

ScholarWorks@GSU

When They See Us: Black Misandry, Black Joy, and the Importance of Black Brotherhood at a Predominantly Black Institution

Authors	Collins Bernard McCrary
Citation	Collins Bernard McCrary. "When They See Us: Black Misandry, Black Joy, and the Importance of Black Brotherhood at a Predominantly Black Institution." 2025. Dissertation, Georgia State University. https://doi.org/10.57709/vsh3-db28
DOI	https://doi.org/10.57709/vsh3-db28
Download date	2026-04-11 02:09:17
Link to Item	https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14694/15613

When They See Us: Black Misandry, Black Joy, and the Importance of Black Brotherhood at a
Predominantly Black Institution

by

Collins Bernard McCrary

Under the Direction of Veronica A. Newton, PhD.

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2025

ABSTRACT

Much of the research on Black men in higher education has been aimed at “fixing” the student from a very monolithic lens of Black male masculinity and identity. Previous literature has focused on the study of white college men or men at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) or Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). This study centers these men’s lived experiences at a Predominantly Black Institution (PBI). The intersectional approach used in this study borrows from the work of Black Masculine and Feminist scholarship which offers a critical analysis for rethinking intersectionality and masculinities in the lives of Black men on campus. This study interrogates the social, structural, and institutional forces that impact the Black male undergraduate collegiate experience and adds to the growing body of literature of Black men as gendered beings at a Predominantly Black Institution. Using 20 in-depth semi-structured interviews coupled with two 5-person focus groups, this dissertation captures the individual and collective experiences of Black men on campus. The major themes that emerged in my findings included complex individuality, duality of masculinity, discrimination, belonging and brotherhood, Black joy, and collective voice of Black men. My participants in the individual and focus group interviews expressed varying experiences as Black men on campus, which speaks to the notion that because Black men exist with multiple identities, they employ a range of masculinities to navigate social and academic settings. My study adds to a growing body of literature that highlights the importance of marked spaces and identity-specific programs and initiatives that shape how my participants at this PBI navigate and make meaning of their experiences of being Black and male on campus.

INDEX WORDS: Predominantly Black Institution, Critical Race Theory, Black Male Initiative, Belonging, Marked and Unmarked Space, Racism

Copyright by
Collins Bernard McCrary
2025

When They See Us: Black Misandry, Black Joy, and the Importance of Black Brotherhood at a
Predominantly Black Institution

by

Collins Bernard McCrary

Committee Chair: Veronica A. Newton

Committee: Tomeka Davis

Katie Acosta

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Services

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

May 2025

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my entire family. It is especially dedicated to the Black men in my family that did not have the opportunity to pursue higher education. I stand on the shoulders of great Black men like my Grandfather, my Father, and my Brother who never made it to a college campus. Thank you for raising me, believing in me, inspiring me, and allowing me to be the manifestation of your wildest dreams. To my Mom, you are *still* my greatest cheerleader. I finally did it and you can rest now. My sisters Tammy and Shela, thank you for always being there and supporting me through thick and thin. It hasn't always been easy, but you have been by my side through it all. Big bro, I miss you, but I know you are proud of me. To my nieces and nephews, I love you and I hope I've inspired greatness in you as much as you have done the same for me. To Dre, I love you, twin. Thank you for changing my life. You came right when I needed you. I pray that I have been all you needed and more. I'm so proud of us because we did it together, and for that I will be forever grateful. I appreciate my entire extended family and friends, you know who you are. Too many to name here or I'll be over the word limit. Thank you for everything. This journey would not be complete without each of you. Rest in peace Mom, Dad, and Carl. Praise Jah, and thanks be to God!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my dedicated committee members. Thank you for taking the time to work with me on this project. Tomeka, you are such a genius. Thank you for refining my work and challenging me in ways that were uncomfortable, but necessary. Katie, thank you for your support and thoughtful feedback and helping me grow as a researcher. To my sister-scholar and chair, Veronica, you know you that girl, right?! Thank you for everything. This project would not be complete without your unwavering support. Thank you for just being your dope, endarkened, unapologetic, trap feminist self! We are locked in for life! To my colleagues who became like family, thank you as well. I appreciate all of you from each institution I've stopped along the way. To my mentors and mentees, thank you for pouring into me and allowing me to pour into you as well. To all my study participants, thank you for allowing me to share space with you. You provided such richness and depth of knowledge to this work and I'm truly grateful. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge my Dope and Endarkened writing group. Y'all so fye! Thank you for being the support group I needed to get to the finish line. You're up next!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		V
LIST OF TABLES		IX
LIST OF FIGURES		X
1 INTRODUCTION		1
1.1 Study Significance		2
1.2 Guiding Research Questions and Specific Aims		6
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND LITERATURE REVIEW		9
2.1 Critical Race Theory (CRT)		10
<i>2.1.1 More on Intersectionality</i>		<i>14</i>
2.2 White Institutional Space		15
2.3 Campus Racial Climate and Culture		19
2.4 A Brief History		21
2.5 Empirical Literature		25
<i>2.5.1 Reframing Black Masculinity for College Men</i>		<i>25</i>
<i>2.5.2 The Problem of Patriarchy</i>		<i>27</i>
<i>2.5.3 Racial Micro-aggressions on Campus</i>		<i>30</i>
<i>2.5.4 Controlling Images: Looking at the Intersection of Black Masculinities</i>		<i>32</i>
<i>2.5.5 Creating Inclusive Campus Environments</i>		<i>33</i>
<i>2.5.6 Campus Counter Spaces</i>		<i>36</i>

3	METHODS	38
3.1	Methodology	39
<i>3.1.1</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>3.1.2</i>	<i>Guiding Research Questions and Specific Aims.....</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>3.1.3</i>	<i>Semi-structured In-depth Interviews</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>3.1.4</i>	<i>Focus Groups</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>3.1.5</i>	<i>Qualitative Research</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>3.1.6</i>	<i>Recruitment</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>3.1.7</i>	<i>Interview Process Guide.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>3.1.8</i>	<i>Individual Interview Questions.....</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>3.1.9</i>	<i>Focus Group Interview Questions</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>3.1.10</i>	<i>Coding.....</i>	<i>51</i>
4	BLACK MALE STUDENT FINDINGS.....	52
4.1	Complex Individuality	53
<i>4.1.1</i>	<i>Subtheme: Intersecting Identities</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>4.1.2</i>	<i>Subtheme: Master Status and Black Maleness</i>	<i>62</i>
4.2	Duality of Masculinity	68
4.3	Discrimination	77
<i>4.3.1</i>	<i>Anti-Blackness and Campus Racial Climate</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>4.3.2</i>	<i>Anti-Black Misandry.....</i>	<i>82</i>

4.3.3	<i>Minimization of Racism</i>	86
4.4	Belonging and Black Joy	89
5	FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS ON THE COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCES OF BLACK MEN ON CAMPUS	98
5.1	The Setting	99
5.2	Group A: Belonging and Brotherhood	100
5.3	Group B: Belonging and Brotherhood	108
5.4	Discrimination: Classroom Challenges and Experiences	114
5.4.1	<i>Classroom Challenges and Experiences Group A</i>	115
5.4.2	<i>Classroom Challenges and Experiences Group B</i>	120
5.5	Discrimination: Collective Voice of Black Men on Campus	125
6	CONCLUSION, SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS	129
6.1	Overview and Conclusion of Individual Interviews	129
6.2	Overview and Conclusion of Focus Group Findings	133
6.3	Conclusions for Similarities and Differences Between Individuals and Groups	137
6.4	Sociological Implications	139
6.5	Discussion	144
6.6	Limitations and Future Directions	148
	REFERENCES	149

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Black Male Initiative (BMI) Member Background Information 48

Table 2: Focus Group A..... 50

Table 3: Focus Group B 50

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: White Institutional Space 16

Figure 2: Theoretical Framework 43

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

1 INTRODUCTION

Imagine entering a new world fresh outside of your mother's womb as a little Black baby boy and your first emotion of crying is halted by white doctors and nurses telling your mother "He's gonna be a fiesty one". Now imagine growing up as a little Black boy in the south. You're taught how to walk, talk, and dress, to be competitive, and take control in every situation from sibling rivalries, to sports, and on the school playground. Your father, uncles, cousins, and peers begin to teach you about being a young man and how to "handle" girls. You're told to mask your emotions by being tough but not too tough or people won't like you, to not let anyone see you sweat, and to be better than everyone around you to be successful. Now it's off to college as a young Black man to experience a world that has denied your right to exist in the fullness of your Black male identity. Is he ready? What will they think, say, or do, when they see us?

"Learning to wear a mask (that word already embedded in the term "masculinity") is the first lesson in patriarchal masculinity that a boy learns. He learns that his core feelings cannot be expressed if they do not conform to the acceptable behaviors sexism defines as male. Asked to give up the true self in order to realize the patriarchal ideal, boys learn self-betrayal early and are rewarded for acts of soul murder." (hooks, 2004, p.153)

"If I (Black men) didn't define myself (themselves) for myself (themselves), I'd (they'd) be crunched into other people's fantasies for me (them) and eaten alive." (Audre Lorde, 1982).

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

1.1 Study Significance

Why Men are the New College Minority (Marcus 2017)

Men Pay a Steep Price When It Comes to Masculinity (Destagir 2017)

Toxic Masculinity? Dude, Now America's Universities are Turning Men into Women
(*Fox News*, Starnes 2017)

Black Male College Achievers and Resistant Responses to Racist Stereotypes at
Predominantly White Colleges and Universities (*Harvard Educational Review*, Winter,
2015)

Four Troubling Truths about Black Boys and the U.S. Educational System (*Education
Week*, August 26, 2015)

The End of Men (Rosin 2010)

The Gender Gap: How much Does Higher Education Matter to Black Males? (*Black
Issues in Higher Education*, May 10, 2010)

Why Black Men Struggle to Finish College (*Essence*, March 30, 2009)

Are They Not All the Same?: Racial Heterogeneity Among Black Male Undergraduates
(*Journal of College Student Development*, June 2008)

Plight Deepens for Black Men, Studies Warn (*New York Times*, March 20, 2006)

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

The list of headlines discussing the narrative of Black men and education has been well documented over the last few decades. Particularly, when it comes to Black men on college campuses across this country, that narrative has been shaped by reports such as those above that characterize Black men as a monolith- embodying traits of laziness, unintelligence, in crisis, “not man enough”, and even endangered species. The truth of the matter is that Black men have very different lived experiences that comprise their intersecting identities. The misperception of homogeneity suggests a one-sided narrative that fails to adequately capture what Harper, Wardell, and McGuire (2011) termed *complex individuality*. Through media, education, politics, and other social settings, the positive aspects of the Black male identity are often overshadowed by negative perceptions and stereotypes.

My study presents an intersectional (Crenshaw 1993) and critical race (Bell 1980) analysis on the student experiences of Black men at a Predominantly Black Institution (PBI). As bell hooks (2004), suggests, “the crisis facing men is not the crisis of masculinity, it is the crisis of patriarchal masculinity (p. 47).” Interrogating the role of whiteness, coupled with patriarchal and hegemonic masculinity; this study exposes the creation, maintenance, and reproduction of racism from the individual, group, and structural/institutional levels that can adversely impact the Black male student experience. These experiences could include their interactions with peers, faculty, other university administrators and even experiences beyond campus life. This interrogation of patriarchy within higher education is challenging since much of the previous literature on men has been from a very narrow lens such as the (white) men’s movement of the 1970’s and 1980’s (Williams 2014). Fortunately, more contemporary Black feminist scholars have offered critical analytical tools for “rethinking patriarchy in the lives of men” (Williams, 2014). Intersectional feminist theory, while examining the crossroads of multiple forms of

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

oppression women face; it also provides a lens to further examine patriarchal masculinity, racism, classism, gender, roles, homophobia, transphobia, heterosexism, etc.

Although there are many negative stereotypes such as the phrase “*more Black men in jail than in college*” that have dominated headlines for the past two decades, that statement is no longer accurate and perhaps never was, since a large portion of postsecondary institutions did not begin counting students who enrolled after the fall semester until 2002. According to (Cook 2012), from 2000 to 2010 there was an 86% increase in the number of Black men enrolled in postsecondary education. While this is a positive achievement, highlighting the inaccuracy of this claim is in no way to suggest that college Black males do not still face very distinct societal challenges. This study also seeks to understand how institutions of higher education address campus racial climate and campus culture issues in a systematic fashion to speak to the unique ways in which Black men engage at a PBI. Does the reproduction of racism in these institutions hinder positive academic, social, and cultural outcomes for Black men? How does hegemonic masculinity, negative stereotypes, and institutional racism impact how Black men engage and navigate campus environments? My study sought to answer these questions that could have serious implications on retention, progression, and graduation rates for these students.

Is It Really All Doom and Gloom?

So how are Black men *really* doing on campus? Recent studies (Brooms 2016; Harper 2010; and Tillapaugh & McGowan 2019) suggest that Black men are not in crisis and these more contemporary works offer a fresh perspective and counter-narratives of success for Black men on college campuses. For instance, while previous literature (Harper and Harris 2010; Kimmel 2008; Laker & Davis 2011) has primarily focused on a deficit narrative and centered white men on campus, these newer studies offer compelling reflections on Black men’s perceptions, identity

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

construction, and intersections of their race and gender. Brooms (2016) work studies the collegiate experiences of Black males at historically white institutions. His use of Critical Race Theory and *Black maleness* (Mutua 2006) as theoretical frameworks provide a new analysis on the importance of Black Male Initiatives (BMI's) in the lives of these men.

To be clear, there are certainly challenges that Black men face prior to setting foot on a college campus and perhaps just as many once they enroll in classes. The rising cost of college places financial strain on Black undergraduate men and their families. Hostile campus racial climates can lead to stressors that negatively impact academic and social life. On top of that- group specific support systems are not always in place to ensure Black undergraduate men have the tools they need to be successful on campus. The important thing to note here, is that while there is no denying of the obstacles, scholars who study men and masculinities in higher education today know that many Black men are making connections, getting involved, and fully immersing themselves in a positive collegiate experience. Tillapaugh and McGowan (2019) note that even in the face of adversity, not all of these men face challenges that interfere with their ability to be successful.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

1.2 Guiding Research Questions and Specific Aims

1. How does anti-Blackness and racism function at a Predominantly Black Institution?
2. How do Black men articulate and make meaning of their experiences in college?
3. In what ways do Black men find sense of belonging or mattering on campus?
4. In what ways do Black men express the challenges they encounter with discrimination at a PBI?
5. In what ways do Black undergraduate men use their *Black maleness* to negotiate their racialized and gendered identities?
6. How does participation in a Black Male Initiative at a PBI foster brotherhood?

For the purposes of this study, the operational definition I use for racism is borrowed from Critical Race Theory that states racism is an ordinary, fundamental aspect of society in the United States; it is embedded (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). That is, racism is woven into the very fabric of everyday life in this country. CRT's definition adds to the previous higher education literature (Harper 2012) that defined racism as individual actions (both intentional and unintentional) that produce marginalization and inflict varying degrees of harm on minoritized persons; structures that determine and reproduce racial inequality; and institutional norms that sustain White privilege and permit the ongoing subordination of people of color (Harper, 2012). Considering the cogency of both definitions, I conceptualize racism in my study in two ways. The first is that racism is embedded at the structural and institutional levels that uphold white supremacy. For example, an organization or university can pride itself on being racially diverse in terms of student demographics, and still not realize its own blind spots when it comes to racial inequality- akin to racism without racists (Bonilla-Silva 2013). Secondly, at the individual and group levels, individual actors can play a role in the reproduction of inflicting harm on

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

marginalized groups. This type of subjugation can show up in the form of stereotypes, micro-aggressions, or other forms of covert racism.

Additionally, the operational definition for student engagement is simply characterized as participation in educationally effective practices, both inside and outside the classroom, which leads to a range of measurable outcomes (Kuh, 2007). Other scholars (Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek 2007) also note that student engagement represents two critical features. The first is the amount of time and effort students put into their studies and other educationally purposeful activities. The second component of student engagement is how the institution deploys its resources and organizes the curriculum, other learning opportunities, and support services to induce students to participate in activities that lead to the experiences and desired outcomes such as persistence, satisfaction, learning, and graduation (Kuh et al 2007).

The operational definition I use for *Black maleness* is the combined impact of the racialized and gendered identities of Black undergraduate men (Mutua 2006). This means that because one is Black and male, he faces routine suspicion which narrows life chances and ultimately oppressed by gendered racism. Brooms (2016) expands on the use of *Black maleness* and its connection to Critical Race Theory to further examine how Black college men face specific challenges and how they also carve out multiple identities as coping strategies in response to those forces of opposition.

The specific aim of this study is to demonstrate how Black male students experience college and may encounter group-specific barriers to success. I set out to examine the impact of racism and whiteness. Interrogating the creation of *white space* and *hegemonic masculinity*, my study will analyze how some groups benefit, while simultaneously oppressing others outside of heteronormative spaces. For example, a Black man may experience the benefit from his gender

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

privilege in a very different way than a white man experiences his privilege due to his race *and* gender. At the same time, Black men inside of heteronormative spaces, can also experience oppression because of their sexuality. The contribution this study makes to the existing literature is two-fold. The first is that it adds to the growing body of literature of men as gendered beings. Much of the previous literature (Lester 2008; Sax 2008) has focused on the study “of” men but not so much of men “as” men; meaning that some of the previous studies of men, particularly Black men, centered around a deficit narrative with a very monolithic view of masculinity. I suggest that newer studies of Black men *as* men should account for these men’s wide-ranging and complexed lived experiences. This study centers these men’s lived experiences. Secondly, the intersectional approach used in this study, in-part, borrows from the work of Black feminist and masculine scholars (hooks 2004; Crenshaw 1993; Mutua 2006; Harper 2012; Brooms 2017) which offers a critical analysis for rethinking masculinities in the lives of Black men on campus.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

I use Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Delgado and Stefancic 2017) as the over-arching theoretical framework to analyze my research questions and frame my topic. The tenets of CRT I used were 1) the centrality of race and racism, 2) the centrality of experiential knowledge, (3) counter narratives, and (4) intersectionality. From CRT, several sub-themes emerge such as *Black maleness*, white institutional space, and campus racial climate. These sub-themes were helpful for linking an understanding of the existing literature and other empirical research to explore a more contemporary model of Black Masculine Theory to examine the experiences of Black men at a Predominantly Black Institution.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.1 Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical Race Theory is a collection of works that emerged from legal activists and scholars (Bell 1980) inside and outside the academy who were interested in studying and changing the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). *Crits*, as they are commonly referred to, argue that CRT has the following tenets that suggest: Racism is an ordinary, fundamental aspect of society in the United States; it is embedded (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). That is, racism is woven into the very fabric of everyday life in this country. There is no escaping it. The tenets of CRT that I will use in my study include interest convergence, experiential knowledge or storytelling, and intersectionality.

Interest convergence or material determinism occurs when the interests of Blacks are only advanced when elite whites, specifically policy makers, find that those interests will help their own agenda (Delgado and Stefancic 2017a). A large segment of society has little incentive to change because they benefit from it. This can be clearly seen in the current political climate in the United States as party lines continue to segment societal needs based on race, class, gender, sexuality, etc. Another glaring example would be Derrick Bell's (1992) assertion that *Brown v. Board of Education* was more about the self-interest of elite whites than any desire to help equality for Blacks. *Interest Convergence* was coined by the late Derrick Bell (1980) who authored many of CRT's foundational texts. Bell argued that civil rights advances for Blacks always seemed to always coincide with changing economic conditions and the self-interest of elite whites. In other words, policymakers' concessions to Black people are merely byproducts of their own interests. Bell used the 1954 landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* to illustrate his case that the United States needed to soften its stance toward domestic minorities

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

amidst the Cold War. As Delgado and Stafancic (2017) suggest, little happens out of altruism alone (p.22).

Kuh (2015) suggests that it is no longer sufficient or educationally sound to think of the institution as a one size fits all shoe that students must “fit” or squeeze into. Rather, colleges and universities have a moral, ethical, and educational obligation to modify their policies and practices in ways that are academically rigorous and socially supportive of students- especially those from historically underrepresented groups (Kuh 2015). Furthermore, the proclivity for treating all Black undergraduate men the same often leads to one-size fits-all programmatic interventions that can be problematic (Harper 2014).

The next tenet that I will use for my study is *Intersectionality*. Crenshaw (1993) points to the multidimensionality of oppression and recognizes that race alone cannot account for disempowerment. No person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity. Everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances. Particularly, Crenshaw (1993) was interested in the intersections of race and gender to illustrate how Black women were simultaneously oppressed at those two crossroads. Similarly, Black men can experience forms of oppression based on their race, gender, sexuality, class, etc. while performing a range of masculinities to navigate that matrix of domination (Hill Collins 1991a).

Racism is an ordinary, fundamental, and embedded aspect of life in the United States. This tenet is central to this study because it underscores the fact that racism is everywhere, in everything, and there is no escaping it. Higher education is not immune to this reality. In fact, previous studies show that institutions of higher education reproduce racism in many of their policies and practices (Moore 2008; Keels 2019; Harper 2008, 2010; Rogers 2012). For Black men, navigating race in every aspect of daily life can be a daunting task. Code switching,

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

playing respectability politics, or avoiding negative stereotypes and microaggressions are various ways Black men must negotiate their identity for social status, respect, and ultimately- survival.

The fact that Black people have a unique perspective and a presumed competence to speak about race and racism is central to this study in that Black college men certainly bring a unique perspective to speak about their own experiences. In CRT, this is known as “legal storytelling” where Black people are encouraged to recount their experiences with racism and apply their own perspectives (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Storytelling plays an integral role in CRT and the movement of Black and brown writers to recount their experiences with racism. Consider Ida B. Wells’ (1909) account of the lynching of Black men in the South. Without historical accounts such as those that Wells produced, many of these stories would be white-washed or never told at all.

Since much of the early literature on college males was exclusively about white men, this unique perspective on the lived experiences of Black males has been largely understudied. If Black men are viewed as in crisis (Ferguson 2001), one must consider the institutional structures and systems that created the crisis. Gordon and Henry (2001) suggest a closer analysis of how gendered power dynamics intersect with racism and economic inequality to socially position Black men in competitive relationships of dominance and subordination to women. This examination of patriarchy is essential to understanding the crisis of how Black men become visible and simultaneously in need of surveillance while Black women’s issues are deemed not as important.

Lastly the term *intersectionality*, coined by Black feminist writer Kimberlé Crenshaw (1993) that spoke to the multidimensionality of oppression and that it is not race alone that accounts for disempowerment. It could also be the fact that you are also a woman, and lesbian, and Christian,

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

and working class, and a senior citizen. Similarly, Black men can experience forms of oppression based on their race, gender, sexuality, class, etc. while performing a range of masculinities to navigate that matrix of domination (Hill Collins 1991a). In totality, these multiple forms of identity can interlock and cross one another making it difficult to pinpoint the site of trauma. Crenshaw's analysis provides critical tools for analysis that can name and help navigate these experiences. While Crenshaw and other Black feminist scholars were primarily concerned with the needs of Black women (since white feminists excluded them in their early movements); their expanding scholarship on intersectionality offers critical analytical tools for rethinking patriarchy and Black masculinities (Henry and Gordon 2014). This study of college Black males examines the multiple identities that these young men adopt. Whether it be their race, religion, age, sexual orientation, or gender identity, the participants in this study have varied lived experiences that warrant significant discussion. Using an intersectional framework allows for an interrogation of how power operates through gender and how these men can also live at the crossroads of multiple forms of oppression such as patriarchy, racism, classism, gender roles, heterosexism, or homophobia, etc. (Henry and Gordon 2014).

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.1.1 More on Intersectionality

“How can the expansion of feminist, queer and transgender scholarship be used to critically study gender and Black masculinities?”

Since much of the earlier research on masculinity primarily focuses on the white male dominant viewpoint, it is critical for today’s higher education professionals and contemporary scholarship to “understand how identity convergence plays a significant role in college men’s holistic sense of self” (Tillapaugh and McGowan, 2019).” Masculinity can come in many forms and these masculinities are informed, limited, and modified by race, ethnicity, class background, sexual orientation, etc. To that end, higher education practitioners must understand the ways one’s social and personal identities play in shaping these men’s perspectives on masculinity. For example, a queer Black 19-year-old student attending a local community college may have a very different view of what masculinity means to him compared to a peer who is a 45-year-old adult learner, father of 2, that just returned to school as a retired military veteran.

Tillapaugh and McGowan (2019), suggest the need to examine college men as complex individuals with various social and personal identities rather than one monolithic group. This is even more important for Black college men, as they are oftentimes caste-type the same. Black men attending colleges and universities are also affected by institutional types and spaces where they live, work, and study (Tillapaugh and McGowan 2019).

It is not merely enough to just call a project intersectional without attending to complexity of intersectionality within the theoretical framework, the questions asked, or the analysis of findings (Collins 2019). An aim of my study was to explore the intersectional experiences of Black men at a historically Predominantly Black Institution.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.2 White Institutional Space

Colleges and universities are pre-determined white spaces even if their strategic plans and diversity statements claim otherwise (Ratcliff 2022). Historical context alone proves this to be true as Blacks and others were excluded from most institutions of higher education until the Civil Rights Movement. White males in particular, rarely encounter a space where they would be deemed “out of place” based on their race. Scholars have described this as ontological expansiveness or the way “whiteness as a structuring ideology in U.S. society permits white people to think, act, and interact with the space around them in such a way that they have a right to inhabit any space, be it material or otherwise” (Corces-Zimmerman et al., 2020, p. 432). Gusa (2010) referred to this as White Institutional Presence (WIP) and others such as Moore (2008) previously just called it white space. This is problematic in that institutions were literally created to cater to white students. White males who benefit from their white male privilege are often the ones committing microaggressions and racial infractions on college campuses, and at the same time are often the ones in positions of power to address these concerns in the university setting.

Central to the persistence of racial oppression in the United States- the white racial frame (Feagin 2006) exists as an organized set of racialized ideas, images, emotions, and inclinations which are closely connected to recurring discrimination and constitutive of still, racist institutions (Moore, 2008). Moore notes that today, as in the past, this viewpoint includes much negative material concerning Blacks, as well as assertively positive views of whites and white-controlled institutions. This racial frame has long rationalized and buttressed slavery, legal segregation, and contemporary racism (Moore, 2008). For the purposes of my study, I use Moore’s conceptualization of white institutional space to interrogate a structural system that reinforces negative stereotypes of Black men and Black masculinities on a college campus. This

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

framework is helpful in the interrogation of whiteness, that largely is unnamed, unmarked, and understudied in the social sciences.

Moore (2008) notes that the historical racial exclusion of Blacks from institutions of higher education provides the context for the creation of white institutional space. There can be varying degrees to which each mechanism contributes to the complete picture of white institutional space.

