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Racial context, currency and connections: Black doctoral student and white advisor perspectives on cross-race advising

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In the higher education context of the United States, in which Blacks have had the most significant increase among other ethnic minority groups, this article explores the cross-race advising relationship between Black doctoral students and their White advisors. Through examining congruence in faculty advisors' and their student protégés' perspectives on race, we find: (1) the role of race in context; (2) race as leverage and/or liability; and (3) the importance of same-race connections emerged as important issues: each has implications for doctoral student persistence and retention, faculty development, and graduate advising and mentoring. The implications of these findings extend beyond the US to other international systems of higher education where there is a growing interest in the increased diversity of doctoral students and the cross-cultural or cross-ethnic relationship between student and advisor/supervisor.

Keywords: cross-race advising; doctoral education; US graduate education

Introduction

Obtaining the doctorate is no easy task. Only 1% of people 18 years and older in the United States (US) hold doctoral degrees (US Census, 2003). Of those with doctoral degrees, Blacks¹ comprise only 3.5% of doctoral degree holders (US Census, 2003). Although there has been an increase in the number of Blacks enrolling in US doctoral programs (Cook & Cordova, 2006), doubling between 1994-95 and 2004-05, Nettles and Millett (2006) found that Blacks and Latinas/os have higher attrition rates compared to Asian American, international, and White doctoral students. Similarly, national organizations (e.g., Carnegie Foundation, Lumina Foundation, Southern Regional Education Board, and Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation) have brought greater attention to the need to examine diversity and the PhD. In their report, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation (2005) calls for a thorough examination of programs designed to increase the diversity of students pursuing doctoral degrees. This attention is in response to the low representation (7%) of Black and Hispanic students in doctoral programs compared to significant representation (32%) of Blacks and Hispanics in the US population of doctoral age (Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2005).

Whereas Blacks have the highest level of enrollment, compared to other under-represented ethnic minorities (Cook & Cordova, 2006), but yet a higher rate of attrition (Nettles & Millett, 2006), a greater examination of Black doctoral student

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experiences is warranted. Although there have been some studies that examine Black doctoral students and White faculty perspectives (Gasman, Gerstl-Pepin, Anderson-Thompkins, Rasheed, & Hathaway, 2004), there is a lack of in-depth research on the cross-race advising relationship from dual perspectives.

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of race in cross-race advising relationships between White faculty advisors and their Black doctoral student protégés at an American institution in the South. Higher education of Blacks in the American South has a unique history of racial segregation and cross-race tension (Anderson, 1988, 2003; Watkins, 2001). The history of race and education in the South is one of exclusivity, racism, and interest-convergence (Altbach, Lomotey, & Rivers, 2002). To study the phenomenon of cross-race advising in doctoral education, I posed the following research question: How does race impact the advising relationship between Black doctoral student protégés and their White faculty advisors?

Literature and theoretical frameworks

The literature on the phenomenon of cross-race doctoral advising can be organised into three overarching themes: (a) doctoral education and advising; (b) the experiences of doctoral students of color; and c) White faculty considerations.

Doctoral education and advising

US doctoral education presents a unique set of academic requirements, milestones, and cultural cues that may be ambiguously communicated or understated. Completing the doctorate consists of a system of complex social and academic integration processes (Gardner & Barnes, 2007; Golde, 2005; Lovitts, 2001; Tinto, 1975) with 'common' milestones, which Walker, Golde, Jones, Bueschel, and Hutchings (2008) identified as 'course taking, comprehensive exams, approval of the dissertation prospectus, the research and writing of the dissertation, and the final oral defense' (p. 10). Completing coursework is a prerequisite that is more common in the US than in the UK, Australia or New Zealand where coursework is not usually required prior to conducting research (Green & Macauley, 2007; Lovitts, 2001). However, both American and international systems of doctoral education emphasise the faculty-student advising (or supervising) relationship (Green & Macauley), which is described as the most critical aspect of the doctoral process (Gardner, 2007; Green & Macauley, 2007).

