Educational Administration Quarterly

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Racial Primes and Black Misandry on Historically White Campuses: Toward Critical Race Accountability in Educational Administration

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Background: *Racial primes are an outgrowth and inculcation of a well-structured, highly developed, racially conservative, "race-neutral" or "color-blind" racial socialization process in which children learn race-specific stereotypes about African Americans and other race/ethnic groups. As they get older, they continue to receive–both involuntary and voluntary–corroborating messages of anti-Black stereotypes from adults, friends, games, folklore, music, television, popular media, and the hidden curriculum. A result of this belief system is Black misandry. Black misandry refers to an exaggerated pathological aversion toward Black men created and reinforced in societal, institutional, and individual ideologies, practices, and behaviors.*
Findings: *Through the use of focus group interview data from African American male students at four universities, it reveals that potent Black misandric beliefs exist in both academic and social spaces in the collegiate environment.*
Conclusions: *Using critical race theory as a framework, the counterstory in this article provides an interpretation of how racially primed Black misandric beliefs influence the collegiate racial climate and how educational administrator might respond.*

Keywords: *racial primes; color blindness; stereotypes; racism; college campus; race relations*

RACIAL PRIMING IN HISTORICALLY WHITE ENVIRONMENTS

Race affects every facet of my life, man. I can't get past race because White folks won't let me get past it. They remind me of it everywhere I go. Every time I step in an elevator and a White woman bunches up in the corner like

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she thinks I wanna rape her, I'm forced to think about it. Every time I walk into stores, the suspicious looks in White shopkeepers' eyes make me think about it. Every time I walk past Whites sitting in their cars, I hear the door locks clicking and I think about it. I can't get away from it, man. I stay so mad all the time because I'm forced to spend so much time and energy reacting to race. I hate it. It wearies me. But there's no escape, man. No escape. (McCall, 1994, p. 346)

As Nathan McCall (1994) concedes in the above epigraph, race still matters in the 21st century of the United States. McCall's work recounts firsthand observations of Black men in contemporary U.S. society and challenges claims of a color-blind society. In reflecting on his research and his own life as a Black man, McCall asserts, the persistent, vicious ubiquity of racism *Makes Me Want To Holler*.[1] Extending on McCall's sense of frustration and his contribution to documenting the daily experiences of Black men, we examine how Black men experience race and racism in historically White university settings. Research continues to indicate troubling patterns of racial discrimination against Black university students occurring in both academic and social spaces (e.g., Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Building on these studies and the analytical framework of critical race theory (CRT), we examine how a negative campus racial climate limits access and opportunity for Black male students. We define a pluralistic (diverse) institution as one that admits, enrolls, retains, and graduates underrepresented racial and ethnic groups by extending equal opportunities to guidance, support, and resources for academic success. Our research seeks to illuminate everyday practices of gendered racism that reinforce a hostile campus racial climate. We call on university administrators to take a leadership role in developing remedies to "the problem of the color-line" (Du Bois, 1897) on and around today's college campuses.

A closer look at schools as a central and significant domain for how students learn about racial matters can assist researchers and educational administrators in understanding how race, racism, and racial ideologies shape social experiences and educational outcomes for White students and Students of Color[2] (Lewis, 2003; Tatum, 1997; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). According to William Smith (2004), racial priming is a socialization process wherein racialized messages and racial ideologies are passed on to White children. This priming (preparation) process occurs indirectly, directly, consciously, and unconsciously. The ongoing process of racial priming conditions White children to engage in color-conscious racialized actions throughout their lifespan while believing themselves to be color-blind. We argue below that universities foster a negative campus racial climate by implicitly or explicitly endorsing such race-conscious actions.

Indeed, to effectively challenge a negative campus racial climate, universities must be deliberate in deconstructing the effects of racial priming, which begins well before students enroll in college. In an 11-month ethnographic study conducted in several multiethnic day care centers, Debra Van Ausdale and Joe Feagin (2001) discovered that White children as young as 3 years of age are "engaged in a highly interactive, socially regulating process as they monitor and shape their own behavior and that of other children and adults in regard to racial matters" (p. 33). The researchers further report that these children "not only learn and use ideas about race and ethnicity but also embed in their everyday language and practice the understood *identities* of who is White, Black, Latino, and Asian. These (and other) identities and their associated privileges and disadvantages are made concrete and are thus normalized" (p. 33). Therefore, racial primes surface within everyday socializing practices and informal lessons in schools and other settings as they reinforce emerging and previously set White racial ideologies. This particular racial socialization process predisposes Whites to unintentionally or intentionally endorse racial stereotypes while embracing an ideology of race neutrality or color blindness. Indeed, many Whites tend to underestimate or deny racism exists but will still engage in behaviors that perpetuate racial discrimination.

Historically, the systematic yet seemingly invisible process of racial priming introduces White children to race-specific stereotypes about African Americans and other racial/ethnic groups. As White children become teenagers and adults, their social world confirms this childhood racial priming process through peers, games, folklore, jokes, politicians, mainstream media, and music as well as the hidden curriculum found in textbooks, teacher expectations, and schooling inequalities. The racial priming socialization process exposes Whites to countless daily racial stimuli[3] that they unconsciously, yet systematically, internalize as racist attitudes, stereotypes, assumptions, fears, resentments, discourses, and fictitious racial scripts. Smith (2004) finds that "each of these socializing events racially primes [or prepares] Whites for future discourses toward racialized thinking and concomitantly makes their racist or color-blind ideology more salient, especially when provoked by counter-ideologies" (p. 7).

Thus, each person's socialization process includes racial priming facilitated by a wide array of people (e.g., family members, peers, or teachers) and institutions (e.g., schools, media, or law enforcement). These individuals and institutions continuously shape understandings of race, racial concepts, and social inequality (Berkeley Art Center, 1982). Although some racial stimuli may appear quite overt, the sheer number of such messages communicated to Whites about Blacks for 18 years before college may desensitize White students, restricting their ability to see how racism

systematically subordinates People of Color and advantages Whites.[4] Ironically, although racial priming consistently codes race-based messages related specifically to skin color and phenotype, it also allows most Whites to operate throughout their lifespan in an illusory color-blind White world.

