

**NOT A ONE-WAY STREET: EXPLORING THE ROLE  
OF INTERSECTIONAL REPRESENTATION ON  
AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE STUDENTS**

A Dissertation

by

MEREDITH BROOKE LOUDD WALKER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2011

Major Subject: Political Science

Not a One-Way Street: Exploring the Role of Intersectional Representation on African  
American Male Students

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## ABSTRACT

Not a One-Way Street: Exploring the Role of Intersectional Representation on African American Male Students. (May 2011)

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Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Kenneth J. Meier

Representation is an enduring area of research in Political Science. While there has been an extensive amount of research in the area of minority representation, there is substantially less work considering multiple identities. Using the concept of intersectionality, this dissertation explores the role of multiple identities in representation. I argue that intersectional representation, that is, representation based on multiple identities provides a thorough interpretation of real world phenomena. To test my arguments, I utilize quantitative methods to empirically assess the role of intersectional representation on public policy outcomes.

The goal of this dissertation is three-fold. First, I incorporate the concept of intersectionality of race and gender into the public policy and public management literature. Second, I explore intersectionality and representation with gender from a perspective that has not been extensively addressed in the political science literature—namely, a concentration on males, instead of females. Third, I develop a theory of intersectional representation which links to public policy outcomes.

In order to test my theory, I explore the role of Black male representation in the bureaucracy and in local political bodies on Black male student outcomes. I find that representation based on both race and gender is associated with both positive and negative public policy outcomes for Black male students. Specifically, in Chapter I, the results indicate that Black male teachers are associated with a decreased presence of Black male students in low tracked courses and upper level honors courses. The following chapter shows that intersectional political representation, that is, Black male school board representation, is also associated with positive outcomes for Black male students. The last empirical chapter indicates that intersectional stability is associated with an increase of Black male students in low track courses.

In general, the findings indicate that intersectional representation is consequential for public policy outcomes, both in negative and positive ways. The dissertation challenges the way representation is conceptualized, as to capture the simultaneous effect of both race and gender on public policy outcomes of represented groups.

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Howard and Rosalind Walker.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank numerous individuals who have helped me during this process. First, I am thankful to my loving parents, Howard and Rosalind Walker. They have provided me with so much support and guidance throughout graduate school. I would not have made it to this point without their continued encouragement and love. From calls *really* early in the early morning when I needed to vent, to taking trips to see me when I needed a break from school, they have always been there for me. I am truly blessed to be the daughter of two selfless individuals.

I am also extremely grateful to other family members who have been so extremely supportive. My sister, Valencia Robinson, brother, Quincy Walker, and brother-in-law, Marcus Robinson have provided me with so much encouragement. Throughout this process, I could always depend on my siblings to make me laugh, but also pray for me when they knew the work was getting tough. I would also like to thank my extended family and friends who have been so very proud of me.

I would like to thank my chair, Kenneth J. Meier, for his dedication in helping me become the scholar that I am today. When I was working with him for the Project for Equity, Representation and Governance (PERG) as a sophomore in college, I could not have imagined becoming a doctor; but Ken saw my potential and made sure I was supported throughout my graduate career. Though I used to hate that blue colored pencil he used to mark up all my work, I realize that he was only making me a better scholar! I could not have asked for a better mentor than “Cap’n Smooth.” My other committee

members, Sylvia Manzano, Erik Godwin, and Terah Venzant-Chambers, have also made a great impact on my life. Each one of them took the time to become truly invested in my research, and for that I am extremely grateful. Thanks also go to the departmental staff at Texas A&M University. Carrie Kilpatrick and Lou Ellen Herr have been especially helpful during my time here. I am also grateful for Dr. Paula McClain, Dr. Mitchell Rice and Dr. Arne Vedlitz, for always being supportive of my academic career from undergrad to graduate school.

I have worked with PERG for over 5 years and I can truly say we are somewhat of a family. There are so many wonderful memories that I will cherish. I thank each one of them for their support and encouragement with my research. I would especially like to thank Alisa Hicklin and Daniel Hawes, who introduced me to the organization as an undergraduate student.

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The substance of this dissertation is about educational opportunities for African American boys. I would be remiss if I neglected to mention my nephews who were influential in my research endeavor. I am grateful for every time they encouraged their “Aunt Me Me” to stay the course. It is my goal that these boys will excel academically and that the work in this dissertation may one day influence their academic careers. I thank them for motivating me to complete this journey.

I would like to thank my paternal grandmother, Mattie Walker. She has uplifted me and always kept me in her prayers. I lost both my maternal grandparents, Nathan W. Loudd and Ruby M. Loudd, while I was in graduate school. However, before they passed they were so very influential in helping me achieve my goals. They were not afforded the opportunities that I had, and they were so very proud of the work I set out to accomplish. They were an inspiration to me, and I am thankful for their help during this process. Most importantly, I thank my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, for favor and guidance during this time. I give Him all the honor and glory!

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION: EXPLORING REPRESENTATION AND INTERSECTIONALITY

### Overview

Individuals have various identities that are important in shaping behaviors, attitudes, and outcomes. The simultaneous consideration of these identities is often termed “intersectionality.” This concept has been widely cited in the literature as being introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) and her work on Black feminism where she explores the multidimensionality of the African American female experience. She argues that deconstructing identities into separate, mutually exclusive categories obscures the simultaneous effects that are often apparent.

An intersectional research approach encompasses an understanding that analyzing categories such as race and gender separately tells a different theoretical narrative when considered together. While these considerations have been pursued in many disciplines, the scholarship regarding the intersection of race and gender in politics has rarely been pursued in the political science literature (Gay and Tate 1998; Simien 2005, 2007). Additionally, most of the notable works that have been done on the subject matter tend to be concentrated in the field of American politics (Gay and Tate 1998; Lien 1998; Philpot and Walton Jr. 2007; Wilcox 1990).

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This dissertation follows the style of *The Journal of Politics*.

There is even less discussion on the implications of such intersectionality in the public policy and administration literature (Bearfield 2009). Because individuals have numerous identities, intersectionality research can provide insight into how those identities manifest themselves in bureaucratic organizations.

This dissertation explores the role of such intersectionality in representation. While both of these concepts have been explored extensively in the fields of political science, sociology and law, absent is the convergence of the two. This dissertation combines the two concepts that have previously been divorced. I argue that intersectional representation, that is; representation based on multiple identities, is a more thorough and complete consideration of real world phenomena.

The goal of this dissertation is three-fold. First, I incorporate the concept of intersectionality of race and gender into the public policy and public management literature, which has scantily been pursued. Second, I explore intersectionality and representation with gender from a perspective that has not been extensively addressed in the political science literature—namely, a concentration on males, instead of females. Third, I develop a theory of intersectional representation which links to public policy outcomes. Broadly, the theoretical question I ask is, *does intersectional representation influence public policy outcomes for the represented groups?* I argue that considering the intersection of identities provides a more complete explanation of individuals lived experiences, than discussing race or gender alone. I explore these identities by engaging both the public management and public policy literature. I also incorporate literature from education and sociology as well because doing this type of intersectionality



research requires an interdisciplinary approach (McCall 2005) in order to understand how identity shape bureaucratic outcomes.

This chapter is organized in the following manner. First, I briefly discuss representation. Second, I underscore some of the inequities among African American males in education. Third I discuss my theoretical contribution. Fourth, I provide a review of the empirical s in the dissertation.

### **Representation**

Representation is an enduring subject in political science research. A commonly used definition of representation is “acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them” (Pitkin 1967, 209). I will discuss this representation from two perspectives in subsequent chapters—representation in the bureaucracy and in a political context. Within the bureaucracy, I engage the theory of representative bureaucracy. Briefly, the theory of representative bureaucracy can be defined as “the body of thought and research examining the potential for government agencies to act as representative political institutions if their personnel are drawn from all sectors of society” (Dolan and Rosenbloom 2003, xi).

In both fields, an important theme has been linking representation to policy outcomes and outputs. Within representative bureaucracy, this linkage has been explored with the translation of passive to active representation. Mosher (1968) explains that a bureaucracy is said to be passively represented if it looks like a particular segment of the population in terms of race and ethnicity, social class, religion, gender, occupation and other characteristics. Active representation refers to the process of advocating the

interests of a particular segment of the population. Similarly, in a political context, Pitkins (1967) discusses descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation is when the representative belongs to the constituents' social or demographic group. Substantive representation, is acting in a way that is considered responsive to the represented group.

Within the bureaucracy, representation has had an influence on a variety of indicators such as educational outcomes, EEOC complaints and police profiling (Hindera 1993a, b; Meier et al. 1989; Meier and Bohte 2001; Rocha and Hawes 2009; Hicklin and Wilkins 2008; Wilkins and Williams 2008, 2009). Similarly, minority representation has been associated with increases in minority participation, empowerment, spending on minority interests, legislative votes for minority issues, and hiring of minority administrators (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Eisinger 1982; Meier and Stewart 1992; Meier et al. 2005a; Owens 2005; Tate 2003; Whitby and Krause 2001).

Consistent with this literature I will argue that this representation is an important factor for outcomes, yet, absent from this is a discussion of representation from a multiple identity standpoint and how this may influence policy. As such, I explore representation through the lens of intersectionality. Hankivsky et al. (2009) contends that when engaging in such intersectionality research, it is necessary to determine if there is a problem experienced differently among social groups. In other words, it is imperative to establish that there is in fact a unique disadvantage. Building on that intersectional framework, I explore certain disadvantages for African American males.

One area where the disadvantage is acute is in the education sector.<sup>1</sup> While there are other factors that contribute to educational outcomes, such as parental involvement, resources, social structure, and peer influences, students experience a great deal of socialization within schools. Further, Meier et al. (1989, 10) contends that “education is the single most important policy area in terms of racial discrimination.” Education is a predictor of a plethora of outcomes, such as income and incarceration rates (Cohen and Tyree 1986). While education is sometimes deemed “the great equalizer” a review of the racial and gender disparities both within schools and returns to education paint a very different picture of inequality.

In grade school, academic disparities are very acute among African American boys. Whitmire (2010) contends that more than one in ten black boys repeats a grade during school. Additionally, on almost every indicator on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), African American males perform below other groups. Table 1.1 displays the 2008 NAEP results for average scale scores for long-term trend reading by race and gender for students age 17. The table shows that African American males perform poorer than any other group. There are disparities both within their racial group, as well as with other races. Table 1.2, shows similar results for math trends, however, young Black men outperform Black females by one point. Nevertheless, there is a clear racial gap of about 24 points compared to white males. Whitmire (2010)

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<sup>1</sup> African American males are also disadvantaged in various other areas such as the criminal justice system. This study could engage the criminal justice perspective as well, but I seek to approach a system where problems may originate in early years of development.

argues that the problem in the achievement gap among boys and girls is the failure to address literacy deficiencies in boys at an early age.

**Table 1.1 NAEP Average Scale Scores for Long-Term Trend Reading, Age 17, by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 2008**

Race	Male		Female	
	Average scale score	Standard error	Average scale score	Standard error
White	289	(1.3)	301	(1.1)
Black	<b>259</b>	(2.5)	274	(2.7)
Hispanic	266	(1.6)	272	(1.6)
Other	288	(3.2)	297	(2.9)

NOTE: The NAEP Long-Term Trend Reading scale ranges from 0 to 500.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2008 Long-Term Trend Reading Assessment. NAEP Data Explorer

**Table 1.2 NAEP Average Scale Scores for Long-Term Trend Mathematics, Age 17, by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 2008**

Race	Male		Female	
	Average scale score	Standard error	Average scale score	Standard error
White	316	(0.7)	311	(0.9)
Black	<b>288</b>	(1.5)	287	(1.4)
Hispanic	296	(1.3)	290	(1.4)
Other	320	(2.3)	313	(2.1)

NOTE: The NAEP Long-Term Trend Mathematics scale ranges from 0 to 500.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2008 Long-Term Trend Mathematics Assessment. NAEP Data Explorer

Table 1.3 displays reading results over time for grade 9. The results clearly show an achievement gap; females outperform boys almost every year, though the gap is somewhat closing between Black females and Black males. Overall, African American males fare the worst. Therefore, they are at the intersection of the vast inequities.

Moreover, the Schott Foundation for Public Education's 50 State Report on Public Education and Black Males paints a grim picture of high school completion rates Nationwide, the 2007-2008 graduation rate for Black males was 47 percent compared to 78 percent for white males (Schott Foundation 2010). Among all states, New York had the lowest graduation rate. Only 25 percent young Black men graduated compared to 68 percent of White males. These graduation rates provide insight into the low college enrollment rates for Black males as well. Black undergraduate enrollment among all degree granting institutions in 2006 illustrates a considerable gap, with Black females making up 64.3 percent and Black males only 35.7 percent (Schmidt 2008). Schmidt explains that the gender gap for Blacks is the largest for any other racial group. According to a recent Department of Education report, in 2007-2008, Black females earned 69 percent of associate's, 66 percent of bachelor's, 72 percent of master's, 63 percent of first-professional, and 66 percent of doctoral degrees awarded to Black students (Aud et al. 2010). Clearly Black men are underrepresented on college campuses.

**Table 1.3 NAEP Average Scale Scores for Long-Term Trend Reading, Age 9, by Race/Ethnicity Year, and Gender, 1975- 2008**

Race	Year	Male		Female	
		Average scale score	Standard error	Average scale score	Standard error
White	2008	225	(1.2)	231	(1.2)
	2004	221	(1.2)	228	(0.9)
	2004 <sup>1</sup>	224	(1.4)	229	(1.2)
	1999 <sup>1</sup>	218	(2.0)	224	(1.7)
	1996 <sup>1</sup>	215	(1.7)	224	(1.3)
	1994 <sup>1</sup>	215	(1.3)	221	(1.6)
	1992 <sup>1</sup>	213	(1.3)	223	(1.0)
	1990 <sup>1</sup>	211	(1.7)	223	(1.3)
	1988 <sup>1</sup>	214	(1.7)	222	(1.8)
	1984 <sup>1</sup>	214	(1.1)	222	(0.8)
	1980 <sup>1</sup>	216	(0.9)	227	(0.9)
	1975 <sup>1</sup>	211	(0.8)	223	(0.8)
	Black	2008	198	(2.0)	210
2004		192	(2.4)	202	(2.2)
2004 <sup>1</sup>		196	(2.8)	205	(2.2)
1999 <sup>1</sup>		180	(2.8)	191	(2.8)
1996 <sup>1</sup>		185	(3.4)	198	(2.7)
1994 <sup>1</sup>		182	(3.3)	189	(2.9)
1992 <sup>1</sup>		181	(2.7)	188	(2.5)
1990 <sup>1</sup>		177	(5.4)	187	(3.9)
1988 <sup>1</sup>		181	(3.1)	196	(2.6)
1984 <sup>1</sup>		181	(1.8)	191	(1.6)
1980 <sup>1</sup>		183	(2.1)	195	(1.8)
1975 <sup>1</sup>		174	(1.4)	188	(1.1)

<sup>1</sup> Original assessment format.

NOTE: The NAEP Long-Term Trend Reading scale ranges from 0 to 500.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 1975, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2004, and 2008 Long-Term Trend Reading Assessments. NAEP Data Explorer

The findings show that overall, Black males are dually disadvantaged in terms of race and gender in the education system. In the education sector, boys have been devalued, experience greater discipline, are overrepresented in special education and lower tracked courses, and in some cases underrepresented in honors courses (Planty et al. 2007; Sommers 2000). At the same time, African American students have consistently performed lower than other groups on a variety of educational indicators, and are disciplined more than any other races, despite their small population size (Eitle and Eitle 2004; Planty et al. 2007). Therefore, within the context of education, African American boys are often dually disadvantaged, both from a racial and gendered perspective. I argue that representation will be an influential factor in educational outcomes for African American males. In the subsequent section, I discuss the nature of the representation that I examine in the dissertation.

### **Intersectional Representation**

The underlying framework of this dissertation is what I term, intersectional representation. Intersectional representation is a type of representation that is based on multiple identities, such as race, gender, class, disability, sexual orientation and others. This concept is a recognition that individuals are not one dimensional, nor should the representation they receive be as well. Descriptive or passive representation derives from the representative or bureaucrat “looking like” the represented group on certain demographic characteristics. An individual can be represented in a variety of ways. However, the extant literature in public administration and policy has generally concentrated on representation in its unitary form. Engaging both intersectionality and

representation, I highlight a few key tenets of intersectional representation below. Table 1.4 also displays a brief description of the principles.

**Table 1.4. Tenets of Intersectional Representation**

<i>Intersectional Representation....</i>	1. May consider individuals' relationship with institutions over time
	2. May generate a shared understanding between bureaucrats/representatives and clients
	3. May generate trust
	4. May influence public policy outcomes and is grounded in social justice
	5. May not always produce positive results for the represented group
	6. May not be a "one-size-fits all" approach

First, intersectional representation is important because individuals have unique identity constructs and experiences with institutions. People may have a shared understanding of how others view them in various institutional settings because identity is not only how individuals view themselves, but also how others view them as well (Deng 1995). Understanding how different groups have been perceived warrants a contextual and historical exploration of the group being studied. It is therefore salient to study how certain populations interacted with various institutions in the past. For example, understanding the dynamics between African American females' experience with white women in the feminists' movements and Black men in the Civil Rights



Movement (Dawson 2001) may alter relationships between groups.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, understanding how institutions, such as the church and school, have shaped individuals over time can give insight into how groups may react to different types of representation. The nature of the groups' experience with institutions may shape the bureaucrat-client relationship.

Second, having intersectional representation may ensure that the representative will understand clients' navigations with identity. To be exact, individuals that are congruent on certain characteristics may share similar values and socialization. In the case of Black males, scholars argue that they often navigate between being both intersectionally privileged and intersectionally oppressed simultaneously (Hankivsky et al. 2009). Essentially, neither Black females nor non-Black males understand exactly what it means to be a Black man because they do not share those lived experiences. Diversity training and awareness initiatives, and the like may help groups to relate to each other better, yet, it cannot take the place of one knowing exactly what it means to be an African American male in America.

Third, intersectional representation may generate trust. This trust can change client's behavior and interactions within bureaucratic organizations. Clients may respond in different ways to a racial/gender congruent representative because they perceive the bureaucrat shares similar beliefs. This identity congruence between the bureaucrat and

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<sup>2</sup> Dawson (2001) discusses the historical experiences of Black women, arguing that during the Civil Rights movement Black women faced gender discrimination from Black men as a paternalistic structure existed. Additionally, Black women faced racial discrimination from White women in the feminist movement, hence, creating a sense of disillusionment with two major movements aimed to address issues important to them (Gay and Tate 1998; Dawson 2001; Philpot and Walton 2007).

client may create a different dialogue from other groups and a shared sense of understanding. This trust in minority bureaucrat may generate empowerment, and *overall* trust in institutions. For African American males in education, this trust may lead to better engagement in their academic careers.

Fourth, there may be a counter narrative to intersectional representation regarding upward social mobility. A representative may view a client or constituent with same identity with disdain if they are underperforming. A successful Black male bureaucrat may conclude that if he himself could “make it” then it should not be a problem for the client. Thus, he may not be willing to identify with the client. In this case, having an intersectional representative is no different than having any type of representation or none at all.

Fifth, there is not a ubiquitous approach to an intersectional representation study. Merging intersectionality research and representation is in a sense difficult, given the premise that intersectionality studies focus on various categories of difference. It is easier and less time consuming to generalize across groups. An intersectional research study for one particular group should not look the same for others. A research project of this sort must be grounded in contextual, historical, and identity constructions that make a group *different*. To be clear, intersectionality it is not *just* a consideration of different categories, instead it also recognizes how certain groups are marginalized on the bases of the multidimensionality of their identity. An intersectional research paradigm asks *who* is silenced when scholarship does not consider multiple identities. *When* and *how* does this silence matter?

Sixth, intersectional representation can be consequential for public policy outcomes. Hancock contends that “intersectionality, as a body of research, is concerned even in its theoretical voice about the practical implications of its arguments” (2007, 71). In other words, the tenets of the research paradigm stem from a belief that this research should provide voice and space for marginalized groups. This approach is grounded in social justice. As such, the theoretical concerns of this chapter are rooted in the same logic. I engage intersectionality research with a driving focus on public policy outcomes for marginalized groups. The underlying theme in all the chapters will be the linkage to policy.

In sum, while there have been strides in work that engages intersectionality and representation (Fraga et al. 2005; Philpot and Walton 2007), the body of scholarship falls short of an empirical test linking multiple identities to tangible policies. This research diverges from the extant work by merging intersectionality and representation in a way that takes into account public policy. The following section will underscore the empirical tests of intersectional representation.

### **Empirical Chapter Reviews**

To test the effect of intersectional representation, I use a diversity of contexts to provide a more holistic picture of African American male achievement. I utilize large-n-datasets on the district level for all empirical tests. The dependent variables I utilize in the models are Black male students in grouping in tracking categories that represent high end level tracks and low end levels. Briefly, tracking is a sorting mechanism within schools to separate students into differentiated academic paths (Oakes 2005). This is a

salient indicator because these placements can have consequences for future life chances and academic disengagement. In the subsequent chapter, I provide a discussion of tracking processes within schools.

I use two different states in this analysis, (Texas and North Carolina) as well as a national dataset. Texas is a large, diverse state that mirrors the country in many dimensions. Texas is an excellent venue to explore grouping and tracking not only because of the diversity, but also because this state was one of the key places where accountability originated within schools. Texas was renowned for its standards and accountability based system in improving outcomes. Reports praised Texas' accountability system as the "Texas Miracle" due to the increases in standardized test scores when the system was implemented (Peterson and West 2003). However, there were also instances where districts were found to be excluding minorities from assessments through placement in low tracks and special education. As such, it is important to examine grouping and tracking in an environment where the policy area is salient.

North Carolina is also a diverse state, but it is also home to some of the prominent battles with desegregation (Kluger 2004). Theoretically, this makes for an interesting test case as schools have also been criticized for sorting students as means to re-segregate in the state. Mickelson (2005) suggests that although schools were praised for their desegregation efforts, many African American students were re-segregated through grouping and tracking. Urban school districts in the area have sued due to the numerous inequalities within North Carolina schools. In the *Leandro* case (1997)

Superior Court Judge Howard Manning explained that in some schools in the Charlotte Mecklenburg district, “academic genocide” was occurring for at risk-low income students (Mickelson and Everett 2008). Moreover, in the past few years, North Carolina has been under scrutiny because their tracking system has been accused of producing racial and class stratification (Mickelson and Everett 2008). Again, this is an important place to examine tracking because the policy area is salient in the state.

Further, in both states African American male achievement is comparable to the national average. The average graduation rate for Black males in North Carolina is 46 percent compared to the national rate of 47 percent (Schott Foundation 2010). Texas has a slightly higher than average Black male graduation rate at 52 percent.

### ***Intersectional Representation in the Bureaucracy***

In Chapter I, I discuss intersectionality within the theory of representative bureaucracy. To date, the theoretical and empirical work on representative bureaucracy has tended to treat race and gender separately, (except for Hicklin and Wilkins 2008) with the vast majority of the work focusing on race as the more salient characteristic. This chapter advances the theory of representative bureaucracy by addressing the intersection of race and gender. In this chapter, I make the case for determining when the translation of passive to active representation is likely to occur for gender and race. When considered as a simultaneous relationship, I am able to tap into issues directly related to African American males, rather than sole considerations of males or African Americans in general. I argue that there are different theoretical explanations that cannot be captured by race or gender alone. Through an interdisciplinary approach, this chapter

discusses the critical role of African American male teachers on African American male grouping and tracking in schools.

In this chapter, I ask two related questions, *do Black male teachers have an impact on Black male student's educational equity and if so, is that impact different from that of other teachers*. I posit in this chapter that Black male teachers have a positive impact on Black male students due to shared experiences and identity congruence. There is a unique, experience that can only be captured by considering race and gender combined. Black male teachers may have a direct role through advocacy, through increased attention to Black male students, or through role model effects.

Additionally, gender has been shown to be a salient characteristic in terms of representative bureaucracy; thus, it could be argued that having male teachers (regardless of race) will have a positive influence on Black male student achievement because of the similarities in being a male. In other words, does having the same gender as the teacher lead to positive results for African American male students? Similarly, I test the effect of representation with Black female teachers as well to assess the racial congruence.

Utilizing school district data from North Carolina over a five year period (2001-2005), I empirically test the following hypotheses using regression analysis:

***Hypothesis 1:*** An increase of African American male teachers will be associated with a decrease in the percentage of African American male students being placed in remedial courses and this impact will be different from the impact of non-Black male teachers.

***Hypothesis 2:*** An increase of African American male teachers will be associated with a decrease in the percentage of African American male students being placed in special education courses and this impact will be different from the impact of non-Black male teachers.

***Hypothesis 3:*** An increase of African American male teachers will be associated with an increase in the percentage of African American male students being placed in honors courses and this impact will be different from the impact of non-Black male teachers.

**Base Model:** Black Male Educational Outcomes =  $\beta_0 + \beta_1$  (Black Teachers) +  $\beta_2$  (Male Teachers) +  $\beta_3$  (Black Male Teachers) +  $\beta_4$ (Controls) +  $\varepsilon$

***Intersectional Representation in a Political Context***

In Chapter III, I discuss intersectionality within a political context. This examines the influence of intersectional representation on public policy outcomes. Studies consistently find that both gender and race of policymakers matter for policy outcomes, however, what is lacking is an empirical exploration regarding the intersection of the two in the literature. I challenge this deficit arguing that intersectionality plays a critical role in policy. Intersectional representation is particularly salient in politics, where linking passive to active representation can be difficult due to the political context. For example, politicians have differential relationships with clientele, may possess distinct values, and have diverse constraints than street-level bureaucrats. Street-level bureaucrats do not face the constraints of campaigning and elections that politicians

have. Politicians do not implement public policy directly, whereas street-level bureaucrats are on the front lines with clients, working with the everyday nuances of policies. On the contrary, these very same constraints can produce positive outcomes. These politicians can structure programs, set agendas, facilitate funding, and at times hire new individuals to organizations that are beneath them to address key problems areas. As such, I argue that intersectional representation will have an impact on policy in significant ways.

I assess this representation with school boards. There is a long standing literature that documents the role of school boards in educational policy (Arrington and Watts 1991; Dennis 1990; Meier et al. 1989). In the educational system, a school board position is considered a top-level position of authority and members are elected. School board members are key actors in the policy process (Meier et al. 1989). Further, school boards have an influence on bureaucratic actions. Although they are often constrained by state and federal laws, school board members exercise considerable amounts of discretion. Within this discretion, they should maximize their policy preferences (Meier et al. 1989). In regards to school boards, political outcomes are a function of who is in key positions of authority. As such, demographic characteristics of these members make a difference in the governance process. I contend that both a racial and gender congruence with clientele will result in positive outcomes for the represented group as members maximize their policy preferences based on these characteristics. Overall, I ask the following question in this chapter: *how does intersectional representation influence public policy outcomes in local legislative bodies?*



Additionally, the second question I ask is: *are there conditional elements that influence the impact of intersectional representation on outcomes?* To further understand African American male school board representation, it is important to consider other contingencies of representation, such as the composition of the school board. Racial composition can have a vast effect on interactions in the political process and subsequent policy outcomes. Some work suggests that Black legislators are not viewed by their fellow colleagues as equal participants in the deliberation process in the area of public policy (Haynie 2002). Therefore, these Black members may need additional support to have an actual influence on policy. This is particularly important for African American males because of the low representation levels.

I posit that the effect of Black male representation on Black male student outcomes will be contingent on their amount of representation on the school board. When there are few Black males on the school board, they may not have the power to initiate or advocate changes that may benefit Black male students. However, if there is more representation, they may have the support to initiate policies that benefit African American male students. Moreover, I assess the effects of Black female board representation on outcomes as a comparison group.

Utilizing a national dataset of the largest school districts in the U.S. in 2004, I empirically test the effect of Black male school board representation on Black male educational outcomes. I therefore derive the following hypotheses:

***Hypothesis 1:*** African American male school board representation will be positively associated with African American male educational outcomes.

**Hypothesis 2:** African American male school board representation will be positively associated with African American male educational outcomes; however, there will be a critical mass of African American male school board representation before this effect takes place.

**Base Model:** Black Male Educational Outcomes =  $\beta_0 + \beta_1$  (Black Male School Board Members) +  $\beta_2$  (Black Female School Board Members) +  $\beta_3$  (Black Male Teachers) +  $\beta_4$  (Controls) +  $\varepsilon$

***The Conditional Effects of Intersectional Representation in the Bureaucracy***

The public management literature has debated the idea of stability in organizations for decades. Stability can be described as the consistency and reliability of an organization's administrative system over time (O'Toole and Meier 2003). While one stream of work underscores the importance of this feature for organizational success, the other segment argues that innovation is paramount. Stability can provide a critical role in organizational performance by maintaining a steady flow of administration which not only benefits the organization as a whole, but clients and bureaucrats as well.