In Chun-Mei, Golde, and McCormick's (2007) study, one student passionately described the student-advisor relationship as this:

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the student-advisor relationship. One cannot be too careful about choosing an advisor. This is both a personal and professional relationship that rivals marriage and parenthood in its complexity, variety and ramifications for the rest of one's life. (p. 263)

Cultural dynamics of advising are becoming more salient as graduate schools and doctoral education become more diversified and diversity is seen as an asset in the greater workforce (Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2005). Despite this growing diversity, there is a lack of studies that include an analysis

combining faculty-student advising relationship, dual perspectives, and the role of race.

Experiences of Black doctoral students

The growing body of literature supports the notion that Black students in US higher education have unique experiences that differ from other students of color and White students (Allen et al., 2003; Davidson & Foster-Johnson, 2001; Fleming, 1984; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Jones, 2001). Although some of the experiences are consistent for undergraduate, masters, and doctoral students, there are experiences that are specific to graduate students in general (Austin, 2002; Gardner, 2008; Gardner & Barnes, 2007; Golde, 2005; Golde & Dore, 2001; Lovitts, 2001; Nettles & Millett, 2006; Tinto, 1993) and doctoral students in particular (Anderson-Thompkins, Gasman, Gerstl-Pepin, Hathaway, & Rasheed, 2004; Gasman et al., 2004; Holland, 1993; Jones, 2000; Mabokela & Green, 2000; Milner, 2004; Nettles, 1990; Rogers & Molina, 2006; Willie, Grady, & Hope, 1991; Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2005).

The racial climate for Black graduate or doctoral students may be a reflection of the student's interaction with the institution (Clark & Garza, 1994), department (Davidson & Foster-Johnson, 2001), and individuals (i.e., faculty and other students) (Milner, 2004). According to Nettles (1990), Black doctoral students report a greater sense of racial discrimination than Latino/a and White doctoral students. Robinson (1999) found that doctoral students in predominantly White settings sometimes felt a sense of 'social estrangement and sociocultural alienation' (p. 124); doctoral students have also reported feeling invisible (1997), isolated (2004), and undervalued (Milner, 2004). These instances lead to Black students feeling as if they must over-perform (Bonilla, Pickron, & Tatum, 1994; Milner, 2004) or that their work quality is less than the work quality of Whites (Bonilla et al.), creating a sense of academic vulnerability.

White faculty considerations

Although working across race has the benefit of providing faculty with increased cultural exposure (Thomas, Willis, & Davis, 2007), there are key issues that impact the ways in which it happens. Thomas and colleagues posited that faculty members of majority groups (such as White faculty in predominantly White institutions (PWI)) may not have an understanding of the 'educational and non-academic experiences' of ethnic minority graduate students or lack 'experience in working in diverse contexts' (2007, p. 183), an issue raised in the literature on White privilege. McIntosh (2001) defined White privilege as 'an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks' inherited by Whites (p. 78). Similarly, Wise (2008) posited that 'to be White is to be born with certain advantages and privileges that have been generally inaccessible to others' (p. 17). Thomas and colleagues also found that White faculty working across race exhibited cultural anxiety, which could prevent them from providing feedback for fear of culturally offending the student. In this sense, cultural anxiety may be a result of White faculty working through their own racial identity. Additionally, faculty may not have the expertise on race as subject matter when working with students of color who

are studying race. Unfortunately, regardless of research interests, faculty may also be more inclined to choose a protégé that reminds the faculty member of himself or herself (Thomas et al., 2007).

The apprentice mode of research student's learning from faculty has served as a model for graduate education for many years (Gruber, 1975). Because advisors play an important role in the doctoral student's experience and persistence (Lovitts, 2001), and race of student and advisor may further impact the doctoral student's experience and persistence (Nettles, 1990; Patterson-Stewart, Ritchie, & Sanders, 1997), a deeper understanding of the intersection of doctoral student advising and race is needed. To bring greater attention to this dynamic, I examined the cross-race relationship between White faculty advisors and their Black doctoral student protégés.