CRT AS A FRAMEWORK FOR EXAMINING THE INSTITUTIONAL RACIAL CULTURE

Our use of CRT exposes this facade of color blindness by identifying, examining, and challenging negative campus racial and gender climates in postsecondary educational contexts (e.g., Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Smith, Allen, & Danley, in press; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006; Solórzano et al., 2000). With the legacy of race-conscious discrimination in higher education largely hidden under a discourse of color blindness, institutions tend to approach the need to enroll a more racially diverse student body as a burden. Indeed, because colleges and universities have long avoided the responsibility of enrolling and graduating "historically underrepresented minorities," their arrival to campus often signals increased academic and social demands on the institution (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Bowman & Smith, 2002).

As an analytical framework, CRT draws from a broad literature base in law, social sciences, ethnic and woman's studies, and history (see Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Delgado, 1995b; Lawrence, 1992; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Wing, 1997). Originating in the law in the late 1970s and 1980s as an approach to critiquing the slow pace of civil rights legislation, throughout the past decade, CRT has gained increasing scholarly interest as a tool to help educators understand how race and racism shape the educational pipeline (see Ladson-Billings, 1996; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lynn, 1999; Smith, 2004; Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002; Tate, 1997; Villalpando & Delgado Bernal, 2002; Yosso, 2006). CRT also provides methodological tools to listen to the experiences of Students of Color and document how these often-marginalized students respond to and resist the racism pervading their college campus (Smith & Yosso, 2007; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

A CRT framework in higher education questions the persistence of racism and gendered racism in higher education and offers an approach that values the experiences of those voices least heard in many other educational frameworks. Specifically, our CRT analysis

a. focuses on race and racism, emphasizing the intercentricity[5] of racism with other forms of subordination such as those based on gender and class;

    b. challenges those dominant racial ideologies that support the deficit theorizing, which remains ubiquitous in higher educational and social science discourse;

    c. centers the experiences of Students and Communities of Color to learn from their racialized experiences with oppression;

    d. works toward a social justice[6] in higher education as part of a larger goal to promote a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, race-gender, and class subordination; and

    e. uses the interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, education, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, history, and legal studies to better understand the experiences of Students of Color.

As part of a dynamic framework, these themes embody a collective challenge to the existing methods of conducting research on race, racism, gendered racism, inequality, and racial ideologies (Smith & Yosso, 2007; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006; Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000, 2001).[7]

Below, we specifically use the analytical framework of CRT to examine how racial priming shapes the postsecondary experiences of Black men. We seek to better understand the particular racial-gender history in the United States that positions African American men on society's margins. Research and empirical data show that Black men are constantly confronted by a system that oppresses them because they are members of a racialized group (African Americans) and because they are Black men (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007, in press). Consequently, we analyze the oppression of Black men as gendered racism.

In a recent national qualitative study of Black male college students, Smith et al. (in press) found that these young men endure a barrage of daily racial stereotypes from racially primed White students exhibiting Black misandry. Black misandry refers to an exaggerated pathological aversion toward Black men created and reinforced in societal, institutional, and individual ideologies, practices, and behaviors. Similar to Black misogyny, where one can harbor an aversion toward Black women, Black misandry exists to justify and reproduce the subordination and oppression of Black men. Scholarly ontologies (understandings of how things exist), axiologies (values, ethics, aesthetics, religion, spirituality), and epistemologies (ways of knowing) reinforce the ideological pathology of Black misandry and misogny. As a result of societal racial stereotypes and the racial priming socialization process, Black men and Black women tend to be marginalized, hated, rendered invisible, put under increased surveillance, or assigned into one or more socially acceptable stereotypical categories (e.g., lazy, unintelligent, violent, hypersexual, preference for welfare, uninterested in working for a living).

In university contexts, Smith et al. (in press) identified four Black misandric stereotypes projected onto Black male students. Specifically, students, faculty, staff, and administrators tended to view Black men on college campuses as

a. criminals/predators (e.g., shoplifter, rapist, car-jacker);
b. street-smart experts on all things "ghetto" (i.e., the embodiment of a deficit ghetto culture with a weak work ethic, proclivity toward violence and sexual promiscuity, and inadequate family values as believed to be expressed by gangsta' rap);
c. athletes (i.e., naturally superior athletes yet intellectually inferior students); and
d. anti-intellectuals (e.g., if not an athlete then a troublemaker, outsider, or lost individual).

The imbalanced and negative connotation underlying each of these four categories suggests that Black men are perceived as an illegitimate part of the formal academic campus community. Not surprisingly, interviews with these young men confirm that their academic experience and satisfaction correlate with the intensity and frequency of the racial stereotypes they encounter.

CRITICAL RACE COUNTERSTORIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

CRT allows us to examine the interconnectivity of race, racism, and gendered racism in higher education through a practice conventional to the social sciences, humanities, and the law: storytelling. This tradition of storytelling about race finds some of its origins in the late 19th-century writings of Rufus Lewis Perry (1887, 1895), who recognized an ontological dimension embedded in race discourses. Similarly, W. E. B. Du Bois (1897) addressed racial conservation and the problems arising in studies of racialized people (Gordon, 1999). Du Bois's *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil* (1920) arguably represents the first academic book using the method of counterstorytelling. He deftly weaves scholarly insights with biting social critique as he warns of the persistence of racism in the 20th-century United States with prophetic precision. In chapter X, "The Comet," Du Bois offers a science fiction parable of society's deep-seated resentment toward the then-labeled "Negro population." Here, he asserts that nothing less than a terrestrial catastrophe could strip away the cloak of racial domination from modern urban life. Du Bois's ironic twist at the end of the chapter confirms his view of the permanence of racism in U.S. society. He concludes that the massive and unexpected tragedy of "The Comet" only provided short-term racial relief.

Although Du Bois's writings may have been perceived as overly cynical, his observations about race and racism still carry chilling relevance more than 80 years later. Unfortunately, the indifference and disregard shown to African Americans prior to and in the wake of the 2005 Hurricane Katrina catastrophe in New Orleans, Louisiana, was not the work of science fiction.