Lacking in the theoretical and empirical work on stability is a consideration of identity. Intersectionality research provides an excellent foundation to consider how identity shapes organizations and policy outcomes. I argue that while representation by itself is salient, an equally significant concept is the continuity of such representation. By merging these two previously divorced concepts of intersectionality and stability, I develop the term, "representational stability" that takes into account the nature of stability within an organization. Representational stability is the sustained presence of a

particular representative group in an organization over time. Building on this concept, I ask the following question: *how does representational stability influence public policy outcomes?*

Moreover, the second theoretical question I address in this chapter is whether there are conditional effects of representational stability. Specifically I ask: *is the influence of representational stability contingent on the organization's environment?* I argue that stability will matter more in places where the economic context of students is deprived. If the economic context is waning, students may not have a strong support system or stable set of role models. I therefore concentrate specifically on the *people* in a student's organizational and external environment. In other words, representational stability is deemed to matter more in this particular study not just for its organizational or management features, but for the *value* it offers to students who may lack support from individuals in their environment. I consider the impact of representational stability to be valuable for its role model and support effects. Given the already troubling nature of Black boys' educational experience, an unstable contextual environment can be deleterious for their achievement. Diverging from other studies on environmental deprivation, this paper focuses on the role model and support aspect of representational stability in mitigating the perceived lack of role models in the economically deprived environment. Using Texas School district data a 10 year period (1998 through 2008), I empirically test the following hypotheses using regression analysis:

**Hypothesis 1:** Representational stability will have a positive effect on African American male educational outcomes.

**Hypothesis 2:** Representational stability will have a positive effect on African American male educational outcomes; however, the effect will be conditioned on the environment.

**Base Model:** Black Male Educational Outcomes =  $\beta_0 + \beta_1$  (Representational Stability) +  $\beta_2$  (Economic Deprivation) +  $\beta_3$  (Representational Stability X Economic Deprivation) +  $\beta_4$ (Controls) +  $\varepsilon$

### **Conclusion**

In sum, this dissertation makes an important contribution to the literature by merging the concept of intersectionality with representation in an unconventional way. This project challenges the way in which scholarship often conceptualizes representation, arguing for a consideration of multiple intersecting identities. Within the education sector, I find that intersectional representation is complex, and is in fact “not a one-way street” in terms of predicted outcomes. The theoretical and empirical contributions of this dissertation extend far beyond this one field, and can be applied to various other policy domains.

## CHAPTER II

### INTERSECTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

#### **Introduction**

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that on almost every category of academic achievement and quality of life indicator, African American males are consistently represented on the lower end of the spectrum more than any other group (Noguera 2003, 2008; Schott Foundation 2010). Young, African American men are overrepresented in lower academic tracks and special education enrollment, underrepresented in colleges and universities, and perform poorly on standardized tests compared to other groups (Hopkins 1997; Hunter and Davis 1992; Noguera 2008; Planty et al. 2009; Schmidt 2008; Schott Foundation 2010). Jencks and Phillips (1998) argue that even when controlling for socioeconomic status, middle-class African-American men often score lower than Whites on standardized tests and have lower grade point averages. Additionally, on high-end indicators, such as enrollment in honors courses and high level mathematics, African American males are underrepresented (Stinson 2006). These staggering findings often have deleterious implications—it is not surprising that unemployment and prison rates for this group are also very high. The Bureau of Justice Statistics report that “based on current rates of first incarceration, an estimated 32% of Black males will enter State or Federal prison during their lifetime, compared to 17% of Hispanic males and 5.9% of white males.” Additionally, one in twenty-one Black men were incarcerated at midyear 2008, compared to one in 138 white males (U.S.

Department of Justice 2009). Contrast this with the fact that in 2008, only 3.34 percent of the total students receiving Bachelors degrees at degree granting institutions, were African American males compared to 31.5 percent for white males.<sup>3</sup> I argue that these problems often originate within schools, where sorting mechanisms of grouping and tracking result in a vast number of African American boys in lower academic tracks. This is a major education policy issue as segments of the school population are continually being marginalized. Given the underperformance of racial minorities in the educational system, as well as the increasing gender disparities that favor girls (Planty et al. 2009; Sommers 2000), African American boys are then at the intersection and can be considered doubly disadvantaged. While this problem continues to persist, there is a dearth of theoretical and empirical evidence that addresses this pressing issue. By focusing on the role of identity, intersectionality can provide insight into the experiences of young, African American males in the educational system.

Intersectionality goes beyond unitary categories to consider the interactions of different aspects of identity, such as race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion and other categories (Hankivsky et al. 2009). It is an approach that “fundamentally alters the ways in which social problems are identified, experienced, and understood, so as to reflect the multiplicity of lived experiences” (Oxman-Martinez et al. 2002, 23). While this approach has been assessed in other disciplines, there is seldom a discussion of the concept within the public administration literature.

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<sup>3</sup> U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2007-08 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2008

This chapter integrates the concept of intersectionality with the public administration literature by exploring the theory of representative bureaucracy. According to Meier, “The theory of representative bureaucracy concerns the ability of bureaucrats to translate values linked to demographic origins into decisions that benefit individuals of similar origins” (1993a, 1). To date, the theoretical and empirical work on representative bureaucracy has tended to treat race and gender separately, (except for Hicklin and Wilkins 2008) with the vast majority of the work focusing on race as the more salient characteristic (Brudney et al. 2000; Meier and Stewart 1992; Rocha and Hawes 2009). This chapter advances the theory of representative bureaucracy by addressing the intersection of race and gender. More specifically, the theory is further advanced by examining race and gender in a non-traditional framework—that is, focusing on males instead of females. When considered as a simultaneous relationship, I am able to address issues directly related to African American males, rather than sole consideration of gender or race. I argue that there are different theoretical interpretations that cannot be captured by race or gender alone. Through an interdisciplinary approach, this analysis discusses the impact of African American male teachers on African American male grouping and tracking in schools. I investigate two related questions in this chapter: *do Black male teachers have an impact on Black male students’ educational opportunities and if so, is that effect different from that of other teachers*. I empirically assess the role that Black male teachers, non-Black male teachers, and Black female teachers play in the grouping and tracking of Black boys. The chapter is organized in the following manner. First, I discuss the theory of representative bureaucracy. Second, I

discuss intersectionality research in general and more specifically for African American young men. Third, I set up the theoretical framework for examining representative bureaucracy from an intersectional perspective. Fourth, I conclude with a set of empirical findings followed by a discussion of the substantive implications and conclusions.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Representative Bureaucracy***

A key component of the theory of representative bureaucracy discusses the translation of passive representation to active representation. Mosher (1968) contends that a bureaucracy is said to be passively represented if it looks like a particular segment of the population in terms of race and ethnicity, social class, religion, gender, occupation and other characteristics. Active representation refers to the process of advocating the interests of a particular segment of the population.

There has been a substantial body of work assessing the influence of representation on outcomes. Scholars have examined how passive representation can lead to active representation. This linkage has been found in education, local government, and federal agencies such as the EEOC. In education, the literature has shown that minority teachers and college faculty have a positive effect on minority student outcomes (Meier et al. 1989; Meier and Bohte 2001; Meier and Stewart 1992; Rocha and Hawes 2009; Hicklin and Wilkins 2008). Further, Hindera (1993a, b) finds that within the EEOC; minority representation is associated with increases in the number of discrimination charges filed on behalf of minorities. Selden (1997) even finds



representation in an organization that does not necessarily emphasize minority issues—the Farmers Home Administration. Overall this works speaks to notions of democracy by underscoring the role of representation promoting equity in public policy outcomes.<sup>4</sup>

Scholars have assessed the mitigating forces in linking passive to active representation as well. Wilkins and Williams (2008, 2009) show that agency socialization may affect the translation of passive to active representation. They find that Black and Latino police representation is associated with *increases* in racial profiling for minority individuals. Another mitigating force is the notion of critical mass within representation. Scholars have shown that a critical mass of minority representation is sometimes needed before affecting minority outcomes (Hindera and Young 1998; Meier 1993a). Lastly, scholarship shows how the institutional context plays a role in the translation of passive to active representation (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier et al. 2005a). In sum, within public administration and policy, the literature delineates mitigating factors that affect the linkage between representation and public policy.

Most of the literature on representative bureaucracy in the U.S. focuses on the role of race because it is one of the most salient demographic characteristics in society (Meier 1993b; Meier et al. 1989; Meier et al. 1999; Roch et al. 2006; Selden 1997). However, there has been work done in the area of gender as well. Keiser et al. (2002) find a positive relationship between female bureaucrats' performance outcomes for female clients. Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) demonstrate that female

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<sup>4</sup> It is important to note however, that representation can occur even if the bureaucrat does not actually exercise active representation, but has an effect on the client's actions through their presence and shared experiences (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2006).

representation in the police force is associated with an increase in the number of cases reported and arrests for sexual assault. Similarly, Wilkins and Keiser (2004) find that passive representation leads to active representation for women in a gendered policy area such as the case of child support. Keiser and Haider-Markel (2007) discuss how client attitudes are affected by passive representation and how they differ for race and gender. While Keiser and Haider-Markel (2007) examine gender and race, there is neither a discussion regarding the intersection of the two concepts, nor a discussion when linking passive to active representation. In one of the first tests of intersectionality in representative bureaucracy, Hicklin and Wilkins (2008) examine representative bureaucracy in higher education among Latinos. They find that racial representation matters while gender representation does not for Latinos. A case has yet to be made for intersectionality and representative bureaucracy regarding neither males, nor one that has examined the secondary school level.

### ***Intersectionality***

Before merging representative bureaucracy with intersectionality, it is first necessary to discuss what exactly intersectionality is broadly and how it has been studied. Intersectional research derives from the realization that discrete categorizations and generalizations among characteristics such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and religion by themselves only explain limited and perhaps flawed pieces of information. Hankivsky et al. contend that “social categories intersect to create unique social locations, and it is the intersection which is of concern in an intersectional analysis” (2009, 8). While there is a general consensus across disciplines regarding

intersectionality exploring such various social locations, there are various approaches to actually conducting this type of research (McCall 2005). This is in part because intersectionality has a history of fragmentation. That is, various disciplines have been studying the concepts separate from each other, thereby making a slow progression as a research paradigm (Hancock 2007). Because of this, across and within the social sciences disciplines, the notion of what exactly constitutes intersectional relationships varies (Collins 1991; Warner 2008). One comprehensive approach recognizes that notions of identity that the intersection is based upon calls for a more contextual and historical account (Diamond and Butterworth 2008). It is a realization that individuals' various categories of difference and experiences create a complex whole that has to be explored in entirety. For this chapter, I discuss this approach by underscoring the factors that shape African American male identity and relationships with other individuals. This is beneficial because it provides insight into the experiences of African American males, which underscores distinct, lived experiences compared to other groups.

Intersectionality has been studied broadly across a wide array of fields and contexts. However, the foundation of this research is in social justice where scholars identify issues and injuries that may be excluded by examining a single identity (Hankivsky et al. 2009). This research has also been studied cross-nationally, with scholarship framing the lived experiences and discrimination with various populations in the Middle East, Africa, Brazil, Europe and various other contexts (Mohatny 1988; Ogundipe-Leslie 1994; Verloo 2006). Within the U.S. context, there has been an

extensive amount of literature on the intersection of race and gender in political science that has focused on Black females. Within this Black feminist literature, scholars contend that Black women face discrimination on the basis of both their race and gender (Collins 1991, 1996; Crenshaw 1989; Simien and Clawson 2004). Not only do Black women face a duality of discrimination, they also face a dual constraint of political interests.<sup>5</sup> Gay and Tate (1998) argue that Black women are “doubly bound” in that gender *and* race matter in shaping political identities. What comes from this is a Black feminist consciousness that is different from that of other groups. It is a consciousness that focuses on inequity, intersectionality, the challenging of institutionalized oppressive structures, and a political identification which builds upon their experiences of racism and sexism (Simien and Clawson 2004). Simien and Clawson (2004) find that this Black feminist consciousness affects policy attitudes. In the same way, Philpot and Walton (2007) suggest that the Black female identity shapes the political behavior of Black women, finding that Black women were the largest supporters of Black female political candidates, compared to Black men and women.

There has also been some work on intersectionality and Latinas as well. This scholarship suggests that Latinas have a distinct political consciousness. Bedolla et al. (2007) find that Latina women have distinct political attitudes from Latino males. This work also finds that race and gender interact with national origin as well. Similarly, Bedolla and Scola (2006) examine the intersection of race and gender in the 2003 California recall vote. They find that race, class and gender interact to influence vote

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<sup>5</sup> To be clear, intersectionality is not solely a consideration of double minority status, it can apply to a variety of identities among individuals.

choice. In this study, Latinas were more likely to support the recall in California than non-Latina females and Latinos.

In sum, this body of work in American politics provides a foundation for work in public administration and African American males by establishing the way attitudes and experiences from an intersectional perspective shape political outcomes. In like manner, I will argue that African American males also have a distinct experience along both racial and gender lines when navigating institutions.

#### *What about the Men?*

I build the case for intersectionality on the previous scholarship on women due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the literature on race and gender focuses on this group rather than men. This is not unique to the field of intersectionality research alone, but rather a commonality in the scholarship on gender as a whole. Keiser et al. (2002) speak to this notion by explaining that the terms “gender” and “women” are not synonymous. Yet, an exploration of the extant literature reveals a biased connotation. Similarly, Kimmel (2006) suggest that in American society men have no history; that is, many works do not underscore the concept of manhood and the experiences they face. He suggests that far too much scholarship ignores how the definitions of manhood change over time or how the experience of manhood has shaped various activities of American men. The dominant theme of study on gender focuses on women possibly because of the nature of discrimination among this group over the years. Various academic departments were established to address the inequalities among this

population. However, while this research is important, there has been a skewed distribution in the way scholars approach gender studies.

There is not a ubiquitous theory of masculinity. However, some work has explored the substance of masculinity (Edley and Wetherell 1995). Role theorists argue that the substance within masculine identity involves social scripts. That is, men follow certain socially prescribed scripts that tell them to act like men. The social relations perspective on men argues that masculinity is influenced by the institutions that men are situated in (Edley and Wetherell 1995). This perspective contends that masculinity is developed from men's social activities. In other words, masculinity is the "sum of men's characteristic practices at work, with their families, in their communities, and in the group and institutions to which they belong" (Edley and Wetherell 1995, 96). The cultural perspective asserts that masculinity gets transferred generationally through speech and texts. The cultural framework suggests that every culture must "embody a set of particular ideas or themes which relate to men and masculinity" (Edley and Wetherell 1995, 132).<sup>6</sup> This perspective accounts for differences between men, because it posits multiple identities within manhood.

Moreover, Kimmel (2006, 4) suggests that the concept of masculinity varies by characteristics such as race. He argues that a history of manhood in America "must recount two histories: the history of the changing 'ideal' version of masculinity and the parallel versions that coexist with it." Goffman (1963) suggests that this complete or

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<sup>6</sup> There are also other perspectives of masculinity such as the biological and psychoanalytical perspectives.

ideal male is often characterized as straight, white, and middle class.<sup>7</sup> Kimmel (2006) maintains however, that there is another story of the marginalized “others,” those that do not adequately fit into the dominant view of manhood in America—those that are working class, homosexual, or men of color. It is in this space, where the discourse of African American male identity is often discussed.

This categorization of “otherness” is widespread in the scholarship on Black male masculinity. For example, Roberts expresses that, “African American males shoulder great burdens in their efforts to be men in a system that defines manhood in ways that exclude the cultural imperativeness of this group” (1994, 379). Early work suggests that because of this difference, Black men travel between both majority and minority cultures while negotiating racism and discrimination (Franklin 1986). Waymer (2008) argues that Black males navigate between the perceived advantage of gender, but also the disadvantage due to race. He concludes then that a tension ensues among Black men because while they are brought up as men, they also face the realities of subjugation. In other words, they are men, but they are non-White men—a significant distinction. Because of this, some suggest that Black men are often compelled to prove that they are men as well (Majors and Billson 1992; Roberts 1994).

Exploring historical contexts is a significant element for intersectionality research. Hunter and Davis (1992) contend that the study of Black male identity construction in the United States often extends back to slavery, with the depiction of the Black man as less than human with limited intellectual capacity but powerful physical

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<sup>7</sup> Feagin (2009) also suggest that the standard white view of the dominant male in U.S. society is still white male and patriarchal.

strength. Early white philosophers suggested views of manhood, arguing that man was only a man if he was free (Edley and Wetherell 1995). This was the antithesis to what Black men were during the time; thereby creating the first degrading definition of Black manhood. After slavery had ended, freedom was no longer sufficient principle of masculinity for white males; success, power and competition dominated. However, because of racial prejudice within institutions, Black men were denied adequate opportunities to pursue such success. Therefore, they were entangled in a double bind, where they wanted to play out the scripts of masculinity and be providers for their families; however, they had to contend with racial hostilities that blocked them from these goals. What follows is a discourse on the emasculated male, that is, the construction of Black men as “boys” or not truly a man on equal terms as the dominant society. At the same time, however, Black men were viewed as being hyper-sexual and hyper-aggressive (Wallace 2007; Waymer 2008).

During the Civil Rights Era, a different conceptualization of Black manhood emerged—one of pride, anger, and frustration with the social and economic inequalities that existed (Majors and Billson 1992; Hunter and Davis 1992, Kimmel 2006). Majors and Billson (1992) posit that Black men use such pride to improve their social competence. They articulate that “pride, dignity, and respect hold such a high premium for Black men...” (Majors and Billson 1992, 39). Unfortunately, Hunter and Davis (1992) suggest that the rage and pride expressed by the urban Black male became distorted with images of destructiveness, hyper-aggressiveness and danger. In other words, the pride and anger developed to counter institutional inequalities, is often



negatively constructed as deviant and anti-social behavior. As a result, Hunter and Davis maintain that Black men are “both victims to and participants in their own destruction.” (1992, 468).

As the cultural perspective of masculinity suggests, these experiences of manhood were passed down generationally. Therefore, the historical experiences of Black men in America reverberate to present groups of Black men and boys. Not only does this get passed down through oral history and texts, sadly the experiences that Black men faced in the past manifest themselves in present day. Racial prejudice may become in-grained within many institutions (Feagin 2009). In other words, inequities may be generated not only through overt means, but through processes that have traditionally created unequal opportunities for marginalized groups.

Moreover, a discussion of Black masculinity must take into account another dominant medium in which identity is often constructed—the media. Unfortunately, for African American males, their portrayal is often negative. Black males are one of the most publically stereotyped and stigmatized populations in America. One of the grimmest portrayals of African American men in the media is that of a deviant. Media coverage on the news over time has consistently highlighted African American male crime. Dixon and Linz (2000) find that African American and Latinos are more likely to be stereotypically depicted as lawbreakers. Even in popular culture, such as movies and television shows, the image of African American men is often negative. The media celebrates this distortion as well, thereby sending powerful signals to young African American males as to what is acceptable behavior. Images of African American males in

the media as troublemakers, plays both a role on the African American male psyche, as well as, how others might view and relate to this group.<sup>8</sup>

Further, Hunter and Davis (1992) suggest, that there is diversity in Black male experiences and identity. They make clear that an archetype of Black masculinity as deficient and distorted due to racism and economic hardships ignores the diversity of Black men's experiences. To be clear, deficiency, failure, and other negative conceptualizations are not the only narratives of Black male identity construction. While Black male crises narratives often emerge to underscore the plights, and lived experiences of Black men, it is important to understand that not *all* Black men are "endangered" which has become a popular term used to depict the status of Black men in America (Jackson and Moore 2006; Parham and McDavis 1987). Black men have enjoyed much success in many different fields and while a variety of indicators show that they are behind other groups, many remain persistent despite the odds. To explore the full range of Black male identity requires the recognition that there are in fact common experiences, but there can be a multidimensional view of Black male identity. For this dissertation, I build upon the dominant themes in the literature regarding Black male identity.

### *African American Boys in Education*

The scholarship in education has underscored the experiences of African American male students in education over the past few decades (Davis 1994, 2003; Hopkins 1997; Lewis 2006; Majors and Billson 1992; Stinson 2006; Taylor 1997).

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<sup>8</sup> Given that African Americans are the most active media consumers (Gandy 2001), the portrayals are especially important for identity construction and role playing.

Examining Black males within the education sector is significant because it is an influential place in which many Black boys learn who they are, how people perceive them, and what their future goals should be (Davis 2003). As such, scholars have identified a plethora of factors related to the academic achievement of African American males in their childhood years. These factors tend to be attitudes (both of the student and teachers/administrators), identity, and structural factors within schools (Davis 2003).

In terms of attitudes, data on African American boys as early as five years of age indicate that they are more likely to lack confidence about their abilities in school than Black girls (Noguera 2003). Such negative attitudes often develop due to negative stereotypes against African Americans. Steele (1997) explores negative attitudes through his discussion of stereotype threat. He posits that this theory centers on how societal stereotypes about a group can influence the “intellectual functional and identity development of individual group members” (Steele 1997, 613). He contends that this is manifested in the lower standardized test scores of talented African American students. While this was an assessment for African Americans in general, the situation is exacerbated for African American males given the vast amount of negative stereotypes about their behavior in society (Hopkins 1997; Hunter and Davis 1992; Feagin 2009; Majors and Billson 1992).

Moreover, scholars contend that the construction of Black male identity should be at the core of analysis of school performance for Black males (Davis 2003; Hopkins 1997). Majors and Billson (1992) posit a theory, entitled “cool pose” regarding African American male attitudes, suggesting that these males develop a form of masculinity that

allows them to cope in an oppressive society. Cool pose “entails behaviors, scripts, physical posturing, impression management, and carefully crafted performances that deliver a single, critical message: pride, strength and control” (Majors and Billson 1992, 4). According to the authors, cool pose becomes a mask for Black males, a serene appearance sending a message that he is composed. To the Black male who often lacks access to resources, the cool pose is empowering (Majors and Billson 1992).

Cool pose can have positive and negative consequences. This is often due to the fact that the signals that the pose conveys can be interpreted differently by certain individuals. Majors and Billson argue that “The elements that bring the Black male peace of mind and control are the same elements that ultimately cause him problems” (1992, 37). The positive elements from the cool pose can include the development of a social competence, a sense of pride, and an increase in self-esteem. It provides a sense of self, that helps the student navigate different institutions and systems of oppression or discrimination. However, the pose has various negative elements as well. Majors and Billson (1992) suggest that activities that are perceived as “uncool” to other peers are likely to include studying and relating to teachers in a positive manner. Additionally, this pose can effect mental and developmental growth as well. Head (2004) suggests that at an early age, young Black men develop a form of masculinity that requires a silence of emotions and the refusal to appear weak. As a result, this can create an unwillingness to seek help if needed. This suppression of emotions can have other deleterious consequences as this silence can inhibit growth and foster anti-social behaviors.

Thus, on the one hand, the cool pose can provide protection and feelings of worthlessness if in discriminatory institutions, however, it can also emit an aloofness or ambivalence towards education to teachers and administrators that do not understand the pose, especially those of a different racial and gender background. In other words, even if the academic performance of an African American male student is acceptable, the cool pose can be misconstrued as the student not valuing his academic career because of certain mannerisms, speech, or interactions.<sup>9</sup>

Lastly, structural factors within schools contribute to African American males' poor performance as well. The majority of this work underscores the cultural disconnect that African American males face at school and calls for a more comprehensive pedagogy that includes cultural awareness, manhood training, and other behavioral intervention strategies (Hare and Hare 1985; Majors and Billson 1992; Taylor 1997). A variety of arguments have been explored in the education literature regarding curriculum issues, teaching strategies, school climate and same race and sex schools (Davis 2003; Hopkins 1997; Schmidt 2008; Taylor 1997). Different alternative schools and educational programs targeting African American boys concentrate on identity and self-esteem building, community involvement, and academic values and skills (Majors and Billson 1992). Hopkins (1997) assesses 30 different schools and programs that target African American males. The initiatives can be generally grouped into five types of programs: (1) whole male schools (2) evolving male schools (3) single-gender classes

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<sup>9</sup> While cool pose is a prominent theory regarding Black male identity, there could be challenges to the theory. There has not been a systematic test of the theory to date. It could also be argued that Black females exhibit similar patterns of behavior within schools. Fordham (1993) discusses Black female experiences in education and how they are constructed as being loud and confrontational. Like Black males, these students experience the "otherness" within the school structure.

(4) school-affiliated male programs and (5) community based male programs.<sup>10</sup> One recently established school not assessed in this study is Urban Prep Academy in Chicago, IL. This school has garnered widespread attention for its success in educating Black male students. For two consecutive years, the school has had a 100 percent college acceptance rate (Ahmed-Ullah 2011; Eldeib 2010).<sup>11</sup> This is particularly astonishing given only 4 percent of the students were reading at grade level when they entered the program. This is an example of how the structure of the education system, fundamentally altered the academic performance of a marginalized student group.

In assessing the African American male academic experience, a fundamental concern is the role of tracking and ability grouping. Oakes defines tracking as “the process whereby students are divided into categories so that they can be assigned in groups to various kinds of classes” (2005, 3). Tracking is a commonly used sorting mechanism that often begins during the elementary years of schooling and is often supposed to be a fluid process in which students can enroll in different tracks throughout their academic years. In reality, once students are placed in a particular tracking scheme, they often do not move to a different one, thereby locking students into a rigid academic curriculum, which is deleterious for students placed lower tracks, especially during the early years of schooling (Oakes 2005). As such, it is important to examine academic

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<sup>10</sup> Whole male schools are those with overwhelming African American male student populations. Evolving male schools are those that operate with a heterogeneous student population, with equal numbers of male and females. Single-gender classes provide African American males with unique schooling opportunities that cater to their learning needs. School affiliated programs are outreach partnerships that assist in the education of Black male students at existing schools. Community based programs are mentoring, tutorial, and self-esteem programs established by various civic, church, and community groups to assist African American male students (Hopkins 1997).

<sup>11</sup> The total number of graduates in 2010 was 107. In 2011, the total number of graduates was 104.

grouping at early stages in academic career, because they are more than likely going to stay on that particular type of track.

When exploring this type of differential assignments for race, especially for African Americans, the term second-generation educational discrimination or second generation segregation is often more appropriate (Meier et al. 1989; Mickelson 2005). Mickelson describes second-generation segregation as “the relationship between race and the allocation of educational opportunities within schools, typically brought about through curricular tracking of core academic classes in English, math, social studies, and science” (2005, 50). Dickens (1996) argues that one of the outcomes of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was the reintroduction of tracking into the school system in order to resegregate the African American students. The first generation aspect of segregation was justified by law, whereas the second generation aspect is more covert through sorting mechanisms.

Although it remains very debatable that tracking provides useful benefits to students, it persists in schools throughout the country (Dickens 1996; Oakes 2005; Southworth and Mickelson 2007). There is evidence that tracking produces feelings of inferiority, hampers future educational success, and hinders opportunities to learn for students in lower and middle tracks (Dickens 1996; Oakes 2005). Given the overrepresentation of African American students in such lower academic tracks, it has an even greater impact and scholars have noted that their life chances are often diminished. Donelan et al. suggest that, “academic tracking and ability grouping have served to lock disproportionate numbers of African American students into dead-end educational

agendas” (1994, 382). Such agendas have implications for dropout rates, which may often lead to future incarceration (Lochner and Moretti 2004). More importantly, tracking can reify racial discourses because students learn which types of students are valued by being placed in upper level tracks, and those that are deemed inferior in lower tracks. These views can be perpetuated throughout students’ academic tenure as the same groups of students, namely African Americans are concentrated in the lower courses and white students remain in the upper level tracks. Not only are these views apparent to students, but to parents, teachers, and the entire community, thereby further solidifying the notion of racial inferiority.

These problems are exacerbated for young, African American school age boys. Though, research on second generation educational discrimination rarely focuses on gender differences and concentrates even less on the intersection of race *and* gender in tracking (Southworth and Mickelson 2007). Southworth and Mickelson examine gender differences in tracking suggesting that, “Among blacks, gender differences in both achievement and attainment suggest the importance of examining gender differences in track placement within ethnic groups”(2007, 499).<sup>12</sup> Further, Whitmire (2010) reports that a National Institute of Health Researcher, Reid Lyon, oversaw a reading research program in the institute in the early 1990’s and warned that tens of thousands of Black

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<sup>12</sup> One reason for the overrepresentation of African American boys in lower academic tracks could be attributed to the high rates of disciplinary actions of this group. Students with discipline problems are less likely to be placed in higher tracks because they are disruptive and may cause problems for other students. Additionally, there could also be contextual factors that inhibit progression into upper level tracks, such as lack of parental intervention. African American students are least likely to be in married- couple families (Iceland 2003), which have been shown to have a negative effect on education. Such parents may not have the time or financial resources to play an active role in curriculum tracking for students, thereby at times leaving some students to all through the cracks within the school system.



boys were being diverted into special education (Whitmire 2010, 37). While there are a variety of explanations for such overrepresentation, I explore how representation, matched on both race and gender may mitigate the negative effects of such tracking.<sup>13</sup>

### **Theoretical Framework: Incorporating Intersectional Representation into Representative Bureaucracy**

Because studies of representative bureaucracy have treated race and gender separately, there has not been a foundation for assessing this theory in an intersectional manner. However, the work by Keiser et al. (2002) on gender and representative bureaucracy informs my research on intersectionality. Keiser et al. (2002) maintain that several institutional and contextual factors have an impact on the translation of passive representation to active representation for gender. Building upon this work, I discuss how intersectionality fits into this argument; that is, I identify factors that link passive to active representation for both race and gender simultaneously. Essentially, I argue that taking an intersectional approach to representation provides a more nuanced, complete theoretical framework. Specifically, I explore how intersectional representation for African American males shape policy outcomes.