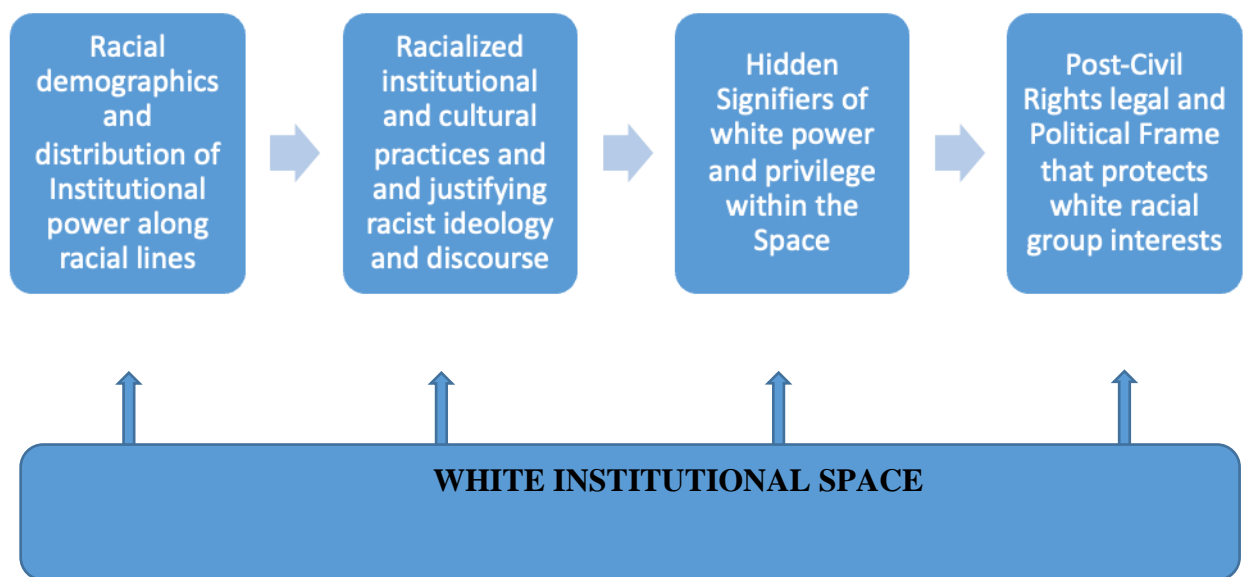


Figure 1: White Institutional Space

Figure 1 above provides a contemporary model of white space and the mechanisms by which it is reproduced. The arrows on the diagram show that the mechanisms of white institutional space operate recursively and together to enforce and reproduce the racial structure and culture. Since these mechanisms intersect with one another, they often overlap, and each mechanism is supported by and supports the other mechanisms.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Feagin stated that “white racism today remains normal and is deeply embedded in all historically white institutions. Every such institution is mostly whitewashed in its important norms, rules, and arrangements” (2006, p.190). To understand how colleges and universities are whitewashed, I explore the need for an analytical framework that captures the broad range of mechanisms- structural, cultural, and ideological- that come together to reproduce whiteness. Moore (2008) refers to it as a conceptual framework of white institutional space.

As previously mentioned, much of the early literature on men and masculinities was largely focused on white college men. While studies on men of color have increased over the past two decades (Harper 2004; Dancy 2012; McGowan 2017), gaps still persist on the lived experiences of Black college men. Critical Race Theory is useful for reframing Black masculinity because it calls for society to challenge dominant hegemonic ideologies and allow for new narratives to be created that are representative of the cultural histories of its members (Yosso, Smith, and Solorzano 2009). Because of the permanence of racism in American society, CRT is essential in analyzing the experiences of Black college men. There is no way to separate racism from the often-times negative perceptions developed about Black masculinity. Similarly, intersectionality allows for a cross-sectional analysis of race, gender, sexuality, etc. in understanding the varied lived experiences of Black college men. At the core of intersectionality is the *centrality of experiential knowledge*. This framework provides space for counter narratives and storytelling which are also central themes in CRT. While white people have the privilege of avoiding Black space, Black people are mandated to traverse white space as a part of their existence (Anderson 2022). Black males are uniquely situated in the university setting. On the one hand, their presence is welcomed because it serves colleges and universities well for diversity rankings. On the other hand, Black undergraduate men are often stereotyped, surveilled, and forced to

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

negotiate their *Black maleness* (Mutua 2006) in physical spaces that were never designed for them to exist in the first place. Because Blacks were historically excluded from white institutions, the reproduction of racism and racist ideologies within these institutions persisted for decades before Blacks were included. Many still exist today in the form of lack of Black male faculty representation, lack of representation at university cabinet levels, and scarcity of institutional group-specific supports for Black students. Using white institutional space as a theoretical framework allows for an interrogation of institutional racism and provides context for counter spaces that have emerged as spaces where Black men have found belonging on college campuses. Critical Race Theory, Intersectionality, and White Institutional space coalesce to offer a critical analysis of the ways in Black college men perform their masculinity and make meaning of their complex identities situated in spaces where they had not been historically allowed.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.3 Campus Racial Climate and Culture

Researchers and scholars across disciplines have argued that access to higher education for underserved and underrepresented students has improved precisely because of greater attention to racial climate issues such as discrimination, student protests and demands, and/or changing demographics (Passel and Cohn 2008); yet gaps in completion and success rates remain for many marginalized groups in comparison to their majority group peers. Racism on college campuses has been one of the most trending social issues over the past few years. The *New York Times* (2016) reported that several campuses were forced to confront hostile acts against racialized minority groups after the presidential election of Donald Trump (Dickerson and Saul 2016). Couple that with the recent police shootings of Breonna Taylor and murder of George Floyd- protests, violence, and civil unrest has sometimes spilled over from neighborhood communities to campus communities. In Trump's second term Black students face even harsher challenges as DEI programs and funding is being eliminated to support historically marginalized groups on campus. Once considered a haven for Black students, some institutions have increasingly become sites of reproduction for racist environments many wished to escape.

Campus racial climate is an inherently ambiguous concept that refers to the current perceptions, attitudes and expectations that define the institution and its members (Bauer 1998). The campus racial climate framework consists of five factors: 1) an institution's history and legacy of inclusion or exclusion, 2) compositional diversity, 3) psychological climate, 4) behavioral climate, and 5) organizational/structural diversity (Milem, Chang, & Antonio 2005). An institution's campus racial climate is created by internal and external forces that, together, shape the climate at each individual campus. Many college campuses will conduct campus climate surveys to gauge the atmosphere of their institutions, often without naming race as a

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

factor. Experts warn against this type of surveying, especially when it does not include the unexplored qualitative realities of students of color (Harper 2021).

Campus racial culture refers to persistent patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions that shape the behavior of individuals and groups in a college or university and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions on and off the campus. (Kuh and Whitt 1988; Mills 2021; Shearman 2022). In other words, it refers to the very fabric that permeates all aspects of university life and shapes and defines the behavior and the experiences of individuals within that organization.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.4 A Brief History

The history of American higher education has been well documented (Polite 1999; Willie-LeBreton 2003; Harper 2008; Bastedo, and Altbach, et al. 2016; and Thelin 2019). Access to higher education for Blacks has always been a highly socio-political, legal system to navigate. Stereotypes rooted in racism, masculinity, and ability plague Black men once they enter college. As the United States has evolved, so too has its storied tradition of higher education, yet until recently the research on the diverse experiences of Black male students at many of these historically White institutions has been somewhat limited. Although Black men are enrolling in higher education at increasing rates, they still frequently describe their campuses as hostile and antagonistic and perceive their campus environments differently than their white counterparts (Harper and Harris 2010). The following background literature speaks to the historical nature of the exclusion Black students experienced from HPWI and displays the chronological sequence events that helped to shape the higher education landscape today. Furthermore, the literature speaks to the institutional racism that persists and impacts how Black men engage and navigate campus environments.

“What’s Free?”: Second Half of 19th Century (1860-1900)

“In the land of the free, where the Blacks enslaved

Three fifths of a man I believe’s the phrase...” (Jay-Z 2018)

On rapper Meek Mill’s 2018 album, hip hop-great Jay-Z encapsulates the experience of many Blacks in the United States during this free but separate era. While nearly over one thousand colleges had been founded by 1860, most Blacks, even those that were free in the north, had no formal education. The democratic creed in the United States held that white males should be the only ones educated, thus the obvious beneficiaries of racism and patriarchy (Willie

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2003; Wilder 2014). It was not until the Morrill Act of 1862 when the federal government established the land grant for public colleges and universities that some Blacks gained minimal access to higher education. In 1896 the Supreme Court upheld the legality of the separate but equal doctrine in the landmark case of *Plessey v. Ferguson*. This decision gave birth to what became known as *Jim Crow* (slang for any Black man in the South) laws that permeated nearly every aspect of public and private life to keep Blacks and whites separate (Willie 2003).

***“For Us by Us”*: First half of the 20th Century (1900-1950)**

Records indicate that by the turn of the century, over 2500 Negroes had graduated from white and Black colleges (Morris 2015). Though the number of Blacks on college campuses was rising, often the lived experiences did not align with the sense of pride and joy these students felt on Black and white campuses. Obvious racial tensions continued to alienate and isolate students on historically white campuses while many HBCU’s still resembled plantations with Black and white “masters” for presidents, powerless faculty and staff as slaves, and the students were the cotton (Rogers 2012).

To alleviate these conditions, students and organizations began to galvanize and resist. The first all-Black male fraternities such as Alpha Phi Alpha (1906) and Kappa Alpha Psi (1911) were created at white universities Cornell and Indiana in the wake of racist campus climate cultures. While Black men faced racist restrictions at white universities, Black women were marginalized by the patriarchal restrictions at HBCU’s such as Howard University. Several other Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO’s) would follow suite and form Omega Psi Phi (1911), Delta Sigma Theta (1913), Sigma Phi Beta (1914), Zeta Phi Beta (1920) all at Howard University. Sigma Gamma Rho (1922) was founded at Indiana and Iota Phi Theta (1963) was

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

founded at Morgan State. These BGLO's would become known as the "Divine 9." Many Black students today continue to find belonging in these groups on college campuses.

"Movin' on Up": The Second half of the 20th Century (1950-1990)

This period witnessed a shift in society and higher education beyond emancipation for Blacks in the United States. The landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* witnessed a victory for the NAACP that persuaded the Supreme Court in 1954 that separate educational spaces were inherently unequal. Bell (1980) would later argue with his theory on interest convergence, that this was a symbolic win because Blacks only achieve civil rights when Black and white interests meet. In another historic piece of legislation, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Rogers 2012).

From 1965 to 1972 emerged the Black Campus Movement (BCM). Particularly, February 13, 1969 is widely regarded as the peak of the BCM as Black students led a reconstitution of higher education that would change it for decades to come. On this date, at City College in New York, hundreds of Black and Puerto Rican students occupied an administrative building and listed their demands that included better facilities, student support services, and equal treatment. February 13, 1969 became known as the day Black students disrupted higher education across the country (Rogers 2012; Thelin 2019) as campus activists placed real pressures on administration to advocate for more courses in Black studies, the hiring of more Black faculty, and to dedicate resources to end paternalism and racism.

"A Different World": Turn of Another Century (1990- Present)

According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (1990), by the late 80's and early 90's white enrollments were down across the board while applications and enrollments for Black colleges skyrocketed. Researchers have attributed this renaissance at Black institutions to

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

several factors, including racism on white campuses, a desire for Black students to matriculate in an environment where they feel a greater sense of belonging, and the awareness of other social issues highlighted by television shows like *A Different World* (Alexander 1990).

The landscape of higher education for Blacks on white campuses has changed drastically in some ways, while in other ways it has remained much of the same. Many HBCU's still struggle with federal funding, while Black students have been outpriced by the cost of attending many of these illustrious universities. Historically white colleges and universities have opened access to their institutions for Black students, but still often lack the ability or willingness to address the history and sociology of white supremacy in this country. Multiculturalism has been embraced in theory but not in practice by what is now known as Minority Serving Institutions (MSI's). There is a growing body of body of literature (Harper 2012; Williams 2013; Brooms 2016) that focuses on the Black male collegiate experience. My study aims to further those studies by analyzing the individual, institutional, and structural impacts of racism and on the experiences of Black male college students.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.5 Empirical Literature

2.5.1 *Reframing Black Masculinity for College Men*

The concept of masculinity can be complex and can look different across racial and ethnic groups (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). For this reason, the experiences of Black men on various college campus settings cannot be viewed through the same monolithic lens. Multiple identities that include sexuality, age, socioeconomic status, and spirituality merge to create wide-ranging masculinities that college Black men may perform. Pelzer (2016) calls for creating a new narrative that posits Critical Race Theory as a practical way to reframe Black masculinity for college men. In this study, CRT is suggested because it challenges many of the hegemonic ideas about Black masculinity that suggest Black college as lazy, dumb jocks, fraternity party boys, or sexual deviants (McClure 2006). Essential to Pelzer's (2016) study was how CRT centers the use of counter-narratives for historically marginalized groups to take ownership of their stories using their authentic voice. In other words, Black men are allowed to articulate their experiences from their own point of view, and it is seen as a starting point of truth. Implications of this study revealed the need for practitioners to not study Black masculinity in a vacuum but understand it as a developmental process in race oppression and gender privilege (Mutua 2006). More research is suggested to continue increasing the depth and breadth of literature on the Black male collegiate experience that affirms a new narrative for Black masculinity.

Evidence of this growing body of literature can be found in Brooms' (2018) qualitative study that analyzed the experiences of 40 Black male students at two different institutions. The study explored their engagement and experiences in a Black Male Initiative (BMI) program. Major findings showed that BMI's play a critical role in supporting students through increased cultural and social capital. Academic experiences and sense of self were also found to be

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

enhanced by participation in the BMI communities. Brooms notes that since this research was on BMI programs at two historically white institutions, more research is needed across various types of BMI programs at different institution types. My study aims to fill that research gap of looking at students involved in a BMI program at a Majority Minority-serving institution (MSI).

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.5.2 *The Problem of Patriarchy*

In *Homegrown: Engaged Cultural Criticism* (2006), bell hooks once stated: “we have to constantly critique imperialist white supremacist patriarchal culture because it is normalized by mass media and rendered unproblematic.” In other words, interrogating whiteness by calling it out and giving it a name, makes it less evasive and the critical work of undoing can begin.

Regarding patriarchy, I frame it as a critical but often overlooked axis of differentiation to understand the structural conditions that impact the Black male student experience.

Understanding how race is a gendered experience, and that patriarchal power intersects with white supremacy and racial privilege is key to unpacking the varied student experiences of Black men. Said differently, there is a need to understand how Black males can be privileged on campus because of their male status (patriarchy) and simultaneously oppressed because of their racial status. Brooms (2016) previously referred to this concept as *Black maleness* (Mutua 2006). bell hooks (1993) called attention the way patriarchy played out in Black movements in that Black and White men through the patriarchal belief that the revolutionary struggle was really about men and their need to establish political dominance (Williams 2014).

The research on the effects that racism and white male patriarchy has on Black masculinities has been limited in works such as Gmelch (1998) and Lester (2008), citing either no research of college men’s experiences or only one small chapter. More recent studies provide some critical insight into these phenomena in works such as Harper (2010), Williams (2014) and Brooms (2017, 2022, 2023). “Cool posing” was an earlier concept proposed by Majors and Majors and Billson (1993) to explain patterns of masculine expression among Black men. A key to this concept was the argument that “cool pose” was a tactic that Black men used to deal with

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

alienation and oppression which many Black men are forced to navigate on a daily basis for survival (Harris III, Palmer, and Strove 2011).

In a 2011 study, (Harris III et al. 2011) explored masculinities and gender expression among Black men at a private research institution. This study highlighted the fact that very little research has focused on the role of gender in higher education as it relates to Black students. For Black men, there has been limited work on how gender informs the experiences of Black males on campus. For example, what are their challenges, successes, and how do they develop with respect to masculinities? The authors note that it is critical to understand that studies *about* Black men are not the same as studies that seek to understand them *as* gendered beings (Harris III et al. 2011). The findings in this study indicated that Black men in college are often expected to project a cool, calm, and always collected persona, while still achieving high marks academically. This study and others (e.g., Harper, 2004; Martin and Harris III, 2006) illustrate how these expectations can be competing and somewhat unrealistic. Findings also indicated the need for further research into the intersection of gender performance and Black masculinities among college students (Harris III et al. 2011). My study seeks to add the growing body of literature and fill the gap that could exist if a similar study was conducted at a HPWI or MSI with a higher concentration of Black men.

While Black men perform a range of gender expressions and masculinities at the individual and group levels, there is much to be said about the structural or institutional levels that also impact these experiences for Black men. Allen (2020) argues that universities are sites of racial and gender socialization where dominant culture ideas of Black masculinities are enforced that can ultimately impact Black males' inclusion on campus. Analyzing the ways in which the men managed race, gender, and sexuality within university spaces, this study rendered Black men as

**WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE
OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION**

(in)visible due to campus racial climate and in response, used their agency to perform a range of masculinities (Allen 2020).

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.5.3 Racial Micro-aggressions on Campus

Systemic and institutional racism play a major role in the development of men of color on college campuses. Microaggressions, defined as subtle forms of discrimination that stigmatize marginalized groups, (Pierce et al. 1978) were prevalent throughout the study above. Studies show that microaggressions from faculty, staff, and even peers have been shown to negatively impact the academic and co-curricular experiences of men of color that ultimately leads to disengagement (Harper 2015; Harper and Hurtado 2007). These microaggressions can also be experienced at different intersections of identity such as race, gender, or sexual orientation. More recent studies (Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury 2018; Joseph-Salisbury 2019; Mills 2019; Morales 2014) have defined racial microaggressions as indirect, but offensive communication towards people of color. Though subtle, the micro in microaggressions does not mean “less than,” rather, it means “in the everyday.” The assaults can be verbal or non-verbal aimed at a person of color’s race, gender, class, sexuality, phenotype, immigration status, etc. (Soloronzo 2020). Since one of the core tenets of CRT is that racism is ordinary and embedded, (Delgado and Stefancic 2017a) it provides a useful framework to examine racial microaggressions because they too are forms of the type of systemic ordinary everyday racism that people of color often experience in this country. For example, Black males at PWI’s are assumed to be cisgender, straight, athletes, unintelligent, devious, or sexually promiscuous (Majors and Billson 1993). These stereotypes construct the ways in which Black men are feared and fetishized by their white peers rendering them to experience visibility by way of hyper surveillance and over-policing campus (Feagin 1992).

On the other hand, these stereotypes can play out differently for Black males who are queer. Here, race, gender, and sexuality intersect in ways that lead to experiences of microaggressions

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

through homophobic language and heteronormative expectations (Harris 2003). The consequences of these acts render the men invisible, or what the microaggression literature terms as a micro-invalidation, as they are often avoided by classmates during group projects or expected to speak on race issues when they are one of few Black students in a class (Allen 2020). Newton's (2022) work demonstrates how Black undergraduate women experience hypervisibility and invisibility through micro-invalidations by white peers and faculty on campus. Both Newton's (2022) and Allen's (2020) studies demonstrate that Black college students demonstrate very specific ways in which they make sense of their campus racial climate and subsequently, how they negotiate, subvert, and resist hegemonic views of truth about themselves and the institutions that uphold these ideologies. Allen (2020; Harper and Wood 2015) suggests that one of the products of the college experience should be the development of social capital. If Black men do not have positive interactions with their peers or faculty, the development of social capital for these students in college and beyond will be limited. Newton's (2022) study highlights the gendered racism that Black women experience through microaggressions and the need for more focus on patriarchy and gender within institutions of higher education. As it relates to men, studies also exist that reflect the compounding intersections of discrimination, microaggressions, and racial battle fatigue that Black men face on campus (Harper 2009; Solorzano 2000; Smith, Allen & Danley 2007; Franklin 2011). My study contributes to the growing body of work that uses an intersectional approach in understanding the diversity of Black masculinities and sexualities in college.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.5.4 Controlling Images: Looking at the Intersection of Black Masculinities

Tillapaugh and McGowan (2019), suggest the need to examine college men as complex individuals with various social and personal identities rather than one monolithic group. This is even more important for Black college men, as they oftentimes fall under the same umbrella of stereotypes. Black men attending colleges and universities are also affected by institutional types and spaces where they live, work, and study (Tillapaugh and McGowan 2019). Moreover, recent studies reveal many gender scholars using intersectionality as a conceptual framework. Robbins and McGowan (2016) posit three reasons why intersectionality has been a common tool to examine gender identity with college students: 1) the interconnections between gender and other identities 2) the reality that social systems and structures shape gender and other forms of identity; and 3) the idea that gender is a socially constructed concept shaped by one's *performance* of gender.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.5.5 Creating Inclusive Campus Environments

While cis heterosexual Black male students may exude social expectations to act “cool,” “macho,” and to be “the big man” in acts of performing masculinity, students outside of heteronormative expression tend to find navigating the undergraduate student experience more challenging. Gay, Bisexual, and Queer (GBQ) Black male students are often faced with the dilemma of choosing a primary identity. This is not always easy since identifying as GBQ already positions these men outside of the narrow and stereotypical conceptions of Blackness, which are commonly associated with religious conservatism and heteronormative values. Harper (2014) suggested that well-intentioned educators and others have failed to recognize and effectively address the within-group diversity that exists among Black undergraduate men. The experiences of GBQ Black men tend to vary depending on the type of institution. At predominantly white institutions (PWI’s), GBQ Black men may face not only homophobia but racism as well (Harris 2003; Harper and Wood 2015). Black male GBQ students may seek out safe spaces amongst their peers at PWI’s but at the same time feel isolated and in those same spaces that do not welcome GBQ students. The creation, maintenance, and reproduction of patriarchy and homophobia in these Black spaces are often rooted in institutional racism created by white space that was intended for cis heterosexual white men to begin with (Harris 2003; Harper and Wood 2015).

Quaye, Griffin and Museus (2015) contribute an intriguing chapter on engaging students of color in the second edition of *Student Engagement in Higher Education*. The authors articulate some of the challenges faced by students of color, apply theories to make further sense of these challenges, and propose a set of recommendations for better engaging these students on campus. In particular, the authors discuss four factors that influence the experiences of Black students in

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

classrooms at predominantly white institutions: being one of few students of color, racial stereotypes and stereotype threat, the absence or presence of same-race or same-ethnicity faculty, and Eurocentric and culturally relevant curricular content (Quaye 2014). Then, campus racial climate and campus racial culture are discussed to show how college educators can effectively craft environments that foster engagement and ultimately success among these students.

Being in the minority (one of few) in predominantly white classrooms, Black students often face a profound sense of isolation, sometimes feeling the need to prove their intellectual abilities. Even high achieving students contend with issues of self-doubt and belonging in higher education (Quaye et al 2015). Imagine being the only Black person having to be present in a space where you are continually having to represent an entire group in discussions surrounding race. This type of work can be mentally and emotionally draining, leading to loneliness and perhaps stress. Several studies (Hurtado & Carter 1997; Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr 2000; Harper 2017; Harper and Harris 2012; Palmer, Wood, Dancy, and Strayhorn 2014; Shah and Sato 2014) over the past two decades have shown that Black students experienced far more discrimination on their campuses than did white students. The discrimination these students experienced in contrast to their White counterparts illustrates the need for classroom environments to be spaces where students are not questioned based on their racial backgrounds (Quaye et al 2015).

Rates of attaining tenure among faculty of color (64%) continue to trail those of white faculty (75%) with one study finding that faculty of color represent only 12% of the full professorships (Harvey 2001). The numbers for Black faculty are even more dismal. The same study found that in 1997 Black faculty represented only 5% of full-time faculty in higher education, while the percentage for Latino faculty was less than 2% and Asian Americans made up 5.7%. This data reveals the challenges for students of color who wish to find same-race same-ethnicity faculty to

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

serve as mentors and advisors. I use *Southern State University (SSU)* (pseudonym) as one example of an institution that is grappling with this very dilemma.

The final factor that Quaye, Griffin, and Museus (2015) contend influences the experiences of Black students is Eurocentric and culturally relevant curricular content. Often the cultures of Black students, particularly outside of HBCU's, and the issues that exist within their respective communities is missing in classroom readings and assignments because of the dominant exposure to Western literature (Banks, 2001). Some researchers argue that this could cause a power dynamic, sending messages to Black students that Whiteness is normal and different cultures or beliefs are not valued (Quaye et al. 2015). This way of thinking can invalidate the experiences of Black students. In contrast, some research shows that curricula that are inclusive of the cultural backgrounds of Black students, positively influence their engagement and success (Kiang, Lam, et al. 2012).

Harper (2012) provides further research on racism in higher education with an empirical study on the minimization of racism from Bonilla-Silva's (2009) book, *Racism without Racists: Colorblind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. His work illustrates the ways by which people make sense of the salience of race, racial stratification, and experiential differences between racially minoritized persons and whites. Bonilla-Silva contends that race continues to be a consistent determinant of various sociopolitical, employment, and educational outcomes. Bonilla-Silva's work included survey data and interviews with 627 college students attending predominantly White universities and 400 participants in the 1998 Detroit Area Study (Harper 2012). Findings indicated racism is normal and endemic to U.S. social institutions, including colleges and universities with implications that race cannot be studied without critically examining racism (Harper 2012).

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2.5.6 *Campus Counter Spaces*

Race scholars (Delgado and Stefancic 2017; Keels 2019; Moore 2008; Harper 2014; Feagin 2006; Omi and Winant 2015) have long argued the fact that Eurocentric customs and values permeates all aspects of society in the United States. To think then, that students of color should somehow detach themselves from their racial identities upon entering college, is a foolhardy notion. I would argue that students of color, particularly Black men who attend minority serving institutions, would likely find a sense of belonging amongst their peers and connectedness to a university that advocated for identity-conscious supports such as *counter spaces*.

Keels (2019) defines counter spaces as those “exclusionary” spaces where those of the same or similar racial and social identities congregate to affirm and critique their experiences in more intimate settings within the larger institutional structure. They are also known as identity-conscious supports that consider how social group memberships distinguish students’ college experiences and then provides them with the necessary supports. Increasing evidence suggests that these type of supports work to close achievement gaps for some historically marginalized groups at minority serving institutions (Keels 2019; Harper 2014; Rogers 2012). The terms *safe spaces* and more recently, *brave spaces*, have all been used somewhat interchangeably for places where people with sameness collectively engage to provide protection from and resistance to cultural, political, social and institutional oppression. Critics of these spaces tend to make patriarchal arguments that frame these spaces as discriminatory and not at the core mission of institutions of higher learning (Keels 2019). Typically, these arguments from the prototypical student who is white, male, and of middle or upper-class status whose existence has always been validated in education and society at large. One need only turn to the current

**WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE
OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION**

social climate politicizing the curriculum surrounding critical race theory and diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts in K-12 and post-secondary education.

3 METHODS

Positionality Statement

As a Black, cisgender, college educated man, I acknowledge the potential privilege and perhaps perceived biases that could arise in this project conducting research on the college experiences of Black men. I have spent much of my career as an administrator in Higher Education working at post-secondary institutions focused on programs and initiatives to eliminate barriers to success for historically marginalized student populations, more specifically so for Black men. I would offer that while my social identities may align with some of the participants in this study, I think it is important to highlight, as the current literature suggests- that the Black male collegiate experience is not monolithic. My collegiate undergraduate years were spent at a Predominantly White Institution nearly two decades ago. Higher education, society, and Black men have evolved since that time. With a critical race and intersectional lens, my study aims to authentically center the experiences of Black college men as gendered beings at a Predominantly Black Institution.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 *Setting*

State Southern University (SSU) is a national leader in enrolling and graduating students from diverse backgrounds. It currently holds the distinction as a Predominantly Black Institution (PBI). In 2008, Congress formally recognized PBI's as an important subset in the U.S. higher education system by authorizing a program of support for these institutions. It defined PBI's as having at least 1,000 undergraduate students; an undergraduate enrollment that is at least 50% low-income or first-generation; an undergraduate enrollment that is at least 50% degree-seeking; a low expenditure per full-time undergraduate student in comparison with other institutions offering similar instruction; and at least 40% of enrolled students identifying as Black Americans.

