Exploring the Mentoring Relationship among African American Women in Psychology

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Historically, there has been a scarcity of available mentors for African American women in psychology. The diminished presence of African American female psychologists in higher education limits the availability of same-race mentors for African American students, which decreases opportunities for African American students to pursue and succeed in this field, which in turn reduces the number of African Americans pursuing teaching, research, and clinical careers within psychology. We assert that same-race/same-gender mentorship is imperative in increasing the recruitment, retention, and training of African American women in psychology. In this literature review, we seek to address the unique issues related to the mentoring experience among African American women in psychology across three different stages of professional development (i.e., undergraduate, graduate, and faculty). Finally, we provide recommendations for mentors, mentees, and academic organizations in order to foster the growth and presence of African American women psychologists.

Keywords: mentoring, African American, women, psychology training

Introduction
Although in the year 2000, racial/ethnic minorities comprised approximately 30% of the United States (U.S.) population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b), racial/ethnic minorities continue to be largely underrepresented and have unequal access to opportunities in higher education (Ntiri, 2001; Vasquez & Jones, 2006). In 2003, racial/ethnic minorities received 19% of all doctoral degrees awarded in the U.S.; and only 7% of these doctoral degrees awarded went to African Americans (Hoffer, et al., 2004). Given the demographic shifts in the general population, it is in the country’s best interest to increase the academic participation of African Americans, women, and other persons of color across all institutional types (Zamani, 2002). There is an additional shortage of African American women in higher education (Tillman, 2001). In 2009, 7% of college and university faculty were African American, compared to 79% White (i.e., 42% male and 37% female) (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2011). It is assumed that the percentage of African American women faculty is even smaller than 7%. Membership in both marginalized groups (i.e., race and gender) often makes African American women invisible in colleges and universities (Zamani, 2003).
The percentage of racial/ethnic minorities in the field of psychology is especially low. In 2007-2008, the American Psychological Association’s (APA) Center for Workforce Studies (CWS) reported racial/ethnic minorities made up 13% of total faculty, 19% of recent psychology doctorates, and 13% of the psychology workforce. Although Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) (which the vast majority of students enrolled are racial/ethnic minorities) have been integral in granting baccalaureate degrees to close to 30% of future psychology doctorates (National Science Foundation Division of Science Resources Statistics, 2008), it is unclear how many of those psychology graduates pursue doctorates or careers in psychology. In 2008, approximately 24% of doctoral degrees in psychology were awarded to racial/ethnic minorities, which reflects an increase of almost 10% in one decade (National Science Board, 2008). African American women, however, earned only about 5% of psychology doctoral degrees granted in 2008 (Hoffer, et al., 2004). It is presumed that even less than 5% of the African American women who earned a psychology doctoral degree in 2008 pursued positions in academia.

In response to the underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minorities in the field of psychology, the APA assembled the Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology in 1994 to assist graduate and professional training programs with strategies and materials toward increasing enrollment and faculty positions held by racial/ethnic minorities (American Psychological Association, 1997). Among the recommendations set forth by the Commission, establishing mentorship programs was identified as an important consideration across all levels of training (i.e., graduate school coursework, research, early career development) (American Psychological Association, 1997). Yet, the most notable program was initiated prior to the Commission’s mandates in 1974, through funding from the National Institutes of Health in collaboration with APA. Specifically, the Minority Fellowship Program (MFP) aimed to increase the number of underrepresented racial/ethnic minority groups conducting mental health-related research. Between 1974 and 2006, 43% of MFP fellows have been African American (Jones & Austin-Dailey, 2009).

Further, the APA identified model strategies implemented by institutions between 1995 through 2006 for racial/ethnic minority recruitment, retention, and training in higher education (American Psychological Association, 2000). Although mentorship was reported as integral to institutional objectives, specific gender and racial/ethnic considerations were not consistently noted. Although augmenting recruitment and retention of racial/ethnic minority students may subsequently increase the numbers of available racial/ethnic minority faculty mentors, it is unknown whether these initiatives will directly address the mentoring needs of African American women in psychology. Thus, despite ameliorative efforts, the availability of appropriate mentors, a factor represented as important in increasing the recruitment and retention of African American women in psychology, remains insufficient.