There are two necessary, but not sufficient factors that influence the translation of passive to active representation. The first factor is discretion. There are three

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<sup>13</sup> It is important to discuss that not all Black male students are “endangered” as the extant literature would describe. There have been successes in education for Black male students. In 2007, the Schott Foundation report indicates that graduation rates were 75 percent in New Jersey, as districts have adopted strategies to target this group. Additionally, charter schools, such as the Eagle Academy, and the like have created a positive environment for African American male achievement. In the face of adversity and bleak statistics other Black males take the approach where they work even harder to be successful and beat the odds. I underscore the deficiencies in African American male education, (1) because the overall academic landscape is not promising, (2) the vast majority of literature underscores Black males negative performance and (3) intersectional research requires giving voice to the disadvantages that may be covered by unitary approach.

underlying assumptions of representative bureaucracy regarding discretion. They are: (1) bureaucrats will in fact exercise discretion, (2) when making such discretionary decisions, they will attempt to maximize their own values, and (3) external actors will seek to limit bureaucratic discretion and upper level bureaucrats will seek to limit the discretion of lower level bureaucrats. The second component is essential because it suggests that bureaucrats will use their values to exercise active representation. Bureaucrats will utilize values, which in this case of intersectionality, would be those based on commonality of race and gender.

The second necessary condition for the translation of passive to active representation is issue salience. The issue must be salient to the demographic characteristic (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier 1993a; Selden 1997). In other words, in order for a bureaucrat to have an influence on a client of a similar demographic, the issue must be important enough to that community to warrant attention. Keiser et al. (2002) explain that identifying gendered issues may be difficult as what constitutes such an issue changes over time. Therefore, the authors suggest that in order for an issue to become gendered it must have the following attributes.<sup>14</sup> First, the policy must directly affect women as a class. This analysis differs in that I develop a framework in which the policy can affect young men and African American as a class. For instance, certain issues related to crime, school-to-prison pipelines, paternal rights, dropout rates, and child support could be defined as men's issues due to the gendered aspect in the policy. These issues are also racialized, such as African American men in school-to-prison

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<sup>14</sup> It is important to note that the discussion in Keiser et al. (2002) focused on gender in terms of issues being salient to women as opposed to men.

pipelines. Recent reports indicate that African American boys are often more likely to get suspended multiple times within an academic school year, which can subsequently impact dropout rates (Noguera 2008). African American male adolescents are overrepresented in the dropout population as well (Greene and Winters 2006). Such rates are often factors that determine future juvenile behavior and incarceration. With reports indicating that there are more African American males in prison than in colleges and universities, an issue such as this represents a salient concern that is both gendered and racialized simultaneously (Schiraldi and Ziedenberg 2002; Wald and Losen 2003). Academic tracking has also garnered much attention nationwide. In recent years, the news media has highlighted reports that show African American males are being tracked (Abramson 2010). The Schott Foundation for Public Education reports on Black male education has garnered much news attention about graduation and tracking in schools. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund has also discussed tracking disparities along racial and gender lines.

The second way Keiser et al. (2002) identifies issues that are salient for gender is recognizing if the gender of the bureaucrat changes the client-bureaucratic relationship. Keiser et al. contend that, “this is most important in street-level bureaucracies where the interaction between the bureaucrat and the client is crucial in determining policy outputs” (2002, 556). Sharing the same demographic characteristics can often translate into the sharing of similar socialization patterns (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier et al. 1989). Keiser et al. suggest that, “Some life experiences are shared by women and for the most part not shared by men” (2002, 556). In the same vein, some experiences are shared by

Black men are not shared by non-Black men or women. According to Waymer, “Black men share similar lived experiences regardless of their standpoint in life.” He also suggests that “being in opposition to White privilege has a large impact on the construction of the Black male identity and outweighs the effects of age or educational status” (2008, 983). In other words, regardless of factors that make them unique, there is an essence of Black masculine identity that transcends differences. A Black male bureaucrat may have a unique relationship with a Black male client because of shared identity construction.<sup>15</sup> As a result, a Black male bureaucrat is able to identify with another Black male client because they most likely deal with the same issues on a daily basis, often regardless of socialization experiences. This consideration takes an intersectional approach by understanding how both the gender and racial identities make a distinct experience.

The last way an issue can become gendered is through its definition as a gendered issue in the policy process (Keiser et al. 2002). Certain issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence and child care “are perceived as women’s issues, largely because these have been targeted by feminists as venues where the social construction of gender places women at a distinct disadvantage (in assigning to them primary responsibility for child care, for example) or subjects them to systematic discrimination” (Keiser et al. 2002, 556). In terms of identifying issues where there is systematic discrimination I am also able to confront the intersection of race and gender

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<sup>15</sup> This speaks to notions of identity which individuals must deal with categories that they hold for themselves and categories that others view them in. Despite differential socialization patterns, others may view two Black males from very different walks of life as a similar categorization. Therefore, both individuals may be treated differently based on these perceptions.

because the aforementioned disparities on a variety of social and economic indicators of well being consistently indicate that Black males are often at a disadvantage.

The recognition of these inequalities has garnered attention from scholars, policymakers, college officials, and educators as discrimination is often cited as a factor in these results. This represents a social justice aspect of intersectionality, where concern of a marginalized group, based on race and gender mobilized a variety of individuals for social action. For example, a variety of community groups and organizations have called for the empowerment of African American male students. Numerous initiatives have been established at the collegiate and k-12 level to aid African American male achievement.<sup>16</sup> Organizations such as: Concerned Black Men National Organization, Schott Foundation for Education, One Hundred Black Men of America, Inc., Future Black Men of America, Urban League, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and various research centers (i.e. Wisconsin Center for Education Research, Metropolitan Center for Urban Education) have developed reports, initiatives, strategies and disseminated information to assist African American male youth (Schott Foundation 2010). Additionally, a number of colleges and universities have established programs that support the recruitment, retention, and mentorship of Black male students. Moreover, the media has become increasingly involved in this policy issue as well, thereby assisting in bringing the severity of Black male achievement into the American

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<sup>16</sup> For a thorough discussion of Black male programs in the U.S. see Hopkins 1997. Also, in an assessment of Black men in higher education, Schmidt (2008) discusses different strategies and programs that universities are taking to address this persistent gap among Black males as well.

consciousness.<sup>17</sup> A 2010 CNN special, reported Secretary Arne Duncan discussing the necessity to assist Black boys in academic achievement by recruiting more African American male teachers.<sup>18</sup> As such, there is a national campaign geared toward this strategy and recruiting Black male teachers.

Contextual and historical issues along racial and gender lines may structure bureaucratic interactions as well. One particularly salient dynamic is the relationship between white and Black males. Because of the various constructions of masculine identity and lived experiences, it is possible that Black and white males have difficulties relating to each other. It may be a particularly difficult struggle for Black men as they seek to fit in larger notions of masculinity, but also deal with the realities of white male privilege (McIntosh 1989; Waymer 2008). As a result, there may be a contentious relationship among these two groups due to the construction of differences in society. From the early 1950's even through present day, there are often grievances regarding the racial profiling and antagonistic behavior towards Black men by white male police officers. This construction of difference and the historical underpinnings between the two racial groups may change the nature of the client-bureaucrat relationship. As a result, a Black male client may be more likely to identify with a Black male bureaucrat that shares the same historical background. Therefore, while representative bureaucracy theory for gender might contend that male bureaucrats influence outputs for all male

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<sup>17</sup> It is important to mention that the media also perpetuates the inequality faced by Black male youth. The media plays such a vital role in the social development of Black youth (Stroman 1991) and it often fuels stereotypical roles of Black men as athletes, performers, or glorified deviants. Faced with these media images and coupled with a lack of Black male role models, the severity of the problem facing young Black men in terms of academics may not be of particular concern to them as a group.

<sup>18</sup> Huntspon, Allen (Producer). (2010, June 21). "Duncan Black Male Teachers Needed" [CNN Newsroom].

clients; an intersectional research frame suggests that this might be conditioned on the *race* of the clients and historical underpinnings.

### ***Testing Intersectional Representation in Education***

While intersectionality in representation can extend to a wide array of fields, one particular area to test this in is in the area of education where there are vast disparities related to African American male achievement and education is often a predictor of future success and upward mobility.<sup>19</sup> Keiser et al. (2002) identify math scores as being an issue that should be gendered because of the persistent gaps among males and females in education nationwide thereby hurting women as a class. In terms of identifying issues that focus on race and gender, I assess the academic disparities between Black males and others students. There are vast educational equities among males and females within education. Sommers (2000) contends that males are undervalued in schools, and often perform lower academically. She states that the more girls are portrayed as “diminished, the more boys are regarded as needing to be taken down a notch and reduced in importance” (Sommers 2000, 24). For the past few decades, there has been considerable attention regarding the needs of female students due to gender discrimination, therefore the needs of boys have become secondary. Girls take more rigorous courses than boys (such as AP courses) and in 2004 female graduates were more likely than males to have completed some advanced science work (Planty et al. 2007; Sommers 2000). There are also twice as many girls in the National Honor

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<sup>19</sup> The education sector is also an excellent venue because there is actual racial and gendered representation, whereas in other sectors, because of the low percentage of African Americans there may not be enough cases to empirically test these relationships.

Society, than boys (Whitmire 2010). However, traditionally there have been more males in the National Merit Scholars Program (Fair Test 1999). Because of such trends nationwide, a recent Department of Education report indicated that overall “gender gaps in educational attainment switched from favoring males in 1971 to favoring females in 2008” (Planty et al. 2009, 56).

Additionally, minorities, particularly African Americans, have lower educational attainment than other racial groups across a variety of indicators (Dickens 1996; Donelan et al. 1994; Hopkins 1997; Meier et al. 1989; Planty et al. 2007, 2009). One particularly salient area of concern for African American male students is academic achievement in the areas of math and science. In general, math and science achievement is an integral aspect of development and advancement in the United States. Skills in science and technology are very important as the economy is tied to the strength of a technology-based workforce (Maton et al. 2000). As such, academic investments into science and math for children are often seen as paramount, especially since United States children lag behind other highly technological nations (TIMSS 2007). However, there are vast disparities in math and science performance among students. African Americans often lag behind whites in these subjects. For example, on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), white fourth graders have consistently scored significantly higher than Blacks in math and science. In 2007, the percentage of White, non-Hispanic males scoring at or above the Basic level on the NAEP was 82 percent, compared to 46 percent for Black males (Schott Foundation 2007). White male students are four times as likely to take Advanced Placement Mathematics and Science classes as



Black male students (Schott Foundation 2010). Additionally, there are gender disparities as well. While males have traditionally performed better academically in math and science, recent reports indicate that more female students are enrolling in higher level math and science courses (Planty et al. 2007).<sup>20</sup>

Investing in math and science at an early age is of critical importance. This is a concern because academic disengagement can increase as years go by if grades are waning and environment is lacking. Various studies indicate that African American males are at great risk to become disengaged at an early age (Davis 2003; Garibaldi 1992; Roderick 2003). These studies indicate that the academic failure of Black boys begin in the early years of school and by the time students reach high school, they tend to already be disinterested with school. Moreover, findings indicate that even when math and science standardized test scores are similar to Whites at the elementary level, over time, their scores fall behind as time progresses (Maton et al. 2000). Others have noted the importance of early childhood intervention as well. LaMont Oliver, the director of The Meyerhoff Scholars Program at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, (an initiative targeting primarily African American male seniors in high school with academic interests in STEM fields) suggests that investment and exposure to STEM fields must occur earlier than high school. He states, “By the time students are in 10th, 11th, and 12th grade, they have already created a mind-set that they do not want to do

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<sup>20</sup> There have been a variety of factors put forth for the underrepresentation of African American males in math in science at the collegiate level. Moore et al. (2003) suggests that these factors are often poor secondary education facilities and resources, low expectations regarding academic abilities from school counselors and teachers, lack of positive mentors and family support, and poor performance. In other words, the decision to pursue math and science related fields often starts early in the academic years and the contextual factors surrounding that time period.

math or science or that they cannot. And by then it could be too late.” (Hutson 2009)

Intervention is most important at the early ages because problems are better able to be addressed. In sum, there are vast racial and gender disparities that are salient and warrant systematic, scientific investigation.

How might consideration of these issues in terms of race and gender play out in educational settings for representation in the bureaucracy? Essentially what I argue is that intersectional representation provides distinct policy outcomes. African American male teachers have a unique influence on African American male students, one that is distinct from race and gender alone.

First, from the racial perspective, there are socialization patterns and historical experiences that are unique to African Americans as group. The American politics literature has consistently found that this group exhibits a strong sense of group consciousness (Dawson 1994; Miller et al. 1981). As such, different experiences of discrimination, out-group status, and culture shape behaviors and attitudes in all levels of government. Unique to the education sector, Black teachers can identify with students that they share similar backgrounds, experiences and values. Even if they do not share the exact same lived experiences, teachers understand the how these students are perceived by others because of the racial identity; therefore they may extend additional support and effort to assist them in their academic career.

Second, from the gendered perspective, there are commonalities that are shared among men. Masculine attainment or proving manhood is a dominant theme in American life (Kimmel 2006). Kimmel suggests that the quest for “manhood—the effort

to achieve, to demonstrate, to prove our masculinity –has been one of the most formative and persistent experiences in men’s lives” (2006, 3). There are also various perspectives of masculinity that men may share, such as the role, social relations, and cultural perspective.<sup>21</sup> Specific to the context of this chapter, within the education sector, men share a commonality of holding a minority status in teaching positions as the sector is majority female.

Despite the commonalities associated with gender and racial identity, I argue that the fundamental distinctions associated with Black male identity will influence the grouping and tracking of Black male adolescents. While African American females share a racial congruence that is strong, there is an element of Black male identity that they simply cannot relate to. They cannot understand how to navigate between being both intersectionally oppressed and “advantaged” simultaneously. They may not understand the gendered aspect that intersects with race. Similarly, for non-Black males, there are elements to masculine identity that are unique to African American males. For example, Majors and Billson (1992) contend that a Black male’s cool pose can be interpreted by a white male as “mysterious, irresponsible, shiftless, unmotivated, and unconcerned.” Further they argue that this can turn into “a vicious cycle of miscommunication between cultures...” (Majors and Billson 1992, 43). The various definitions of masculinity (Hunter and Davis 1992; Kimmel 2006), as well as lack of knowledge about each other’s culture can promote alienation or lack of dialogue among

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<sup>21</sup> It is important to mention however that manhood is not “static.” It is socially constructed. As such, there is not one ubiquitous definition of masculinity. Carrigan et al. (1985) suggests a model of multiple masculinities to capture the multidimensionality of manhood.

men of different racial backgrounds. This can translate to contentious relations among male teachers and students of different racial background. Essentially, neither Black females nor non-Black males understand what it means to be a Black man because they do not share those lived experiences. This is why an intersectional approach is warranted.

African American male teachers are familiar with the experiences of African American male youth and can relate to these students in a way that other teachers may not be able to. African American men may understand the “cool pose” and other identity issues that Black boys exhibit, thus, instead of responding negatively to them or placing them in lower tracks for their behavior, they may be compelled work with them on a more personal level. Some works suggest that African American male teachers create positive learning environments for students and have a strong dedication to teaching (Lewis 2006). Thus, the unique experiences among racial *and* gender lines may allow African American male teachers to cultivate relationships with African American boys that other teachers may not be able to. Because of this shared understanding and congruence, African American men teachers might practice positive reinforcement and spend more time with African American male students.

In addition, there could be a role model effect at play as well (Dee 2004). King (1993) argues that minority teachers can serve as role models and assist in minority student achievement. Similarly, Hopkins (1997,106) suggests that, “ideally the optimal learning environment for teaching the Black male is to provide him with a competent and dedicated African American male teacher.” He elaborates that non-minorities and

African American females can educate African American males; however only an African American male teacher can be a direct role model. This role model effect might encourage African American boys to aspire for higher educational tracks. Further, because African American students are often more likely than other children to live in houses headed by single mothers (Iceland 2003); the presence of an African American male teacher may serve as a role model that could be lacking in the home.

There are additional ways in which teachers can influence outcomes for students. African American male teachers could advocate for policies that benefit young, African American men. Moreover, the increased presence of African American male teachers may be able to produce a change in other teachers and administrators' behavior which can raise awareness about the needs of African American boys (Hicklin and Wilkins 2008).

Representation for African American boys is particularly salient as they are dually underrepresented in the education system. There is a dearth of male and African American teachers in the education sector. The U.S. teaching force is comprised of only 25% males and there are 7 percent African American teachers (Aud et al. 2010). African American males make up 2 percent of teaching force. Contrast this with the preponderance of co-gendered representation for white females in the education system. In 2008, 75 percent of teachers were women. At the elementary level there are even greater disparities with 84 percent were women (Aud et al. 2010). White teachers account for 83 percent of the teaching force. White female students have dual forms of representation, and minority females have at least one majority representation dimension

(gender) in schools. If the logic follows regarding the linkage of academic success and representation, it is not surprising then that those who have the most representation are those that have the best academic performance, or are tracked into more privileged and rigorous academic courses.

In sum, I argue that representation plays an integral role in producing policy outcomes for individuals. As such I argue that an intersectional representation of Black male teachers will be associated with tangible policy benefits for Black male students. Black male teachers can have a direct role through advocacy, increased attention to Black male students, or through role model effects. I expect that the percentage of African American male teachers will be positively related to African American male academic achievement. I therefore derive the following testable hypotheses:

***Hypothesis 1:*** An increase of African American male teachers will be associated with a decrease in the percentage of African American male students being placed in remedial courses and this impact will be different from the impact of non-Black male teachers.

***Hypothesis 2:*** An increase of African American male teachers will be associated with a decrease in the percentage of African American male students being placed in special education courses and this impact will be different from the impact of non-Black male teachers.

***Hypothesis 3:*** An increase of African American male teachers will be associated with an increase in the percentage of African American male students being

placed in honors courses and this impact will be different from the impact of non-Black male teachers.

### **Data and Methods**

In order to test the empirical models, I pooled five years (2001-2005) of North Carolina public school district data on bureaucratic representation, tracking and controls. Pooling these data provides a total of 585 cases for analysis (117 school districts over five years). The data were obtained from the North Carolina State Board of Education. The model estimated is a one-way fixed effects model, with the effects estimated by year.<sup>22</sup> I tested for autocorrelation with the Arellano and Bond Test as well as for heteroskedasticity (general and groupwise). Because groupwise heteroskedasticity and autocorrelation were detected, I include a lagged dependent variable and panel-corrected standard errors.

The dependent variables for this study are measures of second generation discrimination; the percentage of Black male students in three different categories: (1) honors, (2) remedial, and (3) special education.<sup>23</sup> Because math and science are integral subjects in education and young, African American males consistently perform poorly in such areas, I assess second generation discrimination in these subjects.<sup>24</sup> I include a total

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<sup>22</sup> Because the data are pooled, I included a set of dummy variables for each of the individual years (except one) in order to deal with the time series aspect of the data and to assess time dynamics.

<sup>23</sup> Special Education is defined as courses designed primarily for trainable mentally handicapped, severely/profoundly mentally handicapped and autistic students. Remedial Courses are those in which the “academic rigor of the standard course is reduced to make the subject accessible to more students” (North Carolina Board of Education). Honors courses are those in which the “content and goals are substantially higher than those in the North Carolina Standard Course of Study. Emphasis is on providing content challenge to academically mature students” (North Carolina Board of Education).

<sup>24</sup> There are vast disparities among Black and with white males for academic achievement in North Carolina. Almost half of the states’ Black males scored below the basic level in Grade 8 mathematics

of 6 different dependent variables. The variables assessed are: Black males assigned to: (1) honors math, (2) honors science, (3) remedial math, (4) remedial science, (5) special education math and (6) special education science.<sup>25</sup> These variables are measured for students on the k-8 grade level because early intervention in these subjects is imperative for preventing academic disengagement for this group. The three main independent variables are the percentage of Black male teachers, Black teachers, and male teachers in the district. By including Black male teachers in the model, the Black teachers variable captures the effect of Black female teachers on students. The male variable captures the effect of non-Black, male teachers.<sup>26</sup> I argue that the effect of Black male teachers on Black boys is distinct from a mere racial or gender congruence alone.

The control variables I use are cited in the literature to predict performance and tracking (Meier et al. 1989). First, I control for the percentage of Black students in order to gauge the racial composition of the school and task difficulties. Second, I control for the percentage of white male students in the same tracking category of each model to account for gender similarities in enrollment.

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(47%), compared to white males who scored only 16 percent below. Also, in grade four mathematics, only 1 percent were at advanced level, compared to 13 percent for white males.

<sup>25</sup> See appendix A for logged odds ratios of the dependent variables

<sup>26</sup> The excluded categories that result are non-African American, female teachers (i.e. White, Asian, Hispanic, and Native American).



Third, I use a set of controls that assess district resources. These variables are: the amount of expenditures per-pupil on the local level, as well as on the state level. It has been debated that district resources play a role in school performance (Hanushek 1996; Hedges and Greenwald 1996). A greater pool of resources may generate more favorable outcomes. I also control for district size which is the total number of students in a district.

Fourth, I include three contextual variables obtained from the 2000 Census School District Demographic System that affect equity outcomes for minority students (Meier et al. 1989). The first is resources. Studies find that Black resources are associated with more access to equal education for Black students (Meier et al. 1989). High levels of resources signal the potentiality that as a group, the Black community can work to advocate for policies that are favorable to their community. Additionally, Black resources show that individual Black parents have the ability to combat a negative decision concerning their child in grouping and tracking.

The two measures of Black resources are Black education levels<sup>27</sup> and the ratio of Black median family income to white median family income. These variables should be positively related to honors courses, and negatively related to lower level course enrollment. The last contextual measure captures social class arguments regarding educational opportunities. White poverty is often used in understanding minority student educational opportunities. The argument builds on the power thesis which contends that discrimination should increase, as social distance increases (Evans and Giles 1986; Meier et al. 1989). For example, majority, white middle class populations prefer Black middle class than lower-class whites. Thus, educational inequity is more likely to be concentrated among lower class whites than middle class African Americans. The measure used is the percentage of White families living below the poverty level. This variable should be positively associated with honors courses, and negatively associated with lower end courses. Table 2.1 displays the descriptive statistics for the variables used in the model.

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<sup>27</sup> This is measured as the percentage of adult population age 25 and older (with children enrolled in school) with a Bachelors degree.

Table 2.1 Descriptive Statistics Chapter II

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Percentage of Black Male Teachers	581	2.69	3.16	0	19.48
Percentage of Male Teachers	585	20.63	6.04	0	100
Percentage of Black Teachers	585	13.66	15.02	0	79.74
Percentage of Black Males Honors-Science	575	.144	.740	0	6.4
Percentage of Black Males Remedial-Science	575	.440	.881	0	7.35
Percentage of Black Males Special Education-Science	575	.593	1.20	0	11.11
Percentage of Black Males Honors-Math	575	.492	1.64	0	20
Percentage of Black Males Remedial-Math	575	2.24	3.40	0	27.78
Percentage of Black Males Special Education-Math	575	1.41	2.20	0	20.69
Percentage of White Males Honors-Science	576	.354	2.00	0	19.81
Percentage of White Males Remedial-Science	576	.195	.445	0	5.42
Percentage of White Males Special Education-Science	576	.310	.745	0	8.33
Percentage of White Males Honors-Math	576	1.61	3.04	0	22.22
Percentage of White Males Remedial-Math	576	1.53	2.30	0	16

Table 2.1 Continued

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Percentage of White Males Special Education-Math	576	.847	1.62	0	27.27
Percentage of Black Students	581	29.75	22.38	.157	96.88
State Expenditures Per-Pupil (\$)	581	4,994.96	831.89	4,065	10,425
Local expenditures Per pupil (\$)	581	1,494.91	564.33	299	4,180
Total enrollment (per 1,000)	581	11.43	16.90	.615	123.79
Black/White Median Income Ratio	581	.626	.265	0	2.07
Black College Percentage (Logged)	516	1.81	.670	.254	3.53
Percentage of Whites Below Poverty Level	581	8.74	4.12	2.49	27.78

## Findings

Before a discussion of the empirical models, I first explore the racial and gender representation of street-level bureaucrats and clients. Representation in the sample mirrors the national distribution. White females make up the majority of the teachers in the sample at 67 percent, followed by White males, Black females, and Black males at a mere 2.7 percent. Black male students are underrepresented in terms of teacher representation as their population mean is 15 percent in the sample. African American males are dually underrepresented in terms of bureaucratic representation in that they lack representation both from a racial and gendered perspective.

Recall the theoretical argument that an intersectional representation based on race and gender will generate positive outcomes for African American male students. The empirical analysis assesses the effect of this representation. Table 2.2 displays the results for African American male students in remedial math and science courses. The theoretically important variables are the percentage of Black male teachers, Black teachers, and male teachers. Model 1 indicates that Black male teachers have a statistically significant effect on Black boys in remedial math courses as expected. For a one percentage point increase in Black male teachers, there is a .152 percentage point decrease in the percentage of Black males in remedial math courses. Further, neither non-Black, male teachers nor Black female teachers have a statistically significant impact on the Black male remedial rate.

**Table 2.2 Intersectional Representation and African American Male Student Tracking in Remedial Courses, 2001-2005**

	<b>Remedial Math</b>	<b>Remedial Science</b>
<b>Independent Variable</b>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
Percentage of Black Male Teachers	-.152** (.041)	-.067* (.031)
Percentage of Black Teachers	-.021 (.012)	-.003 (.003)
Percentage of Male Teachers	-.005 (.036)	.011 (.019)
Percentage of Black Students	.038** (.003)	.012** (.002)
Percentage of White Male Students in Remedial	1.026** (.034)	1.70** (.087)
Local Expenditures Per Pupil	.390 (.239)	.045* (.019)
State Expenditures Per-Pupil	.001 (.008)	.006 (.003)
Total enrollment (per 1000)	.001 (.005)	.001 (.001)
Percentage of Whites in Poverty	.006 (.039)	.001 (.015)
Black/White Income Ratio	.119 (.788)	-.340** (.118)
Black College Percentage	.170** (.025)	.017 (.044)
Lagged Remedial Enrollment	.195** (.075)	-.017 (.019)
<i>Constant</i>	-1.07 (1.09)	-.440 (.493)
R <sup>2</sup>	.70	.52
N	505	503

Note: dichotomous variables for years included but not shown in model \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  two tailed test  
The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 4 for all models.

These findings support my theoretical argument that both a racial and gender consideration is needed to truly assess the effect on Black male student tracking. This model has a fairly large explanatory power, predicting 70 percent of the variance in remedial math scores.

Model 2 shows the results for remedial science courses. Consistent with the findings for remedial math, African American male teachers are associated with a decrease in the presence of African American boys in remedial science courses. For a one percentage point increase in Black male teachers, there is a .079 percentage point decrease in the percentage of Black males in remedial science courses. Again, neither the racial or gender congruence alone influences the Black male enrollment in such courses. Overall the results in Table 2.2 indicate that African American male teachers are associated with an increase of African American boys in remedial courses as hypothesized, while other teachers do not have an influence. Perhaps these African American men in the district could be acting as advocates or role models for African American boys. Further, the Black white income ratio is associated with a decrease in the percentage of Black males in remedial science courses. This may indicate that resources play a role in tracking assignments. On the contrary, the percentage Blacks in college is positively associated with Black male students in remedial math courses.

Table 2.3 presents the results for Black male students in special education math and science courses. Consistent with my hypothesis, the percentage of Black male teachers is negatively related to the percentage of Black males in special education math courses.

**Table 2.3 Intersectional Representation and African American Male Student Tracking in Special Education Courses, 2001-2005**

	<b>Special Education Math</b>	<b>Special Education Science</b>
<b>Independent Variable</b>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
Percentage of Black Male Teachers	-.104* (.048)	-.079** (.022)
Percentage of Black Teachers	-.000 (.014)	-.000 (.005)
Percentage of Male Teachers	.029 (.019)	.028* (.008)
Percentage of Black Students	.007 (.004)	.011 (.003)
Percentage of White Male Students in Special Education	.744** (.190)	1.21** (.172)
Local Expenditures Per pupil	-.106 (.075)	-.047 (.107)
State Expenditures Per-Pupil	.034 (.015)	.010** (.001)
Total enrollment (per 1000)	.004 (.004)	.002 (.000)
Percentage of Whites in Poverty	-.014 (.030)	-.039** (.003)
Black/White Income Ratio	-1.88** (.082)	-.609** (.048)
Black College Percentage	-.759** (.165)	-.266** (.015)
Lagged Special Education Enrollment	.015** (.018)	-.011 (.029)
<i>Constant</i>	1.40* (.652)	.294 (.334)
R <sup>2</sup>	.40	.60
N	503	503

Note: dichotomous variables for years included but not shown in model \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  two tailed test  
The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 4 for all models



For a one percentage point increase in Black male teachers, there is a .104 percentage point decrease in the percentage of Black males in special education math courses.

Further, the racial or gender demographic match alone do not have a statistically significant influence on these rates. Model 4 shows that the results for the enrollment in special education science courses are similar; however, male teachers that are not Black have a slightly positive influence on the enrollment of Black boys in these courses. For a one percentage point increase in (non-Black) male teachers, there is a .028 percentage point increase in the percentage of Black boys in special education science courses. This relationship may indicate that the identity incongruence harms Black male student performance.

A possible explanation is that the different construction of identity creates a contentious relationship which leads to an increased presence of Black students tracked into lower end courses. A non-Black, male teacher may be more likely to place a Black male student into special education for behavioral problems because they may not be able to connect with the student in the way Black male student is able to. While the theory of representative bureaucracy would contend that gender congruence would produce positive outcomes, an intersectional consideration of race as well tells a different story.

Consistent with theoretical expectations, both the Black/white income ratio and Black college percentage are negatively related to percentage of Black male students in special education courses. As African Americans' incomes decrease, there are more Black male students represented in special education courses. In other words, parental

resources play a role in perhaps advocating for African American students' tracking placement. The more resources this group has, the more they are able to advocate for student placement. Additionally, the percentage of whites below the poverty level is negative and statistically significant as expected, thereby supporting the power thesis argument.