Continuing this rich academic legacy, legal scholars Derrick Bell (1987, 1992) and Richard Delgado (1989, 1995a, 1996, 1999, 2003) popularized the use of counterstorytelling in the law as a tool for recounting the experiences and perspectives of socially and racially marginalized groups. Counterstories also expose the racialized ideologies embedded in the discourses of those in power. Because these discourses recount the experiences and perspectives of socially and racially privileged groups, Delgado (1993) refers to them as majoritarian stories, informed by "the bundle of presuppositions, perceived wisdoms, and shared cultural understandings persons in the dominant race bring to the discussion of race" (p. 462). Our work suggests that racial priming shapes this "bundle" of racial understandings Delgado describes. Within our "color-blind" society, racially primed majoritarian stories have become, for the most part, a natural and unquestioned part of the dominant discourse. Indeed, Delgado (1993) explains, "Majoritarians tell stories too. But the ones they tell—about merit, causation, blame, responsibility, and social justice—do not seem to them like stories at all, but the truth" (p. 666). Counterstories challenge this facade of truth by revealing the perspectives of racialized power and privilege behind it.

COMPOSITE COUNTERSTORYTELLING METHODOLOGY

To explain how Black misandric stereotypes in White environments place an increased burden on the academic achievement of African American male college students and to suggest appropriate accountability responses for academic administrators, we use a counterstory methodology described by Tara Yosso (2006), including primary and secondary data sources, social science, humanities, legal scholarship, and personal professional experiences.

We began this process by collecting and analyzing focus group interview data from five Carnegie-designated, research-extensive, elite institutions. As part of a larger research project documenting campus racial climate from students' perspectives, we recruited African American male students using various approaches: membership in African American campus student organizations, referrals, electronic mail, and advertisement in student newspapers. Project coordinators at each site contacted students who agreed to participate

in the study to arrange interview sessions. Focus group interviews took place in class or conference rooms at each institution between April and May 2000. A total of 36 African American male students participated in the study. After transcribing these interviews, our preliminary analysis indicated that these students experienced a hostile campus racial and gender climate character-ized by daily, subtle, and overt racial incidents (Solórzano et al., 2000). Further analysis revealed a pattern of Black misandric stereotypes corre-sponding with the four major stereotype themes outlined by Smith et al. (in press), for example, criminal/predator, street-smart expert on all things "ghetto," nonstudent athlete, and anti-intellectual).

To add breadth and depth to our interview findings, we analyzed social science research documenting experiences with and responses to racism by Students and Faculty of Color in general (e.g., Beauboeuf-Lafontant & Smith Augustine, 1996; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Smith, 2004; Solórzano, 1998; Villalpando & Delgado Bernal, 2002; Willie, Rieker, Kramer, & Brown, 1995) and Black men in particular (e.g., Duncan, 2003; Smith et al., 2007, in press). We also examined autobiographical and bio-graphical accounts of racism from legal scholarship (e.g., Aguirre, 2000; Bell, 1987, 1992, 1996; Lawrence & Matsuda, 1997; Williams, 1991, 1997), and we included reflections, autobiographies, and biographies about racially hostile environments found in the social science and humanities literature, for example, Chester Pierce (see Griffith, 1998), Assata Shakur (1987), Langston Hughes (1993), Ralph Ellison (1972), Audre Lorde (1978, 1984), Margaret Mead and James Baldwin (1971), W. E. B. Du Bois (see Marable, 1986), Frederick Douglas (see McFeely, 1991), Olivas (1990), Zora Neal Hurston (1978, 1984), Malcolm X (1965), and Sidney Willhelm (1993).

After sifting through these data sources, we included our own personal and professional experiences as a Black man, a Chicana, and a Chicano with a collective work experience of more than 50 years teaching in historically White universities. We created composite characters to personify the themes and patterns of our research and set these characters in an academic setting to address the pervasiveness of racism on and around college campuses. Reporting our findings in a counterstory offers the reader a unique context for understanding the data. According to Jane Baron (1998), the social world is constructed through stories, narratives, myths, and symbols that create images, categories, and pictures. As time passes and through constant repeti-tion, a dominant story may be accepted as the way things are. In contrast, our counterstory aims to dislocate comfortable majoritarian myths and narratives about African American male students while chronicling their everyday expe-riences navigating through historically White institutions.

Similar to some of the chronicles told by Derrick Bell (1987, 1992), we chose to weave our research findings into a short counterstory, presented by a narrator. Bell often uses short chronicles as "race hypotheticals" to engage students in discussions about the ways racism shapes case law. Our purpose here is to engage readers in a discussion about how racism shapes institutions of higher education, specifically for Black male students.

The counterstory allegorically recounts the racial incidents reported to us by the Black male students in our research as well as accounts documented in the secondary data sources described above. In other words, we present our research analysis through composite, fictional characters, places, and incidents. However, we caution readers who would discount the story's points as altogether fabricated because although this particular set of events is fictional, the counterstory represents actual events based on multiple empirical accounts of historical racism in and around college campuses. We have taken creative license to protect the confidentiality of our respondents by changing identifying information and compositing similar quotes and experiences together. Furthermore, in the interest of space, we compacted time sequences and use one main administrator character to symbolize patterns of practice and policy demonstrated in historically White institutions. This method of merging data analysis with creative writing allows us to recount experiences of racism both individual and shared, thereby illuminating patterns of racialized inequality.

Guided by CRT's themes, we frame our counterstory with the following five reflective questions:

a. How has or can race and racism in our institution play a role in the everyday decisions we make? How about gender and gendered racism?
b. How is our institution meeting or exceeding our institutional responsibility to enroll, retain, and graduate Students of Color?
c. If we value the experiential knowledge of Faculty, Staff, and Students of Color, have we nurtured direct and consistent lines of communication with them?
d. How does our university mission reflect a genuine commitment to social justice? How can this commitment be implemented and integrated into the leadership culture as the day-to-day decisions are made?
e. What analytical tools and practical methods can we engage to better know and understand the racial and gendered histories and contemporary conditions of our institution?

Drawing on our definition of CRT and its five tenets, we ask that readers suspend judgment, listen for the counterstory's points, test them against your own version of reality (however conceived), and use the counterstory as a theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and pedagogical case study

(Barnes, Farrell, & Banerjee, 1994). Set at a composite flagship Research I campus in the Western United States—University of California, Ocean View (UC-OV)—we begin our counterstory at the onset of a new school year.