It is imperative that efforts are made to address the underrepresentation of African American professionals, particularly African American women, in higher education as well as the field of psychology. The diminished presence of African American faculty limits the availability of same-race mentors for African American students, which decreases opportunities for African American students to pursue and succeed in the psychology field, which in turn reduces the number of African Americans pursuing teaching, research, and clinical careers within psychology. We assert that same-race/same-gender mentorship within psychology is necessary to increase African American women in academia. The current paper seeks to address the unique issues related to the mentoring experience among African American women in psychology. Although the exclusive focus of this article will be on African American women in psychology, similar tenets can (and should) be applied to the importance of same race/same gender mentors for African American males in psychology. We begin this paper with an explanation of the definition and types of mentoring relationships, a review of relevant mentoring theories, and a discussion of the unique mentoring needs of African American women across 3 different stages of training/professional development in psychology (i.e., undergraduate, graduate, and faculty). Finally, we provide mentoring and training recommendations for mentors, mentees, and academic organizations in order to support the recruitment, retention, training, growth and presence of African American women in psychology.

**Definition and Types of Mentoring Relationships**

Mentoring has been defined as a relationship in which a more experienced professional guides, teaches, trains, and offers counsel to a less skilled or experienced student or junior professional (Daniel, 2009; Johnson, 2002). Mentorship may be considered as a transfer of the social resources necessary for professional advancement (Chow & Chan, 2008), a view that suggests that mentoring is a process of instilling individuals with social and professional skills essential to developing and navigating the networks needed for career success while also providing career and psychosocial benefits (Kay & Wallace, 2009). Mentoring relationships can be either formal or informal (Ensher & Murphy, 1997). Within formal mentoring relationships, which are typically short-term and geared toward academic (e.g., a research/teaching advisor during graduate school) and career advancement or employment opportunities, the mentor provides professional knowledge, advisement, and guidance. Formal mentoring relationships have increased within the last decade in the areas of government, corporations, and some education (Ensher & Murphy, 1997). Still, limited attention is paid to how these formal mentoring relationships influence African American women (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Williams, Brewley, Reed, White, & Davis-Haley, 2005).
Informal mentoring occurs when mentors and mentees connect through less structured contexts and serves more of a psychosocial function such as providing (perhaps non work-related) emotional support and guidance. Informal mentoring relationships are typically more long-term and may continue beyond school or work. In some contexts, informal mentoring relationships have been found to result in increased career-related support compared to formal mentoring relationships (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992). Formal mentoring relationships likely provide the social capital needed for career advancement, such as the importance of research to academic and professional goals, while informal mentoring relationships provide the encouragement needed for success (Alfred, 2001; Johnson, 2002). Further, informal mentor relationships may develop due to the scarcity of multiple African American women in academic psychology settings.

**Mentoring Theories**

Mentoring is considered important for success within academia and is an inherent part of the institutional culture, although evidence supporting this perception is limited (Sambunjak, Straus, & Marusic, 2006). The field of psychology has not articulated mechanisms for the scientific process of mentoring (Forehand, 2008). In the absence of a widely accepted mentoring theories or guidelines within the psychology field, the following is a review of relevant mentoring theories for African American women in psychology.

**Feminist models**

Rooted in Feminist Theory, the feminist model of co-mentoring (McGuire & Reger, 2003) replaces the traditional hierarchical model of mentoring, instead focusing on mutual empowerment and learning. In this model, each participant in the co-mentoring relationship serves in the role of teacher and learner and has an equal balance of power with the implicit assumption that both mentor and mentee has value in the relationship. This model attempts to integrate emotion within the experience of the academic professional, values both paid and unpaid work, and emphasizes the importance of cooperative, egalitarian relationships for learning and professional development. McGuire and Reger (2003) argue that given the limitations of traditional mentoring relationships (i.e., hierarchical structure and shortages in availability), feminist theory’s focus on co-mentoring is especially relevant and beneficial for underrepresented groups. However, feminist theory has been criticized for primarily addressing the needs and concerns of middle-class white women, not the welfare of African American women (Zamani, 2003). More specific to the African American experience is that of Black Feminist Thought (BFT) (Hill-Collins, 2000), which has been examined in studies of mentoring relationships among women of color (Johnson-Bailey, 2004; Patton, 2009). Specifically, BFT notes the similar struggles for advancement African American women share with their male and Caucasian women colleagues, while acknowledging the experiences unique to this demographic (Hill-Collins, 2000).