Table 2.4 displays the regression results for Black male students in honors courses. The results in Model 5 indicate that inconsistent with my hypothesis, there is not a positive relationship between Black male teachers and Black male students being placed in honors math courses. Instead, I find the opposite relationship in this model. Black male teachers are associated with a decrease in the presence of Black male students in honors courses. Similar results are presented in Model 6 for Black males in honors science courses. Black male teachers are associated with a decreased presence of Black boys in such classes. Coupled with the other findings on special education and remedial enrollment, one possibility is that these teachers are focusing more energy on ensuring that students are not placed in the lower tracked courses.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the controls indicate as African American income increases relative to whites, the percentage of African American males in honors science increases as well; further supporting the resources hypothesis. Further, the percentage of whites in poverty and is positively associated with Black honors rates as expected.

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<sup>28</sup> To push this finding further, I estimated this model for districts where the percentage of African American students were greater than or equal to 50 %. I estimated this model that way could be the case that Black male teachers promote upper level enrollment in districts where students are supported demographically. In this model, African American male teachers did not have a statistically significant impact on the percentage of Black boys in honors courses. This may suggest that a racial dynamic is apparent.

**Table 2.4 Intersectional Representation and African American Male Student Tracking in Honors Courses, 2001-2005**

	<b>Honors Math</b>	<b>Honors Science</b>
<b>Independent Variable</b>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
Percentage of Black Male Teachers	-.056* (.023)	-.026* (.010)
Percentage of Black Teachers	.012 (.008)	.001 (.001)
Percentage of Male Teachers	.019 (.011)	.002 (.001)
Percentage of Black Students	.000 (.003)	.004** (.001)
Percentage of White Male Students in Honors	.253** (.058)	.234** (.027)
Local Expenditures Per Pupil	.115** (.023)	.023 (.012)
State Expenditures Per-Pupil	.007* (.003)	-.000 (.001)
Total enrollment (per 1000)	.017** (.004)	(.002)* .001
Percentage of Whites in Poverty	.021** (.003)	.004 (.005)
Black/White Income Ratio	.452** (.142)	.222* (.093)
Black College Percentage	-.025 (.037)	-.008* (.003)
Lagged Honors Enrollment	.494** (.065)	.333** (.094)
<i>Constant</i>	-1.64** (.379)	-.334** (.089)
R <sup>2</sup>	.75	.82
N	505	505

Note: dichotomous variables for years included but not shown in model \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  two tailed test  
The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 4 for all models.

Table 2.5 provides a summary of the key findings of the empirical analysis. Overall, I find that Black male teachers are associated with decreases in the percentage of Black male students being tracked into lower end courses. Specifically, the models indicate that the presence of Black male teachers is associated with a decreased presence of Black male students in special education and remedial math and science courses. These findings may suggest that differential socialization and experiences may only be shared by members of the same race and gender. I find that non-Black male teachers are associated with increases in the percentage of Black male students in special education science courses. Inconsistent with theoretical expectations, Black male teachers are associated with a decline in the percentage of Black boys in honors courses. Taken as a whole, my theoretical argument that the race *and* gender of a bureaucrat influences outcomes is supported in four of the six dependent variables examined.

**Table 2.5 Summary of Key Findings Chapter II**

	<b>Black Male Teachers</b>	<b>Black Teachers</b>	<b>Male Teachers</b>
<b>Black Males in Remedial Math</b>	↓	Not significant	Not significant
<b>Black Males in Remedial Science</b>	↓	Not significant	Not significant
<b>Black Males in Special Education Math</b>	↓	Not significant	Not significant
<b>Black Males in Special Education Science</b>	↓	Not significant	↑
<b>Black Males in Honors Math</b>	↓	Not significant	Not significant
<b>Black Males in Honors Science</b>	↓	Not significant	Not significant

## **Conclusion and Implications**

This chapter is one of the first empirical examinations regarding intersectionality of gender and race from the perspective of males in the theory of representative bureaucracy. Doing this type of intersectionality research requires an interdisciplinary approach in order to understand the underlying identity constructs that shape bureaucratic interactions. The findings suggest that bureaucrats that share the same race and gender as clients may be associated with positive and negative outcomes for the represented group. African American male teachers have a substantial effect on African American boys. African American male teachers are associated with decreasing the presence of these students in the lowest tracked courses in school.

The findings also suggest that racial dynamics play a role in gendered interactions among bureaucrats and clients. Non-Black, male teachers have different effects on Black male students. This suggests that a consideration of representative bureaucracy must take into account these racial and gender dynamics. For male teachers, the gender congruence with Black male students is not associated with benefits in this instance. In fact, in one instance, these teachers are associated with increasing the number of Black male students in the most harmful category, special education. This analysis suggest that the racial and gender makeup of the organization has an effect on how policies are implemented in this institutional mechanism of tracking. As such, policy outcomes differ based on the exact demographics of the bureaucrats implementing the policy.

The inconsistent finding regarding Black boys in honors is worth further discussion. My theoretical argument was that Black male teachers would be associated with an increase of Black male students in honors. The fact that this finding was in the opposite direction for both math and science courses seems to indicate that this may be systematic pattern. Coupled with the findings that these teachers are associated with decreases in the number of Black male students in special and education and remedial in the same subjects, it may be a policy tradeoff. Given the pattern of low performance for Black male students, perhaps the first priority for these teachers is to ensure that students are not placed in the most deleterious tracks.

In general, this analysis contributes to the extant theory of representative bureaucracy in three ways. First, I assess the theory from an intersectional perspective. This differs from other work in representative bureaucracy in that I test the effect of both a racial and gender congruence between bureaucrats and clients. Second, I assess representative bureaucracy from an unconventional gendered perspective with a focus on males. Third, this is the first project to empirically assess representative bureaucracy and intersectionality on the secondary level in education.

There are a variety of future considerations to investigate as well as limitations to this study. First, one way to advance this concept is to consider temporal effects. As concepts of race and gender change over time, they will interact with each other differently. What constitutes a masculine or feminine identity has changed and will continue to evolve over time. Therefore, assessing these relationships across time will allow scholars to investigate how race interacts given different definitions. A

shortcoming of this analysis is the few time points (due to data availability), however future analysis should consider a longer time period. Second, intersectionality and representative bureaucracy should be tested in other sectors. One of the limitations of this study is that it is in one particular state and solely in the area of education. Testing intersectionality in different bureaucratic settings will allow for further generalization and subsequent incorporation of intersectional research into the field of public administration and policy. The theory is generalizable to a variety of other domains, such as criminal justice, health care, and welfare policy.

In recent years, there has been an overwhelming exploration on the plights, struggles, and inadequacies regarding African American males in the United States. Rather than provide an exposition on the scope of social ills facing African American males, this chapter suggests tangible policy explanations supported by systematic, empirical research. The findings of this chapter suggest that a racial and gender congruence with clientele has significant policy consequences for African American male students; therefore policy solutions regarding representation within schools should be tailored to meet the unique needs of this group.

### **CHAPTER III**

## **EXPLORING THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND GENDER IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT**

### **Introduction**

Minority representation in legislative bodies has been an enduring subject in political science for many decades. There has been an extensive amount of literature on the role of race and gender separately in politics, however; there is a scant amount of research that empirically tests intersectional representation—that is, representation based on multiple identities. While Chapter II clearly indicates that intersectional representation matters on the street-level in the bureaucracy, this chapter diverges and considers the implications of intersectional representation in the realm of politics. Politicians have differential relationships with clientele, may possess distinct values, and have more diverse constraints than street-level bureaucrats. Street-level bureaucrats do not face the constraints of campaigning and elections that politicians have. Politicians do not implement public policy directly, whereas street-level bureaucrats are on the front lines with clients, working with the everyday nuances of policies. Because of these different relationships and constraints, it could be argued that these politicians do not have an influence on public policy. On the contrary, these very same constraints can produce positive outcomes. These politicians can structure programs, set agendas, facilitate funding, and at times hire new individuals to organizations that are beneath them to address key problems areas.



In this chapter I will argue that more theoretical investigation is warranted in this area for a variety of reasons such as (1) the lack of exploration of intersectionality in local bodies, especially among minority male politicians and (2) the dearth of research linking such representation to public policy outcomes. In order to address these deficits in the literature, I explore the venue of education to argue that the demographic characteristics of school board members are salient in governance. These members establish district policies and exercise considerable amounts of discretion. I contend that both a racial and gender congruence with clientele will result in positive outcomes for the represented group as members maximize their policy preferences based on these characteristics. Specifically, I test the effect of Black male school board representation on Black male educational outcomes. Moreover, I also test contingencies of representation such as critical mass. In this chapter I address the following questions. *How does intersectional representation influence public policy outcomes in local legislative bodies? Additionally, are there conditional elements that influence the impact of this representation on outcomes?*

This chapter is organized in the following manner. First, I discuss the relevant literature on representation. Second, I discuss my theoretical framework. Third, I conclude with a set of empirical analyses and implications.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Representation***

The body of work on representation is vast as scholars have assessed a variety of themes related to political representation for a long period of time and in numerous

contexts. Scholars argue that if the American system is to be a deliberative democracy, then marginalized groups must have a stake in politics (Mansbridge 1999). One way to have such a stake is through representation in the political process. One of the most widely used definitions of representation is “acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them” (Pitkin 1967, 209). Pitkin (1967) describes representation in four ways that have been thoroughly assessed in the American politics literature. The first is formalistic representation, which are the institutional arrangements that precede representation. The second is descriptive representation, which is when the representative belongs to the constituents’ social or demographic group. Third, substantive representation, is acting in a way that is considered responsive to the represented group. Fourth, symbolic representation is essentially descriptive representation without the substantive influence.<sup>29</sup>

The majority of research related to minority interests has focused on Pitkin’s concept of descriptive representation. Such descriptive representation can be consequential for minorities. Tate argues that for Blacks, descriptive representation “represents their inclusion in the polity, the progress achieved in America’s race relations, and their political power in the U.S. system” (2003, 15). Hence, representation provides a sense of legitimacy for minority populations, who for some time, experienced alienation and discrimination in American political life.

A critical element in the representation literature is the assessment of the antecedents to political office in local legislative bodies and Congress. Accordingly, the

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<sup>29</sup> While there are other types of representation such as: promissory, anticipatory, and gyroscopic (Mansbridge 2003), for conciseness, I will focus on the dominant two, descriptive and substantive.

early work in representation focused on the descriptive representation and the influence of structure and contextual factors in obtaining political positions. Initially, this literature assessed the impact of the minority population in increasing political representation of minorities (Engstrom and McDonald 1981; Grofman and Handley 1989; Meier et al. 1989; Welch and Hibbing 1984). Welch and Hibbing (1984) show that increased numbers of Latinos in a district makes it more likely that a Latino official will be elected. Similarly, Grofman and Handley (1989) examine cross-racial effects of population explaining that the combined minority presence of the Black and Latino population influences representation, thus underscoring the potential for cross-cultural coalitions. Yet, others contend that rainbow coalitions do not always form in urban areas (McClain and Karnig 1990; Rocha 2007). This body of work concludes that population dynamics play a critical role in minority political success.<sup>30</sup>

Further, scholars have consistently found that structure has an effect on representation as well (Karnig and Welch 1982; Lublin 1997; Meier et al. 2005a; Stewart et al. 1989; Sass and Mehay 2003). The debate within the literature often focuses on the effect of at-large verses district or ward elections. In ward elections, candidates are able to win by obtaining a majority of votes in a smaller jurisdiction which is often more homogeneous, thus they maintain values important to minority constituency. The empirical work has found that under this system, minorities received

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<sup>30</sup> There are also other factors that influence representation such as the level of urbanization (Combs et al .1984), minority education levels and income (Meier et al. 1989; Sass 2000), region (Sass and Mehay 1995; Sass and Pittman 2000; Welch 1990), and language (Sass 2000).

greater representation (Arrington and Watts 1991; Davidson and Korbel 1981; Meier et al. 2005a).

On the contrast, in order for candidates to win in an at-large system, they must obtain a majority of the votes cast in the entire jurisdiction. Scholars have suggested that at-large elections harm minority representation because of the difficult nature of obtaining votes by the entire jurisdiction and the sacrifice of values important to the minority population (Guinier 1991). The minority candidate may have to downplay issues related to minority interests. As such, a variety of empirical work has shown that these at-large elections are harmful for minority representation (Davidson and Korbel 1981; Engstrom and McDonald 1981; Karnig and Welch 1982).<sup>31</sup>

### *Substantive Representation*

While the attainment of positions of political power for minorities is significant, the fundamental question is does this representation matter? In recent years, the scholarship in representation has addressed this question. This body of work investigates the tangible benefits of minority representation. The literature has consistently shown that there are elements that stem from representation that have profound implications on politics in general. Representation influences minority constituents' attitudes and behavior, changes other politicians' actions, has a positive influence on policy outcomes, and has a symbolic effect (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Tate 2003; Tien and Levy 2008).

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31 Some scholarship has shown that the negative effect of at-large elections has diminished (Sass and Mehay 2003; Welch 1990).

Therefore, the influence of minority representation spans multiple dimensions and the effect has an influence not just on minority constituents but on policy in general.

One stream of literature addresses the effect of such representation on minority populations (Gilliam 1996). Bobo and Gilliam explain that political empowerment, which is “the extent to which a group has achieved significant representation and influence in political decision making” influences the level of trust, efficacy and knowledge about politics, finding that Black mayors increase Black participation (1990, 379). Further, Tate (2003) finds that Blacks who are represented had a more positive view of Congress and greater levels of trust than Blacks who felt they were not represented strongly. Thus, attitudes about government legitimacy change as a result of representation.

Representation can also reduce feelings of political alienation among the represented group (Griffin and Keane 2006; Pantoja and Segura 2003). In an analysis in California and Texas, Pantoja and Segura (2003) find that descriptive representation is inversely related to political alienation. Griffin and Keane (2006) also find that descriptive representation reduces political alienation among liberal African Americans. Co-ethnic candidates on the ballot mobilize minorities to participate as well. In other words, scholars contend that minority candidates alter minority individuals’ decision calculation regarding voting (Leighley 2001). Barreto (2007) argues that a shared ethnicity is an important factor in participation. Relying on an “ethnic-candidate paradigm” he finds that in five major U.S. cities, the presence of a Latino candidate increases Latino participation. This literature suggests that representation increases

participation of racial minorities—therefore contributing to broader notions of democracy within the United States. Tate (2003, 141) however suggests that at the congressional level, Black office holding fails to encourage Blacks to participate. Gay (2001) also finds that Blacks who are in districts with a Black representative display similar voting behaviors to Black constituents in districts without them. Scholars have also suggested that participation of the Black community as a result of representation need to be conditioned on economic context (Harris et al. 2006), as well as heterogeneity within the group (Griffin and Keane 2006).

Descriptive representation has a significant influence because minority representatives have a distinct influence from non-minority representatives. Minority populations understand this substantive difference that minority candidates bring to politics (Baretto 2007; Tate 2003). One reason for this difference is shared group identity. That is, African American policymakers and constituents may share similar culture, in-group and out-group experiences, and attitudes. Scholarship has shown that Blacks exhibit high levels of such group consciousness and solidarity (Dawson 1994; Miller et al. 1981; Shingles 1981). Because of this shared group identity, these minority candidates are better able to identify with minority constituents than non-whites.

The notion that minority representatives bring a distinct, substantive policy difference has been demonstrated empirically in variety of different contexts, such as in Congress and on the state and local level (Welch and Hibbing 1984; Whitby 1987; Whitby and Krause 2001). Owens (2005) examines outcomes in terms of budget priorities and finds that Black descriptive representation in state legislature results in

increased substantive influence in state expenditures for minority issues. Preuhs (2006) also finds policy impacts; however he suggests that this is conditioned upon the political context. He finds that membership in the majority party will indirectly affect the influence minority politicians can have. This is in part because of the majority coalition membership is key to obtaining positions of power. Other studies have shown that minorities vote on legislation that positively influences minority populations (Tate 2003; Welch and Hibbing 1984; Whitby and Krause 2001).

There has been an overwhelming body of literature that examines the influence state and local level minority representation on a variety of policy outputs and outcomes. Minority representatives have limited the effect of legislation harming minority interests (Preuhs 2006, 2007), been associated with increases in minority bureaucrats, such as administrators, teachers, police officers, and generated a variety of other substantive policy benefits (Eisinger 1982; Fraga et al. 1986; Meier and O'Toole 2006; Meier and Stewart 1992; Meier et al. 2005b). A substantial amount of studies have shown the positive influence of Black mayors on policy (Eisenger 1982; Saltzein 1989). Further, this work has also underscored the contingencies of substantive representation, such as level of political incorporation and electoral structure (Fraga et al. 1986; Meier et al. 1989; Meier et al. 2005a; Preuhs 2007; Sass and Mehay 2003).

While there is an extensive body of work that finds that minority representatives exhibit a policy influence, there is a segment of scholarship that argues the contrary. Swain (1993) contends that Black descriptive representation does not yield benefits for minorities and that Blacks do not need to be present in Congress to have their interests

met. Similarly, Bratton and Haynie (1999) find that Black state legislators are less successful than whites at getting their legislation passed (but see Tate 2003). Dovi (2002) criticized the notion that any type of descriptive representative will suffice; arguing for a more thorough criterion of a “preferable descriptive representative.” She contends that preferable descriptive representatives have strong mutual relationships with dispossessed groups. She explains that descriptive representatives’ roll call votes is not enough, but rather assessments should be made on whether the representative reaches out to the disadvantaged groups, and have a linked fate with the group they represent (Dovi 2002).

#### *Race, Gender and Political Representation*

Although there is not a large body of literature on the intersection of race and gender in political representation, there have been some seminal works that address this topic. Prestage (1977) was one of the first to assess race and gender for African American women in state legislatures, exploring the geographical locations that Black women were most likely to be elected. Barrett (1995) also assessed African American women legislators’ policy preferences, and finds that compared to white male and Black male counterparts, they have a distinct, clear consensus on social issues. Other work has demonstrated that African American women face a distinct experience in political realms (Clayton and Stallings 2000; Smooth 2006). Hawkesworth coined the term “race-gendering” which “attempts to foreground the intricate interactions of racialization and gendering in the political production of distinctive groups of men and women” (Hawkesworth 2003, 531). In other words, she suggests that it is important to



understand specific categories; that is, elements and circumstances related to white men are different than that of a Black man or Black, Latino or Asian women. Similarly, Philpot and Walton (2007) suggest that Black female identity shapes political behavior of Black women, finding that Black women candidates acquire a large amount of support from Black female voters. The authors suggest that these Black women legislators lie at the intersection of race and gender and have a distinct political reality that is different from other groups.

Further, Fraga et al. (2005) assess the influence of Latina legislators arguing that these representatives take a position of “strategic intersectionality” meaning Latina legislators use their multiple identities as an advantage in the legislative process. Using interview data from Latino and Latina state legislators during 2004, the authors find that Latina legislators exhibit multidimensional patterns of representation and activity in the legislature. For example, these Latina representatives often have distinct coalitional partners from Latino men. Compared to Latino men, Latina women are more likely to be asked for advice from African American men and Asian females. Latina legislators report forming coalitions with Asian males more frequently than did Latinos did with this group. The authors argue that this is consistent with the logic of multiple identity advantage where Latinas multiple identities generate a greater range of coalitional partners. In terms of policy issues, Latina women report that they are more likely to support issues of the Women’s Caucus than Latino men, again building on their multiple identities. Other work supports the racial and gender dynamics among Latino and Latina member of Congress as well (Takash 1993).

In sum, the representation literature on minority representation has been explored in a variety of different contexts to explain salient issues, such as, political alienation, policy outcomes and voter turnout. By and large, this body of work suggests that these minority representatives act in the interest of the minority community by positively influencing policy outputs and outcomes. The intersectionality literature has also influenced the representation literature, yet as my review has demonstrated, absent from the existing literature is a linkage to policy outcomes for those being represented.

### **Theoretical Framework: Intersectional Representation in a Political Context**

While political science research has made significant strides in considering multiple identities in politics, the extant literature is lacking in three dimensions. First, there is very little scholarship demonstrating gendered and racial dynamics in local political bodies. Second, there is not an existing body of work linking intersectional representation to tangible policy outcomes. Third, the vast majority of this work discusses female representatives rather than males, thereby using males as a comparison category. Because legislative bodies on all levels are predominately male, the scholarship has devoted much attention to the behavior and outcomes for female representatives (Kathlene 1995; Thomas and Welch 1991). Kathlene argues that, “despite the quantity, richness, and diversity of research on legislative politics, all are grounded in a common perspective: legislative politics as constructed by male politicians” (1995, 696). What this literature fails to address, however, is that although legislative bodies are dominated by males, they are overwhelmingly white males. The role of the male legislator of color is rarely considered. If they are considered, it is only

in comparison to the minority female legislator. I deviate from the extant literature by providing a theory on intersectionality in a policy context, focusing on the perspective of Black males. Intersectionality provides a research perspective to provide voice to groups that may be silenced when a multiple identity framework is not employed.

Black men have unique, identity constructs which may alter their decision making calculus and interactions with other groups. The categorization of the “other” is widespread in the scholarship on Black male masculinity. For example, Roberts expresses that, “African American males shoulder great burdens in their efforts to be men in a system that defines manhood in ways that exclude the cultural imperativeness of this group” (1994, 379). Early work suggests that because of this difference, Black men navigate between both majority and minority cultures while negotiating racism and discrimination (Franklin 1986).

Individuals can be both intersectionally privileged and intersectionally oppressed simultaneously (Hankivsky et al. 2009). Men can be categorized as intersectionally privileged in terms of gender, due to the systems of power that perpetuate male dominance in a variety of sectors. African American men may experience this intersectional privilege, but also be intersectionally oppressed because of their racial minority status. Waymer (2008) argues that Black males navigate between the perceived advantage of gender, and also the disadvantage due to race. He concludes then that a tension ensues among Black men because while they are brought up as men, they also face the realities of subjugation. In the context of legislative bodies, I do not argue that Black men are not advantaged because of their male status, because they do outnumber

Black females, but rather I contend that these identities of advantage and disadvantage work together to produce a distinct political experience. While I am careful not to generalize the “Black male experience” in political bodies, there could be different scenarios particular to this group. In some instances, Black male members may be more likely to form coalitional partners with other white males in order to gain greater political clout in forming relationships with a majority group. The gender commonality among the two groups could provide more open dialogue. However, this political reality could cause the politician to isolate minority voters if he has to give up values important to the minority community.<sup>32</sup> In other instances, Black male members could partner with other minority members based on the shared racial experiences. If both members agree on issues related to minority interests, this may increase the probability of getting legislation passed. Black males could also form relations with both male members, building on the shared gender, and also with minority members, building on the racial congruence. Fraga et al. (2005) conceptualization Latina women’s use of multiple identity advantage can be applied to Black males. Black male office holders could also use their multiple identities to further policy agendas. As Latina women can use their identity to speak to women, partisans, community leaders and experts, Black men can use such a strategy to speak to the same individuals and co-gendered groups as well.

The goal of this chapter, however, is to clarify how these multiple identities of Black men translate into policy outcomes for clients of the same demographic

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<sup>32</sup> However, this may not be the case if coalition member is of the same political party and holds similar values.

background. The racial and ethnic politics literature suggests that minority legislators are often associated with positive policy outcomes for minority groups and favor policies for their demographic group. Further, there is evidence of a gender dynamic in politics as well. That is, there are often positive outcomes for women when represented by female legislators.<sup>33</sup> Some work also suggests that male legislators are more oriented to social justice (Kathlene 1995), therefore, they may pursue an agenda on equity. Building on the representation literature in gender and race and ethnic politics, I argue that Black male legislators will be associated with positive policy outcomes for the demographic group they most closely represent—other Black males. A significant concern for Black males is the vast underperformance on a myriad of indicators of social well being. One particularly salient area that has garnered much attention is the educational attainment of Black male students. Black policymakers in the education field are in a unique position to influence decisions that have tangible consequences for students.

An excellent venue to assess this representation is through school boards. There is a long standing literature that documents the role of school boards in educational policy (Arrington and Watts 1991; Dennis 1990; Meier et al. 1989). In the educational system, a school board position is considered a top-level position of authority and members are elected. School board members are key actors in the policy process (Meier et al. 1989). Further, school boards have an influence on bureaucratic actions. These

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<sup>33</sup> The work in gender and legislative behavior tends to focus on female behaviors, arguing that women sponsor bills related to women's issues, have priorities for children and families, spend more time on constituent service, and are more liberal than men (Reingold 1992; Thomas and Welch 1991).

boards set the agenda for the lower levels of the bureaucracy and superintendents are directly accountable to the board members. These actors determine which initiatives should be implemented and how they should be executed. School board members establish overall district policies, and those including equal access to education (Meier et al. 1989). Although they are often constrained by state and federal laws, school board members exercise considerable amounts of discretion. As such, within this discretion, they should maximize their policy preferences (Meier et al. 1989). In regards to school boards, political outcomes are a function of who is in key positions of authority. As such, demographic characteristics of these members make a difference in the governance process. I contend that both a racial and gender congruence with clientele will result in positive outcomes for the represented group as members maximize their policy preferences based on these characteristics.

There is considerable evidence in the literature that minority school board representation is associated with positive outcomes for minority students (Dennis 1990; Meier and England 1984). Dennis (1990) finds that the percentage of Black school board members is associated with a decrease in second generation discrimination. Fraga et al. (1986) however, did not find a direct effect of Latino board members on student outcomes but an indirect through hiring of other minority teachers. A variety of empirical work also supports the indirect linkage through minority hiring (Meier et al. 1989; Meier and Stewart 1992).

I argue that African American male school board members will act in the interest of African American male students due to shared identity congruence, but also because

of the vast educational disparities between this group and others. For example, the graduation rate for Black males is consistently lower than white males in the U.S. In 2008, the graduation rate was 47 percent compared to 78 percent for white males (Schott Foundation 2010). Additionally, on high-end indicators, such as enrollment in honors courses and high level mathematics, African American males are underrepresented (Stinson 2006).

Moreover, the overrepresentation in such harmful categories does not paint a positive picture for school districts, as attention to the disparities is becoming more apparent. There have been a considerable amount of reports highlighting the severe tracking and discipline disparities for African American males. As such, school board members may implement policies, mentorship programs, or other initiatives geared toward decreasing second generation discrimination. They may implement more strenuous oversight for placements, restructure hiring to address these issues, or set thresholds for assignments to certain tracks. Black male school board members, being rational, self- interested politicians, should want to generate greater policy responsiveness to the groups that support them. In other words, decreasing educational disparities of Black students should warrant political support among the Black population. This is significant because the literature consistently shows that the Black population is associated with electoral success of Black board members. Thus, there is another added political incentive to address the needs for students. Addressing the disparities in the district is important for these board members because educational

inequities among Black students is a salient topic in the community and has garnered attention from parents, policymakers, college officials, and educators.

In sum, because of the severity of the educational problem for Black male students, the desire to gain political support from Black community, as well as possible inherent desire to influence outcomes for members of their same demographic group, I argue that Black male school board members will be associated with decreases in second-generation educational discrimination among Black males.<sup>34</sup> The experiences of Black men shape their decision making calculus, but also places them in a position to understand the educational experiences of young, African American men. Therefore, they may be better advocates for policy solutions for Black male students. Further, the mere inclusion of a Black male on a school board may change the behaviors of other individuals on the board. Because school boards generally consist of 5-9 members, a single person may change the nature of dialogue and policy items on the agenda. As such, I derive the following hypothesis.

***Hypothesis 1:*** African American male school board representation will be positively associated with African American male educational outcomes.

### ***Constraints and Contingencies of Representation***

While board members can have influence, it is important to consider possible constraints that they may face. First, unlike street-level bureaucrats, school board members must often deal with the external political environment. For example, during

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<sup>34</sup> I do not have data on the actual behaviors or attitudes of these political representatives, therefore, it is important to mention that these are perceived behaviors or occurrences.



election years, the member may be preoccupied with re-elections, rather than actual district policy. Second, these members may be the first contacts when policies are handed down from the federal government. Therefore, they must understand how to interpret complex policies for the school districts.<sup>35</sup> Third, these school board members generally do not have direct contact with the clientele of the organization. They are not in the classrooms with students to receive a clear grasp of certain issues. Therefore, there may be information asymmetry in regards to the details and needs of the organization. However, in the area of Black male education, the severity of the problem nationwide may garner attention. Fourth, it is possible that minority bureaucrats may not share the same values of minority clients as they seek to become re-elected and fit in with other school board constraints. Herbert (1974) discusses this particular constraint that Black upper level managers face in that in order to move up in organization, they may have to give up some of their inherent values. There are also added pressures for minority administrators as they seek to meet the demands and expectations from the minority community, but also fit into larger standards of district policies. These local board members may face similar circumstances which may inhibit their influence for minority students.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Agencies will exercise considerable amount of discretion in interpreting policies from the federal government, however, board members are also responsible for the implementation process as well.

<sup>36</sup> Given the preponderance of Black male students in athletics, there could be pressure to focus on the sports element more than actual educational attainment. It is sometimes common practice for teachers to turn a blind eye to poor performance for the sake of athletics. Thus, there could be pressure from other males having the priority of sports, but also from the Black community for the poor academic performance.

Additionally, to further understand African American male school board representation, it is important to consider other contingencies of representation, such as the composition of the school board. Racial composition can have a vast effect on interactions in the political process and subsequent policy outcomes. Some work suggests that Black legislators are not viewed by their fellow colleagues as equal participants in the deliberation process in the area of public policy (Haynie 2002). Therefore, these Black members may need additional support to have an actual influence on policy. This is particularly important for African American males because of the low representation levels.