THE INCIDENT

The coastal fog moved in early that Friday evening, obscuring the moonlight so much so that the sky looked like split pea soup. Dr. Stearns's enthusiasm could not be shaken by the eerie evening weather blanketing the campus. As the Dean of Student Affairs at UC-OV, he oversaw with great excitement the planning of four weekend-long fall freshman orientations scheduled for the last three weekends in July and the first weekend in August. His staff confirmed the attendance of more than 4,000 freshmen this year who had registered for one of the four weekend orientation programs. This is an important opportunity for students to meet with an academic adviser and discuss courses and majors, complete their course selection and registration, learn about academic expectations, meet current students who will share their experiences, address social and campus issues, learn about the university's services and resources, get acquainted with the campus, and meet with campus administrators. All of this takes place before the upperclassmen, athletes, and transfer students arrive for on-campus registration and residence hall move-in day. Dr. Stearns looked forward to welcoming new freshmen each year and enjoyed the energy, enthusiasm, and great aspirations about their future that they brought to the campus. He also anticipated enjoying the delicious food prepared especially for the orientation welcoming dinner.

Shuttle busses and carloads of eager and nervous students arrived for the first freshmen orientation program. After dropping off their belongings at the residence halls, students gathered for the dinner and welcoming address in the Carl Campbell Brigham Grand Ballroom, where hundreds of round tables arranged by movie themes awaited them. Students quickly recognized the movie titles and sought out seats according to their favorite film. This helped break the ice for many students, who immediately found something in common and a topic of conversation with the other students at their table. Excited energy and a tinge of anxiety buzzed across the room. Dr. Stearns seemed quite pleased that all seemed to be going as planned. He gave a few welcoming remarks before introducing the Chancellor, who offered a short convocation address and left to attend an off-campus event. Dr. Stearns wanted to introduce Professor Cecilia Madsen, who was scheduled to offer a keynote speech on the subject of "Diversity as Strength" but

she had not arrived yet so he announced that students could begin lining up to serve themselves buffet style.

An anthropology professor, Dr. Madsen's peers admired her generosity as a scholar and committee member. Students also spoke very highly of Dr. Madsen. She served as the adviser for many student organizations and in her more than two decades on campus she had won both the campuswide Excellence in Teaching Award and the prestigious Service to Students Award. Each year, the residential hall director extended her a special acknowledgement for her outreach efforts with new students. Dr. Madsen's father and grandfather were both anthropologists and taught for part of their career at UC-OV. The new Madsen Museum of Cultural Anthropology bore her grandfather's name, who entrusted his personal papers and items of scholarly value to the university, along with a large endowment. A note of concern crossed Dr. Stearns's mind that the ever-conscientious professor was a no-show but he figured she must be running late. He asked his assistant Pat to keep a lookout and let him know the moment Dr. Madsen arrived.

In the meantime, Dr. Stearns served himself a large plate of chicken picatta. He was still standing at the buffet table, reaching for a piece of garlic bread, when Pat came rushing toward him. Clearly shook up, Pat tried to maintain her composure, suggesting that they step outside to discuss an urgent situation.

As they walked briskly toward the door, Pat explained that Dr. Madsen had been attacked in the parking lot by a group of young men. Dr. Stearns started running toward the parking lot and found Dr. Madsen talking to two campus police officers.[8] Apparently, she had stepped out of her car when at least four men came from behind her and tried to grab her purse. It was already pretty dark outside and Dr. Madsen thought she was being carjacked. She tried to get away from the vehicle, but the men demanded her purse and pulled her down to the ground to pry her from it. She explained that it was difficult to say for sure, but she believed they were all Black men; one may have had an Afro haircut; and one had a big, shiny, gold chain. She was grateful they hadn't taken her jewelry, and they did not even attempt to grab her laptop, which was still sitting on the front passenger seat of the car.

In the struggle, she had scraped up her hands and knees and knocked her head on her still-open car door. A few students approaching shortly after the incident began saw the scuffle and called 911 on a cell phone. Although she insisted she was "fine," Dr. Stearns insisted she go in the arriving ambulance to get checked out at the university hospital. She leaned over to whisper to Dr. Stearns that she was not quite sure but thought she heard one of the men say "Sorry professor" as they ran away with her purse. The student eyewitnesses were more than 100 feet away and did not hear this, but they did

notice that at least two of the suspects rode away on a bicycle and one may have been on a skateboard. All seemingly headed toward the intramural sports fields, which were adjacent to the local city-run skate park.

Dr. Stearns thanked the students who called the emergency services, and since they had already given descriptions of the men to the police, he asked Pat to accompany them inside to enjoy what was left of the orientation dinner. He noted before sending them off that it would be best to keep the incident confidential to facilitate the police in conducting a full investigation.

Turning now to the police officers, Dr. Stearns reiterated that he wanted the matter taken care of in a discrete and quick manner. He had approximately 1,000 new students on campus and "this is not the welcome I wanted to give them." The police agreed that they did not want to cause panic among students, but they were quite concerned about the conflicting stories between the students. Several students indicated that they saw a gun on one of the men who pushed Dr. Madsen to the ground as he ran away, although one person indicated that he saw what looked like a wallet in the person's hand. As campus officers, they regularly dealt with petty theft of laptop computers, but with cases such as this one, with alleged armed assault, battery, robbery, and possible attempted carjacking, they liked to coordinate with city and state police agencies. Dr. Stearns agreed that this seemed appropriate and made sure he gave the officers his cell phone number to keep him updated throughout the weekend. The officers took Dr. Madsen's statement before they left.

By the time Dr. Stearns returned to the hall, the buffet tables had been all but cleared. The hunger pangs in his stomach would have to wait. He headed toward the stage and made an announcement that the night tour of campus had been cancelled and that students would head back to the dorms with their orientation counselors after dessert. He then asked the counselors to meet him at the front of the room for a group announcement. Feeling less enthusiastic about the weekend, Dr. Stearns quickly reiterated the broad description of the suspects as at least four Black men, 5'8" to 6'3", wearing jeans, sneakers, and a sweatshirt. He noted,

> I don't want to alarm anyone but they certainly should be considered armed and dangerous. Dr. Madsen is in the hospital with what seem to be minor scrapes and bruises, but I will update you as I know more about her condition. What I need from you is to just make sure students feel safe. Let's keep this quiet and avoid interrupting the orientation schedule further.