**Social network theory**

Social Network Theory (SNT) (Denmark & Klara, 2010) examines mentoring within a career developmental context (Higgins & Kram, 2001). SNT suggests that a single or primary mentor is limiting, and therefore encourages multiple, developmentally-appropriate, and diverse mentoring systems that address the mentee’s needs across phases of their careers. Meaning, the mentee benefits from a “network” of diverse mentoring resources, as opposed to one mentor experience. However, as SNT relates to African American women, there may be limited access to a “network” of mentors due to the shortage of African American mentors in academic settings.

**Identity formation theory**

Identity Formation Theory (IFT) conceptualizes mentor relationships as a socialization process of identity formation. Tenets of IFT have addressed the challenges faced by graduate students when transitioning, developing, and conceptualizing new identities for themselves in academia (Hall & Burns, 2009). In IFT, success in mentoring relationships occurs when the mentee incorporates doctrines and beliefs in their scholarly work that are reflective of their mentors, suggesting similar professional identities. However, despite their inherent qualifications and capabilities, students who reject or are unable to acquire the characteristics of their mentors may experience fewer positive opportunities for advancement as a result of their mentoring relationship. This may be the case for African American women mentees whose mentors may not have professional identities that encompass racial and gender considerations.

**Linear model**

The Linear Model (LM) was developed in response to the dearth of attention in the literature on effective mentoring for women. It underscores the critical role of mentoring in an academic career. A strength of the LM framework is it incorporates both a theory for mentoring and specifics related to the practice of mentoring women within graduate programs in psychology (Williams-Nickelson, 2009). Within LM, mentoring is viewed as a recursive process where specific roles, functions, practices, and guidelines for changing or ending the relationship has been articulated for mentors and mentees (Williams-Nickelson, 2009). Yet, the mentoring needs of African American women within graduate programs in psychology may be different than their non-African American female peers.

The mentoring theories presented above provide an acceptable perspective on conceptualizing successful mentoring for this population. Of the theories discussed, the theory that best explains the mentoring experience of African American women is BTF. However, what is not explicitly reflected in these theories is that the foundation of the mentoring relationship for African American women may be rooted in shared racial/cultural experiences, academic/career development and guidance, psychosocial support and nurturance, and mutual
Mentoring needs among African American Women

Though studies have suggested that racial/ethnic and gender matching within mentor relationships is not significantly predictive of students’ academic and professional outcomes (Campbell & Campbell, 1997), we propose that distinct experiences related to race/ethnicity and/or gender exist that impact the mentor-mentee relationship. Specifically, the “double bind” of being female and African American places African American women at the confluence of two forms of oppression (Zamani, 2003) that can be discussed and addressed within the mentoring relationship. We do not assert that all same-race/same-gender mentoring relationships between African American women in psychology will be effective, worthwhile, and mutually beneficial. Being of a specific race or ethnicity (and/or gender) does not provide de facto competence in a particular domain (Lowe & Davis III, 2010). Jernigan and colleagues (2010) asserted that having a same-race mentor/supervisor does not necessarily guarantee a positive, nurturing, and supportive mentorship relationship; rather, it is the thematic congruence between the mentor-mentee dyad’s racial identity stage (see Cross, 1995 and Helms, 1995 for racial identity theories) which may be more relevant to the relationship. Meaning, the level of Black racial identity development of the mentor and the mentee, rather than racial group membership alone, may have an effect on the quality of the mentoring relationship between African American women in psychology. However, we do contend that the experience of being an African American woman in the U.S., in conjunction with solid training in psychology and the desire to mentor other women of similar backgrounds, provides the opportunity for a unique mentoring relationship than cannot be provided by male mentors or those from another race/ethnicity. Specifically, it is the lived experience as African American women that add the most depth to the same-race/same-gender mentoring relationship. For example, the participants in Patton and Harper’s (2003) qualitative study stated their mentoring relationships with African American women provided not only academic guidance and career advice, but also nurturing, mothering, and “culturally-relevant counsel” (i.e., “understanding the complex intersection of race and gender in the academy and society…and the depth of being an African American woman in their respective areas of study” [p. 71]).