Previous scholarship has assessed whether a critical mass of representation is needed before active representation will manifest in an organization. The work in legislative studies argue that women will be more successful in the legislature when there is gender balance. Thomas and Welch (1991) demonstrates that there are distinct differences in the prioritizing of women's issues in states depending on the level of representation of women state legislators. Similarly, Saint-Germain (1989) finds that women address more women's issues when they are at least 15 percent in the legislature. Some work also suggests that critical mass may be associated with negative outcomes. Yoder (1991) suggest that critical mass of a certain group may generate a backlash.

I posit that the effect of Black male representation on Black male student outcomes will be contingent on the amount of representation of Black males on the school board. When there are few Black males on the school board, they may not have the power to initiate or advocate changes that may benefit Black male students.

However, if there is more representation, they may have the support to initiate policies that benefit African American male students. I therefore derive the following hypotheses.

***Hypothesis 2:*** African American male school board representation will be positively associated with African American male educational outcomes; however, there will be a critical mass of African American male school board representation before this effect takes place.

### **Data and Methods**

The data for this chapter are drawn from a variety of different sources. The 2004 National Superintendent Survey of the 1800 largest school districts (school districts with 5,000+ students) in the United States was used to assess intersectional representation. Non-respondents received two follow-up notifications via mail. Up to six phone calls were then placed to non-respondents in an effort to contact as many of the districts as possible. The final attempt was made via email. In 2004, 1,762 school districts responded to the survey, yielding a 96.2 response rate.

The main independent variable is school board representation by race and gender taken from the 2004 National Superintendent Survey.<sup>37</sup> The measure is the percentage of Black male school board members. Black male school board members constitute 5.5 percent of total school board membership in the 2004 sample. In order to create a comparison group, to assess whether gender adds substance to race in predicting

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<sup>37</sup> I only use the 2004 survey because the 2001 National Survey did not include a measure of Black male board membership. However, the numbers of cases still remain high enough to constitute a large -n-study.

outcomes, I include a measure of the percentage of Black female board members.<sup>38</sup>

Black female members make up 4.5 percent of the total school board membership in the sample. Black teacher representation was also collected from this survey and included in analysis. The literature has consistently found that street-level bureaucratic representation is associated with positive outcomes for minority students (Meier et al. 1989, King 1993).

The dependent variables are measures of educational opportunities for Black male students. These data were obtained from the 2004 Office for Civil Rights (OCR) data file. The OCR surveys school districts every two years and is weighted so that large school districts are included in the survey. I utilize nine dependent variables for analysis. The first is for ability grouping, which is placement into gifted classes. This is considered a positive academic placement as it has advanced learning and implications for future college enrollment. Black male school board representation should be positively correlated with this variable. I use five variables for special education (assignments to classes for: total mental retardation, mild retardation, moderate retardation, emotional disturbance, and specific learning disability). The analysis also includes three measures for discipline (out-of-school suspension, total expulsions, and corporal punishment).<sup>39</sup> These measures are considered negative placements and should be negatively correlated with Black male school board representation.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> There is not a measure for male board members, therefore, I could not assess the effect of non-Black males.

<sup>39</sup> The number of cases drops in some models because of missing data from various sources. For example, many states do not have corporal punishment; therefore, the number of cases in these models is significantly low. Corporal Punishment is banned in 29 states in the U.S and the District of Columbia. It is

I include three contextual variables obtained from the 2000 Census School District Demographic System that affect educational outcomes for minority students (Meier et al. 1989). The first is resources. Black resources are associated with more access to equal education for Black students (Meier et al. 1989). High levels of resources signal the potentiality that as a group, the Black community can work to advocate for policies that are favorable to their community. Additionally, Black resources show that individual Black parents have the ability to combat a negative decision concerning their child in grouping and tracking. The two measures of Black resources are the ratio of Black median family income to white median family income and Black education levels. Black education level is measured as the percentage of adult African Americans with a college degree. These variables should be positively related to gifted enrollment, and negatively related to special education and discipline. The last contextual measure captures social class arguments regarding educational opportunities. White poverty is often used in understanding minority student educational opportunities. The argument builds on the power thesis which contends that discrimination should increase, as social distance increases (Evans and Giles 1986; Meier et al. 1989). For example, majority, white middle class populations prefer Black middle class than lower-class whites. Thus, educational inequity is more likely to be concentrated among lower class whites than middle class African Americans. The measure used is the percentage of White families

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banned in California, Alaska, Hawaii, Nevada, Utah, Oregon, Washington, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland, and Connecticut.

<sup>40</sup> See appendix B for logged odds ratios of the dependent variables

living below the poverty level. This variable should be positively associated with gifted enrollment and negatively associated with special education and discipline.

The analysis also includes a variable for Southern region. In the South, states operated segregated school systems and the historical legacy of discrimination continued well after *Brown v. Board of Education*. While African Americans in the North experienced discrimination as well, the historical legacy of mistreatment of African Americans within the South was even more grim. Because of the historical occurrences in the South and the traditional poorer educational performance in the region, it is likely that there are distinct educational systems in each region. The measure of South used in this study is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the district is in a state that maintained a de jure segregated in 1954 when the practice was declared illegal by the Supreme Court.<sup>41</sup> This classification captures the unique history of the South by creating a measure that includes states that had policies consistent with the history and climate of the region. The Southern region variable will be negatively correlated with educational outcomes.

Further, I control for the percentage of Black students in the district in order to gauge the racial composition and task difficulties. I also include the percentage of white male students in the same tracking category of each model to account for gender similarities in enrollment. The models are all estimated with Ordinary Least Squares

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<sup>41</sup> This creates a larger number of Southern states than does the 11 states of the old Confederacy rule. The grouping also includes Border States such as Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Oklahoma, as well as states such as Maryland and Delaware.

regression with Robust Standard Errors. Table 3.1 displays the descriptive statistics for the variables used in the models.

**Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistics Chapter III**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Percentage of Black Male School Board Members	1772	5.51	11.01	0	85.71
Percentage of Black Female School Board Members	1773	4.50	10.01	0	100
Percentage Black Teachers	1395	8.30	15.37	0	99
Percentage Black Males-Gifted	1367	3.72	6.56	0	52.87
Percentage Black Males-Corporal Punishment	263	26.64	25.75	0	100
Percentage Black Males-Out-of-School Suspension	2874	17.36	17.23	0	100
Percentage Black Males-Total Expulsions	1126	19.55	24.29	0	100
Percentage Black Males-Total Mental Retardation	1433	14.84	16.24	0	100
Percentage Black Males-Mild Retardation	815	17.62	18.57	0	100
Percentage Black Males-Moderate Retardation	749	14.99	17.89	0	100
Percentage Black Males-Emotional Disturbance	1437	18.17	19.58	0	100

Table 3.1 Continued

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Percentage Black Males- Specific Learning Disabilities	1444	13.54	15.49	0	85.71
Percentage White Males- Gifted	1367	36.17	14.42	0	100
Percentage White Males- Corporal Punishment	263	42.45	30.93	0	100
Percentage White Males- Out-of-School Suspension	2874	38.87	22.17	0	100
Percentage White Males- Total Expulsions	1126	37.21	30.15	0	100
Percentage White Males- Total Mental Retardation	1433	30.94	18.40	0	100
Percentage White Males- Mild Retardation	815	29.93	22.08	0	100
Percentage White Males- Moderate Retardation	749	33.41	23.17	0	100
Percentage White Males- Emotional Disturbance	1437	48.18	22.37	0	100
Percentage White Males- Specific Learning Disabilities	1444	39.43	19.98	0	100
Black/White Income Ratio	1424	.6784	.5710	0	19.87
Percentage of Black Students	1458	16.19	20.46	0	100
Black College Percentage	1407	16.23	14.29	0	100
Percentage of Whites Below Poverty Level	1424	6.00	3.78	0	28.73



## Findings

Tables 3.2 display the results of the model testing the effect of Black male school board members on Black male student outcomes. Consistent with theoretical expectations, Black male board members do exhibit a statistically significant impact on Black male students. A one unit increase in the percentage of Black male board members is associated with a .037 percentage point increase in Black males in gifted courses. Further, Black female board members also exhibit an impact as well. For a one-unit increase in the percentage of Black female board members, there is a .050 percentage point increase in Black males assigned to gifted courses. I also estimated this model using standardized betas in order to assess if Black males or female board members had a larger effect on gifted scores. For a one standard deviation increase in the Black female board rate, it is predicted that African American male gifted assignments will increase by .08 standard deviation units. However, for Black males, a one standard deviation increase is associated with a .063 standard deviation units. Therefore, while African American male board members exhibit an impact on African American male student outcomes, the influence is slightly lower than Black female board members.

These findings suggest that Black males are not having an isolated effect within representation. That is, Black female board members can represent Black male students at the same rate or better as Black males. This model has large explanatory power; predicting 84 percent of the variance in gifted assignments. Consistent with the existing literature, Black teacher representation also shows a significant influence in the appropriate directions for Black males students in gifted, however the effect of board

representation is stronger. The standardized betas indicated that a one unit increase is associated with a .04 standard deviation increase in assignment of Black males to gifted courses.

The results in the next set of models indicate that Black male school board members do not have an effect on Black male student discipline, whereas, Black females had a statistically significant effect on the Black male expulsion rate. The findings show that a one unit increase in the percentage of Black female school board members is associated with a .139 percentage point decrease in the Black male expulsion rate. This suggests that the racial congruence is associated with decreases in Black male discipline. Black male board members, although exactly matched, fail to have a statistically significant effect on outcomes.

As in the previous models, Black male board members do not influence Black male students assignments to special education. Though, African American females were associated with decreases in Black male students assigned to mental retardation courses. A one unit increase in Black female board members is associated with a .054 percentage point decrease in Black males assigned to special education courses. This model predicts 88 percent of the variance in assignments.

**Table 3.2 Black Male School Board Representation and Black Male Tracking, 2004**

Independent Variables	Discipline				Special Education				
	<i>Gifted</i>	<i>Corporal</i>	<i>Out- of- school suspension</i>	<i>Total expulsions</i>	<i>Total mental retardation</i>	<i>Mild retardation</i>	<i>Moderate retardation</i>	<i>Emotional disturbance</i>	<i>Specific learning disability</i>
Black Male School Board Representation	.037** (.014)	.088 (.122)	-.037 (.029)	-.102 (.078)	-.048 (.028)	-.012 (.052)	.030 (.062)	.038 (.038)	.023 (.017)
Black Female School Board Representation	.050** (.017)	.151 (.125)	-.037 (.034)	-.139 (.076)	-.054* (.027)	-.021 (.056)	.031 (.066)	.057 (.037)	-.002 (.022)
Black Teachers	.020* (.009)	-.159** (.061)	-.044 (.025)	-.040 (.045)	-.026 (.017)	-.119** (.032)	-.047 (.044)	-.048** (.017)	-.007 (.012)
White males in same category	-.055** (.006)	-.283** (.060)	-.053** (.010)	-.211** (.025)	-.052** (.011)	-.095** (.021)	-.102** (.030)	-.153** (.018)	-.049** (.006)
White Poverty	.058* (.027)	-.054 (.237)	-.292** (.052)	-.341* (.149)	-.151** (.054)	-.045 (.093)	-.010 (.112)	-.212** (.079)	-.113** (.037)
Black College	.017** (.005)	.126 (.136)	-.009 (.013)	-.073 (.051)	-.046** (.012)	-.017 (.028)	-.041 (.029)	-.060** (.015)	.001 (.007)
Black/White Income	.029 (.103)	-11.09 (5.72)	-.483* (.194)	.145 (.433)	-.474 (.287)	-3.88** (1.49)	-4.72** (1.77)	-.641 (.342)	-.439* (.210)
South	-1.20** (.185)	13.25** (3.70)	3.00** (.409)	2.17 (1.33)	4.08** (.404)	6.11** (.784)	2.79** (1.08)	.796 (.533)	1.57** (.272)
Black students	.244** (.011)	.595** (.116)	.768** (.023)	.792** (.052)	.720** (.020)	.711** (.037)	.560** (.058)	.722** (.028)	.691** (.014)
Constant	.934** (.334)	19.70** (5.71)	8.64** (.666)	18.84** (2.32)	5.89** (.670)	9.02** (1.46)	10.70** (2.39)	16.09** (1.44)	4.63** (.462)
R <sup>2</sup>	.84	.70	.89	.53	.88	.81	.70	.84	.95
N	1028	229	1069	873	1065	579	550	1067	1074

(Robust standard errors in parentheses) \* < p .05 \*\* p < .01 The mean Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is below 3.10 for all models.

In sum, the findings suggest that Black female school board members are the main influence on African American male students outcomes, compared to Black male school boards. Black female board members are associated with an increase in higher tracked courses, such as gifted, and associated with decreases in discipline and special education. African American male board members did however effect the rate of Black males in gifted.

Recall the hypothesis regarding contingencies and intersectional representation. That is, there must be a certain percentage of Black male board members on the school board to actually influence outcomes. To test this representation, I use three different threshold variables. Because most school boards in the sample are comprised of 5, 7 or 9 members, I create theoretically relevant threshold variables based on those numbers.<sup>42</sup> I use threshold values set at 15, 30 and 40 percent Black male board composition in the analysis because those percentages represent typical Black male representation on an average board size school board. For example, a threshold set at 40 percent is equivalent to 2 members on a 5 member board, 3 members on 7 member board and 4 members on a 9 member board.<sup>43</sup> I interact Black male school board representation with a dichotomous variable that equals 1 if Black male school board representation is at least 15 percent or higher and zero otherwise. I created the same type of variable for both the 30 and 40 percent thresholds.

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<sup>42</sup> 92.5 percent of all boards in the sample are 5, 7 or 9 member boards. There are 37.5 percent five member boards, 40.68 percent seven member boards, and 14.36 nine member boards.

<sup>43</sup> There are only 469 Black male school board members in the sample, thus, as the threshold values increase, the number of Black males in these categories is significantly lower. I do not create a threshold greater than 40 percent because there is not enough Black male representation on school boards over that threshold value. Unfortunately, there are not many Black male school board members nationwide, which creates limitations in the data.

Table 3.3 displays the findings for districts with at least 15 percent Black male school board representation (49.2 percent of cases).<sup>44</sup> The first model in the table indicates that Black male school board members have a significant, positive influence on Black male students in gifted classes. Because I include an interaction variable, I calculate the marginal effects to provide more intuitive findings. The effect on Black male students in gifted courses is .030 for school boards with 15 percent or more Black male representation. A one unit increase in Black male representation is associated with a .030 percentage point increase in Black male assignments to gifted courses, when Black male representation is at least 15 percent. Districts that have school boards with at least 15 percent Black male representation (or one member on a 7 or 9 member school board) are associated with positive benefits for Black male youth. However, when representation is below the threshold, there is a negative effect on Black male students. Only one of the three discipline variables is significant. When Black male boards are greater than 15 percent, there is an effect of -.043 on Black males in out-of-school suspension.

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<sup>44</sup> These threshold models test the effect of Black male representation, without a consideration of Black female board members in order to assess the unitary effect. I also estimated all the models with Black female board members included and the results were nearly identical. Across, both sets of empirical estimations, the same number of dependent variables were influenced by the main representation variables, Black male boards. Additionally, the percent of the variance described by the dependent variables were very similar and the marginal effect sizes were similar as well. For example, the effect on Black boys in out of school suspension when the board representation was at 15 percent is -.043, whereas in the model with Black females, the effect is -.050.

A one unit increase in Black male representation is associated with a .043 percentage point decrease in Black males receiving out of school suspension, when Black male representation is at least 15 percent. This result suggests that increased Black male representation is associated with more opportunities for Black males to stay in the learning environment.

Black male representation has a significant effect on two of the five special education variables. The effect on Black males classified as mentally retarded is -.045 when Black male representation is at least 15 percent. A one unit increase in Black male representation is associated with a .045 percentage point decrease in Black male assignments to courses for students classified as mentally retarded. This model also explains 88 percent of the variance in this dependent variable. Similarly, the influence of Black male board members on Black male students classified in mild mental retardation category is -.020 when Black male board representation is over the threshold value. In other words, a one unit increase in Black male school boards above 15 percent is associated with decreases in Black male discipline.

**Table 3.3 Black Male School Board Representation and Black Male Tracking (15% Threshold), 2004**

Independent Variables	Discipline				Special Education				
	Gifted	Corporal	Out- of- school suspension	Total expulsions	Total mental retardation	Mild retardation	Moderate retardation	Emotional disturbance	Specific learning disability
Black Male School Board Representation	-.047* (.022)	.217 (.224)	.159** (.045)	.111 (.144)	.098* (.050)	.251** (.084)	.168 (.103)	.118 (.063)	.056 (.032)
Representation X Threshold (15%)	.076** (.025)	-.197 (.224)	-.202** (.044)	-.195 (.124)	-.143** (.048)	-.271** (.079)	-.160 (.096)	-.104 (.062)	-.035 (.031)
Black Teachers	.021* (.009)	-.162** (.068)	-.044 (.025)	-.045 (.044)	.028 (.017)	-.112** (.032)	-.038 (.043)	-.044* (.018)	-.007 (.011)
White males in same category	-.059** (.006)	-.279** (.061)	-.048** (.009)	-.206** (.025)	-.048** (.011)	-.091** (.021)	-.101** (.030)	-.155** (.018)	-.048** (.006)
White Poverty	.065* (.026)	-.053 (.236)	-.296** (.051)	-.327* (.148)	-.159** (.053)	-.056 (.091)	-.097 (.112)	-.201* (.077)	-.112* (.036)
Black College	.014** (.004)	.117 (.132)	-.005 (.013)	-.065 (.057)	-.042** (.012)	-.012 (.028)	-.038 (.027)	-.060** (.015)	.001 (.006)
Black/White Income	.028 (.099)	-9.92 (5.74)	-.465* (.186)	.130 (.437)	-.469 (.282)	-3.84* (1.49)	-4.61** (1.75)	-.624 (.335)	-.435* (.207)
South	-1.19** (.194)	12.32** (3.67)	2.83** (.417)	2.29 (1.34)	4.02** (.412)	5.96** (.809)	2.58* (1.05)	.558 (.527)	1.53* (.272)
Black students	.264** (.010)	.665** (.099)	.752** (.022)	.738* (.049)	.699** (.018)	.695** (.029)	.569** (.044)	.741** (.024)	.689** (.010)
Constant	1.13** (.337)	19.11** (5.65)	8.219** (.648)	18.58** (2.33)	5.62** (.654)	8.58** (1.41)	10.39 (2.35)	16.04** (1.45)	4.58** (.459)
R <sup>2</sup>	.84	.70	.89	.53	.88	.82	.70	.84	.94
N	1028	229	1069	873	1065	579	550	1067	1074

(Robust standard errors in parentheses) \* < p .05 \*\* p < .01 The mean Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is below 3.10 for all models.

In sum, when there is at least one Black male member on a school board, there can be considerable gains for Black male students. More specifically, the results indicate that these members are associated with increasing the presence of Black male students in gifted courses and decreasing their presence in deleterious disciplinary categories and special education. This may suggest that their presence is a positive force for African American male student achievement. Further, each of the models explains over 80 percent of the variance in the dependent variables.

Table 3.4 display the findings for the threshold values set at 30 percent. This threshold represents 14.5 percent of districts with Black male board members. In these set of models, Black male school board representation set at the 30 percent threshold has a statistically significant effect on six of the nine dependent variables. The findings show that when Black male representation on the school board is at least 30 percent (i.e. least 3 members on 9 member board), the effect on Black males in gifted courses is .067; however when Black male representation is under the threshold value, the impact is -.034.



**Table 3.4 Black Male School Board Representation and Black Male Tracking (30% Threshold), 2004**

	Discipline				Special Education				
<b>Independent Variables</b>	Gifted	Corporal	Out- of- school suspension	Total expulsions	Total mental retardation	Mild retardation	Moderate retardation	Emotional disturbance	Specific learning disability
Black Male School Board Representation	-.034* (.015)	.055 (.142)	.082** (.030)	.068 (.096)	.063 (.032)	.078 (.061)	.012 (.065)	.117** (.042)	.059** (.021)
Representation X Threshold (30%)	.099** (.024)	-.041 (.153)	-.186** (.035)	-.226** (.079)	-.165** (.039)	-.132 (.070)	.006 (.080)	-.161** (.051)	-.062** (.023)
Black Teachers	.017* (.009)	-.151** (.054)	-.037 (.025)	-.037 (.045)	-.021 (.016)	-.102** (.033)	-.044 (.046)	-.038* (.019)	-.004 (.012)
White males in same category	-.057** (.006)	-.285** (.062)	-.047** (.009)	-.205** (.025)	-.047** (.011)	-.090** (.021)	-.103** (.030)	-.153** (.018)	-.048** (.006)
White Poverty	.066* (.026)	-.038 (.238)	-.297** (.051)	-.374* (.147)	-.162* (.052)	-.058 (.090)	-.095 (.114)	-.202** (-.078)	-.113** (.036)
Black College	.013** (.005)	.100 (.135)	-.005 (.013)	-.064 (.051)	-.041** (.011)	-.015 (.028)	-.041 (.028)	-.059** (.015)	-.002 (.007)
Black/White Income	.026 (.099)	-10.01* (5.91)	-.459* (.189)	.147 (.437)	-.459 (.282)	-3.70* (1.47)	-4.68** (1.77)	-.608 (.334)	-.430* (.206)
South	-1.12** (.190)	12.75** (3.70)	2.70** (.411)	2.08 (1.33)	3.86** (.406)	5.82** (.819)	2.71* (1.10)	.346 (.523)	1.45** (.274)
Black students	.265** (.011)	.655** (.096)	.753** (.022)	.738** (.049)	.699** (.018)	.700** (.030)	.574** (.043)	.741** (.024)	.689** (.011)
Constant	1.14** (.332)	19.45** (5.87)	8.14** (.646)	18.38** (2.34)	5.50** (.651)	8.61** (1.42)	10.71** (2.41)	15.83** (1.44)	4.51** (.460)
R <sup>2</sup>	.85	.70	.90	.53	.88	.82	.70	.84	.94
N	1028	229	1069	873	1065	579	550	1067	1074

(Robust standard errors in parentheses) \* < p .05 \*\* p <.01 The mean Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is below 3.10 for all models

A one unit increase in Black male board representation when there are at least 30 percent is associated with a .067 percentage point increase in the Black male gifted rate. When there is sufficient amount of Black male representation, there are benefits for Black boys; however, when there is less representation, there can be negative consequences for Black male student outcomes.

Additionally, for discipline classifications, when Black male representation is at least 30 percent, a one unit increase in the percentage of Black males school board members, is associated with a .104 percentage point decrease on the Black male out of school suspension rate. However, when Black male representation is under the threshold, there is a positive impact (.082) on Black males in out-of-school suspension.

The next discipline model shows that Black male representation over the threshold value of 30 percent is associated with a decrease in the amount of Black male students being expelled. The effect on expulsions when representation is 30 percent or greater is -.158. A one-unit increase in the percentage of Black male board members is associated with a .158 percentage point decrease in Black male expulsion rate. The results for Black males in special education are similar. The findings indicate that in three instances, (assignments to total mental retardation, emotional disturbance classifications, and specific learning disabilities) Black male school board representation of at least 30 or more percent is associated with decreases the presence of Black male youth placed in these categories.

Table 3.5 displays the results where Black school board representation is at least 40 percent.<sup>45</sup> This threshold represents 10.44 percent of districts with Black male board members. In these models, Black male school board representation set at the 40 percent threshold has a statistically significant effect on eight of the nine dependent variables, the most for all the previous threshold values. The results in the first model show that prior to reaching 40 percent, Black male board members do not have a statistically significant effect on Black boys in gifted courses. However, once this threshold is met, there is a positive effect on course enrollments. A one-unit increase in the percentage of Black male board members is associated with a .075 percentage point increase in Black males assigned to gifted courses, when representation is at least 40 percent. This model has large explanatory power, predicting 85 percent of the variance in the dependent variable.

Further, having Black male representation on the school board is associated with decreases in the amount of discipline given to Black male students all three categories. There is a negative effect on corporal punishment, out-of-school suspension, and total expulsions when representation is at least 40 percent. The effect for corporal punishment is -.116. At 40 percent or more representation, one unit increase in Black male boards, is associated with a .116 percentage point decrease in Black males receiving corporal punishment.

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<sup>45</sup> This threshold of 40 percent represents 2 members on a 5 member board, 3 members on a 7 member board, or 4 members on a 9 member board.

For out-of-school suspension, and total expulsions, the impact is  $-.107$  and  $-.155$  respectively, again indicating that adequate representation can decrease second generation discrimination.

The results for special education assignments are similar to the findings in discipline. In all but one case, Black male representation on the school board has a statistically significant influence when the threshold value is met. When representation is at least 40 percent, or 2-4 Black men on typical board, there is a negative effect of  $-.120$  on the percentage of Blacks boys in the total mental retardation category, however when the threshold is not met there is not a statistically significant effect. The results display the same pattern for Black boys classified as mildly retarded. A one-unit increase in the percentage of Black male board members is associated with a  $.072$  percentage point decrease in Black males classified as mentally retarded. For the emotional disturbance model, the findings show that when the threshold of representation is met, the impact is  $-.054$  and  $.102$  when the below the threshold. The last model in the table indicates that there is a small effect of  $-.005$  on specific learning disabilities when Black representation is 40 percent or greater, and  $.053$  when below the threshold value.

**Table 3.5 Black Male School Board Representation and Black Male Tracking (40% Threshold), 2004**

Independent Variables	Discipline				Special Education				
	Gifted	Corporal	Out- of- school suspension	Total expulsions	Total mental retardation	Mild retardation	Moderate retardation	Emotional disturbance	Specific learning disability
Black Male School Board Representation	-.028 (.016)	.157 (.135)	.056 (.029)	-.028 (.016)	.157 (.135)	.056 (.029)	.001 (.057)	.102* (.041)	.053** (.019)
Representation X Threshold (40%)	.103** (.025)	-.273* (.138)	-.163* (.038)	.103** (.025)	-.273* (.138)	-.163* (.038)	.027 (.075)	-.156** (.053)	.058* (.023)
Black Teachers	.018** (.009)	-.145** (.054)	-.040 (.024)	.018** (.009)	-.145** (.054)	-.040 (.024)	-.047 (.046)	-.039* (.019)	-.005 (.012)
White males in same category	-.058** (.006)	-.279** (.063)	-.048** (.009)	-.058** (.006)	-.279** (.063)	-.048** (.009)	-.103** (.030)	-.152** (.018)	-.048** (.006)
White Poverty	.063* (.026)	-.055 (.235)	-.291** (.051)	.063* (.026)	-.055 (.235)	-.291** (.051)	-.095 (.114)	-.196* (.078)	-.111** (.036)
Black College	.013** (.005)	.091 (.137)	-.005 (.013)	.013** (.005)	.091 (.137)	-.005 (.013)	-.042 (.028)	-.059** (.015)	.002 (.007)
Black/White Income	.022 (.094)	-8.54 (5.80)	-.462* (.185)	.022 (.094)	-8.54 (5.80)	-.462* (.185)	-4.72** (1.76)	-.606 (.329)	-.430* (.205)
South	-1.13** (.185)	12.44** (3.73)	2.79** (.406)	-1.13** (.185)	12.44** (3.73)	2.79** (.406)	2.76* (1.07)	.395 (.517)	1.47** (.276)
Black students	.266** (.011)	.665** (.098)	.752** (.021)	.266** (.011)	.665** (.098)	.752** (.021)	.575** (.043)	.741** (.024)	.689** (.011)
Constant	1.18** (.332)	18.05** (5.81)	8.16** (.647)	1.18** (.332)	18.05** (5.81)	8.16** (.647)	10.77** (2.40)	15.77** (1.45)	4.50** (.461)
R <sup>2</sup>	.85	.71	.90	.85	.71	.90	.70	.84	.94
N	1028	229	1069	1028	229	1069	550	1067	1074

(Robust standard errors in parentheses) \* < p .05 \*\* p < .01 The mean Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is below 3.10 for all models.

## **Discussion**

Overall, the results are consistent with theoretical expectations. That is, intersectional representation has a strong positive influence on Black male student outcomes. The first table showed that Black male school board members are associated with increases in the percentage of Black males assigned to gifted education. Black females also have an influence on Black males in the same category, though; they have a slightly larger effect. Black female members had an effect on discipline and special education. Therefore, a racial congruence is also able to generate positive outcomes.

Consistent with my theoretical expectations, the effect of Black male representation is contingent on the number of Black men on the school board. Representation based on both race and gender is associated with benefits for students with the same demographic characteristics when a certain threshold is met. In fact, most of the results indicate that when the threshold is not met, there can be negative consequences for students. The results also indicate that Black males can have the most comprehensive effect on outcomes when they have at least 40 representation on the school board. That is, comparing across the various threshold models, Black male school board members influence 8 out of 9 dependent variables with the highest threshold, yet, when representation is only 15 percent, they only affect four indicators. Substantively, as school boards move from having only one Black male member, to having about 2- 3 members on average, the influence they can have increases, thereby supporting the argument that having more support is consequential for outcomes.

Additionally, the size of the impact on the same variables is generally greater when there is more representation. For example, there is only a .07 percentage point difference in the effect sizes of Black males' out-of-school suspension rate when Black school board representation is at 40 percent compared to 15 percent. In other words, the impact on assignments is larger when representation is higher. Substantively this makes sense, because Black male board members may have more support to make a difference in outcomes.

There are also distinctions in the types of educational issues addressed at different representation levels. When representation is at 15 percent (or about one Black male member), Black males have an effect on only one type of discipline, out-of-school suspensions. Whereas, when representation is at 40 percent, Black male board members have an effect on corporal punishment and total expulsions. It is likely that tackling issues related to total expulsion, and in some cases corporal punishment, are more controversial; therefore, having more representation is important.

