Am I My Brother's Teacher? Black Undergraduates, Racial Socialization, and Peer Pedagogies in Predominantly White Postsecondary Contexts
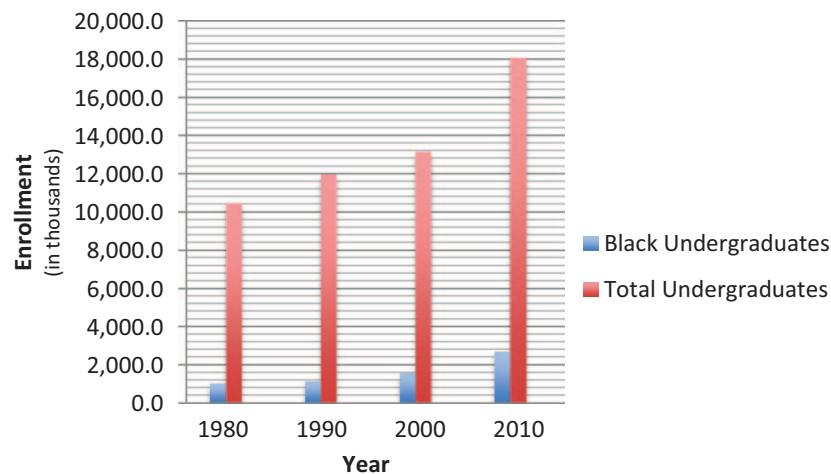
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Much has been written over the past five decades about the experiences of Black students on predominantly White college and university campuses. Willie and Cunnigen (1981) synthesized 130 studies published between 1965 and 1980, many focused on students' confrontations with exclusion, racism, racial stereotypes, and toxic campus racial climates. Sedlacek (1987) found similar themes in his review of 20 years of literature on Black undergraduates at postsecondary institutions at which they were minoritized.[1] Shown in Figure 1 are increases in undergraduate enrollments over a 30-year period; as Black enrollments increased, so too did the number of undergraduates overall. Despite modest gains in access and attainment, contemporary cohorts of Black collegians still encounter campus environments with racial dynamics akin to those described in studies from decades prior. Contemporary scholars continue to document many of the same themes reported in Willie and Cunnigen's (1981) review more than 30 years ago.

The aims of this chapter are twofold: (a) to review an extensive body of research that focuses almost exclusively on racial problems Black students face at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) and (b) to provide insights into how Black students manage to productively navigate racist college and university environments. Hardly anything has been published about the latter. In the next section, I present a conceptual framework that was used to organize the literature and generate new research questions concerning student success in racially alienating and hostile spaces. Next, Black students' experiences on predominantly White campuses are placed in a historical context, followed by a review of several recently published studies on how

FIGURE 1
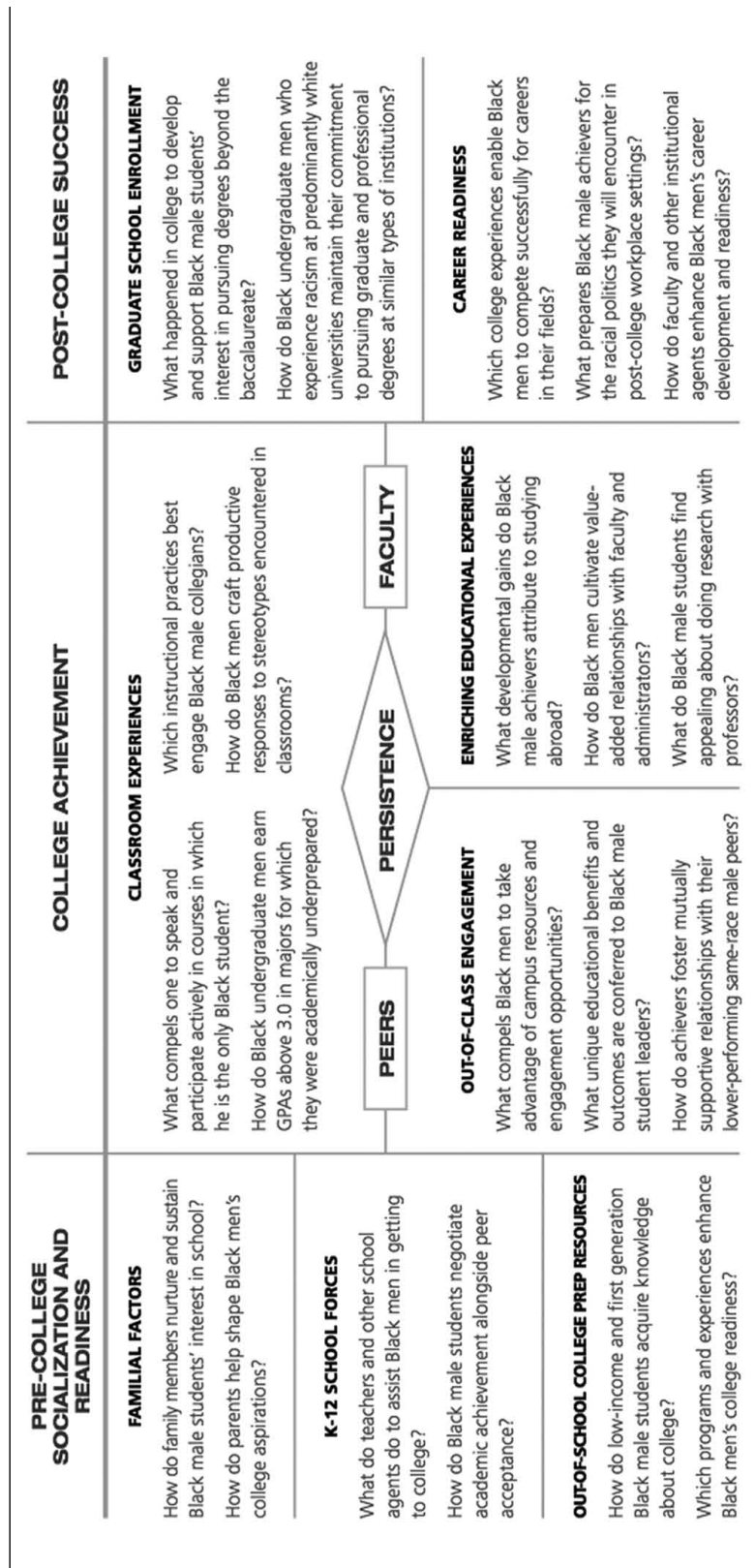## Black Students' Share of Undergraduate Enrollments, 1980–2010

Black students respond to and are affected by campus environments in which they routinely encounter racial stress and stereotypes. I then use data from a national study to showcase pedagogies Black undergraduates employ in teaching their same-race peers and other minoritized students about navigating the racial climate at PWIs, as well as the sites in which such instruction occurs.

ANTI-DEFICIT ACHIEVEMENT FRAMEWORK

Harper's (2012a) anti-deficit achievement framework was constructed for the National Black Male College Achievement Study (details about this 42-campus research project are provided in a later section of this chapter). The framework is informed by three decades of literature on Black men in education and society, as well as theories from sociology, psychology, gender studies, and education. It inverts questions that are commonly asked about educational disadvantage, underrepresentation, insufficient preparation, academic underperformance, disengagement, and Black male student attrition. For example, instead of asking a popular question such as "why are so few Black men enrolled in college," the framework is useful for understanding how aspirations for postsecondary education were cultivated and actualized among those who are enrolled.