According to *U.S. News & World Report, Campus Ethnic Diversity*, (2018), *SSU* ranked top 10 in the nation for campus ethnic diversity. *SSU* boasts what I consider a critical mass of Black male student enrollment. According to recent demographic data from Univstats (2021) *SSU* enrolls approximately 4,770 Black males compared to 3,928 white males, 2,349 Asian males and 1,584 Latinx males. This large number of Black males provides a deeper pool of potential respondents that could add a robust range of experiences to this project and allows for some flexibility and creativity in recruiting efforts.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.2 Guiding Research Questions and Specific Aims

1. How does anti-Blackness and racism function at a Predominantly Black Institution?
2. How do Black men articulate and make meaning of their experiences in college?
3. In what ways do Black men find sense of belonging or mattering on campus?
4. In what ways do Black men express the challenges they encounter with discrimination at a PBI?
5. In what ways do Black undergraduate men use their *Black maleness* to negotiate their racialized and gendered identities?
6. How does participation in a Black Male Initiative at a PBI foster brotherhood?

My study aimed to produce evidence-based research by using the qualitative method which is also known as field interviewing employing a method of casual conversation with semi-structured, in-depth interviews and focus groups. In other words, my approach was more of a conversation with a purpose.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.3 Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

The choice of a very structured, unstructured, or semi-structured approach largely depends on the researcher's goals and objectives of the study (Singleton and Straits 2010). Since I have some clearly defined objectives, I have chosen to use the semi-structured method of interviewing. Utilizing this method allowed for some freedom in meeting those objectives. Questions were developed in advance and helped to provide some standardization across information received from each respondent. This method also allowed for flexibility in adapting the interview as needed to still meet the objectives of the study. For example, probing questions were added to gain more complete responses.

In-depth or intensive interviews are much less structured than those found in many research surveys and may require several sessions (Singleton and Straits 2010). For the purposes of this study, each session was scheduled to last at least one hour each. This allowed time to gather as much relevant information from the informant as possible. No additional sessions were needed. Though in-depth interviews are sometimes described as unstructured, or in this case, semi-structured; experts warn that they should not proceed without a great deal of preparation (Singleton and Straits 2010). I discussed how this is accomplished in the interview guide.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.4 Focus Groups

As part of my dissertation project, I conducted a series of focus groups (2) with students on campus. Participants for the focus groups were selected based on their participation in the individual interview sessions. Participants volunteered to be included in each focus group. Each focus group consisted of five (5) students in each session for a total of ten (10) students. Each focus group took place in-person on the university campus in a private room in the library and lasted no more than two hours each. My objective was to build an understanding of the kinds of experiences that Black men perceive are critical to their success, as well as the kinds of challenges they face at this Predominantly Black Institution. The outcomes and outline are listed below.

Focus Group Outcomes

Outcome 1: Understand how Black men articulate and make meaning of their experiences on campus.

Outcome 2: Understand what experiences/events/relationships Black men perceive as critical to their success in college, as compared with one another and with White male students.

Outcome 3: Understand challenges that may be unique to Black male students, how they address those challenges, and how they perceive their college as helping or hindering, as compared with White male students.

Focus Group Outline

Each focus group will comprise the following activities:

Meeting overview, Consent forms, Participant introductions, Discussion, Summary, and

Thanks

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.5 *Qualitative Research*

While my study does not aim to show causality, it does attempt to establish the relationships between institutional racism, white male patriarchy, and hegemonic masculinity's impact on the experiences of Black male students at this minority serving institution. My study unpacked these relationships in the interview phase. A researcher typically begins with a theoretical model and then determines if the data is consistent with the theory. To convey the logic of my theoretical model, I used the following arrow diagram to depict the how my theoretical framework informed

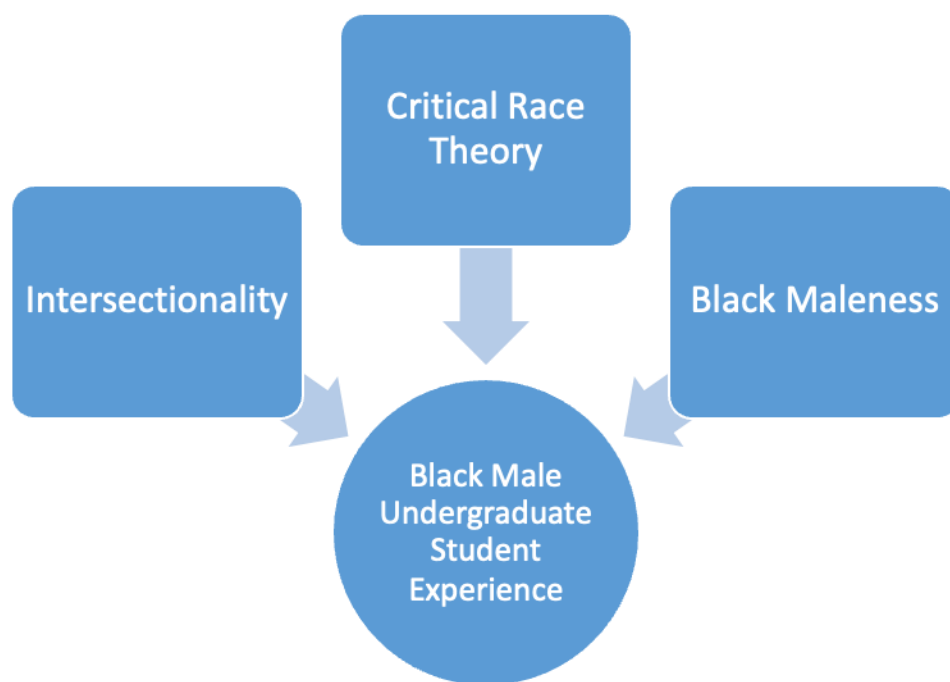


Figure 2: Theoretical Framework

our understanding of the lived experiences of Black male undergraduate students on campus:

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

The qualitative data for this project consisted of twenty (20) in-depth semi-structured interviews lasting one hour each and (2) focus groups lasting 90 minutes with 5 participants each. The number (20) was used to get at saturation. Hennick and Kaiser (2022) found in a study of 23 articles that used empirical data to assess saturation, that saturation was reached within a range of interviews that included at least 9-17 interviews. The studies were also of relatively homogenous groups, like my study. All participants for my study were chosen from *State Southern University (SSU)*. This university is recognized as a *Research I* university.

State Southern University is a national leader in enrolling and graduation students from diverse backgrounds. According to *U.S. News & World Report, Campus Ethnic Diversity*, (2018), *SSU* ranked top 10 in the nation for campus ethnic diversity. *SSU* boasts what I consider a critical mass of Black male student enrollment. According to recent demographic data from *Univstats* (2021) *SSU* enrolls approximately 4,770 Black males compared to 3,928 white males, 2,349 Asian males and 1,584 Latinx males. This large number of Black males provides a deeper pool of potential respondents that could add a robust range of experiences to this project and allows for some flexibility and creativity in recruiting efforts.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.6 Recruitment

Interviewees who identified as Black and male were eligible for this study. Racialized minority groups often choose similar racial identity groups, also known as *counter spaces*, to participate in during their college experience because they provide a sense of belonging where students can express and develop their racial identities (Keels 2019). Participants for this study were recruited from the university's Black Male Initiative (BMI) which at the time of recruitment, was comprised of over 250 participants. This group was a grant-sponsored initiative focused on increasing the number of Black males who complete post-secondary education. I chose this target population since all the BMI participants were required to be currently enrolled students who identified as Black males, which were the same requirements for participation in my study. I had relative ease of access to this group, which eliminated some barriers for recruitment and data collection. I used a combination of emails, social media, campus flyers, in-person informational meetings, and word-of-mouth to gauge student interest in the study.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.7 Interview Process Guide

After a person expressed interest in being a part of the study, I followed up with the individual and made sure they met the baseline requirements. An electronic pre-study questionnaire was sent to potential participants to determine eligibility and collect demographic information. Upon completion of the follow-up, a date, time, and place are mutually agreed upon for the formal interview. The full one-hour to ninety-minute individual interviews took place via Google Meet. Google Meet is a digital platform that allows for scheduling flexibility with participants. Google Meet also included video recording and transcription that allowed for thorough data review and analysis once the interview was done. The full two-hour focus group interviews took place in person at the campus library. Before the interview took place, I reviewed and had the interviewees sign all appropriate consent forms for IRB requirements. All full interviews were audio and video recorded for later cleaning of the data transcripts and coding. After the interviews, I reviewed the purpose of the research with each participant and replaced all names and potential identifiers with pseudonyms to protect the identities of the participants.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.8 Individual Interview Questions

1. Tell me about yourself. Where are you from and what made you decide to attend this university?
2. How do you identify? With respect to race, gender, and sexuality- is one more or less important to you? Why or why not?
3. Describe what masculinity means to you.
4. Does your masculinity change in different campus settings or spaces? Why do you think it could be perceived differently depending on where you are?
5. How would you describe the campus racial climate here? How does it make you feel?
6. In what ways would you say racism impacts your college experience inside and/or outside of the classroom?
7. What stereotypes do you see on campus regarding Black men?
8. In what ways do you resist racial stereotypes on campus?
9. Describe your interactions with white men.
10. How are your interactions with white men different or similar to your interactions with other Black men, women, or those who identify as LGBTQ+?
11. Have you ever experienced microaggressions on or off campus? How did you respond?
*Provide examples of micro-aggression if needed.
12. Are there campus spaces where you feel a sense of belonging or safe? Why is it important for you to have these spaces?
13. What impact has participating in a Black Male Initiative had on your collegiate experience?

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Table 1: Black Male Initiative (BMI) Member Background Information

Student	Race	Major	Classification	Years w/ BMI
Ty	Black	Computer Science	Senior	3
Dre	Black	Art	Sophomore	2
Zo	Black	Computer Information Systems	Junior	2
Lee	Black	Early Childhood Education	Sophomore	2
DJ	Black	Political Science	Senior	3
Neal	Black	Film and Media	Senior	3
Ceko	Black	Film and Media	Sophomore	2
Terrance	Black	Computer Science	Senior	3
Ron	Black	Computer Science	Junior	2
Gary	Black	Marketing	Junior	2
CJ	Black	Exercise Science	Senior	2
JoJo	Black	Undecided	Freshman	1
Sid	Black	Biology	Sophomore	1
Redd	Black	Exercise Science	Senior	3
FB	Black	Business	Senior	3
Kordel	Black	Computer Information Systems	Freshman	1
Collin	Black	Computer Science	Senior	3
Junior	Black	Undecided	Freshman	1
Harrison	Black	Communication/Journalism	Grad Student	1
Carl	Black	Education/Teaching	Grad Student	1

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.9 Focus Group Interview Questions

1. Think about the first time you came to this university. What were you thinking? What were your first impressions when you came to the campus? Do you remember the first person you met? Who was the person? A college staff member? An instructor? Another student? Other? What were those first interactions with college staff and students like? Did you feel welcomed?
2. Are there places on campus where you feel most comfortable? Safe? How would you describe them? What makes them appealing to you? Are there places where men are more likely to gather together? Latinos? Black men? White men? What makes those places appealing to them?
3. Are there challenges in being a student here that you think are likely to be more challenging for men? Are there challenges in being a Black male student that are unique—that other groups of students on campus do not face?
4. Describe your classroom experiences. Have you experienced unique challenges in the classroom because you are a Black male student? If so, can you tell me more about those experiences.
5. Are there any groups or organizations on campus that have helped you personally? With your course work? Describe. Are there particular individuals here on campus who have made, or are currently making, a positive difference for you? What specifically are they saying or doing that is making a difference?
6. Define masculinity in your own words. What versions of masculinity do you see on campus? What are your thoughts on what you see?

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

7. Do you feel like there is a collective voice for Black men on campus? If so, what does that look like? What spaces does it show up in? Do you feel like anything is needed or missing? If so, please describe.

Table 2: Focus Group A

Student	Race	Major	Classification	Years w/ BMI
Ty	Black	Computer Science	Senior	3
Dre	Black	Art	Sophomore	2
Zo	Black	Computer Information Systems	Junior	2
Ron	Black	Computer Science	Junior	2
Gary	Black	Marketing	Junior	2

Table 3: Focus Group B

Student	Race	Major	Classification	Years w/ BMI
DJ	Black	Political Science	Senior	3
Ceko	Black	Film Media	Sophomore	2
FB	Black	Business/Computer Information Systems	Senior	3
JoJo	Black	Undecided	Freshman	1
Sid	Black	Biology	Sophomore	1

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

3.1.10 Coding

After the interviews were conducted and transcribed, I began the coding process identifying and categorizing passages and phrases into common themes (Gibbs 2007). A popular qualitative software for analysis I planned to use is called Nvivo. Specifically, I wanted to use Nvivo to analyze unstructured text, audio, video, and image data. After careful review and trouble-shooting issues with Nvivo, I decided to use a more practical method of hand-coding which consisted of color-coding and highlighting text by hand. I used a combination of inductive and deductive coding schemes which included definitions derived from my participants responses as well as definitions from existing research. From there I was able to identify patterns in the data and ultimately categorize the data into broader common themes that I saw. In my study, I employed Adu's (2019) method of coding qualitative data to answer the research questions. To properly code the text, I read through the transcribed data with my research concerns in mind and only extracted texts that were relevant to my topic. I used a grounded theory approach, meaning I entered this part of my field work with no preconceived notions on what the data entails. I developed postcodes to make sense of the research. In summation, I have employed the following general steps in my fieldwork that included selecting an appropriate setting, gaining access to the setting, presenting myself to those in the setting, and finally, gathering and analyzing the information (Singleton and Straits 2010).

4 BLACK MALE STUDENT FINDINGS

“I hold a lot of power in my skin color because I don't want to be just another statistic or another stereotype.” -Dre

I have divided chapter 4 into four sections to discuss the findings from my individual interviews. The first two sections discuss the perceptions and perspectives that my participants held of themselves; and provides a discussion of how they think others perceive them as Black men on and off campus. The last two sections discuss and center on the lived experiences of my participants, which contributes to our understanding of Black college men's student experiences at a minority serving institution. There were four themes most salient in my individual interview findings with my participants. The first two themes were (1) complex individuality and (2) the duality of masculinity that discussed perceptions and perspectives. The next two themes were (3) discrimination and (4) belonging and Black joy are discussed in the last two sections that centers lived experiences. Organizing the paper between perceptions and lived experiences helped provide a nuanced and detailed analysis of the multifaceted layers and social factors that shaped my participants' student experiences. While complex individuality and discrimination are prevalent in previous literature (Harper 2016; Brooms 2017; and Newton 2022), duality of masculinity and belonging and Black Joy were themes that emerged from my study. Under each major theme, there were also sub themes unveiled. Under the theme of complex individuality, there were sub themes such as intersecting identities, master status, and Black maleness. The theme of duality of masculinity, presented a subtheme on the performance of gender. The theme of discrimination presented sub themes of campus racial climate, anti-Blackness, anti-Black misandry, and minimization of racism.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.1 Complex Individuality

“So, every time I was in the room, that's the first thing that people notice is I'm Black, I'm different.” -Lee

To learn more about my participants identities as Black college men, I began each interview by asking them to share a little bit about themselves including how they identified their race, gender, and sexuality. Black college men, who attended State Southern University (SSU), discussing their identities from an intersectional perspective is an important contribution from my study since previous studies (Torres, Howard-Hamilton, and Cooper, 2003) have focused on the experiences of college men's singular social identities. My findings contribute to the conversations with recent researchers (Harper, 2016; Brooms, 2017, Byrd, Brunn-Bevel, and Ovink, 2019) that have begun to incorporate intersectional (Crenshaw, 1991) approaches to understanding Black men students' social identities such as race, gender and sexuality (Springer 2013; Howard & Reynolds 2013; Rogers 2015; Oluwayomi 2020; Vassar & Howard 2021), look beyond just race as the primary identity for Black men.

Exploring the identities of Black men beyond race and examining their intersecting identities helps us better understand their diverse experiences at Predominantly Black Institutions. Only viewing the Black male experience from a racial lens within a predominantly Black space can often diminish other intersecting identities (Newton et al. 2024). The misperception of homogeneity of Black men suggests a one-sided narrative that fails to adequately capture what Harper, Wardell, and McGuire (2011) termed complex individuality, which can be defined as the ability to exist on campus with multiple identities at the same time. For the Black men in my study stating their multiple identities was central to how they responded when asked about their identities—providing narratives of complex individuality. My

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

participants discussed three factors that contributed to their complex individuality. First, were their intersecting identities, how they negotiate and make meaning of their *Black maleness*, and lastly, choosing a master status of their identity.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.1.1 *Subtheme: Intersecting Identities*

“I mean I never took the labeling class, but I guess, I would say I’m Black, male and queer.”
-Lee

Black men in my study expressed their intersecting identities at the beginning of the interviews when I first asked them to tell me about who they are—which is where complex intersecting identities emerged as a key finding in understanding who they are and what influenced them to attend SSU. Their lives before college impacted how they talked about their intersectional identities as college men. For instance, Ty, a senior Computer Science major from Southwest GA expressed with me his social influences that shaped his choice in major and decision to attend SSU; while also naming his straightness, race, and gender as part of his identity—demonstrating Black men’s complex intersectional individuality.

BM: Tell me a little bit about yourself.

Ty: So, I'm Ty. I am a senior here. I am originally from Southwest Georgia if you know where Tallahassee is. I had a good childhood, and everything grew up in the suburbs and stuff like that, but it would get kind of rough at times because my dad wasn't always there. But I'm a CS major. I got into computer science 'cause I was the kid who when I was little, I was always asked to do technical stuff around the house. We didn't really have the funds to afford Morehouse or Clark, but I wanted to be in Atlanta so that's how I ended up here.

BM: And how do you identify, with respect to your race, gender and sexuality?

Ty: Alright, sooo... I'm African American and I'm a heterosexual male.

Ty spoke candidly about his upbringing, being the only child and primarily being raised by a single mother. He offered a window into his life where he's from geographically, why he chose this school, and his academic major. He also named his race and sexual orientation when I inquired by stating he is a heterosexual male. Heterosexual identities are often viewed as normative and seen as unmarked identities (Brekhus1998, 2020), so it is important to note that Ty sees and names his straightness when describing his identity. Ty's ability to share specific

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

socialization factors that shaped his major and why he chose SSU, while also stating his heterosexual identity suggests that heterosexual Black male students see their straightness as part of their identity along with other factors that shape who they are as Black men and as Black male college students. This was an example of how at least one heterosexual Black man in my study expressed his complex individuality.

On the other hand, Dre, a self-proclaimed 'rising junior arts student' who identifies as bisexual, expressed that he came to SSU for the inexpensive cost of attendance and opportunities. When I asked Dre how do you identify with respect to race, gender and sexuality, he stated "I think first that's an interesting question. I do identify as a black male-- African American to be more exact and then I'm bisexual so yeah."

As it relates to complex individuality, Dre's expression of his bisexuality became a salient part of his identity because it allows him to exist on campus in more than just one way. It is complex though, because while he may be privileged in some spaces because of gender identity, he is aware that identifying as bisexual in spaces that are marked as heteronormative, may also be oppressive because of his sexuality. This finding is important because it demonstrates both sides of complex individuality- the freedom it provides Black men to exist on campus in their multiple identities as well as the challenges it presents when as parts of their identities do not align with social norms on campus.

Both Dre and Ty shared similar information about school choice and major; however, although Dre expressed the same gender identity as Ty of being Black men, Dre's sexuality as a bisexual Black man is an important part of his identity and complex individuality. Bisexuality for Black men is under researched as it is seen as outside of the dominant heteronormative construct

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

(Wallace, 2019), particularly for Black men. This further underscores the need for more research on bisexual Black college men experiences so that we have a deeper understanding of the complexity of their intersecting identities. It is also important that bisexual Black men find spaces on campus where they find community and belonging that celebrate all and not just some parts of them as Black men.

Moreover, other participants such as Zo, expressed his sense of complex individuality by sharing with me his upbringing, why he chose SSU, and how not just being Black but being Nigerian shaped his identities. Zo stated:

Bet so I was born here on the Northside. I come from a Nigerian household. So, it is very education focused. I was gonna go to Tech or another school, but after touring Atlanta I think that SSU gave me the excitement that I was looking for in a school. I went to predominantly white schools all my life from elementary to high school. So, the feel of the city and the Blackness of Atlanta really made SSU speak to me and then when I learned about the Honors College and the fact that I could still keep up my high-level quality education at a state school. I was like, okay, SSU is gonna be the school for me.

In this quote we learn that Zo's socialization at home with heavy emphasis on education is rooted not only in his Nigerian upbringing but also the visibility of Blackness within ATL and SSU.

They were important factors for attending SSU that helped shape his college identity. Zo's complex individuality is rooted with strong ties to his Nigerian upbringing and family emphasis on education. I then asked Zo how he identified based on race, gender and sexuality. He stated "Got it. So, race, I consider myself Nigerian, gender- male, and sexuality- straight that's how I identify." In this response, when asked about his race, he immediately expressed his race as Nigerian, not African American or Black. Even though Zo was born in the US, he is very specific about identifying as Nigerian. This demonstrates that race and ethnicity expressions for students can vary among Black men students. Though Zo, phenotypically looks Black, just as

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Ty and Dre, he is quick to point out the differences. For Zo, his family culture and upbringing are very important to him. He does later acknowledge that he is perceived as a Black man, just as many of his peers. Zo navigated his complex individuality by being surrounded in a critical mass of Blackness that is offered by the student demographics of SSU. He is also able to stay connected to his Nigerian roots by joining other clubs and organizations such as the African Students Association.

What Zo expresses is important for understanding the various ways Black men acclimate to college life even at a Predominantly Black Institution. Though Black men at SSU are surrounded by many people that look like them, their identities are complex and so are their experiences and perceptions. It is important for Black men with multiple identities to be able to express their complex individuality because they also have different needs. The ways in which Black men successfully engage in the classroom, socially on campus, and outside of campus can be largely dependent on the extent to which they make meaningful connections tied to who they are as complex individuals (Keels 2019; Brooms 2022).

Additionally, I interviewed Lee who had a non-traditional entry into college. Lee shared the factors that shaped his journey to SSU. Lee shared:

Okay, I guess my college experience is a little non-traditional. I graduated high school in 2015. And I immediately went to school at Florida International University. I was there for a year and a half before I decided to join the army. After getting out of the army I... spent a lot of time in Atlanta just going up there for the weekends. I had money because of the GI Bill so it's paid for, so it's like, why not? So, I started applying to programs. There was no real consideration, but I just applied and SSU was the first one to respond back.

Although Lee didn't begin college at SSU, here we can see how Lee saw an opportunity at SSU and decided to act on it like Dre and Ty. I continued to inquire more about Lee,

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

BM: How do you identify with respect to your race, gender, and sexuality?

Lee: Let's see. I can't get all these new age terms correct.

BM: Use your own words, whatever words you want to use.

Lee: Okay, then I identify as very much...I guess, I mean I never took the labeling class but I guess, I would say I'm Black, male and queer.

Lee's description of his identities is a clear example of complex individuality. He provided a unique glimpse into his journey as a Black, queer, man now having to navigate college as a non-traditional aged (18-24) student.

Queer Black male students are often faced with the dilemma of choosing a primary identity. This is not always easy since identifying as queer already positions these men outside of the narrow and stereotypical conceptions of Blackness, which are commonly associated with religious conservatism and heteronormative values. Harper (2014) suggested that well-intentioned educators and others have failed to recognize and effectively address the within-group diversity that exists among Black undergraduate men. The experiences of queer Black men tend to vary depending on the type of institution. At predominantly white institutions (PWI's), Black men may face not only homophobia but racism as well while they primarily experience homophobia at HBCU's or Predominantly Black Institutions (Harris 2003; Harper and Wood 2015).

For students like Lee, finding words to express all of his identities, particularly his sexuality, shows us how complex individuality for some Black college men are shaped by factors other than race and gender, but by age and sexuality. Even in Lee's responses to me, he stammers a bit in trying to find the words to express his sexuality. This speaks to the perceived fears and pressures that Black queer men may encounter when revealing parts of their personal identities

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

that they may not have been able to always fully and freely express. Furthermore, finding safe spaces amongst their peers at PBI's can also be challenging because they feel isolated and othered even in Black spaces that perpetuate heteronormativity. The creation, maintenance, and reproduction of heteropatriarchy and homophobia in these Black spaces are often rooted in institutional racism created by white space that was intended for cis heterosexual white men to begin with (Harris 2003; Harper and Wood 2015).

Each of the four student responses above complex individuality is on full display as each of them named primary identities beyond their race and gender. Each participant was from different geographical regions of the state, had various types of upbringings, cultural differences, and varied sexual orientations. My participants' responses are consistent with the multiple dimensions of identity that exist among college students. Harper, Wardell, and McGuire (2011) employed a model of identity expression known as the Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity (MMDI) in a study on complex individuality and identity intersections among college men. Abes et al. (2007) reconceptualized MMDI includes meaning making as an essential element in the ways students filter the social contexts around them (classroom, dorm, student center, library, etc.) to inform how they perceive themselves. It all comes down to the fact that students, particularly Black men, are complex individuals and have a multitude of identities that all shape how they enter college and thus how they navigate campus. The misperception of homogeneity of Black men suggests a one-sided narrative that fails to adequately capture what Harper, Wardell, and McGuire (2011) termed complex individuality. As the MMDI framework suggests, researchers and educators need to take serious note of the complexities of individuality by inquiring about the other identities of Black men.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Complex individuality is important when discussing Black men's perspectives who attend Predominantly Black Institutions. Robles (2024) highlighted the experiences of Black men at Minority Serving Institutions with findings that indicated the need to continue to empower Black male voices as experiential knowledge. Since Black men are different and have complex individual identities, the ways in which colleges and universities educate, support, and ultimately protect college Black men, must be varied. Academic support initiatives, social organizations, and community engagement opportunities should be scaffolded inter-sectionally that are group-specific to meet the changing needs of these college men who bring themselves to campus as complex beings with intersecting identities.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.1.2 *Subtheme: Master Status and Black Maleness*

“My Blackness I think is the most important because when someone first sees me, that's the first thing that's most obvious about me.” -Dre

As my participants above indicated, Black men come to college with multiple layers of identities and lived experiences, some of which may compel them to rank certain dimensions of their identities above others. This can lead to choosing a master status, which is defined as a perceived social standing that has exceptional significance for individual identity that can have a stigmatizing effect of negative status-determining characteristics (Hunt 2007; Harper 2011; Anderson 1990, 2004, 2011, 2022). Even with complex individuality being a central factor to their college experiences; when I asked my participants if one of their identities was more salient than the other, I received a variety of responses. For example, Ty shared that he sees his race as more important than his gender or sexuality.

Ty: I'd say yeah being Black is definitely more important than me being a male and me being heterosexual for multiple reasons. I am not a person who kind of takes something like gender and sexuality as serious. I don't really give that a whole lot of weight. So, we're gonna do Black number one. We're gonna put a gap and then we're going to do male like my gender and then sexuality because I'm not gonna sit up here and be naive and act like your sexuality or your gender doesn't have some effect on the way you experience life and things like that- It's just not as big to me.

BM: Why do you say that?

