BLACKS IN THE MILITARY AND BEYOND

G. L. A. Harris

Evelyn L. Lewis

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This book is dedicated to the past, the present, and the future.
To our great ancestors who paved the treacherous path and on
whose strong backs and broad shoulders we proudly stand.
To those who have served, those who are currently serving, and
those who are still yet to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces.
We honor you!

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Foreword

By Rob Gordon

The military experience courses through the veins of my life experience. I am a third-generation army veteran. My grandfather served during World War II; my father—a Korean and Vietnam War veteran—graduated from the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) and from the Historically Black College and University (HBCU), Virginia State College, and served as an officer for twenty-seven years. I followed with my graduation from West Point culminating in twenty-six years of service with the army and retiring at the rank of colonel in 2006. My brother served as an air force officer for six years. My brother-in-law served in the army before going on to a distinguished career as a senior foreign service officer. Our spouses contributed to the strength of the military community through their leadership, volunteer service, and social efforts. From military brat to ultimately being graced with serving as the U.S. deputy undersecretary of Defense in President Barack Obama's administration, I have been blessed with the challenges and opportunities that the military community has provided me.

Yet, with the summation of my experiences, I knew little of the actual history of the African American experience in the U.S. military, and even less about the social, institutional, behavioral, and economic currents and eddies that shaped that experience within the context of the African American journey. While reading this important book, it didn't take long for me to realize the importance with which Dr. Harris and Dr. Lewis tackled this much needed subject about the role that the military played in the African American experience yesterday, still plays today and will continue to play tomorrow. As two extraordinarily accomplished African American women who have honorably served in the U.S. military, Dr. G. L. A. Harris and Dr. Evelyn L. Lewis bring authentic scholarship to a much needed canvassing of the true

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role that the military has played in creating opportunities as well as in erecting barriers preventing the advancement of African Americans.

Drs. Harris and Lewis begin by telling a story that is familiar to those who know the history of African Americans in the U.S. military, albeit the authors reset the initial date of the story almost hundred years earlier than the traditionally accepted dates when African Americans arrived on the American landscape. As we know, since this country's inception, the military was viewed by Blacks as a pathway from slavery and repression to freedom, self-worth, and eventually to citizenship, yet, that pathway was fraught with disappointments, setbacks, and humiliation. The authors aptly chronicle the ebbs and flows of Blacks' contributions to the wars that have shaped the foundation of America. However, at the onset of their description of this rich history, the authors weave in rare perspectives of historical fact and analytical detail. Consequently, this has not only resulted in important revelations about the nature of the Black experience in the military but for Blacks to secure their freedom and assume their rightful place in the annals of U.S. history. These encounters have proven vital to the success of the country during periods of war and other conflicts.

The authors unearth the stones of the often untold stories of African American women, both as military spouses and women veterans, and their importance in shaping the African American experience in the U.S. military. Moreover, the exceptionality of Black academic institutions like HBCUs is brought to light, both their past and present roles as the incubators of African American talent. Additionally, the authors uncover new ground and connections between things such as the role that noted civil rights activists played in supporting the African American military experience.

Using a very unique and powerful framework of analysis, the authors achieve an important synthesis by showing how a distinctive set of experiences, hallmarks, and institutional norms from slavery, war, and oppression to military opportunities and community strength has resulted in a guarded yet optimistic symbiosis between a people and the military. These marked experiences have ascended as important bulwarks of American life. *Blacks in the Military and Beyond* puts into context the importance of these types of events in shaping the struggle of the African American community to achieve success. One revelation is the degree to which how the military, with its education and training opportunities, can and should invest in preparing African Americans for a changing civilian employment climate and economy following military service.

At the same time, the authors rightly leave the reader to grapple with the mixed nature of this 500-year-old relationship between the U.S. military and African Americans, and ultimately what it means for the future of both communities. Such emergent social, technological, and economic forces then beg

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the following questions about to the degree to which the U.S. military has prepared African Americans for success: hence, what does it all mean for the relationship between African Americans and the military? Have enlistments of Blacks in the military remained the same, or have they increased or decreased? Moreover, what does it all mean for the military to have a ready and able force of African Americans who are prepared to meet the challenges of the future? Read this book to find out. These are important questions, and the answers lie within the readers' grasp as the authors empirically, thoughtfully, and artfully reveal the elements critical to understanding the true nature of the relationship between the U.S. military and the African American community. It is for these reasons that I say "Bravo!" to Drs. Harris and Lewis for providing a "must read" addition to the literature; one that is craving for new voices, key insights, and important revelations about the significant contributions of Blacks to the U.S. military, to America, and indeed to the world.

Rob Gordon
Former U.S. Deputy Undersecretary of Defense, Military Community, and Family Policy (July 2010–July 2012)

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Preface

With the fiftieth anniversary of the March on Washington in August 2013, one of the seminal events of the civil rights movement, it is not only fitting but also timely that we should be launching this project commemorating the achievements of African Americans in the military and how the military has facilitated and/or hindered, in some cases, that progress. It is equally noteworthy that similar pivotal events that are borne of the civil rights movement are also being recognized on how together they have contributed in shaping the development of race relations in the United States, particularly for African Americans. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave attribution to an accidental successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson, in ending segregation in public places and outlawing employment discrimination based on race, national origin, color, sex, and religion. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was also signed into law by President Johnson forbidding the use of so-called literacy tests in the South to Blacks under the pretext that such tools were necessary to qualify African Americans for the right to vote. During that same year, Executive Order 11246, or affirmative action, was also signed for enforcement by this president. Still, another major legislation, or the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, was signed into law by President Johnson. In many ways, this book embodies such a tribute to those African Americans who have preceded us, those African Americans who are making a difference today, and those African Americans who have yet to come of age but who will undoubtedly make a difference in and to the U.S. military and to the country, for that matter.

We, the authors, emanate from two distinctive frames of reference. One of us is an immigrant, Jamaican born and bred but American adopted; the other one of us is borne of southern American roots. One of us has been educated at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) since emigrating to the United States but all the while yearns to become steeped in all things historically

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black college and university (HBCU); the other was nurtured by this very environment, rich with caring faculty and mentors at an HBCU like Spelman College to produce the wonderful physician that she is today. Yet, what binds us is a shared Black culture in the Americas and specifically within the United States, a culture rife with trials, tribulations, and triumphs that have come to define who we are as a people who were forcibly extricated from the Motherland. Through it all, it is this perseverance and indefatigable fortitude to adapt, time and time again, amid the blatant scourge of racial injustice, bouncing back ever more resolute than before to encounter the perpetual forces of travails still yet to come.

In this book, we are introspective, in taking the time to reflect once again upon how far we have come in the United States, while pondering how much further we must still sojourner in the quest for equality. The recent unjustifiable shootings of men, women, and even children of African descent, specifically those who are African, African American, and West Indian, for example, and in broad daylight nonetheless, together with the constant strife of enduring such modern-day debasements as racial profiling, be it "stop and frisk" or as simply purported to either being singled out because of one's skin color in that one does not belong in a particular locale or meets the description of someone who has allegedly committed a crime, all strike us as profound illustrations that as a people, and again at least in the United States, we are still no closer to the promised land despite what we have already paid dearly in both blood and treasure. This is disturbing. Yet, we dare to lose sight of keeping our eyes on the prize by celebrating just how far we have come and everything that we have achieved in the process even as these periodic hiccups confound and question our sense of actual progress. Still, we soldier on.

As two veterans of the U.S. military, one Air Force, the other Navy, sisters in arms, if you will, we also embark upon a retrospective approach to determine that, given the gains we have made in this country as a people in light of our military service, where are we today, how and if these gains have been realized as leverage within the civilian sector and what challenges lie ahead granted the current state of affairs in Black America. We believe that there is a noticeable dearth in the current literature that has yet to compare the cumulative effects for Blacks within the civilian sector after serving in the military. To this end, we will assess the pre-service, in-service, and post-service gains, for Blacks, if any. As such, we have thoroughly combed through the extant literature in helping us to deduce informed conclusions about this demographic group's standing.

This book is divided into three distinct segments. Part I symbolizes an overview of yesterday's struggles and the treacherous and then seemingly insurmountable waters through which our ancestors were forced to navigate in paving the opportunities for present and future generations. We examine the

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repeated trials for legitimacy endured, the tribulations suffered, and in the face of intransigent obstacles, the tributes that prevailed and for which we were finally acknowledged. Yet, much of this ourstory (her/history) is identified by and for the promotion of Black men on the backs of Black women who forgo their own aspirations for the sake of the race with hopes that in the process, they too, will reap the benefits of the collective struggle. Thus, Black women have played a pivotal role in advancing the cause, for without them, the Black man's path to legitimacy, and indeed Black people's standing in America, would have been doomed. The contributions of Black women both inside and outside of the military will therefore be chronicled as well. Too, HBCUs have functioned as places of human and social capital, a major source on which the military has consistently relied for its bevy of Black talent for especially the commissioned corps.

Part II analyzes, that inasmuch of today's realities, how have Blacks fared by translating these gains into the civilian sector having served in the military. We explore the Black middle class in the process and the overall access to economic wealth; the once illegal but still controversial policy of Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue in how it plays out within the Black community; whether or not affirmative action has actually leveled the playing field for Blacks, particularly in higher education; and if the attributes of military service that are revered by especially White America have advantaged Blacks within the civilian sector toward their entrepreneurial pursuits.

Finally, in light of the aforementioned, we conclude with Part III that looks at the promises and challenges of the future in view of the changing economics of military service where drawing down the forces has become a fact of life; whether or not the military can serve as an employer of choice for African Americans; and the prospects that HBCUs will continue to remain a reliable pipeline for the best and brightest African Americans that this country has to offer, particularly with regard to their ability to increase the number of Black Americans who pursue the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) disciplines in order to contribute to a competitive workforce globally. In exploring this domain, we analyze the fertile but often unearth and worse yet unacknowledged inventions and innovations that African Americans have contributed to this country and to the world but are nowhere a systematic presence in American society or infused into its public education system. We believe that this absence fundamentally deprives all Americans of the full panoply of the rich tapestry that is their ourstory to be celebrated. This is equally true in the anemic reflection of African Americans who pursue the STEM careers in the military. Yet, despite these deliberate slights, we still believe that when all is said and done, it will be the symbiotic relationship and the returns on the investments derived by both African Americans and the military that will each determine the bases for continuing this already long-standing relationship. For this reason, we remain hopeful.

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Part I

YESTERDAY'S STRUGGLES

There has never been a time in the ourstory of the United States, including as of the writing of this book, when African Americans have not faced the insurmountable burden of fighting for legitimacy. This perilous journey from the early days of Estebanico "Estevan" Dorantes and his compatriots from Cuba has never been one without a fight. Even so, the sheer will and intestinal fortitude of those who came before us are all the more remarkable when judged against the collective struggles of a people who were forcibly extricated from the Old World of the African continent to the New World for the sole purpose of wholesale enslavement and the economic benefit of another group, yet who managed to not only survive but also thrived under the most inhumane of circumstances.

Part I of this book chronicles the first several hundred years for African Americans under siege in the new American Republic when they were primarily used as a convenient commodity, if White men became a scarce resource during a time of war, when it suited the White populace. To arm Blacks at the time was considered tantamount to a credible threat to and by the White establishment. Many would argue that in light of recent incidents concerning the White police and African Americans, the same convoluted societal assertions still prevail today. Yet African Americans have steadfastly used such limited opportunities when they were offered in the belief that military service was uni-dimensionally the means to an end—to gain citizenship, respect, and acceptance as individuals. This section highlights the long road traveled to integration into the military, the harnessing of the role of Black women in the fight toward equality, and the military's gradual but ultimate recognition of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) as a repository for American talent.

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Chapter 1

Trials, Tribulations, and Tributes

TRIALS

Unlike any other group in American society, the struggle for legitimacy through the military for African Americans was particularly contentious (Evans 2003; Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004). The assimilation of Native Americans and Asians, while difficult, was more easily achieved (Evans). Yet, African Americans have been serving in the American military since colonial times from 1528 through 1774 (Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute [DEOMI] 2002; Segal and Wechsler Segal) and have fought with distinction in every war since (Nalty 1986; Burk 1995). Most ourstory books inaccurately point out that Blacks first came to the shores of the United States as slaves by way of Jamestown in 1619 (Department of Defense [DoD] 1985; Nalty) when nothing could be further from the truth. Blacks found their way to the United States in 1528 with the first known arrival of Estabanico (Estevan) Dorantes, a slave from Cuba, who in 1528 was part of an expedition en route to the Rio Grande. The expedition was plagued by storms that forced the 400-man party to what is now Florida's West Coast, although some stayed aboard the vessel with their eyes keen on the Rio Grande. After seven long years of travel and disaster, the now-reduced land crew, including Estabanico, was rescued in northern Mexico and taken to Mexico City. There, they detailed their adventures to the viceroy of Mexico, who authorized Estabanico to lead an expedition to continue exploring further north.

Estabanico finally reached the southwestern part of what is now the United States where he was reportedly killed for disrespecting a Native American Indian tribe (DoD). But, with the early arrivals of the colonialists, they soon considered the Native Americans who were there before them a threat to the security of their citizens. Armed militias, which included slaves, were formed

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and authorized for this defense as early as 1607. According to Nalty, this tenuous position in which the slaves found themselves, that is, one of involuntary servitude, was such that the promise of military service seemed more palatable. And, as invidious as it may sound, the White colonialists used the perceived controllable slaves as a counterbalance to the perceived uncontrollable Native Americans, although there were isolated incidents of skirmishes by slaves (Nalty; DoD; Burk).

But, in 1639, Virginia became the first colony to ban slaves from military service in order to prevent them from being supplied with military gear in the way of arms and ammunitions (Nalty; Burk). Yet, the colonists were quick to flout their own laws for security sake, as slaves were promised their freedom if they fought on behalf of their owners (Burk). These experiences varied from colony to colony. For instance, more likely than not, the colonies in the north and central regions allowed free Blacks to enlist in the militia, while those to the south, in light of the large slave population combined with the preoccupation that slaves may revolt, were more restrictive (DoD). But, again, during emergencies, exceptions were made for Blacks to serve in the military.

As early as this period, African Americans equated the right to fight even as slaves with that of the attainment of citizenship as Americans (Burk). South Carolina promised any slave his freedom but with two caveats: First, that one must produce an enemy who was captured or killed in battle; and second, that proof must be ascertained by a White person who had witnessed the act. Proving the second, of course, was even more remote, if not impossible, than the first. Yet, despite their exemplary service from 1528 to 1774, free Blacks were perceived as tantamount to slaves and were thus treated in kind (DoD). And most likely because of their increase in population, Blacks were barred from serving in the military during peacetime. When they did serve, their roles were limited to those of support, although some were allowed to serve in combat units.

Not much changed during the American Revolution (1775–1783). The British effectively employed the revolutionary era to incentivize Blacks to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown (Burk; Nalty; Weigley 1984), while the Continental army officially excluded Blacks from serving (Weigley). Even so, some 5,000 Blacks, or approximately 2.5 percent of those who served, secured their freedom by fighting against the British (Nalty; Burk). This opportunity came about because General George Washington's army experienced such troop shortages that the Continental Congress instituted the draft to bolster its numbers (DoD). Remember that General Washington had earlier decreed when he assumed command of the Continental army that Negroes, strollers, or vagabonds could be enlisted. To Nalty, the American Revolution "lent credence to the belief, which later would become almost an article of faith among Blacks, that military service in wartime represented a

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path toward freedom and greater postwar opportunity" (p. 18). While some Blacks gave their lives in the war, for the few African Americans who won their freedom or received land grants, joining the military was well worth the sacrifice (DoD). They were under no illusion, however, that once hostilities ceased they would be dubbed as patriotic and freed by their masters as a result (Burk). For the majority who survived, racism aside, their service to the military and by extension to the country should have sufficed. Instead, they were returned to enslavement and, worse yet, duped and dishonored by fellow White American citizens (Sklar 1991).

Unfortunately, the treatment during the War of 1812 brought more of the same humiliation. An act by Congress in 1798 barred any Black, freed, or enslaved from serving in the military, which was reinforced six years later with the creation of the Marines Corps (DoD). Ironically, an atypical circumstance in the South was revealed by the 1803 U.S. purchase of Louisiana from France that only served to expose the depth of racism in America. Part of the purchase included the acquisition of an all-Black militia of free men who were acknowledged under both Spain and France when they held the territory. But following much deliberation, when all was said and done, the United States, and specifically the South, reared its ugly racist head yet again in its refusal to recognize this militia because its men were armed. So the unit was forced to disband and reform in another manifestation of itself, this time with a new White commanding officer and three Black lieutenants as immediate subordinates. Nevertheless, the unit did not witness combat until twelve years later in 1815 (DoD).

Although New York and other northern colonies followed suit in enlisting Blacks in the military, and without the caveat of freedom at the end of service, the exemplary performance of slaves and free Blacks during the War of 1812 repeatedly demonstrated their commitment to the cause. Unfortunately, the crushing defeat of the British, especially in the South, unmasked the betrayal of trust once again, producing much of the same results (DoD; Burk; Weigley; Nalty). In fact, despite the resounding defeat of the British, the roles played by Blacks were unashamedly ignored, even though the defeat was impossible without their participation (DoD). It is interesting though, that, for example, many New Yorkers believed Blacks to be unqualified for duty and certainly unfit in character to become citizens, yet Blacks were called to fight whenever there was a shortage of White men or when such need was evident in buttressing the force (Sklar). Unfortunately, what the war engendered was the return to a more resolute form of slavery, particularly in the South, where many slaves who had fought for their masters on behalf of the British were reverted to slavery in the Americas or the West Indies, while their American slave masters were remunerated for both their military service and worth as slaves (DoD; Nalty).

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According to Astor (1998), for 175 years, America's reticence to equip the African American with the ability to use lethal force signaled the labor pains of a new nation that claimed to profess the equality of the races. Yet, Blacks were systematically segregated from Whites throughout those 175 years, including fighting in the military. The same structures in the United States that justified inequality in housing, education, and the like also justified racial discrimination along other lines, including serving in the military. And even though from the beginning, Blacks utilized military service as the path to freedom—and ultimately to citizenship—the notion of slaves as citizens dared not enter the U.S. psyche, especially of White Southerners who viewed even free Blacks to be used and interpreted as Whites saw fit (Nieman 1991). As slaves, Blacks were only viewed as property, not people, and they were neither entitled to own property nor could be married. Even if they engaged in such unions as marriage, Blacks could be separated at the whim of their masters. The North Carolina Supreme Court ruled that "the relationship between slaves is essentially different from that of man and wife joined in lawful wedlock . . . with slaves, it may be dissolved . . . by the sale of one or both, depending upon the caprice or necessity of the owners" (Nieman, p. 230).

TRIBULATIONS

Yet, for all of the ordeals endured, and ostensibly the impossibility of overcoming enslavement, Blacks strategically utilized such tumultuous events as wars as the rationale for escaping their conditions. Many sought refuge with the Seminole Indians in Florida (DoD). The British and Spanish each owned segments of Florida and refused to return the runaway slaves to their American masters. Over time, slaves and Seminoles intermarried, creating communities where former slaves served as leaders, counselors, and farmers. Together, Blacks and Seminoles provided the force in Georgia that provoked the first in a series of hostilities between the United States and the Seminoles in an attempt to reclaim runaway slaves. The second war was instigated by the United States with the deliberate goal of installing White communities on Seminole settlements. But what chiefly served to foment such raids was the presence of a Black population that attracted Seminoles, who in turn reinforced one another's resolve to fiercely resist White domination, in this case, by the United States. White Americans were also of the mind-set that Native Americans were savages and, therefore, like slaves, should not be armed (DEOMI). The Seminole Wars lasted from 1816 through 1842 (DoD), although other sources point to the duration as 1866 through 1892 (DEOMI), whereby the prohibition and service of Blacks in the military would have been all but forgotten had it not been for John Greenlief Whittier and noted

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Black ourstorian William Nell. Their works in 1847 and 1851, respectively, highlight the distinguished performance of African Americans and how the United States utilized Blacks without recognition, using them as a convenient resource when it served the nation's interests (DoD). Nell's work in particular, fell on deaf ears with his 1855 publication about Blacks' participation during the Revolutionary era and the War of 1812 (in Nalty, based on Nell's 1855 book, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*).

It was not until the American Civil War, or between 1861 and 1865, that Blacks' military service began to be recognized (DoD; Burk; Leckie and Leckie 2003)—well sort of, for admittedly at the outset, Blacks were deliberately excluded from enlistment in the Union Army (Binkin, Eiterberg, Schexnider, and Smith 1982). It was President Abraham Lincoln's intention—to secure the acquiescence of border states like Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland—to never make the war about abolishing slavery but first and foremost about preservation of the Union (Binkin et al.; Nalty; Astor). The noted abolitionist Frederick Douglass said,

> The black man deserves the right to vote for what he has done, to aid in suppressing the rebellion both by fighting and asserting the Federal soldier wherever he was found. . . . If he knows enough to soldier a musket and to fight for the flag, fight for the government, he knows enough to vote. (Sklar, p. 52)

The scarcity of White male volunteers convinced the Union army, albeit illegally, to enlist already formed Black regiments for the war effort (Binkin et al.). And despite Whittier and Nell's work in underscoring the performance of Black participation during previous wars, it took the work of others and the lackluster response of White men who were recruited to convince President Lincoln and Congress to call for the revocation of laws barring Blacks from serving in the military, although they could do so only in support roles as laborers, not as soldiers (DoD). Congress established the Bureau of Colored Troops for this purpose.

Still, as was true in the past, Black men continued to demonstrate their patriotism by donning the Union blue (Leckie and Leckie). They nevertheless experienced the curse of racism even as they fought for their ungrateful country (Leckie and Leckie; DoD). For example, Black soldiers in the Union army were routinely compensated two-thirds that of White soldiers and with far fewer bonuses (Leckie and Leckie). One result of this lack of compensation was that the men of the 54th Massachusetts regiment blatantly protested by foregoing a salary for one year until the situation was rectified (DoD), but which occurred only when the complaint reached the office of the president. Others threatened resignation from military service if they were not remunerated equitably as the White soldiers (Nalty).

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Yet, it was not until after several Black regiments were accused of mutiny by their White commanding officers in their outright refusal to work did the situation result in the numerous deaths and imprisonment of Black troops. Accordingly, the Black troops were willing to risk life and limb for, after all, like the White men, they also had families to support on the pittance of pay, and they rationalized that accepting a lower pay was tantamount to racial discrimination. Although Congress invocated the law for equitable relief, President Lincoln did not move to act on Black soldiers' behalf. What the president did do though was to institute the first federal draft that not only delivered an incentive for enlisting into the military but also provided bonuses (Nalty; Astor; L. Harris 2003). Quite incidentally, there was a movement afoot in New York at the time to advocate legislation for bringing freedom to the southern slaves (L. Harris). Regrettably, such sentiments, viewed largely as an antislavery movement coupled with the perceived status of the poor White population, did not sit well with poor Whites in New York City. They saw the Black man's plight as usurping their own, which resulted in a riot in New York City with Black residents serving as scapegoats. Few Black neighborhoods in New York were spared.

In September 1862, President Lincoln announced that if the southern states failed to free the slaves by January 1, 1863, the legislation in the form of the Emancipation Proclamation would take effect thereby declaring liberty to all slaves (Nalty; Astor; L. Harris). He went as far as to proclaim that Blacks, now as free slaves, could be enlisted into the armed forces provided that they met the conditions for doing so (Astor). The Emancipation Proclamation was hailed as the most important legislation, verification that, at least in part, the American Civil War was being fought as an antislavery movement (L. Harris). Frederick Douglass employed his superior oratory and writing skills to rally Blacks to the call for action by the Lincoln administration (Astor), even though the question of equal pay for Black soldiers in the army had been deliberately sidestepped in light of the now pomp and circumstance of rallying for the Union.

Even so, Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts voiced his displeasure that, at least in his state, African American regiments, the 54th and 55th, were not being equitably remunerated in line with the wages of the White troops. Andrew traveled to Washington, D.C., to personally appeal to the president and his top officials, but all in vain (Astor). The War Department was only too eager to contain costs and its war chest at the expense of Black troops. It exploited Black troops by claiming that, like White troops, their patriotism and love of country should transcend the need for any remuneration which could only be achieved when and if the country believed that they were deserving of it (Astor). While in issuing this statement, which was meant not to overshadow the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation, the

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War Department was indeed clueless that it was exposing its hypocrisy by expecting the unquestioned patriotism of Black men on the one hand, yet racially discriminating against them on the other. For unlike White men, it was presumed that Black men's patriotism was undeserving of equal pay and gratitude to.

Unlike the army, the navy had not experienced similar shortages of volunteers. Further, the navy's recruitment of African Americans began earlier, in 1861 (DoD). Many Black men were drawn to the navy because they were banned from the army. By 1862, the navy had registered a total of 30,000 Black sailors out of a total force of 118,000. As has always been the case, Black men viewed the military as a path not only to show their fighting prowess but, more importantly, to demonstrate their abilities as American citizens (Leckie and Leckie).

WELL EARNED BUT UNGRATEFUL TRIBUTES

At the Civil War's end in 1865, more than 186,000 Black men had served in the Union military as part of the Union Colored Troops, and more than 38,000 had paid the ultimate sacrifice (Astor; DoD; Binkin et al.; Nalty). Along with actually serving in the military, many Blacks—men and women—volunteered for spy missions deep within Confederate territory. Most famous among them were Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Elizabeth Bowser, who bravely volunteered to return after escaping servitude to provide intelligence from Confederate president Jefferson Davis's home (Foner 1974). Harriet Tubman, perhaps the most famous escaped slave at the time, and who is most associated with the famous Underground Railroad (Allen 2006), became the first woman in the Civil War to lead an armed assault and once led a 300-man assault team into South Carolina that resulted in the freeing of some 800 slaves (Foner). President Lincoln himself credited those who constituted the U.S. Colored Troops for the Union's victory over the Confederates and in preserving the Union (Binkin et al.). But to the Black troops, and especially for the 38,000 plus Black lives lost for this purpose, victory meant the eradication of slavery and the path to full citizenship (DoD). Esteemed ourstorian John Hope Franklin (See Binkin et al., p. 15) attributes the high casualty rate of Black troops, which was 45 percent higher than that of White troops, to a confluence of problems with compromised equipment, substandard medical care, poor planning in the recruitment and preparation of Black troops, and extreme fatigue experienced, to name a few.

However, truth be told, that even as president, Lincoln was very much a man of the time and in no way possessed the enlightened sentiments of the abolitionists who viewed slavery as inherently immoral. Like most of

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his contemporaries, Lincoln embraced racist attitudes believing in White supremacy and was adamantly opposed to the equality of Blacks (Wallace 2003). Yet, when all was said and done, less so as president and more as commander in chief, Lincoln effectively advanced the case for emancipating the slaves as a way of preserving the Union by couching his argument as one of military necessity (Nieman).

Victory eliminated the structures that supported slavery and even propelled some former slaves to positions of prominence, including those of property owners and leaders in the militia and government, though for others such experiences were short lived (Nalty; Astor). However, the pushback of emancipation resulted not only in violence against these same Black servicemen, as many were murdered in such states as Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina, but also the removal of Black units (Nalty). Said Nalty that the intimidation in the South was nothing short of ruthless (p. 50). And to the North, that is, New York, civilian Blacks became fodder for more violence following Lincoln's announcement for the conscription of all able-bodied males, Black and White, to the cause (L. Harris; Nalty; Astor). Few Black neighborhoods in New York were spared from the backlash.

The Reconstruction years (1867–1877) proved difficult, if not unbearable, for Black troops and only incited increased violence against the Black militias by Southern Whites as the Union seized former Confederate territories (DoD; Nalty; Nieman). Moreover, in the South, Black troops refused to return to the status of servitude (DoD). But Southern Whites, notwithstanding lost economic sources, feared Black independence even more and colluded to keep Blacks subordinated to Whites, in some cases by resorting to violence and murdering Blacks who would not bend to their will (Nieman; Nalty). Still, what the Civil War appeared to have settled, though, was the recurring question and doubt surrounding the Black man's fitness to fight in the military. Multiple testimonials by Whites, including one who said that his prejudices about Black troops in general were so well entrenched that had it not been for his personal observation of their gallantry and performance in battle, those prejudices would not have been dispelled (Astor), belied the stereotypical belief that Blacks were inferior military personnel. The *New York Times* editorial remarked that the conduct of the Black militiamen during the war had essentially erased any doubt about the Black man's fighting prowess (Astor). An assistant secretary of war, who shadowed General Ulysses Grant, said,

> The bravery of the Blacks in the battle at Milliken's Bend completely revolutionized the sentiment of the army with regard to the employment of negro troops. I heard prominent officers who uniformly in private had sneered at the idea of negroes fighting express themselves as heavy in favor of it. (Astor, p. 38)

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These testimonies collectively convinced William Seward, secretary of state, to author an after-action report of the Civil War about the citations of bravery by Black troops. General Nathaniel Banks spoke of the unquestioned gallantry displayed by both officers and troops (Astor). Besides, he continued, their behavior not only met every expectation but was no less than heroic. Ten Blacks secured appointments as general officers (DoD) and one, a Medal of Honor recipient; Christian A. Fleetwood, was one of the few Black men at the time to document this valor in *The Negro as a Soldier*, which includes accounts of this courage during the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War (Astor). Despite these testimonies of courage and fitness for military duty, even following the Reconstruction years, Black people as a race would endure more indignities at the hands of Whites.

It was during hostilities against Native Americans, which these tribes viewed as an infringement on their territories, from 1886 through 1890, that Black soldiers gained their reputation and were aptly named Buffalo Soldiers (DoD; Leckie and Leckie). The Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh regiments, and especially the Ninth and Tenth regiments, traversed the Great Plains, down the Rio Grande, and into the Southwest, mainly in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, and then on into North and South Dakota for twenty-four years (Leckie and Leckie). The Buffalo Soldiers successfully fought off Native American tribes, bootleggers, thugs, Mexican insurgents, and murderers, all the while simultaneously dueling racial discrimination. Of the 370 Medals of Honor conferred during this time, 18 of them were to the Buffalo Soldiers (DoD), although some sources, such as Astor, report that 16 medals were conferred. In fact, the first African American graduate of the army's U.S. Military Academy at West Point, Second Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper, served as the sole Black officer in the Tenth Regiment (Leckie and Leckie; DoD; Astor). However, later, fellow White officers disgraced him by accusing him of embezzlement, an act unbecoming of an officer, and he was roundly discharged (DoD). His record was redeemed on the 100th anniversary of his graduation from West Point in 1977 when a library at the academy was dedicated in his memory and with an honorable discharge from the Army (DoD; Astor).

Lieutenant Flipper recounted in his memoirs, *Colonel Cadet at West Point*, about his fellow White officers who made life a living hell for him while a cadet at the academy (Astor). In reference to these cadets, Flipper went on to describe the debased conduct of many Whites who not only found their origins from the lowest socioeconomic classes and lacked the fundamental elements of education and deportment, including language, but in many respects, also lacked the stature at the time of the so-called common Negro (Astor). If anything, Lieutenant Flipper was emboldened by these sneers as he viewed himself as the consummate model and therefore considered

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this hazing simply a part of the course. Unfazed, he rationalized the need to endure such slights as the ultimate sacrifice. As the title of his memoirs suggests, Lieutenant Flipper clearly considered himself above the standing of his brutish White classmates and retained aspirations to become a senior officer. James H. Conyers, the first African American accepted to the U.S. Naval Academy, followed a no less torturous course, and it continued for those who followed Flipper and Conyers. To the contrary, the intensity of hazing against Blacks in the military academies only increased.

In 1898, the sinking of the *USS Maine*, anchored in Havana, Cuba, led to the Spanish-American War, which an investigation revealed that the incident was precipitated by an accidental detonation (Astor; Nalty; DoD). Two hundred and sixty-six sailors perished, of whom twenty-two were African Americans, primarily serving as cooks and in other menial positions (Nalty; Astor). Yet, this unfortunate incident need not have escalated into war if President William McKinley had only displayed political will. He was remiss in advising Congress of its options, that, indeed, there were ways to spin the tragedy in America's favor to avoid war against Spain (Astor). But the fervor for war among political forces was such that war with Spain was unavoidable. Said Astor, war could become the decisive instrument to unite the nation. And, again, African American men were some of the first to answer to this call to arms as yet another way of demonstrating their patriotism and hopefully, this time, to a grateful nation. In fact, Trooper John E. Lewis of the Tenth Calvary gave voice to what many Blacks already knew and wrote to the editor of the *Illinois Record* in an attempt to appeal to a call to arms by all young Black men to not only defend their country but in so doing can prove themselves as American citizens (Astor).

The Ninth and Tenth Regiments were some of the first units, Black or White, at the tip of the spear (DoD), and Congress activated another ten regiments, of which only four were deployed given the war's abbreviated phase. Most Black regiments were assigned to the Caribbean in the misguided belief that Black soldiers were better acclimated to the tropics than Whites (DEOMI). Still, some Blacks, like Henry M. Turner, senior bishop of the African American Methodist (AME) Episcopal Church, among others, cited the hypocrisy of the United States going abroad and to war, nonetheless, to free the Cubans as the United States itself continued in rampant racism against its own Black citizens (Astor). This short-lived war resulted in few accolades for returning Black soldiers, who uniformly performed well on the front lines (DoD). Moreover, as White Americans welcomed home troops returning from the war, many Black troops once again were met with the despicable face of bigotry as they were attacked and lynched. There was also the story of Commander Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders, who, despite his promise to acknowledge the bravery and patriotism displayed by

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Black troops within his command, following the war, betrayed that promise through false accusations of their cowardice in his writings (DEOMI; Astor; Nalty). His motivation was selfish for the sole purpose of propping up his own reputation in the United States. But, Black veterans, such as Presley Holliday, would not have it. Holliday directly challenged Roosevelt's account publicly and continued even after Roosevelt's death in an effort to vindicate Black soldiers' records on the battlefield and in military service (Astor; DEOMI; Nalty).

More importantly, though, it was believed that the war brought the Negro no closer to being accepted as an equal, much less as an American citizen. If anything, what the Spanish-American War and serving overseas revealed was the depth and transferability of racism (Fletcher 1968). The Black soldier was considered no better overseas than in the United States. However, as some of their predecessors had displayed, many Black soldiers, even some from the South, were unwilling to tolerate this height of disrespect once they returned to the United States. When Black veterans in Macon, Georgia, intentionally refused to sit in the Jim Crow trailers that were connected to the rear of the White-sectioned trolleys, a fight ensued and resulted in the shooting to death of three Black veterans (Astor). And, according to C. W. Cordin,

> The hatred of the Georgia cracker for the Negro cannot be explained by pen. In every contemptible way do they show it to all except our soldiers. They are too cowardly to bother them to any extent. I have not heard one soldier being insulted. Most of the boys who have no gun or revolver borrow one whenever they get a pass to town. Therefore, the white people have learned the boys are prepared for unwanted insults. (Astor, p. 75)

Why? Because African Americans continued to believe that their way forward to legitimacy and, thus, acceptance as American citizens lies with military service.

For African Americans, the period between the late 1800s and the advent of World War I (1914–1918) (DoD) would continue to reflect some of the darkest and most wretched hours yet for the race, particularly for those in the South. While many African Americans in the North, through alliance with the Republican-held enclaves, for instance, fought successfully to end voting discrimination or separate but equal laws in public accommodation, this did not mean that, especially in public, Whites were willing to be seen with Blacks (Nieman). Many White social scientists and biologists of the day effectively advanced their positions and standing by stoking the visceral anger of White racism by declaring the Black race as inferior, lazy, and morally inept to justify White supremacy. While many Whites and Blacks in the North fought hard and won public accommodation laws, giving African

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Americans equal access to restaurants, hotels, and the like, many Blacks did not resort to leverage such laws legally, given the associated expenses, and further failed to patronize many of these public venues simply to avoid open confrontations with Whites. Further, their brothers and sisters in the South were being visibly and brutally oppressed under the regressive and repressive regime and explicit hostile laws of segregation known as Jim Crow (Nieman). Southern Blacks were disenfranchised at every turn, and every part of society robbed from them and denied them the most basic of subsistence for livelihood (Cashman 1991; Nieman), including their very dignity. The lynching of Blacks was commonplace and at an all-time high during this period. So much so that this inhumane treatment prompted Jesse Daniel Ames, head of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, to publicly denounce and voice outrage that such violent acts could only reinforce the already abysmal reputation about the region (Nieman).

An incident in 1906, known as Brownsville Affray, which led to the involvement of President Theodore Roosevelt, would forever be indelibly etched into the minds of former Confederate states and in turn Southern Whites of the logic for not arming Blacks (Binkin et al.; Astor; Nalty). This incident is believed to have sparked a similar but a far more fatal uprising, also in Texas, eleven years later (Binkin et al.). It was alleged that Black soldiers stationed in Brownsville, Texas, instigated a riot under protest against the residents of the town. Because no particular soldiers were identified as the alleged perpetrators, President Theodore Roosevelt ordered, and without due process or verdict of a trial, that three entire Black companies, made up of 167 men, be dishonorably discharged, some who had been career men for 27 years, and including 6 Medal of Honor recipients. These men also had to forfeit pay, benefits, allowances, retirement, and the opportunity to secure any type of federal employment (Fletcher 1974). Only eleven years later, a more violent incursion would break out in Houston, Texas, over the residents' intolerance of the presence of armed Black soldiers in the community, during which time a Black woman was abused (Binkin et al.; Nalty). Reportedly, the reaction to the abuse by the Black soldiers, allegedly the Twenty-fourth Infantry, was swift as they revolted against the White officers, forcibly confiscated and marched through downtown Houston in protest. An altercation between the residents, police, and the Black soldiers erupted, resulting in multiple fatalities and injuries (Binkin et al.). In response, 118 Black soldiers were charged with murder and mutiny by the War Department, of whom 8 received immunity from prosecution for testifying against fellow soldiers. Using the supposed reasoning for the need of a speedy trial but what essentially amounted to a military lynching, thirteen of the men were hanged in secret at the orders of the area commander in an attempt to appease the town's residents and purportedly without either the knowledge or approval of the

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War Department. Six more soldiers were later hung, sixty-three received life imprisonment, and the remainder received prison terms from two years to fifteen years with dishonorable discharges.