It includes *some* questions that researchers *could* explore to better understand how Black undergraduate men successfully navigate their way to and through higher education and onward to rewarding postcollege options (see Figure 2). Insights into these questions shed light on three pipeline points (precollege socialization and readiness, college achievement, and postcollege success) as well as eight researchable dimensions of achievement (familial factors, K–12 school forces, out-of-school college prep resources, classroom experiences, out-of-class engagement, enriching educational experiences, graduate school enrollment, and career readiness).

FIGURE 2
Anti-Deficit Achievement Framework

PRE-COLLEGE SOCIALIZATION AND READINESS

FAMILIAL FACTORS

How do family members nurture and sustain Black male students' interest in school?

How do parents help shape Black men's college aspirations?

K-12 SCHOOL FORCES

What do teachers and other school agents do to assist Black men in getting to college?

How do Black male students negotiate academic achievement alongside peer acceptance?

OUT-OF-SCHOOL COLLEGE PREP RESOURCES

How do low-income and first generation Black male students acquire knowledge about college?

Which programs and experiences enhance Black men's college readiness?

COLLEGE ACHIEVEMENT

CLASSROOM EXPERIENCES

What compels one to speak and participate actively in courses in which he is the only Black student?

How do Black undergraduate men earn GPAs above 3.0 in majors for which they were academically underprepared?

Which instructional practices best engage Black male collegians?

How do Black men craft productive responses to stereotypes encountered in classrooms?

PEERS — PERSISTENCE — FACULTY

OUT-OF-CLASS ENGAGEMENT

What compels Black men to take advantage of campus resources and engagement opportunities?

What unique educational benefits and outcomes are conferred to Black male student leaders?

How do achievers foster mutually supportive relationships with their lower-performing same-race male peers?

ENRICHING EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

What developmental gains do Black male achievers attribute to studying abroad?

How do Black men cultivate value-added relationships with faculty and administrators?

What do Black male students find appealing about doing research with professors?

POST-COLLEGE SUCCESS

GRADUATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

What happened in college to develop and support Black male students' interest in pursuing degrees beyond the baccalaureate?

How do Black undergraduate men who experience racism at predominantly white universities maintain their commitment to pursuing graduate and professional degrees at similar types of institutions?

CAREER READINESS

Which college experiences enable Black men to compete successfully for careers in their fields?

What prepares Black male achievers for the racial politics they will encounter in post-college workplace settings?

How do faculty and other institutional agents enhance Black men's career development and readiness?

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This chapter is situated within the college achievement pipeline point. Specifically, I review in subsequent sections decades of research that amplify Black students' struggles in and negative responses to racist postsecondary institutional environments. Nearly everything published about Black undergraduates at PWIs focuses on factors (including toxic campus racial climates) that undermine academic success and sense of belonging—in other words, a one-sided research focus on deficits and negative forces instead of enablers of achievement. Below, I show the durability of these foci in the literature. The anti-deficit achievement framework is then used to explore this inverted version of a commonly pursued research question: How do Black undergraduates learn to excel and productively navigate campus racial climates that historically (and in many instances, contemporarily) have been characterized as racist?

CAMPUS RACIAL CLIMATE IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

At many predominantly White colleges and universities, Black students have been excluded longer than they have been afforded opportunities to matriculate (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009). For example, in 1870 Richard T. Greener was the first Black student ever to graduate from Harvard, 234 years after the College was founded (Sollors, Titcomb, & Underwood, 1993). Blacks at many other PWIs were not permitted to enter classrooms but instead were forced to listen to lectures in the hallway. Furthermore, the few Black students who were allowed to attend could not live in dormitories, eat in campus dining halls, or interact socially with their White peers. Several institutional histories describe how White students, faculty, alumni, legislators, and other stakeholders resisted (sometimes violently) the admission of Black students (e.g., Goldstone, 2006; Kammen, 2009; McCormick, 1990; Trillin, 1964; Williams, 2001; Williamson, 2003). For example, White protesters at the University of Mississippi attempted desperately to block the admission of James Meredith, its first Black student (Lambert, 2010). Also, Alabama Governor George Wallace stood in the doorway of a building on the University of Alabama campus in 1963 to block the entry of two Black students; with orders from U.S. President John F. Kennedy, the Alabama National Guard was summoned to remove Wallace and escort Vivian Malone and James Hood into the building to register for classes (Clark, 1993).

Six Black students enrolled at Cornell University during the 1904–1905 academic school year; none returned the following fall term. Consequently, seven Black undergraduate men created Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity as a study and support group for themselves on the predominantly White campus (Ross, 2000). Likewise, in the wake of racial hostility, 10 Black undergraduate men at Indiana University started a social fraternity as a support system for each other. In 1911, Kappa Alpha Psi was founded on the predominantly White campus. Crump (1991) wrote,

Black men were almost completely ignored by White students. To make matters worse, one Black student might be on campus for weeks without seeing another. Under these circumstances, assimilation into the life of the school was impossible. The administration maintained an attitude of indifference as Blacks were slowly matriculated and swiftly forgotten . . . the members of [Kappa Alpha Psi] sought one another's

company between classes and dropped by one another's lodging place to discuss a new approach to an old problem. The depressing isolation earlier experienced was relieved as new friendships solidified. (p. 3)

An outgrowth of the Civil Rights Movement, various legislative mandates to desegregate schools and postsecondary institutions (e.g., the Civil Rights Act of 1964) incrementally increased Black student representation in higher education. Notwithstanding, little was done to ensure that students who had been previously excluded would encounter campuses that suddenly felt more inclusive and responsive to their cultural and educational needs. Hence, Black undergraduates at many PWIs found themselves in protest for more professors of color, cultural centers, and Black/ethnic studies programs. Glasker (2002) provides a chronology of what he terms "The African American Student Movement" at the University of Pennsylvania. His timeline includes eight sit-ins and various Black student demonstrations between 1967 and 1978, including one in April 1972 that led to the creation of the W. E. B. Du Bois College House.[2] Glasker goes on to furnish historical evidence of Black students' tireless quests for a sense of belonging at Penn through the 1980s. For decades, minoritized students elsewhere have been similarly striving for equity and inclusion.

Published nearly 30 years ago, Jacqueline Fleming's (1984) groundbreaking book *Blacks in College* remains one of the most widely cited studies on this population. Fleming analyzed students' experiences at eight PWIs and seven Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). The comprehensive design of Fleming's study (which included academic records, experiments, blood pressure checks, illness reports, and numerous surveys of racial stress, career interests, and racial identity)—as well as her disaggregated analysis of race, sex, and institutional context—distinguishes it from other research studies on Black students. She found that Black undergraduates at PWIs experienced considerably higher levels of racial stress and intellectual isolation than did their same-race peers on HBCU campuses. Fleming also observed the following at one particular institution her sample:

Black students at Georgia Tech suffer from some of the worst intellectual deterioration found in a white college in this study. Their academic energies are apparently frustrated by classroom incidents and then withdrawn from the classroom into extracurricular pursuits that afford no intellectual benefit. These trends in no way describe the educational experience for White students. (p. 130)

Similar to Fleming, scholars such as Allen (1992); Berger and Milem (2000); Chavous, Harris, Rivas, Helaire, and Green (2004); J. E. Davis (1994); DeSousa and Kuh (1996); Flowers (2002); and Fries-Britt and Turner (2002) have found that Black undergraduates at HBCUs have stronger academic self-concepts and are more satisfied, engaged at higher levels, and less likely to be harmed by racial stress than are their same-race peers at PWIs. These researchers concluded that PWIs are comparatively less affirming educational spaces for Black undergraduates than are historically black institutions.