Although mentoring is recognized as a salient factor in academic and career success, scant attention has been given to the mentorship process as it affects African American women (Patton & Harper, 2003; Williams et al., 2005). Research specific to psychology suggests that Caucasian male faculty members can successfully provide academic and professional mentorship to racial/ethnic minority students (Atkinson, Neville, & Casas, 1991). Still, students’ success in higher learning depends not only on academic advisement and professional guidance, and different race/ethnicity and gender mentor-mentee pairings may not adequately meet the unique needs of African American women. Similarities among mentors, including race/ethnicity and gender, may foster effective communication and a trusting relationship that enable the relationship to sustain over time (Lee, 1999). For example, African American students attending HBCUs (who typically employ more racial/ethnic minority faculty than PWIs) viewed their relationships with faculty as more positive than their counterparts attending PWIs (Cokley, 2000). For the most part, institutions that have a mission dedicated to underserved or marginalized groups have a better appreciation for students’ background and needs (Zamani, 2003). Given the aforementioned disparities among racial/ethnic minorities and women in higher learning and faculty positions, and particularly in psychology, the salience of sustaining same-race/same-gender mentorship relationships among African American women in higher education is imperative (Patton, 2009).

The specific mentoring needs for African American women in psychology vary across career and educational levels. The following exemplifies the differing mentoring needs of African American women from faculty, graduate, and undergraduate perspectives.

Faculty

In academic settings, mentoring is primarily informal (Bussey-Jones, et al., 2006). Here, the mentor relationship is a distinct, personal interaction with a more senior faculty member serving as a guide, role model, teacher, or sponsor of a less experienced junior faculty member. The mentor provides knowledge, advice, support, challenge, and counsel in support of the mentee’s pursuit of a higher level faculty/professional position (Clark, Harden, & Johnson, 2000). When compared to their non-mentored peers, mentored junior faculty in academic settings tended to have better research skills, were awarded more grant monies, published more, and had greater career satisfaction (Bussey-Jones, et al., 2006).

Obtaining these benefits may be difficult for African American women faculty. Given the scarcity of African American women in doctoral programs and faculty positions, African American same-race/same-gender mentors are difficult to identify. Thus, the benefits of same-race/same-gender within effective mentoring relationships are often non-existent for the African American female faculty member. Further, there may be an contribution and reciprocal gain in the relationship. For example, experiencing a shared unique perspective or collective identity of being an African American woman in psychology within the mentoring relationship may facilitate a social climate of mutual exchange and learning within the expected roles and practices of both the mentor and mentee.
expectation for African American women in faculty positions to mentor the majority (if not all) African American students while simultaneously maintaining scholarly activities in levels congruent with their non-African American colleagues. Similar to non-African American female faculty, African American women in faculty positions encounter the “glass ceiling” or experience difficulty obtaining promotions (e.g., tenure) or leadership/administrative positions. Further, African American female faculty members often have to combat myths and stereotypes of African American women (e.g., tokenism, unproductive, incompetent, domineering) (Daniel, 2009; Niemann, 2003). As a result, they may feel increased pressure to succeed to prove to those who scrutinize their credibility or underestimate their performance. Finally, they may encounter feelings of alienation and isolation from peers, uncertainty, less support for research interests, and disparities in the workplace or academic environment (Grant & Simmons, 2008; Tillman, 2001). Thomas & Hollenshead (2001) and Niemann (2003) identified these challenges experienced by African American women in academia in their research. In both studies, mentoring emerged as a critical variable (Daniel, 2009).

Graduate students
African American graduate students also have unique mentoring needs. Between 70-85% of first-year doctoral students receive education funding in the form of research or teaching (American Psychological Association Center for Workforce Studies, 2009). Based on these numbers, it is likely that an African American female graduate student will serve as a mentor to other African American graduate or undergraduate psychology students during her teaching or research responsibilities. However, it is unknown if the graduate students own mentoring needs can be met. Although the majority of African American graduate students obtain doctoral degrees at HBCUs (Hoffer, et al., 2004) where finding African American faculty is likely greater than at a PWI, the opportunity for identifying a same-race/same-gender mentor for an African American female graduate student may be quite rare.