But these atrocities against Black soldiers by White citizens to whom, ironically, they were sworn to protect as veterans, whenever or where ever, deliberately locked Blacks out of opportunities in the name of White supremacy (Astor; Nieman; Binkin et al.). This was especially so in the South where they believe that paternalism over Blacks was an inalienable right of Whites, even as Blacks pushed back in some ways against this treatment, and that discrimination and disenfranchisement were unconstitutional. Black life during this period, as before, was abominable. This dire state of affairs for Blacks moved prominent civil rights activist and author W. E. B. Du Bois, in his 1903 outstanding publication, *The Souls of Black Folk*, to not only draw attention to the barbarism against African Americans but also point to the internal angst that Black people experience and wrestle with as a result (Cashman; Pratkanis and Turner 1999) in the desire to be Americans. Yet Blacks, despite their sacrifices, were treated inhumanely. To Du Bois, as outlined in *The Souls of Black Folk*, because of this maltreatment, African Americans had yet to reconcile their two disparate but similar selves (Pratkanis and Turner; G. Harris 2010), for unlike White Americans, Black Americans were perceived as a problem. Regrettably, according to DeGruy (2005), these forces are still at play in African American life today given the effects of post-traumatic slave syndrome (PTSS).

Blacks believed that World War I would usher in a renewed opportunity to once again demonstrate to an ungrateful nation that they were not only up to the challenge for military service but doing so would warrant their recognition as American citizens. To Ambrose (1972), many Black leaders believed that military service was the conduit to achieve these ends. Even though initially Du Bois opposed the war (Cashman), he wrote in the NAACP's publication *The Crisis* that, in essence, Blacks should consider serving in this war as a rallying cry for country by subordinating themselves at this time (Astor; Nalty; Binkin et al.). But other prominent Black leaders of the day, such as A. Philip Randolph, quickly reminded Blacks of the ingrate that America had shown itself to be beginning in 1770, when during slavery, the likes of Crispus Attucks paid the ultimate sacrifice for the country but all for naught as it took another century to officially abolish slavery (Nalty). Moreover, Blacks had fought in every war for the country since and still the results were the same in that Blacks had neither achieved equality nor did the country consider them American citizens (Cashman; Nalty).

During the initial call up for World War I, the military deliberately held in check the number of Blacks allowed to serve (Binkin et al.; Cashman; Astor), even though the Selective Service Act was in effect and allowed Blacks to

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register (DEOMI; Binkin et al.). And it is not surprising that the exclusionary policies of the military for the respective services were so restrictive in their use of Black talent that Blacks were uniformly restricted to the most menial of support roles. The Navy even implied that Blacks not only wanted to serve in these roles but also desired to be separated from White servicemen (Astor). As in the past, Blacks continued to be subjected to an onslaught of degradation, including the few Black commissioned officers serving in the military (DEOMI; Cashman; DoD). Also Blacks were banned from serving in the Marines, Coast Guard, and the Army Air Corps (DEOMI; Nalty).

Take the highest-ranking African American officer at the time, Colonel Charles Young. He was deliberately placed on the army's inactive list, allegedly for high blood pressure (Cashman; DoD; Parker 2009). This was a scheme that the army contrived, as it knew that accelerated promotions were likely during wartime. By its actions, the army ensured that no Black officer would be eligible for promotion to the rank of brigadier general. A promotion of this nature would have put Young at the divisional level where he would be charged with the command of White officers (Parker). Thus, the indignities and humiliation of its Black personnel committed by the military only increased. In one case, the Black officers of the Fifteenth New York Infantry declared that they would take matters into their own hands when Whites in Spartanburg, South Carolina, attacked and beat a fellow Black soldier (Cashman). The War Department responded by immediately sending the unit overseas. While other indignities followed, all Black units still managed to perform well. The 369th Infantry Regiment, nicknamed by the French as "Les Enfants Guerre," won honors from its French commander (Binkin et al.; DoD; DEOMI), who said, "They never lost a prisoner, a trench or a foot of ground during 191 days under fire, longer than any other American unit" (Binkin et al., p. 18).

A record number of Blacks (DoD; Parker; Binkin et al.) to the tune of some 400,000 served in the military during World War I (DoD), although in the most menial of jobs and in segregation given the level of entrenched racism. And despite the premature demise of Colonel Charles Young, then the highest-ranking Black officer in the military, three other Black officers rose to field grades during the war. It is also noteworthy that Eugene Jacque Bullard, the American-born Black who immigrated to France to escape the scourge of racism in the United States, joined the French military and took up pilot training (DoD; Nalty). He won a $1,000 bet with an American White serviceman who declared that Blacks did not possess the necessary attributes to learn how to fly (DoD). Bullard flew multiple combat missions and was recognized for grounding two German planes. Bullard's plane was easily recognizable with the motto inscribed "All Blood Runs Red" (DoD, p. 31). Not surprisingly, despite his achievements, Bullard has almost always remained an unsung hero in American ourstory.

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It would be remiss for us as authors to write a book about Blacks in the military and not take stock of the proactive and concerted action of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which helped to contextualize and galvanize people during these trying times to unequivocally mount their opposition against the appalling conditions of Black American life. In effect, it was the unwavering work of the NAACP—the most prominent of similar groups also bringing pressure—that, as largely a civilian movement, directly or indirectly influenced Black treatment in the military. Founded in New York City in 1909, the NAACP boasted the likes of such prominent Black leaders as W. E. B. Du Bois; suffragist, journalist, anti-lynching crusader; fierce advocate for women, Ida B. Wells; William Monroe Trotter; Mary Church Terrell; Frances Grimké; the descendant of White abolitionists and the grandson of the editor of the *New York Post* William Lloyd Garrison, Oswald Garrison Villard; and Moorfield Storey, a distinguished attorney from Boston who once served as the clerk to Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, an ardent supporter of civil rights (Nieman). The organization's mission was to abolish the disenfranchisement of Blacks, eliminate Jim Crow laws, and argue for Blacks to be endowed with the same rights, freedom, and equality as all other American citizens, much of which the organization skillfully argued, is mandated by the U.S. Constitution (Cashman; Parker; Astor).

Yet, at the conclusion of World War I and in light of especially the additional rights that military service had promised Blacks, W. E. B. Du Bois grew disenchanted with the results of the war (Astor; Cashman; Parker). As before, instead of service in the military bringing to Blacks the credibility and admiration that they had earned, Du Bois discovered that service in the military once again proved as a betrayal to Blacks (Astor; Cashman). In early 1919 while on a trip to Europe for the dual purpose of exploring how Blacks were treated while stationed overseas and as a delegate to represent the interests of others in an effort to forge a peace treaty with several countries on the African continent, Du Bois learned about the deplorable treatment of Blacks by their White compatriots (Astor). Said Du Bois,

> With the Armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches. I heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army. I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them. . . . Everywhere an opportunity presented itself I talked with white officers. In almost every instance, they [Black soldiers] were referred to as cowards, rapists, or other remarks made

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> relative to their work which were absolutely untrue and which were intended to cause a bad impression. (Astor, p. 125)

One of the more regrettable attempts at slandering Black servicemen overseas, in this case in France, came with the accusation of their rampant sexual assaults, a ruthless smear campaign trumped up by Colonel Allen Greer that Black servicemen had inflicted some thirty cases of rape (Astor; Nalty). Disgusted, Du Bois inquired of the mayors of the French villages as to the credence of this information. As suspected, no such violations by Black servicemen had occurred (Astor). Still, the otherwise stellar performance of Black servicemen was not to be recognized by the U.S. Army. This hypocrisy was all the more revealed when the assigned photographer for the Ninety-second Regiment took pains to memorialize the hanging of a Black serviceman, yet two hours later conveniently neglected to capture through photographs the awarding of the Croix de Guerre for two Black soldiers. More humiliating though were the after-action reports concocted by some White Army officers citing dereliction of duty by Black servicemen. These complaints no doubt served to reinforce the notion among White Americans, and in this case the American military that Blacks were not only unfit for military duty but also even less qualified for command.

Meanwhile, back in the United States, the outright war against the Black population only intensified. Essentially, in many ways the times prior to and post-World War I only revealed the deep-seated racism and the squalid conditions under which Blacks were forced to live. Across the nation, the hatred of the Black race was spilled out into the streets (Cashman; Nalty; Astor; Nieman; DoD). Serving in yet another war proved no better for the condition of Black veterans and was painfully so for the remaining Black population (DoD; Cashman; Nalty; Astor). The vengeance against returning Black servicemen, especially in the South, was unspeakable. Estimates ranging from 40 Blacks to 200 Blacks were killed in East St. Louis and another 6,000 more or so were driven from their homes in a race riot in July 1917 (Cashman).The following statement sums up White America's hatred, uttered by a civilian: "You niggers were wondering how you are going to be treated after the war. Well, I'll tell you, you are going to be treated exactly like you were before the war; this is white man's country and we expect to rule it" (DoD, p. 32).

Paradoxically, 1919, the so-called first year of peace post-World War I, witnessed the most brutal period for Blacks since Reconstruction as there were approximately twenty-five race riots around the country (Astor). The number of lynching was on the increase, and the uprising of an emboldened Ku Klux Klan stirred racial hatred (DoD; Astor). This state of affairs for his fellow African Americans so disquieted W. E. B. Du Bois that, unlike before,

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he now encouraged Blacks to not take these brazen acts of disrespect by lying down (Nalty). He said, "They cheat us and mock us; they kill us and slay us; they deride our misery. When we plead for the naked protection of the law . . . , they tell us to 'GO TO HELL!'" (Nalty, citing *The Crisis*, August 1919, p. 179). Du Bois continued, emphatically advising his fellow African Americans, "TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL! And FIGHT! FIGHT! FIGHT! For Freedom" (Nalty, p. 124).

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Chapter 2

Blacks' Official Entry into Military Service

The Long Road Traveled to Integration

A TIME OF MADNESS

Post–World War I African Americans were still living the nightmare that constantly beset them in every walk of life (Nalty 1986; Astor 1998; Cashman 1991). In stark contrast to their White American peers, African American veterans returned home to an unwelcoming climate and a tinderbox of nationwide riots, all in the name of White supremacy. In the words of labor organizer A. Philip Randolph, "Lynching, Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and out, disenfranchisement of millions of black souls in the South—all these things make you cry of making the world safe for democracy a sham, a mockery, a rape of decency, and travesty of common justice" (Cashman, p. 28).

During the summer of 1919, dubbed the Red Summer, in approximately thirty-six cities, riots erupted as racial hostilities intensified, owing to a confluence of factors (Cashman; Nalty; Astor). Prewar conditions caused employers to hire Blacks where ordinarily they would not have given the scarcity of qualified personnel; White servicemen were returning home with the expectation of picking up where they left off with their civilian employers following the war; and Black servicemen were also returning home with like expectations, including the opportunity for better employment having served in the military; and the exodus of Blacks to the North in search of new opportunities and to escape the rancor of racism in the South. All of these factors compounded to increase resentment by Whites against Blacks who now seemed to threaten their livelihood (Cashman; Nalty; Astor; Nieman 1991). Insidiously, to benefit themselves through cost-containment measures, employers pitted one group against the other while slashing wages and benefits, as well as threatening those employees who dared to complain (Nalty).

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But once again, what these experiences reminded African Americans of was that, despite their military service, the path to equality and citizenship was not to be realized.

During this period, the Ku Klux Klan experienced an exponential surge in membership (Nalty; Cashman). Nalty refers to this time as one of madness (p. 127). It was also a time when President Woodrow Wilson, casting himself as an internationalist, believed that Blacks' service in World War I would eventually bring about civil rights, though he failed to be specific as to what form that civil rights would take, as in the quest for equal rights and full citizenship for which Blacks hungered at the time. This level of hypocrisy by the Wilson administration was stark even as the federal government sanctioned the segregation of the federal workforce.

Disillusioned by their postwar treatment, African Americans became indifferent to the military and directed their attention to America's occupation of the West Indian island of Haiti, whose population revolted en masse against French colonizers (Nalty). James Weldon Johnson, a Black lyricist and poet who worked for the Roosevelt and Taft administrations in small capacities as a diplomat, was at the forefront of the criticism about this occupation for two reasons. First, he asserted that the act served to extend America's racism internationally; and in their readiness to impose violence on the Haitian population, the U.S. Marines were trigger happy. This level of racism was more evident when the Haitian prime minister left Port-au-Prince, its capital, for a trip overseas, and the marines played the song "Bye, Bye Blackbird" to commemorate his departure (Gibbs 1984, pp. 331–332). America's occupation of the island lasted until 1934 and the racism of the War Department's officers remained blatant (Nalty).

Meanwhile in the military, and specifically in the army, policymakers grappled with the question of Blacks' future roles in the institution (DEOMI 2002). Many believed that Blacks should neither be placed in combat units nor be commissioned as officers (Patton 1981). Worse yet, intelligence tests administered to Black servicemen reinforced doubts about their suitability for these positions outside of assuming the most menial of support roles since Whites generally performed better on these tests than Blacks did. Most regrettable was that such conclusions formed the basis for their assignments, as it was understood that no amount of environmental change, that is, education, would compensate for the belief of Blacks' apparent deficiencies, one of which included an innate lack of mental aptitude. The focus of this study examined the future of Blacks in the active duty, reserve, and National Guard components of the army (Nalty; Patton). As was evident in the Marine Corps, another study, this time by the Army War College in 1925, titled *The Use of Negro Manpower in War*, after a survey of its White officers, concluded the following (DEOMI):

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> In the process of evolution, the American Negro has not progressed as far as other sub species of the human family. . . . The cranial cavity of the Negro is smaller than Whites. . . . The psychology of the Negro, based on heredity derived from mediocre African ancestors, cultivated by generations of slavery, is one from which we cannot expect to draw leadership material. . . . In general the Negro is jolly, docile, tractable, and lively but with harsh or unkind treatment can become stubborn, sullen and unruly. In physical courage (he) falls well back of Whites. . . . He is most susceptible to "Crowd Psychology." He cannot control himself in fear of danger. . . . He is a rank coward in the dark.

The report then discusses how Blacks have uniformly failed in combat:

> That Negro troops are efficient and dependable only so long as led by capable White Officers. Under Negro officers they have displayed entire inaptitude for modern battle. Their natural racial characteristics, lack of initiative, and tendency to become panic stricken, can only be overcome when they have confidence in their leaders. (p. 10)

The verbiage of the report was more of the same as that in previous studies in that it bolstered already-held stereotypes about Blacks and provided the convenient rationale to not integrate the Black soldier, arm him, or place him in positions of leadership (DEOMI; Astor). To add insult to injury, Charles Ballou evaluated the African American as having an inherent predisposition for obedience as he, the African American, is borne of slavery, allegedly:

> The mass of colored troops distrusted their colored officers. They have been reared under white domination, and to them a *colored* officer was simply a "stuck-up nigger." The Negro officer therefore experiences a certain handicap in the prejudices of his own race as well as in those of the whites. (Astor, p. 129)

The misguided conclusion of these ostensibly data-driven and empirical studies was that Black men could fight and do so effectively but only under the leadership of Whites (DoD 1985; Astor). Further, this was the postwar period and the War Department struggled with how to downsize its most ineffective units (Astor). It turned to the Black units in an effort to keep their numbers in check, and the War Department schemed to ensure that the all-White units were shored up but to the deliberate detriment of the all-Black units. For instance, to buttress the all-White Air Corps, the army resorted to siphoning positions from the all-Black regiments (Nalty; Astor). When the sordid details of this scheme were revealed, both Walter White of the NAACP and Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute vehemently protested the move (Nalty).

Moton personally wrote to President Herbert Hoover to express his displeasure (Astor). Yet, some of the top brass in the army believed that to bring only

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Whites in harm's way would mean placing them at significant risk for death, yet there were no similar risks for Blacks. Here, for the first time, the idea of having Black men in the Air Corps, albeit on a segregated basis, began to emerge (Nalty). The question was whether or not the army could canvas the critical mass of college-educated Blacks as pilots. Major General George van Horn Moseley, General Douglas McArthur's principal assistant, was of the mind-set that such a feat would be impossible (Nalty; Astor). As late as 1939, or six months before the United States entered World War II, the Army stood firm in its objection to integrate the Army Air Corps or to entertain the idea of creating an all-Black unit (DoD; Nalty). During the Great Depression, the War Department was in no mood to increase Black troop levels much less debate about the feasibility of bringing Blacks into the Air Corps (Nalty). In effect, the Army discouraged any such enlistments (Astor). At the time, Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Sr. was the highest-ranking Black officer in the army. The navy had no such mandates despite having the same downsizing pressures as the army.

President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal was also in full swing in an effort to help the poor and unemployed by creating such programs as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) (Astor; Cashman). The policy was designed to recruit youth to the CCC without regard to race, and who would, in turn, be under the supervision of commissioned and noncommissioned officers from the regular army (Astor; Nalty). Still, few such opportunities were afforded to Black youth and were nowhere near the same representation as within the general population due to blatant discrimination (Parker 2009). Then, the highest-ranking Black officer in the army, Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Sr., who was assigned to the army's inspector general's office, made clear that the army's policy was being flouted (Astor; Cashman). For example, of the 10,000 supervisors in the South in the Work Projects Administration (WPA), only 11 were African Americans (Cashman).

GETTING POLITICAL WITH THE ENEMY

Oddly enough, despite the dismal state of affairs, African Americans found President Franklin Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor to be their two most powerful allies since President Lincoln (Cashman; Gibson 2005; Nalty). During the years leading up to World War II, Black leaders not only grew impatient with the Jim Crow system that permeated American society at large but did so in the military as well. During the period of demobilization of the workforce of 81,000 sailors in the Navy, only 441 of them were Black, its lowest level ever (DEOMI). Too, Blacks disproportionately constituted the lowest positions such as mess men, stewards, and fireroom coal passers (Stillman 1968). No Blacks were permitted in the Army Air Corps (Binkin, Eiterberg,

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Schexnider, and Smith 1982; Astor; Nieman; Nalty; Cashman; Gibson). Blacks remained excluded to the Marine Corps despite the opening of some civilian employment (Lanning 1997). Beginning in 1933, the navy commenced the enlistment of Blacks but only from the South, using the rationale that (1) doing so avoided having to recruit any Asians in the event of a war in the Pacific and (2) the armed forces were under the belief that northern Blacks were too educated and spoiled, and their wills could not be easily bent (DEOMI). The southern Black on the other hand was perceived as malleable. In the army, Blacks were not only restricted to certain regiments but also as a way of controlling Black enlistment as they were forced to pay their own expenses with no guarantee of admission at recruiting stations. Black leaders were outraged at this systemic mistreatment and lobbied politically for change (Cashman; Nalty; Binkin et al.; Nieman).

Fearing a political backlash as the general election loomed, President Franklin Roosevelt made what was then considered as sweeping changes in an attempt to appease the Black vote (Nieman). One such bold move included promoting the army's Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Sr. to the rank of brigadier general, the first African American in the military to be so elevated. But the promotion did not occur without the very overt and visible concerted fight by Black leaders, who noted that of the approximately ninety general officers promoted by FDR, the highest-ranking Black officer, who was superior in both experience and age, was initially overlooked for promotion. Colonel Davis was, therefore, promoted to general officer status only because the president bowed to the groundswell of collective pressure from Black leaders in light of the approaching election (Astor; Cashman; Nalty).

According to Raymond W. Logan, who was on the faculty of Howard University and Chairman of the Committee on the Participation of Negroes in the National Defense, in his testimony to Congress, African Americans must be given an equal opportunity to participate in the nation's defense in both the military and as civilians (Nalty). He continued that Blacks comprised 10 percent of the general population yet constituted less than 3 percent of army personnel with only five Black officers in the army, three as chaplains while the remaining two were the father and son duo, Benjamin O. Davis Sr. and his son Benjamin O. Davis Jr. in combat arms. And despite Senator Harry Schwartz's (D-Wyoming) successful lobbying of Congress to establish Black institutions for aviation instruction as yet another resource for the War Department to supplement its Army Air Corps, he nonetheless failed in persuading Congress to remove the racial barriers for such training to prepare Black pilots for service in the military. Even after the senator's amendment to the Selective Service Act of 1940, and while approximately ninety Blacks successfully graduated from pilot training, the army deliberately and narrowly interpreted the law by denying entry to flight training to qualified Black

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candidates under the cover of limited billets in Black units (Astor; Nalty). Other calls for the entry and expansion of roles for Blacks in the military came from Walter White and Roy Wilkins, both of the NAACP (Cashman; Astor; Nieman; Nalty). Ironically, it was at this juncture that the Republican Party influence began to decline among Blacks (Nalty; Cashman). The confluence of these events then, in many ways, set the early stage for what would later follow as the civil rights movement for African Americans.

FDR's coalition represented a medley of African Americans, farmers, laborers, and intellectuals (Cashman). Journalists and other Black leaders, such as George Schuyler, unleashed a barrage of criticisms against the president during the predawn of the war (Nieman). He said, "Our war is not against Hitler in Europe but against Hitler in America. Our war is not to defend democracy, but to get a democracy we never had" (Nieman, p. 139). The NAACP ratcheted up its rhetoric and criticism of the federal government amid the rampant discrimination against Blacks in the military, coupled with similar experiences for Blacks in civilian employment. And, it was plans for the march on Washington, D.C., led by A. Philip Randolph that pushed President Roosevelt to take significant action against systemic discrimination against Blacks. It was also during this period that membership in the NAACP exploded, even in the South (Nieman; Nalty). In 1936, Arthur Mitchell of Chicago defeated his Republican Black rival, Oscar DePriest, to become the first Black Democrat congressman (Cashman). As well, and to the irritation of southern representatives, the FDR administration moved to have thirty Black delegates attend the Democratic National Convention. African American political analyst Earl Brown considered this a pivotal period for Blacks, especially in the northern regions of the country in that both the Republican and Democratic Parties were actively and simultaneously vying for the Black vote. The Republicans attempted to retain and gain already-secured Blacks, while the Democratic Party sought to outright capture the Black vote. Specifically for the military, it was not until 1932, when Benjamin O. Davis Jr., then a student at the University of Chicago, with the aid of Republican African American congressman from Illinois, Oscar DePriest, became only the second African American to enter the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (Astor; Gibson; Nalty). This was a full sixty years after Henry O. Flipper, the first African American to enter the military academy, had graduated (Astor). Davis Jr. went on to graduate from West Point in 1936.

Yet, as Benjamin O. Davis Jr. puts it, it was a long and arduous journey (Astor). In recounting his years at the academy to John Holway, author of *Red Tails, Black Wings*, the junior Davis said,

> West Point is supposed to train leaders, but there was no damn leadership at all. The commandant of cadets, Lieutenant Colonel Richardson, an old cavalry

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> officer, was a fine gentleman but he wasn't about to interfere with what went on. The captain of cadets, William Westmoreland, [later a veteran of World War II and subsequently commander of all U.S. forces in Vietnam]. If he'd been a true leader, he would have stopped that crap. It was designed to make me buckle, but I refused to buckle. They didn't understand that I was going to stay and I was going to graduate. I was not missing anything by not associating with them. They were missing a great deal by not knowing me. (Astor, p. 136)

Thereafter, whether upon graduation from West Point or following assignment as an officer, the degradation that Davis Jr. endured was unfathomable, including on one assignment when he and his father, then Colonel Davis Sr., were the only Black officers on post. They were even denied access to the Officers' Club and so resorted to socializing with each other. It is also interesting to note that Davis Jr.'s first application for pilot training was rebuffed under the rationale that the Air Corps was not open to Blacks, and it was accompanied by the suggestion that he pursue a law degree instead (Astor).

The so-called Negro problem or the need to have Black representation in the military, and specifically in the army, was commensurate to what existed within the civilian sector that also persisted in the War Department (Binkin et al., p. 19; Nalty). However, FDR's overriding goal was to win an unprecedented third term (Nalty). At the urging of his wife, he met with Black leaders who insisted on three things. First, that Blacks be admitted to the Army Air Corps and other more technical occupations; second, that Blacks play a greater role in the navy; and third, that Black women be admitted as nurses into the military and as Red Cross aides. Even more radical was the proposal for the integration of the military (Nalty; Dalfiume 1969). While Secretary of War Stimson balked at these proposals and considered it worse that the president was being strong-armed for votes, especially from northern Blacks, FDR endorsed the three proposals but rejected the intermingling of Black and White military units (Nalty).

HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL: PRELUDE TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

But it was the threat of the proposed march on Washington in 1941 by A. Philip Randolph and other Black leaders, perceived as credible by the Roosevelt administration, that moved FDR to begin increasing the number of Blacks in the military and especially so in the army (Nalty). It is also peculiar that it is Randolph's planned march on Washington that was the template and thus the model for the march on Washington some twenty years later at the height of the civil rights movement (Cashman). When Randolph and White of

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the NAACP met with FDR to discuss the intransigent situation for Blacks in the country and perceived the overall tepid response by the president to their plight, and when asked by FDR what was the anticipated attendance for the upcoming march, White cleverly and resolutely replied, "Not less than one hundred thousand" (Cashman, p. 73). The White House was so concerned about the march that FDR signed into law Executive Order 8802 (Cashman; DEOMI; Nalty), requiring that vocational training be opened to any and all without regard to "race, creed, color or national origin" (Cashman, p. 73). The president also formed the Fair Employment Practices Committee for the enforcement of the order. These actions led to the march's cancelation.

The army adamantly claimed that it was not a place for social experiments (DoD; Binkin et al.; Cashman; Astor; DEOMI; Gibson). While previously Blacks were barred from enlistment in the navy, in 1932 those restrictions were relaxed although Blacks continued to hold the most menial jobs (DoD; Britten 1997, Cashman; Binkin et al.). In the summer of 1940, a group of thirteen Blacks on the *USS Philadelphia* wrote to the *Pittsburgh Courier* to vent their displeasure about the abysmal and woefully inadequate training that they received at the hands of the navy (Astor). In the letter to the press, the men cited that they were being trained to simply serve as "seagoing bellhops, chambermaids and dishwashers" (Astor, p. 158), received a fraction of the pay of their White peers, and were not even entitled to bona fide enlistment in the navy. Not surprisingly, the navy dismissed the complainants as outcasts, as the navy's policy was considered to be in the best interests of its mission. Like the army and other services, for that matter, the belief by the service chiefs of staff was still that Blacks were unfit for combat (Cashman; DEOMI; Binkin et al.). The Marine Corps skirted the issue altogether but eventually relented (Binkin et al.; DoD). Yet, even as World War II broke out in December 1941, the services remained entrenched in their restrictions of Blacks in both the roles and numbers within the respective institutions, despite FDR's efforts (Nalty; Binkin et al.; Astor).

For the Army Air Force, Congress passed three pieces of unprecedented legislation that would forever change the status of African Americans in the military. First, in June 1939, the Civilian Pilot Training Act created Civilian Pilot Training (CPT) programs at several Black institutions (DoD). Second, with Public Law 18, in 1939, came the requirement that at least one civilian flight school under contract for such training with the military must be reserved for Blacks. And third, the Selective Service Act of 1940 banned discrimination on the basis of race or color for the purpose of training, enlistment, and selection. As for the Marines, Blacks began entering the Corps for the first time since its founding in 1798 (DoD; Mershon and Schlossman 1998), despite the objections by its commandant Major General Thomas Holcomb, who proclaimed that, left to his decision, he would rather utilize a

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force of 5,000 Whites over that of a 250,000 strong force of Blacks (Astor; Mershon and Schlossman). But, even though the War Department officially prohibited racial discrimination in the military, the individual services still ignored this dictate (DEOMI).

However, on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese fighter planes launched an attack on the naval base Pearl Harbor in Hawaii (Nalty; Astor; DEOMI), their bombs and torpedoes did not discriminate based on race. Many Blacks were reconciled that Whites would not bring about their equality through a crisis of conscience; they were of the mindset that the enemy at home was as great a threat as the enemy abroad (Nalty). Therefore, if progress was to be made, they were more realistic in their assessment that any chance at equality would be best realized through military service (Osur 1977). During the Japanese bombing, one Black steward, Dorie Miller, who had no formal training in the navy beyond that of a food server, rescued his ship's commander, Captain Mervyn Bennion of the *USS West Virginia*, who had sustained injury from shrapnel, by dragging him from the bridge. Miller manned one of the machine guns (Astor), and, according to observers, shot down two Japanese planes before he returned to perform his job of serving food to White officers. Miller was awarded the Navy Cross for bravery. Yet much of the literature, including that of the military, rarely, if ever, mentions this heroic feat and fact. And just two weeks following Miller's heroic actions, the navy issued a report that disputed the performance of Blacks as fit for duty as sailors citing that to enlist Blacks into positions other than as mess attendants would essentially destroy the perceived natural order in how the races had come and should relate to one another (Astor).

Perhaps, one, if not, the seminal event, that marked things to come but some six decades later, was the establishment of the famous all-Black fighter and bomber pilot squadrons, including the well-known "Tuskegee Airmen" (Gibson 2005; DoD; Nalty). Benjamin O. Davis Jr. was one of the most famous graduates (Gibson). Major General Henry "Hap" Arnold commanded the Air Corps and vowed that no "Negras" (pp. 6–7) would ever become part of the elite force (Gibson). One of the most asinine reasons that Arnold gave for his pronouncement was that Blacks would just feel uncomfortable in this environment. Therefore, Blacks should not even apply because enlisted Whites would refuse to perform maintenance on any aircraft that were flown by Black officers. Arnold's level of racism was so deep that he enraged Truman K. Gibson, an African American who had replaced William O. Hastie as the civilian aide on Negro Affairs (Gibson; Nalty). During a discussion on placing Blacks in the Army Air Force, Gibson finally simply said, "General, it would be a waste of time to continue talking" and walked out.

While initially the attrition rate of Black cadets in training at the Tuskegee Institute Airfield was disproportionately high and partly attributed to more

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enthusiasm among cadets than preparation for such training, another alleged problem, unlike the more stringent, exacting, and prolonged process for Whites, was the rate at which trainees had to be trained (Nalty). Moreover, as Astor proclaims, the training conditions for Black trainees were subpar. Poverty, malnutrition, and poor health and sanitation on the part of the trainees only compounded their inability to meet the rigorous physical standards of flight training. But those who succeeded were keenly aware of the no-failure option as Black pilots, dubbed the Tuskegee experiment (Nalty; DoD).

But others, like Moye (2010), recount that the Tuskegee graduates consisted of an unusual assembly of the male offspring of America's Black elite whose parents and relatives were the likes of Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis Sr.; Charles Johnson Sr., president of Fisk University; federal Judge A. Leon Higginbottom; and the Spalding family that owned the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company. Out of this elite group of Black pilots came the formation of the 99th Pursuit Squadron (DoD; Nalty). In 1943 came the establishment of another all-Black fighter squadron, the 332nd Fighter Group (DoD). And despite the frustration of other Black fighter squadrons, including the 477th Bombardment Group and the 552nd Fighter Replacement Training Squadron, only the 99th Pursuit Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group saw combat though the aforementioned units were also activated for the war effort. The exploits of the 99th Pursuit Squadron and 332nd Fighter Group during World War II are now legendary. The 99th Pursuit Squadron, which was later reconstituted as the 99th Fighter Squadron, received three citations as Distinguished Units, downed an unprecedented five of the enemy's planes in a record of four minutes, and conducted operations in Sicily, Normandy, the Rhineland, and Italy, among other places (DoD; Nalty). All of the pilots flew such aircrafts as the P–39, P–40, P–47, and P–51 and racked up an impressive track record (DoD):

- Demolished 261 enemy aircraft and wrecked another 148
- Completed a total of 15,333 sorties in 1,578 missions
- First Lieutenant Charles B. Hall was the first successful African American aviator following Eugene Jacque Bullard's downing of a German aircraft in World War II
- The Distinguished Flying Cross was awarded to 95 Airmen
- A total of 450 pilots were deployed overseas during World War II (DoD).

It is even more remarkable that the men achieved such feats amid racial segregation and hypocrisy by the American government when the purpose of the war was to eradicate Nazism in Europe. The men suffered unspeakable acts of racism at the hands of their White counterparts, who considered them inferior even as they performed such epic coups (Astor; Nalty; Binkin et

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al.; Mershon and Schlossman; Cashman). For example, they were routinely referred to as "boys" and treated in kind with blatant disregard for either their skills or talents as pilots (Nalty). All Black units were geographically dislocated from communities for fear by the American military of upsetting local residents overseas or at best to keep such objections to a minimum (Binkin et al.). The level of scrutiny was overbearing and the pilots and those within the squadron saw themselves as carrying the burden of proving their worth as a race (Nalty). And worse yet, some of the Black pilots lacked the necessary aptitude and physical prowess and the White commanders were only too happy to judge the entire group of Black pilots based on the few who failed, despite the overall impressive success of the Black Airmen during war. The Black pilots referred to themselves as "the Lonely Eagles" (Nalty, p. 153). But, as far as Colonel William W. Momyer and his superiors Brigadier General Edwin House and Major General John Cannon were concerned, the Tuskegee experiment had failed abysmally and recommended that the 99th Pursuit Squadron either be split as a unit or integrated into other units.

TIME FOR CHANGE

But the political tide was beginning to lighten its noose, albeit too slowly for Blacks in a segregated and deeply oppressive military and not for the sole purpose of political expediency. In a testimony to the Advisory Committee and Negro Troop Policy of the War Department, with General Benjamin O. Davis Sr. and Truman K. Gibson as members, Benjamin O. Davis Jr., formerly the commander of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, delineated the compounding challenges that plagued his unit, including a shortage of pilots and the resulting fatigue (Holway 1997). Black officers were also denied the use of the Officers' Club (Astor). Yet, the 99th Pursuit Squadron succeeded against intolerable odds, not to mention the entrenched racism among White service members. No aerial bomber in the squadron went missing under its stewardship. In fact, the missions of the 99th Pursuit Squadron were so successful that the War Department launched a documentary about it (Nalty). Needless to say, the success of the 99th Pursuit Squadron did not mean that the sinister character of race was not realized for Black servicemen, even overseas, and in despicable ways. Stateside Black servicemen wrote home about their travails, especially those stationed in the Deep South (Gibson). While Blacks from the North were recruited into the military but were less likely to accept the Jim Crow segregated ways of the South (Cashman), many poorly educated African Americans from the South and those stationed in the South did not perform as well. But, this only served to reinforce the misguided notions of southern White officers and other White servicemen who

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held fast to White supremacy (Gibson). Doing so was by design, as Gibson puts it, to "keep the Negro in his place" (p. 10). And to add salt to an already festered wound, many incompetent White officers were placed in positions of command over units of uneducated Black servicemen from the South. Such assignments were not considered ones of choice by White officers.

The general conditions became unbearable for both Black servicemen and the few Black nurses who were in the military (Gibson; Astor; Cashman). Many such complaints came to the attention of churches, civil rights organizations like the NAACP, politicians, and newspapers that were seeking answers from the War Department (Gibson). The War Department turned to Truman K. Gibson to field these complaints (Gibson; Astor). For example, consider one testy exchange between the famous Black athlete Jackie Robinson and a White captain at Fort Bailey, Kansas, where Robinson was in the process of completing Officer Candidate School, when he witnessed the captain's degrading remark hurled at a Black soldier (Gibson). The White officer called the soldier "a stupid black nigger son of a bitch" (p. 12). Robinson quickly interjected, "That man is a soldier in the U.S. Army," to which the White captain quipped, "That goes for you, too, nigger!" (p. 12). Robinson, who was known for his fiery temperament, punched the White officer, causing his front teeth to go the way of the blow.

Quite coincidentally, Joe Louis, the famous Black heavyweight boxer, was also completing a course at the same location as Robinson and happened to be a friend of Truman Gibson, who was also familiar with the case (Gibson). Gibson, along with Louis, an enlisted man, met with the officer in charge. Then Louis intervened by offering the officer a Piaget watch and said, "General, you have to do a lot of entertaining and I took the liberty of delivering a case of wine to your quarters. This is not any bribe whatsoever, but I would like for my friend, Jackie Robinson, to finish his course" (Gibson, p. 12). Not only were the charges against Robinson dropped, with him completing Officer Candidate School, but also new uniforms were purchased for Robinson and his fellow Black officers. Unfortunately, this reprieve was short lived for Robinson, as it was not to be his last encounter with blatant bigotry. At Camp Swift, Texas, another cantankerous incident, this time with a White bus driver, resulted in Robinson knocking out the teeth of the driver after he pulled a gun on Robinson (Gibson). And, again, both Gibson and Louis intervened on Robinson's behalf to avoid his possible court-martial. The War Department was acutely aware that Robinson was not up to tolerating racism and so it was settled to honorably discharge him from the military.

General Benjamin O. Davis Sr. also became intimately aware of these grievances against Black servicemen and women, which were often cited as without basis (Gibson; Astor), and would frequently result in the service person either being injured or killed (Astor). Campbell E. Johnson, a Black

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officer who was an aide to General Lewis Hershey, the chief of the Selective Service, apprised his supervisor of some of these tribulations that confronted Blacks in the military. Many of these degradations, including herding Blacks like cattle into segregated trains when much of the better accommodations reserved for Whites were vacant, as well as having to suffer under such sub-par conditions for hours, if not days, at a time. Educated Black women were forced to withstand the vile behavior of drunken White soldiers, and Black soldiers, particularly in the South, were routinely denied entrance on some buses. These were just a few of the many deplorable situations that Blacks were forced to contend with. And, overseas, in this case in England, it was White American servicemen who wanted to export their racism to the local populations in the involvement of the racist treatment of Black servicemen (Nalty).

Following the explosions of two transport aircraft at the Port Chicago Naval Base in California in July 1944, one explosion killing 320 men, 202 of whom were Black, and on another vessel where 233 enlisted Blacks sustained injuries, those who survived refused to load ammunitions on the ship for fear of being killed (Allen 1989). Not only were 258 of the men arrested but also another 50 were branded as instigators and charged and convicted of mutiny. In April 1945, 101 Black officers, nicknamed the "101 Club" of the 477th Bombardment Group at Freeman Field, Indiana, were arrested for entering the Officers Club, roundly refused to sign an order drafted by the command, and were to be court-martialed (Nalty; Gropman 1978). However, multiple organizations across the United States came to their defense (DEOMI), so instead the men received letters of reprimand. It was not until 1995 that the Air Force admitted to this gross miscarriage of justice (Gropman).