Campus climate frameworks (e.g., Chang, Milem, & Antonio, 2011; Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998) emphasize the importance of taking into account an

institution's historical legacy. That is, making sense of contemporary problems pertaining to race, stratification, and durable patterns of racial underrepresentation in higher education necessarily entails understanding ways in which various groups of people were excluded, the conditions under which they were eventually granted access, and myriad ways in which generations of them have been numerically and experientially minoritized. The institutional histories cited in this section make clear that several colleges and universities in the United States were created without any attention to Black students' needs and interests; White stakeholders (students, faculty, trustees, alumni, etc.) have established cultural norms that have governed these campuses for decades, in some cases centuries. Hence, it should come as no surprise that many Black undergraduates share certain experiential realities in contexts at which their history of representation is fewer than 50 years.

Researchers posit that Black undergraduates and other minoritized students in predominantly White contexts perform better academically and persist through baccalaureate degree attainment at higher rates when educators and administrators validate their intellectual competence (Bensimon, 2007; Rendón Linares & Muñoz, 2011), deal responsibly with long-standing campus racial climate issues (Chang et al., 2011; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado et al., 1998), and construct environments that engender feelings of belongingness (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Patton, 2006, 2010; Strayhorn, 2008a, 2012). But what happens to Black collegians in the absence of these conditions?

CONTEMPORARY BLACK UNDERGRADUATES AND TOXIC CAMPUS CLIMATES

Most contemporary institutions of higher education espouse in their mission statements commitments to diversity, equity, inclusion, cross-cultural learning, and appreciating differences (Morphew & Hartley, 2006); these values are also communicated on websites, in admissions brochures, presidential speeches, and elsewhere. Notwithstanding, Harper and Hurtado's (2007) study of campus racial climates confirms that Black undergraduates continue to feel excluded at many PWIs. Of the 278 undergraduates they interviewed (which included Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and Whites), Black students were most dissatisfied with the campus climate. "One logical explanation for Black student displeasure was the bad reputations that preceded the universities they attended. Some entered their institutions expecting to experience racism" (p. 17). Participants noted that family members and others in their home communities forewarned them of what they would likely experience. Other scholars have written about shared experiences among generations of Black students at PWIs that fall within three categories: (a) "Onlyness," (b) "Niggering" and racial microaggressions, and (c) the shortage of same-race faculty role models. I elaborate on these experiential realities in this section and conclude with an illustrative case that succinctly integrates them.

Onlyness

Harper et al. (2009) report that approximately one quarter of Black undergraduates in 1972 were enrolled at PWIs—in 2010, 83.7% of Black bachelor's degree recipients graduated from PWIs (Snyder & Dillow, 2012). Despite a shift in enrollments from HBCUs to predominantly White campuses, Black undergraduates at PWIs remain underrepresented relative to White students and relative to their own representation of traditional-age college goers (18–24 year olds) in the U.S. population. Perna et al. (2006) used data from the U.S. Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System to examine trends in Black students' enrollment and degree attainment rates at public postsecondary institutions across 19 states (U.S. Department of Education, 2012). Comparative analyses of two time periods (1991 and 2001) showed sluggish growth patterns for Black undergraduates at 4-year institutions generally (with the exception of HBCUs) and at flagship state universities in particular. Noteworthy is that public flagship universities are usually among the largest postsecondary institutions in the country. University of Wisconsin–Madison, UNC Chapel Hill, and Penn State were among the flagships included in Newman, Mmeje, and Allen's (2012) analysis of postsecondary institutions ranked in the Top 50 by *U.S. News & World Report*; White students comprised more than two thirds of undergraduate enrollments on these campuses. Hurtado (1992) found that students at larger universities—Whites and minoritized students alike—are more likely than are their peers at other institution types to perceive considerable racial conflict in the campus environment.

Shown in Table 1 are Black students' enrollments at the 20 largest public colleges and universities in the United States. On average, they comprised 5.3% of full-time, degree-seeking undergraduates in fall 2010. Given the size of these institutions (meaning, the thousands of people and the actual square footage of the campus grounds), it is not uncommon for Black students to be in classrooms and assorted campus spaces where no other member of their racial group is present. One participant in M. Davis et al.'s (2004) study likened this to being "a fly in the buttermilk" (p. 438). Fries-Britt, Younger, and Hall (2010) note this is particularly commonplace in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) courses. High achievers in Fries-Britt's (1998) study said they were usually lone representatives of their race in honors courses.

Extreme underrepresentation is usually accompanied by a set of experiences that undermine espoused institutional commitments to fostering inclusive campus climates; these are challenges from which White students at PWIs are almost always exempt. Harper et al. (2011) introduced the term *Onlyness*, which we defined as "the psychoemotional burden of having to strategically navigate a racially politicized space occupied by few peers, role models, and guardians from one's same racial or ethnic group" (p. 190). Black male student leaders in our study discussed the burden they often felt to be exceptional because so few of their same-race peers had been chosen for such prominent campus leadership roles; there was a fear that falling short of perfection would foreclose possibilities for future cohorts of aspiring Black leaders.

TABLE 1
Undergraduate Enrollments at the 20 Largest Public Universities, Fall 2010

University	Total Undergraduates[a]	Black Undergraduates[a]	
	N	N	%
Arizona State University	46,894	2,271	4.8
Ohio State University–Main Campus	38,300	2,372	6.2
Pennsylvania State University–University Park	36,954	1,440	3.9
University of Central Florida	35,917	3,373	9.4
Texas A&M University–College Station	35,812	1,079	3.0
University of Texas at Austin	35,267	1,654	4.7
Michigan State University	32,720	2,401	7.3
Indiana University–Bloomington	30,888	1,389	4.5
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	30,292	1,743	5.8
University of Florida	30,210	2,864	9.5
Purdue University–Main Campus	30,118	1,064	3.5
Rutgers University–New Brunswick	28,829	2,196	7.6
University of Minnesota–Twin Cities	28,211	1,251	4.4
Florida State University	28,006	2,881	10.3
University of Wisconsin–Madison	27,374	645	2.4
University of Arizona	26,853	838	3.1
University of Michigan–Ann Arbor	26,096	1,166	4.5
University of Washington	25,564	875	3.4
University of California–Los Angeles	25,434	937	3.7
University of California–Berkeley	24,929	741	3.0

a.Full-time, degree-seeking undergraduate students.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

Men on the six campuses were also expected by White peers and administrators to be spokespersons for Black issues and minoritized populations in meetings.

Similarly, M. Davis et al. (2004), Fries-Britt (1998), Fries-Britt and Turner (2002), and Winkle-Wagner (2009) report that professors and peers at PWIs impose this same burden on Black students in classrooms. That is, whenever a topic about race, poverty, or people of color emerges in classroom conversations, Black students are usually expected to speak—even those from rural and suburban areas are presumed to possess expertise on Black affairs in urban contexts. Participants at the PWI in Fries-Britt and Turner's (2002) study had to spend time educating White peers and professors and disrupting flawed assumptions about minoritized persons. These energies could have been invested into academics and outcomes-productive out-of-class experiences, they maintained.

Feagin, Vera, and Imani (1996) describe how Black undergraduates, especially in situations where they are the only one, are affected by the spokesperson expectation:

> Being the unwanted center of attention is stressful and serves to remind Black students of the racial position that they are often assigned in predominantly white classroom settings. The pressure reported by Black students does not come from one isolated act, but from a recurrence of similar situations over several years. (p. 92)

Participants in other qualitative studies (e.g., M. Davis et al., 2004) have expressed similar feelings of tokenization and spotlighting. These and other manifestations of onlyness make Black collegians especially susceptible to what Steele (1997) termed *stereotype threat*, an internalized fear of confirming negative stereotypes about one's racial group, which consequently engenders anxiety and results in academic underperformance. I write more about stereotype threat in the next section.