The formal relationship between the African American female graduate student and her faculty advisor(s) may include involvement in research projects, presentations and publications, guidance on dissertation, and accessing additional funding sources. Although this relationship could lead to academic/career advancement and opportunities, it may not satisfy the student’s needs for guidance, counsel, or moral support. Further, although the relationship may have been created due to similar research interests or expertise, the African American female graduate student may fail to feel that she can freely relate without their interaction affecting evaluations of her professional performance. Thus, a need to develop informal mentor relationships outside of the faculty advisor-student relationship, the department, or even the university may be required.

As African American women graduate students continue their professional development, they may seek peer or hierarchical mentorship relationships to navigate their career trajectory. During this transition, mentorship may focus on social support and relational factors, but also emphasize issues relevant to career advancement and collaboration. As a result, mentors and mentees may partner on scholarly activities. Further, the likelihood of women participating in careers that emphasize scientific research in psychology is largely contingent on the presence of a female research mentor during graduate school (Dohm & Cummings, 2002).

Undergraduate students
The importance of mentoring to African American women’s career development in higher education has been investigated generally (Crawford & Smith, 2005), but not specifically during the undergraduate years. More attention has been paid to the mentoring needs at the faculty and graduate level. For African American women, most mentoring relationships exist during professional careers rather than undergraduate or graduate years (Howard-Vital & Morgan, 1993). However, establishing early mentoring relationships during the undergraduate years may lead to the most successful outcomes for African American female psychology students. Early mentorship may increase retention, the probability of degree completion, meet the mentee’s psychosocial needs, and may also positively affect interest in and the pursuit of professional development and career advancement in psychology.

Some data have shown a trend in which higher rates of mentoring relationships were found among African American undergraduate students attending PWIs than those at HBCUs (Howard-Vital & Morgan, 1993). The distinction could be attributed to a lesser sense of alienation, thus less need for mentoring relationships among students attending HBCUs. Alternatively, more formal matching systems for mentorship programs may exist at PWIs, while in HBCUs, more student or faculty-initiated informal mentorship relationships exist.

Though typically defined to exist during graduate level psychology education, intentional mentors (i.e., mentors belief that mentorship is a component of professional practice) (Johnson, 2002), may also be beneficial to undergraduate African American women in psychology.

Whether at the faculty, graduate, or undergraduate level, same-race/same-gender mentoring relationships between African American women may minimize obstacles faced in the academic environment by providing a safe place for the discussion of sensitive issues and can increase self-efficacy in order to manage these topics more effectively. Given the underrepresentation of African American women in higher education, especially within the field of psychology, same-race/same-gender mentorship relationships at the undergraduate, graduate, and faculty levels seems even more imperative to the success of current and future African American women in psychology.
It is our assertion that the mentoring process for African American women in psychology must occur earlier in the career development process. Specifically, it must begin during the undergraduate years and continue throughout the pursuit of a graduate degree and long-term career in psychology. The following are recommendations (presented as a progression of needs) for formal mentoring and training programs to increase opportunities for African American women across undergraduate, graduate, and faculty levels:

**Undergraduate Students**
Opportunities for mentorship should begin at the undergraduate level. Structured, formal pairings of faculty with undergraduate students should occur either prior to or during the freshmen year or as early as possible during the undergraduate years. Psychology departments could collaborate with other universities to provide mentoring programs with a race-gender focus for African American women undergraduates. Existing programs such as Minority Access to Research Careers-Career Opportunities in Research (MARC-COR), National Institute of Mental Health- Career Opportunities in Research (NIMH-COR), and the McNair Scholar’s Program, which are undergraduate research training programs for underrepresented groups, could be utilized to create formal and informal mentoring relationships and facilitate interest in scientific psychology fields.

