomplishments and become involved in troubled situations, it is those same mothers who are the first to make excuses for, defend, and open the nest for the return of their Black sons. According to Lei and South (2016), "In 2011, 31% of young Black men aged 25–34 lived in a parental home" (p.110). As seen in today's music videos and reality television shows, Black men can degrade, disrespect, misuse, and abuse women in personal relationships, yet even after displaying this behavior, can return home to their mother's nest. Furthermore, Black men are allowed to return to "Momma's nest" after producing and not being present in the lives of their own children. Those *boys* age out of being juveniles and move into an adulthood un- and under-educated, un- and under-employed, becoming members of the criminal justice system (Desilver, 2013; Witters & Liu, 2015). Many Black boys who become under-achieving Black men, as well as their mothers, blame their lack of accomplishments on the absence of Black men in households.

FIXING THE "NEST"

Moynihan (1965) indicated, "The role of the family in shaping character and ability is so pervasive as to be easily overlooked. The family is the basic social unit of American life; it is the basic socializing unit. By and large, adult conduct in society is learned as a child." In order for progress to be made with correcting downfalls of Black males in the United States, restructuring of the Black family must occur. As more than 72% of Black children are born to single Black mothers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), the restructuring should include mothers creating a nest that develops Black boys into Black men. The nest should not be created as a place that allows Black men to continuously return home with the door wide open. Mothers in charge of the nest should include positive Black male mentors to be a part of the village that "raises the child." This village should teach Black boys responsibility, respect, good communication and decision-making skills, and independence. Those mentoring Black males should teach their mentees to respect women, those in authority, and one another; to not become an inmate of the Department of Corrections; to remain the head of their households; to think about their actions before making a decision; that it is ok to communicate their problems; it is ok to cry when they feel hurt and pain; and to leave the nest, never forgetting the values and character that it instilled.

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Experiencing the African Diaspora in My Travels Abroad

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"Travel makes one modest. You see what a tiny place you occupy in the world."

— Gustav Flaubert

I am a habitual traveler: I have been to 11 different countries since December 2016. Traveling has become a part of my life—it comes to the point where if I do not travel for 2 months, I get moody. Traveling exposes me to the world and different cultures and standards. Traveling also exposes me to the African Diaspora around the world. I enjoy eating different food around the world. My wife laughs at me because I make sure I eat some sort of "street food" that is native to the country city or neighborhood I'm in. When I visit a new country, I want to become a part of that country while I'm there. So I embrace the culture and everything it has to offer.

I cannot trace my heritage or where I'm from originally; however, as a "Black" man, I feel a connection with all members of the diaspora. I first felt this during my visit to Cuba. I was elated to see so many Black faces like mine and they were so welcoming. Being born and raised in Miami, I grew up around Cubans, but they had White faces and often would dislike me for the color of my skin. Being in Cuba and seeing the opposite let me know that the diaspora is real. Here I learned the real history of Fidel Castro and his relationship with the United States. Before visiting different countries, I research the country to find the diaspora there. The area is usually far from the tourist area, kept out of the public eye.

While in Ghana I visited a school in Nima, one of the poorest cities in Ghana. The kids at the school were full of life and energy. I was amazed that they spoke both English and French fluently. I saw some of the math work they were doing and was shocked at the high level of math they were

doing. We spent the next day in the market and went to one of the restaurants after a day of buying and bartering with street vendors. In this restaurant, I ate rice grilled chicken and plantains. I realized that I had the same meal in Colombia and Cuba. Then it hit me that this is an original African dish, and when they were enslaved they brought it with them. The next day we went to El Mina, which is the castle that housed enslaved Africans before their departure. This was the highlight of my trip because I've always wanted to visit this place—a place where my ancestors realized that they would never see their homeland again. While there, I felt a presence in the air—it felt weird, and I experienced a lot of emotions. The whole time I was visualizing the past and how my ancestors went through this horror.

While visiting Cartagena, Colombia, I visited the small village of San Basilio de Palenque. This village was started by enslaved Africans who escaped slavery around 1604. This place was filled with bright colors and smiling faces. They embraced their African roots even though most of them have never been to Africa. When I was there, they called me their brother and it felt like home. The food was amazingly seasoned as well. They also performed some of their music for the group I traveled with. I can understand most Spanish, but I could not understand them because they speak Spanish as well as a language that mixes Spanish and other African languages. However, the music had a beat that was very familiar, and we danced and had a great time. The beat told me that no matter where we are, our music gives the same feelings.