Ty: That's just the way I view it and the reason is because of the way you experience life. So me as a black man, there are plenty of experiences that I know I have had that somebody who was white, somebody who was Asian, somebody who was a Pacific Islander, Native American, just wouldn't have to go through so that is why I identify as black man more than anything because of all these things I've experienced in my 20 years of life and a good amount of them being due to me being Black.

Ty was very self-aware of the way his identities impact his personal views of himself and the way others may perceive him as well. Even with that awareness, his Blackness stood out as

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

the most important to him. Ty was clear that because of his *Blackmaleness*, that he experienced life on campus very differently than his peers from other ethnic groups. Brooms (2017) suggests the point of *Blackmaleness* is to draw attention to the specific ways Black men are often problematized because of their race and gender. For Ty, this means the ways in which he shows up on campus and in life *must* be different. He knows that he may experience life differently simply because he is a Black man and often those experiences have negative outcomes. Ty's responses demonstrate how *Blackmaleness* is both a personal journey and social reality that impacts his life on and off campus.

Moreover, Dre, who identified as a Black, bisexual man, expressed the ranking of his identities with an even more nuanced understanding of the topic.

Dre: The most important one is my skin color, my Blackness and then I'm male and bisexual so yeah, but I think of those three my blackness I think is the most important because when someone first sees me, that's the first thing that's most obvious about me.

BM: Why is that important to you?

Dre: I hold a lot of power in my skin color because I don't want to be just another statistic or another stereotype. I rank them race, then my gender, and sexuality. I think sexuality matters least to me almost not at all. It's just classification. if you're a male versus a black male that's a big difference. Just in general. I also think that gender plays big role in the intersectionality hierarchy as well of just men versus women.

In his response, Dre is similarly very self-aware of his layered identities and how they impact his and others' perceptions of him. While his sexuality identity as a bisexual man falls outside of heteronormativity, he does not place much importance on it at all. However, he does place importance on his skin color specifically, in which he discusses the power that it holds. One important aspect of his quote is his discussion of gender and how he specifies being male versus being Black male (Brooms 2017). Here we can not only see that he understands the

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

impact of *Black maleness* by how he also expresses the understanding of the different sociological implications of being male compared to being Black male. Here when he says ‘male’ by default we understand the un-markedness of the whiteness that does not need to be stated when the term male is used because white maleness is unmarked (Newton 2024). Dre’s intersectional discussion demonstrates his understanding of complex individuality while also highlighting his Black maleness as a master status. Both Dre and Ty go back to their Blackness as the most salient markers of their social identities, as their Blackness is deemed the most impactful in terms of their life experiences and outcomes and how others perceive them.

Zo, who came from a Nigerian household, had this to say about ranking his identities. It is worth noting again that Zo described his race as Nigerian when previously asked.

BM: So I noticed you made a very clear distinction between your Nigerian heritage and your American heritage like you don't say, I'm Black or I'm African American. Could you elaborate a little bit more about why?

Zo: I actually started recently doing that. So... yeah, I'm black. I'm African American, but it was two or three years ago when the census changed, and it allowed you to specify where Africa you're from. I saw Nigerian American for the first time as an identity and I just got super excited about that because it was like I felt like by just saying I'm Black or African American, I couldn't fully express myself. Nigeria is very big part of me, but I'm still a Black man. I have to remember that. I'm in America at the end of the day. I got black skin.

BM: Think about your race, gender, and sexuality. Is one of those identities more important than the others? If so, why or why not?

Zo: I would say my race is first just being Black, but I put sexuality second like I said gender is just I present myself as a male so, I think that would be kind of easily assumable. That's not something that I really think about.

BM: Why do you say that?

Zo: I think just now it's such a big thing to talk about sexuality and embrace it so it's like I put that second just because I mean if you look at me and how I present myself how I talk. But I have been told even though yes, I'm straight. I can be sassy, and some people do find that a little sweet, so I don't know. It's not like that I care but a part of me does care because it's like I want to be labeled as a straight man. I know that I might come off

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

as super flamboyant at times but that's just who I am. That's my personality. I'm flamboyant.

Of the four respondents above, Zo presented perhaps the most intriguing expression of complex individuality and master status of his identity ranking. First, he talked about his Nigerian heritage and how proud it made him to be fully seen when checking that box on the census form. Later, he acknowledged that because he was born in the United States, he is aware and understands that having Black skin still takes precedence over the other parts of his identity. Interestingly, though, he places his sexuality as second most important. He is clearly confident in his gender and sexuality expressions by self-describing as flamboyant but seemed to be grappling with other people's perceptions of the way in which he displays those parts of his identity and wanting to be seen as a straight male. Zo's responses encapsulate the many ways in which Black college men often have to negotiate their *Blackmaleness* (Brooms 2017) to make meaning of their lived experiences on and off campus. Zo's statement about his identities may appear contradictory in some ways, but actually he shows us the complexity of Black maleness.

Lastly, Lee, the queer, non-traditional aged student (27), who had military experience expressed complex individuality and the rank order of his identities in the following manner:

Lee: I guess being Black would be number one and then two would be being a male and then three being queer.

BM: Any particular reason why you put them in that order?

Lee: I guess that's just the order I engage in those identities. I went to all white schools K-12 in Florida, so I was the only black kid most of my time and when I went to high school, It was just like a lot of Eastern Europeans, Albanian Bosnians. So, every time I was in the room, that's the first thing that people notice is I'm Black, I'm different.

Lee had a very interesting journey to college by first starting out in the Army and taking some time off before deciding to go back to school. Unlike some of his peers, he had military support to fund his education. He expressed feeling like sometimes he felt like he didn't fit in

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

because he was older than most of his students around him as well as the fact that he was queer, he had to navigate certain campus environments differently. Still, like all the other respondents, Lee identified with being Black as the most important part of his identity or his master status.

Each participant presented varying expressions of complex individuality. They gave insights into their reasoning for rank ordering their race, gender, and sexuality. This led to my participants choosing their Blackness as a master status (Heckert D., Heckert A., and Marooka 2022) or one that is *ascribed* at birth (race and gender). While none of the respondents described their sexuality as an *achieved* status (Ridgeway 2014), they all either viewed it as secondary or not as important as their race. Researching the experiences of Black college men at Predominantly Black Institutions remains an understudied topic, as these types of institutions are unique and very different from Predominantly white Institutions (PWIs) and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). The limited literature on the experiences of Black men at PBI's can be linked to the fact that PBI's are fairly new in the landscape of higher education. It also speaks to the misperception that Black men's college experiences are monolithic, particularly when they are in homogenous settings.

Rogers (2022) posits a four-phase identity development theory that emerged in his research on Black male identity at an HBCU. They are: 1) acknowledgement of being a Black male 2) understanding that not all Black males are the same 3) creation of an authentic professional identity and 4) transition into a Black male role model (Rogers 2022). For this study, I focused on the first two phases to see how the men in my study discussed their varying identities. The theme of complex individuality reflects my participants' acknowledgement of being a Black male and understanding that not all Black males are the same.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

I acknowledge that a prerequisite to be a part of this study, was that the participants had to identify as a Black male, so it comes as no surprise that the acknowledgement of being a Black male was a prevalent theme in when respondents expressed their social identities. Perhaps the more intriguing part of the findings reveal what previous (Majors and Billson 1993; Harper and Harris 2010,) and more recent (Harper 2016; Brooms 2017; Rogers 2022) literature suggests in that Black men are not monolithic and the ways in which they experience college life require an understanding of who they are individually (Harper, Wardell and McGuire 2011) through gender, nationality and sexuality identity.

In summation, aspects of family life, culture, and socio-economic status came up in some discussions; while race, gender, and sexuality identities were the most prevalent topics when students were asked to share about who they are. Race, gender, and sexuality were rank ordered with race or Blackness overwhelmingly chosen as master status. While complex individuality is viewed by more contemporary scholars (Brooms 2017; Rogers 2022) as a useful tool for analyzing the experiences of Black college men, because it accounts for the myriads of ways their identities intersect, others (Harper, Wardell, and McGuire 2011) warn of the problematizing of identity ranking. Black men often face societal pressures to prioritize and value certain parts of their identities over others. This can lead to students like those in my study having to negotiate the complexities of self without the proper support on campus in place to help them navigate through it effectively. To continue to improve the educational outcomes of Black men on campus, requires a nuanced understanding of their complex individuality that is inclusive of all men, responsive to their masculinities, and other dimensions of identity.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.2 Duality of Masculinity

“I have masculine energy but also have feminine energy. You feel what I'm saying, so it's a balance...” -Neal

Duality of masculinity was a theme that emerged in the findings when I asked my participants to describe what masculinity means to them. My participants expressed the idea of masculinity is a spectrum and often discussed how their masculinities lie outside the binary expressions of masculine and feminine energies (Norton 2021). Duality of masculinity can be defined as the “hegemonic ideals that embody socially valued traits such as strength, aggression, dominance, competition and control...that is also inclusive of a multilayered concept of manhood that can refer to self-expectations, relationships, responsibilities to family and other worldviews that men accept or acknowledge” (Brooms 2017, pg.16). My participants’ discussions on the performance of gender (Butler 1988, 1999, 2004) spanned across various campus settings such as the classroom or general hangout spaces like the dining hall or gym. Their perspectives on traditional and non-traditional views of masculinity compared to manhood were discussed and thus centered on the theme of duality of masculinity (Ford 2011; Brooms, Smith and Blalock 2023). DJ first shared his views on masculinity.

BM: Describe what the term masculinity means to you.

DJ: This is probably a more unorthodox answer but to me masculinity is more for me a more spiritual thing, based around my faith. And so, I feel like I disagree with what you hear is a common characteristic of masculinity like, being tough or toughen it out like that. I don't really agree with that. I more so consider masculinity to be the ability to want to grow and to have a genuine relationship with God spiritually- whatever that might mean to somebody and being able to just live out your purpose and calling.

BM: Do you feel like your masculinity changes based on different campus settings that you're in maybe if you're in the classroom, does it show up one way versus if you are just hanging out, on the campus green space or if you're in the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office, is it different depending on where you are?

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

DJ: I would definitely say I always notice myself unintentionally trying to display different characteristics depending on the environment. I mean, so if I'm in a professional environment, I'll tend to kind of soften up who I am a little bit. But for example, if I step into the BSA office, I might be a little more relaxed. But at the same time, I'm trying to communicate in a way that I think other people will understand me. But if I'm around family, I'm just who I am. So, I do feel like I adapt in every space I'm in.

BM: Kind of a follow-up, how do you feel like other people perceive your masculinity?

DJ: Growing up I was always perceived differently in terms of masculinity. Like a lot of people thought I was just like that nice person who didn't really mess with people like that. So, a lot of people saw me as softer, like a pushover. So, I think now in certain rooms, sometimes I do feel like I have to show a little bit more of a toughened-up version of myself.

DJ's responses illustrate the duality of masculinity as he ties masculinity to his faith and spiritual beliefs. DJ acknowledges and is aware that his answers may seem out of the ordinary in terms of traditional definitions of masculinity, and it is. Typically, faith and spirituality are not associated with (hegemonic) masculinity. DJ's responses, while different, illustrate the duality of masculinity because he says that masculinity for him is not all about being tough. For him it taps into an intersection of his social identity that involves a relationship with God. He also stated that the way in which he expresses his masculinity is derived from his upbringing of having to prove himself as not a pushover or more masculine. This is where hegemonic or toxic masculinity comes into play. Hegemonic masculinity implies a certain hierarchy of power where white, cis gendered, heterosexual men and their behaviors are deemed the normative standard by which all other groups are judged (Pelzer 2016). DJ is not provided the privilege to express his masculinity in a way that aligns with how society says he should. DJ discusses traditional notions of masculinity and how he deviates from them. This is important because DJ recognizes the agency that he has in defining masculinity for himself. Black men like DJ come to college with varied and complex identities, that include their race, gender, age, socio-economic status,

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

and spirituality. This further underscores the need for duality of masculinity when unpacking how Black men discuss their masculinities.

DJ's responses also drew (Alexander 2006; Butler 2011; and Brooms 2017, 2023) on the notions of masculinity as socially constructed behaviors or the performances of men. He notes how he intentionally changes his presentation of masculinity or gender performance (Butler 2004) depending on his social environment. For example, DJ described being more relaxed in the BSA space on campus. This is important for Black males to feel safe and comfortable expressing a range of their masculinities compared to being in more professional spaces which by default are unmarked white spaces with white standards embedded in the culture of those spaces (Newton 2024). DJ exhibits and understands the duality of masculinity.

Neal, on the other hand, did not have a multifaceted definition of masculinity as did DJ. Neal explained to me that masculinity was not something that he had thought about until recently.

Neal: I don't know how I would define it because to be honest with you when it comes to that term, I really didn't even pay attention to that term until a few years ago. My cousin was bringing up toxic masculinity and everything like that when it was a topic of discussion a few years ago when it was in the forefront.

BM: Can you tell me more about that?

Neal: It could be something that you kind of overuse and that thing it becomes toxic. It's like when you use it to gain things or try to use it against people or try to manipulate people with it... I have masculine energy but also have feminine energy you feel what I'm saying, so it's a balance so I feel like it's a time and place where I shifted on as far as if I'm around my mom and I make sure she good I'll take care of some things. Just make sure nobody disrespecting her or nothing like that something like that. But outside of that, I don't really be looking to it [masculinity] outside of protection.

Though Neal does not offer a specific description of masculinity, he expresses his awareness and understanding of toxic masculinity based on conversations with his cousin. Since

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

2013, post-feminist vernacular has popularized the term to describe the ways in which some men engage in sexism, misogyny, homophobia, and men's violence (Harrington 2021). Toxic masculinity, first coined by Bliss (1980), is currently a hot topic on social media and a commonplace on podcast and other pop-culture platforms. It has shaped conversations around Trumpism and the #MeTooMovement (Pettyjohn et al. 2019), sexual harassment (McGinley 2018) and mass shootings (Blair 2016). More importantly, Neal acknowledges the balance of both masculine and feminine energies that he possesses and is selective about when and where he expresses each. Neal describes the ideals of what it means to be a man or to be masculine when he discusses the role he takes on when around his mother or to protect his family— here he explains how he engages in traditional masculinity. Neal displays his feminine energies when he is around family displaying traits of vulnerability and service to those he cares for. Neal's explanations of his duality of masculinity of being both masculine and feminine is an important contribution to our understanding of Black men who disrupt the hegemony of masculinity since femininity is seen as the opposite of masculinity. Black men's ability to discuss their feminine and masculine energies provides us with important knowledge on Black manhood and the duality of masculinity, which in some cases like Neal's, includes femininity.

Next, Terrance, a senior Computer Science major, who grew up in Southeast Georgia in what he called "the country" to describe his rural neighborhood settings, shared his views on masculinity which were more traditional notions of masculinity.

BM: Could you describe what masculinity means to you?

Terrance: Masculinity to me is being a provider and your loyalty to your family and taking care of your responsibilities, that's the combination of principles and responsibilities. Or being firm on morals. A lot of people may think that being masculine is being big and burly or a testament of strength, but that's not what being masculine is.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Being masculine is as a man taking care of his principles and standing on his morals and doing the right thing.

BM: Does your masculinity change in different campus settings or that it could be perceived differently depending on where you are?

Terrance: Yes, I do believe that masculinity can change in different settings and spaces, and it can be perceived in different ways because if someone says something to me as a Black man that is that extreme or putting me down and I respond in a respectful way, it is seen as passive aggressive. But if people don't like what I said that could be seen as me being an aggressive black man, whereas, a queer man, could have said something in the same situation, they'll be perceived as being sassy and being aggressive. In different spaces, regardless a Black man can be prejudged based off his response and the way that he carries himself. I think that would constitute your masculinity changing.

Terrance has clear and structured definitions of “being a man” and “doing Black masculinity.” He lists off characteristics of traditional masculinity and traditional gender roles for men. His responses support the distinctions scholars (Majors and Billson 1992; Ford 2008; Ford 2011) make between manhood and masculinity. *Being a man* or Black manhood was characterized as imagined constructions of self that allow for more fluid interactions, while *doing Black masculinity* was characterized by the ways in which Black college men actively engage in certain behaviors in different social settings where these behaviors are highly influenced by societal expectations or group norms (Ford 2011). When Terrance offered his description of masculinity, in essence he was describing *being a man* in terms of the ideals such as providing for family, showing loyalty, and having high moral and ethical principles. He also acknowledged the idea that being masculine can lie outside of traditional views of size, strength, and toughness. In his response to how his masculinity shows up in various campus spaces, he is *doing Black masculinity* by acknowledging the raced and gendered ways his *Black maleness* can have a different impact in the way he may respond in certain situations. His duality of masculinity is on display constantly as he must choose a specific response as a Black man in certain settings. He is aware that choosing a more traditional trait of masculinity such as

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

aggression can lead to negative stereotypes just as much as choosing a non-traditional trait such as being respectful being seen as passive aggressive. He also negotiates how his masculinity must change based on socially constructed views of Black men and how he may be perceived. He specifically brings up how Black queer men's aggression is perceived and described differently than hetero Black men. Terrance's awareness of how others perceive aggression when expressed by different types of Black men, tell us that Black men are very much aware of how other Black men's masculinity and sexuality is understood from outside perspectives.

Ceko, a sophomore transfer student from New Jersey, and part of a Black fraternity, gave his views on masculinity. In his introduction, Ceko shared that he grew up in a household with just women, only had a few guy friends growing up, didn't talk to men much, and didn't have much of a relationship with his father. In his words, he said he had to teach himself how to be a man. He shared that the experience of growing up this way contributed to his doing a decent job at "making myself a man."

BM: I want to talk a little bit about masculinity. So, when you hear the word masculinity, what does that mean to you?

Ceko: I guess taking care of yourself just being a man and I guess providing for those around you and making sure you're well taken care of.

BM: Are there any attributes or values you would ascribe to someone that you consider as masculine or certain traits or characteristics of someone exhibiting masculinity?

Ceko: I guess being physically and mentally strong enough to carry the weight of I guess life and strong enough to I guess be able to do the heavy lifting or fixing stuff, the traditional masculine stuff to do like fixing the car or fixing things in the house stuff like that.

In Ceko's responses on masculinity, he used descriptions such as being strong, fixing things, providing for family and making sure he takes care of himself, which are all reflective of traditional notions of masculinity. Those behaviors are very closely related to the ideals of

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

manhood, or the meanings men construct about themselves as men (Dancy 2011). In Ceko's case, I found his responses interesting because he shared that he didn't have examples of this growing up, and he had to teach himself "how to be a man." Whatever ideals he shaped on his own were influenced and constructed by his social interactions either as a kid, teenager, or college student. Ceko spoke more about how he displays his masculinity, and the perceptions others may have of him because of it.

BM: In terms of your masculinity, does it change in different campus settings or spaces that you in?

Ceko: I guess if I'm like in a new space or a space that I'm rarely in, I'll just show more of my masculinity, just kind of be more manly but I guess in the familiar spaces I be in I'm just more comfortable to just be who I am.

BM: Why do you do that?

Ceko: I guess to assert dominance in a way. I've been told I look different than how I act or my personality. I work out and stuff. I have tattoos and so, some people see that as he's just big, tough like guy, but other people and they say he got all them piercings and stuff. I don't know what he could be. I model so, some people might see me as like just this skinny model dude, so I think people have a bunch of different perceptions of me.

In his responses here, Ceko shared how he asserts his masculinity by being more manly in unfamiliar spaces, yet he can be himself in spaces that he's more comfortable in suggesting he can be less masculine in those settings. Ford (2011) characterized this behavior where some Black men are not able to fully engage in the constructed notions of masculinity because of group norms, as *not doing Black masculinity*. This illustrates that Black masculinity is varied and complex. Ceko describes that having piercings and being a model can be seen as less masculine, which lies outside of the constructed notions of masculinity. Not being able to fully engage in this part of his identity on campus can be present challenges for Black men like Ceko whose outside appearance does not align with traditional views on masculinity. Ceko exhibits duality of masculinity by asserting his dominance with more manly or traditional traits of

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

masculinity when he is in new or unfamiliar campus spaces, while also demonstrating less masculine behaviors in campus spaces that are more comfortable or familiar to him such as the gym or in the BSA office.

The four young men in this section each discussed what masculinity meant to them. Whether knowingly or unknowingly when describing masculinity or manhood, these men all had very unique lived experiences shaped by their social environments at home, in grade school and in college that have influenced their ideas on masculinity and manhood (Ford 2011). The duality of masculinity theme was present in all of my participants' responses where they described traditional views of masculinity as strength, protection, and providing; but they also acknowledged some non-traditional views ascribing masculinity to traits of faith, vulnerability, and a balance with their feminine energies. Goffman (1959, 1976) contended that people in everyday life attempt to control the presentation of self they present to the world. Butler (1999, 2004, 2011) later proposed that gender is performative. I believe that both still hold merit; but the duality of masculinity theme found in this study offers an expanded view of Goffman and Butler's work by demonstrating that Black college men have to constantly negotiate their performance of gender and masculinities based on social norms across different spaces.

My participants named specific spaces on campus where they displayed their masculinities. For some, there was more comfort in familiar spaces that they frequent often like the gym or the dining halls. While these are unmarked spaces (Brekus 1998), my participants said they felt comfortable in these spaces. For instance, in the gym they could easily display traditional notions of masculinity like strength, aggression, and competition. In marked spaces (Brekus 1998) such as the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office, my participants expressed an even higher level of confidence, safety, and vulnerability. In spaces such as the BSA

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

(Williamson 1999; Pulliam, McGregory & Brown 2010; Banks, Hammond & Hernandez 2014), my participants expressed that the familial and welcoming atmosphere of a space that was designed just for them was important to their expressions of more non-traditional traits of their masculinity such as belonging, Black joy, vulnerability, faith, brotherhood, and community.

The duality of masculinity illustrates the specific ways in which Black men at this PBI describe their own manhood and masculinity in multifaceted ways that shape who they are how they show up on campus. DJ and Terrance discussed their experiences through the lens of spirituality and morality. They challenged the hegemonic nature of masculinity by disrupting traditional notions of Black masculinity and embracing more non-traditional traits. Neal and Ceko expressed their views on masculinity in more traditional definitions, but they also displayed keen awareness of the perceptions others may have of them when displaying those traditional traits such as strength, competition, aggression, and even toxic masculinity. What these men shared further expands our understanding of the duality of masculinity for the men in my study that employed a range of Black masculinities to negotiate and make meaning of their racialized and gendered experiences at this PBI.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.3 Discrimination

“Our power is limited in saying something because we understood that she was white woman, and we understood that she's our boss too.” -CJ

Discrimination was the third theme discussed in this section. For the participants in my study, discrimination emerged in three ways: 1) anti-Blackness, 2) anti-Black misandry and 3) minimization of racism. Discrimination is defined as the practice of treating similar situated groups or individuals differently because of race, gender, sexual orientation, appearance, or national origin (Delgado & Stefancic 2017). As discussed earlier, Black men have complex identities, and their college experiences are not monolithic. Similarly, the ways in which my participants discussed their experiences with discrimination varied. Broome (2017) noted that historically white institutions can be sites of institutional and personal discrimination that can lead to social isolation and threaten the development of Black men on campus. To contribute to the discussion of discrimination at a Predominantly Black Institution, I used Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a tool for analysis, to unpack the responses of my participants to center the multiple ways in which they experienced discrimination on campus.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.3.1 Anti-Blackness and Campus Racial Climate

“They're not too fond of Black people because maybe in their country they've been told to stay away from us and to try to connect more with white people.” -Ron

Anti-Blackness within higher education can take on many forms (Engram 2024). It can include racism, sexism, classism, colorism, ableism, etc. These are just some of the ways in which anti-Blackness can show up on college campuses but be ignored because it is relegated to individual experiences. Institutions are not exempt from being primary actors that also contribute the anti-Blackness that students experience when it comes to campus racial climate and culture. While Critical Race Theory was originally used in legal studies, it has been extended to investigate race and racism in education (Ladson Billings 1995; Delgado 2002; Harper 2009). Solorzano et al. (2000) were some of the early scholars to use CRT to analyze campus racial climate (Brooms 2017).

Campus racial climate is a concept that refers to the current perceptions, attitudes and expectations that define the institution and its members (Bauer 1998; Yasso, Smith, Ceja, & Solorzano 2009; Mwangi, Thelamour, Ezeofor, & Carpenter 2018). The campus racial climate framework consists of five factors: 1) an institution's history and legacy of inclusion or exclusion, 2) compositional diversity, 3) psychological climate, 4) behavioral climate, and 5) organizational/structural diversity (Milem, Chang, & Antonio 2005). Based on those five factors, my participants discussed the campus racial climate mainly focusing on the compositional diversity and the behavioral climate. My participants touted the school's diversity in racial demographics while also highlighting the critical mass of Black students present, which made them feel a sense of belonging.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

BM: How would you describe the campus racial climate here? How does it make you feel?

Ron: So obviously we are at a PBI- a lot of Black people, but you have different Black people. It's like you have the ones that are super chill, super nice, and you have the ones that do act ghetto, you got the wanna-be thugs, and you got the actual thugs. We have a good mix of races. So, I'll never complain about that. I also love that Blackness is very much expressed in the school because I didn't really have that back home. I'm cool with it. I love the Blackness and the camaraderie, but sometimes it's uncomfortable, especially when I kind of see things maybe taking a turn for the worse like when I see fights and stuff, especially if it's us, I always think someone could get shot at any moment. I hate that I think that but, in this city, people pull up and use guns. So, it's like as much as I love the Blackness here, I embrace it but also fear it at the same time.

Ron's statement of 'I love the Blackness and the camaraderie' tells us that the campus climate at SSU is full of a diverse group of Black people where he generally feels welcomed. In his discussion of Blackness, he makes the distinction between the different types of Black students present on campus and how this is accepted. However, campus being right in the middle of the urban-inner city where Blackness, particularly Black maleness, can be criminalized regardless of being a student. Black college men's status as a student while being off campus does not afford them the privileges that students have when interacting with the people off campus (Allen 2020). Gary had this to say about the campus racial climate.

The campus racial climate sometimes makes me feel indifferent because it is good and bad. I believe that our campus is very diverse. And so, you interact with a lot of different people. Yes, our university is predominantly Black, but you also have a high international student population. And so, I believe that when it comes to international students or students of other races that aren't the majority, they don't too much like Black people. They're not too fond of Black people because maybe in their country they've been told to stay away from us and to try to connect more with white people. It just could be just that fear or something like that.

Here you can see how other students of color, particularly international students, create boundaries between them and Black students as their perceptions are rooted in Anti-Blackness. Ron and Gary's responses demonstrate the complicated relationship they seem to have about the

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

status of their school as a PBI. Both express that having a large Black student population makes them feel welcomed and they believe it is a good thing. On the other hand, both express concerns about safety because of the large concentration of Black people or negative perceptions from students of other races including how international students create boundaries between them creating dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. This is how anti- Blackness manifests among students at a PBI. Brooms (2017) found that Black men experience multiple levels of distress on campus that are linked to negative views others hold of them, racial separation and segregation, and the racialized experiences due to their campus climate. While Broom's (2017) work focused on the experiences of Black men at a historically white institution (HWI), he noted that a critical element in understanding Black men's college experiences should be an intersectional focus on their racialized and gendered experiences- regardless of institutional context (Brooms 2024). Anti-Blackness has been found at Predominantly White Institutions (Mustafa 2017; Dancy et.al 2018) and Hispanic Serving Institutions (Abrica 2020; Vega 2021). Scholars (Dumas 2016; Combs 2022; Brooms 2024) continue to explore anti-Blackness in higher education. My work expands on this discussion by focusing on Black men's perceptions of anti- Blackness at a predominantly Black institution.