Theoretical frameworks

The first overlapping frameworks, Tinto's (1993) and Lovitts' (2001) theories of doctoral student persistence, provide a lens for contextualizing the doctoral student experience, emphasizing how the student's personal background and other experiences impact the faculty-student relationship and overall persistence. The second framework, Goto's (1997) adaption of Triandis' (1992) cross-cultural interaction conceptual model, provides a lens through which to understand the ways that people of different cultures process cultural differences in order to interact across those differences. In this work I bring these theories to bear at the point where advisor and student interaction is most prevalent: after coursework and before completion. Critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and understanding whiteness as a property – i.e. as 'a right, not a thing' (Harris, 1995, p. 1725) – provided other lenses through which I sought to better understand the racialised contextual influences and the personal, cultural perspectives of both faculty and student.

Methods and data sources

To study cross-race advising in doctoral education, I posed the question: How does race impact the advising relationship between Black doctoral student protégés and their White faculty advisors at an American University? To gather and interpret the data, I used a qualitative phenomenological method: Patton (2002) identified one central theme and purpose of phenomenology: 'a focus on exploring how human beings make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning' (p. 104).

The sample included Black doctoral students at one research-extensive (McCormick, 2001) PWI in the American South. Student participants had completed at least two years of coursework, identified as Black or African American, had a White faculty advisor, and attended the institution. Compared to students just beginning their program, students who have completed at least half of their coursework are closer to working with faculty along the doctoral education stages of persistence (Lovitts, 2001; Tinto, 1993). Faculty participants were doctoral student advisors who identified as White or Caucasian, advised a Black doctoral student, and were employed at the institution. Both faculty and student participants granted me permission to interview the other. The final sample resulted in eight White faculty members and eight Black doctoral students but only seven complete cross-race pairs for a total of 14 matched participants.

Because disciplines represent their own ‘cultural phenomena’ comprising ‘codes of conduct, sets of values, and distinctive intellectual tasks’ (Becher, 1981, p. 109), and disciplinary practices impact the ways in which students and faculty members interact (Golde, 2005; Lovitts, 2001), I attempted to remain within the broad disciplinary arena of the social sciences and humanities. I interviewed all 14 participants for between 60 and 90 minutes, utilizing a standardised open-ended interview protocol.

To arrive at the analysis presented here, I performed a specific constant comparative method for dual pairs (Boeije, 2002) and phenomenological reduction. I established relevant themes and triangulated data within and between interview groups and pairs using Moustakas’ (1994) phenomenological reduction and bracketing. Additionally, I employed Milner’s (2004) Framework of Researcher Racial and Cultural Positionality, which allowed me to consider my own racial experiences in relation to participants, the participants’ racial positions, and racial saliency and relevance within my study’s context.

Findings

Three constructs emerged as cross-group areas of comparison:² (a) the context of race; (b) race as currency; and (c) the importance of racial connections. An overview of the cross-group comparison is shown in Table 1.

The context of race

For approximately half of the faculty and students, the American South and the history of race relations in America tended to invoke an emotion and shaped the way they viewed American society, institutions, geographic regions, and policies. The American South in this context is representative of the US states that were part of the confederacy, where slavery was highly regarded and there was reluctance towards racial desegregation (e.g., Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas) (Anderson, 1988). Both students and faculty made comparisons between the South and non-South. One example of this phenomenon included a faculty

Table 1. Cross-group comparison grid.

Areas of Comparison	Students	Faculty
Context of Race: <i>There’s a uniqueness of being in the South</i>	Congruence: Students from the North felt the South presented interesting dynamics of race	Congruence: Faculty from the North felt the South presented interesting dynamics of race
Race as Currency: <i>Race is either a liability or leverage</i>	Race is liability: Students felt feelings of isolation and being undervalued and did not identify ‘benefits’ of being Black	Race is both leverage and liability: Faculty felt their students’ race was both an advantage for the academic job market and a liability, as being seen as a ‘diversity hire’
Importance of Racial Connections: <i>Same-race connections are important</i>	Congruence: Students valued same-race peers and mentors who ‘shared’ their experience as a Black doctoral student	Congruence: Faculty felt it was important for students to have same-race mentors

member who commented, 'I spent my graduate career . . . in the North . . . and I think it's been interesting to see how race plays out differently in different places.'

Whereas one student shared:

At [my previous institution in the North], like I said, people . . . you know . . . people [didn't] really like Black people or they [had] problems with racism, but they really just kept to themselves . . . kept their comments to themselves . . . you know, very covert racism. But here, it's more overt. People don't mind expressing their opinion, you know, just by the way people treat you. They're just more out with it.