In sum, the three threshold levels suggest that Black male board members are associated with most benefits for African American male students when they are at least 40 percent represented on a school board. While Black male board members are associated with positive outcomes for Black male students when they are at least 15 percent, the effect of representation is larger and has an influence on more indicators when representation is higher. In other words, when there are roughly 2-4 Black male board members on an average board, there may be tangible policy outcomes for Black

boys in schools. This may suggest that support is important for influencing policy outcomes.

The fact that these results are significant even when taking Black teacher representation into account indicates that Black male board members are having an isolated effect. Up until this point, the literature has found that in general, Black teachers are the dominant force in decreasing second generation discrimination, rather than school board representation. However, this assessment takes an intersectional approach which could be a key difference. While I do not negate the fact that teachers are important, the findings in the analysis could indicate that school board members are playing a role in policy for Black male students.

Additionally, the control variables for Black resources and white poverty in almost all of the models are statistically significant and in the appropriate directions. As the percentage of Blacks with college degrees increase, there are more favorable outcomes for Black male students. White poverty is also associated with more favorable policy outcomes for Black male students as expected. The models also show that the southern region is also more likely to have more second generation discrimination consistent with the historical legacy.

In order to assess the relationship between representation and outcomes further, I estimated all of the threshold models for Black female representation as well. While the aforementioned findings demonstrate that the effect of Black male representation is stronger when there are more Black male board representatives on a school board, the same holds true for Black female representation. Black female representatives have the



same effect on outcomes as Black males at the various threshold levels. The results indicate that Black females are associated with decreases in the percentage of young Black men in lower tracked courses and increased in gifted enrollment. This suggests that Black men are associated with benefits for Black male students; however, Black females have an influence as well. In other words, gender does not add a clear distinct difference to race for outcomes.

### **Conclusion and Implications**

Representation is an enduring subject within political science research; however, scholars have largely ignored the intersectional role of race and gender in this area. While it has been well established that racial minorities and women influence policy in particular ways, there has not been an exploration of the simultaneous effect of race and gender. This chapter has filled this empirical gap by assessing the role that a racial and gender congruence with clientele can have on policy outcomes.

The empirical results show that Black male school board members are associated with an increase in the percentage of Black boys being placed in higher level courses. Black female board members also have a significant impact on assignments to this category as well as on discipline and special education. These female board members are associated with a decreased percentage of Black males in the lowest tracking category. The results suggest that Black females are having an even greater effect on Black male outcomes than Black male board members. What can account for these disparate findings? First, Black female board members may be more effective at coalition building. Similar to Latina women, Black women may operate under the “strategic

intersectionality” framework, and are thus able to form more coalitions than men (Fraga et al. 2005). As a result, they may be able to push for an agenda that addresses African American male education. Second, Black female board members may be more connected to the community than Black men. Additionally, women may exhibit a more collectivist culture thus; they will be more active in the community than men (Azevedo et al. 2002). Because of this, Black women may have better relationships with Black parents and develop strategies to decrease Black male students presence in harmful courses. Black mothers in the community may be more likely to contact school board members that look directly like them as well. This in turn may influence academic achievement as well.

The second question I posit is whether there are contingencies of representation, namely critical mass. The findings show that even when there are just one to two Black male members on a school board, there can be positive effects for Black male students. More specifically, I find that having Black men on a school board can decrease the number of Black male students in special education and discipline enrollments, and increase their presence in gifted enrollments. However, when there are no Black men on the school board, there can be negative results for Black boys. The educational career of these students can be significantly enhanced by the presence of representation.

This chapter sought to find how the racial and gender congruence with clientele influence public policy outcomes of the same demographic group. The findings suggest that a racial and gendered congruence is not necessary to accrue benefits for Black male students. The findings indicate that while Black male board members do have a

statistically significant influence on outcomes, Black female board member exhibit a similar effect. Overall, the broad conclusion is that race appears to matter when explaining outcomes for Black male students.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to mention that while I find statistical significance, it is difficult to understand what *exactly* is going on to drive these relationships. I am limited in the ability to explain patterns of behavior of these political representatives. In-depth interviews with school board members would provide more insight into these relationships. However, the nuances of this representation are beyond the scope of the data and goal of this chapter.

What do these findings mean practically for African American male students in districts with intersectional representation? Are there a tangible policy benefits to this representation? Assignment to differential courses and discipline can be consequential for students. A certain curriculum path or being left out of the classroom for disciplinary reasons can create a stigma for students. These assignments can create a perception that they are “less than” and can cause a sense of disillusionment with the educational process. The grim reality is that these students are more likely to drop out of school and not obtain a college degree. This in turn can influence other life chances. For Black males, this has often become a reoccurring cycle. While representation is not meant to be the panacea for all these type of social ills, these results show that it is an important factor in African American male achievement. Intersectional representation based on

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<sup>46</sup> Because of data limitations, I am unable to assess the effect of non-Black males on outcomes.

race and gender can be a way to mitigate this potential negative cycle for young African American men.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**HERE TODAY, GONE TOMORROW: REPRESENTATIONAL**  
**STABILITY AND BLACK MALE EDUCATION POLICY**  
**OUTCOMES**

**Introduction**

Within the public management literature there has been a debate regarding the idea of stability in organizations. Stability can be described as the consistency and reliability of an organization's administrative system over time (O'Toole and Meier 2003). While one stream of work underscores the importance of this feature for organizational success, the other segment argues that innovation is paramount. The scholarship on stability is often obscured by the growing emphasis on governmental change and reform. While the tenets of innovation in government are important, the case for stability is strong, as I will argue in subsequent sections. Briefly, stability can provide a critical role in organizational performance by maintaining a steady flow of administration which not only benefits the organization as a whole, but clients and bureaucrats as well.

Lacking in the theoretical and empirical work on stability is a consideration of identity, namely race and gender. Intersectionality research provides an excellent foundation to consider how identity shapes organizations and policy outcomes. Intersectional research explores the multidimensionality of individuals' identities (Crenshaw 1989; Hankivsky et al. 2009). This research paradigm contends that studying single identities only tells a partial story because identities intersect with each other in

various ways. Building on the previous chapters' exploration of intersectional representation, I argue that while representation by itself is salient, an equally significant concept is the continuity of such representation. By merging these two previously divorced concepts of intersectionality and stability, I develop the term, *representational stability* that takes into account the nature of stability within an organization.

Representational stability is the sustained presence of a particular representative group in an organization over time. Building on this concept, I ask the following question: *how does representational stability influence public policy outcomes?* In subsequent sections I will expose the concept of representational stability in further detail.

Furthermore, I also explore the contingencies of this stability. That is, I argue that the external environment will have an effect on the relationship between stability and public policy outcomes. The external environment of an organization can have implications on how both clientele and bureaucrats react to one another, therefore, stability could be contingent upon the nature of the environmental forces. The second question I ask is as follows: *is the influence of representational stability contingent on the organization's environment?* I take an interdisciplinary approach to this second theoretical question, assessing environmental space in terms of family structure, poverty and labor force characteristics.

The analysis explores these two questions in the educational setting, where stability and representation are key factors for students' learning environment. The educational sector is an excellent venue to test this because so much of the work relies on administrative units being stable (Ingersoll 2001). I systematically assess the effect

of these factors on Black male students. The previous chapters up to this point have shown that intersectional representation matters for this group. However, stability of this representation may be important for these students as well given the already troubling educational experiences. Having a stable cadre of African American male teachers may produce positive policy outcomes for African American boys as these teachers may be role models and able to understand students better. I also argue that for African American male students that are in areas of social and economic deprivation, the impact of representational stability may be more significant than in areas of low deprivation. In other words, representational stability will be more important if the environmental context is waning.

This chapter is organized in the following manner. First I discuss the literature on stability and intersectionality. Second, I explain my theoretical framework of representational stability. Third, I conclude with a set of empirical findings followed by a discussion of the substantive implications and conclusions.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Stability***

The concept of stability has received a great amount of attention in the extant literature. O'Toole and Meier define stability as “constancy in the design, functioning, and direction of an administrative system over time” (2003, 45). Scholars have debated the importance of stability within and outside organizations for decades (Aldrich 1979; Lawrence and Lorsch 1967; Rainey 2003). Some works argue that stability can be harmful and that innovation is essential to organizational progress (Cohen et al. 2008).

Recent trends in governmental reforms affirm the preference for an innovative manager for creating change and advancement in organizations (Fernandez and Rainey 2006).

Conversely, other scholars note the merit of stability in organizations. Stability is important for an organization for several reasons. Unstable organizations create problems in procedures and actions of an organization. Meier and Boyne explain that, “when structural change occurs, internal routines are destabilized and uncertainty is created” (2009, 806). The authors contend that restructuring the internal composition of an organization can create a “liability of newness” that can generate difficulties in management. Stability has also been found to have a positive impact on organizational performance further supporting its importance in organizational success (O’Toole and Meier 2003).

Scholarly research has focused more specifically on the notion of employee turnover and stability (Halaby and Weakliem 1989; Price 1977). Some argue that very low level turnover is important to an organization. That is, turnover can provide a fresh, new perspective both to clients and administration. Another stream of literature firmly embraces innovation within organization arguing that “new blood” within an organizations assists in performance (Behn 1994; Cohen et al. 2008).

Additionally, the consequences of turnover depended on the type of employee and organization (Ingersoll 2001). When assessing turnover one needs to take into account how dependent the organization is on its work or expertise (Ingersoll 2001). The issue of employee “substitutability” is particularly important when determining the importance of turnover (Ingersoll 2001). Ingersoll suggests that employee turnover is



especially important in organizations that have uncertain and non-routine technologies and processes that call for repeated interaction. These places also require commitment and cohesion among employees. Schools can be considered organizations that exhibit such qualities as it is an organization with repeated interaction and cohesion among members. Therefore, teacher turnover is consequential because it not only indicates potential administrative problems, but also because of the relationship to school cohesion and performance (Ingersoll 2001).

One aspect of cohesion that is of particular importance for this study is the relationship between teachers and students. The education literature argues that teachers are a strong influence on students' learning environment (Ingersoll 2001; King 1993 Meier et al. 1989). This is because students interact with teachers almost on a daily basis. Students could potentially spend more time during the day interacting with teachers than some of their own parents. As a result, stability within a student's academic environment should have an effect on their educational development.

In sum, the literature on stability remains a debate. While some argue that it can provide positive outcomes for organizations, others argue that innovation and turnover is the most important. The debates continue in the literature, yet absent from this discussion is the composition of such stability. This chapter explores the substance of such stability through the lens of intersectionality. That is, I assess the representational aspect of stability within organizations.

As in the previous chapters, I merge the concepts of intersectionality and representation. Intersectional representation is representation based on multiple

identities. Individuals are not one dimensional, thus their representation should not be as well. In this chapter, I explore such intersectional representation specifically for African American males for the following reasons. First, African American males have unique identity constructs and experiences with institutions as mentioned in previous chapters. Black men navigate between both majority and minority cultures while negotiating racism and discrimination (Franklin 1986). Waymer (2008) argues that Black males navigate between the perceived advantage of gender, but also the disadvantage due to race. Such experiences are not often shared by non-Black males or females. Consideration of one identity only tells part of the narrative and a racial and gendered congruence within the bureaucracy can provide a more thorough assessment of relationships.

Second, intersectional representation can be an avenue to help mitigate negative educational outcomes among Black male students. The literature has consistently found that the academic performance of Black males is often poor. Some scholars contend that on almost every category of academic achievement, African American males are often disproportionately represented on the lower end of the spectrum (Noguera 2003). For example, young Black males perform poorly on standardized tests compared to other groups. At the end of high school, roughly 37 percent of Black males fall below basic level writing on federal standardized tests, compared to 17 percent of Black females (Whitmire 2010). Young, African American men are also overrepresented in lower academic tracks and special education enrollment, and are underrepresented in colleges and universities (Hopkins 1997; Hunter and Davis 1992; Noguera 2008; Planty et al.

2009; Schmidt 2008; Schott Foundation 2010). Young Black male students are also more likely to become disconnected with school. Seventeen percent of African American men ages 16-24 are neither in work or school, compared to only 4 percent of white males (Whitmire 2010).

### **Theoretical Framework: Intersectional Representation and Stability**

The theoretical frame of this chapter is two-fold. The first question I address is whether stability will influence policy outcomes.<sup>47</sup> Specifically, I ask, *how does representational stability influence public policy outcomes?* I term the concept, “representational stability” to capture the type of stability in the organization.

Representational stability is the sustained presence of a particular representative group in an organization over time. Representational stability can take many forms, including representation based on race, sex, disability, sexual orientation and other identities. For this chapter, I merge intersectional representation and stability. That is, I assess stability on two identities, namely race and gender. In particular, I focus on stability on the street-level by analyzing African American male teachers.

I argue that stability of representation will have a positive influence on public policy outcomes for a variety of reasons. First, stability may generate trust in an organization. Clients may be more willing to trust bureaucrats if they know that they will

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<sup>47</sup> When assessing the concept of stability, it is necessary to classify the particular type of stability in an organization. O’Toole and Meier (2003) argue that there are five different types of stability, namely, mission stability, structural stability, production or technology stability, procedural stability and personnel stability. Personnel stability is of primary concern for this paper. O’Toole and Meier (2003, 46) explain that the people within the organization are “an additional element of stable administration.” In other words, people matter in an organization and management should strive to maintain a stable cadre of employees.

be in the organization on a consistent basis. In the case of African American males, the sustained presence may produce more open communication with teachers. With a stable system, a young student may respond better if that teacher will be present over a period of time to help guide and support. It is possible that African American boys may be more likely to enroll in upper level tracks because they may have support through representation.

Second, representational stability based on race and gender may suggest that there is a stability of values. Demographic characteristics can often be considered surrogate measures for values within an organization (Meier and O'Toole 2006). Students and teachers, who share the same characteristics of race and gender, may also share similar beliefs and experiences. Therefore, this stability can also be considered a form of as value stability. Black male students may share the same culture, in-group out-group experiences, and masculine identity as Black male teachers. Therefore, the sustained presence of these particular individuals will allow for a consistency of values within an organization.

Third, having representational stability may ensure that teachers know students better because they may have interaction on a consistent basis. A teacher may be able to develop meaningful relationships with students if they are in the organization for longer periods. Over time, African American male teachers can better understand Black male students identity, experiences, and behaviors. Stability may produce more accurate tracking placements because teachers may be less likely to make hasty assumptions on behavior. Instead, they may find alternative ways to address academic issues rather than

placement into lower track courses. Therefore, stability is both a bottom-up and top-down process in that behavior may change the bureaucrat or client's behavior.

Fourth, representational stability can provide a stable group of role models for students. There has been an extensive amount of research that suggests that teachers serve as role models in education (Almquist and Angrist 1971; Dee 2005; King 1993). However, I contend that a role model perspective is not able to fully manifest in organizations that are unstable. In an unstable organizational environment, students are not able to fully cultivate those relationships with teachers because they are often fluid in the system. For students that are poor performing or are often deemed "at-risk," such as African American males, the instability of role models can be a crucial factor in academic achievement because they are the students that often need attention and positive role models the most.<sup>48</sup> African American male teachers are often role models for African American students (Hopkins 1997); hence, representational stability may provide a sense of role model stability as well.

Moreover, the second question I address in this chapter is whether there are conditional effects of representational stability. Specifically I ask: *is the influence of representational stability contingent on the organization's environment?* I argue that stability will matter more in places where the economic context of students is deprived. If the economic context is waning, students may not have a strong support system or stable set of role models. I therefore concentrate specifically on the on the *people* in a student's organizational and external environment. In other words, representational

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<sup>48</sup> Hare and Castenell (1985) argue that African American males should be viewed as an at-risk group.

stability is deemed to matter more in this particular study not just for its organizational or management features, but for the *value* it offers to students who may lack support from individuals in their environment. I consider the effect of representational stability to be valuable for its role model and support effects. Consider a student that grows up in an area that is economically stable. While the student may value the importance and support of teachers and may consider them role models, the likelihood that they are exposed to positive images in their community is high, thus, representational stability may not be as important. On the contrary, consider a student that grows up in an environment that is economically unstable. The likelihood that there are many positive role models and mentors to support them in the area may be low, considering the state of the environment. In this case, representational stability is very important because teachers may be the single aspect of stability in the student's life and they can serve as a positive role model or support system. Given the already troubling nature of Black boys' educational experience, an unstable contextual environment can be deleterious for their achievement. As a result, the stability of African American male teachers will matter more in such deprived areas because such students need the support and stability. The following section will underscore the nature of such environments and their effect on students.

### ***Economic Deprivation***

Contingency theory suggests that organizations have to adopt structures that match the complexity of their environment (Lawrence and Lorsch 1967; Rainey 2003). Complexity can be defined in manners such as instability or economic deprivation.

Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) examine different industries and found that as changes in the stability of the environment became more rapid, this posed more problems of uncertainty on the public managers. Additionally, Meier and Boyne (2009) study the role that structural stability plays in organizational performance finding that it can mitigate the effect of environmental turbulence. In other words, stability interacts with features of an organization's environment. I contend that the external environment will have an effect on the role intersectional stability plays in an organization. I posit that the degree of economic deprivation in a student's environment will affect the stability-outcome relationship. I define economic deprivation from three different perspectives: poverty, labor force characteristics and family structure.

### *Poverty*

Childhood poverty has been a salient issue within the United States for decades. In the past few years twelve to fourteen million children have lived in families where cash income did not exceed the official poverty level (Gunn and Brooks-Duncan 2000). Patterson et al. (1990) suggest that poverty can affect students in several ways. The stress that is placed on a parent dealing with poverty can have a deleterious effect on children because they pay less attention to their child's learning environment and are less involved in their schooling. Additionally, Patterson et al. (1990) suggest that the direct stress of such poverty can cause children to have reduced attention span, lower and sporadic moods, and emotional distress.

In areas of high poverty, the success of all students is greatly hindered; however these effects can be more severe for African Americans students (Patterson et al. 1990).

From year to year African American and Hispanic children have consistently had much higher poverty rates than whites (Neuman 2008). Haynes and Comer (1990) argue that many African American students perform poorly in schools because their psychological, socioeconomic, and emotional needs are not attended to. Mitchell explains that “students who live in poverty are sometimes distracted by primary needs that are unfulfilled and find it difficult to put forth extended effort toward school work” (1998, 116). Patterson et al. (1990) found that Black students in low-income families had more behavioral problem than those in wealthier families and that boys from low income homes showed more behavior problems than girls. Thus, Black male students are often particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of poverty.

I argue that in areas with high poverty, the effect of representational stability on policy outcomes for Black males will be more pronounced. The students’ contextual environment may be unstable due to high levels of poverty; therefore having stability in the educational system will be very salient. Further, students in such areas may not have many positive role models in their environment. I contend that representational stability may provide a consistent set of role models for these students.

#### *Labor Force Characteristics*

High unemployment rates can have a detrimental effect on children. Jones (1988) argues that the influence of unemployment not only has economic effects but psychological implications that reverberate to children in the family as well. Jones contends that, “Children find stress in unemployment not only from the possibility of living with reduced resources that joblessness implies, but also because they may live in



an environment where parental effectiveness may be weakened by stress” (1988, 200). Bakke (1940) indicates that there may be role shifts in the family as efforts are made to cope with such problems. Such role shifts may have an effect for older children as they might be asked to step in and find a job in order to help support the family. This can have damaging effects on a student’s education because they must deal with the emotional stress and balance school and work.

If a student’s parent loses his or her job and suffers financial stress due to reduced income, children feel the harmful effect. A student in an area with a high unemployment rate or a high percentage of people not in the labor force is surrounded by an environment of uncertainty and instability. A student that is in such an unstable environment can feel a sense of stability at school where there is consistency and continuity of learning. Moreover, in districts where there is high unemployment, the quality of life is lowered. The role models in the area that students may have looked up to may be facing an unfavorable period of unemployment and are unable to be someone for the child to look up to. In such instances, representational stability will matter more because these teachers provide consistency in a child’s life. Therefore, I contend that representational stability will have a greater effect on African American male achievement in districts with large percentages of individuals unemployed and not in the labor force.

### *Family Structure*

Family structure can have a considerable effect on student achievement (Astone and McLanahan 1991; Duncan and Hoffman 1985; Sandefur et al. 1992). Numerous

studies have found that children in single-parent families are less likely to complete high school or attend college than children who grow up having both parents even when controlling for income (Amato 1987; Astone and McLanahan 1991; Sandefur et al. 1992). There are numerous reasons why family structure is important for students. Marital dissolution or non-marriage may lower parental investment, which can also decrease the intellectual capacity of children (Sandefur et al. 1992). A single parent may not have the time and resources to effectively contribute to their child's education. The financial resources at the disposal of single parent families are often less than that of two parent families (Sandefur et al. 1992). Financial problems can then lead to decreased investment in a child's education. However, Duncan and Hoffman (1985) found that even single-parent families that are not in poverty face income insecurity.

Moreover, Astone and McLanahan (1991) suggest that the reason there may be differences in educational attainment among families is because parenting styles differ in certain family types. Single-parent families report less parental involvement with school work and less supervision outside the home than children in two-parent families (Astone and McLanahan 1991). Additionally, they find that children who grew up in single-headed households are more likely to show signs of disengagement with schooling.

The vast majority of single-headed households are headed by women. These female headed households tend to be correlated with high levels of poverty (Iceland 2003; Mueller and Cooper 1986). The feminization of poverty has been examined extensively in the literature (Iceland 2003; Neuman 2008; Patterson et al. 1990) and it is often most concentrated among African Americans and Hispanics. If a student does not

grow up in a two-parent household, he or she may look to teachers to fill the void of the absent second caregiver in the house. Given the high rates of female, single headed households among African Americans, it is likely that African American students may not have a father figure in the household. Therefore, Black male students may look to the stable group of African American male teachers for guidance and support with academic work. In other words, stability that might be lacking at home could be mitigated by having a stable cadre of teachers.

In sum, I argue that representational stability will produce positive gains for organizations. That is, Black male teacher stability will be associated with decreases in second generation discrimination among Black male students. I also posit that the effect of representational stability on Black male student outcomes will be conditioned upon the level of economic deprivation in the district. I therefore derive the following hypotheses.

***Hypothesis 1:*** Representational stability will have a positive effect on African American male educational outcomes.

***Hypothesis 2:*** Representational stability will have a positive effect on African American male educational outcomes; however, the effect will be conditioned on the environment.

## **Data and Methods**

### ***Units of Analysis***

The data utilized in this analysis are drawn from a set of Texas school districts. The data are pooled for 10 years, (1998 through 2008) and produces over 10,000 cases

for analysis. The tracking data and school resources data were requested from the Texas Educational Agency. The contextual data was obtained from the National Center for Educational Statistics' School Demographic System. The Census 2000 School District Demographics Project under this system provides detailed Census data matched by school district. Additionally, I estimate a one-way fixed effect model with panel corrected standard errors.<sup>49</sup>

### *Measures*

The dependent variables in this analysis are measures of educational opportunities. The first measure is for ability grouping, which is placement into gifted and talented classes. This is considered a positive academic placement as it has advanced learning and implications for future college enrollment. Representational stability should be positively correlated with this variable. The next two measures are assignments to vocational courses and special education. Vocational education courses are those aimed at a particular trade. Generally this track provides an alternative to college preparatory tracks. Students in this track do not receive the higher level academic skills as gifted students. Special education courses are those in which the level of learning is substantially low to meet the needs of children with disabilities. These two measures are considered negative placements and should be negatively correlated with Black male representational stability.

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<sup>49</sup> The number of cases in many of the models drops considerably because of missing data from various sources. For example, there are some instances where there is missing data for students tracked in particular categories due to FERPA laws and data confidentiality. Additionally, because there are not many Black male teachers in Texas, there are not many cases for that particular stability variable. Further, the Census dataset does not include all Texas school districts, which lowers cases as well.

The main independent variable is a measure of representational stability in Texas school districts. The data was obtained from the Texas Education Agency. I measure stability in terms of personnel. Teacher stability is measured as the percentage of teachers employed by the district during the preceding year who continue to work for the district. This stability is measured as 100 minus the year's turnover rate. Higher scores indicate more stability within a district. I measure stability for African American male teachers. In order to create a comparison group, I assess stability of Black female teachers, for the racial congruence with Black males, and white males, to capture the gender congruence.

The measure of economic deprivation is created by using a factor score of 4 different variables from the 2000 Census district demographic system data. The 4 measures are: (1) the percentage of Blacks in poverty, (2) the percentage of Black single-headed households, (3) the percentage of Blacks unemployed and (4) the percentage of Blacks not in the work force.<sup>50</sup> The variables are socioeconomic status measures that tap into the students' contextual settings.<sup>51</sup> I use individuals who are Black to match up with the same race of the students assessed. A composite economic deprivation scale was created using factor analysis. All four items loaded positively on the first factor, producing an eigenvalue of 1.46. The factor scores from the analysis were then used as a measure of economic deprivation, with higher scores indicating higher levels of

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<sup>50</sup> I utilize the percentage of individuals not in the labor force to capture individuals who were not currently categorized as "looking for jobs." Therefore, it is a more holistic measure of individuals in children's lives who are without work.

<sup>51</sup> The indicators in this scale are only for parents with school aged children. Thus, the effects of economic deprivation are more closely matched to students' immediate environment, rather than an overall measure of economic deprivation of parents without children.

economic deprivation. Table 4.1 displays the factors loadings for each variable used in the variable.

**Table 4.1 Economic Deprivation Factor**

<b>Measure</b>	<b>Factor Loading</b>
Percentage Blacks in Poverty	.807
Percentage of Blacks Unemployed	.290
Percentage of Blacks Not in Labor Force	.391
Percentage of Black Single Headed Households	.757
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.46

Assessments of policy outcomes must take into account the level of difficulty for the job and the resources available (Hanushek 1996). Districts that are more homogenous in nature with students from upper middle backgrounds face fewer task difficulties than districts with a large number of highly diverse students. Such students tend to have less supportive environments at home (Jencks and Phillips 1998). The measures of task difficulty are the percentage of Black and Latino students.

Additionally, resources have had a positive effect on performance in various studies (O'Toole and Meier 2003; Wenglisky 1997). The measures I include for district resources are average teacher salary and average instructional expenditures per-pupil. I control for human resources in school with a measure of teacher experience.

I also include the percentage of white male students in the same tracking category as Black males of each model to account for gender similarities in enrollment. I also account for district size with a measure of total enrollment (per 1000 students). Lastly, I control for Black teacher representation as the literature has consistently found that street-level bureaucratic representation is associated with positive outcomes for minority students (King 1993; Meier et al. 1989). Table 4.2 display the descriptive statistics for the variables used in the model.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The first question that I asked is whether representational stability will have an influence on public policy outcomes for Black male students. Table 4.3 display the effect of representational stability on outcomes. Inconsistent with theoretical expectations, Black male teacher stability does not have a positive effect on Black boys in gifted courses. Additionally, neither Black female stability nor white male stability has an influence on outcomes as well.

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics Chapter IV

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Black Male Gifted	6568	1.41	3.9	0	50
Black Male Vocational	6670	3.38	5.36	0	44.54
Black Male Special Education	7097	10.41	11.45	0	75
Black Male Teacher Stability	4059	72.08	33.92	0	100
White Male Teacher Stability	10776	75.74	16.13	0	100
Black Female teacher Stability	4909	77.89	27.99	0	100
Economic Deprivation	7529	0	1	-1.79	4.54
Percentage Black Teachers	10918	3.08	7.48	0	100
White Male Gifted	9701	38.43	13.84	0	92.31
White Male Vocational	9520	19.19	15.04	0	76.47
White Male Special Education	10324	40.63	18.33	0	100
Total Student Enrollment (per 1000 students)	10950	4.13	12.16	.042	211.76
Revenue per-pupil (in \$1000s)	10916	8.31	2.76	1.76	53.76
Percentage Black Students	10918	8.31	12.31	0	95.5
Percentage Hispanic Students	10918	29.91	26.88	0	100
Teacher Salary (in \$1000s)	10911	35.71	3.31	24.63	72.39
Teacher Experience	10916	12.21	2.32	0	22.45



**Table 4.3 The Effect of Representational Stability on Black Male Tracking, 1998-2008**

	<b>Black Males Gifted Education</b>	<b>Black Males Vocational Education</b>	<b>Black Males Special Education</b>
<b>Independent Variables</b>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
Black Male Teacher Stability	.002 (.003)	.006** (.002)	-.002 (.003)
White Male Teacher Stability	.013 (.025)	-.011 (.014)	-.031 (.024)
Black Female Teacher Stability	.003 (.004)	-.009 (.004)	.043 (.033)
Economic Deprivation	-.037 (.232)	-.179 (.193)	1.43** (.401)
Percentage Black Teachers	.109** (.032)	.061 (.049)	.044 (.033)
White Male Assignments Same Tracking Category	-.170** (.024)	.202** (.015)	-.385** (.037)
Total Student Enrollment (per 1000 students)	-.011* (.004)	.019** (.007)	.013* (.005)
Revenue per-pupil (in \$1000s)	.292 (.187)	.401* (.156)	.313* (.158)
Percentage Black Students	.159** (.018)	.324** (.028)	.411** (.032)
Percentage Hispanic Students	-.050** (.011)	.049** (.005)	-.261** (.024)
Teacher Salary (in \$1000s)	-.018 (.030)	-.007 (.028)	-.070 (.039)
Teacher Experience	-.150* (.067)	.089 (.084)	.073 (.133)
Constant	4.48 (2.34)	-9.09** (2.16)	29.57** (3.33)
N	2001	2736	3074
R <sup>2</sup>	.75	.65	.87

Note: Dichotomous Variables for years included but not listed in model.  $p < .05$  \*  $p < .01$  \*\*

The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 3 for all models.