Many of the riots that erupted between Blacks and Whites in the military occurred at many installations across the nation (Nalty). Likewise, as one African American indicated in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, many Blacks in the military came from the North and were not tolerant of the Jim Crow laws of segregation (Cashman). Truman K. Gibson turned to the assistant secretary of War, John McCloy, his former college mate at Dartmouth, about the injustices that were being leveled against Blacks in the military and the uncertain predicaments that they faced as a result (Astor). Following a speech to commanders by the inspector general, Colonel Pierre Kieffer, about the dire issues facing African Americans in the armed forces (Astor), the service chiefs of staff, although half-heartedly, seemed to realize that segregation of the military subjected them to criticism and adversely impacted the morale of these troops (Cashman). While the army remained segregated but began allowing Blacks to serve in combat arms, the navy initiated a program to carefully integrate its personnel. Although in total, more than 2.5 million African Americans were draft registrants during World War II, only half of them

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actually served (DoD; Binkin et al.), and no military branch met the required 10 percent of the recruitment of Blacks as represented within the general civilian population (DoD).

Demobilization following World War II represented the largest of its kind in the military (DEOMI). Improvements were afoot in the military and, despite the mistreatment, surprisingly many Blacks opted to remain, because to them, the military offered a better way of life than in the civilian sector (Binkin et al.). Pressure was brought to bear upon the Truman administration through protests by the Black community. For Binkin et al., change was in the offing since the United States "preserved the racist policies and practices" at home yet engaged in eradicating fascism and "preached" against "a master race ideology" abroad (p. 25). The brutal beating of a Black soldier, Isaac Woodard, who was on leave and en route to see his family, by a local sheriff in South Carolina who denied medical care to the victim, resulted in his permanent blindness. The beating, coupled with the unfairness of the justice system that exonerated the sheriff despite his admission of guilt to the beating, became symbolic of race relations in America (Nalty). This single event galvanized the NAACP, actors of the day like Orson Welles condemned the act, and enlightened future president Harry S Truman as to the atrocities that Blacks routinely encountered with Whites.

During a meeting with Walter White of the NAACP, President Truman exclaimed, "My God. I had no idea it was as terrible as that. We've got to do something" (Nalty, p. 205; Moye, p. 153). Truman added, "When [local authorities] can take a Negro sergeant off a bus, beat him and put out one of his eyes, and nothing is done about it by State Authorities, then something is radically wrong with the system" (Moye, p. 153). And in a meeting with members of the Advisory Commission on Universal Training, which included Truman Gibson, Sam Rosenman, and Anna Rosenberg, the president said bluntly, "This shit has to stop!" (Gibson, p. 226). On June 29, 1947, Truman became the first American president to address the assembly of the NAACP, promising that the federal government would be "a friendly vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans" (Moye, p. 154). In a report that served as a petition to the United States on behalf of African Americans that was authored by W. E. B. Du Bois, together with a subsequent report by the President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR) titled *To Secure These Rights*, provided compelling evidence as to the magnitude of America's gnawing racial problems against Blacks (Moye; Gibson; DoD; Anderson 2003; Nalty). With pressure exerted from such groups as the NAACP and Black leaders like A. Philip Randolph, and even though the general election was approaching, the president signed Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, to integrate the military (Binkin et al.; Anderson; DoD; DEOMI; Cashman;

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Nalty). According to Binkin et al., this policy "shook the Defense Department to its foundation" (p. 26).

It was the Korean conflict that allayed any doubts, at least superficially, that integrating Blacks throughout the military was an effective strategy (Binkin et al.; Nalty; DEOMI). The *Project Clear* report by Johns Hopkins University validated that having a segregated military limited its effectiveness (DEOMI; Binkin et al.). Yet an obstinate army contended that it concurred with the Gillem Board that its segregationist policies should remain in place (Binkin et al.). To justify its position, the army further asserted that integration would adversely impact the morale and combat efficiency of its units. When 100,000 North Korean troops breached the 38th parallel of the South Korean border, President Truman declared a national emergency, deploying 3.5 million troops toward the effort (DEOMI; Cashman). The army relented and integrated as an institution only out of the sheer shortage of White troops in combat units to meet the demand for mobilization (Binkin et al.). Despite initial rumblings about the unreliability of Black troops, so many enlisted toward the effort that such backward notions were overwhelmed (Binkin et al.; DoD; Astor), although, once again, problems about the performance of Black troops assigned to the 24th Infantry Regiment persisted (DoD; Astor). Even some Whites found themselves in previously all-Black units (DoD). So, while the initial foray into integration was evidence of success, this did not mean that problems of racism did not emerge.

In 1951, then special counsel for the NAACP Thurgood Marshall was charged with investigating the tainted court-martial proceedings of thirty-four African American soldiers (Lanning). As suspected, most, if not all, indictments from death to ten years of imprisonment were based on flimsy deliberations (Lanning; Astor). Many allegations were for acts of cowardice (Graham 2003). But, as Marshall learned, or at least suspected, this allegation was a cover-up by White officers to clear their own incompetence and abysmal leadership abilities.

The Korean conflict was primarily a land campaign, yet during that time, there was some notable progress by African Americans in the military. As one example, Ensign Jesse L. Brown, who was killed in a combat mission, was posthumously awarded both the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal for his accomplishments (DoD; Astor). He was also the navy's first Black aviator. As well, Frederick C. Branch was the first Black to be commissioned into the Marine Corps (DoD). These instances of progress are reflected in the following brief exchange between a sergeant who had flown with Air Force pilot Captain Daniel "Chappie" James and a reporter who was interviewing him. Incidentally, both the sergeant and the reporter are White (Astor, p. 396).

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Reporter: How do you feel about flying with Captain James?
Sergeant: What do you mean?
Reporter: I would just like to know how you feel about flying with him. You know what I mean?
Sergeant: No, I don't know what you mean. He's a good pilot. He's fine.
Reporter: Yes, but I mean, he's uh, colored.
Sergeant: Is he?

This was the end of the conversation. Over time, what had developed, at least between the crew and pilot, was a relationship of professionalism (Astor). James believed that, for him, it was one of respect. Despite his unusually large size for a pilot, at 6 feet 4 inches and in excess of 200 pounds in weight, Chappie James was considered a gifted pilot (Moye). He was rumored to have said that when he enters his airplane "I don't climb into an airplane, I strap it on" (Moye, p. 165). But James, who was also known for his prowess as an administrator and effective in public relations, soared to the rank of general officer and later became the first African American to attain four stars. Like Benjamin O. Davis Jr. and his father, James supervised many Whites, and in the Air Force he became the first known African American four-star general.

Other Black servicemen also served meritoriously. For example, Emmett Tidd, a Black officer aboard the *USS Frank E. Evans* destroyer, received a Purple Heart for his performance during the Korean Conflict. But unfortunately the comradeship achieved overseas did not necessarily transfer to like behavior in the United States as Everett Copeland discovered. Copeland, in his capacity as an emergency litter bearer, carried a White soldier off the battlefield. When he ran into the soldier at a later time, while the White soldier recognized him, when Copeland was the first to speak, the White soldier matter-of-factly replied, "I know who you are, boy" (Astor, p. 397). For others, like General Colin Powell, who would later as a four-star general go on to become the military's first African American chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as a young ROTC cadet at Fort Bragg, he learned that had it not been for his race, he would have earned the coveted title of Best Cadet, not achieve second place as a consolation prize.

Following armistice of the Korean Conflict in 1953 (DoD), the Pentagon quietly declared in October 1954 that integration of the military had been achieved when nothing was further from the truth (Binkin et al.). Moreover, while still contending with a Jim Crow existence in the military, African Americans had to also cope with the hostilities of racism within the communities where they were stationed in the United States. Off-base housing lent itself to another set of challenges, including public accommodation in schools, housing, restaurants, and the like (Binkin et al.; DoD).

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ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

A new dawn of the civil rights movement began to take root and was catapulted into high gear when a little-known seamstress, Rosa Parks, refused to yield her seat to a White passenger when ordered to do so on December 1, 1955 (Nalty). The results triggered a yearlong boycott by Black citizens in Montgomery, Alabama, that, eventually, combined with a series of court rulings and the resulting violence in the forms of bombings, arrests, and beatings, to ultimately topple the segregationist policies of the Jim Crow South. In the process, an even lesser-known civil rights leader, the Reverend Dr. Marin Luther King Jr., became known. But less is known about a similar event in the military that involved an African American pilot who was stationed in Alabama two years before the Montgomery rally, who refused to move to the back of a public bus (Nalty). Regrettably for this pilot, the military considered this action a blatant breach of its segregationist policy and prematurely terminated the pilot's otherwise promising career.

The newly elected president John F. Kennedy won by a sliver of a vote and without the Black vote. But already with an eye on the next election and carving a path for his future ambitions, Kennedy recognized Dr. King's status as a reflection of the aspirations of African Americans, and through his brother Robert Kennedy, the attorney general, he arranged for Dr. King's release following his incarceration for one of the many civil rights boycotts (Cashman; Nalty). The Kennedy administration also tackled off-base discrimination for Black service members by establishing the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces, or the Gesell Committee, named for its chairman Gerhard A. Gesell (Binkin et al.).

What the Gesell Committee found, of course, was no surprise. It found tokenized integration of the military as units and practice were still largely segregated (Binkin et al.; Nalty). There was an uneven distribution of Blacks by grade across the services, outright Jim Crow practice of segregation through the Reserve and National Guard for the military branches, and blatant racial discrimination at various military installations and the locales in which they were based. As well, the committee found an absence of Black officers in the National Guard (Nalty).

The committee was of the opinion that since the National Guard was the recipient of federal funds, under the newly enacted Civil Rights Act of 1964, the National Guard should be subjected to the same provisions as the military services (Binkin et al.; Nalty). The holdover of segregation from the vestiges of racism from the 1948 Executive Order to integrate the forces and the Korean Conflict still undermined efforts at integration that proved to be demoralizing to the impacted servicemen and their families (Nalty). Concerted attempts to deal

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with racial discrimination began in the Department of Defense in mid-1961, and by 1963, the army was finally on board (DoD).

The literature is unclear as to America's initial timing of involvement in the Vietnam Conflict. Nalty, the DoD, and DEOMI, for instance, all indicate varying periods of duration. Regardless, the Vietnam Conflict was an unpopular one. For example, although a Gallup poll in 1971 showed a split among Blacks and Whites as to their support for the war, both groups staunchly opposed it (Cashman). But despite its unpopularity, on average, Blacks remained in the military longer than Whites during the time of the conflict and, surprisingly, volunteered at higher levels (DoD). Unfortunately, the numbers translated to a disproportionate number of Blacks for the effort as compared to their representation within the general civilian population (Graham; Cashman; Binkin et al.; DoD). Consequently, Blacks sustained a disproportionate burden of the casualty rates (DoD). And for Blacks who did not wish to be conscripted into the military to fight an unpopular war, unlike Whites, deferment was less likely to be approved (Cashman). But given the plight of African Americans, fighting a war abroad with a so-called enemy who had done them no ill will seemed foolhardy. The poster by the National Black Antiwar Union appeared to sum up such sentiments: "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger!" (Cashman, p. 206).

The frustration of Black servicemen played out in the form of riots at several military installations, both within the continental United States (CONUS) and overseas (DoD; DEOMI; Nalty; Astor; Binkin et al.). Riots broke out at Air Force bases like Travis, California (DEOMI; Binkin et al.); Sheppard in Texas; and Oson in Korea (DEOMI). The other branches of the military were not spared such as the Navy's *USS Kitty Hawk* and *USS Constellation* (DEOMI); the army's Fort Knox, Kentucky, and Fort Dix in New Jersey; and the Marine Corps' Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, among others (DEOMI; Binkin et al.). In fact, the mayor of Berlin, Germany, chided his own constituents for their maltreatment of Black servicemen stationed there (Nalty). According to Wallace Terry II, in his article "Bringing the War Home" in the November 1970 issue of *Black Scholars*, more than 50 percent of the enlisted corps perceived the Vietnam Conflict as a war of race against nonwhite people, which they resented being part of (Cashman).

The violence, coupled with the unpopularity of the war, forced the Department of Defense to take notice (DEOMI; Astor). As Blacks saw it, there were two sets of standards in the military: one for Whites and one for Blacks (Nalty). And the assassination of Dr. King in 1968 only inflamed an already volatile state of affairs (Graham). Then Cassius Clay, later renamed Mohammed Ali following his conversion to Islam, quickly learned from life that as a Black boy, even upon returning home to the United States as an Olympic boxing champion, his achievement on behalf of his homeland meant nothing

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to Whites, for beyond the boxing ring, he was still a Black boy. Ali said that he had no personal animus against his Asian brothers so "why should they ask me and other so-called Negroes to put on a uniform and go 10,000 miles from home and drop bombs on brown people in Vietnam while so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights?" (Graham, p. 73).

The convergence of these factors resulted in the creation of an investigative team by the Department of Defense that was headed by L. Howard Bennett, an African American (Astor). Bennett's findings revealed that, although race was of no consequence on the battlefield, confrontations off the battlefield were violent in nature. In addition, those returning from overseas to CONUS installations seemed to stir up more hostility. And while the inspector general of the Army's Military Assistance Command in Vietnam via its Center of Military History reported that while 2,628 complaints were lodged as race based, only 146 met that criterion. Even so, the reception by African American service members to the findings was such that it was clear that they lacked any faith in the higher echelon. Carl Rowan, a Black journalist and reserve officer in the Navy during World War II, was selected as the deputy assistant secretary of state for Public Affairs in 1971 by President Kennedy, then the highest-ranking African American within the Department of State (Nalty). However, what Rowan discovered was that even with the presence of the now burgeoning contingent of Black general officers at the close of 1973, because of the inherent hierarchical structure of the military, they did not yet have the critical mass and clout to institute the necessary changes since they reported to and would need to garner the buy in and support of their White superiors.

Yet, the navy, through Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, chief of Naval Operations, was the most progressive of the services by increasing the assignments, career fields, and recruitment of African Americans in both the enlisted and commissioned corps (Nalty). Finally, it was following the riots at Travis Air Force Base that moved to install the much languished recommendations by Colonel Lucius Theus, an African American, who led the study that brought about the first iteration of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) at Patrick Air Force Base in Florida with the mission of educating commanders about race relations (Nalty; DEOMI). In 1979, DRRI was renamed the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) to more accurately capture its evolving role (DEOMI). To further signify the commitment to equal opportunity, then secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger issued a memorandum to the civilian secretaries of each military branch that reinforced the importance of such programs in maintaining cohesion, readiness, and national defense (DoD). In turn, each service secretary was charged with upholding the principles of equal opportunity by ensuring the full and

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unbiased redress and investigation of complaints and without intimidation and/or reprisal to those seeking redress.

Since 1973, the military has markedly improved its representation of African Americans (DoD; Population Report FY 2011). Most notable has been the increase in African American general and flag officers from twelve in the army, three in the Air Force, and one in the navy (Nalty) to a record, as of reporting by DoD in 1985, forty-nine in the army, one of whom is a four-star general; ten in the navy and Marine Corps; twenty in the Air Force, with Daniel "Chappie" James as the first African American to be elevated to four stars; seven in the Army Reserve; one in the Air Force Reserve; three in the National Guard Bureau; ten in the Army National Guard; and one in the Air National Guard. For fiscal year (FY) 2011, of the total 976 general and flag officers DoD-wide on active duty, 65 were Black or almost 7 percent of the general and flag officer force. As a percentage of the total active duty force within the commissioned and enlisted corps, African Americans represented 11 percent and 26.9 percent, respectively. For the selected reserve and National Guard combined, African Americans were 9.7 percent of the commissioned corps and 18 percent of the enlisted corps (Population Report). And for the Coast Guard, which officially became a component of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2003 (U.S. Coast Guard n.d.), a smaller contingent of Blacks at 4.42 percent of the commissioned corps and 5.7 percent of the enlisted corps were represented.

MODERN-DAY CHALLENGES

While African Americans have made significant strides in the military, a far cry from the seemingly intransigent problems of yesteryear, by no means have the vestiges of racism been eradicated. Accordingly, today's bigotry has morphed into more subtle forms of racism (Dovidio and Gaertner 1991; Kinder and Sanders 1996). These more difficult to detect attitudes can prove to be even more insidious than the more blatant forms of racism (Wolfe and Spencer 1996). These microaggressions, as they are sometimes called, wreak havoc in everyday life for those who stereotypically become the targets of such insults (DeAngelis 2009).

Three models of microaggression have been theorized. Aversive racism (Gaertner and Dovidio 1986) suggests that while many believe that they exude egalitarian principles and are therefore not racists, the racist society in which they reside inculcates them into harboring ill feeling toward certain groups without consciously doing so. Symbolic racism, on the other hand, embodies the notion of independence or individualism and a strong work

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ethic (Kinder and Sears 1981; Sears and Henry 2003) but is inherently racist under the misnomer that regardless of race, everyone has an equal opportunity to achieve, if only they possessed this strong work ethic. Finally, modern racism also denotes having a strong value system. As a result, certain groups, like African Americans, should not be entitled to perceived special systems of redress in an effort to remediate past wrongs (McConohay 1986). Johnson (2001) believes that it is important then for organizations like the military to become enlightened about the many faces of racism in order to determine its prevalence.

The military, by way of the routine administration of the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MECOS) to its personnel, assesses how its environment is perceived by the diverse demographic groups within its population (DEOMI). Race, not gender, was found to be a more effective gauge in how military personnel perceive their work environments. As a matter of fact, an army study of several U.S.-based and overseas installations pointed to the presence of racial discrimination (Walker 1995). The respondents believe that bias played a significant role in whether or not an award was conferred as others who are similarly situated did not receive the same recognition; there was a general view that Whites are more qualified than Blacks; performance evaluations are race based; and minority groups, especially Blacks, are more likely to cause trouble. Another study at a military medical treatment center reflected similar results (Brannen, Brannen, and Colligan 1999). Johnson found that enlisted personnel were more likely to embrace such entrenched attitudes while officers and older enlisted members were more satisfied with their work environments.

Multiple studies show that Black officers fail to advance for a number of reasons. Among them are that Black officers are disproportionately concentrated at the junior levels and in support occupations (Harris 2009; Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004). Black officers often fail to be promoted from the senior company grade rank (0–3) to the field grades (0–4 through 0–5) (Hosek, Tiemeyer, Kilburn, Strong, Duckworth, and Ray 2001). As well, Butler (1999) believes that there is an element of racial bias that plays a role in a Black officer's prospects for promotion. And despite Johnson's findings, the study still elucidated hints of microaggression or subtle forms of racism among military personnel, which in turn may translate to the lack of opportunities to advancement for minority groups. Given the military's hierarchical makeup, then, policies alone may not achieve the desired climate for equal opportunity. It is, therefore, equally necessary to augment such dictates with training, for instance, to identify racial bias (Johnson). Johnson also recommends continual research to identify the influences of racial bias in organizational life.

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Chapter 3

Sisters in the Struggle

The Role of Black Women in the Military

No mention of African American men in the military can be complete without discourse about the roles played by African American women. The struggle for equality in the military, while primarily shouldered by Black men, was not without similar travails for Black women, if not worse in many cases given gender. In effect, in many ways Black women's fight for not just equality but simply acceptance was all the more exasperating as they endured the dual strain of race and gender within this predominantly White male institution. In fact, African Americans as a whole—and African American males in particular—could not have and would not have achieved any semblance of equality and citizenship without the integral role that Black women played. So the trials, tribulations, and hard-won tributes in the face of still seeming hopelessness would never have been possible without the tireless work of African American women in the fight.

Call it partly attribution to sexism but it is Black men in the American our-story who have and disproportionately continue to receive the glory. Yet that glory was and is still only possible because of the unwavering commitment and support of Black women who have repeatedly subordinated their own dreams and aspirations to support and propel the entire race, if you will, and in this case in the American military, through their Black men. These selfless acts by African American women came at a significant sacrifice beginning with slavery when their men were forcibly extricated from their families, all for the purpose of maintaining an immoral system of indeterminate servitude, and their children, once they became of age, were in turn removed from their bosoms to sustain this same invidious system. Black women were then compelled to make it on their own. It is even inconceivable to then conjure up the repeated defilements of their persons, including rape, that they endured and without the protection of either their significant male partners and/or the

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protection of other Black males and their families. But this systematic disruption was deliberate, that is, by design, to ensure the annihilation of the Black family, and which regrettably continues to play itself out in myriad and toxic forms in African American life today. Undeniably, the struggle for equality and full citizenship through military service owes an immense debt of undying gratitude to African American women.

THE EARLY YEARS

To Moore (1991), chronicling the role of Black women in the military is all the more telling in light of a two-pronged trend. One, African American women's accession rates in today's military far exceed those of women in other demographic groups. And two, while this increase in Black women's participation appears to be positive for the military, where these women are distributed in terms of their occupational pursuits, and disproportionately so within the support fields as "administrative" and "support" (Moore, p. 365), may not necessarily bode well as strategic career options for them in the long term. As stated at the outset, this trend is made the more remarkable when considered against the backdrop of overcoming the dual burden of race and gender. The absence of information about women in the military and particularly that of Black women's participation is disconcerting. Nevertheless, what scant data that have been secured still give enormous insight into the intricate and substantive part played by African American women in the quest toward equality. This is rendered all the more important for, as Moore puts it, both categories, that is race and gender, not only reduced Black women as an inferior race, much less to be considered human beings, but they also endured more profound hardships because the military is an inherently White-male-infused institution.

During the colonial period (1528–1774), because of Black women's roles as caretakers of both the wives and children of their slaveholders, they also served as protectors (Department of Defense [DoD] 1985). The sole documented account of an incursion by Native Americans, who had aligned with the British against France during King George's War, was that by a slave, Lucy Terry, who hailed from Deerfield, Massachusetts. She composed the ballad "Bars Fight," detailing the attacks. While it is known that women in their zeal contribute as patriots during the American Revolution (1775–1783) or as a conduit to be with their male partners, many did so in traditional roles as caring for the wounded, while others assumed nontraditional roles as camp followers and donned men's clothing to fight in the Continental Marines and Army (DoD). It is believed that Black women assumed similar roles.

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Phillis Wheatley, African born but captured and taken to Boston as a slave, was perhaps most unusual for a Black woman in America given the time (DoD). Unlike other slaves, Wheatley became literate, having been taught to read and write by her slaveholder John Wheatley. She began writing poems as a teenager, her subjects including Africa, the Motherland, and slavery. Although she did not write about the military per se, one of Wheatley's poems came to the attention of George Washington, the-then commander in chief of the Continental army, and to whom her poem was bequeathed. It was following the publication of her first book in 1773 and a trip in 1775 to Washington's headquarters at his personal invitation that a year later that Wheatley began writing about the war after the British apprehended an American general. Wheatley's role in the military, and specifically toward the war effort, was unique in that she enlightened the largely White populace that the people of her race were not inferior even as slaves and were intelligent. Many Black women volunteered in various capacities for the Civil War (1861–1865) as laundresses, cooks, and the like (DoD; Women in Military Services of America [WIMSA] Foundation n.d.). Black women also served in the navy as nurses (WIMSA). Most notable was Susie King Taylor, also a laundress and cook. King Taylor was a teacher before joining the war effort to be with her husband (DoD). She wrote about the disparate treatment of Black soldiers in not being remunerated for their services, which forced their spouses, who remained at home, to fend for themselves and their children (WIMSA). Yet not surprisingly, King Taylor was never compensated for her services either to the military.

Perhaps the most famous Black woman during the Civil War was Harriet Tubman, who Sarah Bradford (1869–1961) christened as "the Moses of Her People" (in Grant DePauw 1998). Also known as "General Tubman," owing to her work with White abolitionists in leading some 300 slaves in 19 trips through the now infamous Underground Railroad, Tubman also worked as a spy for the Union Army (DoD; Allen 2006). She excelled in escaping detection by the Confederate army and was instrumental in conducting raids on Confederate possessions such as commissionaires, cotton, and also in liberating another 700 slaves. Following her exploits, for thirty-seven years, she petitioned to the federal government to be compensated for her wartime services (DoD). While she eventually received a mere pittance of a pension from the military, and only because her husband was a veteran of the Union army, not because of her own stellar contributions to the military, Harriet Tubman died destitute and was unrecognized for her gallant sacrifices to and for her country. Said Hall (1994), "Harriet Tubman was an extraordinary human being, and possibly the most underrated and underappreciated person of either sex or race, from the Civil War period" (p. 166).

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Following military duty, Tubman's continuing contributions to the military included establishing a home for impoverished and elderly African Americans and creating schools and nursing homes for free slaves and their offspring (DoD). More recently, on March 10, 2013, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Harriet Tubman's death, it is only fitting that President Barack Obama, America's first known African American president, dedicated 480 acres of land in Dorchester County, Maryland, where Tubman was born, to be preserved in her memory and placed under the stewardship of the National Park Service (Fritze 2013). But the failure to recognize both King Taylor and Tubman has been deliberate. Moore attributes this double jeopardy to both of these women's race and gender.

Black women served as nurses during the Spanish-American War (1898) (DoD; WIMSA). Called immune nurses under the misguided belief that due to the thickness of their melanin-steeped skin and propensity for withstanding warm climates, African Americans were considered to be immune from such diseases as typhoid fever and the yellow fever plague. Along with White women believed to be immune, Black women were contracted as nurses in Santiago, Cuba (DoD; WIMSA), although some were assigned to facilities in the United States. But because of racial segregation in terms of where people lived, Whites never bore witness to those Black nurses who returned home to the United States, some of whom were afflicted and subsequently died of these diseases (DoD). Fortunately for those who survived—and even for those who paid the ultimate price—the eighty immune nurses' work was not in vain (WIMSA). The overall outstanding performance of these nurses resulted in the introduction of bills in Congress, first in 1899 and then again in 1901, when a bill was eventually passed to recognize nurses as part of the army in the Army Nurses Corps. The navy followed suit by establishing its own nurse corps in 1908.

But despite the exemplary work of the Black immune nurses during the Spanish-American War and for which many lost their lives when they succumbed to typhoid and yellow fever, the American Red Cross, which employed the largess of nurses during disaster emergency relief or crises, refused to accept Black nurses. The Red Cross invoked the rationale that the Army's surgeon general had not yet authorized the accession of Black nurses (DoD). It was not until the end of World War I (1914–1918) when Black nurses were approved for entry into the Army Nurse Corps (DoD), although many also applied to the navy's Nurse Corps (WIMSA). It was the shortage of nurses that motivated the army to launch an experiment, bringing eighteen Black nurses on board (DoD) working with White counterparts, even though the nurses were housed in segregated facilities (DoD; Moore; WIMSA). Part of the pressure brought to bear on the army came from the public, such as from the National Association of Colored Graduate

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Nurses (NACGN), which was established to promote the professional talents of Black nurses around the country (DoD). Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA) facilities were operated within the continental United States and abroad to afford soldiers respite from the war. However, for Black troops, this was not the case. Separate hostess houses staffed by Black hostesses were located adjacent to Black military units for the same purpose that Blacks were barred from sharing recreational facilities with Whites (DoD; WIMSA).

A NEEDS-BASED SEA OF CHANGE: SLOWLY OPENING THE DOORS TO OPPORTUNITY

It was during World War II (1939–1945) that provided the first legitimate opportunity for Black women in the military (DoD; WIMSA). But while Black nurses were no longer barred from entry into the military, in this case to the army, their recruitment was capped to no more than fifty-six (WIMSA). It was not until President Franklin Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 8802 in June 1941 for the Fair Employment Practices Commission established to bar racial discrimination in the War Department, along with a subsequent legislation by Congresswoman Frances Payne Bolton (R-Ohio) to amend the Nurse Training bill to also eliminate race discrimination, that another 2,000 Black women gained entry into the Cadet Nurse Corps. Following the signing of Public Law (PL) 554, creating the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) with Oveta Culp Hobby as its first director, the army imposed a 10 percent limit on the combined total recruitment of Black women for both the enlisted and commissioned corps that the army was willing to accept (DoD). Incidentally, this was the same cap that was imposed for Black men entering the military at the time (Nalty 1986; Binkin, Eiterberg, Schexnider, and Smith 1982; Astor 1998). Black media and other Black organizations pressured the military, but for naught, to remove this limit that, by the way, never surpassed 5.9 percent of the WAAC's force from 1943 through 1946 (DoD). And it was not until 1945 that the navy's Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) accepted Black women (DoD), graduating its first Black female commissioned nurse, Phyllis Daley (WIMSA). But it took the prodding of WAVES Director Mildred McAfee, prominent African American educator and civil rights activist Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, and cabinet member in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, along with Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, to facilitate Black women's entry into the Navy (WIMSA). Approximately 80,000 women served in the WAVES, of whom only 72 were Black. The Coast Guard began accepting Black women into its ranks in 1944.

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However, Black women's assignment in the military was still restricted (DoD). Stateside Black women could only be collocated with Black units, and especially so for overseas duty, and only upon the authorization of the commander. These were considered unnecessary restrictions by Black organizations and were believed to be race based given the army's policy, though some such decisions were made because several women failed to meet the requirements for these assignments. In reality, though, the problem was two-pronged. There is no question that in light of the times the assignment restrictions were suspect. If the service women either did not meet the assignment requirements or possessed a skill for which there was no assignment, and thus there was no use for the service woman, then the person was not assigned. And because women were noncombatants and were, therefore, limited to positions that, unlike the men's, were skill based, the occupations and positions to which they were assigned required higher scores on the aptitude tests (Moore). Consequently, placements were restricted for not only Black women but also White women (DoD). As well, Black men who were recruited during World War II, served in unskilled positions for which high aptitude test scores were moot (Moore). This was not the case for Black women since, like White women, they were recruited to primarily fill skilled positions.

Internal and external complaints came in to the War Department—such as those from Truman Gibson, a civilian special aide on Negro Affairs to the secretary of War—that Black women were being deprived of assignments that called for certain skills (DoD). Subsequently, some Black women secured positions in aircraft maintenance and photography, to name a few. Still, due partially to low aptitude scores and racism on the part of White commanders, like Black men, Black women were assigned to unskilled work as cooks (Moore; Treadwell 1954; Holm 1992). Worse yet, Black women were not considered altogether for admission to the military because of subpar test scores on the Army's General Classification Test (AGCT), which was employed during World War II (Moore 1991; Bock and Moore 1986; Moore 1996). And a combination of racism and poor test performance prevented many from reenlisting, a problem that Moore (1991) attributes to the substandard and unequal educational system for Blacks in American society at the time. Additional pressure for opening more viable opportunities for Black women in the military resulted in the establishment of the 6888th Central Postal Battalion comprised of 800 Black women from the Army Service Forces, Army, and Air Force (DoD). The commander, a Black woman, was Major Charity Adams. Regrettably, despite the distinguished performance of the unit, particularly overseas, racism by the American military inspectors cited the unit as unsatisfactory. This result was partly a holdover of incomplete work by the unit that the 6888th replaced. Due to the increasing workload in the form of 3 million undelivered pieces of mail, exacerbated by

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the remoteness of their assignment in France, the troop descended into low morale. Other new assignments included Black nurses and Black physicians serving in Liberia to tend to Black troops who were assigned there (DoD). Unfortunately, all of the nurses succumbed to malaria and were returned to the United States.

Yet, despite the chilly reception to the Black women in the military, Moore (1996) considers World War II a pivotal period for Black women. For the most part, many Black women joined the army over the other branches of the military simply because, even with the racism and sexism they endured, it was the only option, although the WAAC, renamed WAC (Women Army Corps), was established shortly thereafter and also accepted them. Black women were excluded at first from the WAVES under the rationale that since there were no Black male sailors, the need did not exist for Black women to replace them (Campbell 1984). According to Moore (1996), no such rationale was offered as to why Black women would be incapable of replacing White male soldiers. Initially, though, African American women's response to enlistment in the navy was tepid, if not apathetic (Nalty). But when Black women were allowed to enter the navy so few enlisted that, unlike the army, they worked in integrated settings (McAfee Horton 1971; Moore 1996). However, after duty, the women were assigned to segregated housing facilities (Nalty; DoD).

In all, of the reported 11,000 women who served as nurses in the navy during World War II, a paltry 4 of them were Black (Nalty). It was not until September 1949 that the Marine Corps began accepting Black women into its ranks (McAfee Horton; Moore 1996). The Coast Guard followed by accepting two Black women into the women's auxiliary (Nalty).

The Women's Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948 opened the doors to women in the military and provided them with permanent status in both the active duty and reserve components (DoD). But unlike men, women were not subjected to conscription. The entrance requirements were more stringent than those of male recruits in terms of the level of education: they could not be married; and should they become pregnant, they were subject to automatic discharge from the military. Still, because of the dual scourge of racism and sexism encountered by Black women in the military, it took the efforts of Black organizations like the NAACP, the National Urban League, and others, along with the work of individuals that added to the strategic exposure of the blatant disparate treatment of the military by the Black press, and despite the rhetoric of the War Department, to help many to overcome multiple and seemingly insurmountable obstacles (Nalty; Moore 1996). One such heroine or s/hero on the frontline in defense of Black women in the military was Mary McLeod Bethune (Moore 1996). Bethune often intervened on behalf of Black women in the military by personally appealing and facilitating the acceptance and graduation of the first cohort of Black women to the army's

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Officer Candidate School (OCS). However, she took great pains to impress upon the candidates of their precedent-setting roles and cautioned them to take the oath of their service seriously and to uphold the belief that they were as capable as their White counterparts. Black women, like Black men, were routinely denied acceptance by the local recruiting stations. In some cases, they only prevailed given sheer persistence by the likes of Dr. Bethune or with the intervention of the local NAACP chapter president's correspondence to the WAC director, Oveta Culp Hobby.

Some Black women did achieve individual success. Mildred Hemmons, for instance, was the first African American woman to graduate from the Tuskegee Institute's Civilian Pilot Training (CPT) program (Moye 2010). Yet, because of the lack of employment opportunities of the day, especially for a Black female seeking assignment in the military and, moreover, as a pilot, she was forced to usurp her own goals for those of her husband's, who was also a graduate of the program. Others, like Willa B. Brown, a civilian, who was an anomaly of sorts at the time in the sense that as a woman of any race, she owned a flight school, served as an inspiration that Blacks, like Whites, were capable of flight (Nalty). And although to some degree, Black women were sexualized for their physical looks and curvature rather than their capabilities, the Black press was instrumental in promoting the achievements of African American women in the military. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, in particular, was reputed for touting the accomplishments of Black female officers, like First Lieutenant Dorothy Parks, who was the recipient of a certificate for "superior" performance (Nalty, p. 82), as well as Captain Eleanor B. Wilson and Captain May W. Wilbourne who both received the Bronze Star for their work in Korea (Cox 2013).

Moore's (1996) chronicles of the Black women of the WAC's 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion assignment in the South, for example, is one of resistance and outright defiance. Where White southern racist superiors' intent was to keep the Black women in what was believed to be their place, the women found ways of rebelling, even in uniform, against the inherently unjust treatment. Two such incidents include efforts by a White installation commander to reduce the women to menial and unskilled chores despite their qualifications, only to be surreptitiously reported to the highest echelon of the chain of command and the situation was rectified. Another incident involved one member of the 6888th who openly and knowingly drank from a water fountain marked for Whites only. More regrettable was that this blatant signal of segregated water fountains was, of all things, found on a military installation in the South. But the irony is that many African Americans were embraced by foreigners once they were deployed overseas. Essentially, the worst treatment, at least for the Black women of the 6888th, were from the White American military personnel who preceded their deployments

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in Europe and had already imported their racist ways in the hope that the Europeans would follow suit. Even worse was a cruel joke of so-called sentimentalism about African Americans. The women learned that their White military counterparts had likened Blacks to animals that barked like dogs and possessed tails (Moore 1996).

SMALL STEP TOWARD INTEGRATION

The Korean Conflict (1950–1953) has been described in some quarters as the first in a series of experiments on race relations in the military because it was known as the first such campaign to be shaped by the activities of the modern civil rights movement (DEOMI 2002; WIMSA). Black women served as nurses and in the Medical Service Corps (DoD; WIMSA) within CONUS in the 11th Evacuation Hospital and the 8055th MASH unit, and they were included in deployments to Korea, Japan, Hawaii (which was not yet part of the United States), and the Philippines (WIMSA).

Most of World War II and during the Korean Conflict, cost-containment considerations moved the military to utilize the skills of service women, who had not only proven that they were as skilled as servicemen but also incurred lower costs for training for the same jobs, owing to the associated costs for dependent families, including housing (Hicks and Hicks 2010). It is also noteworthy that it was during the Korean Conflict that Black and White American service members fought side by side and were housed in integrated units, given the DoD's determination that segregation was no longer a practice in the military (Bellafaire 2010; Bellafaire n.d.). Many Black women in the WAC served in Okinawa, Japan, and the Philippines (Hicks and Hicks). Women, such as Corporal Arline Haywood Hall of the Yokohoma's Engineering Depot and Esalla Ehelebe of the Army's Special Service, served overseas for the war effort as did nurses like Lieutenant Martha E. Cleveland—who became a colonel—and Nancy Green Peese of the 11th Evacuation Hospital, along with Lieutenant Evelyn Decker who was assigned to the 8055th MASH unit. Others served in Hawaii and in the western region of the United States (Bellafaire). The Vietnam Conflict (1959–1975) saw an increasing number of women volunteer for duty (DoD; DEOMI). And when the 2 percent cap on the women who could join the military as a percentage of the total military force was lifted in 1967, more women joined as the number of career fields also opened to them (DoD).