The lead counselor, Mike, suggested that they encourage them to take precautions with their personal belongings and to report any suspicious characters as they proceed throughout their weekend activities on and

around campus. Dr. Stearns agreed and said he would post the suspects' descriptions when the sketch became available.

THE SWEEP

While carrying on with their normal routine, the campus police and local law enforcement agencies beefed up their patrols on and around campus that evening and for the rest of the weekend. Following the description they had been given, officers kept a watchful eye for potential suspects on the main campus and coordinated with the local city police to assist in looking in the surrounding economically upscale community for Black men who seemed "out of place." The campus and city police expressed relief about the timing of this incident because on a typical weekend the restaurants, retail stores, clubs, and movie theaters surrounding campus were crowded with students and visitors enjoying the college community nightlife.

When encountering a subject matching the description of those involved in Dr. Madsen's assault, the police officers stopped and detained the young man. A request was then made if officers could pat them down for weapons. After questioning the suspect briefly, asking him for identification and his "purpose" for being on or around campus, officers would then determine if further questioning was necessary and, if so, the subject was asked if he would voluntarily return to the campus police station or to the city police station depending on who detained him.

In addition to their own officer's searches, police responded to numerous phone calls from students who had heard about the incident and wanted to report a Black man who "fit the description."[9] Two female university staff members carpooling home called the station and explained that they saw a suspicious Black man. The officer who answered the call pressed them for further description and they replied, "Oh, we got a good look at him because we locked the doors and when he heard the 'thunk' sound of the automatic locks, he looked right at us and snarled."

The police discouraged the callers from approaching the Black male suspects, asking them questions such as, "Are you in a safe place? Are you near this man right now? Can you stay nearby until help arrives or do you feel threatened in any way?" Late that night, a female orientation counselor called the campus police from a hallway security phone in the residence halls, explaining,

> On the fifth floor, the elevator stopped and a Black man got on. I held on to my change purse real tight and pushed the button to get off on the next floor. I don't think he noticed but I was real nervous.

On Saturday morning, Dr. Stearns stopped at the campus police station before reaching his office to check on the status of the sketched description of the suspects. The officers informed him that they had communicated with the local city police but had not yet received an update from that end. The also let him know they had received solid leads Friday night from text messages posted to their new "tips" Web site. They gave him one example, from a tipster who saw a Black man in the residence halls recreation area. The text messenger reported, "He's playing air hockey and he looks like he could be the guy who mugged that professor." Then, laughing at the unrealized joke, the one officer joked, "See, now that's good detective work, since when do Black guys play hockey?!"

Although not amused by the officer's remarks, Dr. Stearns was impressed when he learned the campus police had 12 possible suspects. He had created a "Campus/Community Watch Program" last year to ensure students felt safe on campus but the overwhelming response from student, staff, and other campus tipsters calling to report suspicious activities impressed him greatly. It seemed to be working even better than he had anticipated.

While at the station, the campus police chief confirmed that between the local city and state police departments, they were looking at 10 possible suspects. Although they had not yet found any hard evidence linking the men they detained for the incident, the police expressed confidence that the perpetrators were among the multiple suspects, and once Dr. Madsen felt up to it they could organize a photo lineup to see if she could identify her assailants. Convinced that the officers had the situation under control, Dr. Stearns left the station with a stack of flyers that included an artists' rendering of the suspects, a description of the incident, and an anonymous hotline to call in leads.

After delegating the posting of the flyers to his staff, Dr. Stearns called the hospital to inquire about Dr. Madsen. He learned that she was not admitted but had been treated and released the night before. He asked Pat to call over to her house and ask if she needed anything and to ask her when would be a good time for him to stop by her home and accompany her to the police station, hopefully before Monday.

Dr. Stearns's mood lightened as he participated in Saturday's orientation events as planned. He enjoyed an outdoor barbeque lunch with national merit scholars as the Honors Division staff explained how the honors advisement center and selective advancement enrollment process works to facilitate their continued academic success at UC-OV. The Honors staff noted slight concern that according to their sign-in list, a few of the national merit scholars did not make it to the luncheon. Dr. Stearns eased their doubts with a hypothesis that their absence likely resulted from too many

simultaneous activities and student confusion. He finished off his barbeque chicken sandwich and lemonade with great delight but began asking himself why the young scholars missed this important meeting.

In the meantime, with the police tips hotline up and running, phone calls about the suspects continued throughout the course of the day. One caller anxiously reported, "I'm at the library and there's a couple Black guys walking around and looking suspicious." Another remarked, "I'm in the engineering building and there's a Black guy who seems to be lost." This iterated the report of a caller who stated, "I'm meeting with the counselor here in the College of Natural Resources and there's a young Black guy walking back and forth in the hallway. I don't think he's supposed to be here." A male student called the police from the campus store, reporting, "I'm watching a Black guy trying on baseball hats but he doesn't look like an athlete. I don't think he belongs here."

While enjoying a light supper with some of his staff, Dr. Stearns brought up the missing students and wondered out loud what his office could do differently next year to ensure consistent attendance to each of the orientation events. To his surprise, his staff began to share a few stories about the events they had attended during the day where a few students also did not show up. At the orientations for two of the most competitive scholarships at the university and state level—the Chancellor's Merit Scholar and Service Scholarship and the Ronald Reagan Academic Leadership Award—the staff noted some absences.

Likewise, at the pre-med majors meeting, a few students did not sign in. The staff who attended the major meetings for pre-law and communications also noted that a small number of students did not show up. This began to concern Dr. Stearns because such absences could jeopardize students' ability to go through advanced registration in those highly impacted and competitive majors. The counselors in each of the respective programs made a list of "no-shows" for him. The arrival of hot vegetable soup; a salad brimming with apples, walnuts, and balsamic vinaigrette; and fresh, warm cornbread quieted the group's dialogue about students' nonattendance.