Another student noted that, of those persons living in the South, there were stark differences between persons who were born and raised in the South versus those who were born in the North or were from another country. Reflecting on the positive interactions with her advisor and connection between geography and racial interactions, this student noted:

So, I think that has a lot to do with my advisor's interactions with me. . .with my advisor not being "from" here versus people that grew up here. I'm not saying they're racist [*referring to people who grew up here*], but you know, I've noticed a lot of differences with people that are from the South versus people that are from the North and like other countries as well.

Faculty and students who were not born and raised in the South found the South, in general, and the state, in particular, to be much more racist compared to their previous, non-southern residency. Both faculty and students had experiences with racism either directed at them (doctoral students) or had observed conversations where racial discrimination was practiced by Whites (faculty and doctoral students). While the participants did not discount that racism existed in the North, they believed that the South and the Deep South presented greater opportunities for racist occurrences and opportunities.

Students and faculty members contended that context played a role in the manifestation of race. Further, they provided examples of how the South carried a unique history of racism and how the history of race emerges in their current lives. The congruent thoughts of both faculty and students suggest that where you study or where you work is influenced by race (Altbach et al., 2002). White faculty advisors and Black doctoral students within a racialised context may bring these experiences and notions to the advising relationship and, for both, these feelings carry the potential to impact their advising relationship.

In order to promote positive cross-race interactions, I suggest that it is extremely important for faculty and students, particularly those who operate in racially complicated contexts, to have a shared understanding of the racial and cultural history of their context. Faculty and students who share a similarly perceived history of race have a greater likelihood of positive cross-cultural interactions (Goto, 1997). Positive interactions would therefore assist faculty and students in forming stronger connections throughout the doctoral student process (Golde, 2005; Guiffrida, 2006; Lovitts, 2001; Tinto, 1993). Furthermore, the history of racial conflict may serve to provide White faculty with historical counter-narratives or perspectives on the racial inequity and racist practices that Blacks in America did and do experience (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Race as currency

Currency in this study referred to social value placed on one's race. Race as currency was categorised as either leverage (a benefit) or liability (a disadvantage). The role of race as leverage was a perspective mostly shared by faculty in comparison to students. Some of the advisors identified their doctoral student's race as an asset when discussing entering the faculty ranks or applying for fellowships. These faculty members held that their doctoral students would have an added advantage because they were Black, in addition to their academic preparedness. Some other faculty, however, saw the race of their doctoral student as a liability to the student. For example, they were concerned that their students would not be taken seriously or would be questioned based on their race. One faculty member reflected:

I guess my fear is that people will not realise how qualified [my doctoral student] is when she gets there [being a faculty member] ... some people will assume off the bat that she got the job because of her race ... and not even bother to look and realise that she's also very qualified and that's why she got the job. And I don't know... the unknown in that ... I don't know how to, I haven't lived that.

Conversely, the doctoral students perceived their race as only a liability and not as benefiting their academic pursuits. One noted:

Because for me, it's more like ... honestly, I feel like I have so much more to prove than a student from a majority race. I feel like there's more eyes on me to see how long it [will] take me to finish, and what my grades were like in school, and what my dissertation [is] going to be like because of stereotypes and things like that.

For most of the students, being Black meant preparing to operate in a predominantly White context, managing negative racial experiences, being a salient object among students and faculty, and feeling the need to outperform their White peers. Experiencing racism and having to prove oneself echoed through the experiences of the doctoral students. These feelings are consistent with the literature on Black doctoral students and the level of racial hyper-surveillance reported by Blacks who operate in predominantly White spaces (Milner, 2004; Milner, Husband, & Jackson, 2002; Patterson-Stewart et al., 1997; Sligh-DeWalt, 2004; Willie et al., 1991; Winkle-Wagner, Johnson, Morelon-Quainoo, & Santiago, 2010).

Between the two groups, faculty members viewed race as both leverage and liability whereas Black doctoral students only discussed race as a liability. There are several possible reasons for these differences. One may be that faculty were void of counter-narratives such as those that might be told by Black faculty and so therefore were only operating through a privileged lens. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) urged educators to rethink the racial history of education and what have been and are the experiences of ethnic minorities. Compounding these White-centered histories is interest convergence (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). These faculty members may be part of departments where interest convergence is dominant – departments bolster diversity not because it is the right thing to do, but because there is a reward for building a diverse department.