While the record remains incomplete regarding African American women's roles in the military during the Vietnam Conflict, what has been captured includes, but is not limited to, the following. In 1970, First Lieutenant Diane Lindsay was the first Black woman recipient of the Army's Soldier's Medal

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for heroism (WIMSA). Lieutenant Lindsay was on duty at the 95th Evacuation Hospital when a confused soldier pulled the pin of a grenade and threw it while in the hospital. She distinguished herself by helping to physically restrain the soldier from inflicting more damage—and thus more casualties—when he attempted to pull the pin of a second grenade. In 1972 Mildred C. Kelly was the first Black woman to achieve the rank of sergeant major (E–9) in the military. Others, like Chief Warrant Officer Doris Allen, worked as senior intelligence analysts in Vietnam, and Specialist Grendel Alice Howard, who was later promoted to Sergeant Major, received the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster and the Army's Commendation Medal also with Oak Leaf Cluster (Hicks and Hicks). In 1979, Hazel Winifred Johnson, a nurse with undergraduate, master's, and PhD degrees and who was chief of the army's nurse corps, became the first African American woman general officer (DoD; WIMSA). In July 1964, Ensign Edith De Voe of the navy and First Lieutenant Nancy Leftenant of the army were the first two Black women to be inducted into their respective nurses' corps and subsequently, along with Margaret E. Bailey, also a nurse, to achieve the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army (WIMSA).

MODERN-DAY GAINS

More than 40,000 women were deployed during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, the largest such deployment of women in the military since World War II (Holm; WIMSA). Of this number, it is reported that an estimated 40 percent of the force was comprised of Black women (Hicks and Hicks). African American Lieutenant Phoebe Jeter commanded an all-male platoon, ordered the firing of thirteen Patriot missiles with no less than two surface-to-surface missiles, or Scuds, destroyed. In addition, she became the sole female to shoot down a Scud (Randolph 1991). Yet, rarely, if ever, is this information found in either the popular media or literature about the military. Others, including Captain Cynthia Mosaly, the commander of the hundred personnel Alpha Company, 24th Support Battalion Forward, 24th Infantry (Mechanized) Division, supplied fuel to the forward brigades at the tip of the spear (Hicks and Hicks). Black women have served in all major campaigns, including more recently during Operation Enduring Freedom, with the army's Shoshana Johnson as the first known African American woman taken as a prisoner of war during its initial phase (Collins 2012; Hicks and Hicks).

In 1987, Irene Trowell-Harris, a flight nurse in the Air National Guard, became the first Black woman in the National Guard to be elevated to the rank of general officer (WIMSA). In 2001, Dr. Trowell-Harris retired as a major general. As also the first director of the Veterans Administration's

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Center for Women Veterans, Dr. Trowell-Harris did not mince words about the blatant inequities that women veterans encounter when she said, "The VA was basically designed for men. When they started to get women veterans coming in, they were not treated the same way. They were not treated with dignity and respect" (WIMSA). In 1995, following her promotion to brigadier general, Marcelite Harris was again promoted, this time to the rank of major general, after thirty-one years of service in the U.S. Air Force, the highest-ranking African American woman at the time (WIMSA; U.S. Air Force Academy n.d.; Harris 2015). Major General Harris, who is one of the women portrayed in G. L. A. Harris's book (no relation), was also the first woman in the Air Force to become its director of Maintenance and is the first African American and one of two women to lead the Air Force Academy.

In 1997, Danyell Wilson of the army was selected as the first Black woman in the military to guard the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery, and the Marine Corps' First Lieutenant Vernice Armour was the first African American woman to become an Armed Forces combat pilot (Hodges 1995; Hicks and Hicks; WIMSA), flying missions during Operation Iraqi Freedom (Hicks and Hicks; WIMSA). Finally, in 1996, Michelle Howard, a 1982 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, became the first Black woman to command a ship in the U.S. Navy, the *USS Rushmore* (LSD 47). In July 2014, she also became the first African American woman in the navy to attain the rank of admiral (U.S. Navy 2014; U.S. Navy n.d.).

We have made an interesting observation. Representation of Black women, especially within the commissioned corps, is either uneven, inconsistent, or is absent altogether in that one must scour multiple reports in an effort to gauge any sense of these data. While the most recent report lists Black women as comprising the DoD's military population on active duty and within the enlisted corps at 27.4 percent of the total force and 25.5 percent of the reserve component (DoD Office of Diversity 2013; Population Report, FY2013), there are virtually no such measures to compute the same for their representation within the commissioned corps either on active duty or within the reserve component. Only the DoD's Office of Diversity Management and Equal Opportunity for the same period (FY2013) for African American women officers on active duty stands at 2.79 percent of the total active commissioned corps. Yet, this same source does not include a similar representation for the reserve component of the military. Another observation is that it is Black women in the enlisted corps for both the active duty and reserve components who are primarily driving the representation within this segment of the military's population. Accordingly, 31 percent, or one in every three Black person on active duty is a Black woman (Patten and Parker 2011). This figure is almost twice the share of the 16 percent of Black men on active duty.

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Still, collectively, African American women appear to represent a formidable segment of the military's population. But the struggles of the African American woman in the military have been a dual tightrope of fighting the injustices against race and gender and may have still not yet achieved parity, owing to the absence of such information for their representation as officers within the commissioned corps. Yet, during this journey, while far from over, the Black woman has proven her worth time and time again as an invaluable resource that can no longer be ignored. Her unwavering role in stemming the tides of racism and inequality against all African Americans for recognition as full citizens inside and outside of the American military has been remarkable, if not amazing.

While all of the ourstory-making achievements of African American women could not be captured in this one chapter alone, it goes without saying that from the humble and tumultuous beginnings, when Black women were never so much as even considered to be part of the discourse in American ourstory, their rise in the military has no doubt proven that they are a force to be reckoned with. And throughout ourstory, the African American man could not have succeeded without a more devoted and beloved partner by his side to weather the perils of the time, and specifically for the recognition of their contributions to the rise and stature of the American military, than the African American woman. She has indeed proven that through thick and thin she is more than up to the task and sees her primary role as remaining a partner with her African American man, come what may.

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Chapter 4

The Role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

Still a Repository for Black Talent

Throughout the ourstory of the American military, Black talent has and continues to serve as an invaluable resource for both the enlisted and commissioned corps. Especially for the officer corps, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have been the repository of Black talent (Harris, Shivers, and Deuster 2011). With the first university established more than 160 years ago as a consequence of segregation in education, HBCUs have produced many of the best Black leaders. The oldest institution, Cheyney University in Pennsylvania (Knight, Davenport, Green-Powell, and Hilton 2012) was built in 1837, and others average between fifty years to hundred years old (Collins and Hamaifar 2007; Department of the Interior [DoI] n.d.). Wilberforce University (Ohio) was established in 1856 and was the first Black-owned and operated HBCU (Brown and Bertrand Ricard 2007).

At the time when the lives of Blacks were constrained through social and political means (Brown and Davis 2001), HBCUs offered a respite for African Americans who were essentially shut out from opportunities for education (Abelman and Dalessandro 2009). HBCUs were thus designed to educate free slaves following the Civil War (Browning and Williams 1978) through the collective effort of the AMA, the Black church, the Freedman's Bureau, grassroots community work, and monetary donations from private philanthropists (Brown 1999). It is also of note that it was the Society of Friends (Quakers), stanch abolitionists, who defined slavery as "a covenant with hell" (Lovett 2011, p. 5) that defied the wording of the Declaration of Independence by slaveholder Thomas Jefferson, who conveniently omitted the ills of the slave trade from the document (Lovett). The Quakers, in both New York and Pennsylvania, submitted formal pleas to the U.S. Congress for the institution of the slave trade to be ceased. But the appeal was in vain. As a result, the Society of Friends issued what it bequeathed as the Declaration

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of Sentiments in 1833, formally denouncing the slave trade. Thus, despite the racial rancor in the South during the early nineteenth century, some colleges admitted free Blacks to its institutions. These acts became the foundation to educate a potential Black faculty for the purpose to, in turn, educate those who would attend HBCUs. Yet, it was not until 1965 that Congress approved legislation in the form of the Higher Education Act to accredit HBCUs under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Education (Abelman and Dalessandro; DoI) and formally recognize the role of HBCUs in educating African Americans.

Of the 99 HBCUs still in existence (Knight et al.), down from 105 in 2009 (DoI; Abelman and Dalessandro), 19 are land-grant institutions of higher education concentrated primarily in the South, the District of Columbia, Michigan, and the Virgin Islands (Brown, Donahoo, and Bertrand 2001; Knight et al.; Abelman and Dalessandro). This marks a significant decline though from the more than 200 HBCUs before 1890 (Brown and Davis). HBCUs have produced the likes of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and business tycoon Oprah Winfrey, to name a few (DoI; Harris et al. 2011). While fewer than at their modern-day height of 117 HBCUs in 1997 (Department of Defense [DoD] 1985), HBCUs still represent approximately 16 percent of higher education institutions that African Americans attend (DoI). With two-year and four-year colleges and universities and 3 percent of all U.S. postsecondary institutions (Abelman and Dalessandro; Knight et al.), and despite the decrease in the total number of accredited HBCUs nationwide, approximately 28 percent of African American recipients of undergraduate degrees, 16 percent with professional degrees, 15 percent with master's degrees, and 9 percent with doctoral degrees come from HBCUs (Brown and Davis). Likewise, more than half of all Black public school teachers and seven out of every ten African American dentists secured their credentials from HBCUs (Knight et al.). Spelman College and Bennett College, both members of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), generate approximately 50 percent of Black women with doctorates in the scientific fields. It is no wonder, despite the decline in the total number of HBCUs (DoI), that HBCUs continue to play a vital role in the production of the nation's Black talent.

For the military, HBCUs have proven to be a particularly rich resource for the best and brightest that the nation has to offer. Prairie View Agricultural & Mechanical University (PVAMU) in Texas was one of the first HBCUs in the country to institute a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program to prepare commissioned officers for the military (Hampton 2012). PVAMU also became the first HBCU to host the Navy's ROTC program in 1967. Further, during the Vietnam Conflict, HBCUs supplied the military with 75 percent to 80 percent of its African American officers. Contrast this

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rate of production with the nominal thirty-six Black officers produced by the U.S. Military Academy at West Point between 1971 and 1973. Much of this growth in Black officers was attributed to the escalation of the Vietnam Conflict and the resulting need for an increased Black officer corps via ROTC programs at HBCUs.

RATIONALE FOR EXISTENCE

HBCUs were established prior to the Civil War when African Americans were deliberately excluded from America's education system (Brown and Davis; Brown and Bertrand Ricard; Ford-Edwards 2002; Cox 2013). While a few northern higher educational institutions had opened their doors and admitted Blacks, most notably Oberlin College (Ohio) and Amherst College (Massachusetts), virtually all such American institutions remained closed to Blacks (Brown and Davis; Brown et al. 2001). The South had several such institutions; Maryville College (Tennessee) and Berea College (Kentucky) were open to Blacks before the Civil War (Lovett). Further, southern states passed laws after the Civil War forbidding the education of former slaves. These became known as "Black Codes" (Brown and Davis). The belief was that to educate the former slaves was tantamount to ceding control to them. Black Codes ensured that this mindset would not only be enshrined in states' statutes (Anderson 1988) but also proselytize the prevailing sentiments of the day. Because Whites also believed that Blacks were considered compromised and thus subordinate to them in terms of their intelligence, formal education was seen as a waste of resources that would be of no benefit (Bullock 1967). Educating Blacks, then, would render their usefulness and, in turn, their class standing an irrelevant tool for Whites (Ogbu 1978). The idea of formally educating Blacks was perceived as a credible threat to Whites that would incite aggression and revolution against them (Aptheker 1969).

Given these prevailing and vehement views prior to the Civil War about Blacks by Whites, only twenty-eight Blacks became the recipients of undergraduate degrees (Roebuck and Marty 1993). And not surprisingly, no more than 5 percent of the 4.5 million of the Black population in the United States were considered educated (Anderson). In addition, before 1860, more than 90 percent of the 4 million slaves and half million or so free Blacks were functioning illiterates (Franklin and Moss 1988). Of this number, 44 percent of free slaves resided in the South. Prior to the Civil War, there were essentially two HBCUs, although in 1833, the Quakers, who believed that Blacks were entitled to formal education, opened Haverford College for this purpose (Lovett). Other educational institutions were established. Cheyney University opened in 1837, though first not as a college but as a preparatory school; then

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in the 1900s the institution began offering instruction as a place of higher learning (Foster and Guyden 2004; Lovett). In 1856, Wilberforce University opened its doors and has become the longest-running privately held HBCU with Blacks at the helm (Brown and Bertrand Ricard). Lincoln University was opened in 1866 (Foster and Guyden; Lovett).

In 1862, with the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act, an additional four public HBCUs were established (Brown and Bertrand Ricard). Yet, despite the creation of these institutions in formerly Confederate states, they were established to ensure racial segregation and, hence, White supremacy, even though following Reconstruction, the southern states were now duty bound to establish formal education for former slaves. In 1865, with the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation, Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau to help former slaves in the aftermath of the Civil War (Bennett 1984). The legislation financially supported the operation of Black "dayschools, night schools, industrial schools, institutes and colleges" (Bennett, p. 218). In 1868, the 14th Amendment provided equal protection for the American citizen without regard to race and created Howard University; the 15th Amendment, ratified in 1870, gave the right to vote, again, without regard to race. In 1890, the Second Morrill Act established funding for land-grant institutions and stated that for states receiving such annuities to offer "separate but equal" services for the races (Brown, p. 3). According to Brown and Davis, although it is the Second Morrill Act that provided for the proliferation of HBCUs that followed, namely and predominantly HBCUs in nineteen of the southern and neighboring states, doing so had, in effect, fortified the notion of inequality in higher education—in which remnants of this disparity in education are still visible today at HBCUs. Per Brown and Davis, such legislation functioned as a proxy to keep the races separate as well as to propagate White control.

The great debate that ensued between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, among others, marked the imperative of the importance of education and educating former slaves following Reconstruction (Hampton; Brown et al. 2001). Both men viewed education as vital to uplifting African Americans from the scourge and demoralization of slavery. Yet the men viewed achieving this vision very differently. Washington was an ardent advocate of vocational training (Brown et al.). He believed that the focus on industrial training, together with the development of manual skills, would provide Blacks with what they needed to earn the respect of others and therefore HBCUs should serve in assisting Blacks to be successful in these roles (Brown et al.; Hampton). A graduate of Hampton University, the second land-grant HBCU in 1872 (Hampton), Washington founded the private HBCU Tuskegee Institute in 1881, which later became home to the famous World War II aviators, the Tuskegee Airmen (Cox). But Washington's view of Black education, according to critics, was to accept the role and work of

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subservience, thus limiting Black people's progress (Hampton). W. E. B. Du Bois, on the other hand, was an intellectual. He was not only the first African American to receive his PhD from Harvard University (Hampton) but in 1900, of the 240 Americans registered as being conferred PhDs, the only Black (Lovett). Du Bois saw Washington's philosophy as forcing Blacks to kowtow to Whites through segregated education (Hampton). His view of HBCUs was that of elite institutions to develop elite groups of Blacks to fight racism and lead others (Brown et al.). To him, HBCUs were to function in preparing the best professionals as physicians, lawyers, and teachers, for instance, not as skilled blue-collar workers.

True to character, and as one of the founders of the NAACP, Du Bois was instrumental in gaining parity for HBCUs with predominantly White institutions (PWIs) (Lovett). In 1935, Du Bois and the NAACP filed a number of lawsuits that challenged the legal ruling of the separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). These legal challenges came at a time when there was only one HBCU with a law school, two with medical schools, and three with graduate degree programs. Between 1935 and 1950, the NAACP and its plaintiffs prevailed in the majority of its lawsuits until *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) found separate but unequal education to be unconstitutional and discriminatory in both administration and application. Until then, the divergent philosophies in education, particularly between Washington and Du Bois, forced Blacks psychologically to now come to a fork in the road, so to speak, in the quest for education, especially since Whites had become more comfortable in dealing with less educated Blacks to either choose "accommodation or confrontation" (Hampton, p. 50).

In 1965, Congress finally saw fit to codify into law via the Higher Education Act the importance of HBCUs as American institutions—and specifically for the purpose of higher education for African Americans—by granting them national accreditation (Harris et al.; Swail, Redd and Perna 2003; Redd 1998; Knight et al.). Ironically, today, in bridging the gap by reconciling the differences between the philosophies of Washington and Du Bois as to the role of HBCUs, they now represent a balanced merging of these two visions (Brown and Ricard). Says Willie (1981), "The synthesis of liberal arts and vocationally oriented courses in the curriculum of Black Colleges and universities . . . has placed [HBCUs] in the varying guard of higher education" (p. 74). HBCUs and even predominantly Black Colleges and Universities (PBCUs), fifty-four in total located across the country, are more likely to be situated in urban areas as primarily two-year institutions (Brown et al.) and have a dual responsibility. As Black academic institutions, their founding warrants the higher education of the Black race in the United States (Brown and Ricard). Similarly, as Black institutions, part of this two-pronged responsibility is indeed the obligation to preserve the culture, experience, pride, and tradition

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of a people (Armstrong 2002; Roebuck and Marty). But there is a third role for which especially HBCUs have been known but is a more nuanced responsibility for which PWIs neither have the responsibility nor the obligation to meet. That is, for students, HBCUs have been reputed as nurturing environments where faculty-student relationships thrive as a home away from home as part of the enriching experience not found in other academic climates (Armstrong; Collins and Hamaifar; Steinfeldt and Steinfeldt 2009).

HBCUs have long provided unprecedented access to familiar environments to those within the Black community (Brown, Ricard, and Donahoo 2004). PWIs are frequently viewed as cold environments where Black students feel isolated (Allen 1992; Bennett and Okinaka 1990). Thus, HBCUs became places of refuge for Black students (Davis and Borders-Patterson 1973; Morgan 1995). Brown and Davis say that HBCUs are physically distant from PWIs "because they were founded and developed in an environment marked by hostile legal segregation" (p. 47). Yet collectively, HBCUs are places where students flourish. Many African Americans did flourish, with many whose early beginnings at HBCUs not only served as proving grounds to weather the harsh realities of racism in the larger American society (Quarterman, Harris, and Chew 1996) but also functioned as a launching pad for successful careers beyond those previously mentioned. Most notably are some of the most famous such as Julian Earls, W. E. B. Du Bois, Whitney M. Young, and Charles Drew, to name a few (Harris et al.; Hampton; Redd). For these reasons and so much more, HBCUs remain a treasured force in producing the largess of Black American intelligentsia. For example, HBCUs produce

- 80 percent of African American judges (Henderson 2001; Bailey 2003; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES] 2009) (U.S. Department of Education);
- 65 percent of Black lawyers and/or those who complete graduate and professional degrees (Henderson; Bailey; Also see Knight et al.);
- 80 percent of all African American physicians and dentists (Knight et al.);
- 50 percent of Black engineers (Henderson; Bailey);
- 50 percent of Black faculty in PWIs and public school teachers (Knight et al.; Henderson; Bailey), representing nine out of ten of the institutions with Black graduates who go on to pursue PhDs; and
- more than 50 percent of Black female doctorates in science.

And in the increasingly uncertain and financially austere climate, HBCUs have found innovative ways to enhance visibility by offering doctoral programs, which experienced a 32 percent growth rate by 2006 (Knight et al.).

In 2008, for the first time, *U.S. News and World Report* ranked HBCUs in its edition titled "America's Best Black Colleges" (Knight et al.). While

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the existence of HBCUs within the United States has had a long and, indeed, proud tradition, the inclusion in this publication is a novel recognition and acknowledgment by the widely accepted White mainstream media as to the importance of these institutions to American society. But perhaps what is less known by the White establishment media, and even more so by White Americans at large, is that more and more HBCUs' student bodies consist of White students (Brown and Bertrand Ricard). But, then again, perchance, it is this very knowledge that might have moved *U.S. News and World Report* to make its ourstoric designation in welcoming HBCUs as a stand-alone category in its annual rankings. Or maybe the small but visible presence of White faculty at these institutions may have provided a reason to include HBCUs in its ranking.

For much of the ourstory of HBCUs and their founding, especially those borne of religious, private, or White missionary societies, Whites were at the helm and made up the administration and faculty (Foster and Guyden). Slater (1993) states that Whites were so ensconced and in control of the individual steering of these institutions that it took some sixty years after it was established in 1926 for Howard University, as one example, to have its first African American president. Moreover, for the purpose of the increasingly important accreditation as academic institutions, the presence of faculty with terminal and graduate degrees became an imperative. Outside of such HBCUs as Tuskegee Institute, Fisk University, Clark-Atlanta University, and Howard University that themselves offered terminal and graduate degrees and employed faculty with PhDs, other HBCUs relied on White faculty with these same credentials (Anderson). The 1940s and 1950s experienced an exodus of scholarly European Jews, escaping repressive governments, who were employed as faculty at HBCUs (Foster and Guyden); and during the 1950s through 1960s, at the height of the Civil Rights Era in the quest for equality, many Whites became associated with these institutions.

Today, although primarily driven by economics, Whites have found HBCUs to be lucrative institutions as the opportunities for tenure-track faculty at PWIs have decreased (Foster and Guyden). Warnat (1976) uses four archetypes to describe White faculty who become associated with HBCUs: the "Moron" bears no self-blame but attributes problems of incompetency and the like to the institutions for which s/he is employed; the "Martyr" uses zealotry more than anything to rid her/himself of guilt as a way of atoning for society's ills; the "Messiah's" goal is to give direction to those adrift, while the "Marginal Man" struggles with reconciling two divergent worlds of which she/he is a part. Perhaps, and this is again owing to conjecture on our part as the authors of this book, it is this growing presence of White faculty, regrettably on the one hand, yet fortunately on the other hand, that is giving rise to and driving the already known credence and reputation of HBCUs

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within the African American community. Though almost 200 years late—or since the founding of the first HBCU—the established White media are only now beginning to take notice of the invaluable worth of these institutions. While we believe that this overdue attention may be dually pronged—an increasing number of White students at HBCUs together with the growing presence of White faculty—what we in the Black community have always known has suddenly been re-presented in a new light. Then president of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) William H. Gray III states,

> Historically Black Colleges and Universities play a critical role in American Higher education. They produce a disproportionate number of African American baccalaureate recipients, and are the undergraduate degree of origin for a disproportionate share of Ph.Ds. to Blacks. These institutions perform miracles in elevating disadvantaged youth to productive citizenship. If they did not exist, we would have to invent them. (Brown and Bertrand Ricard, p. 125)

HBCUS AND THE MILITARY

African Americans, and in particular African American soldiers, have long considered the path to freedom and, indeed, citizenship was through military service. Yet, uniformly for all, to successfully pursue this path was by securing an education. During the Civil War, although never formalized by the Union army, many Black soldiers and their families found ways to attend makeshift schools, and some were even sponsored by the regiments that were part of the U.S. Colored Troops (Cornish 1952). By 1862, when the number of Black soldiers increased and the Union army advanced in the South, it became clear that these soldiers yearned for literacy (Cox). As Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson proclaimed, he witnessed his Black soldiers assemble in the evenings around a Black woman who would read to them from a New England speller. For many, this formal education became a routine part of their twenty-four-hour day to which they devoted much work. Hence, this was not an uncommon behavior for the soldiers at the time. In fact, securing an education for them made sense, as it was a conduit for getting a promotion in the military (Cornish). According to Joseph T. Wilson of the Louisiana National Guard and the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, "Each soldier felt that but for his illiteracy he might be a sergeant, company clerk, quartermaster, and not a few, that if educated, they might be lieutenants and captains. This was not an unusual conclusion for a brave soldier to arrive at, when men no braver than himself were promoted for bravery" (Cox, p. 15). In essence, to the Black troops, education was key to good soldiering.

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The war made it more evident as to the link between education and military service (Cox), so much so that—given this shared mentality among men and women affiliated with the regiments—education programs were established. One of the best examples of this commitment to education was a discussion in 1866 among Black soldiers as to the need for schools for those soldiers who were honorably discharged, which led to a collection of combined funds from the soldiers of the 62nd and 65th Regiments in the U.S. Colored Troops of $6,000. This collection resulted in the funding of Lincoln University in Missouri. In addition, General Nathaniel Banks in the Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, Louisiana, was himself so committed to the education of his Black soldiers that he made it a requirement for all of his 18,500 Black troops to be schooled by the American Missionary Association (AMA) (Cox). It was not long before Black soldiers came to associate serving in the military with the opportunity to secure an education. Most important, doing so created a path to citizenship through the recognition from slave to soldier and thus manhood, as well as a vehicle for mitigating the most urgent of economic and social ills for Blacks at the time (Humphreys 2008; Williams 2005).

Cox offers a profound example as to the mind-set at the time of the Black soldier. Sergeant John Sweeney petitioned the federal government for the erection of a school for Black soldiers in his unit by citing the advantages not just for the Black soldier but that, once returned to society, the benefits for American society of having an educated Black citizenry (Williams). Equally important was the symbiotic notion of manhood with citizenship and education through military service. According to Harry S. Laver,

> Being a man meant in part not being a woman or child; in other words, not being effeminate or immature. In the slave South, most damning was the unmanly fault of dependency. Dependents lacked the ability to care for themselves. And nineteenth century southern society branded women and African Americans as thus deficient, relegating them to the margins of the public sphere. (2004, pp. 4–5)

HBCUs, therefore, represent a significant ourstory in education and in producing the overwhelming number of Black commissioned officers for the U.S. military (Harris et al.). However, as it stands, while according to the most recent population report (FY 2013) on commissioned officers, of the 26, 253 on active duty identified as securing a commission via the ROTC scholarship for the army, navy, air force, and the marine corps, only 2,518 are Black. But note that these data may or may not reflect the actual number of those commissioned through ROTC for active duty since the U.S. Department of Defense additionally extrapolates its data according to ethnicity. Since any race can be Hispanic, the aforementioned 2,518 as a representation of Black

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commissioned officers may not be accurate. Likewise, data on sources of commission for the reserve components are neither aggregated nor available for race and/or ethnicity. Thus, these data for any group are incomplete. However, of the data available, those deduced by Harris et al. are based on a 1999 DoD report for graduates who secured commissions in 1996 that constitute HBCUs with ROTC programs. For all military branches, of the 706 African Americans with a commission, 43 percent, or 304, graduated from HBCUs (Harris et al.).

Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU) distinguished itself as one of the first HBCUs to forge such an agreement with the U.S. military, that is, to host an ROTC program as part of its academic curriculum (Hampton). By 1973, nineteen HBCUs had active ROTC programs. The army, air force, and navy have ROTC programs at HBCUs (Hampton). While commission through ROTC programs into the military varies with each military branch, at least two years of college education are required, at which time following two years of advanced military training the officer would graduate with an undergraduate degree and a commission to the ROTC's military branch (Johnson 2002).

When President Woodrow Wilson signed the National Defense Act of 1916 into law, which also established the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) and ROTC, HBCUs were never a consideration (Johnson). It was not until Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to the U.S. secretary of war, became involved during World War I in 1918 that the likes of HBCUs like Howard University was granted such dispensation. Although PVAMU was initially established, it was as a junior (J) ROTC program with designated training as nonessential to the military (Hampton). It was not until 1942 that PVAMU received its designation as a Special Division Unit of the army's Infantry branch (Nalty 1986). As a JROTC, Prairie View A&M University was viewed as subordinate to White ROTC programs. With its revised designation as an ROTC program and in keeping with the requirements of the army and the War Department, PVAMU was entitled to comparable treatment as White ROTC approved programs.

It is a monumental feat, to say the least, that prior to the Civil War some twenty-four HBCUs had been established, with more than sixty in fourteen southern states founded during Reconstruction (Sims 1994; Gasman and Tudico 2008). Even more remarkable was that by 1870, just a few years following the Civil War, the collective will, symbolizing the imperative for education, summoned African Americans to raise more than $1 million to establish almost 3,000 schools serving more than 100,000 Black students across the South (Cox). But despite systematic racism at the time, African Americans staunchly believed that military service and education legitimatized their existence as American citizens. As early as 1868, an African

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American member of the Arkansas Constitutional Convention rationalized service on the battlefield as having earned the right to franchisement as an American citizen when he declared, “Has not the man who conquers upon the field of battle, gained any rights? Have we gained none by the sacrifice of our brethren” (Cox, p. 20)?

The 1890 Morrill Land Grant Act established HBCUs such as Southern University, for which one of its missions was the education of male students in military tactics, although such training was not actually used until after World War I (Cox). Distinctive in its attributes at the time given its rise to prominence, like that of privately held counterparts such as Fisk University, Southern University (Louisiana) was a forerunner of sorts given its relationship with the military, but one that leveraged its leadership to notoriety with P. B. S. Pinchback, former Black officer in the Union army, a Republican state senator in Louisiana, and delegate of the Legislative Committee on Public Education (Cox). Pinchback, who was a ferocious advocate of education for Blacks, successfully led the resolution for establishing schools for African Americans. Another prominent Black on the Committee, T. B. Stamps, supported the resolution. At the helm of Southern University in 1914 was its first president, Dr. Joseph Samuel Clark, who led the school for twenty-five years, and was followed by his son, Dr. Felton G. Clark, in 1938 until 1968 (Cox). During World War II, Dr. Felton Clark developed strong ties with leaders at other HBCUs, African American leaders of national stature, the Black press, and secured the support of White philanthropists, including the Rockefeller Foundation; the governor of Louisiana, Sam H. Jones; and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (Cox). Dr. Clark was also successful in securing state and federal funding, including winning Southern University the authorization for the administration of both state and federal wartime programs. F. G. Clark’s talents in raising the prominence of Southern University were unparalleled for its day, making the university a regional powerhouse.

Hampton Institute had its beginnings steeped in military training. According to Cox, its founder, Union army General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, believed in eradicating the stereotypical perception of African Americans of the day as slaves with the propensity for “laziness and sloth” (p. 20). Consequently, in 1868, the original Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute instituted a military-like approach to training, with field and physical training commencing at 5:00 a.m. daily. Similar training began at Tuskegee Institute in 1881 (Cox). In 1917, with the enactment of the Selective Service Act, the U.S. military selected thirteen HBCUs as sites for educational and vocational training programs (Cox, p. 22). Such training eventually led the War Department to establish the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) in 1918,

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including what was then Prairie View Normal and Industrial College, at nineteen HBCUs (Cox, p. 21). In 1919, following World War I, ROTC programs were established at eleven HBCUs, including at PVAMU (Cox).

Today, of the 105 nationally accredited HBCUs (Accredited HBCU Listing, Department of Education), only 24 are listed as having ROTC programs (The Rocks, Inc. n.d.). These data coincide with the same found in Harris et al.'s study of HBCUs with human performance optimization programs, which are academic programs that are similar in content to those of the U.S. military (pp. 17–18). Yet, by contrast, the philosophy surrounding the relationship between HBCUs and the military has changed profoundly owing to the mindset of an antiwar generation, because of not only the Vietnam Conflict but also the tragedies that ensued. Students at various campuses across the country reacted violently to the announcement of the American invasion of Cambodia in 1970 (Cox). Many ROTC programs became the obvious targets of this frustration, including those at HBCUs. But in the wake of the cumulative effects of the Vietnam Conflict, student fatalities at Kent State University; the fatalities of two African American students at Jackson State University; the report that Blacks were bearing the disproportionate brunt of deaths by being on the front lines of the war, and that not just the U.S. military but also the draft boards in Mississippi were complicit in sending Black troops to their death; nothing could have quelled the growing unrest in the country, within the Black community, and specifically within a state like Mississippi, where White police officers hurled such racial epithets as "Nigger" toward Black students on a routine basis (Cox, pp. 153–154; Spoffard 1988).

Yet, as Cox points out, for all of the negativities that they endured, the military and particularly ROTC programs were good choices and places for African Americans and more so in light of the few opportunities afforded to them within the civilian sector. HBCUs then became an instrumental mechanism for this purpose. And with the move from a conscripted military to an all-volunteer force, the military utilized these incentives to attract and retain a Black force. According to Nalty, per the Gates Commission that studied the viability of converting to an all-volunteer force, "Some blacks are compelled to serve in the armed forces at earnings below what they would earn in the civilian economy, under the new system, the black volunteer should see military service as an opportunity rather than a burden, exchanging his services, for remuneration in terms of pay, training and travel" (Cox, p. 170). Regrettably, while racism continues to be a fact of life for African Americans even in the twenty-first century, the struggles of Blacks who have joined the military throughout ourstory have no doubt paved the way for today's citizens, as such sacrifices helped to spur a thriving, Black middle class.

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Table 4.1 List and Location of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)—4-year and above with and without military affiliation

Institution	*Type*	*Academic Level/Degree*	*Military Affiliation*	*Location*
Alabama A&M University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	AL
Alabama State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	AL
Miles College	Private	4-year +	ROTC	AL
Oakwood College	Private	4-year	None	AL
Selma University	Private	4-year	None	AL
Stillman College	Private	4-year	ROTC	AL
Talledega College	Private	4-year	ROTC	AL
Tuskegee University	Private	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	AL
Arkansas Baptist College	Private	4-year	None	AL
Plilander Smith College	Private	4-year	ROTC	AR
University of Arkansas	Public	4-year	ROTC	
Delaware State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	DE
Howard University	Mixed	4-year + including PhD, JD, MD	ROTC	Washington, D.C.
University of the District of Columbia	Private	4-year	ROTC	Washington, D.C.
Bethune-Cookman College	Private	4-year +	ROTC	FL
Edward Waters College	Private	4-year	ROTC	FL
Florida A&M University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	FL
Florida Memorial College	Private	4-year +	ROTC	FL
Albany State College	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	GA
Clark-Atlanta University	Private	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	GA
Fort Valley State College	Public	4-year +	ROTC	GA
Interdenominational Theological Center	Private	4-year	None	GA
Moorehouse CollegeMedical School	Private	4-year + including MD	ROTC	GA
Morris Brown College	Private	4-year	None	GA
Paine College	Private	4-year	ROTC	GA
Savannah State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	GA
Spelman College	Private	4-year	None	GA
Kentucky State University	Public	4-year	ROTC	KY

(*continued*)

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Table 4.1 Continued

Institution	Type	Academic Level/Degree	Military Affiliation	Location
Dillard University	Private	4-year	ROTC	LA
Grambling State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	LA
Southern University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	LA
Southern University at New Orleans	Public	4-year +	ROTC	LA
Xavier University	Private	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	LA
Bowie State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	MD
Coppin State College	Public	4-year +	ROTC	MD
Morgan State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	MD
University of Maryland-Eastern Shore	Public	4-year + including PhD	None	MD
Alcorn State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	MS
Jackson State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	MS
Mississippi Valley State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	MS
Rust College	Private	4-year	None	MS
Tougaloo College	Private	4-year	ROTC	MS
Harris-Stowe State College	Public	4-year	ROTC	MO
Lincoln University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	MO
Barber-Scotia College	Private	4-year	None	NC
Bennett College	Private	4-year	ROTC	NC
Elizabeth City State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	NC
Fayetteville State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	NC
Johnson C. Smith University	Private	4-year	None	NC
Livingstone College	Private	4-year	ROTC	NC
North Carolina A&T State University	Public	4-year +including PhD	ROTC	NC
North Carolina Central University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	NC
St. Augustine's College	Private	4-year	ROTC	NC
Shaw University	Private	4-year +	ROTC	NC
Winston-Salem State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	NC
Central State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	OH
Wilberforce University	Private	4-year +	ROTC	OH

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Langston University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	OK
Cheyney State University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	PA
Lincoln University	Public	4-year +	ROTC	PA
Allen University	Private	4-year	ROTC	SC
Benedict College	Private	4-year	ROTC	SC
Claflin College	Private	4-year +	ROTC	SC
Morris College	Private	4-year	ROTC	SC
South Carolina State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	SC
Voorhees College	Private	4-year	ROTC	SC
Fisk University	Private	4-year +	None	TN
Knoxville College	Private	4-year	None	TN
Lane College	Private	4-year	None	TN
LeMoyne-Owen College	Private	4-year	ROTC	TN
Meharry Medical College	Private	4-year + including MD	None	TN
Tennessee State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	TN
Houston-Tillotson College	Private	4-year	ROTC	TX
Jarvis Christian College	Private	4-year	None	TX
Paul Quinn College	Private	4-year	None	TX
Prairie View A&M University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	TX
Southwestern Christian College	Private	4-year	None	TX
Texas College	Private	4-year	None	TX
Texas Southern University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	TX
Wiley College	Private	4-year	None	TX
Hampton University	Private	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	VA
Norfolk State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	VA
Saint Paul's College	Private	4-year	ROTC	VA
Virginia State University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	VA
Virginia Union University	Public	4-year + including PhD	ROTC	VA
Bluefield State College	Public	4-year	None	WV
West Virginia State	Public	4-year +	ROTC	WV

Source: Brown et al. 2004, Appendix A., and http://www.american-school-search.com/colleges/hbcu?gclid=

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Notable African Americans who attended HBCUs and rose to pioneering status in the military include the following:

- General "Chappie" James, formerly of the Tuskegee Institute and the first to be elevated to the rank of four stars (DoD; Nalty)
- Lieutenant General Russell Honore, who attended ROTC at Southern University (Cox)
- Major General Marcelite Harris of Spelman College, who was not only the first Black woman in the U.S. military to attain the rank of two stars but was also the first woman aircraft maintenance officer in the Air Force, the first female Vice Wing Commander of a maintenance wing in the Air Force and was only the second woman and the first African American, male or female, to become Commander of the U.S. Air Force Academy (Harris 2015).

Essentially, HBCUs have become and continue to be the premier proving grounds and repositories of Black talent in the United States (Harris et al.).

Table 4.2 List and Location of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)—2-year institutions with and without military affiliation

Institution	*Type*	*Academic Level/ Degree*	*Military Affiliation*	*Location*
Bishop State Community College	Public	2-year	None	AL
C. Fredd State Technical College	Public	2-year	None	AL
Concordia College	Private	2-year	ROTC	AL
Gadsen State Community College	Public	2-year	ROTC	AL
J. F. Technical College	Public	2-year	None	AL
Lawson State Community College	Public	2-year	None	AL
Miles College	Private	2-year	ROTC	AL
Trenholm State Technical College	Public	2-year	None	AL
Shelton State Community College	Public	2-year	ROTC	AL
Shorter College	Private	2-year	None	AR
Southern University-Shreveport-Bossier City	Public	2-year	ROTC	LA
Lewis College of Business	Private	2-year	None	MI
Coahoma Community College	Public	2-year	None	MS
Hinds Community College	Public	2-year	None	MS
Mary Holmes College	Private	2-year	None	MS
Clinton Junior College	Private	2-year	None	SC
Denmark Technical College	Public	2-year	ROTC	SC
Saint Phillip's College	Public	2-year	ROTC	TX

Source: Brown et al. 2004, Appendix A., and http://www.american-school-search.com/colleges/hbcu?gclid=

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This is especially so for the U.S. military. See tables 4.1 and 4.2 for a list of HBCUs, both public and private.