"Niggering" and Racial Microaggressions

In "Niggers No More: A Critical Race Counternarrative on Black Male Student Achievement at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities," I argue that the near exclusive focus in media, popular discourse, and published research on Black male underperformance, disengagement, and maladaptive behaviors cyclically reinforces a caricature of them that is best described by one of the most racially derogatory terms in American history: *Niggers* (Harper, 2009). I go on to operationalize a definition for "niggering" as the process by which stereotypes about Black boys and men shape people's low expectations for their success in schools and society. It is a repetitive activity through which Black women and men are constantly reminded of their long-standing subordinate standing in the U.S. economy, political systems, and myriad social structures (including schools and colleges). Hearing only negative statistics and pathological narratives about oneself, for example, is a way through which this population is persistently niggered. Black men and women on predominantly White campuses experience this process and the stereotypes embedded in it in myriad ways.

Affirmative action is one of the most contested practices and policy issues in U.S. higher education, especially at elite institutions (Charles, Fischer, Mooney, & Massey, 2009; Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Harper & Griffin, 2011; Harper et al., 2009). Consequently, minoritized students are often presumed to have been otherwise unqualified for admission. That is, many of their White peers and professors presuppose that were it not for affirmative action, those students would not have been afforded undue access to an elite institution (Feagin et al., 1996; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Even Black undergraduates who were high achievers in K–12 schools and perform exceptionally in college are accused of having been afforded access because of their race, not academic merit (Charles et al., 2009; Fries-Britt, 1998; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001; Harper, 2012a). Doubts concerning their deservingness of admission are related more generally to questions about Black students' intellectual competence.

In their analysis of data collected over four decades from 214,951 respondents to the UCLA Cooperative Institutional Research Program survey, Griffin, Jayakumar, Jones, and Allen (2010) observed that Black undergraduates in 2004 came from more affluent family backgrounds, had better academic records, and possessed higher levels of confidence in their skills and abilities than did their same-race peers who entered college in prior decades. Despite this, many Whites still believe the overwhelming majority of these students come from low-income families and K–12 schooling experiences that insufficiently prepared them for the rigors of college-level work, especially at highly selective institutions. Given their comparatively lower high school graduation and college enrollment rates, Black men are especially vulnerable to one particular presumption: they do not care about education (Harper & Davis, 2012). This stereotype is exacerbated by their overrepresentation in college athletics. Concerning the image of Black male student-athletes, "One could easily summarize their status as Niggers with balls who enroll to advance their sports careers and generate considerable revenue for the institution without learning much or seriously endeavoring to earn their college degrees" (Harper, 2009, p. 701).

Suspicions concerning Black students' intellectual competence and seriousness about education extend beyond men and student-athletes. Cokley (2003) describes the "anti-intellectual myth," a presupposition that Blacks are not very smart, well read, or serious learners, but instead are lazy and therefore undeserving of opportunities to attend postsecondary institutions of a certain caliber. This myth shows up in a variety of ways on predominantly White campuses, both inside and outside the classroom. For example, White students are often reluctant to select Black classmates to work with them on group projects, especially assignments that will be factored into their grades (Charles et al., 2009; Feagin et al., 1996; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001; Solórzano et al., 2000). Also, Black students are among the least likely to be invited by professors to collaborate on research projects (Harper, 2009, 2012b). Reportedly, some White faculty members are surprised when these students speak well in class and are skeptical when they perform exceptionally on papers (Harper, 2012a).

Outside the classroom, Black student leaders in Harper et al.'s (2011) study who were serving as resident assistants (a paid leadership position on residential campuses) indicated their White supervisors often doubted their competence to effectively perform the job duties. This resulted in hypersurveillance and particular forms of scrutiny from which their White peers seemed exempt. M. Davis et al. (2004) found that Black undergraduates often wrestled with dichotomous feelings of invisibility and hypervisibility. On the one hand, participants in their study felt invisible because the southern university they attended was so large and their encounters with onlyness were so frequent. But, on the other hand, they, like the resident assistants at the six PWIs in Harper et al.'s (2011) study, felt all eyes were often on them because they stood out racially from the majority—similar to a black fly floating in a glass of milk. If the one Black student in the course happens to miss a class session, his or her absence is much likelier than is a White classmate's to be noticed by the professor. When the Black student is present, he or she is considerably more likely than his or her majority peers to experience anxiety about being stereotyped as anti-intellectual and tokenized as the sole voice for all persons from his or her race.

Strayhorn (2008a) found that Black male students' sense of belonging at PWIs hinges in large part on interacting with peers from different racial/ethnic groups. Despite this, I have observed the following:

> Their individual and collective belongingness at PWIs is threatened by the constant reinforcement of racist stereotypes that stigmatize them as dumb jocks, Black male criminals from the local community who do not belong on campus, affirmative action beneficiaries who were undeserving of admission, and underprepared "at-risk" students who all emerged from low-income families and urban ghettos. (Harper, 2009, p. 700)

Whereas Strayhorn and others (e.g., Chang et al., 2011; Hurtado et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 2012) have found that interacting with peers who are racially different produces a range of educational benefits for undergraduates (including Blacks, but especially Whites), it is important to acknowledge that these interactions occasionally involve stereotyping and assorted forms of racial injury. That is, White students—the biggest beneficiaries of cross-racial interactions—oftentimes profit educationally at the expense of minoritized students who are put in the position to teach them and disrupt their racist assumptions (Harper, 2012b).

Despite the well-documented benefits of interactional diversity (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 2012), Espenshade and Radford's (2009) analyses of data from 9,085 respondents to the National Survey of College Experience revealed far fewer than expected patterns of cross-racial interactions. Fifty-six percent of Black students in their sample reported substantive forms of interaction (frequent socialization outside of class, living together, dating, and close friendships) with White peers; only 19% of White respondents reported having had these forms of engagement with Black students. Similarly, participants in qualitative studies (e.g., Feagin et al., 2006; Harper & Hurtado, 2007) have reported persistent segregation trends on predominantly White campuses, despite espoused

institutional values concerning student learning through interactions with diverse others (Morphew & Hartley, 2006).

When cross-racial interactions do occur at PWIs, Black students often find themselves on the receiving end of racial stereotypes. In fact, participants across the five PWIs (Harvard, Michigan State, UC Berkeley, University of Illinois, and University of Michigan) in Smith, Allen, and Danley's (2007) study unanimously characterized their campuses as comparatively more hostile toward Black students than Whites. Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma (2003) termed what these students experience *everyday racism*. Their study included 51 participants at a large predominantly White research university who kept diaries of daily encounters with acts of discrimination, racism, and differential treatment they believed were attributable to their race. Incidents that students reported in their diaries were clustered into four major categories: (a) stares from White onlookers who appeared to be suspicious of or threatened by Blacks; (b) assorted verbal expressions of prejudice, including racial epithets (e.g., Nigger); (c) bad service in university offices and assorted campus establishments (i.e., dining facilities), and (d) miscellaneous interpersonal offenses, including being mistaken for the other Black student in a course, or White students deliberately choosing to not take the empty seat next to a Black person. All but one perpetrator of these incidents were White, and 58% were men.