Another potential reason for these differing opinions may be that the faculty participants are in a place of privilege and power (Villalpando & Delgado-Bernal, 2003). They have the *option* to promote diversity or be seen as someone who 'pushes' (Gasman, 2010, p. 250) diversity through action or representation; no-one

will see them as diversity hires. In contrast, the Black doctoral student is always the salient object; their skin color eliminates the option of not being seen as a diversity or minority hire. These differing standpoints may have an impact on the overall advising relationship and how faculty direct or advise doctoral students because advisors' perceptions have an influence on the way they interact with students (Lovitts, 2001). Disconnects in philosophies can therefore lead to disconnects in advising.

This finding suggests the need for additional dialogue on racial differences and an understanding of the social pressures faced by Black doctoral students in comparison to their White counterparts. Faculty in the study exhibited some sensitivity to the racist experiences that students may face entering the workplace but they may be unaware of the racial nuances that impact currently-enrolled doctoral students. Further, White faculty should be cognizant of the rhetoric used when describing the potential job market for doctoral students of color, not neglecting the larger institution of racism that their students must face. White faculty members who are more aware of these racial nuances may be better equipped with ways to address their student's feelings. For example, faculty advisors may look for opportunities for their Black doctoral students to engage in research projects in an effort to increase the level of engagement between the Black doctoral student and the faculty advisor, peers, and department; increased engagement may, in turn, decrease the level of isolation or surveillance felt by the student.

Importance of racial connections

Despite the varying value systems placed on race, it was evident that same-race connections were essential. The majority of advisors and students agreed that it was important for Black doctoral students to connect with same-race peers, mentors, or faculty. However, the same-race connection did not have to be the faculty advisor. In fact, the majority of the Black doctoral students did not specify a racial preference for their advisors, particularly if they had some other type of same-race connection. While some faculty felt these connections were critical, others thought they were not an *essential* aspect of the student's experience but, rather, an added benefit. Additionally, gender emerged as an important area of connection, confirming the work of Maher, Ford, and Thompson (2004). For example, one advisor thought:

I would agree 100%... that is key for African-American women to have African-American women mentors... because I see one thing: they have a whole unique perspective and it's key, but I always figure if there's no one else, I'm second best ... but at least, I'm someone who's reaching out. Yeah, I think it's critical that they do.

This faculty member saw the importance of students having a connection to someone of the same race and gender. Furthermore, she considered herself 'second best,' articulating a mentoring, racial hierarchy with the same-race was the best first option. A few faculty members recognised the need for cultural connections as a need for greater diversity among faculty ranks and doctoral students. One faculty member discussed how her student's same-race mentor was often referenced during their conversations and advising meetings. Some faculty expressed the benefits of having diverse faculty for not only Black doctoral students, but also for majority students.

The students noted that having same-race peers or faculty as support was extremely important. For them there was a need to talk with others who understood their experiences as Black doctoral students in a PWI. Tinto's (1993) and Lovitts' (2001) models indicate the importance of peer connections; however, these connections can be enhanced by the cultural factors of the individuals involved (Council of Graduate Schools, 2004, 2009; Gardner, 2010; Johnson-Bailey, Valentine, Cervero, & Bowles, 2009). The students appreciated other students or faculty of color who were able to understand their experiences and validate their feelings. Having a same-race peer to discuss racial issues supports the claim that racism remains a serious issue for universities (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), since Black students found comfort in sharing experiences with other Black students and faculty.

Overall, both faculty and students shared feelings about the importance of same-race connections. Several advisors facilitated the process of doctoral students connecting with same-race mentors or they were open to students having a same-race mentor in addition to the advising relationship. While same-race mentors made sense to the faculty, the faculty members were not familiar with cultural or racial resources that support doctoral students of color. As indicated in the literature (Sligh-DeWalt, 2004), having someone who could share their feelings was important for Black doctoral students.