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Part II

TODAY'S REALITIES

Despite the challenges, over time the military developed a cadre of African Americans from both the enlisted and commissioned corps who largely benefited from having served in the military. Yet lest we forget, it was not the military per se but the forces at play at the time, primary among them the overall and deeply entrenched racism, especially in the South, that dictated and compelled African Americans to seek out inventive and innovative ways to fend for themselves by establishing thriving communities that were built on sound economic principles. Because Blacks were essentially shut out of the system and from all that sustained healthy societies, they soon learned to forge alliances and relied upon the strengths of one another as a means for collective survival.

Part II, therefore, examines the contemporary realities for Blacks post-military service. In this case, we delve into issues of prosperity and the Black middle class; the prelude to what later became known as the modern civil rights movement and one of its chief outgrowths, that of Affirmative Action and its impact on the education of African Americans; the propensity for Black veterans to weather hardships more so than Black nonveterans; to more thought-provoking issues like the Black community's take on the military's Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue policy, itself a reflection of the divergence and the sometimes seeming intolerance and contradictions within the Black community.

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Chapter 5

The Black Middle Class and the Path to Economic Wealth

Sustainable economic wealth within the Black community may, depending on your perspective, seem mythical. Examination of the Black-White wealth gap, given the current state of seemingly perpetual poverty, social service dependence, race, and the continuing struggle for education equity, continues to widen. The Black-White wealth gap and accompanying social demographics may lead one to ask, can the cycle be broken and the gap closed? While the previously noted issues exist among those who are veterans, the Black-White wealth disparity gap may be smaller in that group because of the neutral nature of the military's policies and procedures (Loveless-Morris 2013; Moskos and Butler 1996; Teachman 2004, 2005, 2008; Teachman and Tedrow 2008; Usdansky, London, and Wilmoth 2009). The answer may lie in the Black middle class, deemed "The Mainstream" by Eugene Robinson (2010). According to Robinson, a Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist, "The Mainstream" are fully vested in the American dream, are in control of their financial future, and have secured their legacy. This group within the Black community is, in fact, the pillar, which at one time may have been part of the economically impoverished. How did they—the Black middle class—break the cycle? To better understand those who have "arrived," we must first look back at a time in the Black community when economic sustainability through entrepreneurship was not a far-fetched ideal, but rather an attainable, realistic, and ardently applied philosophy.

BLACK WALL STREET AND THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

The Oklahoma Land Run of 1889 attracted those seeking to buy up and occupy land previously restricted by the U.S. government (Anders, Smith,

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and Brooks 1984, p. 10). This opportunity gained the attention of an ambitious entrepreneur by the name of O. W. Gurley, a wealthy African American landowner from Arkansas. Mr. Gurley had just resigned from a presidential appointment under President Grover Cleveland (Sykes 2008). He sought to purchase land, develop it, and sell his real estate to people of color only so that they, too, could develop businesses. Black ownership was an extreme rarity at the time. In 1906, Gurley relocated permanently to Oklahoma and started one of his first businesses, a rooming house built in the northeastern section of the sparsely developed Tulsa, Oklahoma. The area would later become known as the Greenwood district. African Americans fleeing the racism of the South would find refuge in this small enclave and room at Gurley's establishment. Mr. Gurley built three two-story buildings, five additional residencies, purchased an eighty-acre farm, and founded what is today known as Vernon AME Church (Hirsch 2002).

Another businessman by the name of J. B. "John the Baptist" Stradford arrived in Tulsa in 1899. Born a slave in Versailles, Kentucky, Stradford was a graduate of Oberlin College and Indiana Law School (*Stradford, John the Baptist "J. B."* n.d.). He, too, bought up tracks of real estate and began to subdivide and sell the land exclusively to African Americans. Stradford believed in collective work and responsibility—pooling resources and supporting each other's businesses. His flagship business was the Stradford Hotel in downtown Tulsa. This establishment allowed African Americans to partake in the amenities that other businesses would not allow due to the adopted Southern Jim Crow laws. His fifty-four-room hotel was the largest and most prestigious Black-owned hotel in the country at that time. Additionally, Stradford owned several rental properties that included homes and an apartment building. Eventually, ownership of these properties helped him to become the richest man in Tulsa, much to the envy of White Tulsa residents.

The entrepreneurial spirit of Blacks spread throughout the thriving Greenwood district as Black people arrived looking for more opportunities and a brighter future than the South would allow them. One such person was Mabel Little, who saved the money she earned from cleaning motel rooms to start a beauty salon (Williams 2014). Once she opened the Little Rose Beauty Salon, it quickly became the place for young African American women in Tulsa in need of hair straightening, washing, or waving. Her husband, Presley Little, added to their success when he opened a restaurant next to Mabel's salon, which also became very popular with the locals. Mr. Little also established rental properties in the community for newcomers seeking to settle in the thriving Greenwood district.

The Greenwood district of Tulsa, Oklahoma, came to be known as Black Wall Street (Goble 2001). It served as the nation's prime example that Black

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people could overcome injustices and an uneven socioeconomic playing field to become a self-sustaining community. Still further, Black Wall Street reached its apex just fifty years after the Emancipation Proclamation. However, as one might imagine, White Tulsa citizens saw the mere existence of such a well-organized and financed municipality as a threat. There were many reasons why they viewed Black Wall Street as a danger. First, it disproved the racist stereotypes that Blacks could not think for themselves and that they could not build and run successful businesses. Second, the economic model for a free and independent African American community was an example that White citizens did not want to see repeated elsewhere. Third, the competitive presence of successful Black businesses affected the financial monopoly once held by White business owners. Even further, the fact that Blacks had alternatives to attain services or purchase products, provided by their people, allowed them the opportunity to avoid the maltreatment of Whites who adopted the Jim Crow system in Tulsa.

Black Wall Street was a beacon of hope, an example of progress, and proof that African Americans could live and thrive independently of the very system that once enslaved them. At its peak, the Greenwood district had more than 600 businesses and establishments including churches, restaurants, grocery stores, movie theaters, a hospital, a bank, a post office, libraries, schools, law offices, and a bus system—all Black owned (Goble). During this time of such prosperity, White Tulsa residents became increasingly resentful of their Black neighbors, and in the last days of May 1921, an inflammatory and misleading story was published in the *Tulsa Tribune* regarding a young Black male allegedly assaulting a young White female. White residents of Tulsa were enraged and used the incident to incite violence upon Tulsa's Black population. After 16 hours of chaos, 35 blocks of businesses and homes were burned down, leaving approximately 10,000 Africans Americans homeless. The Tulsa riots were the most destructive assault on a singularly ethnic population in twentieth-century America.

Ingenuity and work ethic were the driving forces behind the inception of Black Wall Street. The founding fathers of the Greenwood district, though rare financial outliers during their time, left an indelible mark on the future consciousness of the Black middle class. Issues of wealth building are directly proportional to employment opportunities and advancement, business acumen, and the ebb and flow of the marketplace. Today, more than at any other time in ourstory, there has been a full spectrum of prospective ventures through traditional employment, contract or consultation, or the formation of a for-profit business entity. Technology, specifically e-commerce, has allowed for a seemingly infinite and objective playing field for those who dare.

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DEFENDING OUR COUNTRY: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MILITARY SERVICE

When taking another look back into ourstory through the lens of African Americans and military service, some background information may be useful for context. From the arrival of the first Black slaves during colonial times to present day, there was never a war fought in the United States or by the United States where there was no African American participation (DoD 1985; Astor 1998; Buckley 2001).

Crispus Attucks, thought to be a runaway slave and merchant marine of mixed race, sided with colonists regarding the unfair treatment by the British (Astor). He protested and displayed defiance toward the British military occupation—the "Redcoats" as they were called. On March 5, 1770, Crispus Attucks got into an altercation with several Redcoats on the streets of Boston, Massachusetts. Shots fired by the soldiers killed Attucks, making him the first casualty of the Boston Massacre, and he also is widely considered to be the first casualty of the American Revolutionary War (Astor). When Attucks was killed fighting for the independence of a nation that enslaved him, it was well over ninety years before the emancipation of African Americans, which did not occur until 1863.

During World War I, the nation began a passionate dialog about African American enlistments as noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and commissioned officers (Moskos 1986). In previous conflicts dating back to the Civil War, Black soldiers were allowed to serve as NCOs—an enlisted leadership position within the ranks. At times, Black NCOs were ranked higher than White soldiers, which resulted in dissension among the ranks. Nonetheless, African Americans served loyally in segregated units commanded by White officers. W. E. B. Du Bois, the first African American to receive a PhD from Harvard University, believed that this service would result in "the right to vote and the right to live without insult" (Blum and Young 2009, p. 144).

World War I allowed Blacks to serve in all enlisted ranks within the infantry. Combat service was the only surefire way to begin to prove self-worth in leadership and commitment to cause. However, most Blacks still were relegated to supply units, filling duties such as cooks or drivers. Black leaders rallied to urge the federal government to add more Black combat units and to create opportunities for Blacks to become officers and "on June 15, 1917, the army opened a training camp for Black officer candidates" (Lanning 2003, p. 132). Blacks were recruited from the historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) nationwide and the NCO ranks of the military.

The presence of Black officers in the armed forces showed racial progress, but it was still a small step in the larger picture for equality. By default, the need for more personnel during World War I kept the doors open for Black

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officer appointments and the NCO ranks (Rush 2009). The nation needed people to fight, and Whites alone could not fill this need. Thus, the restrictions were lifted. Although not publicly recognized, the technical skills of Black combat troops helped to win the war. If the army did award the Black troops for their prowess and ability, it would have undermined the preconceived notions of racial discrimination that Blacks were inferior, incapable, and incompetent.

However, Eugene Jacques Bullard, through his actions, refuted such race-based notions of inferiority. Bullard left the racism of the United States for France as a teenager (Lloyd 2000; Carisella and Ryan 1972). In 1914, Bullard enlisted into the French Foreign Legion where Black soldiers experienced the kind of freedom they had never known in the United States (Lloyd; Carisella and Ryan; "Eugene Bullard" 1999). He served in the French infantry but then later volunteered to become a pilot. He earned his pilot's wings during the summer of 1917 and the nickname "Black Swallow of Death" after shooting down a German fighter plane (Astor; Lloyd; Carisella and Ryan). Bullard attempted to join the ranks of the U.S. Air Corps as a combat flyer and instructor. However, even in the face of such a blatant example, White America did not allow itself to see his achievements, and he was denied entry despite his record and skills as a pilot. The United States had not socially evolved past the point of seeing skin color as a prerequisite for ability. Although many highly educated and capable African Americans were recruited to the military during World War I, several thousand more who could have served with distinction were likely passed over.

When White workers left to join the ranks during World War I, there was an influx of industrial jobs. This led to a great migration of Blacks to northern cities with their factories and steel mills. Blacks soon filled these positions that were once held by Whites (Lemann 1991; Flamming 2005; Baskerville 2001). This was the beginning of the Black middle class. African Americans could now raise their families on a living wage. Leaving the Jim Crow South had obvious advantages as well. There were more opportunities, which led to a life with less hardship although it was not completely eliminated (Lemann; Flamming; Baskerville). Some of those who prospered from the job market boom saved a portion of their income and started business ventures of their own (Baskerville). Complete financial independence was the real goal and founding principal of the Black middle class. The philosophy of true freedom stemmed from making one's own way and creating job prosperity.

Despite African American participation and performance in World War I, racial tensions persisted in the following decades (Lemann; Flamming; Baskerville). Racism, however, did not deter African Americans from serving their country with distinction during World War II. The stellar performance of thousands of soldiers and several famous segregated units—such as the

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Tuskegee Airmen and the 761st Tank Battalion—proved Black soldiers' value in combat (Tuskegee Airman 2009; Wilson 1998; Sasser 2004; Abdul-Jabbar and Walton 2004).

In July 1948, President Harry S Truman abolished racial segregation in the armed services with Executive Order 9981. But even in the midst of what appeared to be "success," it was clear that the end of segregation did not spell the end of discrimination (Moskos). While the experience of Blacks in the military today continues to be defined by subtle forms of racism, there is no question that the military has served Blacks well.

THE MILITARY AS A PATHWAY TO MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT

The military created an important opportunity for Blacks—to find employment and learn serviceable skills. To the rest of America, this was perceived as an ownership stake in loyalty toward the nation (Exec. Order No. 9981). Although not always a reality for African Americans, military service was a necessary stepping-stone to a better life, peer respect, and financial stability. The establishment of a financially stable African American middle class allowed Blacks to assert their rights as citizens.

The federally regulated pay scale schedule in the military allots base pay by rank and time served for both officers and enlisted personnel (DFAS). Reenlistment bonuses vary according to education and skill set at the competitive market rate. The purpose of these bonuses is to entice service members to remain in the service and to stop the loss of highly trained personnel from leaving the ranks in search of higher paying jobs within the civilian sector. Consider the perspective of the federal government. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent per service member for their specialized training and education. However, the strict salary scale (based on rank and time in service) may be dwarfed in comparison to salaries for the same jobs and positions in the civilian sector, thus the incentive to remain in the military (Wise and Phillips 1987). Basic finance and personal money management are also a part of one's initial indoctrination into the military. It serves as a means of minimizing the incidence of bad credit or bankruptcy events that could derail advancement through the ranks and lead to disciplinary action or involuntary separation from military service. Therefore, a financial education is as necessary a skill as the multitude of other management strategies attained by officers and enlisted personnel.

As we further investigate wealth and income after military service, both terms should be defined. Unfortunately, over time, many have allowed the terms "income" and "wealth" to become synonymous. While the two

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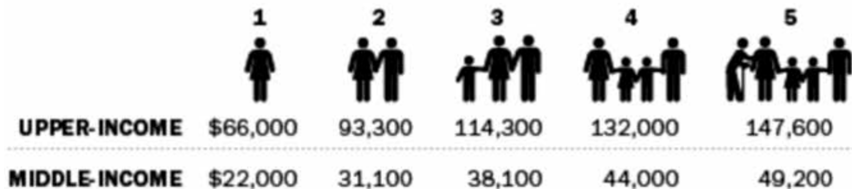
concepts do go hand in hand, using them interchangeably is misleading. Wealth is the difference between the value of one's assets (e.g., home, car, and business) and debts (Wealth Definition, Investopedia, 2007). It reflects a person's well-being and is used for sustainment during an emergency. Income, on the other hand, measures the annual inflow of wages, interest, profits, and other source of earnings.

Once the above terms are understood, it is easier to comprehend that even though one's income may demonstrate growth, the wealth gap may continue to widen. In fact, since the economic recovery from the Great Recession of 2007 through 2009, the wealth gap between America's high-income group and everyone else has widened to record levels. In 2014, the Pew Research Center found that the wealth gap between upper-income and middle-income (figure 5.1) families reached the highest level ever recorded. Unfortunately, this is also an indicator that the wealth gap is growing along racial and ethnic lines.

As previously noted, some of the earliest evidence indicating that war equaled opportunity and a chance to prove self-worth and earnings came from the World War II era (Teachman 2008). Loveless-Morris takes a much deeper, more comprehensive look at veteran status and wealth using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) and Ordinary Linear Square regression (OLS) analytics. Loveless-Morris focuses on the relationships among race, veteran status, and wealth in conjunction with key influencers of wealth itself such as income, saving levels, homeownership, and home equity. To

Who is "Middle Income" and "Upper Income?"

Minimum 2013 household income needed to qualify for middle- and upper-income categories, by family size



	1	2	3	4	5
UPPER-INCOME	$66,000	93,300	114,300	132,000	147,600
MIDDLE-INCOME	$22,000	31,100	38,100	44,000	49,200

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 5.1 Definition of Middle- and Upper-Income Qualifications. *Source*: "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage" Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (September 2014). http://www.pewforum.org/2014/09/24/graphics-slideshow-changing-attidues-on-gay-marriage.

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better understand the impact and intersection of military service, income gap, wealth gap, and race, income and wealth should be clearly defined.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE BLACK-WHITE WEALTH GAP

Large changes in the structure of the economy generated demand for highly skilled and educated workers to meet the needs of growing corporate and state sectors. Unfortunately, the growth in those sectors resulted in a downward spiral of opportunities for the unskilled industrial worker. Some Blacks were able to take full advantage of the expanded educational, business, and occupational opportunities. However, because many lacked the critical requirements in education and job skills, they did not benefit from these opportunities (Oliver and Shapiro 1989; Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Conley 1999; Altonji and Doraszelski 2005).

Family Composition and Experience

While another potential contributor to the disparity in wealth ownership is family background, it is seldom considered a part of the research equation to explain the differences. Family composition or processes of note include family size, fertility, divorce, or separation (Teachman and Tedrow). It is also important to communicate that there is evidence to suggest that these same components of family composition are occurring during childhood impact wealth attainment in adulthood (Biblarz and Raftery 1993; Blake 1981; Keister 2004). The number of siblings in a family is also important because it can contribute to decreased educational and occupational opportunities and attainment. Family disruptions such as separations and divorce can also disrupt the family's earnings and income. Consideration of these issues as contributors to the Black-White wealth gap and income disparities is especially critical when examining the impact of military service and veteran status.

In 2013, an article written by Shapiro, Meschede, and Osoro observed a set of families for twenty-five years. During this time, the researchers examined a number of issues associated with the Black-White wealth gap, including income and employment. It is well known that income is a major source of wealth accumulation. What may not be as well known, however, is that equal gain in income for Whites and Blacks does not yield equal impact on wealth for each group (Shapiro et al.; Campbell and Kaufman 2006). When the data were analyzed, every dollar increase in average income over the twenty-five-year study added $5.19 in wealth for White families but only $.69 of wealth for Black families (Choi 2013; Long 2014). This dramatic difference is rooted in longitudinal patterns of discrimination in hiring, training, and promoting,

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and access to benefits. At the hands of discrimination, Black workers were forced to populate jobs where benefits and employer-based retirement plans were scarce if they existed at all. These cumulative realities for Blacks made building wealth next to impossible. Gaps in academic achievement are a function of multiple factors, such as income and wealth inequality; primary, secondary, and tertiary education; physical and emotional health; environmental factors and family structures; differences in the quality of instruction; and school/institutional credibility and ranking (Teachman 2005, Loveless-Morris). This suggests that there is a wide range of public policies that could potentially narrow educational achievement gaps.

THE BLACK-WHITE WEALTH GAP AND MILITARY SERVICE

Military experience is an important turning point in a person's life and, consequently, is associated with important life outcomes. In considering the Black-White wealth gap, multiple variables have been discussed: among them, education, employment, income and family composition, and experience (Loveless-Morris; Shapiro et al.). The one institution to exert and impact these factors is the military. In other words, what role does military service and veteran status play? How do they influence the disparities and inequities at play? And in what way do they influence those elements?

There is likely no other institution that has quite the "level playing field" impact as the military. The leveling influence employed on those recruited to the military is immediately evident from the first day of training. Prior socialization is deemphasized, and the basic training process launches the reorientation to a world with different rules and structure (Janowitz 1972; Cobb, Sluss, Brown, Rutti, & Muruca 2011). Military training has been associated with changes in personality. When compared with a control group, military recruits had lower varying levels of agreeableness after training that persisted even after five years following training, and after they enrolled in college or entered the civilian workforce (Jackson, Thoemmes, Jonkmann, Ludtke, and Trautwein 2011).

In addition, other institutions playing a role in the Black-White wealth gap include financial and educational institutions. The role of financial institutions is inherently tied to home ownership, which is inherently tied to wealth. One of the largest predictors of the gap in wealth growth by race is the number of years of home ownership (Shapiro et al.). In the United States, the federal government has a long ourstory of residential segregation that underlies the challenge of owning a home that will increase in equity. The situation for Whites is quite different for a number of reasons. First, due to the wealth

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accumulation of White families, they are more able to provide financial family assistance or inheritance money for down payments (Bouie 2014; Freeman 2014). Second, Whites have had years of preferred access to credit and the ability to provide larger down payments (Shapiro 2004; Joint Center for Housing Studies Analysis of American Housing Survey 2009; Joint Center for Housing Studies, State of the Nation's Housing 2012).

Education is often referred to as the great equalizer and, as noted previously, the military tends to have a well-rounded leveling effect for those who enlist. The institution of education at the primary and secondary levels, for those who enter at an early age, can allow veterans to overcome childhood educational disadvantages such as poor grades (Elder 1986; Sampson and Laub 1993). This sets the stage for and suggests that the benefits of military service, including the G.I. Bill, accrue over time (Xie 1992; Sampson and Laub). In most situations, obtaining a college degree is key to economic success and yields greater lifetime income and, for some, wealth. However, the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill do not necessarily culminate into a college degree. Nam (1964) notes that the G.I. Bill benefit was used by many of the veterans from disadvantaged backgrounds to complete high school or

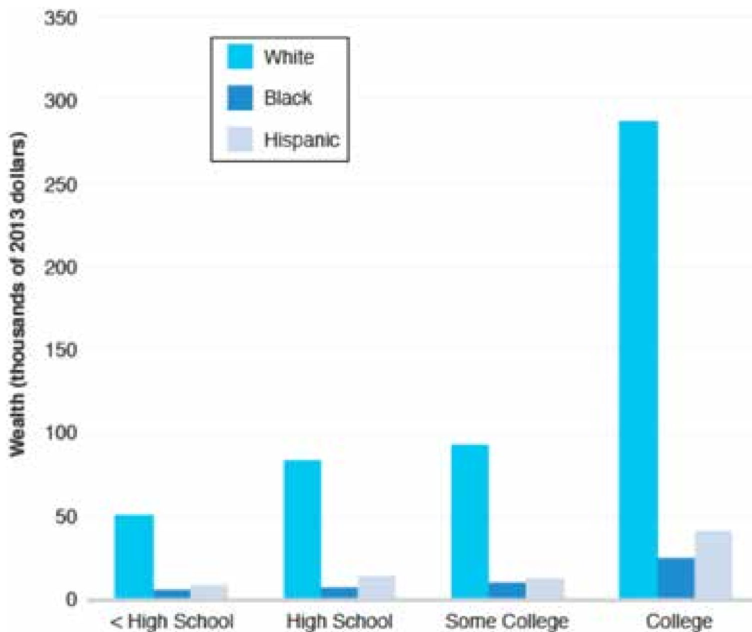

Figure 5.2 Median Wealth by Race and Education. *Source*: "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage" Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (September 2014). http://www.pewforum.org/2014/09/24/graphics-slideshow-changing-attidues-on-gay-marriage.

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enroll in craft, farm training, trade, or industrial courses that positioned them for advancement in the labor market. Unfortunately, while there appears to be a narrowing of the Black-White achievement gap, race and class widen the educational opportunity gap, resulting in a less-skilled workforce. In light of the fact that Whites with a high school education often earn more than college-educated Blacks, the less-skilled workforce can severely restrict the ability to narrow and ultimately close the Black-White wealth gap (figure 5.2).

As you can see, White families are much wealthier than Black and Hispanic families at every education level. More than this, all White families, even those at the lowest education level, have a higher median wealth than all Black and Hispanic families, even Black and Hispanic at the highest education levels (DEMOS 2013). The median White family with an education level below high school has a net worth of $513,000, while the median Black and Hispanic family with a college degree has a net worth of $25,900 and $41,000, respectively (Bruenig 2014).

MILITARY SERVICE, ECONOMIC WEALTH, AND THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

Many of the factors attributed to the Black-White wealth gap and its growth have been studied in significant detail. However, the results are dependent upon the variables (i.e., education, health, income, etc.) studied. For instance, how they are combined or if they are considered independently, level of education, family structure, the branch of service, rank, and job while in the military, the era in which they served, the injuries endured and the levels of medical technology available can significantly alter the results (Loveless-Morris). Therefore, any of these variables can positively or negatively impact one's economic wealth. But while the evidence is clear that equal accomplishment and income does not equate to equal wealth, there is little debate that the military provides opportunity and social mobility for disadvantaged groups, particularly for Blacks (Loveless-Morris; Bailey 2008; Teachman 2007). The aforementioned demonstrates that the role of the military as a transitioning institution is of particular importance for Black men since the armed forces experience can be used to facilitate their acculturation into an occupational hierarchy dominated by Whites (Browning, Lopreato, and Poston 1973; Cooney Jr., Segal, Segal, and Falk 2003).

In this chapter, an overview of the Black middle class from its earliest roots is provided with some detail. Military service and its role in the Black-White wealth gap is explored to reveal a synthesis of findings regarding this topic. The review regarding military service is limited, though, to the existing research on male veterans from the Revolutionary War to the present.

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Characteristics of military service, race, elements contributing to the Black-White wealth gap, and the evolving Black middle class are discussed. When possible, associations are delineated among education, family structure, the income of Blacks and Whites, veterans, and race (figure 5.3).

When considering education and socioeconomic status, men serving in the military prior to Vietnam were from somewhat higher socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. The background characteristics of White veterans of the Vietnam era and the all-volunteer force (AVF) were primarily the same as their civilian counterparts (Loveless-Morris). Black veterans of the period from the Vietnam conflict through the present have slightly higher levels of education and income prior to service as compared to their civilian counterparts. However, throughout the period examined, Blacks are more likely to be trained in military occupational specialties considered to be less transferable to the civilian workforce, which figures prominently in the

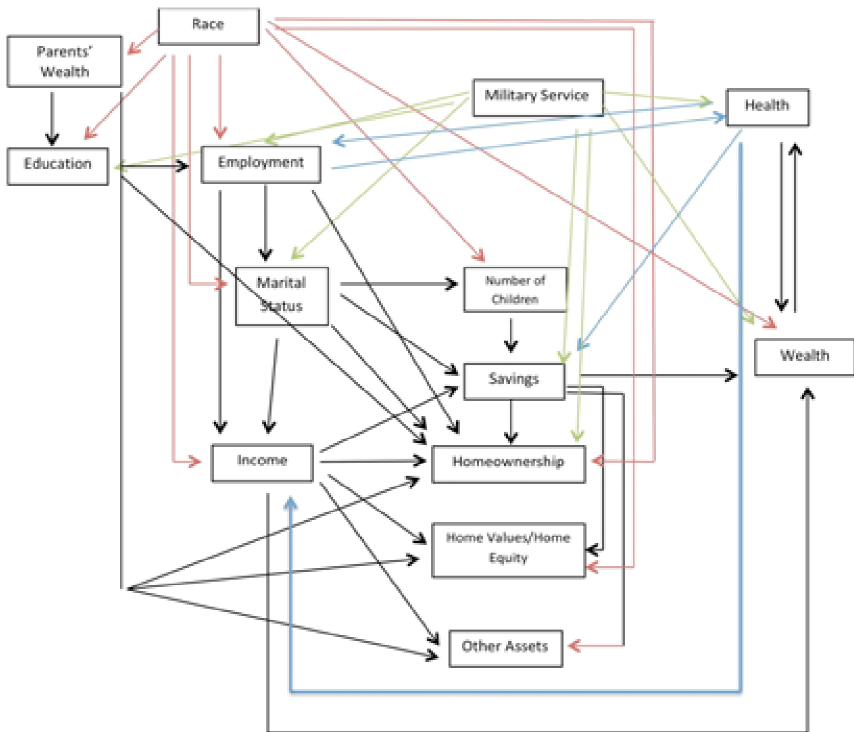

Figure 5.3 Exploratory Model of the Potential Effects of Race and Military Service on Wealth. *Source*: Black-White Wealth Accumulation: Does Veteran Status Matter? Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Washington, 2013 (Permission from author).

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Black-White wealth (accumulation) gap. Findings on post-service wealth and socioeconomic attainment are limited to the examination of income, earnings, and education. Military service resulted in higher levels of income, earnings, and education for all veterans serving since 1950, except for White Vietnam veterans.

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Chapter 6

Is *Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue* at Odds with the Black Community?

BACKGROUND

On February 28, 1994, the Clinton administration instituted the official U.S. policy, Department of Defense Directive 1304.26, regarding the service by gays and lesbians in the military. It became known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT). The law—consisting of the statute, regulations, and policy memoranda—directs military personnel to "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue, and don't harass." In other words, the law prohibits military personnel from discriminating against or harassing closeted homosexual, or bisexual service members or applicants while barring openly gay, lesbian, or bisexual persons from military service (Feder 2013).

The Department of Defense Directive 1304.26, issued on October 1, 1993, essentially lifted a ban on homosexual service members that had been instituted during World War II, though in effect it continued a statutory ban (Skaine 2015; Feder 2013). The intent of the policy was to prohibit those who "demonstrated a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts" from serving in the armed forces (Feder 2013). It also prevented any homosexual or bisexual person from disclosing his or her sexual orientation or from speaking about any homosexual relationships, including marriages or other familial attributes, while serving in the armed forces (Feder 2013). The policy was deemed necessary because it was presumed that homosexuals serving in the armed forces would generate unacceptable risk to moral standards, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion (Skaine 2015; Feder 2013; Reilly 2010). There were also specifications within the policy stating that service members who disclosed that they were homosexual or engaging in homosexual conduct should be discharged except when such conduct was "for the purpose of avoiding or terminating military service" or when it "would not be

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in the best interest of the armed forces" (Air Force Instruction 36–3209 2011; Feder 2013). In December 2010, both the House of Representatives and the Senate voted to repeal the policy. President Barack Obama signed the legislation on December 22 and DADT was officially ended on September 20, 2011 (Sparks 2012, p. 516).

OURSTORICAL OVERVIEW

Long before DADT, there was legal and administrative governance of gay men and lesbians in the military. The legal prohibition of sodomy provided a pathway for the legal ban on gay sexual orientation outlined by the World War I Articles of War era (Burrelli 1994, p. 17). To safeguard the ban on gays and lesbians during World War II, "Mobilization Regulations" plainly stated that persons engaging in homosexual or perverse sexual practices were not suitable to serve and would be excluded (Menninger 1948, p. 228). To ensure clarity and uniform application of the policy, Deputy Secretary of Defense Graham Claytor signed a new DoD directive, 1332.14. The Directive unequivocally stated that homosexuality was incompatible with military service and that "the presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission" (Boushka 1997, pp. 526–527; Scott and Stanley 1994, p. 19).

In addition to the perceived impact on the military's ability to maintain discipline, good order, and morale by allowing gays and lesbians, there were a slew of other concerns. It was also believed that they would prohibit the ability of members to foster mutual trust and confidence; ensure the integrity of the system of rank and command; facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of service members who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; recruit and retain members to maintain public acceptability of military service; and to prevent breaches of security (Government Accountability Office [GAO] 1992; DoD 1982; National Defense Research Institute 1993; Dyer 1990). These arguments are hauntingly similar to those proclaimed by Whites during the "mixing of the races" to achieve integration of the military (Kauth and Landis 1996, p. 93).

DoD defines a homosexual as "a person, regardless of sex, who engages in, desires to engage in, or intends to participate in homosexual acts" (Air Force Instruction 36–3209 2011; Herek, Jobe, and Carney 1996, p. 93; Lehring 2003, p. 106). A homosexual act was defined as "bodily contact, actively undertaken or passively permitted, between members of the same sex for the purpose of satisfying sexual desires" (Herek et al. 2014, p. 17; Mezey

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2007, p. 138). Between the 1980s and 1990s, an average of 1,500 servicemen and women were separated under the category of homosexuality each year (GAO). This affected women more than men as detailed by the navy accounting for 51 percent of all those discharged for homosexuality, with women representing 22 percent of the total discharges (GAO).

By the early 1990s, cracks in the DADT policy began to appear. Advocates for gay and lesbian civil rights gained momentum, aided by gay and lesbian military members who came out publicly and challenged the system. During this same period, President Clinton restated his promise to eliminate military discrimination based on sexual orientation. Unfortunately, the insurmountable resistance from Congress resulted in a policy compromise that became known as Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue (Skaine 2015; Scott and Stanley 1994, pp. 26–27). While the compromise was somewhat protective from harassment, violators could still be involuntarily discharged for any display of homosexual conduct.

THE MILITARY, RACIAL INTEGRATION, GAYS, AND LESBIANS: HISTORICAL ENCORE?

As stated, one cannot help but notice what some believe to be uncanny similarities and parallels between and among racial integration within the military and the issue of homosexuals in the military. As far back as the Revolutionary War, Blacks have been barred from service to their country despite their willingness to volunteer. However, when troop shortages became acute, these very policies were reversed without hesitation (Ambrose 1984; Berryman 1988). While these policies prohibiting military service were modified during times of great need, Black soldiers were continuously subjected to substandard treatment and conditions (Fehrenbach 2005). This was evident by the assignment to peripheral units and distant outposts to fight Indians when not in battle.

White officers commanded Black soldiers, but separation from their White counterparts when not in actual combat persisted (Fehrenbach 2005). The increased personnel needs would continue to dictate acceptance of Black recruits during World War II. Even though racial segregation remained government policy, more than 1 million Blacks served successfully across all branches (Ambrose; Kauth, and Landis 1984). A study of the American soldier by Stouffer, Lumsdaine, and colleagues (1949) concludes that events in World War II demonstrated that Blacks were capable fighters and their presence did not compromise unit effectiveness.

Nonetheless, it was President Harry Truman's Executive Order 9981 that declared there would be equity of treatment and opportunity for all in

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the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin ("Harry S. Truman: Executive Order 9981" 2015). Although the executive order opened the door, it was not until the end of the Korean conflict that the DoD successfully eliminated all racially segregated units and living quarters. By comparison, opposition to retaining gay and lesbian military members has intensified since World War II. During this period, selection of recruits incorporated psychiatric screening because homosexuality was viewed as an indicator of psychopathology (Herek 2014). This caused a fundamental shift from a criminal focus to a medical focus when applying procedures for rejecting gay or lesbian recruits (National Defense Research Institute; Bérubé 1990). However, as in the case of racial integration of the military, homosexual Americans were allowed to serve when the military experienced personnel shortages. To facilitate the process of recruitment, screening procedures were loosened and, therefore, it was much easier for gays and lesbians to gain entry. Needless to say, they were then subject to the same anti-homosexual policies when the need for additional personnel diminished. In fact, the policies were more aggressively enforced, and many gay men and lesbians found themselves being involuntarily discharged (Sobel, Jeffery, Cleghorn, and Dixon Osborn 2001; National Defense Research Institute; Bérubé 1990).

A policy allowing homosexuals in the military and, under what circumstances they should be allowed, much resembled a broken pendulum over the next few decades. During that time, there were events that yielded small glimmers of hope for a reversal of the policies but overall none were successful. It was not until the global war on terrorism created a renewed need for increased personnel that momentum to overturn the Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue anti-homosexual policy was renewed. However, even with changing public opinion favoring gay men and lesbians serving openly in the military, powerful challenges to the legitimacy of DADT, and high-ranking officers disclosing their homosexuality, it took another seven years to repeal the policy in 2010 and still another year in 2011 before the appeal was effective.

While the long-fought battle to repeal DADT is widely celebrated, the victory, at least in the eyes of many Americans, was bittersweet. Unfortunately, the repeal of DADT did not include those persons who exhibited transvestism (CNN n.d.; Shinkman 2013; Leff 2014), and they remained psychiatrically disqualified. In addition, those who had "major abnormalities or defects of the genitalia" remained medically disqualified (Army Regulation 40–51 2015). The issue caught the attention of the Palm Center, a think tank based at San Francisco State University. It commissioned a five-member panel led by former Surgeon General Dr. Jocelyn Elders. The group noted that the Department of Defense regulations designed to keep transgendered people out of the military were based on outdated beliefs. They also determined that not only is there no compelling medical reason for the ban, but that the ban itself is an expensive,

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damaging, and unfair barrier to healthcare access for the approximately 15,450 transgendered personnel who currently serve in the active, guard, and reserve components of the military (Sim 2014). Unfortunately, even with the findings of the panel and the knowledge gleaned from Australia, Canada, England, and Israel, which allow transgendered individuals to serve in their respective militaries, it took the Obama administration another six years to resolve that issue. Finally, June 30, 2016, Defense Secretary Ashton Carter announced that transgender American troops could serve openly and that they could no longer be separated from service for being transgender (Bromwich 2017). In light of this, the Pentagon was required to develop new regulations and education regarding the appropriate accommodations for transgender troops and to accept qualified transgender recruits by July 1, 2017 (Klimas, Nussbaum, and O'Brien 2017).

Unfortunately, for those who viewed the announcement as a victory, it was short lived. When Donald Trump won the race for president in November, angst replaced the jubilation of many in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community because they feared reversal of the recent advancements. Sadly, these fears began to gain credibility when in May of 2017, two transgender cadets were denied commissions because of a loophole in the policy. Then, in June Jim Mathis, the defense secretary under President Trump, announced the delay of the July 1 deadline to fully lift the ban for six months. He declared additional time was needed to evaluate the potential impact on force readiness. The final and most devastating setback was issued by the president in July when he declared in a series of tweets that no transgender individuals would be accepted or allowed to serve in the U.S. military (Bromwich, nytimes.com July 2017; Hennigan 2017).

AT ODDS WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY: AFRICAN AMERICAN VERSUS GAY CIVIL RIGHTS

When researching information regarding the Black community and homosexuality I sought to describe two sections: (1) the Black community and its views on such issues as homosexuality and same-sex marriage and (2) the Black church, religion, and spirituality. What quickly became strongly evident was that this discussion could not take place in two sections—at least not without great difficulty or substantial overlap. If the question posed is, are Blacks more or less supportive or more homophobic than other racial and ethnic groups, the evidence from numerous polls suggests that the answer is an emphatic yes (Curry 2010). The logical follow-up question to consider then would be, why is this the case?