It is important to note that SSU originally started as a historically white institution (HWI) when it was founded in the early 1900's making it a clear site of white institutional space (Moore 2008). Enrollment was only open to white men making it a clear site of white patriarchal institutional space (Newton 2024). In 1956, the school newspaper ran an article denouncing racial integration titled "Four Negroes Acting Unwise?" In part, they wrote:

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

“So, in the first place, you have set about to excite, perturb. You seek to equate socially across a color barrier not created by, but observed by the white race in Georgia ... Secondly, you are attempting to ‘artificially force’ your way into an institution that you have no need for, and you have not followed [Booker T.] Washington’s advice to ‘struggle constantly and severely’ for your goals ... (Abdulla 2018)”.

Though the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education* was handed down in 1954 ordering schools to be integrated, *SSU* and others were resistant. It wasn’t until several years later, many additional court cases, and social unrest, that in 1962 the first Black student (woman) attended classes. For the next thirty years, minority students would not feel welcome due the hostile campus racial climate, ultimately leading to the school’s 1992 protests that led to the formation of the school’s first department of African American Studies. Over the next thirty years, *SSU* increased its student diversity becoming a minority serving institution with a predominantly Black student body; Yet Black faculty representation has remained stagnant, which is indicative of the anti-Black roots of *SSU* being an HWI. Black students now represent over 40% of the total student enrollment, earning the school the distinction of a PBI, according to Congress’ (2008) federal designations and support of these type of institutions. Jones and Kunkle (2022) critiqued Predominantly White Institutions and Minority Serving Institutions as racialized organizations that have been slow to disrupt the dominant ideologies that privilege whiteness which remains pervasive throughout their histories. Whiteness as a status remains a goal for many Americans as well as international students who attend school in the U.S. (Shajahan & Edwards 2022). My participants' experiences demonstrate how anti-Blackness is rooted within the structure and can be perpetuated by their peers of other races and nationalities.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.3.2 *Anti-Black Misandry*

“Do you have some type of hate or I beef with the Black man?”- CJ

Johnson (2022) posed the question, “Is Anti-Black misandry the new racism?” Black misandry refers “an exaggerated pathological aversion toward Black men created and reinforced in societal, institutional, and individual ideologies and practices (Smith, Yosso, & Solorazano 2007, p. 559).” This type of gendered racism (Mutua 2006) has led to Black men on college campuses of being held in suspicion, marginalized, hated, and placed under increased surveillance (Brooms 2024; Mutua 2006).

Dancy et. al (2018) identify three dimensions of anti-Blackness that manifest in higher education: 1) “interpretations of Black labor through colonial agreements; 2) relationship between labor, ownership, and education; and 3) institutionalization of Black suffering (p. 177).” They assert that Black students experience a range of microaggressions, tokenism, imposter syndrome, and racial battle fatigue across various institution types in higher education. To that end, Critical Race Theory (CRT) is the analytical frame I used to examine how structural and institutional forms of power and discrimination affect racially minoritized groups, like the men in my study. Racism is an ordinary, fundamental, and embedded aspect of life in the United States (Delgado & Stefancic 2017). This tenet of CRT is central to my study because it underscores the fact that racism is everywhere, in everything, and there is no escaping it, including colleges and universities. Previous studies (Moore 2008; Keels 2019; Harper 2008, 2010; Rogers 2012) show that institutions of higher education reproduce racism in many of their policies and practices. My participants expressed how navigating race in every aspect of daily life was a daunting task. Code switching, playing respectability politics, or avoiding negative

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

stereotypes and microaggressions were various ways Black men in my study negotiated their multiple identities for social status, respect, and ultimately- survival.

CJ details classroom and campus accounts of discrimination where he experienced anti-Black misandry in the form of stereotypes, invisibility and hyper-visibility (Brooms 2024) .

BM: In what ways would you say racism impacts your college experience inside and/or outside of the classroom?

CJ: Last semester I was taking an exercise science class. The professor was teaching, and I said, can you please slow down a little bit, you're going too fast. I have a question, and I said, can you repeat everything that you just said cause it was important. And she said why can't you keep up? It was white teacher too. why can't you keep up? You need to take quicker notes, and you need to pay more attention.

BM: How did that make you feel?

CJ: I'm just looking at her like, wow... Do you have some type of hate or I beef with the Black man. we can't ask questions? Instances like that made me think even though I am in a Black Institution that doesn't mean that there won't be people who have beef with the Black man.

The white woman professor's response to CJ asking to help during class demonstrates how Black men's educational abilities are questioned when CJ was asking for help. CJ saw this as the professor having a problem with him as a Black man. This is an example of anti- Black misandry within classrooms at SSU. CJ's response expressed a form of gendered racism he experienced in the classroom as a Black man. He described how he was only one of a few Black people and the only Black male in the classroom. He noted when others in the class would ask questions, the white professor would respond in a more positive manner to them in comparison to when he would ask a question. These classroom racial and gender dynamics send a clear message to CJ that his Black maleness was not valued within the classroom.

I then asked CJ if he ever experienced microaggressions on or off campus and how he handled those situations. CJ stated:

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

So, we were going to an event and one of the coordinators over our office walks in and she says something about the event from last weekend. She was like, 'I had to escort all those monkeys off the bus.' I was just kind of like quiet like What did she really just say? And it was like all right, we're gonna keep going and you have a great day, it was like as much as we wanted to say something. Our power is limited in saying something because we understood that she was white woman, and we understood that she's our boss too.

This experience of invisibility and hypervisibility that CJ experienced is supported by Newton's (2022) work that demonstrated how Black undergraduate women experience hypervisibility and invisibility through micro-invalidations by white peers and faculty on campus. According to Newton (2023), "both invisibility and hypervisibility demonstrate how Black women are othered, ostracized, and diminished at HPWIs" (p. 174). Relatedly, studies also exist that reflect the compounding intersections of discrimination, microaggressions, and racial battle fatigue that Black men face on campus (Harper 2009; Solorzano 2000; Smith, Allen & Danley 2007; Franklin 2011; Brooms 2017, 2024).

In CJ's second response to microaggressions, he described a rather overt instance of racism when a white staff person referred to the bus load of students as monkeys. Controlling images (Collins 2000) of Black people have long endured. From mammies and matriarchs to thugs and uncle Toms, Black men and women have had these images of them perpetuated by white media-controlled mass media and society that has characterized them as dumb athletes, lazy and uneducated Sambos, to hypersexualized Jezebels and womanizers, among other negative stereotypes. The term monkey used to describe Black people has a long dark history in this country as a slur that dates to colonialism to dehumanize the enslaved. It coincided with efforts of scientific racism in the United States to prove Black people were inferior to whites (Jackson, Weidman, Rubin 2005). CJ's response to hearing this comment from his white supervisor is indicative of the powerlessness he felt by wanting to express his feelings about the

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

incident, but because of the position he and others held as students, they and their voices were rendered invisible in yet another act of anti-Blackness at this PBI. CJ choosing not to say anything rendered him invisible since this was his boss. The calling of Black men ‘monkeys’ is a highly racialized term making Black students appear hypervisible within this event setting.

Several students in my study experienced instances of overt racism like CJ. For example, Harrison shared a similar experience when asking for help from his professor. He stated “In class I’m coming to you asking for help and it’s like you don’t want to help me or you just don’t care. I don’t know if it’s racism which sometimes I think it is, but it kind of takes a toll on me cause dang I’m doing my work. But it motivates me. Yeah, I want to say it is, but I don’t know if the root of it was racism- that’s the thing, partially yes.” Although he seems unsure if this interaction of the professor not wanting to help him is an example of racism, it is an example of anti-black misandry in classroom setting. The experiences of anti-Black misandry in the classroom settings for CJ and Harrison provide clear examples of how Black men on campus are racialized, simultaneously invisible and hypervisible, and problematized. Brooms (2017) notes that at historically white universities Black men in college have a “strange” experience. The students in my study also have a strange experience. Even though my participants are attending a Predominantly Black Institution, the remnants of institutional racism persist. This speaks to the centrality of race and racism. Critical Race Theory allows for students like the Black men in my study the opportunity to have their stories told in their own unique voices through counter-narratives (Delgado 1989; Harper 2009; Aguirre 2010; Brooms 2017).

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.3.3 *Minimization of Racism*

“I will probably laugh at it in the moment.”- Sid

There were several other participants that stated they either experienced no racism on campus or more subtle forms that were reduced to what was described by Bonilla-Silva (2014) as a colorblind type of racism known as the *minimization of racism*. JoJo and others similarly recount their experiences below with the *minimization of racism*.

BM: Have you had any experiences with racism, stereotypes, or microaggressions on campus? If so, what impact do you feel racism has on your college experience?

JoJo: No. Maybe this one, Indian kid but at the same time we bonded off what he said. I remember he was Indian. He was like, somebody was smoking weed on the greenway. And I was waiting for him to say, something crazy but after he's like, Hey bro, I'm 420 friendly. And I knew what he meant to say, but the same time it was funny. I don't mind funny racist stuff. I think you have to laugh a little bit. My bosses were white, and we literally cracked the craziest jokes all day at work, just to get through our day.

JoJo describes his interaction with an Indian student that potentially was profiling him based on the smell of marijuana in the area. JoJo did not take it as an insult and thought the comment was funny because they both understood the cultural significance of “420” to mean weed, which they both were supporters of. This interaction seemed to help JoJo and the Indian student make a mutual connection. While JoJo was able to find humor in the comment, it is still an example of the minimization of racism. Historically, Black men have been over criminalized for drug association. In fact, Black people are nearly 3.7 times more likely to be arrested for having marijuana (ACLU 2020). Harper (2015) calls attention to this type of discrimination as stereotype threat, where someone of a socially stigmatized group is stereotyped by a person outside the group. JoJo’s expression that he does not mind funny racist stuff lets us know he is aware of racism, but it may not have a direct impact on his day to day, so he does not find it as

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

offensive. He minimizes the stereotype threat from the Indian student that suggested JoJo may have drugs, be using them, or know where to find it. The Indian student comment and JoJo's response further perpetuates negative stereotypes about Black men on campus and contributes to the minimization of racism. Sid shared with me his experiences with laughing off racist situations.

I can't recall me having really any racist incidents. But I'm also the person that I don't realize how serious something is until after it's happened. I will probably laugh at it in the moment. And then once I think about it, I'd be like, well that was a little racist, so I don't think I've been too affected.

Sid and JoJo both mention the use of humor as a response to the interactions that they called "just a little racist" (Bonilla Silva & Dietrich 2011; Bonilla Silva 2011, 2014; Harper 2012, 2015; Bimper 2015). Harwood, S. A., Hunt, M. B., Mendenhall, R., & Lewis, J. A. (2012) found at least 70 microaggressions experienced by Black, Asian, Latino, and Native American students. The themes identified in their study were 1) racial jokes and verbal comments, 2) racial slurs written in shared spaces, 3) segregated spaces and unequal treatment, and 4) denial and minimization of racism. In my study, my participants experienced racial jokes and verbal comments that they found humor in. These types of responses are not uncommon for marginalized groups to use as coping mechanisms to racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, Solorzano 2011; Franklin 2019). Laughing it off makes the situation less serious.

Junior is a freshman who lives on campus and has yet to decide on a major. When I asked him about his experience with discrimination on campus he shared:

Junior: I'm trying to think I feel like I have but I don't think it was serious enough for me to remember at this point. I feel like it really be small stuff. But it's only happened once or twice maybe so I can't really remember but I feel like it has been something. But it wasn't that bad.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Here, Junior describes his interactions with discrimination and racism as events not serious enough for him to remember. He acknowledges that even if it happened to him once or twice, that it was not really a big deal. Junior minimizes his experiences with racism as if they never happened or as if they had little to no impact on his life thereafter. Junior chooses to compartmentalize those interactions as a coping mechanism for dealing with the type of discrimination he experienced, even though he cannot really name a specific incident. This speaks to the insidious nature of whiteness, racism, and discrimination on campus- that even when it is hard to call out or name, it is still there and impacts students like Junior.

Each of the student experiences are examples of *minimization of racism*. They used language like “*it was funny, it really be small stuff, it wasn’t that bad, or partially.*” The students had enough awareness to know what racism was but there seemed to be little to no impact on their day-to-day college experience as they employed coping strategies such as laughing it off, ignoring it, or using it as motivation. Students of color employing strategies of the *minimization of racism* is not new at HWI’s, but my findings suggest that Black male students at this PBI also experience minimization of racism. The racial jokes and verbal comments coupled with the denial and minimization of racism were consistent with some of the findings in my study based on the student responses above. More recently Yi, J., Neville, H. A., Todd, N. R., & Mekawi, Y. (2023) found in a synthesized study that examined the denying and minimization of racism, that endorsing this type of colorblind racial ideology was associated with higher anti-Black prejudice and lower multicultural competence. My study and others alike are necessary to highlight the experiences and perspectives of Black men who attend a PBI. This work is critical since assumptions remain that anti-Blackness, anti-Black misandry and racism are not present within Black institutional spaces.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

4.4 Belonging and Black Joy

“I will always love my brothers for life.” - Redd

The final theme that emerged from the individual interviews was belonging and Black Joy. Institutions play a critical role in influencing the extent to which Black students will successfully integrate into the broader campus community (Keels 2019). Four students in my study shared their experiences with finding their sense of belonging and Black joy through marked and unmarked campus spaces (Newton 2024; Brekhus 1998) and programs such as a Black Male Initiative (BMI). BMI's (Barker & Avery 2012; Harper 2014; Brooms 2018; Morton 2022) are campus programs and initiatives started on campuses across the country to focus on the retention, progression, and graduation rates of Black males. Many programs have expanded from solely academic success initiatives to include support in the form of financial aid resources, cultural enrichment, networking, and leadership development. To operationalize belonging, I use Brooms' (2017) and Strayhorn's (2012) model of belonging that described sense of belonging as “shaped by the social spaces and contexts in which one engages, such as classrooms, residence halls, and academic departments. Sense of belonging is essential for Black male students because they view belongingness as an ‘optimal psychosocial condition’ (Strayhorn 2012. p. 82) that can offer support, instill pride, and serve as a critical source of motivation” (Brooms 2017).” To operationalize the term Black joy, I use Tichavakunda's (2021) adaptation of Mustaffa's (2017) description of Black joy as “*Black life-making*...that takes the form of creative sites and practices of self-care, self-definition, and resistance. In this manner, Black joy is part of *Black life-making* and manifests in many ways.” In this case Black joy manifests in marked and unmarked spaces and a BMI.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

BM: Are there campus spaces where you feel a sense of belonging or safe? Why is it important for you to have these spaces?

Collin: The number one thing that I have to mention is the black student achievement office. Finding that office and that space was I'm not gonna lie it has been my best decision of college hands down. But not only because of the people I've met there but just because every day I go into the office something fun is happening something to entertain me something to brighten up my day. I could be having a bad day before and I could have just failed a test earlier. But when I walk in that office within, I say 15 to 30 minutes, I'm already smiling or laughing at something.

Collin vividly expressed his Black joy smiling and laughing as he talked about his time in the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office—experiencing Black joy and belonging in this space. The BSA office was described as the equivalent of what is commonly referred to as Black Student Unions at HPWIs (Williamson 1999; Pulliam, McGregory & Brown 2010; Banks, Hammond & Hernandez 2014). These marked spaces had previously been known as safe spaces; however, Keels (2019) has argued for the use of the term counter spaces that are “designed exclusively for individuals from marginalized groups. In counter spaces students wrestle with radical ideas, develop self-narratives that challenge stereotypes and experience growth (p.18-19).” I think it is important to note the distinction between the marked space (Black Student Achievement office) and the unmarked spaces (gym and dining hall) where Collin found comfort. Brekhus (1998) first described marked spaces as those generic or general public spaces that are typically not associated with any particular group. In the context of a Historically white institution, though, these spaces can still be problematic in that they serve as a white habitus while being white-centric. Those spaces allow for racism, patriarchy, and heteronormativity to go unnoticed and unnamed because they serve as a cloak for whiteness to remain invisible and problematic behavior to be seen as natural (Newton 2024). On the other hand, marked spaces are those where historically marginalized groups can gather openly in all facets of their identities and culture without being policed like they may be in an unmarked space (Brekhus 1998). Some of

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

the marked spaces on this campus identified by students were the Black Student Achievement office, the Multicultural Center, and the Latino Student Support office at SSU. Moreover, I wanted to know specifically about their experiences with the Black Male Initiative on campus.

BM: What impact has participating in a Black Male Initiative had on your collegiate experience?

Collin: Come on, my favorite club on campus. MBK has been like a blast. My Brother's Keeper has been phenomenal. I started going to their events and meeting all these people. It was like I had so much fun, but I also felt heard and I also felt like a sense of relation to other people that I had never felt before and I always point to during this semester when we had one of our first black men dialogue programs that I love, when we were all talking about our relationships with our father and somebody said something be like, wow me too, like me too, and things like that was phenomenal, but then also on top of that we went to The Summit in South Carolina that is at this point in my life probably the highlight of college.

Being a part of a program that engages Black men in activities that encourage belonging, and brotherhood was very important to Collin. The positive experience this was for him underscores the value of a BMI program that affords Black men the space to find community as they adjust to unfamiliar college settings (Brooms 2022). It also allows them the space to be themselves and connect with peers who may have shared similar paths. Collin further mentions an away from campus trip to an all-Black male conference. This conference is held annually and is a place for Black men to connect, grow, redefine success, and build resilient, impactful futures. Collaborative workshops, speakers, and networking opportunities provided participants valuable skills in college and beyond. He described how there were so many people there that looked like him from all over the country. The opportunity for him to travel out of town with his friends and bond with them away from campus as a memorable experience—creating brotherhood. Collin expressed how cool it was to attend sessions with his peers, eat dinner, and just hang out. Had Collin not been connected to the BMI, he would not have had the opportunity to take part in an event that he described as inspirational and the highlight of his college career

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

providing him the opportunities of Black joy being connected to his college experiences through a BMI.

Collin expressed finding Black joy in a campus space designed primarily for him and his peers as well as in a student group with a central focus on his race and gender identities. Similarly, he was visibly excited to share the Black joy and belonging he found with Black men in his BMI. He recounted the positive impact meeting, networking, and attending programs designed specifically for Black men as the highlights of his collegiate experience so far. Brooms' (2019) study on sense of belonging in BMI's found that men who engaged in these programs were provided with a unique cultural community, enhanced how they felt valued, and helped with their persistence through college. Black joy does not often emerge in empirical studies on Black men at HPWIs (Tichavakunda 2021), but findings from my study show that Black joy is present in marked spaces and Black spaces at a PBI.

Redd also shared his experiences on belonging and Black joy when I asked him where he felt a sense of belonging on campus.

Redd: So, you know I'm gonna say the BSA office. I feel super safe super welcoming there and I feel like without that space, I don't know what my journey so far would look like cause BSA office has played a major role in my development as a college student. Some other places that I would say is the gym. Because I like to work out and box. I also feel super comfortable the dining hall.

Redd also articulated the Black Student Achievement office as a safe and welcoming environment. He also talked about the gym and dining halls as spaces where he feels a sense of belonging. This is important since dining halls and the gym are unmarked spaces. The gym was seen as a place where they could relieve stress while the dining hall was somewhere they could relax and refuel. I believe that this finding attributes to the general sense of welcoming and

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

comfortability that the Black men in my study expressed towards the campus climate at this PBI. Even in unmarked spaces, the men stated that these were spaces where they felt like they could be themselves when surrounded by so many other people that looked like them. This tells us that because of the critical mass of Black students on campus at this PBI, unmarked spaces like the gym and dining hall can become spaces where Black men in my study find a sense of belonging. Redd went on to share the Black joy found from his participation in a BMI.

BM: What impact has participating in a Black Male Initiative had on your collegiate experience?

Redd: MBK is a lot like family to me. It's more than I could even put into words, but those guys have truly given me a family, a group of brothers I can really call my family like (names multiple individuals). It allowed me to navigate college with a group of guys who are willing to help me in so many spaces with opportunities and programs I would never been aware of if not for MBK and the guys willing to help me out. I will always love my brothers for life.

Redd's responses here indicated the deep sense of belonging and Black joy he found with a group he calls family and brothers for life. Redd is from a rural town in South Georgia and did not see many examples of Black male success growing up. Coming to college and being surrounded by so many like-minded, but different types of Black men provided him with opportunities he may have never experienced had he not been part of this group. Crumb, L., Chambers, C. R., & Chittum, J. (2021) found in their study on #BlackBoyJoy that Black males from rural areas expressed high educational aspirations about attending college. The family atmosphere and group-specific support provided by the BMI helped Redd to persist through his first years of college.

Moreover, FB, a senior business major from the Eastside of Atlanta shared how his experiences with BSA also contributed to their belonging and Black joy on campus.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

FB: I feel like the BSA room. I feel like that is a good environment as far as interactions with what we identify as Black culture. But also, environments where you can find mentorship and for me, that was also the Greek office.

BM: Why is that important for you and other students?

FB: Because especially as a college student you're learning to be an adult. You don't know how to be an adult. You just got out of high school. We just have conversations on certain situations of what I'm going through or what I'm experiencing, and we just talk about my personal development.

For FB, Greek life and BSA were both important factors for his belonging and black joy. FB, specifically called out the Greek Life office as another marked space (Brekhus 1998) where he was able to find mentorship. Membership in Black Greek letter fraternities can have a profound impact on the collegiate experience of Black men (Armstrong 2019). Black fraternities foster a sense of personal growth and maturity for its members. They also play a critical role in the lives of Black college men as they transform from adolescents to young men. There were three men in my study who shared that they were members of Black fraternities at this PBI. Several others expressed interest in joining one at some point, highlighting prestige, networking, and brotherhood as benefits that membership affords.

Lastly, Kordell discussed why the BMI was important for him as a Black man as it offered him mentorship.

BM: What impact has participating in a Black Male Initiative had on your collegiate experience?

Kordel: So, what MBK did for me was it allowed me to first be introduced to the BSA office. Before MBK, I didn't know much about the office. I wasn't really involved on campus. So that's where I met (insert name) and (insert name) so I was able to go in there to talk to them and yeah, I would say really find like the first Black I would say mentor figures that I've had ever in life. I never really had Black male mentorship ever.

Kordel expressed his initial lack of campus involvement and how being part of the MBK program introduced him to the BSA office. Had he not joined the MBK program, he may have

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

not found out about the BSA office and the sense of belonging it provided for him. Kordel specifically mentioned how important finding mentorship was for him. He expressed that growing up he never had mentorship in the form of Black men. The MBK program and BSA office provided him access to peers and staff that would ultimately serve as mentors for him. Mentors and role models have been found to have positive impacts on the engagement and educational outcomes of Black men on college campuses (Strayhorn 2008). Similarly, (Brooms, Goodman, and Clark 2015) assert that because of the challenges Black men face on campus, having older Black male students and staff to look to as mentors can be especially helpful in navigating those challenges.

Both FB and Kordel echoed sentiments on mentorship from the aspect of personal development and the importance of representation from seeing other Black men and their peers as mentors. Previous studies (Brooms 2018; McGowan 2017; Harper 2013; Dancy 2012; Strayhorn 2008) suggest that Black male students experience a range of benefits from the peer-to-peer and mentor-mentee relationships and associations formed by participating in a BMI. Feelings of isolation and other challenges can persist for Black males without the critical role that BMI's play in creating vital social networks and cultural communities where Black men can thrive (Brooms 2019). In the case of FB and Kordel, both were able to build social capital, find community in marked spaces on campus which contributed to their sense of belonging and expressions of Black joy at SSU. Black boy joy is more than a popular social media hashtag. For the participants in my study, finding Black joy at this PBI has had a profound impact on their college experience. Black boy joy is an important aspect to study at PBI's because preconceived notions exist that suggest Black men will easily acclimate and find immediate success being surrounded by mostly Black people. The truth is that Black men at PBI's still face group specific

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

challenges inside and outside the classroom that require group specific supports. The ways in which the Black men in my study expressed Black joy and their sense of belonging highlight how they navigate college life at this PBI.

In conclusion, the four themes found in my individual interviews with Black male students at this Predominantly Black Institution were complex individuality, duality of masculinity, discrimination, and belonging and Black joy. With complex individuality, students discussed the intersections of their identities through the lens of *blackmaleness* to make meaning of their gendered and racialized college experiences. Duality of masculinity surfaced as a continuation of the complex individuality expressed by the participants as they navigated the full spectrum of manhood and masculinities while also choosing a master identity status. My findings suggest that the Black men in this study experienced a range of ideals from traditional to nontraditional about manhood and masculinity that have been and continue to be shaped by their social environments. Discrimination was shaped by the campus climate and experiences with racial microaggressions for the students in my study. While some experienced very overt instances of discrimination like anti-Blackness and anti- Black misandry, others experienced none or more subtle forms that led to co-opting a colorblind racial ideology also known as the *minimization of racism*.

Finally, belonging and Black joy were crucial factors that positively impacted their educational experiences across spaces and programs on campus. From marked and unmarked spaces that helped them find community, identity development, and the joy they found in a BMI program that brought them mentors, brotherhood, and family- these Black men created, found, and experienced belonging and Black joy at this PBI. While previous literature (Harper and Harris 2010; Kimmel 2008; Laker & Davis 2011) has primarily focused on a deficit narrative

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

and centered white men on campus, newer studies (Dancy 2012; Harper 2013; Brooms 2017, 2019, 2024; Tichavakunda 2021, 2022; Anderson 2022) offer compelling reflections on Black men's perceptions, identity construction, and intersections of their race and gender. Black men are and should be considered primary sites of experiential knowledge, as lived experiences are knowledge (Collins 2022). By telling these students stories in their own words, my study adds to a growing body of literature that interrogates and centers the lived experiences of Black men at a Predominantly Black Institution. Chapter 5 captured the collective voices of Black men in the form of two focus groups.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5 FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS ON THE COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCES OF BLACK MEN ON CAMPUS

“I felt like this is where Black people were supposed to be.” -Gary

I have divided chapter 5 into two sections to discuss the findings from my 2 focus group interviews. The first section discusses the themes of belonging, brotherhood, and discrimination which were overlapping themes in both focus groups. My participants discussed these experiences through the Black Male Initiative (BMI) and the marked space of (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office. Another theme that emerged was the impact of campus organizations as support systems. My participants also discussed campus and classroom experiences of discrimination in the form of racism and lack of faculty representation and support. The second section centers the collective voices for Black men on campus which was also a theme that emerged in both focus groups. My participants’ perspectives on the collective voice of Black men on campus was expressed by views on Black solidarity and unity or the lack thereof.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.1 The Setting

While the individual interviews for my participants were conducted virtually, it was important for me to conduct these focus groups in person. Performing these group interviews in person provided an element to the data that made it more robust that included affirming verbal and non-verbal communication, varying perspectives, and vulnerability amongst participants. Creswell (2009) details how this type of qualitative research provided the best opportunity to explore more deeply an understanding and meaning that individuals and groups assign to their life experiences. Furthermore, for understanding the experiences of Black college men, it was an opportunity to hear them in their own words collectively (Brooms 2018). By using focus groups, I was able to collect a large amount of detail-rich information that allowed my participants to build upon the reflections of others while also exploring aspects of their own experiences that they may not have thought of in a different setting. Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic 2017) also calls for the voices of Black men as the centrality of experiential knowledge. I met with both focus groups separately in a private room in the campus library. This unmarked space (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) was described by my participants as a safe space on campus that they often visited when they needed to focus on studies or to hang out with their friends working on group projects. Although specific questions and interview protocol were used in the focus groups, the discussions became conversational as my participants regularly confirmed, added to, and sometimes disagreed with comments made by others.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.2 Group A: Belonging and Brotherhood

“I love the brotherhood that it brings. I love the sense of security, the sense of safety, the fact that I have guys that I can now call my brothers because of those two programs.” -Ty

Group A consisted of 5 students who also had participated in the individual interviews. I selected this group of students based on their prior connections to each other. This group had noticeable chemistry since they had all become friends who had connected in the BMI program and traveled together out of state for a weekend Black male conference. When I asked the students about groups or organizations on campus that have impacted their collegiate experiences, they discussed finding belonging and brotherhood (Brooms 2017) defined as the tight-knit relationships that Black men on campus developed with each other through participation in a Black Male Initiative, the Black Student Achievement office, and other student organizations. Ty stated:

So Black student achievement the office, yeah, love them. My Brother's Keeper, also, really good organization. There's an organization that I'm secretary and it's another African American male initiative on campus called Tighter grip. Love those guys to death. Tighter Grip and MBK, both African American male initiatives. I love the brotherhood that it brings. I love the sense of security, the sense of safety, the fact that I have guys that I can now call my brothers because of those two programs.