While the students responded that their advisor's race was not a major factor in advisor selection, they commented it was essential that advisors who worked across race be sensitive to Black doctoral students' needs and experiences. The students in this study valued same-race connections and felt that having this same-race connection was critical to their success.

These findings indicate that while it is important to strive for greater diversity among the faculty ranks and to facilitate the entrance of Black doctoral students into academia, White faculty can still be effective advisors in cross-race relationships. However, the success of having these cross-race relationships relies on the presence of same-race connections in the lives of students. These same-race or cultural connections must be embraced and welcomed by the White faculty advisor. White faculty advisors need to understand and be sensitive to the role these same-race connections serve in understanding the experiences and narratives of Black doctoral students. Further, Black doctoral students must be strategic and intentional about identifying positive mentors and allies, same-race and cross-race, in addition to their advisor. Such mentors and allies can be supportive and, often times, just listen.

Conclusion and implications

From a broader perspective, advising remains ambiguous: it becomes more complex by the interweaving of race and other representations of identities. Importantly, the Black doctoral students and White faculty advisors in this study saw race as an important aspect of the doctoral experience and three major relevant constructs emerged from their interviews. One, racial context, described how both student and faculty understood race relations in response to the context. This find was of particular significance given the location of the study: a public university in the American South, which has a tense history of race relations and racialised segregation and exclusion (Anderson, 1988).

The second construct, racial currency, explored the social value system of race. While many of the students spoke to their race as a liability (e.g., perspectives on being undervalued), advisors saw the student's race as leverage (i.e., being sought after in the job market) as well as liability (i.e., being second-guessed after a job hire). In contrast to their advisors, students did not speak to 'benefits' of being Black. A third construct, same-race connections, included perspectives on the critical role of same-race mentors or faculty in the student's success. Faculty advisors believed that it was important for students to have a same-race network while students felt same-race networks were critical to their success.

These findings suggest that race is still prevalent in doctoral programs regardless of recent social movements (e.g., colorblind ideology) and that it impacts cross-race relationships between White faculty and Black doctoral students. These findings have several implications for both American and other national doctoral education programs. While there are stark differences between American and other doctoral education designs (e.g., American programs include a major coursework and qualifying exam component where Australian doctoral programs focus keenly on the thesis (or dissertation) and coursework is often an option), there are similarities such as a focus on research experience and the close working relationship with the advisor/supervisor who guides the doctoral student through the research process. Therefore, aspects of the implications laid out in this article may be applicable to other national contexts.

One implication is the need for greater professional development for faculty advisors that should begin during the doctoral process and be a lifelong commitment. Scholars in the US and elsewhere have begun to address these needs (Abidin, Ismail, & Ismail, 2011; Council of Graduate Schools, 2004, 2009, 2010; Gardner, 2010; Gardner & Holley, 2011; Golde, 2005; Green & Macauley, 2007; Johnson-Bailey et al., 2009; Kiley & Austin, 2010; McKinley, Grant, Middleton, Irwin, & Williams, 2009; Southern Regional Education Board Doctoral Scholars, 2010; Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2005). Another implication is that advisors must practice culturally-responsible advising principles, understanding and incorporating one's cultural identity into the advising relationship, and understanding the racial and cultural histories and contexts of those involved (Gardner, 2010; Gay, 2000; McKinley et al., 2009).

Considering the physical and cultural limitations of a study that occurred on one American campus in the South, that examined a narrow disciplinary spectrum, that included just seven pairs, and explored the Black-White dichotomy, there are several future areas for research. One area could include increasing the number of pairs and expanding the disciplines to hard sciences: with the growing attention on increasing diversity in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields, research within STEM doctorate programs is timely and needed (Chubin, May, & Babco, 2005). There is also opportunity for future research on cross-race doctoral advising relationships across other scenarios, including but not limited to varying ethnic, institutional, international, and disciplinary combinations of pairs and contexts.

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Notes

1. In this article, I use African American and Black and Caucasian and White interchangeably. Given the unique history of slavery and race relations in the US, the socially constructed terms Black and White are accepted racial labels (Smith, 1992). Furthermore, all previously mentioned terms are categories adopted by the US Census (2010), and referenced in the American Psychological Association (APA) Publication Manual (2010).
2. This data is part of a larger study (Barker, 2010).

Notes on contributor

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