Saturday night, Dr. Madsen's partner left a phone message for Dr. Stearns explaining that Cecilia went to bed early with a nagging headache but she was feeling much better and would try to touch base by Sunday afternoon. Relieved about Dr. Madsen's overall condition, Dr. Stearns briefly attended a community service function sponsored by a historically White fraternity adjacent to campus. He overheard some of the upper classmen teasing the potential pledgees about some sort of prank and he smiled to himself, thinking about his youth and his fraternity chapter brothers at Auburn University.[10] Some of his fraternity brothers held long-standing reputations for practical

jokes and toga parties à la *Animal House*. Glad to have forgotten momentarily about the whole Dr. Madsen incident, Dr. Stearns went to bed with thoughts of how to make sure his freshmen students could have this type of holistic education marked by carefree fun and intense academic challenges.

THE DISGRACE

On Sunday morning, Dr. Stearns scanned over the admit list of high-priority students, accounting for the academic top 5% of the freshmen student population, still wondering about some of the students who had not shown up to the various scholars' meetings Saturday afternoon. He looked at each of the short lists of names his staff had collected and made a small star by each name as he found it on the massive list. He thought perhaps his staff could contact the students and learn more about how to improve communication and attendance for the following year.

Refilling his cup with a new blend of Ethiopian Sidamo coffee and grabbing another pastry before his wife could scold him, Dr. Stearns sat on his favorite lounge chair to read the local paper. Following his normal routine, he started by skimming through the police blotter. The police blotter for the UC-OV community consisted of local and campus infractions committed throughout the previous week. Two years ago, Dr. Stearns received a speeding ticket on his way to campus and his staff found out because he was listed in the police blotter. They cut out the listing and teased him in the office for what seemed like months. Ever since that time, Dr. Stearns searched quickly through the police blotter hoping to find the name of one of his staff members to even the score. Although yet again none of his staff were listed, he did recognize a few of the names listed. A chill ran down his back and he put down the pastry and coffee to take a closer look. He rushed to the kitchen counter where he had left the freshmen admit list with the starred names. As he went down the list he saw a troubling pattern.

Before he could call his assistant to confirm what his now upset stomach told him may have occurred, the doorbell rang. The faculty adviser to the fraternity he visited last night, four of the pledgees, and several fraternity big brothers stood on the porch sheepishly. Apparently, as they hesitantly explained, they had dressed up in "Black face" and wore Afro wigs for a "ghetto-fabulous" party Friday night at the frat house. Some of the eager potential pledgees dawned their costumes early and devised a plan to "freak out" the faculty adviser of their sister sorority—Dr. Madsen—by snatching her purse so they could blow up her driver's license picture and paste it over the face of a life-sized picture of the Mona Lisa for a Saturday costume party.[11]

Dr. Stearns had now completely lost his appetite, realizing what a disgrace had occurred under his supervision. In the following hours, he would confirm that UC-OV had admitted only 22 Black men as part of the 2005 incoming freshmen class.[12] According to the police blotter list, crosschecked with the freshmen admit list, all 22 of these Black men had been held in at least six different facilities for probable cause pending charges in connection with the incident. As Dr. Stearns began to gather his thoughts, the UC-OV Chancellor called him on his cellular phone and demanded to see him immediately. The Chancellor's home was already inundated with local and national news media; the NAACP; the Urban League; Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc. and other members of the National Panhellenic Council; the organization of Concerned Black Men; state politicians; and the students' parents, friends, relatives, and other supporters.

EPILOGUE

As presented in the counterstory above, educational leaders handle multiple demands from a myriad of communities. In higher education contexts, these administrators are expected to consult with others in decision-making processes; create effective instructional and institutional leadership strategies; build optimal learning environments; listen to the advice of students, parents, politicians, regents, and faculty; and center the needs and demands of a racially, culturally, socioeconomically, religiously, and linguistically diverse student body (Shields, 2004). To be sure, higher educational leaders face the consequences of these complex challenges every day while they struggle to develop appropriate answers to a student community with varying experiences, interactions, perceptions, and acceptance in the institution's social, racial, heterosexist, and gendered environments.

We argue that the five tenets of CRT offer a useful guide for administrators who are serious about making their campus less hostile to historically underrepresented students in general and to Black men in particular. We revisit some of the questions posed earlier to frame this reflective discussion. How has or can race and racism in our institution play a role in the everyday decisions we make? How about gender and gendered racism?

The racial primes and Black misandry themes in our counterstory resonate with the 1958 study of rumor and stereotypes by Gordon Allport and Leo Postman. To examine the psychology of rumor, Allport and Postman elicited responses based on a drawing of a bus filled with White and Black passengers. The drawing depicted a White passenger with a small knife and on the other end of the bus from the Black passengers. As respondents were

asked to recall what they saw in the picture, they recounted the drawing with a Black man on a bus carrying a knife. Allport and Postman explained that this switch of the blade from a White to a Black man demonstrated a sort of selective perception so that respondents selectively perceived or saw what they wanted to based on their own prejudices and related stereotypes.

Similar to the use of a drawing, we use the counterstory to examine the psychology of a negative campus racial climate. Because research findings presented in the form of stories elicits higher levels of recall than other methods (Furnham, 2001), we aim to provide readers with lasting memories of the deeper nuances of gendered racism more effectively than conventional data reporting. In our counterstory, White men wearing black makeup "become" Black male suspects and a purse is mistaken for a gun as "eye witnesses" recount the incident. But more significantly, students begin to suspect their fellow peers, who happen to be Black men. Preconceived racialized notions and stereotypes (racial primes) enable practices of Black misandry to proceed unchecked and, indeed, are viewed by the well-intentioned administrator as an indicator of a functioning university.