Participants in numerous other studies (e.g., Feagin et al., 1996; Patton, 2006; Patton & McClure, 2009; Solórzano et al., 2000; Winkle-Wagner, 2009) have reported experiences consistent with Swim et al.'s (2003) study. Researchers have also found that White campus safety officials often require Black students to prove they belong on campus at rates higher than they do others (Smith et al., 2007); White students erroneously presume their Black male peers know where to buy marijuana and other drugs (Harper, 2012a); and assorted White others (including faculty and alumni) presuppose Black undergraduates are student-athletes, great dancers, and expert connoisseurs of rap/hip-hop music (Harper, 2009; Harper et al., 2011; Solórzano et al., 2000; Smith et al., 2007).

Sue et al. (2007) define racial microaggressions as "commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (p. 271). These occurrences are different from overtly racist acts in that they are subtle and sometimes innocuous; in many instances, the aggressor is not even aware that she or he has behaved in a manner that could be experienced as racist. One example of a microaggression is asking an Asian American student who says she is from California where she is *really* from, which suggests she is not *really* an American. Other examples include telling a Black student he is "so articulate" or he is "not like those other Blacks," both of which convey to him that people from his racial group are not usually viewed as smart, thoughtful, trustworthy, and so on. Sue et al., as well as Harper et al. (2011) and Solórzano et al. (2000) make clear that individual microaggressions in isolation do not inflict much harm. However, the cumulative sum of

them and constant exposure to everyday racism negatively affects minoritized students' academic outcomes, psychological wellness, and sense of belonging at PWIs.

Harper and Griffin (2011) note the threat of racial microaggressions and stereotypes is exacerbated at more selective postsecondary institutions, those at which affirmative action access policies and practices are most fiercely contested. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Freshmen, Charles et al. (2009) found that male students of color from affluent families, as well as those who had few same-race friends, were most vulnerable to the internalization of negative stereotypes. Moreover, students with strong academic identities—or those whom Steele (1997) would characterize as "highly domain identified"—are also especially susceptible to the negative effects of stereotype threat. Regarding the brightest and most academically capable students, Taylor and Antony (2000) posit,

Their high degree of self-identification with this domain creates added internal pressure to be perceived in a positive light and to be successful. Thus, stereotype threat has the greatest effect on students who represent the academic vanguard of their group. (p. 187)

One by-product of stereotype threat is what Moore, Madison-Colmore, and Smith (2003) call the "prove-them-wrong syndrome." Undergraduate engineering students in their sample, much like Black participants in other research studies (e.g., Fries-Britt, 1998; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001, 2002; Harper et al., 2011), felt the need to disconfirm negative stereotypes about minoritized students. They often did this by assuming enormous pressure to prove their intellectual competence and right to admission. Interestingly, Cokley (2003) and Griffin (2006) found that some Black students were actually motivated by the proving process and therefore invested more serious effort into their academic pursuits. But Cokley (2001) reports these experiences oblige many Black male students to become "detached from academics and increasingly associated with activities where there are more Black male role models and perceived opportunities" (p. 485). He notes that most of these activities reside outside the classroom, a finding that also emerged in Fleming's (1984) study.

Having to constantly prove themselves and respond to racial stereotypes engendered psychological stress and other symptoms of "racial battle fatigue" (e.g., frustration, shock, anger, disappointment, resentment, anxiety, helplessness, hopelessness, and fear) among the Black collegians that Smith et al. (2007) interviewed. Scholars argue that encounters with racism also lead to troubling behavioral responses and resistant posturing (Harris, Palmer, & Struve, 2011), lowered self-concept (Griffin, Jayakumar, et al., 2010), disengagement inside and outside the classroom (Harper et al., 2011), overengagement in nonacademic clubs and organizations (Cokley, 2003; Fleming, 1984), and reliance on spirituality as a coping and restorative resource (Patton & McClure, 2009). Hurtado and Carter (1997) as well as Strayhorn (2008a, 2012) have linked persistence to sense of belonging in college. That is, undergraduates who feel like they belong and are valued and respected by

faculty and peers are more likely to persist through baccalaureate degree attainment than are students who negatively experience their campus environments. The sense of belonging thesis in combination with experiences reported in this section helps explain (at least partially) why two thirds of Black men who start college do not graduate (Harper, 2012a). Not seeing others like them in positions of influence and authority at PWIs could also hamper Black students' motivation to excel, persist, and pursue higher levels of postsecondary education beyond the baccalaureate.

Shortage of Same-Race Faculty Role Models

Several higher education researchers (e.g., Astin, 1993; Bensimon, 2007; Harper, 2012a; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Rendón Linares & Muñoz, 2011; Strayhorn, 2008b, 2012) have noted the important role that institutional agents, especially faculty, play in fostering campus environments that engender a sense of belonging for college students. Given their severe underrepresentation and encounters with "everyday racism" and microaggressions at PWIs, minoritized students need advocates who can validate their competence, belongingness, and racialized experiences. Professors of color most often play these roles at PWIs (Griffin, 2012; Griffin & Reddick, 2011; Turner, González, & Wood, 2008). But what happens on large campuses where minoritized students largely outnumber minoritized professors? Shown in Table 2 are student–faculty ratios at the 20 largest public universities in the United States. On average, there were 32 Black undergraduates to every one Black tenure track faculty member in fall 2010.

In their synthesis of 20 years of literature, Turner et al. (2008) found consistent reports of minoritized faculty being disproportionately affected by heavy service expectations on predominantly White campuses. Their work often includes serving as advisors, mentors, advocates, and problem solvers for students of color at rates that far exceed the engagement of their White faculty counterparts in similar activities. Put differently, students of color seek out White professors (those who are sometimes the perpetuators of low expectations and racial stereotypes in the classroom) less often than they do minoritized faculty role models who can offer restorative care, validation, culturally interesting research opportunities, and helpful advice on how best to navigate a racially alienating or hostile campus environment. Griffin and Reddick (2011) found that Black female faculty, in comparison to their Black male counterparts, carry a heavier burden of mentoring students. "This trend is especially problematic in that there is some indication that Black women may be expected to engage with students in close familial ways, regardless of their desire to do so and despite the personal costs" (p. 1051).

In addition to being sought out, many minoritized faculty members proactively establish relationships with minoritized students. They do so for a range of reasons, including feeling a sense of responsibility for protecting these students from racial injury in their academic programs and departments, elsewhere on campus, and in their future careers. In a qualitative study of Black professors in STEM fields at two PWIs, Griffin, Pérez, Holmes, and Mayo (2010) found the following:

TABLE 2
Black Undergraduates to Black Tenure Track Faculty Ratios at the 20 Largest Public Universities, Fall 2010

University	Undergraduates[a], *N*	Faculty[b], *N*	Ratio
Arizona State University	2,271	40	57:1
The Ohio State University–Main Campus	2,372	100	24:1
Pennsylvania State University–University Park	1,440	73	20:1
University of Central Florida	3,373	37	91:1
Texas A&M University–College Station	1,079	67	16:1
University of Texas at Austin	1,654	74	22:1
Michigan State University	2,401	71	34:1
Indiana University–Bloomington	1,389	54	26:1
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	1,743	79	22:1
University of Florida	2,864	74	39:1
Purdue University–Main Campus	1,064	46	23:1
Rutgers University–New Brunswick	2,196	46	48:1
University of Minnesota–Twin Cities	1,251	54	23:1
Florida State University	2,881	45	64:1
University of Wisconsin–Madison	645	43	15:1
University of Arizona	838	19	44:1
University of Michigan–Ann Arbor	1,166	119	10:1
University of Washington	875	36	24:1
University of California–Los Angeles	937	56	17:1
University of California–Berkeley	741	37	20:1

a. Full-time, degree-seeking undergraduate students.
b. Tenured professors and associate professors; tenure track (untenured) assistant professors.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