My most recent trip was to London and Paris. I've always wanted to visit Paris and the Eiffel Tower, so this was an amazing trip for me. While in London I visited Brixton, which is the neighborhood where most of the African Diaspora lives. It had great art all around, with people selling food and souvenirs. As soon as we got off the subway, we heard the drums and the music, and it felt like home. My next trip will be in Egypt where we will visit Cairo and Luxor. This trip I will finally get to see one of the eight wonders of the world in the pyramids of Giza. I'm interested in the camel riding and the beauties of Egypt.

In the research of Mary M. Dwyer, she finds several benefits to studying abroad including: "[a]chieving a greater understanding of one's own cultural values and biases, continuing to be influenced in one's interactions with people from different cultures, and developing a more sophisticated way of looking at the world...."

Although my travels have been independent study abroad trips, I find they have impacted my work and I have gained more cultural exposure

and further understanding of shared values. My research is also informed by the lessons that I've learned in various countries that have given me a greater sense of world history. Lastly, traveling abroad has made me a better person overall, and I see the world differently. After visiting impoverished areas and hearing the stories of those who were impacted, I've often found that I cannot complain about some of the small issues I face here in America. I am patiently waiting for my next adventure.

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Book Review

What Works at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): Nine Strategies of Increasing Retention and Graduation Rates (Mfume, 2015)

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What Works at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): Nine Strategies of Increasing Retention and Graduation Rates by Dr. Tiffany Mfume introduces the historical significance of HBCUs, the challenges faced by the institutions in retaining students, maintaining (or increasing) graduation rates, and spotlights Morgan State University's best strategies for improved outcomes. The book is a culmination of nearly 15 years of hands-on research, testing theories, and various strategies to improve student retention outcomes.

The text is organized into 10 chapters beginning with understanding the historical significance of HBCUs and their role in educating minority and underserved students to Chapter 6: "Strategic Initiatives: Programs Designed Specifically to 'Move the Data'," through Chapter 10's "The HBCU Success Recipe." The text also provides in its appendices a list of accredited HBCUs and notable Morgan State University alumni. A major focus of the text is identifying resources that helped to improve retention over time. Among those are digital learning technologies like Blackboard and Campus Labs. Mfume credits attending higher education conferences with allowing her to network and learn about valuable resources that could be used to positively influence retention outcomes.

Chapter 3, "Data Mining: Who Are Your Students, and What Do They Need?" is a bright aspect of the book in that it examines the makeup of the student body. Mfume (2016) notes that Morgan State University educates 70% first-generation college students. This chapter reveals that the higher the Pell Grant rate, the lower the retention rate, and vice versa. She points out the devastating impact of the 2008–2012 economic crisis as

having substantial impact on the retention rate. She further argues in this chapter for the need of colleges and universities to closely evaluate student data including SAT/ACT scores, Accuplacer profiles, household incomes, and high school grade point average to not only understand our students, but to also build needed supports. One of the more important points made in the text is that HBCUs and other colleges and universities should be more transparent in maintaining their data. Analyzing data can help to drive discussion on the academic and social needs of students and the structures in place to support them. She sums up this chapter with two counter arguments to the validity and performance of HBCUs citing that there are correlations between the economic standing of students and their success story. She further encourages a rewrite of the retention and cultural importance of the university.

Resources materialize in various forms for colleges and universities, and for HBCUs, those resources can be a determining factor in whether they are able to provide the needed resources for students to be successful. Mfume (2016) argues that in the retention area, which encompasses student success and college completion, funding, time, and energy are often scarce. Outside funding acts as the medium between desire to create needed structures to provide access. Chapter 7 "Leveraging External Resources: Getting the Most out of Grant" provides an overview of the grants that HBCUs receive to positively impact retention. These grants are both private grants from HBCUs and education supporters as well as Federal monies to help implement initiatives. One of the better known private grants is the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Grant, which helps to fully support retention efforts by donating more than $100,000 to colleges and universities to "increase low-income students' college completion rates" (p. 85). The United Negro College Fund and others also assist in aiding HBCUs through scholarship finding for select students.