In addition to fueling a hostile campus racial climate, this unquestioned racial priming can turn deadly (e.g., New York City police shooting of unarmed Amadou Diallo). Psychologist Keith Payne's (2001) research demonstrates how race-conscious selective perception—interpreting a bag as a gun—confirms this problem. Payne (2001) projected images of Black and White men's faces on a computer screen for subjects to view. Next, he showed his subjects a picture of a gun or tools (e.g., a wrench). Respondents had to decide whether the second picture showed a gun or a tool. When projecting a Black male face, respondents identified the gun image faster than when they were shown a White male face. In the second part of the experiment, Payne increased the speed of the flashing pictures and the response time so that subjects only had half a second to choose whether the image shown was a gun or a tool. This caused the racial bias to shift from reaction time to accuracy. As a result, participants misidentified tools as guns more often when primed with a Black face than with a White face.[13]

Similar to Du Bois's 1920 story of "The Comet," even though our counterstory is grounded in research and actual events, some may view it as extreme or cynical. Such critics may believe it is still not quite "time to 'get real' about race and the persistence of racism in America" (Bell, 1992, p. 5). More than 80 years after Du Bois and other scholars tried to call attention to the problem of race in the United States, we remain committed to uncovering the persistent layers of racism institutionalized in higher education. In this process, we also can recover the multiple forms of resistance and resilience exhibited by students, faculty, and administrators. Indeed, we intentionally leave the story

unfinished to encourage debate and discussion about how institutions of higher education might address Black misandry and racial priming.

We believe counterstories can serve several functions in higher education. They can (a) assemble community between those at the margins of society of academia; (b) confront the professed wisdom of those at society's center; (c) create new opportunities to express the reality of those at the margins of society by showing the potential outside the ones they live; (d) show racially marginalized people that they are not single-handedly in their position; (e) teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality one can construct another world that is richer than either the story or the reality alone; and (f) provide a perspective to recognize and transform traditional belief systems (Delgado, 1989; Lawson, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Delgado (1989) has stated, "Oppressed groups have known instinctively that stories are an essential tool to their own survival and liberation" (p. 2436).

How does the racialized event in our counterstory marginalize and impede the adjustment of Black men at the beginning of their freshman year? What kinds of policies can universities develop based on this counterstory to improve institutional accountability for educating Black men? The counter-story indicates that a hostile campus racial climate cannot exist alongside a true multicultural, racially diverse university. Racial pluralism in higher education infers that all students are willing to affirm one another's dignity, are ready to benefit from each other's experience, and are willing to acknowledge one another's contributions to the common welfare of students/faculty on the college campus. Unfortunately, more often than not, higher education leadership exhibits very inadequate knowledge about how to create a positive campus climate for racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse populations (Herrity & Glassman, 1999; Parker & Hood, 1995; Rusch, 2004). Likewise, too few colleges and universities establish the development of an anti-racist learning environment where curricula, research, and educational activities are significant and supported components of their institution's mission (Scheurich & Young, 2002). According to Skrla and Scheurich (2001), educational administrators are influenced with notions of deficit thinking when engaging underrepresented populations such as Black men. Others suggest that far too many educational leaders and faculty perpetuate myopic views of equity and justice in our institutions (Rusch, 2004). According to Rusch, far too many of our faculty who design leadership programs and plan courses treat discourse about gender and race as an often limited or taboo subject. As a result, the power and privilege to avoid race and gender equity discourse in preparation programs leads to related dodging of the issues in college and university settings where administrators report fear and limited knowledge

and skills to confront these matters before or when they arise within student affairs. How can we proceed with a proactive, self-reflective, and self-critical examination of our institutional responsibility, in loco parentis, and its educational failure or emotional injury of Students of Color?

Avoiding discussions about real-life race and racism in educational administration classrooms underprepares graduates of our programs to address these issues when they arise. The activities and discussions that students and professors have in classrooms transfer to words and actions in schools (Foster, 1986; Mabokela & Madsen, 2003; Rusch, 2004). How can an institution implement social justice into the leadership culture as the day-to-day decisions are made? Clearly, senior and master's theses and doctoral dissertations investigating and proposing strategies to eliminate racial hostility and nurture pluralism on campus must be supported. Likewise, faculty members who structure their classes to engage discussions of race and social justice, chair dissertations focused on challenging racism, and serve on committees to create a truly diverse campus must feel they have advocates. These efforts also should be rewarded come time for tenure and promotion.

How can we better listen to and learn from Faculty, Staff, and Students of Color and assure them that the administration values and needs their voice and experience in the day-to-day operations and culture of the university? Our narrative centers these young Black men's lived experience through the narrator's voice. This storytelling element emphasizes the marginalization experienced by Black men in historically White universities. When important university administrators, staff, and faculty members disregard or minimize the experiences of Black men, disidentification with the academic-social experience is all but a guaranteed response (Steele, 1997). Claude Steele maintains that Black students who identify with academics are more motivated to succeed because their self-esteem is directly linked to their academic performance. Therefore, good performance for these students is rewarding and poor performance is punishing. So, a broken relationship between African American students and the institution due to racist experiences can place these students at a higher risk for academic disidentification. A disidentified student is more likely to have academic problems, especially poor grades, dropping out of school, or absenteeism.

We sought to provide racial context and dimension and explicate the dilemma facing Black men, who, as McCall (1994) describes, are "forced to spend so much time and energy reacting to race" that they "can't get away from it" (p. 346). To decode chronic racialized experiences, African American men must regularly divert energy and resources that could be directed toward academic and professional achievement (Pierce, 1989; Smith et al., 2007, in press). This excessive expenditure of valuable psychic resources represents

an unnecessary and overly taxing aspect of college life. Indeed, it is hard to fathom how Black men could ever consider themselves to be fully integrated as equal participants in and welcome contributors to the student academic community given the overwhelming racial stereotypes and ideologies associated with their racial-gender group. Very little research considers this unique racial-gender dynamic as a marginalized student without concomitantly pathologizing Black men.