The next column shows the findings for Blacks male students in vocational courses. In this model the results are in the opposite direction than expected. Recall that representational stability was expected to be associated with a decrease of Black males in vocational courses. The model indicates that a one-unit increase in Black male teacher stability is associated with a .006 percentage point increase of Black male students in vocational courses. What could account for this unexpected relationship? Firstly, one possible reason for this finding is that the representational stability measure does not account for the *quality* of the Black male teachers staying in the organization. The group of Black male teachers may not be excellent teachers; as a result, the influence that they may have could be dismal.

Secondly, because of the negative perceptions and trajectory of Black male student education it could be plausible that the Black male teachers have lowered expectations of these students. Black male teachers could encourage these students to enroll in vocational courses because they may feel that this is an avenue for short term success, rather than considering long term goals of a college education. In this instance, the teachers may not push for excellence, but rather maintenance the status quo.

Thirdly, one possibility is that these teachers may discourage high-track enrollment because they themselves were not enrolled in such courses during their academic career. Ladson-Billings (1997) contends that some teachers suggest their students learn a certain way because that is the way they too learned it. Given the cycle of poor African American male performance in schools over the past few decades, this is a viable possibility.

Fourthly, Black male teachers might be concentrated in the vocational and special education tracks within schools. Some work has shown that minority teachers are often tracked themselves in schools (Dickens 1996) and teach lower end courses. I do not have a measure of the courses that Black male teachers teach; however, this could be a possibility within schools. If this is the case, Black male students could enroll in courses where there is consistent representation, or Black male teachers may encourage students to enroll in their courses.

Fifthly, because of the preponderance of young Black men in athletics, Black male teachers may encourage these students to enroll in lower tracked courses which are less rigorous in order to ensure that they maintain grades for eligibility purposes. There could be a variety of other plausible explanations, however without in-depth interviews, it is impossible to understand the micro-dynamics of these relationships.

The results also show that stability based on a racial or gendered congruence is not associated with positive outcomes as well. Overall, this model predicts 65 percent of the variance in assignments to vocational education courses. The last model in the table shows the results for Black male students assigned to special education courses. Inconsistent with expectations, there is not an influence of representational stability on outcomes.<sup>52</sup>

The second theoretical question I address is whether the contextual environment will influence the relationship between stability and outcomes. Table 4.4 displays the results for the interaction models with Black male teacher stability.<sup>53</sup> Because I interact the variables of interest with other variables that are continuous, it is best to use a graphical illustration to capture both the substantive and statistical significance of the marginal effects on Black male tracking assignments (Brambor et al. 1994). Figure 4.1 provides a more intuitive representation of the interactive relationship in the model for Black boys in gifted classes. The figure shows that there is not a conditional relationship. That is, the economic context does not influence the effect of stability on outcomes.

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<sup>52</sup> I also performed sensitivity analysis by increasing the size of the Black student population as these relationships may not take place unless there are certain percentages of Black students. The results were similar to the models presented.

<sup>53</sup> I estimate the three types of stability (Black male, Black female, and White male) separately because including all terms creates massive multicollinearity and problems for analysis.

**Table 4.4 Representational Stability (Black Male Teachers), Economic Context and Black Male Tracking, 1998-2008**

	<b>Black Males Gifted Education</b>	<b>Black Males Vocational Education</b>	<b>Black Males Special Education</b>
<b>Independent Variables</b>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
Black Male Teacher Stability	.002 (.002)	.005* (.002)	-.002 (.003)
Economic Deprivation	-.215 (.192)	-.084 (.219)	1.54* (.318)
Stability X Economic Deprivation	.002 (.002)	-.000 (.002)	-.003 (.004)
Percentage Black Teachers	.118** (.032)	.061 (.047)	-.018 (.029)
White Male Assignments Same Tracking Category	-.148** (.021)	.187 (.014)**	-.350** (.034)
Total Student Enrollment (per 1000 students)	.011* (.004)	.019** (.007)	.015* (.005)
Revenue per-pupil (in \$1000s)	.223 (.172)	.409** (.142)	.266 (.145)
Percentage Black Students	.159** (.018)	.320** (.027)	.453** (.029)
Percentage Hispanic Students	-.041** (.009)	.044** (.005)	-.239** (.022)
Teacher Salary (in \$1000s)	.022 (.027)	-.008 (.029)	-.075 (.042)
Teacher Experience	-.101 (.061)	.082 (.078)	.097 (.104)
Constant	4.47* (2.12)	-9.43** (1.82)	25.09** (3.10)
N	2242	2982	3395
R <sup>2</sup>	.74	.65	.86

*Note:* Dichotomous Variables for years included but not listed in model.  $p < .05$  \*  $p < .01$  \*\*  
The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 3 for all models.

**Figure 4.1 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (Black Male Teachers) on Black Males in Gifted Courses as Economic Deprivation Changes**

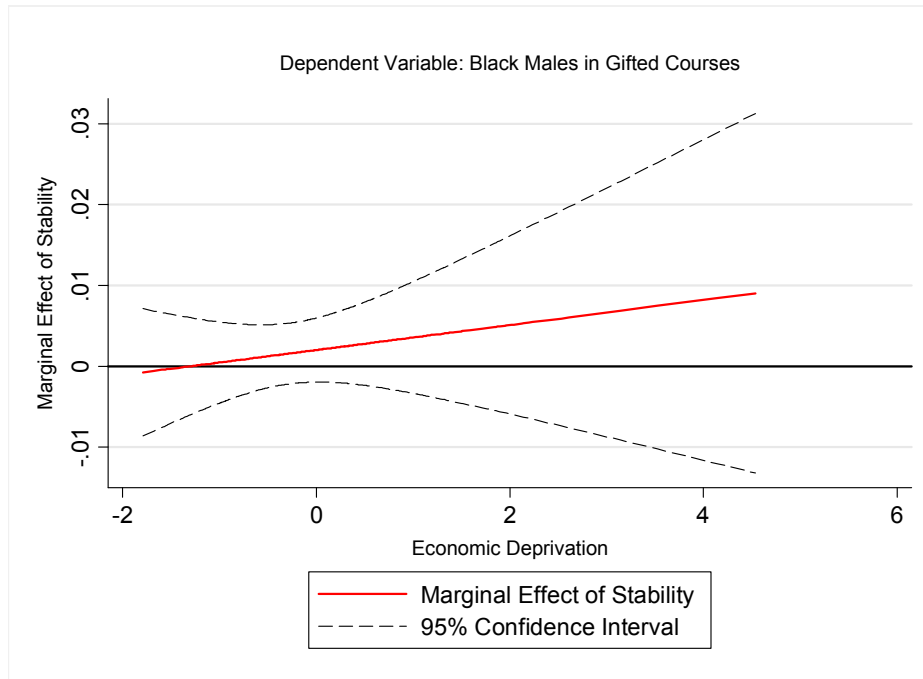


Figure 4.2 displays the interaction for the model predicting Black male students in vocational education courses. Again, this figure shows that there is not a contingent relationship. The graph shows that although both confidence intervals are only slightly above the zero value, the effect on vocational education does not have a decreasing or increasing effect.

**Figure 4.2 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (Black Male Teachers) on Black Males in Vocational Education as Economic Deprivation Changes**

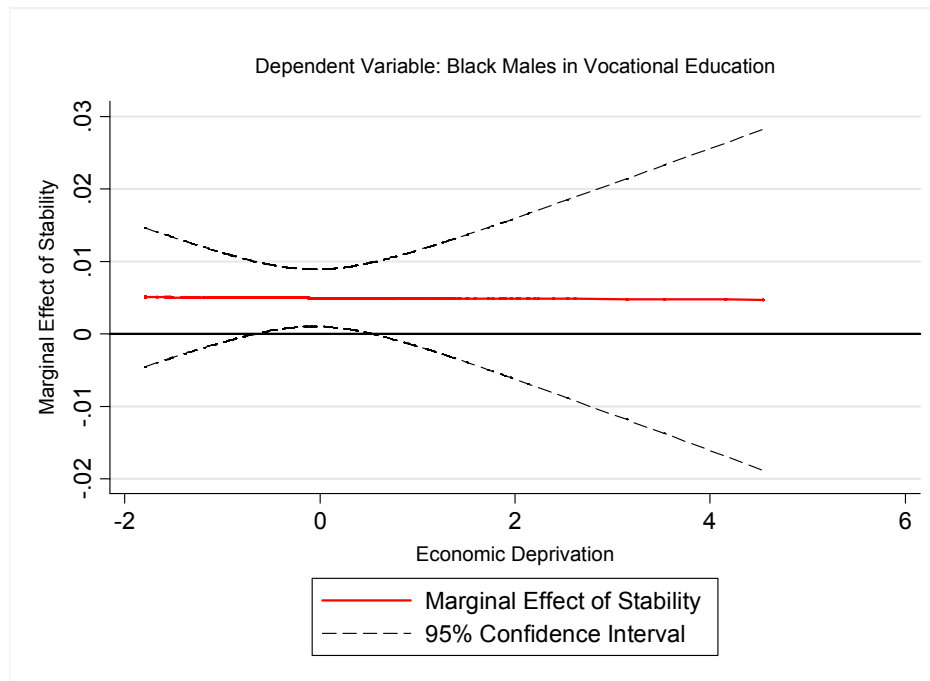
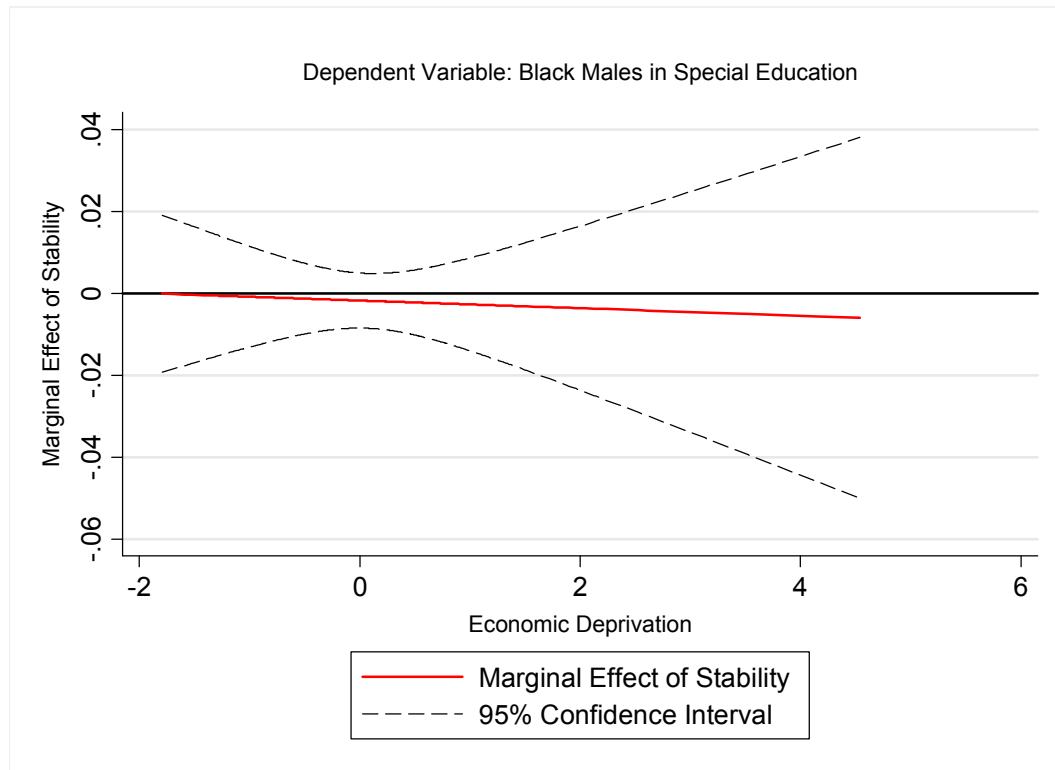


Figure 4.3 shows that the interaction of representational stability and context does not influence special education assignments. In sum, all 3 figures indicate that inconsistent with expectations, the economic context does not influence the relationship between stability and tracking for Black male students.

**Figure 4.3 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (Black Male Teachers) on Black Males in Special Education as Economic Deprivation Changes**



In order to create a comparison group of representational stability, I assess the effect that white male teacher stability has on Black male outcomes. Table 4.5 displays the results for white male teacher stability. Figure 4.4 also graphically shows the interaction model for Black boys in gifted education. The graph clearly shows that there is not a contingent relationship.



**Table 4.5 Representational Stability (White Male Teachers), Economic Context and Black Male Tracking, 1998-2008**

	<b>Black Males Gifted Education</b>	<b>Black Males Vocational Education</b>	<b>Black Males Special Education</b>
<b>Independent Variables</b>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
White Male Teacher Stability	.005 (.005)	-.006 (.006)	-.022 (.011)
Economic Deprivation	-.188 (.197)	.426 (.320)	.279 (.933)
Stability X Economic Deprivation	.000 (.002)	-.005 (.004)	.002 (.011)
Percentage Black Teachers	.174** (.032)	.074 (.041)	-.031* (.034)
White Male Assignments Same Tracking Category	-.074** (.012)	.119** (.007)	-.279** (.024)
Total Student Enrollment (per 1000 students)	-.010* (.004)	.018** (.006)	.020* (.006)
Revenue per-pupil (in \$1000s)	.041 (.043)	.079 (.040)	-.108 (.062)
Percentage Black Students	.134** (.018)	.293** (.021)	.559** (.026)
Percentage Hispanic Students	-.012** (.003)	.024** (.003)	-.187 (.016)
Teacher Salary (in \$1000s)	.028 (.019)	-.005 (.022)	-.044 (.027)
Teacher Experience	-.070 (.037)	.080 (.046)	.127 (.073)
Constant	1.84* (.867)	-3.78** (1.20)	22.82** (2.13)
N	4361	4899	5658
R <sup>2</sup>	.72	.65	.85

*Note:* Dichotomous Variables for years included but not listed in model.  $p < .05$  \*  $p < .01$  \*\*  
The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 3 for all models.

**Figure 4.4 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (White Male Teachers) on Black Males in Gifted Courses as Economic Deprivation Changes**

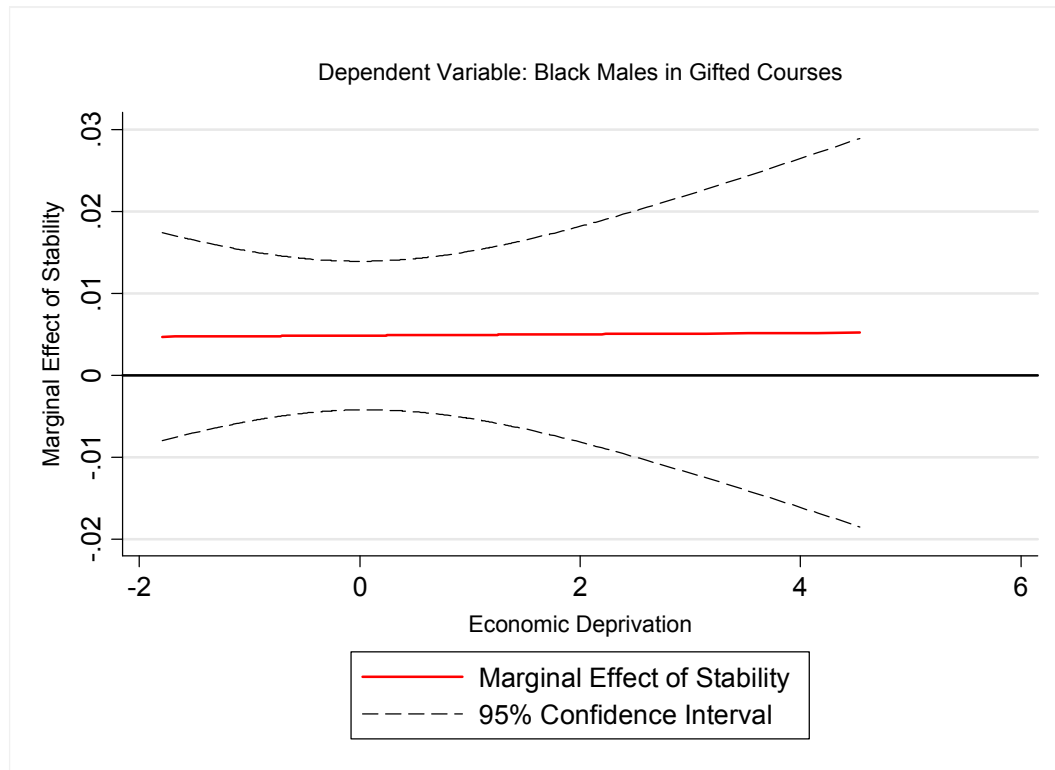
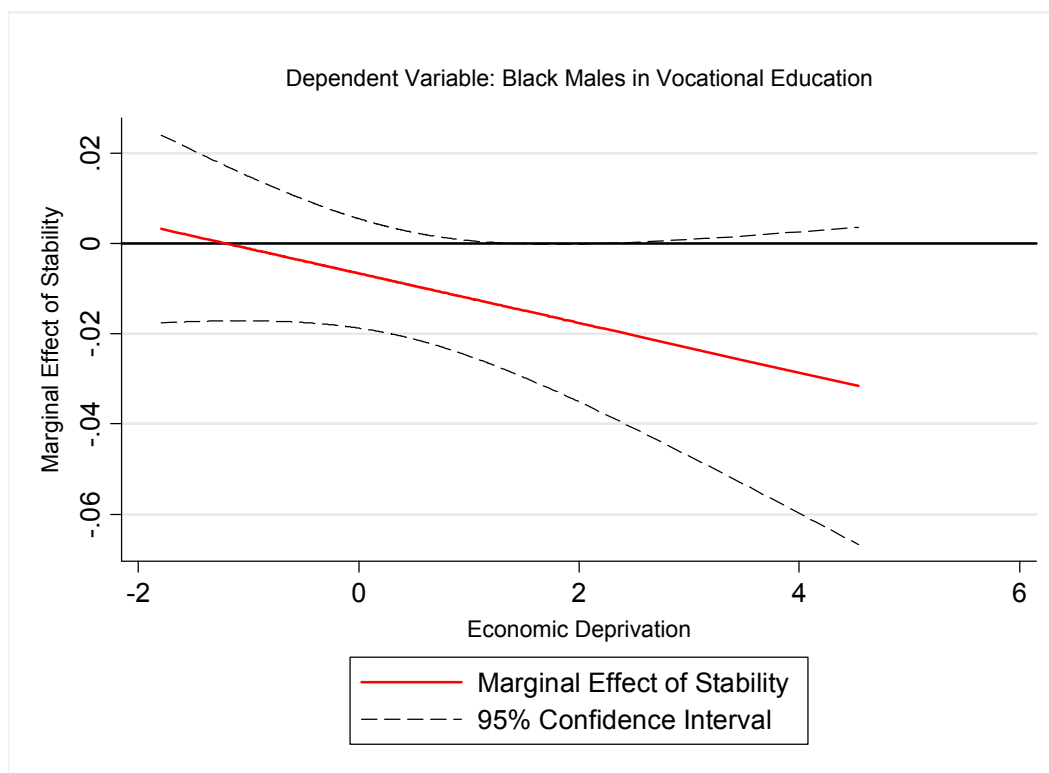


Figure 4.5 shows the findings for Black male students in vocational education. The graph shows that the direction line is in the appropriate direction. As economic deprivation increases, white male stability has a reductive effect on Black males in vocational education. These results are however, very close to reaching statistical significance. Lastly, Figure 4.6 shows that economic context does not change the relationship between white male stability and Black male students in special education. The results in these set of results indicate that a racial congruence of stability does not influence policy outcomes.

**Figure 4.5 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (White Male Teachers) on Black Males in Vocational Education as Economic Deprivation Changes**



**Figure 4.6 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (White Male Teachers) on Black Males in Special Education as Economic Deprivation Changes**

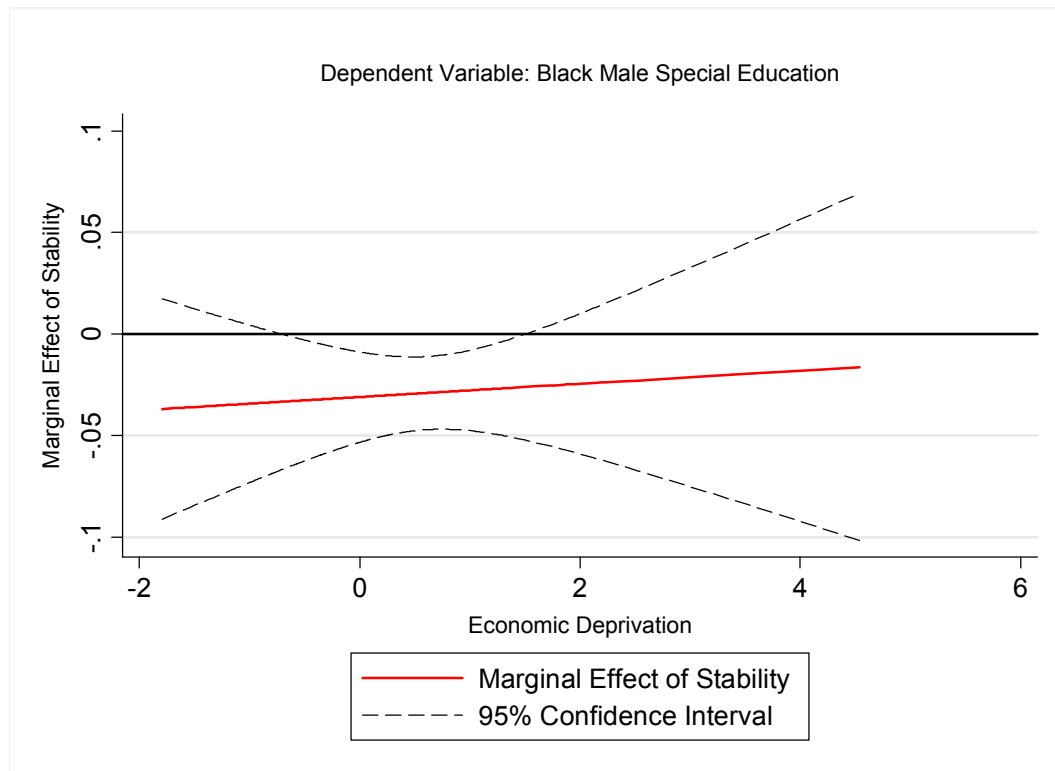


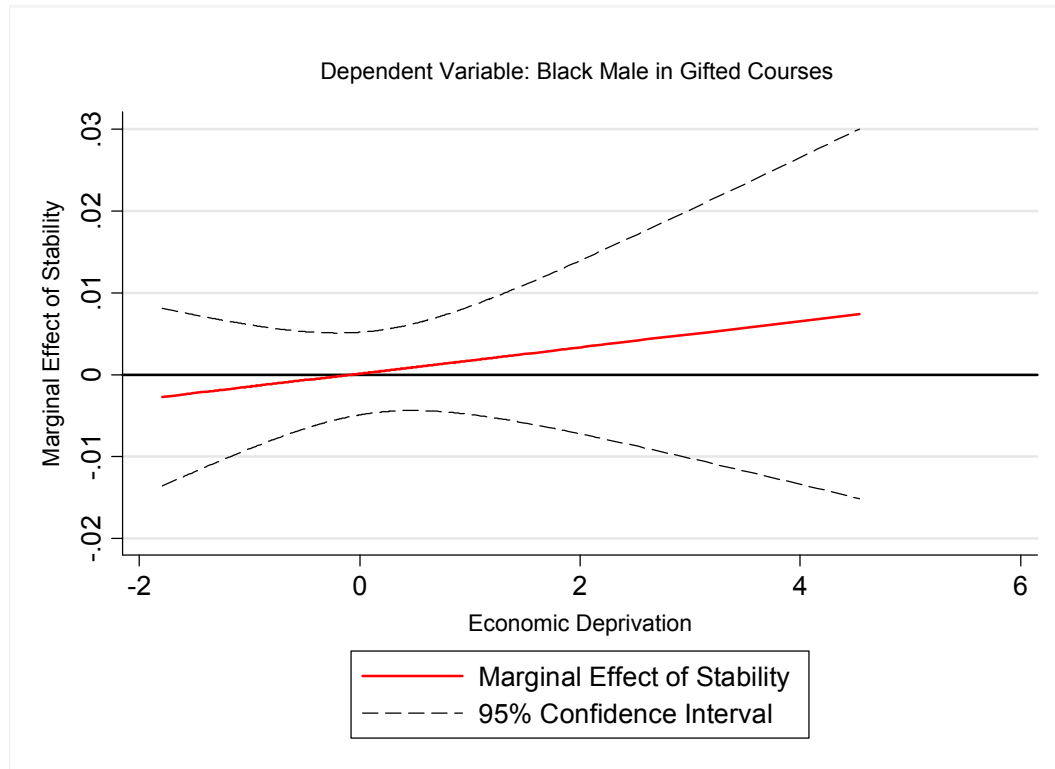
Table 4.6 shows the results of Black female stability on Black student outcomes. The results of the table indicate that there is not a significant relationship between stability and outcomes. Figure 4.7 indicates that economic deprivation does not influence the relationship between Black female teachers on gifted courses.

**Table 4.6 Representational Stability (Black Female Teachers), Economic Context and Black Male Tracking, 1998-2008**

	<b>Black Males Gifted Education</b>	<b>Black Males Vocational Education</b>	<b>Black Males Special Education</b>
<i>Independent Variables</i>	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)	Coefficients (Panel Corrected Standard Errors)
Black Male Teacher Stability	.000 (.002)	-.000 (.002)	.002 (.003)
Economic Deprivation	-.432* (.188)	.207 (.184)	.960** (.319)
Stability X Economic Deprivation	.002 (.002)	-.004 (.002)	.960** (.319)
Percentage Black Teachers	.133** (.031)	.072 (.044)	.007 (.029)
White Male Assignments Same Tracking Category	-.118** (.019)	.168** (.018)	-.317** (.030)
Total Student Enrollment (per 1000 students)	-.011 (.044)	.018** (.006)	.014* (.006)
Revenue per-pupil (in \$1000s)	.025 (.126)	.229* (.090)	.109 (.123)
Percentage Black Students	.161** (.018)	.311 (.024)	.493** (.027)
Percentage Hispanic Students	-.023** (.007)	.038** (.004)	-.216** (.019)
Teacher Salary (in \$1000s)	.047 (.025)	-.007 (.026)	-.078* (.037)
Teacher Experience	-.101 (.059)	.099 (.063)	.021 (.095)
Constant	3.67* (1.70)	-7.04** (1.52)	24.72** (2.68)
N	2606	3532	4106
R <sup>2</sup>	.72	.65	.85

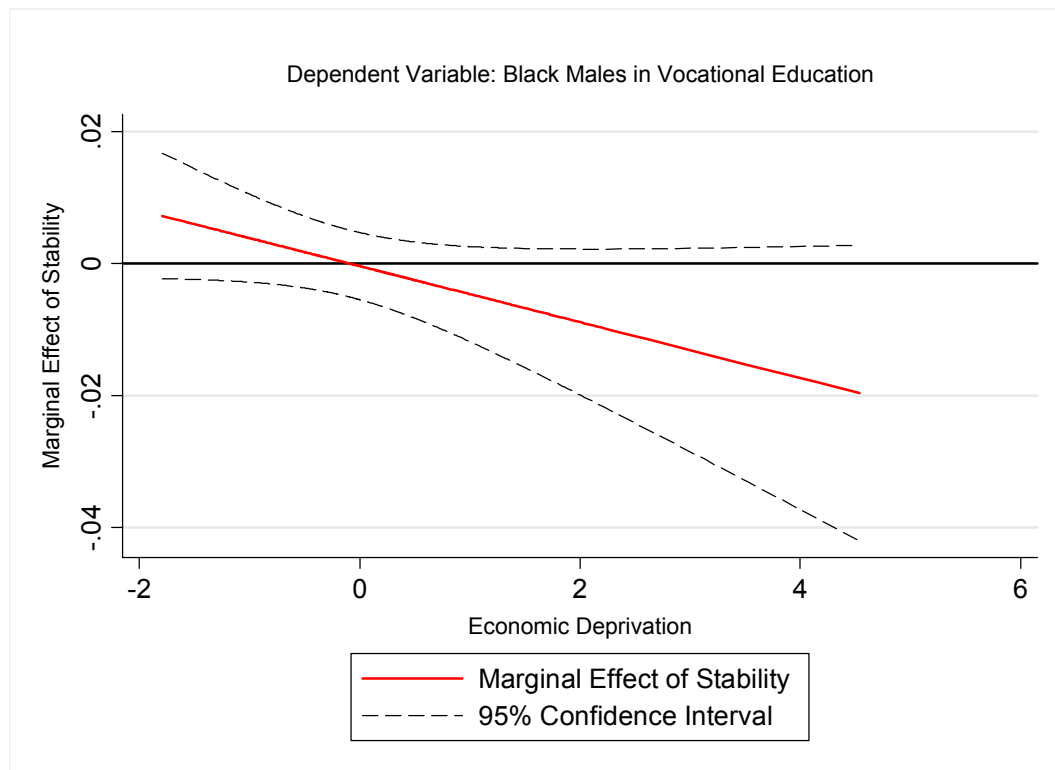
*Note:* Dichotomous Variables for years included but not listed in model.  $p < .05$ \*  $p < .01$ \*\*  
The mean VIF (variance inflation factor) indicator for multicollinearity is below 3 for all models

**Figure 4.7 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (Black Female Teachers) on Black Males in Gifted Courses as Economic Deprivation Changes**

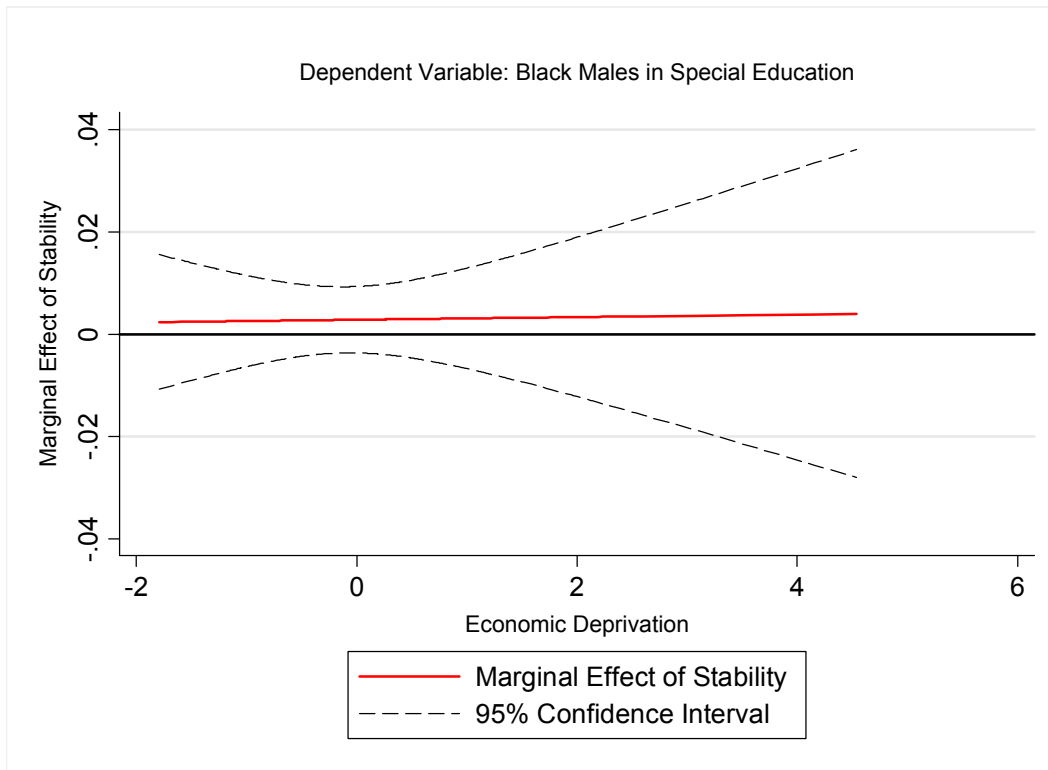


Further, Figures 4.8 and 4.9 show that levels of economic deprivation do not influence the relationship between stability and Black male student outcomes. In other words, representational stability based upon a racial congruence with Black male students, is not associated with outcomes. Taken as a whole, the results suggest that representational stability based upon both a racial and gender congruence does not accrue benefits for the represented group. Table 4.7 provides a summary of the key findings.