Whereas some may believe that it is race related, many advocates for homosexuals and same-sex marriage—those within the lesbian, gay,

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bisexual, and transgendered (LGBTQ) community as well as others—believe that the church is the single most influential factor in Black opinion on the issue of homosexuality (Starr 2011). Most are aware that the U.S. population as a whole is considered to be highly religious. However, when religiosity is examined on a subpopulation level, and the focus is on Blacks, the level of religious affiliation and practice is markedly higher (Pew Research Center 2009). According to the Pew Religious Landscape Survey in 2007, 78 percent of African Americans are Protestant and, therefore, represent the most Protestant racial and/or ethnic group in the United States. The majority, 59 percent, belong to traditional Black churches that include the National Baptist Convention and the American Methodist Episcopal Church. However, Protestantism in the Black community is not homogeneous. The other Protestant faiths represented include Pentecostals, evangelicals, and nondenominational (Pew 2009). Only a small number, 4 percent, of African Americans belong to mainline Protestant churches, and only 5 percent are Catholic. Fewer than 5 percent of African Americans claim any faith other than Christianity, and 12 percent are not affiliated with any religious group (Pew 2009).

In addition, the report states that more than half of African Americans (53 percent) report attending religious services at least once a week, more than three in four (76 percent) say they pray on at least a daily basis, and nearly nine in ten (88 percent) indicate that they are absolutely certain that God exists (Pew 2009). On each of these measures, African Americans stand out as the most religiously committed racial or ethnic group in the nation, and they are more likely to act on their religious beliefs (Pew 2009). Given African Americans' close affiliation with the church, it should come as no surprise that many Blacks oppose homosexuality and think that it is morally wrong (Curry 2010; Pew 2009). Furthermore, nearly 50 percent of African Americans are against same-sex marriage and have overwhelmingly supported state bans on marriage equality, and almost all of them cited their religion as the reason. Black people and the church are "inextricably linked," says Joseph Tolton, the openly gay pastor of Rehoboth Temple Christ Conscious Church in Harlem. "The church still has so much influence and they continue to use influence in a negative way so that you've got people being driven further and further into the closet" (Starr, n.p. 2012).

TO COMPARE OR NOT COMPARE: IS THE GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENT THE SAME AS BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS?

Before attempting to address this question, perhaps the role of gay men and lesbians in the civil rights movement should be acknowledged. While various

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accounts of the civil rights movement often include issues such as gender and class, the issue of sexuality and contributions of LGBTQ persons is rarely discussed (Teaching Tolerance 2015). Although there were numerous Black LGBTQ contributors, the following details three individuals who were indispensable to the ideas, strategies, and activities that make the movement successful.

(1) Reverend Dr. Pauli Murray, the first ordained Black female Episcopal priest, was an accomplished woman and lesbian who fought discrimination in the areas of race, gender, and sexuality (Kelley 2014). She became aware of gender discrimination within African American culture while attending Howard University (Guy-Sheftall 1995). After graduating number one in her class, she earned a Master of Law degree from the University of California (Lau 2009). Her master's thesis, titled *The Right to Equal Employment Opportunity in Employment*, was the first comprehensive study on the subject. Per the University of California–Berkeley Law School, "The NAACP adopted her approach to *Brown v. Board of Education* and borrowed the arguments she made in a seminar paper she wrote while a law student" (Lau 2009, p. 2). Murray's life and activism illuminate the connections between the struggle for connecting civil rights, gay rights, and women's rights.

(2) James Baldwin was an African American literary writer and critic, as well as an icon for civil and gay rights. Far ahead of his time, Baldwin was "out and proud" before that term became a popular cultural idiom (Pfeffer 1998, n.p.). Baldwin's life illuminates not just the intersection between gay rights and civil rights but also, perhaps even more important, the connections among self-identification, artistic expression, and political activism (Pfeffer 1998).

(3) Perhaps the most formidable of the three individuals noted here is Bayard Rustin, the gay man who was the linchpin of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s crusade for civil rights (Erenstein 2002, p. 64). Through the study of his contributions to the civil rights movement, the similarities between the modern civil rights movement and the current gay rights movement can be found. Earlier in his life, Rustin was open with his sexuality in private circles but remained publicly silent about his homosexuality. However, later in his life he was more vocal, and he became a vociferous advocate for gay rights in ways that had eluded him in his earlier years (Sekou 2009). This advocacy also denotes the dilemma in which Black LGBTQ people often found themselves when involved with social and political movements (Sekou). In his 1986 essay "From Montgomery to Stonewall," Rustin wrote:

> There are four burdens, which gays, along with every other despised group, whether it's blacks follow slavery and reconstruction, or Jews

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> fearful of Germany, must address. The first is, recognize one must overcome fear. The second is overcoming self-hate. The third is overcoming self-denial. The fourth is more political. It is to recognize that the job of the gay community is not to deal with extremists who would castigate us or put us on an island and drop an H-bomb on us. The fact of the matter is that there is a small percentage of people in America who understand the true nature of the homosexual community. There is another small percentage that will never understand us. Our job is not to get those people who dislike us to love us. Nor was our aim in the civil rights movement to get prejudiced white people to love us. Our aim was to try to create the kind of America, legislatively, morally, and psychologically, such that even though some whites continued to hate us, they could not openly manifest that hate. That's our job today: to control the extent to which people can publicly manifest antigay sentiment. (Sandeen 2010, n.p.; Rustin et al. 2003, p. 273)

With the backdrop and knowledge that LGBTQs contributed to the success of the civil rights movement, the question then remains, is the gay rights movement the same as the Black civil rights movement? One place that a respected response might be sought would be from trusted Black leaders, those who themselves were intimately involved with the movement. To that end, three prominent leaders rise to the surface. They have all been unashamed and openly vocal of the support of gay rights. Jointly, albeit through their own lens, they see the struggle of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered Americans as part of what they fought for all of their lives: equality.

The Reverend Al Sharpton states that as Americans, when faced with injustice and inequality, we must fight. Discrimination against same-sex couples is such an injustice and we must fight it; we cannot be part-time advocates (Sharpton 2013). Failing to stand up to tyranny leaves a pathway open to attack our own civil rights. The issue is not about being gay or straight but about the civil rights of Americans who are seeking to have the same rights and protections as their brothers and sisters across this great nation (Sharpton 2013).

Civil rights icon Representative John Lewis (D-GA), now seventy-five, is still an idealistic agitator whose sense of urgency for dismantling discrimination has long extended to gay rights (Tucker 2015). Rep. Lewis is the sole survivor of the so-called Big Six leaders of the civil rights movement that included Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., James Farmer, A. Phillip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young Jr. He remains a fearless warrior in the fight for equality and states the following on his website:

> I fought too long and too hard to end discrimination based on race and color, to not stand up against discrimination against our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, "Injustice anywhere is a

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> threat to justice everywhere." As your representative in Congress, I work daily to combat injustice and fight for equality. Issues of dignity are inclusive of human and civil rights. All of us whether gay, lesbian, straight, or transgendered, are entitled to the same rights. It is in keeping with America's promise of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. (Congressman John Lewis n.d.)

Congressman Lewis also states that he does not agree with the argument that it is wrong to make any connection between the civil rights movement and the gay rights movement because discrimination against African Americans and discrimination against gays are completely different things, and being gay and being Black are completely different things (NPR 2009).

During a 2008 interview for the PBS program *In the Life*, Julian Bond was quoted as saying,

> Black people, of all people, should not oppose equality. It does not matter the rationale—religious, cultural, pseudo-scientific. No people of good will should oppose marriage equality. And they should not think civil unions are a substitute. At best, civil unions are separate but equal. And we all know separate is never equal. (Capehart 2012, n.p.)

Bond continued,

> And, the fact that the black civil rights movement came to public attention before the gay civil rights movement, which is existing at the same time but I don't think well known to people. . . . These draw from each other. And the gay movement draws tactics and techniques and songs and slogans. As did the Hispanic movement, as did the women's movement. (Capehart 2012)

Bond's comments regarding the gay civil rights movement are enlightening and quite assuredly surprising to many. The Black and gay civil rights movements happening simultaneously are as rarely spoken about as the gay and lesbian heroes of the military and the Black civil rights movement (Capehart 2012). Two of the early pioneers of the gay civil rights movement noted by Julian Bond were Barbara Gittings and Frank Kameny. Beginning in the early 1950s, they marched, protested, and agitated for equality over the next four decades. Ms. Gittings was deemed the "Founding Mother" of the movement by Frank Kameny (Gambino 2011).

As the interview continued, Bond revealed that other movements take from Blacks just as the Black movement took from other movements. For example, the Black civil rights movement took from the labor movement, but there were never any complaints from the labor movement regarding this

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(Gambino 2011). Pride for what was accomplished should have us say, "Look what we did. We created a model that other people have followed." Black people led the way for this nation to become more fair and equitable. That some vigorously oppose LGBTQ Americans following their footsteps, seeing kinship in their cause, is dreadful (Gambino 2011). Bond concluded with a very emphatic statement, "Black people, of all people, should not oppose equality" (Gambino 2011).

As it is always stated, there are at least two sides to each story and this story is no different. There are as many, if not more, who take an entirely different stance and are quite frankly offended that equity regarding the two movements is even being entertained. The Reverend William Owens, founder and president of the Coalition of African American Pastors, proclaims, "I marched and many other thousands of people marched in this same location years ago on the claim that we were being discriminated against, and today the other community is trying to say that they are suffering the same thing that we suffered, but I tell you they are not" (Hunter 2013). "They are not suffering what we suffered, and I sympathize with people who face discrimination. Every person should be treated with dignity and respect, but what they're going through does not compare to what we went through," Owens said (Hunter 2013).

Harry R. Jackson Jr. is senior pastor of Hope Christian Church, a 3,000-member congregation in the nation's capital. He holds an MBA from Harvard University and is also the presiding bishop of the International Communion of Evangelical Churches, a network that currently oversees more than 1,000 churches around the world. Bishop Jackson has also appeared on the *CBS Nightly News* and *Face the Nation*, BET, and *The O'Reilly Factor* on FOX, CBN, NPR, and TBN. His articles have been featured in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Associated Press*, and many others. Furthermore, he is the founder and president of High Impact Leadership Coalition, an organization that exists to protect the moral compass of America and be an agent of healing to our nation by educating and empowering churches, community, and political leaders. The energy of this organization—and the grassroots mobilization produced by it—has impacted government officials locally, in multiple states, and in the federal government. Bishop Jackson is indeed a force within the Black community. Therefore, when he rendered his opinion on the Black and gay civil rights issues and said that there had been a hijacking of the civil rights movement by the radical gay movement, the Black community as well as many others listened (The Christian Broadcasting Network, CBN 2016).

While a lesser-known voice in the Black community, Ellis Cose, in her *USA Today* piece "Don't Compare Gay Rights, Civil Rights," acknowledges that there are similarities between the movement for racial equality and the movement for gay rights in that they both share the goals of ending

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discrimination and fostering decency. However, in many respects, they are more different than they are alike. Pointing this out does not diminish the importance of the battle for equal treatment for gays. It merely acknowledges that each battle must be understood on its own terms.

Ms. Cose explains her point by explaining that the Don't ask, Don't tell failed policy itself makes the difference clear. The policy essentially ordered gay soldiers to stay closeted—to "pass," in other words, for straight. She says that would have been roughly equivalent, in racially segregated times, to demanding that Black would-be soldiers "pass" for White. While many Blacks did pass for White, most could not. It allowed the practice of racism to be relentlessly oppressive, as entire communities were cordoned off, and disadvantage was handed down through generations (Cose 2011). In the case of gays, the transmission of intergenerational disadvantage is not the concern. The fight for racial equality was two altogether different struggles. One was for tolerance and acceptance—and an end to socially sanctioned racial violence. That battle has mostly been won. The tougher battle for removing structural barriers to opportunity is far

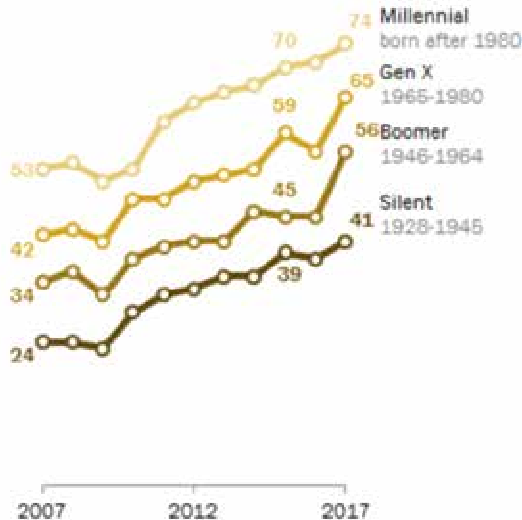

Figure 6.1 *Source*: "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage" Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (September 2014) http://www.pewforum.org/2014/09/24/graphics-slides how-changing-attidues-on-gay-marriage.

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from over. When it comes to combating intolerance, the gay movement has much in common with the struggle for racial equality. And it can certainly draw hope from that struggle, which taught us that bigotry can be fought, that prejudice can fade.

A CHANGING TIDE?

With the repeal of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue policy in the military, the bigger question for the Black community may very well be, will the fading resistance to same-sex marriage and declining opposition to gays

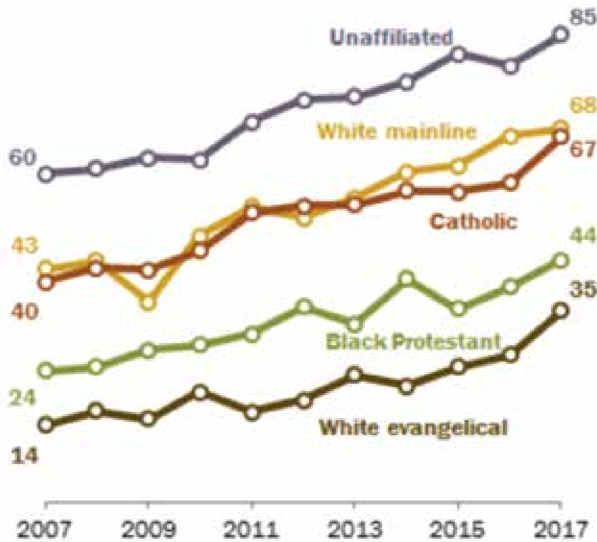

Figure 6.2 *Source*: "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage" Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (September 2014) http://www.pewforum.org/2014/09/24/graphics-slideshow-changing-attitudes-on-gay-marriage.

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and lesbians, in general, continue? Will the growing "acceptance" be able to coexist within a population considered to be the most religious in the United States? In 2001, Pew Research polling showed that Americans opposed same-sex marriage by a 57 percent to 35 percent margin. In the following graphs, support for same-sex marriage shows steady growth in general as well as when examined by generation, religious affiliation, political party, political ideology, race, and gender (figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3).

It is evident that the African American and LGBTQ communities are soul mates in the reality of oppression and discrimination and in their quest for equality (Romney 2014). As the previous graphs indicate, change, significant change, is happening in the Black community. For example, the 2012 Pew Research Foundation poll findings revealed a 25 percent positive approval change (in the Black community) from 2008 to 2012. It is natural to wonder what the results of a 2016 Pew Research Foundations study might reveal. If the results continue in an upward direction, does this positive trend of growing acceptance signal erosion of the influence of the Black church and a change in the role and composition of the "family"? As our communities continue the struggle to find solutions, perhaps the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," can serve as the compass.

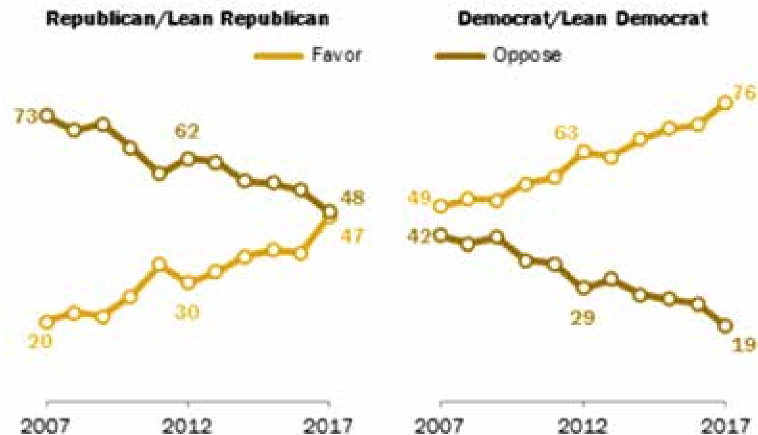

Figure 6.3 *Source*: "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage" Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (September 2014) http://www.pewforum.org/2014/09/24/graphics-slides how-changing-attidues-on-gay-marriage.

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Chapter 7

Education and Affirmative Action

OVERVIEW OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative Action and its role in education equity cannot be discussed outside of the context of civil rights. The modern civil rights movement was a pathway for African Americans to gain equal access to and opportunities for the fundamental privileges and rights of U.S. citizenship (Altman 2013). While most of the attention was to focus on its peak years, the 1950s and 1960s, the official pursuit of equity began when Reconstruction ended in the late 1870s (Sparknotes Editors 2005). The entire period is known as the Civil Rights Era of 1865 through 1970. To get a real sense of the Civil Rights Era, a brief glance back to its historical roots through the lens of the military brings clarity to its evolution as we know it.

Since the inception of this country African Americans, as slaves and later as free persons, have served in defense of our nation. However, despite their sacrifice, African Americans were not treated as equal to their White counterparts and their loyalty was often questioned even though they fought and died on the same battlefields. Thus, integration was often met with resistance due to old thinking and racism.

To begin a discussion of education and Affirmative Action, one must include a discussion about the institution of slavery and its lasting effects, which perpetuated discrimination based on race (Bianco and Canon 2010). Chattel slavery was an economic system as much as it was a horrendous human rights violation. Slavery in the United States was legal as per the U.S. Constitution, and the social position of a slave became synonymous with people of African descent. Therefore, slavery has historically contributed to the systematic, race-based maltreatment of African Americans nationwide. Even

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the few free Blacks during the time of slavery were subject to discrimination (Radical Reform and Antislavery 2014; Library of Congress 2008). Their free status did not exonerate them from hardships because they were judged by their physical appearance. Being African meant that one was not perceived as a citizen but rather a burden or nuisance at best, free or cheap labor at worst, but never equal to the White body polity. Being considered alien and not a contributing member of a burgeoning nation laid the foundation for a segregated populous in this country—culturally, racially, and economically.

The Civil War (1861–1865) was fought to maintain the Union or secure the independence of the Confederacy (Leidner 2012). The southern, or Confederate, states wanted to retain their way of life—cotton production supported by free labor. The northern, or Union, states wanted to stop the spread of slavery into the expanded territories, what is now known as the continental United States. During the war, both sides were met with heavy losses. President Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president of the United States, realized early on that the war could not be won with the current resources and manpower. The Union, having sustained increasing losses, needed replenishment. President Lincoln conceived of the Emancipation Proclamation as a military strategy to deplete the South of its free labor force, while simultaneously filling the ranks of the Union. The Proclamation declared "that all persons held as slaves" within the rebellious states "are, and henceforward shall be, free" (Berlin, Fields, Miller, Reddy, and Rowland 1992, p. 49).

On January 1, 1863, the seed of integration and equality began with the enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation (Dirck 2007). Although it declared the freedom of slaves, it only freed those slaves living in states that were not under Union control. Lincoln's Secretary of State William Seward commented, "We show our sympathy with slavery by emancipating slaves where we cannot reach them and holding them in bondage where we can set them free" (DiLorenzo 2002, pp. 35–36). Lincoln was fully aware of the irony, but he did not want to antagonize the slave states loyal to the Union by freeing their slaves. "The announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation . . . spawned an immediate movement to actively enlist blacks into the armed forces" (Lanning 2004, p. 40). The famed 54th Regiment of Massachusetts was formed as a result of the proclamation. Colonels Robert Shaw and Norwood R. Hallowell of the 55th Massachusetts Regiment—like other White officers leading segregated Black-only regiments—rose through the ranks quickly to assume command (Lanning 2004, p. 41).

African Americans saw the opportunity to fight for the Union as a way of proving their worth to the nation. Further, being a soldier was a paying job. For newly freed slaves, the chance of receiving monetary compensation for the first time was not to be overlooked (City of Alexandria, Virginia 2012). Income connected them to education, empowerment, and freedom.

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Nonetheless, the army adopted a policy that was blind toward the needs of Black soldiers and their units. All-Black regiments were the last to receive the necessary supplies for military duty. Most would receive broken or overused equipment and disabled or old service animals. In some cases, Black units were not provided a unit insignia and had to procure needle, thread, and cloth to create an identifiable symbol for themselves. Additionally, there was a lack of administrative support to report the mistreatment of servicemen. The surrounding communities in which these Black units were also assigned mistreated them, sometimes violently. Whites did not see Black soldiers as equals even though they were protecting them.

As the Civil War raged on, Black soldiers fought valiantly and rose through the enlisted ranks. No Black soldiers could be officers, but they were allowed to train and be designated as noncommissioned officers. Occasionally, this resulted in Black soldiers outranking Whites. The subsequent clashes and dissension proved to be an early indication that Whites were not ready to treat Black soldiers as equals even when fighting on the same side of the war (Colley 2006). Initially, segregated regiments were not allowed to fight. White Union commanders, still rooted in old prejudices, even if it would help the Union cause, did not want Blacks to be seen as capable. Equality in duty meant equality socially, and this was difficult for Whites to accept. But Black and White soldiers fought and died together, winning the freedom of slaves and securing a new future for the reunified United States.

The racial tension throughout the ranks of the military continued despite the heroic performance of Blacks in combat and other service duties. Even Blacks accepted into the service academy met with the same hostilities and disregard from Whites. Although other Blacks were admitted to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, it was not until 1877, some twelve years after the launch of the Civil Rights Era, that Henry O. Flipper became the first African American to graduate from West Point (Copeland 2013). During his four years as a cadet, his classmates did not speak to him. Considered an outsider, he endured the silence and ridicule to complete his education and receive a commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. At the time of Flipper's appointment, he was the only Black officer in the entire army, and the regular army treated him no differently. White officers still ridiculed him and disregarded his efforts to serve honorably in the military. In November 1947, A. Philip Randolph, along with colleague Grant Reynolds, renewed efforts to end discrimination in the armed services by forming the committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, which was later renamed the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience against Military Segregation (Glisson 2006). Eight months later, on July 26, 1948, President Harry S Truman issued Executive Order 9981. This executive order abolished racial discrimination in the U.S. Armed Forces and eventually led to the end of

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segregation in the services (Ray 2013). Truman's order established equality of treatment and opportunity in the military for people of all races, religions, or national origins and served to expand Executive Order 8802: Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry. A committee to investigate and make recommendations to the civilian leadership of the military to implement the policy was also established by Order 9981. Executive Order 9981 states:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale. (Harry S. Truman Library and Museum)

In April 1949, secretary of the army Kenneth Claiborne Royall was forced into retirement for continuing to refuse to desegregate the army nearly a year after President Truman's order (Edgerton 2009). Royall was a U.S. Army general and the last person to hold the position of the secretary of war. When that position was abolished in 1947, he served as the first secretary of the army (the successor position) from 1947 to 1949. Although the last of the all-Black units in the U.S. military was abolished in September 1954, it was fifteen years after Truman's order or on July 26, 1963, before Directive 5120.36 was issued by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Directive 5120.36 obligated military commanders to employ their financial resources against facilities used by soldiers or their families that discriminated based on sex or race.

Probably the best case for integration, not just in the military but in society as well, was the commitment, prowess, and legacy of the Tuskegee Airmen. As the United States pondered the decision to enter the war in Europe, "Congress passed the Civilian Pilot Training Act (CPTA)" (Lanning 2004, p. 189) to increase the pilot candidate pool should the nation need military flight officers. The act gave African Americans the opportunity to earn private pilot licenses. Many took to the civilian flight schools to earn their wings, but measures to block their entrance into military flight schools were put in place. The Army Air Corps refused to deal with the social issue that would be created by allowing Blacks and Whites to do the same highly technical duty. The basis of their prejudices would, in fact, be negated by the example that Blacks were capable and competent to do the same functions as Whites. However, with the endorsement of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, in addition to the Selective Service Training Act of September 14, 1940, "prohibiting discrimination based on race or color in the selection, induction, and training of military personnel" (Lanning 2004, p. 190), African American pilots were accepted into the Army Air Corps training program. This constant need

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to prove themselves was engrained in the first class of Black airmen from day one. They knew that succeeding here would blaze the trail for those who would come through the Civilian Pilot Training behind them.

Each student accepted into the Tuskegee flight-training program was a college graduate. The flight-training program made them eligible to be officers in addition to the pilot status that they achieved upon graduating from the rigors of military flight school (Jakeman 2010). Symbolically, their presence and all that they had accomplished up to that point proved the racist perceptions of Blacks were falsely conceived. Upon graduation from the Tuskegee flight school, Benjamin O. Davis Jr., son of Brigadier General Benjamin Davis Sr. (at that time the only Black general in the army), took command of the 99th Pursuit Squadron. In just over five years, between 926 and 996 pilots were graduated from Tuskegee Institute as a result of what came to be known as the "Tuskegee Experiment" (U.S. National Park Service n.d.; Miller n.d., pp. 1, 5). Their real battle was not completing flight school; it was getting combat duty. The Black airmen were restricted from air combat missions by the military's top brass (influenced by political oversight committees), and the segregated air squadron was stationed far from any action. Several months of complaints from Black political leaders and the few Black senior military officers urged the Army Air Corps to allow the Tuskegee Airmen to fly combat missions. Everyone knew what this would do for the morale of the Black community and the pilots themselves. Further, it would once again prove that race-based notions of inferiority were incorrect. The technical skill of the pilots, combat readiness, and aggressiveness in battle, along with their unrivaled discipline and strength of character, spoke volumes about the unit. The airmen fought World War II on two fronts: the Axis powers of Europe and the racist American military.

The Tuskegee Airmen of the 99th, 100th, 301st, and 302nd Fighter Squadrons, collectively known as the 332th Fighter Group, outfought and outclassed their peers, and were among the most decorated in all of the Army Air Corps (U.S. Congressional Record 2004). The legacy of the Tuskegee Airmen helped some to achieve command rank in the U.S. Air Force. For example, General Daniel "Chappie" James Jr. became the commander in chief of NORAD (North American Air Defense Command) and the first Black four-star general before retiring in 1978. Additionally, Lieutenant General Benjamin O. Davis Jr. held several commands worldwide before retiring on February 1, 1970 (Gropman 2001). President Bill Clinton—taking executive privilege—awarded Benjamin O. Davis Jr. his fourth star, postretirement, promoting him to the rank of general.

The "Golden Thirteen," as they had become known, were the first Black men to receive a commission in the U.S. Navy (Stillwell 2013). The navy, under the direction of Adlai Stevenson, assistant secretary of the navy at that time, decided to preemptively commission African Americans. The first

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class of sixteen of these officer candidates attended a segregated, accelerated officer-training program. They were pulled from both the civilian ranks of college-educated applicants and previously enlisted candidates. Of the sixteen original inductees in the officer integration pilot program, only twelve were commissioned, and one received a warrant officer appointment (Stillwell). The warrant officer was previously enlisted but had not completed his college education. The navy decided only to accept the predetermined number even though all of the candidates had passed selection. This was just another ploy by the naval command to limit the chance for the integration of Blacks while appearing to move toward a progressive system.

The newly commissioned naval officers were given menial posts. Most of them received appointments to the Great Lakes Naval Recruit Training facility (Stillwell). The officers were in charge of recruitment and training for Black enlistees. The others commanded tugboats or were relegated to patrol boat duty. Realistically, though, low priority posting significantly lowered the chances for advancement. But none of the men ever saw combat. However, despite the assignments to low priority duty stations, the Golden Thirteen served honorably and paved the way for more officer candidates of color to follow. The careers of these men were indeed a mere stepping-stone toward the integration process. Further, their appointments symbolized that African Americans were capable of successfully negotiating an officer candidacy program. However, the fight for advancement through combat leadership opportunities was the next obstacle. Therein lies the real battle for equality.

A RETROSPECTIVE OF THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The executive order to integrate the military had come six years before the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling that separate but equal education was unconstitutional. Senior ranking U.S. military leaders continued to be outspoken about their support of Affirmative Action as a useful tool for national security (Simpson 2003). In 2003, the Americans for a Fair Chance, a project of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund (LCCREF), held a forum at the Georgetown University Law School that focused on the history of Affirmative Action in the military. Attorney Virginia Seitz, who was counsel of record in the military amicus brief, stated that Affirmative Action can be narrowly tailored and that “nobody has done better than the military . . . it established high standards and that all candidates meet those standards, they all successfully do it” (Simpson).

This time of significant social change caused uproars in communities across the nation. What did integrated public education really mean? If

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service members lived, worked, and learned how to defend our nation, what did that mean for the rest of the country? Could integration in public education be the beginning of a post-racial society? Questions such as these placed us squarely in the midst of the modern civil rights movement, the largest social movement in the twentieth century. The battle for equality was not solely in the military but within civilian communities as well. Therefore, this part of the battle by African American men and women was in conjunction with socially conscious Whites at the national and local levels.

There was also significant evidence of very strong support from the American Jewish community for the civil rights movement (Jewish Women's Archive). Julius Rosenwald funded dozens of primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges for Blacks. He lead the Jewish community's contributions to institutions that educated blacks by giving to some 2,000 schools for Black Americans. This included funding for such historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as Howard, Dillard, and Fisk (Jews and the Civil Rights Movement n.d.). At one time, some 40 percent of southern Blacks were enrolled at these HBCUs. Other Jewish leaders, such as Rabbi Jacob Rothchild, were open in their support for the movement's goals (Bauman and Kalin 1997, p. 424). Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel marched with Dr. King in 1965 in Selma. Prior to his introduction of Dr. King at the annual convention of the Rabbinical Assembly convened in the Catskill Mountains on March 25, 1968, the rabbis gave Dr. King a special greeting—a rendition of "We Shall Overcome," which they sang in Hebrew. Heschel stated, "Martin Luther King is a voice, a vision, and a way. I call upon every Jew to harken to his voice, to share his vision, to follow his way. The whole future of America will depend upon the impact and influence of Dr. King" (Nagar 2010; Oats 1994, p. 455). The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League all actively promoted the cause of civil rights.

The epicenter of the civil rights movement took place in the South where racial inequality in education, economic opportunity, and the political and legal processes were most flagrant (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum n.d.). During the 1960s, the civil rights movement gave birth to a construct known as Affirmative Action. This construct was best understood to be an action or policy favoring those who tend to suffer from discrimination, especially in relation to employment or education. Therefore, Affirmative Action is also viewed and defined by some as positive discrimination.

THE EARLY YEARS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

As noted, Affirmative Action policies initially focused on improving opportunities for African Americans in employment and education. In this section,

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the focus is primarily on education. From the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s, life prospects for African Americans appeared to improve (Maloney 2002). A portion of this improvement resulted from the outcome of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, or more precisely called the Road to Brown and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Road to Brown grew out of the Jim Crow laws of 1890, which accounted for much of the legally mandated segregation of the races, proclaiming a separate but equal status for African Americans (Karson 2005). While many Americans felt the Jim Crow laws to be unjust, these laws were not challenged until 1892 when Homer Plessy refused to give up his seat to a White man while riding the train. He contested his arrest in court and his case ultimately made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Unfortunately, in a seven to one vote, the Supreme Court ruled against Plessy. Justice Henry Billings Brown wrote the majority opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), arguing that the recognition of racial difference did not necessarily violate Constitutional principle ("Henry Billings Brown Biography" n.d.; "Separate But Equal" n.d.). As long as equal facilities and services were available to all citizens, the "commingling of the two races" need not be enforced (Walker 2004, p. 157; Thomas 1997, pp. 183–184; Friedman and Israel 1997, pp. 776–777; "Henry Billings Brown Biography"), and maintained that the "enforced separation of the two races" did not necessarily "stamp the colored race with a badge of inferiority" (Beeman 2010). The one dissenting vote was cast by Justice John Marshall Harlan, who stated:

> I am of the opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberties of citizens, white and black, in that State, and hostile to both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several States of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery as an institution tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the States, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights common to all citizens, upon the basis of race; and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community, called the people of the United States, for whom and by whom, through representatives, our government is administrated. Such a system is inconsistent with the guarantee given by the Constitution to each State of a republican form of government. And, legislation may be stricken down by congressional action, or by the courts in the discharge of their solemn duty to maintain the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. ("Separate But Equal: The Plessy v. Ferguson Case 1896"; Walker, p. 158)

Plessy v. Ferguson and other cases with similar rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court allowed for the persistence of racial discrimination and enforcement of

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Jim Crow laws. Nonetheless, many citizens and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) continued to fight Jim Crow and other discriminatory legislation. However, it was not until 1935 that the NAACP focused its strategy against Jim Crow in the field of education (Tushnet 1987). Charles Hamilton and Thurgood Marshall led this effort during their tenure as head of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

There were five cases leading up to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954, 1955) (Balkin and Ackerman 2001). While Thurgood Marshall was involved in all of the cases, the initial three were decided while Charles Hamilton led the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund:

Murray v. Maryland (1936). This case against the University of Maryland Law School was argued and presented as a violation of the "separate but equal" principle. The Baltimore City Court agreed, as did the Maryland Court of Appeals (used by the University to appeal the Baltimore Court Decision).

Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada (1938). In this case, Mr. Gaines was denied the acceptance to the University of Missouri's Law School because of his race. The case reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1938. The Court agreed with him stating that since a "Black" law school did not currently exist in the State of Missouri, the "equal protection clause" required the state to provide, within its boundaries, legal education for Gaines (Linder 2000). Agreement by the Court indicated that since the state provided legal education for White students, it could not send Black students, like Gaines, to school in another state as they offered to do.

Sweat v. Painter (1950). The University of Texas "White" state law school hastily set up an underfunded "Black" state law school to avoid admitting Mr. Sweat. With the assistance of the NAACP, Mr. Sweat argued that the education he was receiving from the "Black" state law school was not of the same academic caliber as the education that he would be receiving if he attended the "White" state law school (*Sweat v. Painter* 2015). The Court agreed with him, citing that the "Black" state law school was "separate," but not "equal." The Court concluded that the only appropriate remedy for this situation was to admit Sweat to the University's "White" state law school.

McLaurin v. Oklahoma Board of Regents of Higher Education (1950). Mr. McLaurin, an African American, was admitted to the University of Oklahoma but made to sit and eat separately from his classmates. The Court stated that the University's actions concerning McLaurin were adversely affecting his ability to learn and ordered that the University cease such activities immediately (*McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*, 1950).

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Brown v. Board of Education (1954, 1955). The case known as *Brown v. Board of Education* was actually five separate cases. These were *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, *Briggs v. Elliot* (1952, South Carolina), *Davis v. Board of Education of Prince Edward County* (1952, Virginia), *Boiling v. Sharpe* (1954, District of Columbia), and *Gebhart v. Ethel* (1952, Delaware). At the core of each case was the constitutionality of state-sponsored segregation in public schools. The U.S. District Court ruled in favor of the school boards. Due to an appeal, the cases were consolidated and brought forward to the U.S. Supreme Court. After much deliberation and the death and replacement of Chief Justice Fred Vinson by Gov. Earl Warren of California, the justices agreed to support a unanimous decision declaring segregation in public schools as unconstitutional. On May 14, 1954, the opinion of the Court stated, "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place (Gouwens 2009, p. 166). Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." This ruling essentially overruled the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (Gouwens, pp. 6, 163).

On the education front, the *Brown v. Board of Education* victory paved the way for numerous other efforts to remedy hundreds of years of slavery and its fallout in the educational field. Attacks on Affirmative Action and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 continued across the United States. In 1956, the University of Alabama admitted its first African American student, Autherine Lucy (Center, 2008). However, the admission was tarnished when the university discovered legal ways to prevent her attendance. While there were protests against her admission as a student, there were no incidents during the first two days. Unfortunately, the protesting crowds grew larger, and rocks were thrown at her car as she traveled from class to class. Following these developments, the university's board of trustees suspended her ostensibly for her safety. In spite of these events, thirty years later Lucy earned a graduate degree from the University of Alabama, which named an endowed scholarship in her honor (Center).

The University of Alabama incident was followed in 1957 by the use of the Arkansas National Guard to block the entry of the Little Rock Nine from integrating the high school. Federal troops were eventually required to protect the Black students and for them to gain entry into the high school (Smith 2012). In 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Cooper v. Aaron* ruled that a threat of mob violence was not reason enough to delay school desegregation. While James Meredith, an African American student and veteran, was admitted to the University of Mississippi in September, he did not matriculate until October 1, 1962, after President John Kennedy ordered U.S. Marshals to ensure his safety (Daily Mail Reporter 2012; John F. Kennedy 1962).

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Additional examples during subsequent years of Affirmative Action efforts within education included such cases as the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), *Texas v. Hopwood* (1992), *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) and *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), and *Johnson v. University of Georgia Board of Regents*. Although moderate gains continued, the need for Affirmative Action policies and processes persists.

In 1965, only 5 percent of undergraduate students, 1 percent of law students, and 2 percent of medical students in the country were African American ("Affirmative Action Overview" n.d.). Colleges and universities began deploying recruitment policies similar to President Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Executive Order 11246 that established requirements for nondiscriminatory hiring (U.S. Department of Labor 2012), and over time, enrollment rates for African American and Latino students increased steadily. Despite the efforts, these data from the 2007 National Center on Education Statistics (NCES) reveal that 70 percent of White high school graduates immediately enrolled in college, compared to 56 percent of African American high school graduates and 61 percent of Hispanic high school graduates. African Americans showed the largest increase in the number of doctoral degrees awarded from 1990 to 2000; however African Americans still account for only 5.1 percent of all doctoral degrees earned (U.S. Department of Education 2003). Between 1999 and 2001, African Americans experienced a 6 percent increase in associate degrees earned. The increase represented a 3 percent rise in bachelor's degrees earned and a 6.7 percent gain in master's degrees earned. However, overall from 1998 to 2000, only 39.7 percent of African American high school graduates attended college, as compared to 45.6 percent of White high school graduates (Americans for a Fair Chance 2004).