What shines through the text is the overwhelming sense of pride that Mfume has in improving the retention of Morgan State University students. She is a legacy graduate of Morgan State University, the same university where her mother, Lois McMillian, taught English for over 20 years. Her grandmother, Enolia McMillion, was the first female president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the first female chair of Morgan State University's Board of Regents.

Mfume's treatment of the history, challenges, and successes of retaining HBCU students not only informs the cultural and historical significance of these institutions, but also the deep understanding of the conditions and needs of the students whom they educate. Historically,

HBCUs have been mislabeled as inferior to traditionally White colleges, when in actuality their data is different because White students tend to come from backgrounds where they have access to resources, which helps to create a solid academic foundation that informs their academic performance in higher education. Traditionally, HBCUs students' access to resources pales in comparison to their counterparts at traditionally White colleges. As a result, their lack of access to needed resources creates an unsteady foundation for higher education performance. The role, then, of the HBCU, which McMillion's text heavily emphasizes, is closing the gap with built-in campus supports and resources.

Comparatively, Mfume's strategic text stands out among the studies and dissertations reviewed thus far on student retention and success at HBCUs. This text acts as a starting point for deepening understanding and developing strategies for supporting students through matriculation. The text is a great resource for current higher education administrators as well as secondary education administrators, or simply for individuals interested in understanding the unique challenges that students and HBCUs face in working toward maintaining matriculation.

delivers an abundance of knowledge in a simplistic, easy-to-follow manner. As the reader embarks upon the journey to learn more about EI, the purpose is presented with clarity. Walton offers his personal narrative sharing how he became interested in the study of EI. In addition to the definition previously noted, Walton (2012) describes emotional intelligence as "the ability to understand, interpret, and respond to the emotions of others" (p. 2). He further explains the study of EI is still evolving, and there is not a universal definition agreed upon among the many scholars who contribute to the subject matter.

Walton examines the work of several pioneers in the field such as Daniel Goleman and the EI model created by Peter Salovey and John Mayer. Though there are many who have explored the topic of EI, the aforementioned scholars are widely recognized as leading experts. The Salovey-Mayer model suggests "emotional intelligence involves a set of four interrelated abilities (perceiving, using, understanding, and managing emotions) concerned with the processing of emotional information" (Walton, 2012, p. 14). As a frame of reference, Walton uses these four branches of the model to lay the foundation for the entire book.

The structure of the book flows well, and the concepts presented build upon one another making it relatable from start to finish. For example, as a strategy to understand EI, Walton suggests self-assessments to gauge our individual level of emotional intelligence. As we consider the results of our self-reflections, Walton reveals techniques to enhance our interactions as we deal with various situations and different personalities.

Part One of the book gives detailed accounts of how EI impacts our daily living and the enormous role emotions play in our decision-making process. Daniel Goleman, author of the 1996 bestseller *Emotional Intelligence - Why it can matter more than IQ*, maintains "our emotions play a far greater role in thought, decision making and individual success than is commonly acknowledged" (Walton, 2012, p. 9). Walton highlights the importance of emotions and how they can affect our behavior and ultimately impact our relationships both personally and professionally. Research shows individuals with a higher level of EI have more successful careers and stronger personal relationships. According to Walton (2012), those who possess a high degree of EI know how to manage their emotions. As a result, stress is lessened by the ability to effectively cope with life's challenges, thus contributing to better health. In Part Two, Walton transitions from the framework of EI to the practical

demonstrates knowledge about EI while engaging the reader through participation in case study reviews and quizzes.

Walton depicts the foundation of EI within the introduction of the book. Here he credits notable research conducted in the 1980s and 90s by EI gurus John Mayer, Peter Salovey, David Caruso, and Richard Boyatzis. He recognizes Reuven Bar-On as the researcher who coined the term "emotional intelligence" in a 1980 dissertation. Walton goes on to expound upon the highly recognized research of Daniel Goleman published in his bestselling book *Emotional Intelligence* (1995). In his research, Goleman (2006) classifies emotional intelligence into four constructs: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and relationship management. Walton describes the rationale for utilizing EI as beneficial to mental health giving the capacity to understand both ourselves and how we deal with the pressures we face.