Ty spoke extensively about his interactions with two different campus groups that were both specifically designed for Black men on campus. I noticed in the room how the other men nodded in agreement as Ty looked at them describing his experiences. Ty looked to them for affirmation in that moment and they validated his comments with a nodding and an occasional “yep” or a point in his direction signaling agreement. This was an example of how the men in the room further demonstrated their brotherhood towards one another. add sentence on how they nodded – that also demonstrates their brotherhood. The Tighter Group organization was a

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

student-ran organization which he had taken on a leadership role as secretary demonstrating his deep involvement with these organizations. Additionally, the MBK organization was the school-ran Black Male Initiative. Both organizations provided group-specific support for Black men on campus that included tutoring, mentorship, and social support which led to Ty's sense of belonging and brotherhood. He expressed this by the feelings of safety and security when he engaged with both organizations. Like Ty, other Black male students often described their involvement with historically marginalized groups as not just developing their racial-ethnic identity, but also their overall growth and development (Keels 2019). For instance, Dre talked about how his involvement with MBK also helped his personal and professional development.

Dre: It changed my life, honestly and truthfully, like it encouraged me to do a lot of things that I would not have done... previously, whether that be joining a fraternity or making all of these friends, or joining all of these clubs, or being as interactive and extroverted as I am now, because in high school, I was nothing like this.

Dre talked about the confidence the organization gave him to come out of his shell and explore other opportunities. It further underscores the idea that developing one's whole self is critical for Black college men. Being in organizations like these help them to develop and deploy different aspects of themselves to navigate the distinct demands of their social status as Black men on campus. For example, Dre and Ty can safely and effectively navigate social scenes on campus in groups where they find familiarity, alleviating pressures to code-switch. Ty and Dre's experiences add to our understanding of Museus' (2014) concept of Cultural Engaging Campus Environment (CECE). One of the indicators in the model is cultural familiarity, which is defined as opportunities where students can connect with individuals with whom they share common knowledge. We see cultural familiarity through their discussion and engagement in MBK and the other black student organization. Ty and Dre both discussed relationships and skills they

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

developed that will last beyond their college years by being part of a Black male student organization and Black Male Initiative. Their conversation shows us the importance of these organizations as they foster brotherhood bonds for Black men.

“The Black Student Achievement office that is where, yeah, like, we're going to have stuff in there more catered towards black males. We're going to be talking about different topics that black males might be going through.” -Dre

The BSA office is a marked space since it is known as a place where marginalized groups can congregate and exist in all their aspects of their identities and cultures (Newton 2024). As the conversation continued, my participants also expressed the unique ways in which they experienced belonging and brotherhood in a marked space (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) on campus known as the Black Student Achievement office. Several of the students expressed how the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office led to their awareness of the BMI, which both helped them to find community on campus. Zo spoke about his experience with the BSA office and the BMI when asked where he found belonging on campus.

Zo: The BSA office and MBK, because I kind of, I just kind of put both of those together, just because they, you know, most people associated with one associated with the other one. The Black Student Achievement office-that office, I always speak to how instrumental, monumental it has been for me. Um, I just feel like home and like a sense of comfort there. Um, that's why I love it so much.

Zo's comment that BSA feels like home is important to our understanding of how Black men on campus find community and comfort. While the school itself has a critical mass of Black people, it is still necessary for Black men to find group-specific spaces where they can build community in an environment where they are validated culturally. He goes on to talk about how this cultural validation has led to his sense of belonging in the space and on campus at large.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Zo: The people in there, they're just kind of, like, similar to me, like we're the Black Student Achievement office. So just naturally, with that, that's more of a gathering for men. It's not strictly just men, though, but that's just more so, like, where you're going to get a lot of black people, you're going to get black men, black women, just together in that. And just naturally, we have a bunch of things that... Um, there are certain things that we understand, certain ways that we can talk, certain signs that we can give each other certain it's just certain things that we can do that's, like, very comforting, and just makes me kind of like, put my wall down.

BM: Can you give me an example of what you mean by that last comment?

Zo: The look... like in the office, bro, for whatever reason I know I can mess around and look to the right. Look at Dre. We gonna look at each other, like D right now and then we both know what it means.

Zo provides an interesting window into our understanding of the BSA office as not only a marked space (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) designed specifically for all Black students, but also as a culturally validating environment (Museus 2014) where students' cultural backgrounds and identities are affirmed. The interactions that Zo describes when giving his other Black male peers "the look" or a sign and them instantly knowing what it means is a perfect example of a non-verbal type of communication and behaviors that Black students are afforded in a marked space like the BSA office. This look shows us the connection that Black men have with one another to acknowledge and affirm their Black maleness. Conversely, those same interactions in unmarked spaces, that are inherently white-centered, may be policed and deemed problematic (Newton 2024). Zo expressed his sense of belonging by finding comfort and a home away from home in the BSA office where he could be himself in culturally validating environment around others who share a common language and knowledge.

Ron added to the conversation when asked what makes the space so appealing to him and other students, he shared:

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

It's just a space for black people that just feel comfortable. I could be myself, authentically. There are people in that office that understand me simply because we go through the same exact experiences, not only as students, but as African Americans in general. The people in there are super welcoming, super funny. Like I said, I can mess around with the guys all the time, give them looks like, 'yo, you know what it means.' Start cracking jokes. Or, you know, sometimes we just bully each other in a funny way because, you know, we mess with each other.

Moreover, each of my participants in Group A mentioned the BSA office when talking about a space on campus where they found belonging. Ron and Zo also discussed how the people in the BSA space made them feel welcome and it was a space that they could be their authentic selves. This is important because, Black men on college campuses often have to negotiate which parts of their complex identities they share, particularly in public or unmarked spaces (Brooms 2017; Anderson 2022). In this marked space of BSA, they can be visible without having to choose a master status (Anderson 2011). Relatedly, Ron discussed having a common language whether or non-verbal that he and others in the BSA shared. They would crack jokes, give “the look”, or playfully hassle one another. What Ron is describing is typical of Black family behavior, which shows us how close these men are. The fact that the students in my study were able to find this type of familial atmosphere on a college campus contributes greatly to their sense of belonging and brotherhood. Neither Ron or Zo had family members attend college, so they had no prior examples or expectations of what it would be like. Their ability to rely on each other shows us how Black college men are creators of brotherhood when they have a space designed for them. Having each other to lean on and learn from as first-generation college students also contributed to their belonging. Black male students can often experience isolation more generally across campus because of the negative messages they receive about their race and ethnicity on a daily basis (Keels 2019). For Ron and Zo, making these types of connections in a space that was designed specifically with their needs in mind, was

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

important to their connection to peers, their engagement with faculty, and staff, and helped them find belonging in a culturally validating environment.

While offering similar sentiments during our group discussion, Gary also discussed his BSA experiences from the vantage point of a student worker who intentionally sought out the space for a job on campus.

I cannot under state the value that the Black Student Achievement office has had on me. I mean, the Black Student Achievement office, the place where I specifically chose, I want to work. That was not a coincidence. That's not on a whim. Because I went in there, I felt like this is a place where I need to be.

Gary mentioning that he specifically chose the BSA office as a place to work, first speaks to his awareness that the space existed, and that it had opportunities for students to find employment on campus. He discussed finding out about the office by attending one of the social programs throughout the semester and one of the administrators telling him to come by the office to check it out. This interaction with the staff member from the office is also important because it highlights the student-centered and relational approach from the staff member that made Gary feel like visiting the space could be beneficial to him. Gary mentions that when he walked in the space that it felt like it was a place where he needed to be. This lets us know that Gary saw, heard, or had some initial interaction in the space that contributed to his sense of belonging which led to him landing a job in the office. He further detailed how working there has contributed to his personal a professional development.

I cannot understate how much they've helped me, not in my not only in my professional development, but also just in my personal development, because the people in there will hold you accountable, even you don't want them to, and it's because of them that it's just like I would not be in the place I am right now. I mean, not only companionship, also critiques and just catching you if I say something crazy, helping me work on my ability to phrase things properly, stuff like that. They helped me build my perception better to where people now see me

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

closer to how I see myself, as opposed to something else. I will fight for them till the wheels fall off. Yeah, I love BSA.

Here Gary details how working in the BSA office has helped him grow in a professional capacity by providing him with a work opportunity. This is valuable experience he can use on a resume in preparation for future career opportunities. He also mentions how working in the space has helped him develop personally. The interactions he has with his peers and other staff members in the office have helped his growth by having him take ownership of his words and actions. He further attributes his time in the office to a clearer perception of how others view him that now better aligns with how he sees himself. Gary has developed a clear sense of love and loyalty for the BSA office that has contributed to his sense of belonging on campus. His experiences gave him a purpose on campus beyond being a student and allowed for him to be part of the fabric of campus culture through the BSA.

Keels (2019) posits three questions that all college students are seeking answers to: “How are students like me viewed at this institution? How do I want to engage with or distance myself from the various subcultures of this institution to protect my sense of self? And ultimately, who am I at this institution (pg. 39)?” For my participants in Group A, they found the answers to these questions through their involvement with a Black Male Initiative, student organizations, and the Black Student Achievement office. In these groups and spaces, the students in my study fostered their sense of belonging and brotherhood by developing their cultural familiarity amongst other Black men and more broadly connecting in a culturally validating environment that included other Black students from similar backgrounds and identities. Museus’ (2014) CECE model suggests that cultural familiarity and culturally validating environments are interrelated. The experiences detailed by my participants Group A help to inform how Black

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

college men at this Predominantly Black Institution rely on their cultural wealth to garner success in higher education (Brooms, Clark, & Smith, 2018; Brooms & Davis, 2017; Jayakumar, Vue, & Allen 2013; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Strayhorn, 2008, 2010; Yosso, 2005).

This focus group provided me the opportunity to see their brotherhood in real time. I was able to see ‘the look’ they give each other as they discussed how they interact with each other in the BSA. Being able to be in this space as a researcher gave me an additional visual layer on how they enact their brotherhood and sense of belonging. As they spoke there were interruptions, laughter, and comments of affirmation as they shared out—all which showed me their sense of belonging and connections with each other. As a Black male researcher in that space, I too was able to engage in the cultural aspects, jokes and comments as they discussed their interactions. This dynamic in the focus group would not be possible without my positionality as researcher with insider knowledge. I share the same race and gender as my participants, had worked with several of them previously in the BMI program, and built strong rapport and trust with them individually and collectively. Black men as researchers having insider knowledge contributes to the gaps in literature that often persist when narratives written about Black men on campus are constructed by those who do not share the similar identities or experiences.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.3 Group B: Belonging and Brotherhood

“My first impression was, how am I going to make friends? And so, I threw myself into a lot of different orgs, and like now, my resume is filled...” -Ceko

While Group B did not have the same level of camaraderie and friendship as did Group A, they were not strangers to each other and had either seen or met before on campus. Several of my participants in Group B shared experiences of belonging and brotherhood which was expressed by their involvement in a Black Male Initiative (BMI), marked spaces on campus (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) such as the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office, and other campus organizations. When I asked the group where they found comfort on campus DJ and FB both spoke out about the importance of My Brother’s Keeper BMI and the office of Black Student Achievement. DJ started the conversation

DJ: I would say the spaces I found is generally when I'm in shared student spaces, such as the Student Center, and that links to places like Black student achievement, because that space is created to allow people to come together that need that sense of community.

Here DJ shares that he typically finds shared spaces on campus to be welcoming in the Student Center. He specifically mentions the BSA space and how it was intentionally created for students to convene and find that sense of community. DJ recognizes the BSA office here as a marked space (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) since it was designed for not just all students, but Black students. This intentional space was important to how he spoke about the support on campus. Another marked space that offered comfort for DJ was the Honors college where he was able to find mentorship from another Black male staff member. He expressed how important that was for him. He added, “One of my advisors that I had through the Honors College, which was a which was an African American man, and he was able to help connect me to a lot of things that would help me in the resources because of how I identified.” DJ’s comment here adds to the

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

importance of representation and mentorship for Black men on campus. This is especially true for Black male students in the Honors College on campus at SSU because the Black male students that are eligible and actively engaged in the Honors college is only a small percentage. Research (Harper 2012, 2014; Brooms 2019, 2024) shows that high achieving Black men can experience feelings of loneliness, isolation, and lack of support without identity-specific support systems in place. For DJ, having another Black man in the Honors college contributed to his sense of belonging in an academic setting. SSU bring a predominately Black Institution offered the opportunity for a Black man to be in a position of power at the Honors College. For DJ, this type of representation in an academic setting was significant, since that was one of the only settings he saw Black men as faculty or staff in positions of authority.

While The BSA office also allowed access to other racial student identities, the existence of the space made students like DJ feel seen. FB agreed with DJ and affirmed the importance of having a space that was attentive to their specific needs as Black male students. FB began to chime into the conversation and mentioned attending monthly discussion groups in the space that focused purposely on Black men's issues on campus and how this was important to him. FB continued the discussion by expressing his feelings towards having a space like BSA that can sometimes be overlooked on a campus with so many Black Students.

I consider that a safe space, and people don't really have that much awareness to it. It's seen, but people pass it every day, and people don't come in until you're invited, and that shouldn't necessarily be the case. I do feel that the presence of BSA does need some type of improvement. I'm still one of those people that frequent in the BSA office so, I see a lot of faces coming in and out.

FB calls attention to the lack of visibility of the BSA space and that perhaps more should be done to improve the awareness of the space to more students so it would feel even more welcoming to students who may not be as familiar. FB's comment here is important because it highlights how institutional racism (Moore 2008) can persist even at predominantly Black

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

institutions. Even though BSA has been created as a marked space on campus, little has been done to promote the space to the broader mass of Black students that attend SSU. This speaks to higher education's ongoing relationship with anti-Blackness. The location and size of the space is also important to note as Black culture centers are often geographically marginalized on campus. This is how Blackness is minimized across PWIs and PBIs. Institutions like SSU continue to recruit, employ, and graduate many Black students without any substantial efforts to address specific needs of Black students, such as investing in larger BSA spaces, increased marketing efforts to promote those spaces, or push back against political efforts calling for an end to such spaces (Fredrick 2024).

Despite some of the challenges, students like Ceko continued to find belonging and brotherhood in the BSA space. He spring-boarded off FB and DJ's conversation and jumped into the conversation. Ceko, like Gary from Group A, also found employment in the BSA office which led to him finding community amongst groups like the My Brother's Keeper BMI and other student organizations for Black men.

The place where I felt the most comfortable on campus was probably the Black Student Achievement office, because I did, of course, work there. But even before then, I did start going there, because I seen some of my friends would go there, and then it felt like a nice space where I could just be myself.

Ceko talked about how he was able to find a job in the BSA space because he was initially looking for friends. Even at PBIs where the majority of the students are Black, Black men still intentionally seek each other out so that they find other Black male students who they can relate to. Black college men have different needs and come from different backgrounds, so it is important for them to find connections with other Black men who have similar interests. Again, this is important for our understanding of why Black men on campus need to find spaces where they can exist in all facets of their complex individuality. Ceko was able to make some

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

connections with people in the BSA space where he felt like he could be himself. Marked spaces such as the BSA office provide the opportunity for students like Ceko to find that comfortability without being policed, like they might be in an unmarked space (Newton 2024). Ceko elaborated further how BSA helped connect him to other groups on campus where he found support. These groups helped him grow personally and professionally, similar to Ty's experience in Group A.

My first impression was, how am I going to make friends? And so, I threw myself into a lot of different orgs, and now, like my resume is filled with Black Sophomore Society working in the BSA office, Tighter grip, My Brother's Keeper, Phi, Beta, Sigma, Infinite Appeal. The list goes on. So, I believe all those groups have helped me out personally with development and growth and really finding out what type of person I want to be... you know, they really helped me out teach me how to be a leader, and hopefully, within the next semester or next year, I could be like a president of any one of my many orgs I'm a part of or with different org. I just love this. All those different orgs and people have made me realize I like to help people and help my community out, and that's I guess that's like I said, made me found who I am and what I want to do with my time here.

Ceko went in depth about how the BSA office helped him connect to a network of other campus organizations that have contributed not only to his sense of belonging and brotherhood but helped him to grow personally and professionally. As Strayhorn's (2012) model suggests, sense of belonging is shaped by social spaces in which one engages. For Ceko, that space was the BSA office that was essential to his belongingness where he was able to foster friendships, develop leadership skills, and connect to his community. Ceko's experiences further expounds our understanding of spaces and programs like the BSA office and BMI programs as sites of cultural communities (Brooms 2019) at PBIs for Black men. These spaces uniquely position them with access to each other groups where they can find sociocultural capital.

While some of my participants listed BSA and My Brother's keeper as their primary sources for finding belonging and brotherhood, an interesting finding that emerged in Group B,

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

that was not discussed in group A, was the comfort some of my participants found in unmarked spaces (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) on campus. Men in this group listed spaces such as the dining hall, the gym, or their dorm rooms. JoJo and Sid discussed what made these unmarked places on campus appealing to them and other Black men that they also saw often engaging in these spaces.

JoJo: In the dining hall besides the fact that I can eat I do my homework in there, I study, you know, I guess it's more so, like, a nice, empty, sort of quiet, like place I have my headphones in, and none of my friends have a meal plan, so I'm always in there by myself. So, it's like, I guess, a quiet space for me, and a place where I feel like men are most likely to gather. I guess I would also say the Rec Center, that's where I see a lot of Black men like, be together, like they work out in groups, or would go hoop, play basketball with each other.

JoJo lists the dining hall and the campus recreation center or gym as spaces on campus where he found comfort and frequently saw other men gathering. The dining hall and gym are unmarked spaces that are not tied to any particular identity. Typically, at PWIs unmarked spaces can be sites where whiteness is centered and discrimination in the form of patriarchy and homophobia can persist (Newton 2024). However, unmarked spaces at a PBI are often not centered on whiteness so Blackness is not policed in the same manner allowing for Black men to utilize those spaces for their intended purpose. For JoJo these spaces provided a quiet space to study, hang out with friends, or tend to the physical and mental well-being. Eating and attending to one's mental and physical and mental health are critical components to one's sense of belonging, as outlined in Strayhorn's (2012) model of sense of belonging as they satisfy a basic human need (Brooms 2019). While unmarked spaces, can sometimes reinforce problematic systems and behavior, JoJo was able to successfully navigate in these unmarked spaces to find belonging on campus. Relatedly, Sid and DJ both chimed in and discussed their campus dorm rooms where they found comfort and community.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Sid: Of course, my dorm, I feel that everyone should have their dorm. There's their second home, their safe space. I know that my safe space is my room.

DJ: I would say the places on campus where I feel most comfortable would honestly be when I visit any friends on campus, at their dorms. So, I would say like in the living areas, because SSU has focused a lot on living communities. So that's generally where I would feel most comfortable and safe, just to let my guard down the most and it's appealing to me because of the fact, usually I'll be with people who I trust most, or have opened up with the most.

Sid and DJ both listed their dorm rooms on campus as spaces where they found safety and comfort. For Sid, his dorm room was seen as his second home. For DJ he recognized that the school has been intentional with creating living communities where students can find belonging on campus. This is a benefit for attending a PBI. Campus housing or dorms may be classified as unmarked spaces (Brekus 1998), since they are open to all students who live on campus. However, for Sid and DJ, they see their dorm rooms as marked spaces, that they have some agency over. They are afforded privacy and can engage with their identity specific friend groups that they share similar interests with and moreover, those with whom they've developed a sense of trust. Black college men living together in a dorm and also having a Black roommate speaks to the specific experiences Black men have at this PBI. This is important because it contributes to our understanding of how Black men at this PBI make connections on campus in marked and unmarked spaces as culturally validating environments (Museus 2014), outside of identity spaces, that contribute to their sense of belonging on campus. The themes in Group B contributes to our understanding that expands our knowledge of how Black men at this PBI have fostered belonging and brotherhood in both marked and unmarked spaces. For my participants, navigating the social settings on campus seemed to be somewhat easier than dealing with the challenges they faced in academic settings like the classroom or other parts of campus.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.4 Discrimination: Classroom Challenges and Experiences

“I definitely had classes where I've kind of had to prove myself to teachers, just because they kind of see a 6'3 black dude in a durag, or 6'3 black dude in a hoodie, and they automatically think uneducated black man-hoodlum, and it's like, I always do end up proving myself, even though I feel like I shouldn't.” -Zo

Not only did my participants in Focus Groups A and B find belonging and brotherhood on campus, both groups also experienced an array of challenges as the theme of campus and classroom experiences of discrimination in the form of racism, and lack of faculty representation within the classroom, and lack of classroom support.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.4.1 Classroom Challenges and Experiences Group A

Group A was very transparent about their classroom experiences in their Computer Science and Computer Information Systems majors. When I asked about their classroom experiences, Zo and Ty both spoke out and were forthright about their Black maleness being a central factor in the discrimination. Ty stated, “I’m a Computer Science major and I had a couple experiences. Like with certain instructors, it’ll be a thing where it’s literally, like, they’ll just speak to you differently.” He added:

I’ll raise my hand to ask a question and somebody else will raise their hand afterwards, and they’ll pick the other person, or, like, sometimes I’ll raise my hand and give the answer. And then they’ll basically be like, um, that’s not all the way, right. And then someone else will give, like, a very similar answer, they just framed it differently. And the instructor will be like, exactly, that’s what I’m looking for. And I’ll be like, that’s exactly what I just said.

Ty described feeling ignored by his professor when trying to ask a question. This type of invisibility in the classroom can lead to students like Ty feeling isolated and that his classroom participation had censored (Brooms 2017). Even when Ty did respond and gave what he thought was the correct answer, again his class participation was censored and invalidated by the professor saying his answer was wrong, but validated the other student’s response that Ty felt gave a very similar response. Ty internalized the classroom experience as his answer not being good enough compared to others in the class. Research shows that white professors tend to hold lower academic expectations for Black male students in the classroom (Harper 2009; Solorzano, Ceja and Yosso 2000). Some will even avoid or limit their interactions with Black male students (Feagin 1992; Kim 2010; Comeaux 2013). The professor here created a classroom dynamic where Ty felt silenced because the professor made him feel like was not smart enough to contribute in class. This type of racialized classroom discrimination can add to the already existing strain and stress that Black men may experience as they navigate the campus life

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

(Brooms 2017). Ty seemed to think that Black men in the tech majors had similar experiences, stating “Zo used to be CS, but he changed to CIS. I've always been CS, but in that major, every tech major is the same.” Zo nodded in agreement as he joined the conversation.

Zo: I changed to CIS this year, but when I was in computer science, like, in labs, all those kids would, like, see a black dude and like, Yeah, nah, he's not smart. It's a very Indian heavy major. So, like, they like to look down on black people a lot, like, all the time. I remember I was trying to get in this one group for an assignment, and they wouldn't let me in. It's gotta be because they have some prejudice.

Zo confirms that he had similar experiences as Ty did in his Computer Science major but has since switched over to Computer Information Systems where he experienced discrimination in the form of anti-Blackness from other racial groups like Indian students who are heavily represented in the major. Zo's response illustrates a clear example of a disparate academic environment that is marked with separation and division across racial groups. While several of my participants felt the campus climate was generally welcoming and diverse, the classroom and major- specific experiences were different. This highlighted the reality that diversity did not automatically equate to harmony or inclusion. The Indian students' refusal to accept Zo in their study groups or looking down on him is a function of anti-Blackness at the PBI since the Indian students represent a racial majority in his major. Zo is clear that he is experiencing a form of discrimination because of his Blackness. In fact, he appears to have grown tired because of the countless times he's had to prove himself. He continued:

I definitely had classes where I've kind of had to prove my prove myself to teachers, just because they kind of see a 6'3 Black dude in a durag, or a 6'3 Black dude in a hoodie, and they automatically think uneducated black man hoodlum, and it's like, I always do end up proving myself, even though I feel like I shouldn't...but like it's so common now, so I don't even think about it anymore. It kind of just happens and I kind of go with the flow. But like, if I were to kind of document every time I've had to do that for a teacher, for a student, or, like, for somebody else, it's probably like, more than 20 times a semester, I just don't really pay attention to them anymore.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Zo describes the stereotypes he experienced being a tall, dark-skinned Black man that wore a hoodie or a durag. Dark skin, for Black men in this country typically activates cultural stereotypes of thugs and criminals (Dixon & Maddox 2005). While this type of attire might be accepted on campus as in a marked space (Brekus 1998) such as the Black Student Achievement office, in unmarked (Brekus 1998) and white spaces (Moore 2008) like the classroom, Zo's appearance is policed (Newton 2024). This can lead to Black men being problematized on campus as uneducated thugs, reinforcing controlling images (Collins 2000; Moss 2007). For Zo, these type of interactions on campus have become so commonplace, that he is exhausted from it and has employed a coping strategy of ignoring the issues in response to the racial battle fatigue (Smith, Mustaffa, Jones, Curry, & Allen 2016) that Black men often experience on campus. Relatedly, previous studies (Smith, Allen, & Danley 2007; Quaye, Karikari, Carter, Okello, & Allen, 2020) show that Black men on historically white campuses being defined as "out of place" or "fitting the description" as illegitimate nonmembers of the campus community. Zo's description of the type of stereotyping or marginalization he experienced contributes to our understanding of how Black misandry for my participants show up in the classroom from professors as well as from their interactions with other racial ethnic groups in the Computer Science and Computer Information Systems majors.

Gary offered a different perspective when he joined the conversation about his experiences as a Business Administration major stating, "I know my answer is real different from them."

I'm a marketing major, but like all my classes were not really interactive, like, you know, most of the classes I had at least 50 people. Some of them had like, 2-300 in it. So, most of them was just like, get your work done. And just, you know, if you need, if you need help, ask somebody, if you don't get it, then, you know, maximize your time or if you need help from the teacher, specifically, you know,

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

email them. You might get a response or not, but I just never really, I mean, some of it could have been like some prejudice, but I just never really thought about that.