**Figure 4.8 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (Black Female Teachers) on Black Males in Vocational Education as Economic Deprivation Changes**



**Figure 4.9 Marginal Effect of Representational Stability (Black Female Teachers) on Black Males in Special Education as Economic Deprivation Changes**



**Table 4.7 Summary of Key Findings Chapter IV**

	<b>Black Male Teacher Stability</b>	<b>White Male Teacher Stability</b>	<b>Black Female Teacher Stability</b>
<b>Black Males in Gifted Courses</b>	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
<b>Black Males in Vocational Education</b>	↑	Not significant	Not significant
<b>Black Males in Special Education</b>	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant



## Conclusion and Implications

This goal of this chapter was to address the following question: *how does representational stability influence public policy outcomes?* I argued that representational stability (matched both on race and gender) would have a positive influence on academic outcomes for young Black men. However, the empirical results show that this is not the case. Representational stability is associated with an *increase* of Black male students assigned to lower courses, such as vocational education. In other words, Black male teachers may be associated with poor outcomes for Black male students. Perhaps institutional features within organizations inhibit Black male teachers from having an effect on outcomes. Classifications and rules related to assignments may be institutionalized; meaning placement of Black males in vocational courses is the norm in districts and having stability of representation has no effect.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, this relationship may be indicative of the workforce conditions of Black males, as they tend to be in service or trade oriented jobs (Mincy 2006). Further, testing comparison groups of white male and Black female stability does not lend any additional support regarding representational stability as well.

The second question I posed in this chapter was whether the influence of representational stability was contingent on the organization's environment. I argued that the effect of representational stability on Black male student outcomes would be stronger when economic deprivation is high. I did not find strong support for this hypothesis.

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<sup>54</sup> It is unclear exactly why this relationship exists, however it is possible that there is not a stable group of *quality* Black male teachers or that Black male teachers are concentrated in lower tracked courses, such as vocational education. While this is beyond the scope of the data, an extension of this chapter may be to assess the characteristics of African American male teachers in schools.

The graphical illustrations for Black male, Black female, and white male teacher stability showed that there were not contingent relationships between stability and economic deprivation. This may suggest that Black males are receiving support in their environment, despite their context.

Moreover, there are limitations to this study that should be addressed. Without data on the quality of Black male teachers, it is difficult to address whether their presence will be a positive factor for Black male students. Perhaps the teachers that remain in the system are not great teachers for these students. It is also important to note that Black male students do not always view Black male teacher as role models. Without in-depth interviews, it is difficult to determine if these teachers' presence is actually positive for students.

There are also limitations due to data availability. There are not many Black male teachers nationwide or in the sample. Therefore, because of missing data, it is difficult to generalize to other areas. It is also possible that the models omitted other contextual features in students' environment. Black male students may find support and stability in other community activities, such as church, even in economically deprived areas. It is also not my goal to insinuate that students in social and economically deprived areas have *no* adult role models or stability. But rather, I argue that the context may be an indicator of the nature of role models in the area. Future research in this area could further assess students' environments and the relationships that they have with other individuals, such as mentors.

This chapter is the first test of stability based on the representation of bureaucrats. Incorporating the concept of intersectionality provides a more thorough test of representation given clients and bureaucrats have multiple identities. While the statistical results were not as expected, the theory of representational stability can be expanded to various areas and tested with numerous identities not addressed in this chapter. Expanding representational stability to different sectors and identities will advance theory and scholarship in the fields of representation, intersectionality, and public administration and policy.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

#### Introduction

The stated goals of this dissertation were three-fold. First, I incorporate intersectionality into public policy and administration literature. Second, I explore intersectionality and representation with gender from a perspective that has not been extensively addressed in the political science literature—that is, a concentration on males, instead of females. Third, I develop a theory of intersectional representation which links to public policy outcomes. The main theoretical question I asked was *does intersectional representation influence public policy outcome for the represented groups?* I argue that the exploring and engaging the intersection of multiple identities provides a more complete theory. This dissertation explored the role of intersectionality in representation in various contexts.

I maintain that intersectional representation is a useful research approach to assess public policy outcomes for represented groups. Intersectionality research contends that scholarship address the lived experiences of individuals to establish that an intersectional examination is in fact necessary instead of a unitary approach. Scholars argue that it is important to establish a clear disadvantage before pursuing a policy research project in the field of intersectionality (Hankivsky et al. 2009). Using this paradigm, I identify a marginalized group, African American males, where there are vast disadvantages and the experiences are often unique. This is one of the first studies in

political science that addresses intersectional representation and policy from the perspective of men of color.

As I have demonstrated in previous chapters, this group meets the standard of an intersectional approach in that injuries are found both from a racial and gendered perspective. The stated problem area that I confront is educational achievement among African American young men. Black males have had a history of poor performance in the United States. Additionally, the fact that I link intersectional representation to policy outcomes is both important for advancement of theory, but also meets the criteria of an intersectionality research paradigm. That is, linking research to a social justice framework. I do this by empirically linking representation to tangible policy results, but also challenging the way researchers frame problems. Individuals have multiple identities, thus, problem definitions should address the multidimensionality of individuals within the formulation of policy problems.

### **Summary of Key Findings**

Does intersectional representation influence public policy outcomes for the represented groups? The answer to that question is yes. Yet, this dissertation has demonstrated that representation based on multiple identities is a complex field of inquiry. The title of this dissertation, “Not a One –Way Street” is indicative of the nature of intersectional representation because as I have shown empirically, outcomes associated with intersectional representation do not often follow a clear path. I will underscore the key findings in the section below.

The three empirical chapters each explored *how* this intersectional representation played out for African American males. Chapter II investigated how this representation looks in the bureaucracy among street level bureaucrats. Specifically, I asked, *do Black male teachers have an influence on Black male students' educational outcomes and if so, is that influence different than that of other teachers.* I found that Black male teachers are associated with decreases in the percentage of Black male students in the lowest tracked courses of remedial and special education. In this instance, Black male teachers have a distinct effect, in that neither non-male nor Black female teachers are associated with these changes. On the contrary, non-Black males are actually associated with increases of Black males in the most harmful category of Special Education. This suggests that a consideration of representative bureaucracy must take into account these racial and gender dynamics. For male teachers, the gender congruence with Black male students does not seem to be enough to accrue benefits in this instance.

A puzzling finding of this chapter was the results for the high-level courses. I find that Black male teachers were associated with decreases of Black males in honors. Coupled with the findings that these teachers are associated with decreases of Black male students in special and education and remedial in the same subjects, it could be that there is a policy tradeoff. In sum this chapter has challenged the tenets of representative bureaucracy, in that scholarship should also consider racial and gender identities combined, because it uncovers relationships that may have been overlooked in a unitary analysis.

The third chapter assessed intersectional representation from a political standpoint. In this chapter I posed the following question: *how does intersectional representation influence public policy outcomes in local legislative bodies?* I found very interesting results in this chapter. First, Black male school board members are actually associated with increases of Black males in high level assignments such as gifted courses. However, this influence is not *different* than that of Black females. That is, Black females are also associated with increases in the Black male gifted rate. The effect that they have is actually larger than the effect of Black male board members. Unlike the influence of Black female teachers in the Chapter II, Black female school board members are associated with decreases of Black male students in discipline and special education. What can account for these disparate findings regarding Black female representation? First, the tasks are different in politics that from the street-level. Policymaking in governing boards often involves coalition building. Similar to Latina women, Black women may operate under the “strategic intersectionality” framework, and are thus able to form more coalitions than men (Fraga et al. 2005). If this is the case, it may explain why Black females have an impact on such an important policy area. Second, while there is not a direct gender congruence with Black boys, the racial issue within the nature of tracking may provide an impetus to advocate for policy on their behalf. Third, there is a difference with frequency of interaction with African American male students between the two levels. Black female teachers interact on a daily basis with students, whereas board members do not and this may influence outcomes a well. Coupled with the findings that Black males influence policy on the street level, it is

possible that Black male teachers take up the representative role on the street-level so that Black female teachers do not have to play that role.

The second question I posed was: *are there conditional elements that influence the impact of intersectional representation on outcomes?* The answer to that question was yes; Black male board members do exhibit an influence on almost all Black male student outcomes conditioned upon the level of Black male board members. Testing threshold effects indicated that when there is at least one Black male on a school board, there are decreases of Black males in special education and discipline courses and increases in gifted courses. Black male board members are associated with increases of Black males in high tracked courses, whereas on the street level they are associated with decreases for gifted.

What could account for such differences? It is important to note that these results take place in two different settings, one on the local level (North Carolina), and the other on a national level. Nevertheless, I offer different possibilities as to what may drive the differences. Again, the tasks are different within the different levels. Black male teachers may actually see what is happening on the ground with Black male achievement, and may discourage enrollments in gifted due to the already failing nature of these students in other areas. On the contrary, school board members may not explicitly understand what is occurring on the street-level and offer policy solutions for this group. Additionally, Black school board members may have the resources to extend funding or support to address issues for certain students, whereas, Black male teachers do not have that authority.



Overall this research challenged the representation literature by linking actual intersectional representation to public policy outcomes. The results regarding Black females suggest that representation does *not* have to mirror the represented group exactly to be associated with tangible policy outcomes. Black females are able to represent Black males at the rate or higher than Black male board members.

Finally, the fourth chapter explored contingencies of intersectional representation in the bureaucracy. I asked the following question in this chapter: *how does representational stability influence public policy outcomes?* Recall that I offer a new concept called representational stability, which representational stability is the sustained presence of a particular representative group in an organization over time. I assessed representational stability from an intersectional perspective based on race and gender. Inconsistent with my theory, I found that representational stability is actually associated with an *increase* of Black male students assigned to lower courses, such as vocational education. However, the other teacher stability (Black female or white males) had no effect on rates.

Both Chapter II and Chapter IV found that Black males may produce negative outcomes for Black male students. Chapter II found that Black male teachers are associated with decreases of Black boys in gifted courses, and Chapter IV found that they are associated with increases of Black males in vocational education. It is unclear exactly why this negative relationship exists for stability. However, given the findings of the political context, it is possible that there are threshold effects that may explain these patterns on the street level as well.

Moreover, the second theoretical question I address in this chapter is whether there are conditional effects of representational stability. Specifically I asked: *is the influence of representational stability contingent on the organization's environment?* I argued that stability will matter more in places where the economic context of students is deprived. For this section, I did not find any conditional relationships. In sum, the findings in this chapter suggest that intersectionality is complex and that context does not appear to drive relationships in this instance.

Taken as a whole, the results of the three empirical chapters are sort of consistent with an intersectional research paradigm. That is, this work is complex with various moving parts. Moreover, this task becomes even more difficult when linking intersectional representation to actual tangible outcomes because there are a host of other factors that influence policy. Nevertheless, I find that representation matched both on a client's race and gender does not always yield positive results for the represented groups. The results have an underlying theme that studying representation in its unitary form obscures some of the nuances that occur with intersecting identities.

This research implies that intersectional representation is in fact not a one-way street. Kimberlé Crenshaw, one of the founding scholars in this field, used the metaphor of intersectionality as a complex road with many intersections. When linking representation outcomes, this "street" goes in multiple directions, an often not in the way expected. At times representation influences outcomes, yet in other instances there are negative outcomes. Even so, I have shown that an intersectional approach provides a

more comprehensive way to dissect what is driving representational outcomes in various settings, compared to a unitary consideration of identity.

This project has led me to conclude two broad themes. The first is that, intersectionality challenges the status quo in policy. While scholars have suggested this notion in terms of practical implications, I suggest that this paradigm challenges the way political science as a discipline has examined marginalized groups. Often, studies measure identities in their unitary form, thereby ignoring the complexities of an intersectional approach. As a result, the research in representation is not rigorous in its attempt to consider a multiple identity framework. Additionally, my research further challenges the status quo by assessing gender with the perspective of males. The foregoing scholarship in political science is not mindful of the fertile ground of research on men and representation within institutions. This dissertation challenges this by providing a comprehensive review and theoretical development regarding men of color.

The second broad theme is that intersectional representation is consequential for minority populations. Whether that representation leads to unfavorable or positive outcomes—this type of representation makes a difference. This difference is made apparent by the findings across all three empirical chapters. It was my goal that this dissertation would consider the ways in which multiple identities would influence outcomes. In various settings and time periods, the findings suggest that intersectional representation is associated with changes in policy for Black males. This research endeavor provides insight into public policy in various ways which I will discuss in the last section.

## **Limitations and Future Directions**

### ***Limitations***

There are limitations to this dissertation that warrant discussion. First, the data for the main independent variable, Black male representation, is not as rich compared to other groups. By this I mean, there are not many Black male teachers in any of the three empirical chapters. This is due to the fact that there are so few Black male teachers and policymakers nationwide. This can dampen the generalizability of the research in some ways. In spite of this, I was still able to have enough representation to consider this research a systematic, large n- study in all chapters.

Second, intersectional theorists contend that at times, an intersectional approach can ignore other groups of individuals that are similarly situated to the group being examined. Similar arguments could be held about this dissertation regarding the lack of discussion of Black female students or white male students. However, because of the complexity of an intersectional approach, I discuss comparison groups from the standpoint of the representatives. An assessment of both representation of multiple identities of representatives and students, may generate far too many moving parts. Additionally, the theory of this particular dissertation grounded in the specific experiences of African American males. This is important because from an intersectionality research approach, explaining outcomes for other groups requires a *different* theoretical consideration which is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Third, there are limitations regarding grouping and tracking. Because of data limitations, not all studies include the exact same dependent variables for outcome

measures. However, the underlying concept I measured was grouping and tracking within schools. Another limitation is the assignment process for grouping and tracking within schools. Schools differ in their restrictions on tracking. In some circumstances, these representatives may not play a role in the assignments, but rather the guidance counselor is the most influential actor. In this case, there may not be much discretion, which hinders the translation of passive to active representation. However, I argue that these individuals could be viewed as role models, in that their mere presence in the school may influence outcomes.

### ***Future Research Directions***

Taken as a whole, the results are puzzling and complex; yet, this provides fertile ground for explorations of intersectional representation in different areas. This multiple identity framework in representation can be applied to other policy domains and groups. One extension that I hope to pursue is testing the effect of intersectional representation on overall student outcomes at the district level. The findings of this work could offer insight into the ways in which intersectional representation can influence policy in a broad sense.

I would like to further engage the role of context and intersectional representation. I found that context did not matter for representational stability; yet, I would like to apply the influence of such context on the intersectional representation as a whole, separate from the stability argument. The discussion and results of this subject matter in Chapter IV, drives me to understand the role of context in greater detail for African American males. Specifically, I would like to engage the sociology literatures on

family stability with work on representation to examine if intersectional representation (Black male representation in schools) influences Black male students' attitudes and outcomes when a father figure is not in the home. Pushing this further, an investigation of other contexts where intersectional representation may occur for Black males, such as the Black church, community groups, and mentors would provide an excellent extension of the theory.

Another extension of this research would involve utilization of multiple methods. Hancock contends that, "...an intersectional approach to educational equity would require multiple methods and a design that can produce both empirical and normative theoretical results..."(2007, 74) As such, I would like to extend this research to a more qualitative setting through in-depth interviews and focus groups of Black male students and teachers. In this way, I would be able to understand some of the micro-foundations of representation within schools. Moreover, in-depth interviews would allow me to link attitudes with actual performance measures, which would provide a useful comparison for analysis.

Further, an extension of this research might be applied to other settings and groups in order to broaden the theory. For example, the health care setting is fertile ground for an intersectional research approach. An exploration of this sort may examine health outcomes based on an intersectional representation. This representation may be particularly salient in the healthcare setting because much of the interaction relies on trust. Other settings where intersectional representation could be examined are in the criminal justice system and welfare system. In the welfare system, this intersectionality

would be so important because Soss (2002) suggests that so often clients want to explain to bureaucrats *why* they are in the situation they are in. The race and gender of the bureaucrat could change the relationship in either positive or negative ways in this instance.

Lastly, expanding intersectional representation to outcomes for Black females would be an important contribution to the literature, because while there is an abundance of scholarship on Black feminist theory, there is not a systematic attempt to link representation with actual outcomes for Black females. The intersectional representation could be extended to a variety of settings, such as health care and education. Given the findings regarding the influence of Black female school boards on Black male student outcomes, the research linking outcomes for Black female students may provide a meaningful counter narrative of intersectional representation.

### **Policy Implications**

The theoretical contribution of this study of intersectional representation is vast; however, the motivation for this research is grounded in practical public policy. The educational realities for Black male students are disconcerting. Taking a step back from the data, each policy outcome represents a child that is either heading toward a path of success, by being assigned to gifted education, or taking a path towards mediocrity or failure with enrollment in low tracked courses or discipline. This is indicative of that fact that tracking produces two different worlds in a sense. What has essentially taken place is that there are two separate but unequal worlds occurring in the public schools systems. There are often two separate systems operating under the guise of equal education.

While I do not want to suggest that tracking is the single driving force for students' success, I contend that it is important. Practically, for African American males, the overrepresentation in discipline and the lower tracks is consistent with their overrepresentation in a variety of other domains, such as unemployment and prison. Though this linkage is an empirical question, one could infer that tracking in schools is consequential for Black males. Many of these inequities may originate in schools where institutional structures and practices can lead to academic disengagement.

A primary concern is the implications that follow if policy does not actively engage the problems faced by this marginalized group. I have argued that intersectional representation is one element that can have an influence on Black male achievement. Each of the empirical chapters linked to outcomes which are indicators of success and future social mobility. While the findings were puzzling in some instances, there are practical policy implications. I will discuss them below from the standpoint of policymakers and educators.

### ***Policymakers***

This dissertation has vast implications on policymaking. Far too often, policies for certain populations do not consider multiple identities. Greater effort needs to be made to understand the multidimensionality of individuals. Hankivsky et al. (2009) argue for such a case in policy suggesting that, "Policymakers will need to draw on a solid base of research evidence, have access to appropriate data, secure appropriate human and economic resources, and be able to engage in ongoing intersectional debates that include both policy and equity knowledge from a range of stakeholders" (Hankivsky



et al. 2009, 41). Specific to this study, resources should be extended to better understanding African American male student achievement, not as a mere crisis narrative, but as a guideline to pursuing sound empirical research. African American male students receive an abundance of attention for poor performance, but very little *empirical* explanations into why that is the case or what can be done to mitigate such inadequate performance. This research provides a framework to explore such policy evaluation in that I have conducted systematic, empirical tests of institutional level factors that may be associated with Black male student outcomes.

Further, the implications of this research can be applied to education policy. For example, the NCLB Act requires accountability for racial disparities, but it does not consider the intersection with gender. This may lead to many students falling through the cracks. Additionally, special education placement is often regulated so schools do not have a large pool of students not taking the standardized assessment. The racial or gender composition in those courses is unregulated, which means there are still incentives to place students that are low performers in such courses. Black male students could be likely to end up in such courses given their low performance. Therefore, accountability standards within schools should be assessed and reported on multiple dimensions. Again, realization of these goals will require a collaborative effort linking research to practice.

### ***Educators***

This research project also has implications for school boards, educational administrators and teachers. Understanding how representation in institutions effect

outcomes should guide hiring practices. This has implications on the recruitment of African American male teachers. Currently, there is a scarcity of African American male teachers in the teaching force. African American male teachers constitute only 2 percent of the teaching force; however there are 16 percent African American students (Aud et al. 2010). Given the findings that Black male teachers assist in decreasing the presence of Black male students in lower educational tracks; the dearth of these teachers in the nation's schools may present a problem for African American males' academic career. To be clear, I do not suggest that intersectional representation is the panacea of Black male students' achievement because many contextual factors influence this. However, the empirical results, in Chapter II and Chapter III suggest that such representation is associated with positive results for students. As such, this research buttresses the argument for the need for diversity within the teaching force.

Increasing diversity in schools may present a problem for educational administrators. Because of the cycle of poor performance of African American males, the pool of applicants for teaching positions may be small. However, recruitment of Black male teachers is not an impossible task. There have been recent efforts in post-secondary education to encourage African American males to pursue a career in education. The "Call Me Mister Program" is an excellent model for other states to employ. This is a collaborative initiative with Clemson University, Benedict College, Claflin University, South Carolina State University and Morris College. The program was established to recruit and train African American male teachers to teach in South Carolina Elementary Schools. Through various workshops, mentoring, and community

engagement, the process hopes to train a strong cadre of African American male teachers to influence students' lives (Cunningham and Watson 2002).

Programs such as these may help change the perception of teaching among Black males. The bottom line is that teaching in schools does not receive the attention or respect it deserves. Therefore, it is not enough to encourage men to teach once they are in college or high school because these perceptions may have already had an effect on students.<sup>55</sup> Investment into changing the perception of teaching should start at an early age, such as middle school through career development workshops that emphasize the merits of teaching.

The findings that Black male teachers and non-Black male teachers are at times associated with negative outcomes for Black boys warrants further attention as well. While there a variety of other factors that could be driving these findings, it does indicate that something is happening that produces these negative outcomes. One such area of inquiry might address males in the teaching force and how they relate to other male students. These negative outcomes may suggest that male teachers are not aggressively pushing Black males to succeed academically. Additionally, male teachers are a minority in the lower levels of education. Perhaps these teachers cannot have a positive effect on students because there are so many young boys to attend to, yet there are not enough male teachers to address them effectively or form meaningful relationships. Therefore, greater effort should be made to recruit more male teachers and

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<sup>55</sup> However, this becomes a grim cycle because motivation is often garnered by what students see in their immediate environment, and more often than not, the portrayals are not positive for Black males.

offer support for them when they are in schools. While there have been some strides made to recruit male teachers, there has not been an equal push to *support* them while there. There should be professional development initiatives at the district level that focus on the role of the male teacher within schools. Understandably, just getting a male teacher in school is an accomplishment, yet, the stability of such teachers may hinge on the experiences and support they receive.

Finally, schools have the difficult task of educating a diverse range of students. While some works suggest that colorblind and gender neutral strategies work best, this intersectional research suggest that efforts may need to be made to support Black male students through formal mentorship programs with African American males and after-school activities. There are various programs on the post-secondary level aimed at retaining Black men in college, such as the African American Male Initiative at Georgia State University and Texas A & M University. Partnership of these type of organizations with local schools could provide positive representation and role models for these students. The dearth of Black male teachers in schools may at times dampen their influence. Therefore, support from other programs could foster a supportive environment that students need.

### **Conclusion**

Lastly, I conclude with one final insight. There is not “one way” to address an intersectional research endeavor due to the vast intersections of identities. Specifically, the approach I have taken is grounded in the social experiences of African American males in education. This research endeavor pushes the boundaries of political science.

While a critique in the field may contend that an assessment of African American males is too narrow for generalizable theory, I argue that exploration of marginalized groups is like one piece of a mosaic. In essence, studying one group, offers insight into representation and policy as a whole. In like manner, increasing positive public policy outcomes for Black males through representation may increase overall outcomes as the achievement gap will begin to narrow. Therefore, intersectional representation is consequential not only for African American men and other marginalized groups, but for public policy holistically.

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## APPENDIX A

**Table A-1 Logged Odds Ratios: Black Males**

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation
Honors-Science	252	.404	.294
Remedial-Science	245	.991	.526
Special Education-Science	293	.986	.480
Honors-Math	260	.286	.229
Remedial-Math	448	.842	.430
Special Education-Math	383	.925	.432

Table A-1 displays the logged odds ratios. Odds ratios are the odds that an African American male student is assigned to a category divided by the odds that any students will be assigned to that category. A ratio of 1.0 indicates parity in assignments.<sup>56</sup> The results of the logged odds ratios indicate that African American males were assigned to lower tracked courses close to parity with all students. For example, Black males were assigned at .99 percent rate that all students were so assigned. However, the results indicate that for honors courses, Black males were underrepresented. Black males were assigned to honors math at only 29 percent that all students were so assigned.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> I add a one to each variable before taking the log to avoid eliminating cases where the values are equal to zero.

<sup>57</sup> I also estimated the models with logged odds ratios to understand how Black male fare compared to other students. The explanatory power of all the models were very low and only one of the main independent variables was significant in the models. Non-Black male teachers are associated with an increasing the odds of Black male assignment to Special Education math courses.



## APPENDIX B

**Table B-1 Logged Odds Ratios: Black Male Students**

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation
Gifted	1365	<b>.323</b>	.236
Corporal Punishment	261	<b>1.04</b>	.635
Out of School Suspension	2870	<b>1.20</b>	.415
Expulsions	1124	.963	.889
Total Mental Retardation	1431	.983	.586
Mild Retardation	813	.931	.644
Moderate Retardation	747	.753	.688
Emotional Disturbance	1435	<b>1.13</b>	.658
Specific Learning Disability	1442	.989	.292

Table B-1 displays the logged odds ratios. Odds ratios are the odds that an African American male student is assigned to a category divided by the odds that any students will be assigned to that category. A ratio of 1.0 indicates parity in assignments.<sup>58</sup> The results of the logged odds ratios indicate that African American males were assigned to special education to parity with all students. However, the results indicate that for corporal punishment, out of school suspension, and emotional disturbance, Black males were overrepresented. For example, Black boys are overrepresented by 20 percentage points in out of school suspension assignments. Conversely, on the highest academic indicator, Black males were underrepresented. Black males have less access to gifted courses than other students. A ratio of .32 indicates that Black males were underrepresented by 68 percentage points in gifted courses.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> I add a one to each variable before taking the log to avoid eliminating cases where the values are equal to zero.

<sup>59</sup> I also estimated the empirical models with the logged odds ratios. The explanatory power of these models is very low, and the significance of the main independent variables does not alter from the original models.

## APPENDIX C

**Table C-1 Logged Odds Ratios: Black Male Students**

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation
Gifted	4527	.142	.207
Vocational	5065	.397	.286
Special Education	5605	1.52	.547

Table C-1 presents the logged odds ratios for the three indicators of access to educational opportunities, gifted, vocational and special education. Odds ratios are the odds that an African American male student is assigned to a category divided by the odds that any students will be assigned to that category. A ratio of 1.0 indicates parity in assignments.<sup>60</sup> The results show that African American males were assigned to gifted courses at only 14 percent the rate that all students were assigned. African American males were assigned to vocational courses at 39 percent the rate that all students were assigned. Black males were overrepresented in special education courses compared to total students. The ratios show that on the lowest end of the tracking spectrum, Black males are overrepresented, whereas on the highest level of courses, they are vastly underrepresented.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> I add a one to each variable before taking the log to avoid eliminating cases where the values are equal to zero.

<sup>61</sup> I estimated all the models using the logged odds ratios as well. The explanatory power in all the models was very low, and none of the main explanatory variables were statistically significant as well.

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