Experiences with mentors affected how professors engaged their mentees around issues of race and racism. A realization of the alienating climate for people of color in STEM played an important role in shaping how participants reached out to and mentored racial minority students. . . . Acknowledging the impact that race could have on their students' careers also pushed the faculty we interviewed to be proactive in their efforts to mentor. (p. 99)

Using social exchange theory, Griffin (2012) acknowledges that Black faculty benefit from the relationships they establish with students. For example, many minoritized professors grapple with similar feelings of onlyness that were described earlier in this chapter. It is not uncommon for a Black professor to be the only faculty member from her or his racial group in an academic program or department at a PWI. Thus, establishing relationships with Black students—even if they are from other academic disciplines on campus—affords these professors opportunities to at least interact with someone else from their same racial/ethnic group. Moreover, Griffin found that Black faculty also profit from working collaboratively with students who are interested in and familiar with their research topics.

Despite the mutually beneficial value of these same-race interactions, they occur irregularly at PWIs, especially in fields where faculty of color are grossly underrepresented (e.g., STEM and economics). Noteworthy is that Black faculty have other responsibilities, including teaching and service to their departments, universities, and academic fields of study. They also must interact with students from racial groups beyond their own, including Whites. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) posit that the more time faculty members spend interacting with students, the less time they have to commit to conducting and publishing research, which is focal in tenure and promotion processes at research universities. Exactly 30% of the Black faculty members at institutions listed in Table 2 were untenured assistant professors; 36.7% were associate professors who had not yet been promoted to the highest faculty rank. Thus, Black faculty at these institutions cannot afford to commit large quantities of time to teaching Black students about responding productively to racist stereotypes and addressing other campus climate problems. In addition to the underrepresentation of minoritized professors, participants in Harper et al.'s (2011) study reported a severe shortage of administrators of color. Those who had staff supervisors of color cited several corresponding benefits, including advice on how to best anticipate and negotiate complex racial politics of the six predominantly White campuses.

Integrating Black Students' Experiences at PWIs

I end this section with a short case example that integrates some of the experiential realities reported in the literature on Black undergraduates at PWIs. I recently gave a pair of lectures at a large, predominantly White university at which I met Damien, a pseudonym for a Black male student who shared with me a disturbing account. Damien was the only Black person—student or otherwise—in a large lecture-style course, an experience he had come to view as normal. At the beginning of one class session, his professor told the seven students who received perfect scores on a previous exam that they were excused from class and exempt from the next test. As the

seven students gathered their belongings and paraded out the classroom, the professor stopped only one of them—Damien. "You got a 100%," the professor asked in a tone that simultaneously conveyed confusion and shock. He did not confront the six White students to confirm their perfect performance on the test—only the Black student was singled out. I asked Damien if the professor had perhaps formed a negative opinion of him based on prior interactions. He explained that the lecture hall was huge (more than 200 students) and it was therefore highly unlikely that the professor even knew him or anyone else by name.

In my view, Damien's story is a clear demonstration of niggering, as it was deemed surprising that the only non-White person in the course was one of very few students to earn a perfect score on the exam. This professor's doubt about Damien's intellectual competence is an example of a racial microaggression with which many minoritized students are often confronted. The message was that he surely was not smart or hard working enough to perform so well on a difficult academic activity. This encounter was just one layer of the onlyness Damien experienced from week-to-week as the only Black person in the large lecture hall. There were fewer than 10 Black tenure track faculty members at the university; none were in Damien's academic department. In fact, he had never taken a course taught by an instructor of color. Thus, his options for seeking advice from experienced same-race professors were extremely limited. What the literature on Black undergraduates has not yet made clear is where and how students like Damien learn to navigate the racist features of PWIs in the absence of more faculty of color to teach them.

PEER PEDAGOGIES ON PREDOMINANTLY WHITE CAMPUSES

Astin (1993) as well as Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) assert that peers exert the most influence on how undergraduates experience college. In this section, I summarize findings from the National Black Male College Achievement Study to provide insights into the role Black students play in teaching their same-race peers about responding productively to onlyness, racism, and racial stereotypes on campus. Most of what has been written on Black students at PWIs focuses on the challenges they face and a range of understandable, yet problematic responses to racism (e.g., withdrawal, lowered self-confidence, and aspiration reduction). As mentioned earlier, two thirds of Black undergraduate men who start college do not graduate, which is the lowest college completion rate among both sexes and all racial groups in U.S. higher education. A portion of these high attrition rates can be explained by debilitating encounters with racist stereotypes and an insufficient sense of belonging on predominantly White campuses (Harper, 2012a, 2012b; Strayhorn, 2008a). But one third persists through baccalaureate degree attainment. How do they learn to do so in light of racial realities that have been described in decades of literature on Black students at PWIs? Questions such as this were pursued in the National Black Male College Achievement Study, the largest qualitative research project on Black undergraduate men.

Data for this study were collected from 219 Black male undergraduates at 42 colleges and universities in 20 states across the nation. Four different types of

PWIs were represented in the national study (see Table 3); in addition, interviews were conducted with Black male achievers in HBCUs.[3] On average, the ratio of Black undergraduates to Black faculty at the 30 predominantly White colleges and universities was 43:1; these ratios varied by institution type (see Table 4). Administrators (provosts, deans of students, directors of multicultural affairs, etc.) nominated Black male undergraduates who had earned cumulative GPAs above 3.0, established lengthy records of leadership and engagement in multiple student organizations, developed meaningful relationships with campus administrators and faculty outside the classroom, participated in enriching educational experiences (e.g., summer research programs, internships, and study abroad programs), and earned numerous merit-based scholarships and honors in recognition of their undergraduate achievements. Each student participated in a 2 to 3 hour face-to-face individual interview on his campus and some follow-up interviews were conducted via telephone.

The national study moves beyond deficit perspectives on Black students by highlighting institutional agents, policies, programs, and resources that helped them achieve desired educational outcomes across a range of different institution types. An anti-deficit achievement framework was constructed for the study that inverts commonly asked research questions. For example, instead of adding to the now exhaustive body of literature that highlight all the negative effects of racist encounters on Black male student success in college, emphasis was placed on understanding how these students manage to craft productive responses to racism and factors that enable them to excel academically despite their encounters with racial microaggressions, stereotypes, and low expectations. Additional details about the framework and research methods are provided in Harper (2007, 2012a).

Analyses of data collected from the 30 PWIs in the national study revealed how Black students become institutional agents who assume responsibility for the instruction of their same-race peers at PWIs, specifically pertaining to navigating the campus racial climate. I introduce *peer pedagogies*[4] in this chapter, a term to characterize these practices. Below, I summarize these pedagogical practices, the sites in which such instruction routinely occurs, and how participants in the study assessed the effectiveness of their peer instructors.