In the six decades since the *Brown v. Board of Education* U.S. Supreme Court decision, fifty years after the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and twenty years following the ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), racial injustice in our educational systems remains pervasive. Many activists, while supporting the Brown case, believe that the U.S. Supreme Court should ensure students of color equal educational opportunities by mandating quality schools, quality teachers, and equal funding within communities of color (Bell 2004; Carter 1980). Nineteen years before the Brown decision, W. E. B. Du Bois spoke about the importance of equal education versus unequal and integrated education:

> There is no magic, either in mixed schools or segregated schools. A mixed school with poor unsympathetic teachers and hostile public opinion, and no teaching of truth concerning black folk is bad. A segregated school with ignorant placeholders, inadequate equipment, poor salaries, and wretched housing is equally bad.

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> Other things being equal, the mixed school is the broader, more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider contacts; it inspires greater confidence; and suppresses the inferiority complex. But other things are seldom equal, and in that case, Sympathy, Knowledge, and the Truth, outweigh all that the mixed school can offer. (Drewry, Doermann, and Anderson 2001; Provenzo 2002)

The words by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1935 are as relevant today as they were when originally spoken. The racial isolation in schools and resource inequity (i.e., quality, well-paid and appropriately resourced teachers, physical structures, financial stability) among and between predominantly minority and predominantly majority White schools remain prevalent (Zeitlin and Yu 2014). This is also true for educational institutions that provide elementary through graduate and postgraduate education, as the impact on education outcomes is evident. High school graduation rates for the vast majority of ethnic and racial minorities hover around 60 percent compared to 83 percent for their White counterparts. For Blacks, attending schools in lower socioeconomic and/or poverty-stricken areas, the rate is 50 percent (Presidential Task Force on Education 2012). The strong correlation between poverty, racial segregation, and substandard education is well established (Orfield and Lee 2005; Rehavi and Starr 2012). The burden of the double-edged sword of poverty and racial segregation packs a punch of lifelong academic impact that determine one's level of achievement—status, income, and wealth (American Psychological Association 2012). For example, the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights reports failure at both the state and local education agencies when it comes to providing students segregated by race and class the curriculum required for admission to college and to succeed if accepted (American Psychological Association). Even when the courses are taught, they tend to be far less demanding and comprehensive than those taught in wealthier, nonminority schools (Farkas 2003). The issues with the courses taught are magnified hundredfold when combined with the concentration of inexperienced or less-qualified teachers and administrators, understaffed or undertrained counseling offices, and the link to the overuse of law enforcement in educational environments (Zeitlin and Yu).

Notwithstanding the shortcomings, there have been steps taken to rectify the systemic problems previously discussed through the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1972 (EEOA), Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution to eliminate de jure and de facto educational discrimination, and through the U.S. Department of Education's formation of the Equity and Excellence Commission (Zeitlin and Yu). The Department of Education has also issued guidance to charter schools regarding how civil rights laws apply (Lhamon 2014).

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Education is, without debate, one of the most critical sectors whose performance will directly affect and perhaps determine the quality and magnitude of our country's role as a leader. It is one of the most important means we have at our disposal to develop human resources and impart appropriate skills, knowledge, and attitudes (African Union 2006). Education forms the basis for developing innovation, science, and technology needed to harness our resources, and to industrialize and participate and lead in the global knowledge economy. It is also the means by which a culture of peace and gender equity can be entrenched (African Union). It is because of this backdrop that the Affirmative Action education headline of the past fifteen years may be well on its way to being characterized as the good news/bad news story as it relates to minority access to postsecondary education (Carnevale and Strohl 2013).

This good news/bad news story begins with the analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) by the Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce (National Center for Education Statistics 2013). Beginning with the good news, the data describe significant growth of minority students at all postsecondary institutions during the years 1995–2009. For African Americans, it grew by 73 percent and by 107 percent and 15 percent for Latinos and Whites, respectively. However, on the other side of the coin, IPEDS data also reveals that during that same period 82 percent of new White freshman enrollments occurred at the 468 most selective four-year colleges, while for Latinos and African Americans it was 13 percent and 9 percent, respectively (Carnevale and Strohl). When the new freshman enrollment data for two-year and four-year open-access institutions was examined, the growth rate was 68 percent and 72 percent for African Americans and Latinos, respectively, while there was no growth for Whites (Carnevale and Strohl).

These data also demonstrated that this disturbing trend was even present among highly qualified students, for example, among A students, African American and Latino students were more likely to enroll in community colleges than their similarly qualified White counterparts. These findings persist because the more selective colleges where Whites have disproportionally higher enrollment invest more in their students, facilities, and resources, resulting in higher completion rates, higher rates of advanced degree attainment, and higher future earnings (Carnevale and Strohl; U.S. Department of Education 2006). Additional analysis continues to enforce the construct that separate unequal roads (i.e., selective four-year schools versus two- or four-year open-access schools) to educational achievement continue to yield unequal educational attainment and economic outcomes (U.S. Department of Education 2006). If this paradigm sounds familiar, it should, whether in the words of the final ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education*, "In the field

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of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place," or in the words of W. E. B. Du Bois, "A mixed school with poor unsympathetic teachers and hostile public opinion, . . . a segregated school with ignorant placeholders, inadequate equipment, poor salaries, and wretched housing is equally bad . . . , educating America must be on equal footing if we are to remain a dominant force in the global economy."

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Chapter 8

The Business Case

Veteran Entrepreneurship and Esprit de Corps

The business case validating the organizational value of veterans is supported by robust academic research. However, it is far more complicated than leadership and mission focus alone. In particular, academic studies in the fields of business, psychology, sociology, and decision-making actively link characteristics that are generally representative of military veterans to enhanced performance and organizational advantage within the context of a competitive and dynamic business environment (Institute for Veterans and Military Families 2012).

Small businesses are the backbone of the U.S. economy, and it is where the American economy begins. According to the 2010 census, there were 27.9 million small businesses registered in the United States, compared to just 18,500 companies of 500 employees or more (Hecht 2014). Within that total number of small businesses, there are sole proprietorships at 73.2 percent, corporations at 19.5 percent, and franchises at 2 percent. Although an estimated 52 percent of these businesses are home based, the most notable fact is that 99.7 percent of U.S. employer firms are small businesses (Hecht; Office of Advocacy 2012, p. 1).

Increasingly, the ownership of these small businesses is reflecting the growing diversity of the United States. In 2012, more than 14.5 percent of small-business owners were minorities, compared with 11.5 percent in 2007 (Office of Advocacy). A partial breakdown of this ownership includes 2.3 million Hispanic American–owned businesses, 1.9 million African American–owned businesses, and 1.6 million Asian American–owned businesses. The 36 percent women business owners and the 9 percent of small businesses owned by veterans also illustrate the growth in diversity (Office of Advocacy). In this chapter, we take a deeper look at veteran-owned small

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businesses in general while also discussing some more specific elements, that is, military service and esprit de corps.

VETERANS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Why do veterans seemingly make good entrepreneurs? Research focused on the attributes or characteristics of successful innovators and entrepreneurs highlights that high-performing entrepreneurs have in common strong self-efficacy, a high need for achievement, and an individual level of comfort with autonomy (Institute for Veterans and Military Families). Cognitive and decision-making research has demonstrated that the military experience is positively correlated with the ability to accurately evaluate a dynamic decision environment, and subsequently act in the face of uncertainty (Institute for Veterans and Military Families). This ability is further enhanced and developed in veterans whose military experience includes service in a combat environment. In addition, military training and socialization processes have been shown to instill high levels of self-efficacy and trust that is consistently demonstrated in practice (Tihic 2015). Multiple sources report that dealing with chaotic situations, successfully adapting despite adversity, overcoming hardships and trauma, achieving developmental competencies, and excelling even in the face of harsh environments is characteristic of military veterans' high level of resilient behavior (Institute for Veterans and Military Families; McKinney 2013; Haynie 2011). Consequently, veterans generally develop an enhanced ability to bounce back from failed professional and/or personal experiences more quickly and more completely as compared to those who have not served. The business strategy and applied psychology literature highlights the positive benefits of resiliency of workers where intermediate or terminal failures are likely to be high, that is, in new product development, early stage ventures, sales, high-technology ventures/work roles, and in environments where customer relationships are transaction-based (Institute for Veterans and Military Families).

Entrepreneurship is very similar to resiliency in that one must make the right judgment at the right time, quickly, with inadequate information, and be able to adapt if things do not work (City Campus n.d.). In addition, while on active duty and performing their jobs, many veterans faced significant risk and therefore have a higher threshold for risk (Institute for Veterans and Military Families). For example, when you face decisions that may lead to your demise or the death or injury of others, placing your livelihood on the line may not seem as precarious (Pittaway 2010). Military veterans are twice as likely as their nonveteran counterparts to pursue business ownership after leaving service, and the five-year success rate of ventures owned by veterans

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is significantly higher than the national average (O'Neil, Vu, Elfering, and Hoffman 2014). The operations tempo of military assignments, and to a certain extent military life, often includes long lulls in activity followed by periods of sudden frantic action (Hosek et. al. 2006; City Campus). This can closely mimic the life of an entrepreneur where the next business crisis lies just around the corner. It is well established that being in crisis drives adrenaline (City Campus). Therefore, for many veterans, there is a lack of stimulation and adrenaline when following their military job with what appears to them a commonplace work experience (Pittaway).

The availability of resources to accomplish the job is another similarity. Often military personnel are faced with situations where resources are sparse but the mission must still be accomplished (City Campus). Entrepreneurs face similar situations, particularly startups where they may have to barter, borrow, and beg to fulfill orders or complete contracts.

Although the questions were asked from a slightly different perspective, there are more in-depth studies to support the associations previously noted. Research sponsored by the U.S. Small Business Association's (SBA) Office of Advocacy using self-employment as a measure of entrepreneurship, found that veterans do have a higher rate of self-employment than nonveterans for each of the years between 1979 through 2003 (Fairlie 2004). Data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the self-employment rate of veterans remains higher than that of nonveterans and demonstrate the same findings as those from 2003 to 2009 (Hope, Oh, and Mackin 2011).

Potential explanations for the above findings included useful traits such as training processes, education, or intangible psychological qualities (e.g., self-discipline and leadership) imparted or enhanced via military service (Hope et al.). Another plausible consideration is that military service attracts those who are predisposed to becoming self-employed later in their working lives. That is, the same qualities that lead someone to seek self-employment may make one an attractive military recruit (Hope et al.). Self-employment may also be a more attractive option for veterans with service-connected disabilities (Open Blue Solutions 2007). Military service can also reduce the relative risk of entrepreneurship for veterans (in particular retired veterans) because of the access to various benefits (free or inexpensive medical care for themselves and their dependents) and compensation (inflation-adjusted retirement pay) and other resources. Haynes (2007) studied the changes in income and wealth from 1989 through 2004. He focused on veteran and nonveteran households, veteran households with and without small-business owners, and small business–owning households with and without veterans. Using data from the Federal Reserve Board's 1989 through 2004 Surveys of Consumer Finances (SCF), he examined the likelihood that a household would be classified as high income or high wealth. In general, the study

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found that the overall number of veteran households and the percentage of small-business owners in the population of veteran households declined. More specifically, Haynes found that veteran households had lower income than nonveteran households; veteran small business–owning households had higher wealth than veteran nonbusiness–owning households; and veteran small business–owning households had lower wealth than nonveteran small business–owning households.

There are multiple studies that connect level of education to alignment with entrepreneurship (Parker 2004; Bates 1995, pp. 143–156). Moutray (2007) examined the relationship between educational attainment and self-employment and found educational attainment to be an important determinant of self-employment, with more schooling correlating with a higher likelihood of starting one's own business. He also noted that prior military service had the largest positive impact on self-employment.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF VETERAN BUSINESS OWNERS

Overall, veteran business owners tend to be older, male, White, and married when compared to their nonveteran counterparts (SBA 2013; Kennedy 2015). However, the veteran business owner demographics, together with the economic and business environment, are changing dramatically and rapidly. There is evidence to suggest that the proportion of younger veteran business owners (under age thirty-five) increased from 2008 to 2012 (Lichtenstein 2013). During this period, there was also an increase in the share of women business owners for both veterans and nonveterans, but the rate for female veterans was much greater.

Age. Since 2008, there has been an increase in the age of veteran business owners compared to nonveteran owners (Werner 2011). However, the proportion of younger veteran business owners is experiencing significant growth. In 2012, 7.1 percent of veteran business owners were under age thirty-five, an increase from 4.6 percent in 2008. It is interesting that during that time, the proportion of nonveteran owners under age thirty-five decreased from 18.5 percent to 16.3 percent (Werner).

Gender. As expected, most veteran business owners are male and the share of business ownership by female veterans is less in the overall population (Lichtenstein). Since 2008, women veteran entrepreneurs have grown from a low of 2.5 percent to 4.4 percent. From 2008 to 2012, the share of women business owners increased among both veterans and nonveterans, though at a much greater rate for female veterans.

Marital Status. Veteran business owners are more likely to be married than their nonveteran counterparts (Employment Situation of Veterans 2013;

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Lichtenstein). The share of married veteran business owners appears to have decreased between 2008 and 2012 (BLS 2015).

Level of Education. Veteran business owners had a higher level of education than nonveteran business owners (Lichtenstein). This may be because more officers than enlisted veterans become self-employed. It may also be due to the educational benefits provided to veterans under the G.I. Bill. This is confirmed by studies showing veteran business owners with a high school education or less at 23.1 percent compared to nonveterans with 28.3 percent. In addition, while 40 percent of veteran and nonveteran business owners were equally likely to have a bachelor's degree or higher, nonveterans were more likely to have completed some college.

Minority Ownership. Regarding minority veterans, the rate of minority business ownership was lower than nonveterans with little change between 2008 and 2012 (Lichtenstein). However, Hispanic veteran business ownership appears to have increased from 2008 (at 3.2 percent) to 2012 (at 6 percent). There was little change for their nonveteran business owner counterparts (Werner 2011). Businesses with majority ownership by African Americans represented 7.6 percent of all firms; 1.3 percent had Asian American ownership; 1.1 percent had American Indian or Alaska Native ownership; and less than 1 percent had majority ownership by either Native Hawaiians or other Pacific Islanders. Women, minorities as a whole, Hispanics, African Americans, and American Indians had markedly higher ownership shares of businesses without employees than of firms with employees (PwC 2011; U.S. Department of Commerce 2010).

Homeownership. Owning a home can be a significant factor affecting business startup and growth. Veteran business owners were more likely than nonveteran business owners to be homeowners, 86.6 percent versus 77.4 percent, and the long-standing availability of special VA home loan benefits may be a factor (Lichtenstein; American Express Open).

Esprit de Corps. Philosophically, esprit de corps can be defined as a show of solidarity, rapport, team spirit, camaraderie, mutual support, common bond, fellow feeling, community of interests, or group spirit (American Heritage Dictionary 2011; Collins Thesaurus 2002). Esprit de corps could also embody a sense of commitment (Collins Thesaurus). The term "esprit de corps" is also used interchangeably with morale. Historically, elite military units, such as special operations forces, have high morale due to both their training and pride in unit (BlackJackOne 2013). For the U.S. Marine Corps, "esprit de corps" is a phrase that is synonymous with the core values Honor, Courage, and Commitment (Estes 2000; Darnell 2008; Yi 2004). It is viewed as a living, breathing entity that is not only the fighting spirit but also the pride for the unit, service branch, and country, and the devotion and loyalty to the other members of the unit with whom the men and women serve.

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FACTORS IMPACTING VETERANS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

While the data clearly demonstrate the strong suitability of veterans for self-employment, this suitability deserves a closer look to investigate if the impact of military service is statistically significant. The Small Business Administration (SBA) funds and contracts to conduct numerous studies regarding veteran employment utilizing various data resources (Office of Advocacy). To address the significance of military service, the SBA used the following three data sources. The first source, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) Current Population Survey (CPS) March Supplement, was used to construct the control dataset. This dataset was also used to develop the model and provided the baseline statistics for the sample's characteristics. The second source of data was the BLS Current Population Survey Veterans Supplement, which includes data on the self-employment and unemployment of all veterans, veterans from different eras, civilian noninstitutionalized populations, and various demographic variables. The third data source was the Defense Manpower Data Center's (DMDC) 2003 Survey of Retired Military. These data provided a distinctive advantage because they included military retiree personal characteristics and employment history. Both the CPS Veterans Supplement and the DMDC Survey were used to construct the two experimental datasets to address the initial question. Basic descriptive analysis of the control dataset is provided in table 8.1.

The DMDC data were gathered from a survey distributed to 53,100 military retirees, of which 32,275 surveys were returned. While the survey

Table 8.1 Selected Statistics from the Control Dataset

Variable (%)	*Mean (%)*	*Count*
Age	34.13	206,639
Male	49	206,639
High School Graduate	78.8	155,954
Married	41.4	206,639
White	79.8	206,639
Black	11.4	206,639
Other Race	8.8	206,639
Hispanic	17	206,639
Number of Own Children	1.21	206,639
Ever Served in Military	9	147,972
Veterans Payments	$11,600.90	1,555
Disability Income	$13,132.77	31
Total Earnings	$20,870.61	206,387
Self-Employed	6	155,954
Earnings of Self-Employed	$40,449.57	8,941

Adapted From: U.S. Census Bureau 2007; Hope, J. B., Oh, B., and Mackin, P. 2011, March. *Fa (%)ctors Affecting Entrepreneurship among Veterans*. U.S. Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy.

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questions asked demographic information, such questions relevant to veteran entrepreneurship included if the veteran was self-employed, length of self-employment, and any service-related disabilities. Table 8.2 provides basic descriptive statistics for the military retiree analysis dataset derived from the DMDC's sample.

Compared to the control group, the military retiree is older, is more likely to be married, and has a high school education. As expected, military retirees also have a higher average income from pensions than those who are not self-employed. Basic descriptive information from the CPS Veterans Supplement, an extension of the standard CPS dataset, is provided in table 8.3. Note that the sample statistics will not align with the previous two tables because government workers were excluded yet were included among those who are self-employed in the agricultural sector.

In the figures that follow, the select variables of gender, education, and race are charged to highlight the differences between those who are employed and those who are not.

Regardless of the dataset, males have a consistently higher rate of self-employment than females. The greatest difference by gender is noted in the veteran analysis sample with 16.8 percent males and 7.0 percent females.

While nonveteran high school graduates are more likely to be self-employed, the data for veterans who are non-high-school graduates are

Table 8.2 Selected Statistics from the Military Retiree Analysis Dataset

Variable (%)	*Mean (%)*	*Count*
Age	54.90	53,100
Male	94	31,886
High School Graduate	78.1	29,573
Married	79.5	32,241
Total Earnings (2002)	$43,931.77	18,374
Years of Service for Retirement	19.57	53,100
Hispanic	5	31,147
White	80.5	31,177
Black	16.5	31,177
American Indian	2.5	31,177
Asian	2.9	31,177
Pacific Islander	0.2	31,177
Disabled	66.6	53,100
VA Compensation	37.6	53,100
Self-Employed	10.1	20,102

Adapted From: Mackin, P., and Darling, K. 2005. *The Post Earnings of Military Retirees: Evidence from the 2003 Survey of Retired Military*. DMDC Report No. 2004-011. Defense Manpower Data Center, Arlington, VA; Defense Manpower Data Center. 2004. Report No. 2004-007. 2003, Survey of Retired Military: Tabulation of Responses. DMDC Survey & Program Evaluation Division, Arlington, VA; Hope, J. B., Oh, B., and Mackin, P. 2011, March. *Factors Affecting Entrepreneurship among Veterans*. U.S. Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy.

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Table 8.3 Selected Statistics from the Veterans Analysis Dataset

Variable (%)	*Mean (%)*	*Count*
Age	60.5	10,766
Male	94	10,766
High School Graduate	92.1	10,766
Married	70.5	10,766
Number of Own Children	0.36	7,924
Total Income	$47,572.80	1,197
Ever Served in Military	100	10,766
Total Active Duty	3.72	9,110
Disabled	13.7	9,358
Hispanic	3.73	10,766
White	87.8	10,766
Black	7.8	10,766
Other Race	4.3	10,766
Disabled	86.3	9,358
Self-Employed	16.0	5,769

Adapted From: United States Census Bureau 2007; Hope, J. B., Oh, B., and Mackin, P. 2011, March. *Factors Affecting Entrepreneurship among Veterans*. U.S. Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy.

significantly higher than those who are graduates. They are 21.9 percent to 15.8 percent in the veterans' analysis dataset and 12.5 percent to 9.5 percent when looking at the analysis of the military retiree dataset.

What is evident from all three datasets, that is figures 8.1 through 8.3, is that White workers are more likely to be self-employed and by a significant margin. The control dataset results are that 7.3 percent of self-employed White workers to 3.7 percent self-employed Black workers in the general

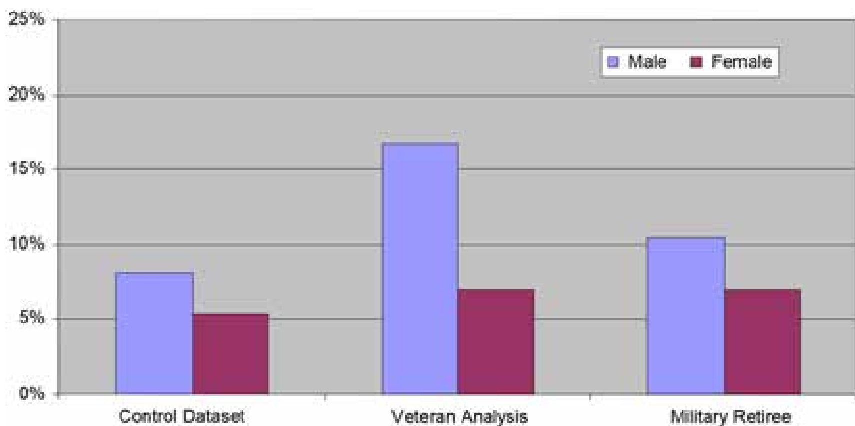

Figure 8.1 Percentage Self-Employed by Gender. *Source*: Adapted From: J. B., Oh, B., and Mackin, P. 2011, March. Factors Affecting Entrepreneurship among Veterans. U.S. Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy.

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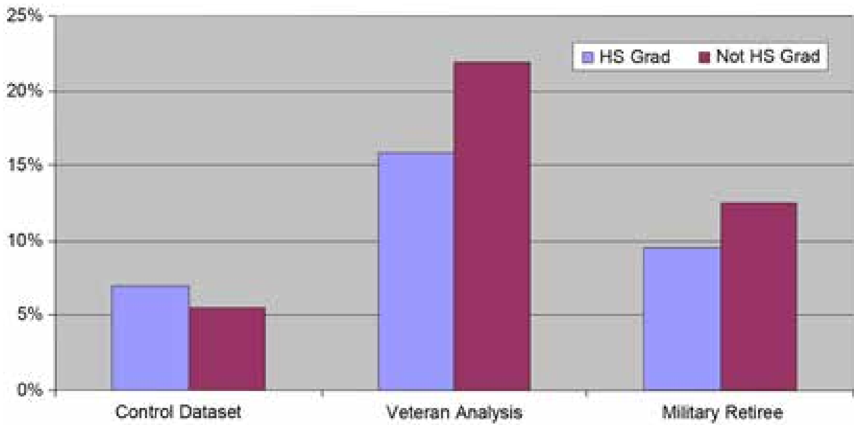

Figure 8.2 Percentage Self-Employed by Education. *Source*: Adapted From: J. B., Oh, B., and Mackin, P. 2011, March. Factors Affecting Entrepreneurship among Veterans. U.S. Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy.

population. The Black-White gap for the veteran analysis dataset and the military retiree dataset are 17.0 percent to 7.9 percent and 11.1 percent to 7.4 percent, respectively.

The data shared through the graphs and tables presented by Hope et al. confirm that military service is highly correlated with the likelihood of self-employment. Hope et al. also looked to identify if there were any particular aspects of military service that encouraged entrepreneurship within this population. In this regard, there were findings in the veteran or military retiree

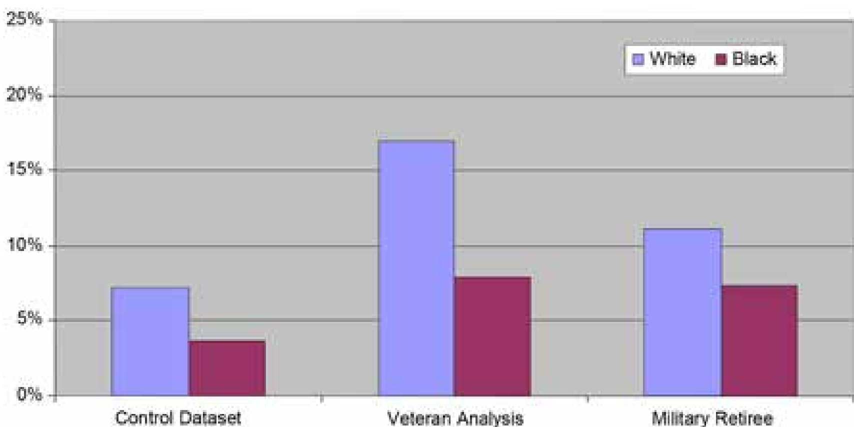

Figure 8.3 Percentage Self-Employed by Race. *Source*: Adapted From: J. B., Oh, B., and Mackin, P. 2011, March. Factors Affecting Entrepreneurship among Veterans. U.S. Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy.

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samples to suggest that the training, education, or culture predisposed this population to entrepreneurship. While unlikely, another consideration might be that military training and education do have a positive influence but are largely due to acculturation of the military and discipline occurring during the first two years of training in boot camp. In all, the model enhances the understanding of the attributes of those who are more predisposed to self-employment. This brief discussion of the datasets and the veteran population, in general, helps to set the context for the following examples of the veteran entrepreneur experience.

VETERANPRENEURS: THE VETERAN ADVANTAGE

In addition to the extensive training and experience that one can gain from military service, there are some additional bonus programs available to assist service members with the transition. One program in particular, Operation Boots to Business: From Service to Startup, is deserving of special mention. The program is a partnership among the Small Business Administration, the Veterans' Administration (VA), and the Department of Defense (DoD), and the initial pilot was conducted with the U.S Marines (Office of Small & Disadvantaged Business Utilization 2013).

With more than 250,000 personnel who are transitioning out of the military to civilian life, the Boots to Business program was created to address the issue of constricted employment opportunities, particularly during the economic downturn (Office of Small & Disadvantaged Business Utilization). The depth of experience and wealth of knowledge gained while serving does not necessarily transfer to an applicable skill in many traditional careers within the civilian sector. Therefore, many may have to consider alternative pathways to employment that includes pursuing entrepreneurship.

The three partnering organizations, the SBA, VA, and DoD, were very aware that data from numerous sources regarding their training, experience, and leadership supported that veterans are natural entrepreneurs. The average entrepreneurship rate was 13.5 percent among veterans and 9.9 percent among nonveterans over five years, 2005–2010 (SBA 2012–2013). And in the private sector, veterans are 45 percent more likely to be self-employed than those without prior military service (SBA 2012–2013). The opportunity was to target these transitioning veterans to drive interest in becoming business owners and, thus, job creators.

Recognizing the contributions of veterans who own businesses and employ millions of Americans, the U.S. Small Business Administration joined forces with its Resource Partners, Small Business Develop Centers (SBDCs), the Women's Business Centers (WBCs), SCORE, the Veterans Business

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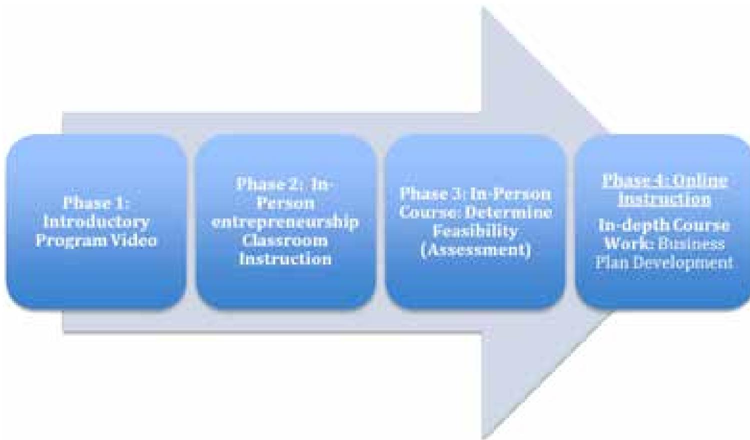

Figure 8.4 Boots to Business. *Source*: Adapted From: Operation Boots to Business: From Service to Startup A Partnership between SBA, VA and DoD, with an initial pilot with the U.S. Marine Corps.

Opportunity Centers (VBOCs), and Institute for Veterans and Military Families (*Operation Boots to Business: From Service to Startup* 2012–2013). They developed and delivered an introductory entrepreneurship program utilizing a multiphase approach to providing entrepreneurship awareness and opt in training to all transitioning service members from all branches of the service.

The National Operation Boots to Business initiative is a robust training program with four components. The four progressive phases of instruction deliver exposure, introduction, feasibility assessment, and in-depth training (figure 8.4):

- Phase 1: Introduction to Entrepreneurship.
- Phase 2: Interactive classroom training coordinated by SBA and delivered by Resource Partners. The training provides a broad overview of topics covering opportunities, benefits, and challenges.
- Phase 3: The focus of phase 3 is feasibility analysis instruction. It provides the structural framework for business plan development, leading to the launch of a new business.
- Phase 4: Provides a comprehensive eight-week online course that further explores the essential building blocks of small-business ownership (*Operation Boots to Business: From Service to Startup*).

Recent Operations: A Boots to Business Graduate Testimonial

Sandra Gonzales always knew that she wanted to start her own business. As a former Army nurse, wife, and mother of six children, she recognized early

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on that business ownership would afford her the flexibility she needed to balance the roles (*Operation Boots to Business* 2013). In 2011, Gonzales learned of the Veteran Women Igniting the Spirit of Entrepreneurship (V-WISE) program and decided to enroll. After completion, she recognized the need for more advanced instruction and enrolled in the V-WISE Entrepreneurship Bootcamp for Veterans Families (EBV-F) and Boots to Business training programs before launching Docere eLearning Solutions LLC.

Docere eLearning Solutions, in creating interactive learning programs, focuses on K–12 and healthcare. The idea for Gonzales's business came from her homeschooling her oldest child, who was diagnosed with autism. The programs she develops target the homeschooling community where they serve as a source of alternative therapies and techniques. Sandra has amassed a first-class team of educators, entrepreneurs, healthcare professionals, and IT specialists who are as dedicated as she is to assisting struggling learners. When asked about her Boots to Business experience she replied:

> I have taken numerous online courses, and I have found Boots to Business to be one of the best. The online tutorials were extremely valuable as well as the feedback I received on my assignments. The class walks you through each section of the business plan and provides great insight into all the aspects of planning and launching a new venture. Had it not been for Boots to Business, I doubt that I would have been able to write a detailed business plan that will help me move my business forward. More importantly, it allowed me to compete in two different business plan competitions to earn seed money for my company. I would highly recommend Boots to Business to anyone serious about launching a new venture. (*Operation Boots to Business* 2013)

With an estimated 2.2 million homeschooled children, Gonzales's target market is ripe for new innovations. Together with the ever-growing demand for online learning, the market for her products will continue to expand. This was recently affirmed when Sandra was awarded $50,000 in seed capital to launch her new venture (story adapted from Boots 2 Business website).

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Part III

TOMORROW'S CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

Post-service Travails

In part III, we tackle the post-service challenges that African Americans encounter with respect to the periodic, yet necessary, drawing down of the military that may unintentionally, disproportionately, and adversely impact Black veterans as a whole. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) continue to play a prominent role in educating African American youth. These institutions have always been crucial but are even more so today in helping to increase—as well as close the still gaping hole between—the rates at which African Americans pursue academic degrees in the sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) and such careers in the workforce as compared to Whites. Likewise, we highlight the sometimes forgotten but prolific ourstory of African Americans who are notable in the STEM disciplines as inventors and innovators. Such inventions and innovations have benefited America and indeed the world and that in modern times we have all taken for granted.

In keeping with this theme, we explore the degree to which African Americans pursue STEM careers in the military, which we have discovered regrettably follow the pattern of those within the civilian sector. Still, we discuss the promises that potentially lie ahead for this demographic group after having served in the military. What the future may hold for African Americans as a segment of the general civilian population, though, may be at best precarious, particularly in light of cyclical economic downturns that are correspondingly reflected in periodic military drawdowns. Nevertheless, we conclude that despite these inevitable uncertainties, those with a military background in their arsenal of tools, so to speak, may indeed have the advantage in parlaying those skills into viable civilian occupations and thus the capacity to

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better compete in the civilian society post-military service. However, we also believe that many of these dynamics are a condition of the degree to which the military upholds its moral contract to African Americans, that is, to treat them equitably in all manner of its affairs. This trust is paramount, for only then will African Americans continue to engage with the military.

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Chapter 9

The Changing Economics of Military Service

THE CHANGING MILITARY: A SIGN OF THE TIMES

Today's plans to draw down the U.S. military post–Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom is significant in the sense that such plans are considered to be the most radical downsizing of the military force since World War II (Alexander and Shalal 2014). In an attempt to shore up budget reductions for 2015, and particularly for the army, these data represent the lowest number of U.S. troops prior to World War II, the elimination of aviation favorites like the air force's Hog or A-10 aircraft, and the reduction of military benefits. Said then outgoing Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, "We . . . face the risk of uncertainty in a dynamic and increasingly dangerous security environment. Budget reductions inevitably reduce the military's margin of error in dealing with these risks, as other powers are continuing to modernize their weapon portfolios" (Alexander and Shalal 2014). But, again for the army, these troop losses may be accomplished via a combination of attrition, decline in the number of accessions, and involuntary separation (*Army Times* 2014).

In 2015 alone, 20,000 troops were impacted (*Army Times*). The target end strength for the army is 420,000 from a height of 570,000 in 2014. Additionally, notices of involuntary separation were given to 1,100 personnel at the rank of captain (0–3) and at least 500 at the rank of major (0–4) (Carroll 2014). But, there are detractors who believe that such reductions, in an effort to right-size the military, warrant more prudent considerations. For instance, former undersecretary of defense for Personnel and Readiness Bernard Rostker (2013) believes that, in the reduction in force plans, two key factors have been overlooked and that previous drawdowns can serve as lessons in determining present and future like decisions for the military. Failure to learn from

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these lessons of the past, says Rostker, may needlessly cause the military to discount two mistakes. First, an overreliance on the reserve components, which, Rostker claims, given ourstory, has never been adequately prepared when mobilized for combat. The answer is, then, to achieve the right complement of troops from both the active duty and reserve components. And, second, there has been an imbalance in the attempt to carry out the manageable end strength of forces (Rostker).

By 2018, the army and marine corps are projected to reduce their active duty forces by 14 percent and 10 percent, respectively (Department of Defense [DoD] 2012). But what have not been factored in are how these cuts will reverberate in future years as well as the impact that they will have on the careers of the workforce (Rostker). Ironically, the army and marine corps, given their respective missions, are to sustain a younger force, whereas the navy and air force seek technical expertise and, as such, find that a more senior force is preferable for their missions.

It is this second point—that is, consideration for the reduction of personnel—that is the most glaring and perhaps the most troubling concern for the possible adverse impact on Blacks in the military, given this cycle of economics. In its final report on the assessment of diversity in the military, the Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) (2011) warned that for any prospective drawdowns of personnel, the military must be ever mindful of the manner in which such drawdowns are achieved for fear of eroding racial and/or ethnic diversity within the leadership ranks. In particular, the MLDC found a disturbing dearth in leadership within the commissioned and enlisted ranks of racial and/or ethnic minorities and women, especially within the general officer and flag ranks, which appears to have been the result of low representation of these groups for initial officer accessions and attrition at the mid-level ranks for both the enlisted and commissioned corps. There was evidence of lower promotion rates for these groups as well. More troublesome, according to the MLDC, is that at the outset there was a chasm between those possible entrants who are classified as non-White Hispanics and racial and/or ethnic minorities as a whole and White personnel.

Since 2008, and as a percentage of their presence within the general civilian population, African Americans within the commissioned corps were underrepresented in both the active duty and reserve components of the military (MLDC). As well, racial and/or ethnic minorities as a group were underrepresented within the senior noncommissioned officer (E7–E9) and flag/general officer ranks. And overall, the commissioned corps is even more sparsely diverse than the enlisted corps. The MLDC concluded that "given the desire to develop and maintain a military leadership that is demographically representative of the American public, it follows that military leadership should also represent the service members that it is entrusted to lead"

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(p. 44). That said, in a drawdown environment, the military must be vigilant in responding to postwar realities like those following Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom. Such practices must be carried out strategically to avoid even minimal adverse impact to the most vulnerable segments of its population.

DRAWDOWNS: THE IMPACT ON THE AFRICAN AMERICAN FORCE

While the changing economics of the military warrants periodic drawdowns, Nixon (1993) asserts that these activities may unduly impact a disproportionate number of African Americans. Further, such actions may not be limited to reducing personnel on the back end but may have unintentional repercussions on the front end in recruitment. He points to a conflagration of multiple factors beginning with the advent and successful launching of the all-volunteer military that has inadvertently set the military on this trajectory. Foremost, however, was the failure of the leadership to fully comprehend the full panoply of social and economic variables that entail the establishment, transition, and sustainment of an all-volunteer military. One misnomer was that the military would continue to be perceived as an employer of choice, thus facilitating desired recruitment levels. At the time, annual earnings for veterans were comparable, if not higher, than for similar occupations within the civilian sector.

But during the 1976 through 1980 period, as a result of the associated expense, the time-honored G.I. Bill was replaced with a post–Vietnam Conflict era Veterans Educational Assistance Program (VEAP), a one-for-one matching program that required the monetary contribution of military personnel (Nixon). So, the VEAP proved to be costly to military personnel in reducing their buying power. At a time when the country was still reeling from a recession, the military was forced into damage control by lowering its enlistment standards, although the number of African American enlistees actually increased during this period (Eitelberg 1988). To Nixon, the cause for redirection was in reaction to a confluence of issues at play, which included (1) the prevailing trends that indicated that the propensity of the targeted groups to enlist was declining, preferring to attend college instead; (2) overreporting by the media about the challenges of maintaining an all-volunteer force (AVF); (3) declining public opinion about serving in the military, coupled with negative views about the Vietnam Conflict; and (4) an increase in federal programs that subsidized attending college instead of enlisting in the military for low- to medium-income families. Recruitment levels between 1981 and 1989 were at such ourstoric lows that Congress even entertained returning to

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a conscripted force, followed by a decrease in defense spending in the form of an accelerated troop drawdown by the Clinton administration.