For Gary, his experience as a Marketing major was viewed as more transactional. He discussed the challenge of being in very large classes that did not always lend themselves to close interactions with professors and other students. Gary also mentioned that the professors in his classes emphasized students maximizing their time in class by sending follow-up emails. Gary did not seem to internalize, sometimes not getting a response from his professors as a form of discrimination. He acknowledged that the lack of response may have been a type of prejudice, but it was not something he put much thought into. Gary's comments as a Business major were different from Zo and Ty's comments from their perspectives as Computer Science majors. This finding is important because it highlights the variance in perspectives by the Black men in my study based on their individualized experiences in their different majors.

When I asked Dre, who is an Art major now, about his classroom experiences in his major he was quick to acknowledge the experiences of Ty and Dre as he nearly was a Computer Science major himself adding, "I think it's worth mentioning that I was almost a computer science major, but I had so many signs pointing me in another direction. I'm just very glad that I did not commit to that field, because I don't want to deal with what they had to go through."

Speaking directly about the Art department he added:

Dre: As an art student, I do know that, um, actually, the head of the Art department is a massive misogynist and also probably a racist and I know I have to face him at some point.

BM: Why do you say that?

Dre: I say that he's a misogynist because I know he's a misogynist. He thinks that women can't make art, yes, so I know, like, he thinks that women's issues are trivial, and he just in his description of their work is like, oh, you don't actually

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

have to go through anything. So how do you create from these experiences? Like they don't struggle and stuff like that. So, he's old, he's ignorant, and he's white as fuck!

I found Dre's comment about his Art professor interesting since I was asking him about his own unique academic or classroom challenges, but he took the opportunity to highlight an issue that directly impacts women. Dre also asserts that due to the misogynist views the Art professor holds towards women, that the professor may hold similar racist views as well and Dre is apprehensive about facing this professor in the future. Dre's comments here speak to the awareness that he has about not only how this professor's behavior could potentially impact him but also how problematic it is for women in the department as well. This finding is important for understanding how Black men in my study see the academic environments around them, noting their concern not only for themselves but other groups like women and queer individuals whose issues on college campuses are often pushed to the margins (Harper 2014; Lynch & Curcio 2020; Batalha 2022). Seeing the way that these men dialogued with each other revealed how shared experiences within this setting demonstrates the importance of focus groups. In this setting I was able to see how the men's collective voices contributed to their sense of safety and vulnerability in sharing their experiences. They seemed to feed off each other as they reflected on what was shared by others, and at the same time, reflecting on unexplored versions of their own experiences. For me, conducting these interviews in a focus group setting was critical to capturing the essence Black men's unique voice in narrating their own stories.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.4.2 Classroom Challenges and Experiences Group B

“While there is a lot of minority leadership here, there's not as much academic faculty.” -DJ

The theme of campus and classroom experiences of discrimination in the form of racism and lack of faculty representation and support also emerged in my conversation with my participants in Focus Group B. The discussions here centered on the lack of representation of Black faculty as well as racial profiling experiences on campus, and outside of the classroom. When I asked the group about unique challenges that Black men may face, DJ was first to respond with his frustrations about the lack of Black faculty on campus.

I can only think of one Black male professor that I've had, which was in African American Studies. Outside of that, in other disciplines, I haven't gotten much perspective from other races, outside of white males or white women, and so I think that's been a challenge as a Black male student, not getting the academic perspective from other Black males within certain disciplines.

DJ, who is a Political Science major and enrolled in the Honors College recalled the positive impact that having a Black male mentor in the Honors College was for him. He noted how much the university has a lot of minority leadership in administrative positions, but those numbers are very low when it comes to academic faculty at SSU. For DJ, his only experience with another Black male faculty member was from a class he took in African American Studies. The representation of Black faculty in Black studies has been well documented to the critical success they play in helping Black students develop self-authorship and cultural capital on campus (Madyun, Williams, McGee, & Milner 2013). For DJ, having a different perspective across disciplines was important to him since most of his other faculty had been white men or women. For students like DJ, the pursuit of meaningful relationships with other Black faculty members deeply impacts their ability to connect in the classroom and impacts their retention within the discipline (Fries-Britt & White-Lewis 2020). Relatedly, Brooms (2020) found that

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Black males at historically white institutions found sense of belonging through their connections and relationships with faculty members that helped them see and think about themselves through representation. Unfortunately, at SSU, the anti-Blackness within the system is represented in the hiring practices of Black faculty and tenure and promotion. CRT tells us that race and racism is embedded in this country and demonstrated by higher education's ongoing relationship with anti-Blackness. Since institutions in this country were founded as white institutional space, PBIs like SSU continue to see no benefit in advancing Black faculty in their hiring and tenure promotion practices. CRT also points out that because of interest convergence (Delgado and Stefancic 2017) that these institutions will continue to make performative changes such as using Black students in marketing campaigns for diversity rankings and funding yet make no substantial changes in Black faculty representation or increased support for Black students on campus.

FB seemed to agree with DJ's comments adding, "I don't see many African American professors, whether that being male or female." He spoke to language barriers that presented challenges by the over-representation of international faculty in his Business/Computer Information Systems major. FB stated:

It was a lot of Asian representation, whether they are from Japan, China, India, etc. One, there's a lot of Asian representation, and I feel like especially with that field and who's teaching it, it can cause a barrier in the sense of comprehension, because, especially if they're international because of dialect, how things are said, what's being said and for certain professors, and I don't know if it's just how they teach or just their lack of engagement.

For FB, the lack of faculty representation presented a challenge in the classroom because of the language barriers with the international faculty made it difficult to comprehend classroom lectures. FB said this sometimes led to him not retaining information and not performing well on exams. Furthermore, he seemed to also think this lack of faculty representation could cause other Black male students to not want to take on the major, adding "I feel like that puts African

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

American males at a disadvantage for pursuing their desired career and I've found it's more common for African American males who end up dropping out of college.”

Additionally, for Group B, discrimination emerged in the form of racial profiling for students like Ceko and Sid who thought these experiences were unique to Black men on campus outside of the classroom. Ceko recalled an incident on campus returning to his campus dorm building with some friends.

This cop just started harassing me and my friend because my friend didn't live there, but I lived there. I was talking to him in the parking lot, and he just started harassing us, talking about, oh, like you can't be here. I don't know you, and this and that. But, you know, I kept explaining to him that I live here and like, everything's okay. But it didn't seem like he really believed us.

Ceko explained that because the school is situated in an urban city, he understands it can be difficult for police to determine who lives on campus and who does not. While that may be true, the interaction Ceko and his friends have on campus with the cop speaks to the ways in which Black men at this PBI are often profiled in unmarked spaces (Brekus 1998) like campus housing, then subsequently profiled and made hyper visible because of their Black maleness on campus – this disrupts their sense of belonging on campus (Brooms 2017; Newton 2024). In this instance, Ceko and his friends were not committing any crime and had the right to be outside the space where he lived. Still, they were profiled and rendered problematic because in Ceko's words, “I guess you know, you could say that's usually the main suspects for most cases they deal with around here.”

Sid seemed to agree with Ceko's comments about profiling on campus adding, “I would have to also agree with one of the previous speakers, in the sense of profiling, being in the city, simply wearing a particular type of outfit, can give the give a negative perception or a stereotype

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

that does not fit your character at all.” When I asked him to explain further, he talked about why he thinks these types of interactions are unique to Black men on campus.

You can just you can just so happen to fit the description of someone that robs someone by the race track, and I look nothing and I look nothing like that individual, or I wasn't in that right area at the right time, but with the report of it happening, I was just in the wrong place at the wrong time. It's asinine, but that's a lot of the stuff that we deal with.

Sid's comments are similar to Ceko's in the sense that some of the profiling likely occurs due to criminal activity happening on campus which is situated in the city in places like the gas station near the campus dorms. Students like Sid and Ceko are profiled by default, which is indicative of the Black male experience for Black men in white spaces in this country (Anderson 2022). Sid's use of the word *we* in his last comment adds context that this type of interaction is not a singular experience that only he has faced at this institution. It contributes to our broader understanding of how Black men at this PBI still experience racial profiling outside of the classroom in unmarked spaces (Brekus 1998) on campus.

Overall, my participants in both focus groups discussed an array of challenges in the classroom and on campus with experiences of discrimination in the form of lack of faculty representation and support and racial profiling. Group A's experiences can be surmised with more covert experiences of Black misandry in the classroom that led to feelings of isolation and discrimination in the form of anti-Blackness due to seemingly what was happening within the STEM majors. Group B experienced some overlap in the form of discrimination but discussed it in the form of lack of Black faculty representation and instances of racial profiling on campus in unmarked spaces outside the classroom. Engaging in humanized educational environments (Museus 2014) is a critical element that contributes to Black men's success on campus. The classroom setting, even at PBI's can be a habitus for whiteness, anti-blackness and institutional racism (Moore 2008) to persist. My study contributes to our understanding of the ways in which

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Black men navigate these challenges, by relying on the cultural wealth they garner from each other to thrive in culturally validating environments. My study also adds to the distinctive ways the Black men at this PBI make meaning of the ways they engage in a humanized educational environment. Furthermore, the voices of the Black men in my study provide a counter-narrative (Brooms 2017) that aims to challenge the dominant narratives that Black men's college experiences are monolithic. Their stories gave voice to the unique racialized and gendered experiences that impact them at this PBI.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

5.5 Discrimination: Collective Voice of Black Men on Campus

“Black solidarity is super important, even on campus where it is predominantly Black. Because, like, it's not a lot of Black solidarity on campus.” -Dre

The final theme that emerged in the focus groups centered the collective voice of Black men on campus. I use Delgado and Stefancic (2017) to define collective voice as the ability of a group, such as Black men, to articulate experiences in ways that are unique to them collectively. My participants discussed collective voice regarding the importance of Black solidarity on campus and where they found it or expressed it most. They also discussed the challenges they faced when trying to unify their voices, expressing concerns about student empathy and lack of administrative support.

In focus Group B, the conversation began with Ceko who discussed his experience seeing Black men on campus showcase their collective voice in a recent meeting with school administrators advocating for a better Black student experience during Homecoming.

I would say, just backing each other up and like having each other's back. Like, for example, last week, like we were in a meeting for homecoming, like it was some members of the NPHC talking to the head of the people running homecoming, like people with the school. This was probably one of the only times I seen really, like unity between them all between because it was just a lot of back and forth. And the fact that we were not trying to back down our voices no matter what. We all kept having each other's back like, like, just finishing each other's sentences and staying on the same page because obviously it's us versus them.

Ceko's comments provide an example of the collective voice he saw on campus of Black men who are fraternity members of the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC). There are 9 Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) that make up the NPHC which includes 5 fraternities and 4 sororities (Schuh, J. H., Triponey, V. L., Heim, L. L., & Nishimura, K. 1992). In this meeting Ceko expressed how the NPHC fraternity members used their collective voice to push back against school administrators in what he described as an “us versus them” situation. Noting

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

that this was one the only times he had seen this type of unity amongst Black men on campus, this was important to Ceko's ability to connect with a group of Black men focused on achieving a similar goal. Relatedly, DJ and FB discussed how they experienced the collective voice of Black men on campus through various student organizations.

DJ: What I have seen is groups such as My Brother's Keeper, or when black men are part of organizations such as the student government, I've seen those black men lean on their networks to understand certain issues they may be passionate about, and use their positions of influence within those organizations or within those settings to try and be representative and a voice for Black men.

BM: Anything you want to add, FB?

FB: We do have organizations like My Brother's Keeper, Tighter grip, and Black Student Alliance. We have communities like those that allow Black men to come together and express their own opinion.

DJ and FB both seemed to rely on their networks within the Black male student organizations they were apart of to find a collective voice of Black men on campus. For them, when there were issues of importance to Black men, it was helpful to be able to lean into the groups where they found cultural familiarity to help influence decision making on campus. The exchange between DJ and FB's is an example of the collective voice. This dialogue is an example how the Black men in my study used the cultural wealth garnered from being in community with each other to navigate campus life. While some participants found collective voice and Black solidarity important, others were quick to point out the challenges they encountered finding it on campus.

On the other hand, in Group A, Dre seemed to grow frustrated when discussing the lack of collective voice for Black men on campus. His comments demonstrated a clear distinction from how Group B perceived the collective voice for Black men on campus. Group B had clear examples of where they experienced collective voice, while Group A members felt the collective

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

voice was not as strong. Dre stated “We as students do not have a very powerful collective voice, because the white people who are in charge, do not make a significant effort to actually try to connect with the student base. That is the point I'm trying to make.” Zo nodded in agreement and stated:

We have a lot of Black students, but we don't have a lot of Black unity. We've never had that. The higher ups just don't advocate for us well. And I feel like we ourselves also kind of don't advocate for us well, like you have the guys in this room who, yes, if we needed to advocate for ourselves, we could, but we can't speak for the entire Black population in school.

Dre and Zo both acknowledge that they feel like Black men do not have a very powerful collective voice at the school, but for slightly different reasons. Dre discussed the failure of school administrators who are mostly white and make all the decisions, to connect with the majority Black student population. This is an important element of CRT, which tells us that Black people have a distinct perspective and therefore have a unique voice to speak to issues that impact them. In this case, the Black men in my study felt their voices were silenced because they had no support from the school's decision makers who were white. On the other hand, Zo went further to say that he felt like the students had some responsibility in advocating for themselves. He also spoke to the burden that is placed on students like him and his peers to speak for all Black students at the school. Brooms (2017) noted how Black men on historically white campuses were often positioned to be the racialized spokespersons for an entire group. This type of undue pressure can lead to students like Zo, who described some Black male students' involvement on campus as apathetic, leading to a lack of collective voice for Black men. He added, “Those same people also complain a lot about, like, how shady the school is, but it's like, you're never involved. Like, I feel like if more people got involved, maybe we could start to form a collective voice.”

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

My participants in both groups discussed their views and experiences with the collective voice of Black men on campus. For some like DJ and FB, they were able to experience the collective voice of Black men through the various student organizations they were involved with. For Dre and Zo, there were mixed feelings about the collective voice of Black men on campus as they cited lack of support from administration and lack of student engagement as barriers for Black men forming a stronger collective voice on campus. The fact that my participants had varying views about their collective voice on campus is important. It not only speaks to the diversity in their individual voices, but their varied perceptions of how they see their voices collectively. Since Black men have complex and intersecting identities, a presumed monolithic view of their collective voice would be shortsighted and not capture the beauty and complexity Black men bring to this study narrating their own stories. Davis (1999) suggested that the voices of Black men on college campuses are often not heard, misunderstood, or simply ignored (Brooms 2017). My study adds to a growing body of literature that situates the standpoints of Black men by highlighting the cultural wealth and knowledge they bring on a predominantly Black campus.

6 CONCLUSION, SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

“I think being a man and then a Black man specifically is just the world always puts a different look on you as a man... that's why I would say being Black's important because it's important to keep at the foundation of who you are and how other people see us.” -JoJo

6.1 Overview and Conclusion of Individual Interviews

To conclude, I draw some general comparative analyses of the data collected between the individual interviews and the focus groups. I will briefly discuss some of the common threads and differences in my participants' responses between Focus Group A and Focus Group B. The themes that emerged from the individual interviews with my participants were (1) complex (2) individuality, (3) duality of masculinity, (4) discrimination, and (5) belonging and Black joy. The Black men in my study stated that their multiple identities were central to how they responded when I asked about their identities—providing narratives of complex individuality. My participants discussed three factors that contributed to their complex individuality. First, were their intersecting identities, next, how they negotiate and make meaning of their *Black maleness*, and lastly, choosing a master status of their identity.

For example, Ty named his straightness, race, and gender as part of his identity—demonstrating Black men's complex intersectional individuality. On the other hand, Dre's expression of his bisexuality became a salient part of his identity because it allowed him to exist at all intersections of his identity on campus. His individuality is complex because while he was privileged in some spaces because of gender identity, he was aware that identifying and expressing his bisexuality in spaces that are heteronormative may also be oppressive because of his sexuality. This finding of complex individuality provides the freedom for Black men to exist on campus in their multiple identities, where they can name their sexualities as part of their identity as Black men. Complex individuality also reveals how Black college men at a PBI see

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

how their identities do or do not align with social norms on campus. Moreover, race, gender, and sexual identities were rank ordered by my participants, with an overwhelming majority stating that their race or their Blackness was a master status. My work shows that Blackness is still a core aspect of identity even when Black men include and express their intersecting identities through gender and sexuality—making it complex.

Next, duality of masculinity was expressed by my participants in different ways. For instance, Neal discussed his masculinity as possessing both masculine and feminine energies, while DJ tied his masculinity to his spirituality rejecting notions of hegemonic masculinity. Terrance discussed his masculinity in the sense of *being a man* or Black manhood and *doing Black masculinity*. Terrance had clear constructed ideas around manhood with traditional definitions like taking care of his family, strength, and high moral standings. He also talked about how in doing Black masculinity he has to change or negotiate the ways he shows up in certain setting on campus because of his Black maleness and the way it may be perceived by others. What my participants shared further expands our understanding of the duality of masculinity and how they employed a range of Black masculinities to negotiate and make meaning of their racialized and gendered experiences at this PBI that stemmed from their socialization, upbringing, and experiences prior to attending college.

Thirdly, discrimination on campus emerged in three ways: 1) anti-Blackness, 2) anti-Black misandry, and 3) minimization of racism. These were critical findings in my study that highlights the multiple ways that Black men at a PBI can still experience discrimination, despite being surrounded by mostly Black students on campus. It also speaks to the insidious nature of whiteness that is reproduced (Moore 2008) on campuses and universities that have a history of institutional racism. My participants, Ron and Gary described the campus climate as generally

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

welcoming with a diverse student population but felt that anti-Blackness was at play on campus when they sometimes had hostile interactions with international students. They felt these negative interactions created boundaries between Black students and other minoritized groups on campus. Subsequently, CJ discussed anti-Black misandry that he experienced in the classroom where he was ignored, and his intelligence questioned by a white professor. CJ also described feeling being called out or singled-out since he was one of the only Black men in the classroom, which rendered him hyper- visible and at the same invisible (Brooms 2023; Newton 2024). Similarly, CJ described another racial incident on campus where he and some of his peers were described as monkeys by a white woman administrator. This act of discrimination through dehumanization on campus spoke to the anti-Blackness and anti-Black misandry that students like CJ experienced from whites and non-Black people in positions of power. Furthermore, it rendered CJ and the voices of his peers powerless and invisible as they described not being able to do anything about the incident since the person who said it was a white woman authority figure on campus. This example shows us how whiteness operates at PBIs which still attempts to keep Black people as the faces at the bottom of the well (Bell 1992).

Conversely, there were several of my participants that experienced minimization of racism. Sid, JoJo, and Junior all described instances on campuses that were “*just a little racist*”. These responses are not uncommon for marginalized groups to use as coping mechanisms to racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, Solorzano 2011; Franklin 2019). Laughing it off made the situations seem less serious for the men in my study. They used language like “*it was funny, it really be small stuff, it wasn't that bad, or partially.*” The students had enough awareness to know what racism was but there seemed to be little to no impact on their day-to-day college

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

experience as they employed coping strategies such as laughing it off, ignoring it, or using it as motivation.

Finally, my participants in the individual interviews discussed finding belonging and Black joy on campus in the form of marked and unmarked campus spaces (Newton 2024; Brekhus 1998) and programs such as a Black Male Initiative (BMI). Collin and Redd both described the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office as a place where they found safety, comfort and belonging amongst other Black students. They also attributed being in this space to much of their personal and professional development. Redd, FB, and Kordel also spoke about the Black joy they experienced in the school's BMI program called My Brother's Keeper. They discussed deep gratitude for the mentorship they received from peers and staff who ran the program, describing how they now have 'brothers for life' from being part of this group. Ultimately, my participants were able to build social capital, find community in marked spaces on campus which contributed to their sense of belonging and expressions of Black joy at SSU. This is important to see how marked spaces provide not only the space but provide agency for Black men to create and curate their own sense of belonging which led to Black joy. Overall, the findings from the individual interviews show complex and paradoxical experiences from anti-Black misandry to Black joy. This demonstrates that these factors for Black men at a PBI are not mutually exclusive experiences but can happen simultaneously at minority serving institutions that originated as PWIs. The structure of the university, the campus culture, and identity all impact Black college men experiences at a PBI.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

6.2 Overview and Conclusion of Focus Group Findings

The themes of belonging, brotherhood, and discrimination were overlapping themes in both focus groups. My participants discussed these experiences through the Black Male Initiative (BMI) and the marked space of (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) the Black Student Achievement (BSA) office. Another theme that emerged was the impact of campus organizations as support systems. My participants in both groups also discussed campus and classroom experiences of discrimination in the form of racism and lack of faculty representation and support. Lastly, the theme of the collective voice of Black men on campus was expressed by my participants' views on Black solidarity and unity or the lack thereof.

In both focus groups, belonging and brotherhood emerged as themes when I asked my participants about programs and spaces on campus where they found comfort as a group of Black men. In Group A, Ty and Dre both discussed the life-changing experiences they had with the BSA office and My Brother's Keeper BMI. For them, the BSA office was a space where they could interact with other Black students about issues that were specific to them culturally which contributed to their sense of belonging on campus. They also talked about how they actively sought out friendships on campus which led them to spaces like the BSA office and joining the BMI program where they developed lifetime bonds with other Black men on campus they might not have met otherwise. Gary described how valuable of a role the BSA office played in his personal and professional development as a student employee in the space. The BMI program and BSA was described by students like Zo and Ron in Group A as place where they could just be themselves in the fullness of their multiple identities. They talked extensively about the cultural familiarity that was created by them in these spaces such as giving each other 'the look'

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

or a certain common language they used to communicate both verbally and nonverbally demonstrating the bonds of brotherhood beyond friendships.

My participants in Group B shared similar views about the BSA and BMI program but also included other unmarked spaces on campus like their dorms as spaces where they also found comfort and belonging. Sid and DJ described their dorms as safe places where they could interact with their friends within the privacy of what felt like a home away from home. Although the school had been somewhat intentional about developing living and learning communities, the Black men in my study were also intentional about curating their own sense of belonging and brotherhood in unmarked spaces on campus. This is an important finding, as it shows us that unmarked spaces at PBIs are not as violent as unmarked spaces at PWIs. The underlining Black culture within the campus culture provides opportunities for Black male students to enjoy spaces beyond marked spaces on campus.

However, discrimination in the form of racism and lack of faculty representation and support was another theme that emerged in both focus groups. Ty and Zo were direct with their experiences of discrimination as Computer Science majors detailing classroom instances of racism and anti-Black misandry on campus. Black males in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) majors routinely report how they experience various forms of discrimination such as combatting anti-Black intellectualism, which led to negative impacts on their mental health and overall experience in college (Williamson 2010; Spencer 2023, 2024). Gary had a slightly different experience as a business major, pointing out challenges with lack of support from faculty due to large class sizes and the transactional nature of his program. Dre, as an Art major spoke to the perceived racist and misogynistic behavior by a white male faculty member that made his ability to connect and find support within his major difficult. Depending on their

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

major, my participants in Group A experienced discrimination on campus in a variety of ways, such as racism, anti-Black misandry in the classroom and lack of faculty support. Group B's discussions centered on the lack of representation of Black faculty as well as racial profiling experiences on and off campus. DJ and FB talked about how their only experiences with Black faculty members were in African American studies or nonexistent altogether. This lack of representation on campus made it challenging for the men in my study to see themselves in the form of successful images of Black men in academic settings. These findings show how PBIs hiring practices and promotion and tenure impact the number of Black faculty on campus—revealing that systemically PBIs still operate in similar ways as PWIs. Moreover, outside the classroom on campus, Ceko and Sid both described instances of discrimination in the form of racial profiling and stereotyping of Black men that perpetuated negative stigmas about Black men on campus and the urban environment in which the campus was situated. Ceko and Sid's experiences demonstrate that the status of college student for Black men does not translate to spaces off campus—as controlling images and stereotypes follow them across social spaces.

The final theme that emerged in both focus groups was the collective voice of Black men on campus. My participants expressed collective voice with their perspectives on Black solidarity and unity. Some participants expressed that there was a collective voice for Black men on campus, while others discussed how the collective voice was not strong or was lacking on campus. Ceko described how he witnessed the collective voice of Black men through a group of various fraternities that pushed back against school administrators. He recalled how the Black male students stood together advocating for a more culturally enriching Homecoming experience that was reflective of the majority Black student body. DJ and FB discussed how they relied on the cultural wealth of knowledge they gained from being in community with Black male student

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

organizations on campus. They described how intentional those groups were in creating space for Black men to have a voice on issues that impact them directly on campus. In turn they use what they learn in those spaces to impact change on campus to the broader Black student population through their involvement with groups like the Student Government Association. Dre and Zo did not seem to think Black men had a very strong collective voice, citing lack of administrative support and sometimes low student engagement as challenges to a more unified collective voice for Black men on campus. These findings demonstrate that varying perceptions held by Black undergraduate men that could be viewed as contradictory. However, these differential perspectives provide us with nuanced insights on the diverse experiences of Black men at PBIs. Black maleness or their voices and experiences are not monolithic even when discussing specific topics such as the collective Black male voice on campus. Both perspectives are important and telling to how involvement in marked spaces and organizations provide a different outlook for students.

6.3 Conclusions for Similarities and Differences Between Individuals and Groups

An overlapping theme from the individual interviews and the focus groups was sense of belonging which were expressed by my participant's involvement with a BMI, BSA and other Black student organizations on campus. The themes of complex individuality and Black joy emerged in the individual interviews, while brotherhood was the more prevalent theme in both focus groups. Complex individuality and duality of masculinity were also prevalent themes in my individual participant interviews. Qualitatively, those themes are more individualistic so it makes sense those themes would emerge during individual interview settings. My participants in both the individual and focus group interviews also experienced campus and classroom instances of discrimination, but in slightly different forms. My participants in the individual interviews expressed their forms of discrimination through anti-Blackness, Black misandry, and minimization of racism; while participants in both focus groups also expressed campus and classroom discrimination in the form anti-Blackness and Black misandry, but minimization of racism did not emerge in the focus groups. I observed my participants in the focus groups be much more vulnerable about their overt experiences of discrimination and racism in the group settings, opposed to the one-on-one virtual interviews. I believe the in-person focus group setting provided an atmosphere where my participants were able to reflect on the shared experiences of their peers as well as consider unexplored versions of their own experiences.

The common themes that emerged from both focus groups were belonging and brotherhood, discrimination, and the collective voice of Black men on campus. While these themes overlapped in both focus groups, the experiences of my participants were not monolithic. Group A had established relationships from traveling together and being part of the same student

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

organizations, that led to much more conversational dialogue as a collective. Conversely, Group B did not know each other well and spoke about their experiences on a more individual level. This was also apparent in the sometimes-choppy flow of conversation in Group B compared to the organic flow of conversation that occurred in Group A.