Peers Teaching Peers About Race

"It started as soon as I arrived on campus: Black students made sure I knew what it was going to be like to be Black at Harvard." This student, like many others in the study, described a process through which their minoritized peers immediately assumed responsibility for socializing them to racial realities of their respective campus environments. Reportedly, students of color within the first few weeks of the school year engaged in what was characterized by some as a "campaign" to reach newcomers. Older students sometimes searched for same-race others in residence halls; and if they found themselves in courses with first-year students or unfamiliar faces, they would deliberately initiate conversations after class meetings early in the fall term. The structure of

TABLE 3
**Predominantly White Institutions in the National Black Male College
Achievement Study**

Institution Type	College/University
Public research universities	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
	Indiana University–Bloomington
	University of Michigan–Ann Arbor
	Michigan State University
	The Ohio State University–Main Campus
	Purdue University–Main Campus
Highly selective private research universities	Brown University
	Columbia University
	Harvard University
	University of Pennsylvania
	Princeton University
	Stanford University
Liberal arts colleges	Amherst College
	Claremont McKenna College
	DePauw University
	Haverford College
	Lafayette College
	Occidental College
	Pomona College
	Saint John's University (MN)
	Swarthmore College
	Vassar College
	Wabash College
	Williams College
Comprehensive state universities	Brooklyn College, City University of New York
	California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
	California State University, Long Beach
	Lock Haven University
	Towson University
	Valdosta State University

TABLE 4
Black Undergraduates[a] to Black Tenure Track Faculty[b] Ratios by Institution
Type in the National Black Male College Achievement Study, Fall 2010

Institution Type	Mean Ratio
Public research universities	23:1
Highly selective private research universities	15:1
Liberal arts colleges	21:1
Comprehensive state universities	62:1

a. Full-time, degree-seeking undergraduate students.
b. Tenured professors and associate professors; tenure track (untenured) assistant professors.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

these conversations were often threefold: (a) to introduce oneself to the only other or one of few minoritized students in the class or on the residence hall floor, (b) to invite the new student to contact her or him if ever she or he needed anything, and (c) to forewarn the new student of future feelings and experiences (e.g., onlyness and racial stereotyping) she or he will likely have. This initial exchange often compelled the new student to ask for specific details concerning the realities of race on campus. "He was talking about racism this and racism that—I needed examples. He gave them to me. It scared me," one participant at Lock Haven recalled.

In addition to targeting peers of color in classrooms and campus residential facilities, older students also coupled racial socialization efforts with recruitment for Black/ethnic student organizations. Each institution in the study hosted an annual fall semester student organization recruitment event, which usually included tables staffed by student leaders who distributed promotional materials and talked with peers about joining their respective clubs. Part of the pitch to join groups such as Black Student Union, NAACP, and the National Society of Black Engineers (NSBE), to name a few, was a conversation about why such organizations were essential on a predominantly White campus. An Ohio State student said someone told him, "You're gonna need NSBE because you're gonna be the only Black person in your engineering classes. NSBE will allow you to see other Black students." Others reported the sharing of similar perspectives from peers who were in other academic-related ethnic student organizations (e.g., the Black Wharton Undergraduate Association at Penn). "He asked me if I was in a class where I was the only Black student. I said yes. And he said, 'See that's why you need to join this group.'"

A participant from Occidental remembered an older Black female student assuring him he would need Black Student Alliance. "She said you may not fully recognize why now, but trust me, you will eventually understand." She went on to clarify that the organization served as a safe haven from the toxicity of the campus racial climate. He joined. Others elsewhere indicated that they were intrigued enough to attend at least one meeting of these organizations to see if they were as necessary as the ambassadors

and group leaders claimed. A Cal Poly participant shared the following: "I hadn't experienced any type of racism yet. I actually never really even expected to. But I went to the meeting to see what these other minorities were saying about their experiences." Although ethnic student organization leaders articulated a range of seductive aims and purposes associated with membership, participants said they almost always used racial underrepresentation (and the corresponding consequences of onlyness), as well as racial problems on campus, to simultaneously teach and recruit.

Michigan State and a few other universities in the study offered bridge programs to help undergraduates transition from high school to higher education. These programs usually took place over 6 to 8 weeks in the summer preceding students' first semester/quarter on campus. Reportedly, upperclassmen that either volunteered or were paid to work for these programs used their positions as platforms through which to teach students about the realities of race on campus. Formally through structured panels and informally via small group conversations over meals, these older students shared insights into their prior encounters with onlyness and racial microaggressions as well as with racist experiences that were more overt. Beyond storytelling, they also advised program participants on how best to respond to racial issues that would inevitably emerge; shared lists of faculty and staff advocates they should seek out when confronted with racism; insisted that these incoming students use resources in campus counseling centers, as well as in Black/multicultural centers; touted the benefits of membership in ethnic student organizations; explained the necessity of solidarity among minoritized students; and volunteered to engage in longer-term success partnerships with program participants that included but extended beyond racial problem-solving.

Sites of Peer Instruction

Beyond summer bridge programs, minoritized undergraduates used their pedagogies and racial socialization methods in several other venues on the predominantly White campuses. As previously mentioned, leaders of ethnic student organizations often engaged in the simultaneous process of teaching and recruiting. Most participants in the national study were members of at least one predominantly Black campus club. Meetings focused mostly on planning events and other activities aligned with foundational purposes of the groups. Notwithstanding, participants noted that time in these meetings was spent, oftentimes unintentionally, processing racist encounters, validating members' individual and collective experiences, and brainstorming effective ways to respond to and disrupt racism.

I remember one meeting . . . one minute we were trying to decide who was going to the national conference, then suddenly the conversation turned to folks venting about all the racist shit that had happened to them that week.

When I asked how often this occurred, this Indiana University participant laughingly responded, "every single meeting." He was clear that student organization meeting

agendas were not devoted entirely to sharing stories but were adaptable enough to afford members much-needed opportunities to vent and exchange navigational strategies that had proven effective.

Based on 2 years of ethnographic fieldwork, Jackson (2012) offers a detailed account of how Black undergraduate men were united through a gender-specific student organization that fostered among them a bond of brotherhood, which, in turn, helped them collectively navigate the challenges of a predominantly White campus. Similar groups existed on several campuses in my national study—H.E.A.D.S. at University of Michigan, Brothers Keeper at Indiana University, Harvard Black Men's Forum, the Princeton Black Men's Awareness Group, and a chapter of Student African American Brotherhood at Cal State Long Beach, to name a few. Though not a formal student organization, undergraduate men of color gathered regularly for "Cold Cuts" at DePauw University, a space in which they fellowshipped, engaged in substantive conversations with same-race others, and received low-cost haircuts (finding a Black barbershop in Greencastle, Indiana, was reportedly difficult).

These groups and spaces served as more than sites for Black men to gather socially. They were also instructional venues for teaching and learning about the racial realities of the PWIs in my project. For example, Black Men United (BMU) is a group at the University of Pennsylvania that brings together students once every 3 weeks for food and structured conversations about Black experiences on campus, politics and social issues, and other topics pertinent to communities of color. That space and others like it elsewhere allow Black male undergraduates to be themselves without the threat of stereotypes. It also enables them to share stories of racial encounters and devise both individual and collective responses. "BMU has taught me how to not only survive, but thrive at Penn," one participant in the national study remarked. Achievers elsewhere said they learned actual strategies from peers in groups such as BMU who had figured out how to deal productively with onlyness, stereotypes and racial insults, and other potentially harmful encounters with White faculty and peers. Furthermore, these were settings in which the participants' intellectual competence and sense of belonging were affirmed. In some ways, merely being in the presence of other talented Black male student leaders taught participants that there were others like them who were smart, validation that was often missing in classrooms where they were lone representatives of their racial group.