It is the job of educational leadership faculty and administrators to help eliminate a hostile campus racial climate in a proactive effort to create a true multicultural, racially diverse, and welcoming university environment for all students. One of the professed goals of many postsecondary institutions is to create a campus where all students can benefit from racial pluralism. Yet there are very few effective strategies in place to assist students, faculty, staff, administrators, and institutions in reaching this outcome. We have provided evidence, in the form of a counterstory, of how one event can affect an entire minority group on a historically White campus and derail genuine efforts for multicultural inclusion. To be sure, the impact of a racial ideology is not only realized through racial profiling by citizens and law enforcement. A racial ideology of Black misandry can be felt in lowered expectations in the classroom, in the disproportionate numbers of low grades assigned to Black students, in the limited opportunities offered to Black students to participate in student leadership positions, and in the inadequate occasions that Black students will be mentored or offered independent research studies with faculty. Moreover, a Black misandric ideology is felt by the ineptitude, silence, and lack of an appropriate response to the precipitous decline in enrollment of Black male students. However, Black male students' worse experiences on campus are usually from the actions of their White peers. Given the current racial climate in the United States, we cannot avoid the discussion and critique of race, racism, gendered racism, and power relationships in higher education. We concur with bell hooks (1994), who asserts, "confronting one another across differences means that we must change ideas about how we learn; rather than fearing conflict we have to find ways to use it as a catalyst for new thinking, for growth" (p. 113).

NOTES

1. In recounting his story, McCall (1994) makes vividly clear how young Black men are systematically devalued and persecuted so that they may tend to feel that they have very few options to survive. He describes how Black men may strive to maintain self-respect by taking action against anything representing the racist White system. Specifically, McCall explains, the hostility of society sometimes leads Black men to adopt maladaptive coping strategies. In

prison, McCall transformed himself through disciplined reading, study, and thought, discovering books such as *Native Son* and talking with prison scholars versed in Marx and Malcolm X who offered adaptive coping strategies for racist and hostile White environments. After his release, he reenrolled in a historically Black college and later began a career in journalism. In many ways, the newsrooms felt less safe than the mean streets he left. McCall outlines the hidden gendered racism and racial friction that Blacks encounter working in the White mainstream, even among the seemingly liberal members of the media.

2. Students and Faculty of Color are all terms referring to African American, Native American, Chicanas/Chicanos, Latinas/Latinos, and Asian Americans, also referred to as racial minorities or underrepresented groups.

3. A racial agent, action, or condition that elicits or accelerates a physiological or psychological activity or response.

4. White privilege is a system of advantage resulting from a legacy of racism and benefiting individuals and groups based on the notions of Whiteness. Whiteness intersects with other forms of privilege, including gender, class, phenotype, accent, language, sexuality, immigrant status, and surname (see Carbado, 2002; Leonardo, 2004; McIntosh, 1989; Tatum, 1997).

5. Intercentricity refers to the ways that critical race theory (CRT) in education centralizes race and racism while addressing racisms' intersections with other forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexuality, language, culture, immigrant status, phenotype, accent, and surname. This intercentric approach challenges the assumption that discussing race and racism obfuscates discussions of gender and sexism or class and classism, for example. Instead of engaging in an "oppression sweepstakes" that pits one form of oppression against another, intercentricity acknowledges the significance of focusing on race as it is experienced in the daily lives of women and men. Furthermore, an intercentric approach to analyzing race recognizes that racism pervades working-, middle-, and upper-class communities; immigrant communities where multiple languages are spoken; and queer communities.

6. We envision social justice as work that leads toward (a) dismantling the structures of inequality that perpetuate sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, and other forms of subordination and (b) empowering historically underrepresented, socially and racially marginalized groups (see Revilla, 2004).

7. For three comprehensive annotated bibliographies on critical race and Latina/Latino Critical Race (LatCrit) theory, see Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (1993, 1994) and Jean Stefancic (1998).

8. We appreciate officer Noel Rivas for his insights and edits to our description of police interactions throughout the counterstory.

9. Six months after Bryonn Bain, a Harvard law student, was racially profiled in 1999, *The Village Voice* published a story he wrote titled "Walking While Black," which recounted the wrongful arrest he experienced along with his brother and cousin outside the now-defunct Latin Quarter nightclub in Manhattan. The story was read by several hundred thousand people and received a response unprecedented in the paper's history. He received 400 pages of mail in the following weeks that indicated how widespread the epidemic of police misconduct toward Black men is across the nation. Less than 3 years later, Bain was arrested once again and held on probable cause for 3 days. He was pulled over on the Bruckner Expressway because of a broken taillight. The police officer who ran his license claimed he had multiple warrants out for his arrest and he was thrown in jail. During the next 3 days, he was interrogated about "terrorist activity." Bain published the accounts of this second arrest in *The Village Voice* in September 2003.

10. See Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching for Tolerance's (www.tolerance.org) online headline "Auburn Fraternity Members Head Back to Class—and Into Court," where in 2001 the Auburn University campus was rocked by a series of developments surrounding the involvement of two fraternities in racially charged Halloween party photos.

11. Compare with the Halloween costume party on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site of White men dressed in the fraternity colors and letter of the historically Black fraternity of Omega Psi Phi. In addition, when this paper was first written and submitted, the January 15, 2007, Martin Luther King, Jr., Day racist party incident at Tarleton State University in Stephenville, Texas, had not occurred. A group of White students at this college outside Fort Worth marked the day by throwing a party that featured Black stereotype costumes—including a student dressed as Aunt Jemima and many others in faux gang apparel, Afro wigs, fake gold jewelry, and mock silver teeth—a main course of fried chicken, barbeque ribs, cases of malt liquor, and 40-ounce bottles of alcohol in brown paper bags. Now, the officials at this school are responding to a situation that has caused a nationwide media stir. The school's president called this situation "reprehensible." Similar parties were thrown early in the 2007 New Year at Clemson University, Johns Hopkins University, and the University of Connecticut (see *Lansing State Journal*, February 3, 2007, available at http://www.lsj.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20070203/LIFE/702030303/1079/life).

12. The Greenlining Institute completed an analysis of the number of Freshman African American men who entered the University of California (UC) during fall 2004. Of the eight UC institutions, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), received the lowest "Report Card" grade ("FF") from the Greenlining Institute for its subpar enrollment of only 22 nonathletic scholarship African American men in a class of 7,527 freshmen undergraduates (or just 0.003% of the students in a state where Black men make up 3.5% of their college age group). In fact, only one UC institution received a "C" grade—UC Riverside. Our counterstory is based on the fact that 22 Black male students can easily experience the impact of one racialized incident.

13. Similarly, research shows a connection between imbalanced, derogatory media images of African American women and negative perceptions and behavior displayed against them (Givens & Monahan, 2005).

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