Chapter 1 focuses on the construct of self-knowledge and the importance of understanding ourselves and the ability to recognize our own emotions. Walton states this is the foundational step for managing yourself. The term "mindfulness" is introduced in this chapter. It emphasizes the importance of being aware of emotions in a present state, which fosters the ability to focus and reflect. This proves to be very powerful when applying critical and analytical thinking to the decision-making process. Mindfulness directs attention to self and being considerate of others. Walton suggests tips to strengthening self-esteem, and encourages the reader to define their purpose and direction.

In Chapter 2, Walton transitions to the second construct of self-management. Now that you are aware and can identify your emotions, there must be ways to manage them. People find it easier to manage positive emotions. However, greater energy is required to fare the presence of negative or challenging emotions. The term "rumination" often associated in a psychological perspective as a process of repeating negative thinking is discussed in this chapter. Walton notes while life will present times of trouble that are shocking or even unnerving, you can learn to manage your emotions in a healthy manner. He identifies coping mechanisms to deal with outbursts and impulsive reactions. Self-management of emotions promotes self-control, willpower, and respect for others.

The power of understanding others is the theme for Chapter 3. The previous chapters primarily focused on self-identification and management. However, this chapter stresses the importance of effective listening skills. By exercising good listening tactics, more attention is given to emotional cues and awareness of surroundings that might shape an encounter. Walton

describes listening as active with both eyes and ears, and he notes nonverbal communication is a channel for information about emotions, feelings, and attitudes. He mentions good communication is the foundation of emotionally intelligent relationships both professionally and personally. Also, Walton identifies certain cues to be mindful of while communicating with others. These cues may determine the course of direction for conversation and provide feedback on what encounters might be appropriate and positive while de-escalating potentially dangerous situations.

Walton provides practical steps in Chapter 4 to assist in managing relationships. He refers to the steps as building blocks such as showing people that you value them, communicating with clear and concise messages, approaching conflict constructively, and other vital tips. Other content in this chapter describes different stages of relationships. Another important premise that is becoming more prominent in mainstream leadership is authenticity. Walton (2012) defines authenticity as "the permission we give ourselves to be who we really are, warts and all" (p. 97). He continues to describe an emotionally intelligent relationship as one that has the ability to generate a climate of appreciation and value. This is underscored by metanoia, which refers to the ability and willingness to change your mindset.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the practice of EI in the workplace. Walton highlights the valuable attributes EI cultivates in a healthy work environment. Not only does it signal employees are able to manage their own emotions and respect for others, but it utilizes principles of team-building and leadership practices that enhance organizational development. Walton positions the reader to identify tools to manage uncertainty and difficult situations in the workplace. EI can instill feelings of stability and security and sustain trust that might otherwise be jeopardized.

Parenting and teaching children are the main topics in Chapter 6. Walton compares relative studies promoting social and emotional wellbeing. Therefore, EI can be modeled and encouraged in children so that they recognize their emotions, realize their impact, and think and behave accordingly with others. EI in children can help them display and not suppress emotions. Additionally, cultivating the ability to survive and overcome difficult circumstances increases resilience. One of the largest benefits to parents is establishing and sustaining a positive venue to raise and nurture children with the hope of them becoming responsible adults.

The final chapter closes with the aspects of EI and health. Walton indicates the relation of EI and health maintenance, disease management, psychological disorders, and emotional wellness. He illustrates the impact

EI has on physical health and negative factors such as stress and anxiety. Furthermore, the practice of EI can promote healthy lifestyles. There are benefits of EI even in near death experiences or managing chronic illnesses. Metanoia, the changing of one's mindset, which will assist in our outlook and ability to keep matters in the proper perspective. Grounding is a psychological technique described as a positive way to distract or divert negative thinking and focus on something positive.

Walton's practical approach to understanding and applying EI may be very appealing to an expansive audience. The book does not discount the value of research and academic contributions about EI. More so, Walton has discovered a way to make the topic interesting and useful in a variety of settings. He also includes a listing of books for readers who would like to expand their knowledge about EI. The suggested resources are diverse in the area of research and personal preferences. *Emotional Intelligence: A Practical Guide* is a recommended study for anyone interested in learning about the topic, and for experts further understanding an important phenomenon.

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