Whereas men's groups were cited often as instructional spaces, it is worth noting that participants benefited from having male and female peer instructors on their campuses. Because Black women outnumbered Black men at every institution in the national study (sometimes by more than 2:1), they often had a greater numerical presence and assumed leadership in black/ethnic student organizations at much higher rates. "Sistas hold it down for all of us here. We learn so much from them," a Swarthmore student acknowledged. These women employed pedagogical strategies not only in summer bridge programs and student organizations but also in campus activities sponsored by the Black or multicultural center. Many consciousness-raising dialogues were hosted at the PWIs; technique and resource sharing usually followed

awareness, processing, and validation at these events. Resources sometimes included recommendations for people to see on campus who could be helpful, virtual communities on Facebook and blogs, and instructive things to read.

Pedagogies were not always employed in public spaces. Many participants shared stories of individualized instruction they had received from their peers, which sometimes included assigned readings about Blacks and other minoritized students at PWIs. One senior talked about a book his RA gave him 2 years prior:

> It was on the stuff African American students go through on white campuses like Purdue. Reading that made me feel normal; I didn't feel crazy anymore. Reading that made me realize that I am not the only one who feels this way. If he hadn't given me that book, I don't think I would have made it here. I remember talking to him after I read the book. We processed the whole thing and he let me know how he has coped with these experiences. He was a graduating senior, so I took notes and benefited from his wisdom. Now I am graduating from Purdue, thanks in part to him and that book he made me read.

Others reflected on critical peer interactions that sounded like one-on-one tutoring on the subject of race. These discussions between minoritized students occurred in residence hall rooms, dining facilities on and off campus, in culture centers, and sometimes immediately after a class session in which assorted racial microaggressions had been committed. These strategy discussions were mainly initiated and facilitated by Black women and men who held some type of leadership role on campus (including, but not limited to, positions in ethnic student organizations).

Attribution and Assessment of Peer Education

Like the graduating senior who predicted he would not have "made it" at Purdue, several others asserted that persisting from year-to-year would have been difficult (in some instances, impossible) had it not been for the instruction they received from other minoritized students. Similar statements were made about ethnic student organizations, especially the groups created expressly for Black undergraduate men. Most participants credited same-race peers for awakening their understandings of what it takes to productively respond to racism at PWIs. Accordingly, they learned the most about race neither in courses nor from professors but from peers in a multitude of spaces. "If there weren't any Black students at Saint John's, I don't know who else would've taught me about myself. I guess it would've been all on me."

In many instances, the achievers actually named other minoritized peers from whom they had learned much about negotiating the realities of race on campus. For example, here is a verbatim exchange between a participant and me in response to an interview question he misunderstood:

Me: Tell me about an extraordinary teacher you have had here.
Participant: Her name is Brandy. She is truly extraordinary.
Me: What classes have you taken with her?
Participant: Classes? Oh, my bad. I didn't realize you were asking about an actual
    professor . . .

Me: Oh, well who is Brandy?

Participant: She's a leader in the Black student community here. She's the person who taught me and a whole lot of other students of color on this campus how to succeed academically, given that the environment is so unfriendly to us. She is our best teacher.

My question was situated in a section of the interview protocol that aimed to identify effective educational practices employed by faculty members. Admittedly, I expected this student to name a professor. Although no one else misunderstood this question, numerous participants at other points in their interviews reflected in similar ways about the powerful impact same-race peers had on their success in general and the shaping of their racial response strategies in particular.

Finally, men I interviewed overwhelmingly attributed their own leadership and engagement on campus to the example set by peers who had been their teachers. That is, they felt a sense of responsibility to become teachers of others because of the instruction they had received. They became resident assistants and leaders in other spaces who reached out to students of color in ways similar to how they had been targeted in prior years. They used similar instructional approaches that had enticed them to join Black/ethnic student organizations. And they ensured that agendas for student organizations, especially Black male groups, included time for the strategic sharing of stories, resources, and strategies that would help minoritized students succeed at higher rates. A Wabash student shared the following: "Many people of color took the time to school me on how to survive this campus. I am taking what I learned and teaching it to other African American students. It would have been selfish of me not to." Considering the reciprocal responsibility of peer instruction, one participant asked, "Am I my brother's teacher?" He responded immediately to his own question with "yes, if not me, then who?"

CONCLUSION

Over 40 years of published research consistently documents troubling racial realities for Black undergraduates and other minoritized students on predominantly White campuses. In the 1960s and 1970s, these experiences ignited student activism and aggressive demands for institutional responsiveness. Scholarship from that era focuses much on student agency. But more recent studies pertaining to race in higher education have been almost entirely concerned with the effects of alienating and debilitating campus racial climates on sense of belonging, as well as a range of academic, social, and psychological outcomes for Black students. These have been important contributions.

Necessary is the publication of new scholarship that unmasks the personal and institutional enablers of achievement, including more sophisticated examinations of how minoritized students manage to persist through baccalaureate degree attainment despite what is known to be the realities of race at many PWIs. Much more remains to be understood about contemporary forms of Black student agency—specifically,

how they socialize their same-race peers to racially problematic campus environments, co-create protective and instructional spaces, pass on effective pedagogical practices from one cohort to another, and help each other productively navigate PWIs. Findings from the National Black Male College Achievement Study extend what has long been known about Black students in higher education. More instructive insights into how Black students productively navigate racist spaces are needed, as opposed to studies that focus exclusively on the harmful effects of onlyness, niggering, and stereotyping, and limited access to supportive same-race faculty role models.

The powerful influence of peers on college student outcomes has been well documented in the higher education literature (Astin, 1993; Bensimon, 2007; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Nuances concerning what minoritized undergraduates do to positively affect learning, developmental change, and persistence among their same-race peers and other students of color are lacking in the literature. For example, several arguments have been made in defense of diversifying the student body on college and university campuses. One rationale has been that students (especially White undergraduates) learn much from the cultural knowledge that racially diverse peers bring with them to postsecondary learning environments (Hurtado et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 2012). Details concerning pedagogical strategies undergraduates employ within and across their racial groups, as well as the content of what students teach each other about race, would advance the study of peer influences in college.

Deeper explanations of organizational resistance and the durability of toxicity in predominantly White campus contexts are also worthy of further study. Given the consistent themes documented in research on racial climates and minoritized student experiences at PWIs, why has institutional change been so slow? Why are onlyness, niggering, and racial microaggressions still so pervasive? Why is the representation of minoritized faculty so low, and Black student to Black faculty ratios so incongruent? In light of espoused institutional commitments to inclusion and diversity (Morphew & Hartley, 2006), why does it remain necessary for undergraduates such as those from PWIs in the National Black Male College Achievement Study to assume the responsibility (or burden) of teaching their same-race peers how to productively navigate campus environments that are contaminated by racism? Studies that explore these and other institution-focused questions would add much to the body of knowledge on racial climates at predominantly White colleges and universities.

NOTES

[1]"Minoritized" is used instead of "minority" throughout this chapter to signify the social construction of underrepresentation and subordination in U.S. social institutions, including colleges and universities. Persons are not born into a minority status nor are they minoritized in every social milieu (e.g., their families, racially homogeneous friendship groups, or places of religious worship). Instead, they are rendered minorities in particular situations and institutional environments that sustain an overrepresentation of whiteness.

[2]The Du Bois College House was created for "any undergraduate student of any race who wishes to study and foster Afro-American culture" at the University of Pennsylvania (Glasker, 2002, p. xvi).

[3]The national study also included 12 Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

[4]Peer pedagogies have not been introduced elsewhere and are being defined herein as the methods minoritized students use to teach each other about the racial realities of predominantly White colleges and universities, as well as how to respond most effectively to racism, racial stereotypes, and microaggressions they are likely to encounter in classrooms and elsewhere on campus.

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