**Graduate Students**
The first step in providing same-race/same-gender mentoring experiences for African American female graduate students should include increased mentoring efforts focused on recruitment, retention, graduation, and promotion of African American women. Graduate programs that have been successful in recruiting and graduating African American students often have a history of maintaining faculty and students of color, utilizing personal contact in their recruiting efforts, engaging students in diversity and multicultural issues (e.g., research, classes), having university and departmental climates that encourage diversity, department commitments to the salience of working with racial/ethnic minority populations and communities, and availability of same-race peer and/or faculty mentors (Chandler, 2010; Rogers & Molina, 2006). African American female graduate students could become peer mentors for undergraduate African American women. Yet, African American female graduate students may have to go beyond their department or discipline to seek mentors for themselves. Graduate programs should acknowledge mentoring efforts through mentoring awards or other types of formal recognition. Graduate teaching/research assistantships should be awarded to provide African American female graduate students financial support and formal research assistance in addition to mentorship from faculty advisors. Additionally, mentors should encourage African American female psychology students to attend conferences and graduate student and/or professional organizations for networking opportunities, and programs should offset the cost of professional organization membership and allocate funds for conference attendance. Lastly, departments should consider hiring their African American female alumni as junior faculty with opportunities for advancement (i.e., promotion, tenure) if this is in line with the graduate’s own career goals.

**Faculty**
Just as universities have transition-to-college programs for freshmen, including programs specifically for students of color, similar formal processes may be needed for African American women transitioning into faculty positions. The development of such programs specifically for African American women is slowly emerging. Other professional disciplines (e.g., medicine, government, business, etc.) have successfully created formal mentorship programs targeting faculty members. For example, in response to the mentoring needs of women and racial/ethnic minority faculty in medicine, an innovative program known as the Internal Medicine Research Group at Emory (IMeRGE) was developed (Bussey-Jones, et al., 2006) at Emory University. In IMeRGE, faculty members at the same academic level provide peer mentorship to each other. This program serves as a viable alternative or supplement to traditional mentorship programs. Program outcomes show this horizontal peer mentoring strategy is effective for academic advancement as well as fostering stronger collegial relationships within the academic community.

Daniel (2009) discussed a mentoring program specifically designed for early career African American women with an interest in pursuing academic research careers in psychology called “Next Generation.” The objective of the program was to increase the number of tenured African American women faculty members within graduate level psychology departments (Daniel, 2009). The program utilized a same-race/same-gender model and included goals such as reducing isolation, facilitating the mentoring process, and emphasizing self-care. Within this academic mentoring program, success was exhibited through the receipt of federal grant funding awards (e.g., K-awards) by some of the mentees within the program (Daniel, 2009). Programs such as Next Generation highlight the salience of encouraging senior African American women faculty to mentor African American women junior faculty. African American women senior faculty could also serve as mentors to African American staff and administrators. African American faculty organizations may be helpful in creating and utilizing same-race/same-gender mentor relationships for junior faculty; junior faculty should be encouraged to serve on these committees. Additionally, effective mentoring of racial/ethnic minority students should be a part of faculty evaluations, tenure, and promotion (Thomas, Willis, & Davis, 2007).

For the African American female faculty member in a psychology department, intentional mentoring requires a concerted and increased effort of outreach to seek out and make connections with African American women undergraduate
students (Sedlacek, Benjamin, Schlosser, & Sheu, 2007). Faculty members can accomplish this by electing to teach undergraduate courses that may be of particular interest to African American students (e.g., Psychology of the African American Experience, Multicultural Psychology, Psychology and Culture). Further, African American faculty members may recruit undergraduate research assistants from introductory psychology courses. African American undergraduates often view faculty members as instrumental in encouraging them to move beyond their boundaries (Freeman, 2000). More than encouraging the undergraduate to succeed in their classes, the faculty member can introduce and encourage the African American female student to become involved in research experiences and state and national psychology organizations (e.g., American Psychological Association, Psi Chi Honor Society, and local chapters of the Association of Black Psychologists). The faculty member can also provide education and insight into psychology career options.

Finally, and perhaps of most importance, mentoring should be valued at the institutional level (Thomas, et al., 2007). Institutionally-based mentoring programs for faculty should be provided for continuous and sustained professional development support. Whether at the undergraduate, graduate, or faculty level, institutional programs should create formal or informal connections between African American women (i.e., students, professors, alumni) as potential mentors, sponsors, peers and colleagues.

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