Ultimately, my participants in the individual and focus group interviews had similar and different experiences as Black men on campus. This finding speaks to the notion that because Black men exist with multiple identities, they employ a range of masculinities to navigate and make meaning of life on campus. A hallmark of my study is that it adds to a growing body of research that talks *with* men and not *at* them. Much of the previous literature (Harper and Harris 2010; Kimmel 2008; Laker & Davis 2011) on Black men in college talked *about* and *at* Black men. Individual and focus group interviews methodologically provided information, details, and experiences highlighting the complex and diverse college experiences of Black men. I centered my participants as the starting point for experiential knowledge produced by Black men. Using critical race theory (Delgado and Stefancic 2017) as a primary tool for analysis, my study provides a deeper understanding of Black men as racialized and gendered beings at a Predominantly Black Institution and how they navigate their identities, discrimination, joy, and brotherhood.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

6.4 Sociological Implications

My study fills a gap in the literature that explores the lived experiences of Black men as racialized and gendered beings at a Predominantly Black Institution. Historically, the initial work on men in college (Bayer 1972; Turner 1974; McIntosh 1988; Davis 1994; Jackson 2002) centered white men's college experiences at PWIs. More recent scholarship (Harper 2008, 2012, 2014; Brooms 2017, 2018, 2023, 2024; Brooms, Goodman & Clark 2015; Parker, Puig, Johnson & Anthony 2016; Allen 2020) has included the experiences of Black men on campus with intersectional perspectives from students at Predominantly white Institutions (PWI) and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU). Yet, gaps in the literature exist about the experiences of Black men at Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs). PBIs are unique since this type of university distinction was only recognized by Congress in 2008. These institutions serve mainly Black students but were originally founded as historically white institutions, which means racism is still at the roots of these institutions (Feagin 2006; Moore 2008; Delgado and Stefancic 2017; Byrd, Brunn-Bevel, Ovink 2019). This research is necessary to understand how Black men at PBIs make meaning of their college experiences as they navigate campus and classroom environments.

My study demonstrates that Black men's lived experiences produce knowledge about their own lives. The findings in my individual interviews with my participants revealed that Black men at SSU have complex individuality, experience duality of masculinity, are subject to discrimination, and experience belonging and Black joy. The implications here is that Black men engage in a range of experiences that shape how they show up on campus, how others see them and ultimately how they construct how they see themselves. Assumptions may exist about the Black male experience at a PBI that suggest a singular point of view. Not all Black college

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

men's experiences are shaped by overt racism and whiteness. For instance, some may think that since Black men at a PBI are surrounded by so many other Black students on campus, that they would not have challenges. My study shows how Black men's experiences at PBI's are paradoxical. For instance, they can experience anti-Blackness and discrimination in unmarked spaces and classrooms while at the same time, they can experience Black joy (Tichavakunda 2021) in marked spaces (Brekus 1998; Newton 2024) like the BSA office and the BMI program. This finding was important because it showcased the agency and power Black men displayed in curating Black joy for themselves. Things were not just happening to Black men on campus, my research shows that they were actively creating belonging as well--- showing us that there is power in male Black agency on campus. The findings in my study add to our understanding that because Black men have complex identities, their experiences are reflective of those identities and therefore, not monolithic.

Relatedly, in the focus group findings, my participants revealed their experiences with brotherhood and belonging found in the Black Male Initiative BMI program and Black Student Achievement (BSA) office. They also experienced varying forms of discrimination that some felt were unique to their academic majors, which can result in feelings of isolation (Williamson 2010; Spencer 2023, 2024). Finally, their collective voice was expressed through their involvement with Black male student organizations like, fraternities or the BMI program. These themes illustrate how Black men at PBI's not only experience campus life individually, but collectively. Their voices together provide a counter-narrative to previous research that viewed the Black male college experience from a deficit-shaped narrow lens. My work shows that there is not a single Black male voice or experience, but rather an array of voices and experiences—individually and collectively.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

The tenets of CRT I used were 1) the centrality of race and racism, 2) the centrality of experiential knowledge, (3) counter narratives, and (4) intersectionality. Earlier scholars (Solorzano et. al 2000) used Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic 2017) to examine campus racial climate at PWI's. I found CRT to be a useful tool for analysis in my study for SSU since it began as a PWI and then transitioned to a PBI due to shift in study body composition. From a Critical Race Theory perspective, racism is still embedded within the system and how it operates. Just because it now a Black-centric institution of higher education, does not mean that racism and anti-Blackness are absent. On the contrary, the racist foundation of SSU provides structural opportunities to still center whiteness and marginalize Blackness. The centrality of race and racism was useful to examine the individual and collective ways the men in my study experienced discrimination on campus and in classroom settings, reflected by the lack of Black faculty, and the anti-Blackness and Black misandry my participants experienced from white and international students. The embedded nature of racism also was useful to unpack the unique status of PBIs which have dark histories of exclusionary white institutional space (Moore 2008). The centrality of experiential knowledge was critical in understanding that Black men bring a wealth of knowledge to campus through their voices which provides them with agency to create their college experiences in ways that are meaningful to them. Inviting them into the conversation, rather than just following pre-existing narratives, allowed me to hear my participants voices in their own words as counter narratives, which highlighted their agency as individuals and as a collective Lastly, intersectionality (Crenshaw 1993) was used in my study using Black maleness (Mutua 2006; Brooms 2017) as a lens to explore other core identities of Black men. Grounding my participants experiences in Black

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

maleness allowed space to better see their situated standpoints of how their race, gender, sexuality, as well as campus involvement impacted how they navigated campus life at a PBI.

Scholars such as Harper (2012, 2014); Strayhorn (2017); Brooms (2017, 2018, 2022, 2024); and Jackson (2012, 2024) have offered intersectional works on the experiences of Black men at PWI's and HBCU's, and rightfully so, as it is still important to understand the unique challenges that Black men experience in those spaces. My study builds on their work by adding to our understanding of Black men's experiences at a PBI. If Black men are viewed as in crisis (Ferguson 2001), one must consider the institutional structures and systems that created the crisis, even if they now exist in the context of a Predominantly Black Institution. My study suggests a closer analysis of how gendered power dynamics intersect with racism and inequality to socially position Black men on campus in paradoxical relationships of belonging and discrimination at a PBI. This intersectional examination of SSU and higher education is essential to understanding the crisis of how Black men become visible and simultaneously in need of surveillance as legacies of subjugation and oppression persist even as colleges and universities diversify (Byrd, Brunn-Bevel, Ovink 2019).

Black men can experience forms of oppression based on their race, gender, sexuality, class, etc. through Black maleness (Mutua 2006) while performing a range of masculinities to navigate that matrix of domination (Hill Collins 1991a). In totality, these multiple forms of identity can interlock, making it difficult to pinpoint the site of trauma. My study examines the multiple identities that these young men adopt. Whether it be their race, religion, age, sexual orientation, or gender identity, the participants in my study have varied lived experiences that warrant significant discussion. Using an intersectional framework allows for an interrogation of how power operates through gender and how these men can also live at the crossroads of multiple

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

forms of oppression such as patriarchy, racism, classism, gender roles, heterosexism, or homophobia, etc. (Henry and Gordon 2014). This complex view of identity more fully how my participants individually and collectively experience life on campus. More importantly though, it situates their experiences of being Black and male on campus being affected by larger systems of oppression and power. Holvino (2012) calls attention to the ways in which those social and institutional processes can determine opportunities and ultimately impact Black men's outcomes on campus. For my participants, this emerged in the various ways they experienced discrimination on campus, the lack of Black faculty representation in the classroom and how they experience hypervisibility and invisibility due to their Black maleness at a PBI. Overall my study provides a critical race and intersectional perspective on Black men's lived and educational experiences revealing the impact of structure, spaces, and their identities at a PBI.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

6.5 Discussion

In conclusion, I reflect on some of the key moments during data collection. One moment that stuck out to me when one of my participants thanked me at the end of our one-on-one interview. He asked me why I was doing this and shared how no one on campus had ever really asked him about his college experience. I realized in that moment, *that* was the reason I was doing this research. There are often studies *about* Black men on campus, but rarely do those narratives include their experiences *as* Black men. A hallmark of my study was centered on talking *with* Black men about their experiences on campus to place them in conversation with the conversations *about* Black men. This study resonated with me personally as a researcher and a Black man with insider knowledge about my participants. I shared the same racial and gender identities as them, but we were different in age, achieved statuses, and experiences. I am thankful they allowed me into their world by sharing their individual and collective stories.

My study adds to a growing body of literature that highlights the importance of marked spaces and identity-specific programs and initiatives that shape how my participants at this PBI navigate and make meaning of their experiences of being Black and male on campus. While some of the challenges my participants faced are more pervasive at PWIs, such as overt racism, this research is still needed at PBI's, even though some may assume they are not needed because of majority Black student population. At SSU Black students make up about 40% of the student demographics, with Black men accounting for nearly 15% of that total. This is significant because SSU is not an HBCU or a PWI. SSU must reconcile with that reality in terms of how they provide identity-specific support to a majority Black student population and confront the legacy of institutional racism that persists when the school was a historically white institution. For that reason, PBIs like SSU continue to have an ongoing complicated history with anti-

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Blackness, as whiteness is always insidiously working within institutions of higher education. Engram (2024) posited, “The biggest lie ever told was the one that allowed us to believe that higher education institutions were actually progressive (p. 66).” At a time when Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) efforts on college campuses are being demonized, it calls into question what actions, if any, universities such as SSU will take moving forward to continue to support Black men on campus.

Considering what is happening in real time, SSU and other universities alike have been complicit in upholding systems of institutional racism. Most recently the Trump administration issued a Dear Colleague letter from the Office of Civil Rights calling for unconstitutional and unlawful federal bans of DEI programs across the country at colleges and universities. Relatedly, some state legislatures have preemptively complied to Trump’s orders by proposing even harsher bills that would further eliminate DEI programs at schools like SSU. Just weeks ago, the University System of Georgia, to which SSU belongs, defunded the state grant funded program for BMI’s and immediately ended university supported efforts to support Black male students on campus. This is yet another example of anti-Blackness and function of white supremacy at a PBI. How can Black men continue to find belonging, brotherhood, and Black joy on campuses where they are in the majority, if those in power seek to take away the very spaces and programs that afford them those liberties? Critical Race Theory teaches us that because of the permeance and embedded nature of racism in this country, that higher education will continue to function as a keeper of the status quo- that white spaces and the halls of whiteness are constructed through spatial curricular, and ideological practices on campus (Byrd, Bunn-Bevel, & Ovink 2019). The participants in my study have added their voices to the literature that

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

expands our understanding of their complex identities and their varied experiences as Black men at a Predominantly Black Institution.

Colleges and universities are pre-determined white spaces even if their strategic plans and diversity statements claim otherwise (Ratcliff 2022). Historical context alone proves this to be true as Blacks and others were excluded from most institutions of higher education until the Civil Rights Movement. White males in particular, rarely encounter a space where they would be deemed “out of place” based on their race. Scholars (Moore 2008; Gusa 2010) have described this as ontological expansiveness or the way “whiteness as a structuring ideology in U.S. society permits white people to think, act, and interact with the space around them in such a way that they have a right to inhabit any space, be it material or otherwise” (Corces-Zimmerman et al., 2020, p. 432). Gusa (2010) referred to this as White Institutional Presence (WIP) and others such as Moore (2008) previously just called it white space. This is problematic in that institutions were literally created to cater to white students. White males who benefit from their white male privilege are often the ones committing microaggressions and racial infractions on college campuses, and at the same time are often the ones in positions of power to address these concerns in the university setting (Newton 2023, 2024).

For instance, the power dynamics at SSU are interesting. There is a Black university President, Provost, and Dean of Students, but Black men are still often placed in subjugated positions on campus like those expressed by the participants in my study. This is due to white men like the system Chancellor, state Governor, and President of the country ultimately all being white men in positions of power that make the ultimate decisions, which reifies racism at SSU. Black men, even in perceived positions of power, are relegated to “puppets” that hold performative positions of authority, at best. Consequently, SSU and higher education at large act

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

as agents of the state in the construction, maintenance and reproduction of a universal campus identity that upholds white male, cis-heteropatriarchal identity, even at a PBI. To that end, Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic 2017), Intersectionality (Crenshaw 1993), and Black maleness (Mutua 2006) coalesce as theoretical frameworks to understand how my participants make meaning of being Black and male on campus at a PBI.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

6.6 Limitations and Future Directions

Within this study's scope, three important limitations are worth noting. The first limitation is that the findings from this study are limited to one institution. The findings cannot be generalized or assumed to be the same for all Predominantly Black Institutions in the United States, especially those that are not located in a majority Black urban city. Future studies should research and analyze the intersectional experiences of Black men on campus at multiple PBIs, drawing comparisons to my study those like it and should explore PBIs across regions.

The second limitation is that the outcomes of my study are limited to the experiences of primarily undergraduate Black men. While my study did include insight from two Black graduate students, more research is needed to fully understand the experiences of Black male graduate students at PBIs. Relatedly, with a hyper-focus on Black men and recruitment from the same homogenous Black Male Initiative, an unintended consequence, for instance could push Black women's issues at a PBI to the margins. This is significant because Black women continue to enroll and graduate from these institutions at higher rates.

The final limitation is the sample size of 20 participants. Although I reached saturation, my study was made more robust by incorporating the collective voices of the Black men on campus through focus groups in addition to the individual interviews. Future studies should incorporate even larger samples that can track longitudinal findings of cohort models of the Black male student experience at PBIs to gain even more insight on their complex identities and brotherhood connections on campus.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE
OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

REFERENCES

- Adu, Philip. 2019. *A Step-by-Step Guide to Qualitative Data Coding*. New York: Routledge.
- Allen, Quaylan. 2020. "(In)Visible Men on Campus: Campus Racial Climate and Subversive Black Masculinities at a Predominantly White Liberal Arts University." 32(7):843–861.
- Anderson, E. (2022). Black in white space: The enduring impact of color in everyday life. In *Black in white space*. University of Chicago Press.
- Banks, W. L., Hammond, D. L., & Hernandez, E. (2014). Serving diverse student populations in college unions. *New Directions for Student Services*, 145(2014), 13-25.
- Barker, M. J., & Avery, J. C. (2012). The impact of an institutional Black male leadership initiative on engagement and persistence. *College Student Affairs Journal*, 30(2), 73.
- Bastedo, Michael N., Philip G. Altbach, and Patricia J. Gumpert, eds. 2016. *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social, Political, and Economic Challenges*. Fourth Edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bell, Derrick. 1980. "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma." *Harvard Law Review* 93(3):518–33.
- Bell, Derrick A. 1992. *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Bimper Jr, A. Y. (2015). Lifting the veil: Exploring colorblind racism in Black student athlete experiences. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 39(3), 225-243.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2014. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Fourth edition. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Brekhus, W. (1998). A sociology of the unmarked: Redirecting our focus. *Sociological Theory*, 16(1), 34-51.
- Brooms, D. R., Goodman, J., & Clark, J. (2015). " We need more of this": Engaging Black men on college campuses. *College Student Affairs Journal*, 33(1), 105-123.
- Brooms, Derrick R. 2017. *Being Black, Being Male on Campus: Understanding and Confronting Black Male Collegiate Experiences*. Albany: State university of New York press.
- Brooms, D. R. (2019). Not in this alone: Black men's bonding, learning, and sense of belonging in Black male initiative programs. *The Urban Review*, 51(5), 748-767.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

- Brooms, D. R. (2020). Helping us think about ourselves: Black males' sense of belonging through connections and relationships with faculty in college. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 33(9), 921-938.
- Brooms, D. R. (2024). "Every Day We Wake Up with Something to Prove": Black Misandry and Black Men's Experiences in Navigating the College Environment. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/23326492241259982>
- Brooms, D. R., Smith, M. L., & Blalock, D. N. (2023). The Lived Experiences of Collegiate Black Men. In *Black males in secondary and postsecondary education : teaching, mentoring, advising and counseling* / (pp. 181–200). Emerald Publishing,. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S2051-231720230000009010>
- Byrd, W. Carson, Rachele J. Brunn-Bevel, and Sarah M. Ovink, eds. 2019. *Intersectionality and Higher Education: Identity and Inequality on College Campuses*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Chideya, Farai. 1995. *Don't Believe the Hype: Fighting Cultural Misinformation about African-Americans*. New York: Plume.
- Collins, P.H., 2022. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. routledge.
- Cook, Bryan J. "By the Numbers: More Black Men in Prison than in College? Think Again. American Council on Education. Date Published: Fall 2012. <https://www.acenet.edu/the-presidency/columns-and-features/Pages/By-the-Numbers-More-Black-Men-in-Prison-Than-in-College-Think-Again-.aspx>. Retrieved: April 29, 2019.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1993. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." 43(6):1241–99.
- Crumb, L., Chambers, C. R., & Chittum, J. (2021). # Black Boy Joy: The College Aspirations of Rural Black Male Students. *Rural Educator*, 42(1), 1-19.
- Curry, Tommy. "Critical Race Theory." Encyclopedia Britannica. Publisher: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. Date Published: June 09, 2016 URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/critical-race-theory>. Retrieved: April 22, 2018(Delgado and Stefancic 2017a)
- Dancy, T. E. (2011). Colleges in the making of manhood and masculinity: gendered perspectives on African American males. *Gender and Education*, 23(4), 477–495. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2010.508454>
- Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic, eds. 1997. *Critical White Studies: Looking behind the Mirror*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

- Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2017a. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. Third edition. New York: New York University Press.
- Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2017b. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. Third edition. New York: New York University Press.
- Dixon, T. L., & Maddox, K. B. (2005). Skin tone, crime news, and social reality judgments: Priming the stereotype of the dark and dangerous black criminal 1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(8), 1555-1570.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. 2014. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Tribeca Books.
- Engram Jr, F. V. (2024, April). Higher Education and its Ongoing Relationship with Anti-Blackness. In *International Forum of Teaching and Studies* (Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 66-69). American Scholars Press, Inc..
- Evans-Bell, D., Nicholls, A. The Education Trust, 2017. "A Look at Black Student Success" <https://edtrust.org/resource/blackstudentsuccess/>. Retrieved October 4, 2017.
- Feagin, Joe R. 2006. *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Feagin, Joe R., Hernan Vera, and Kimberley Ducey. 2014. *Liberation Sociology*. 3rd edition. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Ferguson, Ann Arnett. 2001. *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*. 1st pbk. ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Ford, K.A. (2011), Doing *Fake* Masculinity, Being *Real* Men: Present and Future Constructions of Self among Black College Men. *Symbolic Interaction*, 34: 38-62. <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.2011.34.1.38>
- Fries-Britt, S., & White-Lewis, D. (2020). In pursuit of meaningful relationships: How Black males perceive faculty interactions in STEM. *The Urban Review*, 52(3), 521-540.
- Harper, Shaun R., ed. 2008. *Creating Inclusive Campus Environments: For Cross-Cultural Learning and Student Engagement*. Washington, D.C.: NASPA.
- Harper, Shaun R., and Frank Harris, eds. 2010. *College Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research, and Implications for Practice*. 1st ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Harper, S. R. (2015). Black male college achievers and resistant responses to racist stereotypes at predominantly White colleges and universities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 85(4), 646-674.
- Harper, Shaun R., and J. Luke Wood. 2015. *Advancing Black Male Student Success from Preschool through Ph.D.* Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

- Harrington, C. (2021). What is “Toxic Masculinity” and Why Does it Matter? *Men and Masculinities*, 24(2), 345-352. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X20943254>
- Harris III, Frank, Robert Palmer, and Laura Strove. 2011. “‘Cool Posing’ on Campus: A Qualitative Study of Masculinities and Gender Expression among Black Men at a Private Research Institution.” *Journal of Negro Education* 80(1):47–62.
- Harwood, S. A., Hunt, M. B., Mendenhall, R., & Lewis, J. A. (2012). Racial microaggressions in the residence halls: Experiences of students of color at a predominantly White university. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 5(3), 159.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1991a. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Repr. d. Ausg. von 1990. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1991b. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York London: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 2019. *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- hooks, bell. 2004. *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love*.
- Jackson, J. P., Weidman, N. M., & Rubin, G. (2005). The origins of scientific racism. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 50(50), 66-79.
- Johnson, T.H. (2022). Is Anti-Black Misandry the New Racism? *Journal of Black Sexuality and Relationships* 8(4), 77-107. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/bsr.2022.0006>.
- Jones, B. (2019). Predominantly Black institutions: Pathways to Black student educational attainment. *Rutgers Center for Minority Serving Institutions*. <https://cmsi.gse.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/PBIs.pdf>.
- Jones, V. A., & Kunkle, K. (2022). Unmarked privilege and marked oppression: Analyzing predominantly white and minority serving institutions as racialized organizations. *Innovative Higher Education*, 47(5), 755-774.
- Keels, Micere. 2019. *Campus Counterspaces: Black and Latinx Students’ Search for Community at Historically White Universities*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kendi, Ibram X. 2012. *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965-1972*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lavelle, Kristen M. 2015. *Whitewashing the South: White Memories of Segregation and Civil Rights*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

- Luker, Kristin. 2010. *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences: Research in an Age of Info-Glut*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Lynch, M. A., & Curcio, A. A. (2020). Institutional Service, Student Care-Work, and Misogyny: Naming the Problem and Mitigating the Harm. *Vill. L. Rev.*, 65, 1119.
- Madyun, N. I., Williams, S. M., McGee, E. O., & Milner IV, H. R. (2013). On the Importance of African-American Faculty in Higher Education: Implications and Recommendations. *Educational Foundations*, 27, 65-84.
- Majors, Richard, and Janet Mancini Billson. 1993a. *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America*. 1st Touchstone ed. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Majors, Richard, and Janet Mancini Billson. 1993b. *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America*. 1st Touchstone ed. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Merilan, S. The Signal. "Georgia State Lacks Faculty Diversity". <https://issuu.com/gsusignal/docs/9.19>. Retrieved October 4, 2017.
- Messner, Michael A. 1992. *Power at Play: Sports and the Problem of Masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Mills, Kristen J. 2021. "Black Students' Perceptions of Campus Climates and the Effect on Academic Resilience." *Journal of Black Psychology* 47(4-5):354-83. doi: 10.1177/00957984211001195.
- Moore, Wendy Leo. 2008. *Reproducing Racism: White Space, Elite Law Schools, and Racial Inequality*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Morris, Aldon D. 2015. *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Morton IV, F. (2022). Integrating wellness into Black male initiative programs. *College Student Affairs Journal*, 40(3), 86-93.
- Moss, A. (2007). Controlling Images of Black Men. *New Views on Gender*, 9, 7-9.
- Munoz and Murphey, 2014. Association of American Colleges and Universities. "Climate Matters: Campus Leadership for Educational Success". Retrieved from: <https://www.aacu.org/diversitydemocracy/2014/fall/munoz-murphy>
- Mutua, A. D. (2006). *Progressive Black masculinities* /. Routledge,. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203961438>

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Mwangi, C. A. G., Thelamour, B., Ezeofor, I., & Carpenter, A. (2018). "Black elephant in the room": Black students contextualizing campus racial climate within US racial climate. *Journal of College Student Development*, 59(4), 456-474.

National Survey of Student Engagement (2018). Retrieved from:
<http://nsse.indiana.edu/html/about.cfm>

Newton, Veronica A. 2022. "Hypervisibility and Invisibility: Black Women's Experiences with Gendered Racial Microaggressions on a White Campus." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 233264922211382. doi: 10.1177/23326492221138222.

Newton, V. A. (2024). Hiding in plain sight: Black women speak on racist patriarchy and Black patriarchy in unmarked and marked spaces on campus. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 1-15.

New York Times (2004). Retrieved from:
https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/ref/college/collegespecial2/coll_aascu_ec_culture.html?8bl

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 2015. *Racial Formation in the United States*. Third edition. New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Passel, Jeffrey S., and D'Vera Cohn. 2008. "US Population Projections: 2005–2050." Pew Hispanic Research Trends Project, February 11.
<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2008/02/11/us-population-projections-2005-2050/>.

Pelzer, D. L. (2016). Creating a new narrative: Reframing Black masculinity for college men. *Journal of Negro Education*, 85(1), 16-27.

Polite, Vernon C., and James Earl Davis, eds. 1999. *African American Males in School and Society: Practices and Policies for Effective Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Pulliam, R. L., McGregory, R., & Brown, G. (2010). Black student unions at selected colleges and universities. *Journal of the Research Association of Minority Professors*. Retrieved March, 12.

Quaye, Stephen John. 2014. *Student Engagement in Higher Education - Theoretical Perspectives and Pract.*

Ratcliff, J.H. (2022). Understanding Campus Space and Whiteness as Ontological Expansiveness. *Metropolitan Universities Journal*, 33 (2), 3-18. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18060/25332>

Roberts, Dorothy E. 2017. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. Second Vintage books edition. New York: Vintage Books.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Ray, V. (2019). A theory of racialized organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 84(1), 26–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418822335>

Rogers, Therron, "Hidden Identity: A Constructivist Grounded Theory of Black Male Identity Development at Historically Black Colleges and Universities" (2020)

Shahjahan, R. A., & Edwards, K. T. (2022). Whiteness as futurity and globalization of higher education. *Higher Education*, 1-18.

Shearman, Sachiyo M., Aysel Morin, and Adrienne F. Muldrow. 2022. "Campus Integration and Campus Climate at a Predominantly White Institution in the South." *Howard Journal of Communications* 1–20. doi: 10.1080/10646175.2022.2098082.

Singleton, Royce, and Bruce C. Straits. 2010. *Approaches to Social Research*. 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., & Solórzano, D. G. (2007). Racial primes and Black misandry on historically White campuses: Toward critical race accountability in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 43(5), 559-585.

Smith, W. A., Mustaffa, J. B., Jones, C. M., Curry, T. J., & Allen, W. R. (2016). 'You make me wanna holler and throw up both my hands!': campus culture, Black misandric microaggressions, and racial battle fatigue. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(9), 1189-1209.

Smith, W. A., Allen, W. R., & Danley, L. L. (2007). "Assume the position... you fit the description" psychosocial experiences and racial battle fatigue among African American male college students. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(4), 551-578.

Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro education*, 60-73.

Spencer, B. M. (2023). The cumulative and damaging effects of discrimination: Racialized and gendered experiences of black men in STEM from elementary school through graduate school. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 20(2), 391-409.

Thelin, John R. 2019. *A History of American Higher Education*. Third Edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tichavakunda, A. A. (2021). Black joy on white campuses: Exploring Black students' recreation and celebration at a historically White institution. *The Review of Higher Education*, 44(3), 297-324.

WHEN THEY SEE US: BLACK MISANDRY, BLACK JOY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BLACK BROTHERHOOD AT A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK INSTITUTION

Tillapaugh, Daniel, and Brian Lamont McGowan, eds. 2019. *Men and Masculinities: Theoretical Foundations and Promising Practices for Supporting College Men's Development*. First edition. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing.

University System of Georgia (2018). Retrieved from: <https://www.usg.edu/institutions/>

Wilder, Craig Steven. 2013. *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. First U.S. edition. New York: Bloomsbury press.

Wallace, J. K. (2019). [Review of the book *An Education in Sexuality & Sociality: Heteronormativity on Campus*, by F. G. Karioris]. *Journal of Critical Scholarship on Higher Education and Student Affairs*, 5(1), 9-13. Williams, Ronald A., ed. 2014. *Men of Color in Higher Education: New Foundations for Developing Models for Success*. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Williamson, J. A. (1999). In defense of themselves: The Black student struggle for success and recognition at predominantly White colleges and universities. *Journal of Negro Education*, 92-105.

Williamson Ed D, S. Y. (2010). Within-group ethnic differences of Black male STEM majors and factors affecting their persistence in college. *Journal of International and Global Studies*, 1(2), 3.

Willie-LeBreton, Sarah. 2003. *Acting Black: College, Identity, and the Performance of Race*. New York: Routledge.

Yi, J., Neville, H. A., Todd, N. R., & Mekawi, Y. (2023). Ignoring race and denying racism: A meta-analysis of the associations between colorblind racial ideology, anti-Blackness, and other variables antithetical to racial justice. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 70(3), 258.

Yosso, T., Smith, W., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(4), 659-691.