Prior to and following Operation Desert Storm, a helter-skelter of opinions as to the employment and deployment of African American troops emerged (Nixon). On the one hand, Black leaders complained that Black troops were bearing the brunt of being the preponderance of frontline personnel, which, unlike their White contemporaries, risked injury and death at greater rates. Yet, on the other hand, once the campaign terminated, Black leaders became equally concerned about the negative impact of drawing down the force on Black troops. At issue was that because African Americans viewed the military as less discriminatory than organizations within the civilian sector, prudent measures must be taken in reducing the force to include consideration for racial and/or ethnic makeup of the force. Incidentally, it was his predecessor, President George H. W. Bush, not President Clinton, who cautioned against any drastic force cuts. But for the Pentagon and Congress, it was a matter of readiness, tempered with respect to force composition that dictated any decision-making for the military.

Nixon's study, which concentrated on the effects of force reduction on Blacks up to and following Operation Desert Storm, essentially concluded that a number of characteristics render African Americans more vulnerable to this practice. These characteristics include, but are not limited to, an uneven representation in the support occupations (e.g., administration, supply, medical), many of which are low-skilled jobs; shift in military mission; and the change in the criteria for enlistment, such as educational requirements. For instance, beginning in 1989, African Americans' accessions declined annually as compared to those of Whites and other minorities during the same period. And many recruiting stations in urban locales that would ordinarily spur interest among this demographic group were closed. Quantitative analyses by Lehnus and Lancaster (1999) of the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC), during the approximate period as the Nixon study, also showed a precipitous decline from 49 percent in 1991 to 32 percent in 1994 in the propensity of Black men, or those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years old, to enlist into the military according to the results of DoD's Youth Attitude Tracking Survey (YATS). Other than the obvious risk to life, many youths cited what they discerned as disturbing interventions by the United States into countries like Somalia and Haiti. Moreover, both the youth and parents interviewed as part of focus groups perceived a college education as a crucial perquisite over that of military service. According to the Nixon study, other characteristics that make African Americans vulnerable to the adverse impact of military drawdowns include involuntary separation and the types of voluntary separation incentives employed to achieve force reduction.

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In essence, under an all-volunteer military and, more pointedly, during a drawdown period, Black enlistment has been adversely impacted when compared to Whites and other minority groups whose numbers have increased over time (Nixon). Consequently, these findings are disappointing as they translate to even greater loss in opportunities for African Americans in the civilian sector. While, at the time, Blacks perceived the military as a viable employer, it was as Nixon notes "an employer of last resort" (p. 59).

The post–Operation Desert Storm drawdown has generated a flurry of studies as to its impact, particularly for minority officers. Although approached from a point of divergence in terms of the analytical tools employed to ascertain the rates of separation, the general consensus among multiple studies is that, although Black officers experienced higher rates of separation than their White counterparts, part of this decision-making was contingent upon where they might be in their careers in the military at the time of the drawdown, along with the perceived and existing opportunities for them within the civilian sector (Miller 1995; Darrow 1995; Lux 1995). Other variables such as type of occupation, source of commission, and whether or not an officer possessed an advanced degree and the types of monetary incentives employed also served as reliable predictors of attrition rates.

For example, Miller assessed the exodus of Black officers from each of the military branches during that period by way of examining the pull and push strategies for drawing down the force. Pull strategies are perceived as less punitive yet may not be as fruitful in terms of yielding the desired and more targeted results (Felsenthal 1994). Whereas, pull strategies or involuntary separation, although targeted and thus more focused, as one of many factors, will no doubt negatively impact morale (Felsenthal; Kirby 1993). Using a five-phase model to determine the rationale for officer separation behavior for each of the services, the respective cohorts—1977, 1980, 1983, and 1987—were analyzed a priori and in the course of the drawdown post-Operation Desert Storm. Phase I, known as Attrition, measured separation behavior following commission but during the first three years of military service. Phase II, dubbed Early Leave Decision, represented the first three years through eleven years of service. Phase III, Career Decision, occurs between ten years and fourteen years of service, although it varies according to each military branch, which by then becomes a critical career decision that may be dictated by a positive or negative promotion to the rank of major (0–4). Finally, Phase IV, Early Retirement Window, constituted those officers with at least fifteen years of service. For the purpose of this analysis, it is important to note that, as expected, Black officers posted significant representation in occupations coded as administrative, supply, procurement, and allied professions (i.e., medical) but disproportionate levels in those occupations categorized as tactical operations.

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For the army, Black officers registered an increased probability to separate during Phase I but not as likely to do so during Phase II (Miller). The 1977 cohort experienced a greater likelihood than their White peers to separate during Phase III, although for the 1980 cohort during the drawdown period, they were less likely to do so. The 1983 cohort reflected a similar separation pattern as those in the 1977 cohort, who showed an increased probability to separate during Phase IV as well. A number of variables also determined the separation behavior of African American officers such as the age at which the officer was commissioned: older officers were more likely to separate; source of commission and level of education: officers who graduated from a military academy and/or possessed a graduate degree showed the reverse pattern, that is, to remain in the military; and officers in tactical operations. Black officers in the navy displayed similar separation behaviors as those in the army, although those in the 1980 and 1983 cohorts might have been significantly affected by the voluntary monetary incentives offered at the time of the drawdown. Those in the air force demonstrated a more pronounced propensity to leave during Phase I than both the army and navy but less so during Phase II. Correspondingly, there was a more prominent exodus of Black officers during Phase IV.

According to Miller, it was difficult to evaluate separation patterns for the marine corps because of the sparse data for Black officers, although unlike their White peers, the few Black officers sampled were more likely to separate during Phase III for the 1977 and 1980 cohorts, with the increased probability of doing so during Phases I and II for the 1983 and 1987 cohorts. Miller's analysis concluded that Black officers experienced the highest attrition rates during the first three years of military service and then again between the tenth and fourteenth years of service, where it is suspected that such decisions are contingent upon whether or not an officer was promoted to the rank of major.

Darrow's study of the cohorts of those eligible for promotion acknowledged that where there are diverse groups of people, even when there is no deliberate intent to be discriminatory against particular groups, discrimination occurs nonetheless. And, alas, even when diverse persons achieve higher educational levels than their White counterparts, race still becomes the overriding predictor of one's occupational status and position in the labor market (Thomas and Alderfer 1989). While Darrow concedes that at the time of his study there was little, if any, research on the impact of downsizing on minority workforces, at least within the civilian sector, in 1985, the U.S. General Accounting, now the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), found that these groups were overrepresented in the downsizing of eight federal agencies (as cited in Darrow). The study inferred, however, that while downsizings are more likely than not to adversely impact minorities, perhaps, at

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least in part, these groups' overrepresentation within given occupations, that is, in support positions, make them more vulnerable than Whites. Similarly, the same assumption can be made about the vulnerability of minority officers, specifically for Black officers. As well, and as Darrow suggests, even the lower representation of some minority groups within given military branches may pose as another threat in exposing minorities to the adverse effects of downsizing. In the case of recruitment, for instance, it is conceivable that by increasing the cutoff criterion on standardized tests, as one of the many criteria, reduces the selection rate of Blacks, resulting in the disparate impact of this group (Conciatore 1990). And, to complicate matters, for the purpose of commissioning, each military branch employs a different measure to weigh the scores from standardized tests such as the ACT and SAT. For the most part, such scores, together with the high school ranking, generally comprise 60 percent of the admission criteria. At the time of Darrow's analysis, there was an overconcentration of minority officers at the junior ranks (0–1 through 0–3), and as rank increased, so did the disparity and the lack of representation of these groups. While there was segregation along demographic lines, the absence is partly attributed, even when promoted, to the significant number of years, preparation, and experience that it takes for promotion to the more senior levels (i.e., 0–5+). Yet, what is disturbing is that as an aggregate, minority officers are overrepresented in support occupations (e.g., engineering and maintenance, health administration, supply). These data were through 1994, although Darrow concluded that amid the drawdown at the time, this overrepresentation of minority officers in these support fields occurred across the services. Ironically, when all variables were controlled for minority status, especially for Black officers, led to an increase (7.6%) in the probability of promotion to the rank of 0–4 in the navy and with higher overall promotion rates to that rank in the army (64.9% vs. 76.7%). Despite this anomaly, which caused Darrow to recommend a more detailed examination of the finding unlike similar research at the time, it was concluded that a drawdown environment has not experienced negative effects for Black officers.

Lux, on the other side of the spectrum, studied the effects of drawdown on recruiting minority officers during the same period as the Miller and Darrow studies by basically utilizing the same cohort years, or from 1988 through 1994. More importantly, the data during this period analyzed the correlation between an officer graduating from an HBCU with promotion to the rank of 0–4 and within a drawdown environment. Interestingly enough, although HBCUs have become a reliable source for recruiting Black officers (Harris, Shivers, and Deuster 2011; Lovett 2011), at the time of this study, Lux reported that as one of multiple factors, the military has become less likely to recruit from HBCUs in light of its experience that graduates from these institutions were less prepared to meet the requirements for selection for

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commissioning to the various branches. Lux found that during the military drawdown, the U.S. Military Academy experienced a decline in the accession of Black officers, but while neither the Air Force Academy nor the Air Force ROTC program experienced these losses, similar declines occurred in these sources of commission for Hispanics as well. Blacks appeared to have been the hardest hit though by force drawdowns (Lux). The largest decreases were experienced in the support occupations (supply and administration) for Black officers in the army, although concurrent increases in this group occurred in the healthcare disciplines. Another finding was that Black officers who graduated from HBCUs were not significantly impacted in promotion to the rank of 0–4 during force drawdowns. If anything, graduation from an HBCU actually seemed to have enhanced the officers' likelihood for promotion to that rank.

A CONFLUENCE OF CHALLENGES

More recently, Asch and Warner (2001) studied the likelihood of eligible personnel during the same period to accept the financial incentives (voluntary separation incentive [VSI] and special separation bonus incentive [SSBI]) offered to enlisted personnel within six years of service in the army. These personnel were not eligible for retirement separation and had to secure an affiliation with the reserve component of the military branch as a condition of receiving the bonus. Although Blacks were less likely than Whites to take the incentives, they were more likely than other groups to meet the eligibility criteria for separation pay. This study found that personnel who were induced to take these incentives were also more likely to believe that, given the prevailing winds at the time, it was in their best interest to take the incentives before they were forced to involuntarily separate from the military.

Of note is that the propensity to serve in the military among African Americans has been on the steady decline since the advent of the all-volunteer military in 1973 (Segal, Bachman, Freedman-Doan, and O'Malley 1999; Lehnus and Lancaster; Kleykamp 2006; MLDC 2010). Military recruitment becomes particularly challenging in a strong civilian economy (Population *Report FY2013*). Especially beginning in 1989, serving in the military for African Americans has shown a disturbing trend (Lehnus and Lancaster; Kleykmap; MLDC). A youth poll conducted by the DoD for 2004 through 2008 showed Black, non-Hispanic men as 16 percent less likely to serve in the military (Carvalho, Turner, March, Yanosky, Zucker, and Boehmer 2008). This finding is lower than another survey by the University of Michigan's Monitoring the Future (MTF) project, which demonstrated that from 2005 through 2008, African Americans' propensity to serve in the military showed a 20 percent decline (MLDC). As significant was the precipitous decline in Black interest

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in the military between 2006 and 2007. In addition, the propensity to serve in the military among nonwhites has experienced similar declines during and following Operation Iraqi Freedom. These measures of propensity to serve then constitute important gauges for the military relative to the civilian economy. And as is to be expected, an improved or robust civilian economy, will simply translate to increasing problems for the military (*Population Report*). In staving off these problems, it will be an imperative for the DoD to strategically implement the necessary "policy levers" (p. 18) to help mitigate them (*Population Report*).

But Black representation in the military has remained divisive (Armor and Gilroy 2009) in the sense that, according to the citizen-soldier theory by Janowitz and his proteges like Moskos, it is important that the values of a democratic society are espoused in those such as that of military service that become the duty of its citizens. In doing so, it is society's responsibility that the military be a reflection of its population. But even Rostker (2006) notes—particularly in an all-volunteer military—the possible overrepresentation of Blacks in the military, and especially so in the army. The concern was that the nation's defense would be unduly borne by the one group most marginalized in American society. And as well, given the perceived racial discrimination within the civilian sector, it was believed that Blacks would find the military as exceptionally attractive, if not for this reason alone (Armor and Gilroy). But although there was overrepresentation by African Americans in the military, and more so in the army, during the 1980s through the 1990s (Armor and Gilroy; Kleykamp 2010), the trend has since retracted to a sizeable correction. At one time, of course, Black leaders, including Dr. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), refuted claims that point to an AVF that would lead to the disproportionate representation of African Americans in the military (Armor and Gilroy). Yet, others argued that the military's monopoly on Black employment would essentially lead to the siphoning off of the most qualified Blacks from the civilian sector for service in the military.

Today, Black military accession into the military is still in decline. The Gulf War was perhaps one of the first prominent indicators of this change (Segal et al.; Armor and Gilroy; Kleykamp 2007; Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004, 2005) along with post-September 11, Operation Enduring Freedom (Armor and Gilroy; Baldor 2007; National Security Advisory Group 2006). Further, unlike in the past when many Black leaders encouraged Black enlistment in the military, many began to criticize the institution as not a place for Blacks (Baldor; White 2005; Armor and Gilroy). Black leaders like the Reverend Jesse Jackson and many within the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) were not only vehemently opposed to Operation Desert Storm (Armor and Gilroy) but polls taken following the launch of Operation Enduring Freedom

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in Afghanistan in 2001 signaled a racial divide between how Blacks and Whites felt, with Whites in unanimous support of the invasion and Blacks at the opposite end of the spectrum. Particularly for the eighteen-year-old to twenty-four-year-old cohort (Baldor), the propensity to enlist in the military was being influenced within the community by such leaders as teachers, the clergy, and coaches (Regan 2005). Many have also warned that, especially the army, over relies on African Americans to fill its billets (Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004) but that the decrease would better afford the military the chance for a more diversified force (Gifford 2005; White).

Moreover, as DoD itself acknowledges (*Population Report*), economic shifts within the civilian sector predict the military's ability to recruit. For example, an expanding or constricting civilian labor market experiences in-kind fluctuations in the employment or unemployment rates results in corresponding fluctuations in the military's ability to recruit African Americans (Armor and Gilroy; Asch, Heaton, and Savych 2009). Blacks, more than other demographic segments of American society, utilize the military for economic reasons that are more pronounced in a tightened civilian labor market, although Moore (1991) sees this trend, meaning this overreliance on the military during poor economic periods, as especially troubling for Black women since many who join the military are single parents and are disproportionately placed in unskilled jobs or those that require minimally technical or administrative and support positions. Ahituv, Tienda, Xu, and Hotz (1994) state, "For blacks, military service provides a gateway to full-time employment more so than for Whites and Hispanics. This fact has potential ominous consequences for minority men's future employment opportunities given the recent downsizing of the military" (p. 264).

Nevertheless, the research illustrates some interesting patterns for African Americans post-military service. The least qualified Black veterans experience an advantage over White veterans within the civilian sector for having served in the military (Teachman and Tedrow 2007). Teachman and Tedrow hypothesize that military service is not only demanding but also results in the removal of individuals who would therefore be disadvantaged by not having experienced age-appropriate progress within the civilian labor market. But according to the researchers, this removal further constrains one's advancement once they separate from the military and return to compete within the civilian market. Teachman and Tedrow concede that the hypothesis negates the importance of the skills that veterans gain in the military since many of these skills are transferrable to occupations within the civilian sector, supporting the importance of the military as a launching ground for those who leave (Bryant and Wilhite 1990; Mangum and Ball 1987, 1989). Accordingly, such prospects have been leveraged as important recruiting tools for the military (Gilroy, Phillips, and Blair 1990). Similarly, Teachman and Tedrow

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hypothesize that the income of veterans, once they transition to the civilian labor market, will be a condition of race and that given race, especially Black veterans, will experience visible income deficits.

Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (NLSY), Teachman and Tedrow studied the enduring impact of serving in the military on civilian income during the early phases of the AVF. In both cases, the hypotheses were disproven for Black veterans in that Black veterans who served on active duty, as well as Black men on active duty during the 1988 through 1990 period, experienced what the researchers call "an income premium" (Teachman and Tedrow, p. 1468) over their White peers. The income patterns of Black veterans with a minimum of twelve years of education with those of White veterans with less than twelve years of education are comparable. Both groups begin with a 10 percent income advantage, but after fifteen years reflect incomes with no discernible difference from nonveteran incomes. While Black veterans with less than twelve years of education begin with a 20 percent income advantage over their nonveteran counterparts and following fifteen years of military service, their income decreases to 10 percent but is still above the income for nonveterans. The researchers conclude that not only did Black veterans benefit in the civilian sector owing to military service but even when they possess less than twelve years of education, they still experience an income advantage from having served in the military. The researchers also conclude that although the results reflect an earlier time and that because of wars like Operation Iraqi Freedom that entailed more frequent and larger deployments, and that the landscape of what constitutes the military has changed considerably since its earlier phase of an AVF, analysis of post-military service income may differ. Still, Teachman and Tedrow speculate that, especially for Black men, military service served as a selection mechanism for prospective civilian employers. This indicator no doubt additionally became an advantage for Black male veterans, who, according to the researchers, will be more appealing to civilian employers than nonveteran Blacks.

But despite these encouraging findings, Kleykamp (2010) and others (Ahitvu et al.; Barley 1998; Richards and Bowen 1993) caution about the negative impact of a military drawdown, especially for Blacks, since they are more likely than other segments of the military's population to serve in support occupations, which are more subject to privatization (Boesel 1992; DeTray 1982). Kleykamp believes that those who complete military service are also more likely to enhance their credentialing through further education. This advances the belief that underlies signaling theory. Ordinarily, these attributes would not have been visible to prospective employers and especially so for employers of veterans. Whereas signaling theory brings positive attention to those who have taken steps to increase their credentials, human capital theory posits the importance of improving one's credentialing

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through education and development as a conduit for increasing the production and efficiency of employees by economically capitalizing on the investment instruments that human beings can make in themselves (Almendarez 2011).

To Kleykamp, both theories, in tandem with and in light of a drawdown that in turn induces the likelihood of increasing the participation of Blacks in the military, then should bode well for colleges, as Blacks would be more likely to enroll in these institutions. African Americans in the military who have also been adversely impacted by the drawdown should either experience a transferring of military skills for employment within the civilian sector and/or should military drawdown occur during a less robust employment picture within the civilian economy; Black veterans may enroll in college as one way of increasing human capital—especially when military training may not be transferrable to civilian employment (Mangum and Ball 1987, 1989).

More recent analysis by Kleykamp appears to refute some of the earlier findings about the likely impact of military drawdowns on Black veterans. Kleykamp's analysis does not find any appreciably negative impact of military drawdown during the 1990s on Black veterans. Even if any such impact exists, it simply moved those veterans to increase their enrollment in higher education institutions in an attempt to increase both the human capital and signaling theories for prospective employers. Although, admittedly, many African American veterans might have initially interrupted their goal of a college education to enlist in the military instead (Kleykamp), some, following separation from the military, despite the original goal for college, failed to follow through (MacLean 2005). So, military service may not have produced the positive returns of being in the military for Black veterans as in earlier cohorts (Kleykamp). Yet, the military drawdown may have, at least for a limited time, unintentionally closed the gap of college enrollment rates between Blacks and Whites because of the decline in African American participation in the military. Besides, following the 1990s, Blacks no longer enlisted in the military at disproportionately higher rates than Whites (Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004). Nevertheless, Kleykamp bemoans how the dual effects of the present economic woes within the civilian sector with that of the high costs of higher education may bode in either increasing the number of Blacks who actually enlist in the military versus those who enroll in college instead.

LOOKING TO THE PAST INSTEAD OF THE FUTURE

In Kitfield's (2012) "The Risks of Military Drawdowns," military drawdowns are continuously being designed with an eye on the past instead of to the future. Essentially, says Kitfield, "planners tend to prepare for the last war" (p. 3). In fact, the success of Operation Desert Storm incentivized the military

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to basically battle the previous war, only a more improved version of it. But former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey, then a major general and head of the army's First Armored Division during Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2004, states that the military must "beware of Black Swans" in its failure to expect the unexpected (as cited by Kitfield, p. 5). The U.S. military was caught ill prepared and ill-equipped to prosecute the war given the level of insurgency and sectarian violence in the region. The military's subsequent report titled *Decade of War: Enduring Lessons from the Past Decade of War* concludes that "in operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, a failure to recognize, acknowledge, accurately define the operational environment led to a mismatch between forces, capabilities, missions and goals" (p. 6). Citing Andrew Kiepinevich of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, what makes the current military drawdown most disconcerting is three-pronged—the increasing number of security threats and the different forms of security threats amid an environment of budget cuts to defense. According to Kitfield, it is therefore imperative for the Pentagon to understand the problems of prior drawdowns to avoid the repetition of these pitfalls.

Unfortunately, to date, outside of the report by the MLDC (2011), there has been little in the way of a comprehensive review of the impact of the current drawdown efforts by the Pentagon and the specific impact on Blacks. This may be due to the fact that current drawdowns are in flux and data available to study their impact will not be available or even evident for years to come. However, given the ominous forewarning by the MLDC, one cannot help but take seriously the sense of urgency and perhaps even foreboding with which the MLDC articulated its message to the DoD and those charged with carrying out the drawdown of the forces and the foreseeable adverse effects that doing so could potentially have on certain segments of the military's population, namely, women and minorities. And while the MLDC was not specific in terms of identifying which demographic groups within those categories about which it is most concerned, the military must be ever vigilant in how it draws down its forces by invoking those lessons derived from previous drawdowns. Too, drawing from the dire consequences discovered by the MLDC, Kitfield, and others, like Rostker (2013), necessitate a cautious, well-thought-out, and deliberate strategy for drawing down the current forces for upon which the nation's readiness for future campaigns, large and small, will be predicated.

While there have been no comprehensive reviews, per se, as to the potential impact of force drawdowns post–Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom outside of the MLDC's, there have been signs as early as the mid-2000s that the army, in particular, was facing a shortage in its commissioned ranks. In fact, according to this report, it is the shortage within the services'

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enlisted corps that provided the impetus for a follow-up report of its commissioned corps (Henning 2006). To be fair, the report was prepared during a period at the height of increasing and record deployments for both Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom when an officer shortage in the line positions for active duty emerged within the senior captain to major ranks for fiscal years (FY) 2007 and 2008, with similar projections through FY 2013.

It is important to note that the Henning report did not only address support functions in the medical, Judge Advocate General (JAG), or chaplain corps, but also failed to include data for line positions from either the Army Reserve or Army National Guard. According to this report, the army considers that there is a dearth of critical skills when that number dips below 85 percent of capacity, or of approximately 3,000 personnel less in certain career fields. Yet, as Henning indicates, of the 52,000 commissioned officers or a shortage of 6 percent or 3,000 personnel, this is not a shortfall that is by any measure of significance to warrant needlessly worrying about. Henning attributes the officer shortage to not only challenges in accessing the required numbers of officers annually and as Congressionally mandated since 2000, but that the increased requirements for officers has exacerbated the situation and particularly so in a high operations tempo climate like Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom.

With an eye on the services' execution of plans to drawdown forces post–Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, the MLDC's 2011 findings only underscored the severe paucity in the number of women and minorities within the military's senior ranks in both the enlisted and commissioned corps. The MLDC blames these shortages as a consequence of the confluence of two overriding factors—low promotion rates and decreased retention relative to that of White men. A follow-up study by Asch, Miller, and Malchiodi (2012) of the RAND Corporation echoes the findings of the MLDC and in view of an earlier study, also by RAND (Hosek et al. 2001) on the progression of minority and women officers (Harris 2009a; DoD 1999), Black male officers are less likely to be promoted to the field grade officer ranks (0–4 and 0–5). Yet, once promoted, Black male officers are more likely than White male officers to remain in the military. However, the further progress of Black officers is stalled owing to the lack of mentoring relationships with senior ranking officers that are essential to promotion and, in turn, flourishing careers, plus the propensity for these officers to transfer to ROTC and recruiting that place them in assignments outside of their career fields. And while female officers are less likely to be promoted than their White male peers, African American female officers are the exception (Asch et al.). Black female officers are not only less likely to be promoted to the rank of 0–3 (captain) at comparable rates as White men, but unlike the low retention rates of female officers overall, once promoted to

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0–3, Black women experience an increased likelihood of remaining in the military over their White male peers.

But in contradiction to the earlier RAND study, Hosek, Tiemeyer, Kilburn, Strong, Ducksworth, and Ray (2001) found that African American male officers are less likely than their White male peers to be promoted to the rank of 0–4. The more recent Asch et al. (2012) study shows that while African American male officers are less likely than White male officers to be promoted to 0–4, they are also less likely to attain the rank of 0–6 (colonel) as their White peers. Similarly, female officers are less likely to be promoted to 0–4 as White male officers and are also less likely to reach the 0–6 rank. Most stark is that Black women are the least likely of any demographic segment of the military's population to achieve the rank of 0–6. This is partly attributed to both the lower promotion and retention rates of this group to 0–5 and correspondingly poor promotion rates to 0–6.

THE MODERN-DAY EFFECTS OF FORCE DRAWDOWNS

For the army, in particular, the most recent drawdowns are yielding a negative impact for Black officers. But it was not until the drawdown took effect that the extent to which not only are minority officers being negatively impacted but also the level of adverse impact on African American officers was revealed. The combat arms career field is especially worrisome (Hoffman 2014). This career field encompasses those in the infantry, armor, and field artillery. Then chief of staff of the army General Raymond Odierno recognizes this shortage of Black officers as a long-term problem but concedes that, for inexplicable reasons, it keeps recurring. While in the most recent round of force drawdowns, the army separated 9.8 percent of majors who are Black compared to 5.7 percent of majors who are White, this effect translates to 23 percent of Black majors who were separated, given that African American officers constitute under 10 percent of the army's active duty commissioned corps versus 80 percent who are White. For those at the rank of captain, one in every five Blacks was involuntarily separated versus less than one in every ten White captains. General Odierno suspects that it is at the point of source of commission that makes a difference in the fields that officers select to pursue as their careers. While as chief of staff, the general strives to achieve diversity within all career fields and across the ranks; he readily admits that this shortage of Black officers in combat arms is disconcerting.

For Clarence Johnson, the Pentagon's point man for equal opportunity, while General Odierno's concern is well taken, in this case for combat arms, the lack of Black officers in the career field is not surprising (Associated Press [AP] 2008). More complex is the confluence of reasons for Black officers'

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absence within the senior ranks of the military. Yet, to Mr. Johnson, many young African Americans who pursue the Army do not select such career fields as combat arms, for instance, because they do not envision being able to realistically parlay those skills following a military career. As such, these young people do not see how the skills from the combat arms career field can be transferrable to the civilian sector, not to mention that the exposure to these career fields places them to undue risk in the line of fire should they be deployed. As a result, many Black officers in the army have been attracted to support career fields like logistics, maintenance, engineering, and administration. General Johnnie E. Wilson, an African American who rose to the highest rungs of the army following a thirty-eight-year career, concurs with Mr. Johnson (AP), but added that, unlike the time when he was growing up, there was a small cadre of Black officers who encouraged him along the way to pursue the likes of Officer Candidate School (OCS). Today, he admits that "it's hard to tell young people the sky's the limit when they look up and don't see anyone" who are themselves African Americans. Further, and especially for the army, the recent drawdown of its forces is having a disproportionate and adverse effect on Black officers (Vanden Brook 2014). The army admits that for all intents and purposes, it is principally White males who are leading its diverse force.

USA Today (Vanden Brook) obtained the army's list of battalion and brigade commanders. This is of importance because the army's Holy Grail, or its primary ground fighting units, consists of those in combat arms—infantry, armor, artillery, aviation, and engineering. Yet, given the composition of these largely ground forces, as of 2014, only one commander of twenty-five brigades was identified as African American; and as of 2015, of the combat brigades and battalions, two and one, respectively, are identified as having Black commanders. At least for the army, these are the positions that form the trajectory for selection to the general officer ranks. General Odierno comments that it is at the commissioning stage or at the point of career selection that makes all the difference for an officer's career (Hoffman). For example, the *USA Today* inquiry (Vanden Brook) found that for those who were newly commissioned in the army in 2012 and 2013 for the combat arms career field through the various sources of commissioning, there were few Black officers, at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point—there were 7 Blacks and 199 Whites, and at OCS there was 1 Black and 55 Whites. A directive from then secretary of the army John McHugh and former army chief of staff General Odierno highlights the army's concern about the absence of Black officers in leadership roles in combat arms that "African Americans have the most limited preference in combat arms, followed by Hispanic and Asian Pacific Officers" (Vanden Brook).

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But, says Irvin Smith, who is African American and a retired colonel currently a professor and director of sociology at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, and David Segal, a military sociologist at the University of Maryland, both endorse similar sentiments. They believe that while African Americans, more so than other segments of either the civilian or military populations, have uniformly used the military as a conduit for skills deemed transferrable to the civilian sector, the shortage, if not the lack of Black officers in combat armis nothing new (Vanden Brook). Although Smith himself pursued combat arms as an infantry officer, which at the time of his decision was a grave disappointment to his parents, as a sociologist having studied this phenomenon, he more than others understands the rationale for such decisions by African Americans. Smith states, "Why would you go in the infantry? Why would you want to run around in the woods and jump out of airplanes, things that have no connection to private businesses? Do transportation. Do logistics. That will provide you with transferrable skills" (Vanden Brook).

But the army continues to struggle in showing Black leadership in combat. Of the thirteen selected on the 2016 list of commanders, only one is African American (Vanden Brook 2015). Of the eighty-two battalions, only six Blacks will lead them. The army is not unique, though, in its struggle as well as in its ability to recruit, promote, and retain African Americans, as the challenge across the services is not limited to the commissioned corps. Recent data show that, in contrast to the army's high of 27 percent in the representation of the enlisted corps in 2005, Black personnel have declined today to an all-time low of 17 percent (Zoroya 2014). For the navy, this number was 21 percent during the same period compared to 17 percent today. Unlike its sister services, the air force's representation of African Americans has remained stable at 17 percent, and the smallest of the military branches, the marine corps has seen significant declines in Black representation from a high of 20 percent in 1985 to half, or 10 percent, today.

Representation in the commissioned corps for Black officers across the services is less volatile. The range since 1995 has varied between 5 percent and 7 percent for the air force, navy, and marine corps to the army's 10 percent to 15 percent. Still, the shortage of Black officers, particularly as the military draws down its forces today, continues to be of concern. According to Frank Wu, dean of the Hastings College of Law and chancellor of the University of California, the military is a microcosm of the American society (Zoroya). And today, unlike in the past, racism is cloaked as more subtle forms of microaggressions, a point that Butler (1999) advances as one of the multiple problems that plague Black officers' progress in the military. In effect, cultural bias is ever present in selection decisions even in the military and where due to the lack of a critical mass, in this case, in the presence of Black officers

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in senior leadership, their accession, promotion, and retention rates will likely suffer, especially so in a force drawdown environment.

Harris's (2009b) study of the military—specifically in regard to the seeming intractability of African American officers' advancement on both active duty and in the reserve components of the military—harkens back to what has now become modern-day troubles, despite the significant progress that has been made. However, what is different today is that in a climate of diminishing interest by African Americans to consider the military as a viable career option as opposed to one of last resort, coupled with the military's dilemma of accessing, promoting, and retaining Blacks in an environment of force drawdown, only make achieving parity for the group amid the prevailing challenges all the more difficult. But, as recently promoted to the ourstoric rank of admiral in the navy, the first such achievement by an African American woman in the military, Michelle Howard sagely proclaims, "We have to grow people that you start with that year—20, 25 years later, are going to be the group from which you select a commanding officer" (Zoroya).

Despite recent declines, and declines that have been experienced in all demographic groups in either the propensity or actual experience in joining the military, African Americans who are actively engaged in the military (active duty, reserve, National Guard) and Black veterans who have already separated from the military are invaluable parts of the equation. For this reason, while drawing down the military has become an essential component of post-conflict life, how these forces are reduced to minimize the disproportionate and adverse impact to any one group is imperative. Yet, these data continue to bear out that for a confluence of factors, African Americans more so than any other group in the military are more likely to bear the brunt of this burden for all of the afore cited reasons. And despite recent steady declines, because African Americans have reliably turned to the military for a variety of reasons, primary among them that the military is perceived as far less discriminatory than civilian employers, thus signaling a more receptive environment for credentialing, how drawdowns are executed in the future will become the antecedents for the future recruitment, promotion, and retention of this invaluable resource for the military.

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Chapter 10

Advancing Through the Ranks

Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) Careers

Despite racism and the calculated enterprise in America to erase all things positive for which the Black race is known and is to be credited, it is incontrovertible that such efforts to whitewash and remake ourstory into the likes of another's image did not succeed altogether. It is no wonder that many African countries such as Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Kenya, to name a few, have crafted variations to express the same proverb in how White colonialists on the African continent have routinely recorded their exploits. Take Ghana and Togo Ewe-mina's "Until the lion has his or her storyteller, the hunter will always have the best part of the story" (Welde Giorgis 2014, p. 13); the Igbos of Nigeria "Until lions have their own historians, tales of the hunt shall always glorify the hunter"; to Kenya and Zimbabwe's "Until lions start writing their own stories, the hunters will always be the heroes." Yet, to the contrary, the ourstory of African peoples is replete with the phenomenal feats of their African American descendants primarily from West Africa whose imaginative and resourceful spirit, like that of their African ancestors, remain undaunted, if not strengthened, given enslavement. This chapter explores the frequently and conveniently forgotten role of African Americans in the sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields. This ourstory reflects not only a rich tradition of cross-disciplinary inventions by Blacks in the Old World from which the entire world has benefitted but also the bevy of innovations by African Americans in the New World that Americans and, indeed the world, today take for granted.

As the authors, one of us, at the tender age of seven, was bequeathed the encyclopedia *The Negro Almanac: The Negro—His Part in America* (Ploski and Brown 1967) during the early 1970s by her new stepfather, following her mother's marriage to an American. Not only did this youngster take the contents of this book to heart by reading it from cover to cover but at the age

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of approximately eleven years old, while attending St. Hugh's High School in Jamaica, she used this very treasure trove to challenge a substitute teacher, the school's vice principal, when she inaccurately informed the class that it was Captain Robert Peary, a White man, who discovered the North Pole. Armed with her new tool but considered impertinent at the time given the prevailing cultural mores, especially during an exchange between a Black student and a White teacher, this author corrected the teacher by stating that the discovery was made by Matthew Henson, an experienced explorer who accompanied Peary on his polar expeditions. Henson was not only the first to discover the North Pole but also the first to place the American flag at the scene, following his reading of the coordinates of his location. In fact, as the youngster detailed to the school's vice principal and the class, because Peary took ill during the voyage, it was Henson, his helper, on whom he relied to continue the journey. The following day, as promised, this author very proudly brought my book to school as a matter of record. However, when I attempted to show the vice principal the evidence, the vice principal rejected it. What impertinence on my part she must have thought? Not only did I not know my place at the time even as a student and a dark-skinned one no less but I deliberately inserted myself into a situation where the norms of the day claimed that I did not belong. Apparently, I did not know my place then and, for the record, as now an adult, I still do not know what my place is or should be as I have always been of the mindset that my place is where ere that I choose for it to be.

As for the other author of this book, a physician who has studied the sciences, her father was also a physician and her mother was a nurse. Together, they practiced their craft by servicing the medical needs of a small Black community in the South. Since then, she has devoted her personal and professional lives to encouraging the pursuits and nurturing the budding careers of young African Americans in the sciences. Ironically, it was at this crossroad where Evelyn and I met and began in earnest, along with another African American friend, also a physician, to collaborate on our scholarly work about the visible absence of underrepresented segments of the military's population as health and healthcare providers.

FROM PAIN COMES INSPIRATION

It is all the more deplorable, if not sacrilegious, that many African Americans today know not from whence their powerful ourstory is rooted and the pioneering work of the world's original people to which they belong. It is all the more tragic then that the innovations and inventions to which we have become accustomed in modern times attributed to African American scientists,

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engineers, and the like, are unknown, and deliberately so to much of American society. Many such inventions and innovations were borne of and from the ardors of slavery and from simply having to do without. Necessity is, indeed, the mother of invention. It is even more inconceivable that this creativity could be spawned from such wrenching pain and struggle. And, if these miracles can be conceived from such encumbrances, of what magnificence are the original African people? This in itself speaks to the greatness of the African lineage in the United States, and in the New World, for that matter, which, despite systematic exclusion from everything for basic human survival, including securing a formal education, still managed to beat the odds, even exceeding and inspiring a resourcefulness and ingenuity that by today's standards are just simply incredible. Nevertheless, and for all intents and purposes but inexplicably so, the ourstory of Black Americans has been effectively reduced to a celebration in February, ironically during the most abbreviated month of the year, and represents a significantly skewed form of the full story that often begins and ends with noted civil rights activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King was indeed a great man and game changer for the modern civil rights movement but to invoke his name and contributions alone renders the story of a people *as* a vastly incomplete one. Even when expanded, the ourstory of African Americans is once again conveniently relegated to the work of athletes and entertainers. Worse yet, this compelling material routinely never finds its way into the classrooms of the American public school system where not just Black children but American children of diverse cultures do not learn the full panoply of American ourstory and indeed the roots of the human race not as African Americans but as Americans.

Slavery was a calculated effort to effectively wipe out all things good about the Black race in the New World. But, as famed Nigerian writer Chimamda Ngozi Adichie (2009) wisely counsels, this is the danger of a single story, for it is incomplete. With this shortsightedness by one group that is hell bent on destroying all things about the people of another group at the forefront of our psyche, it is our intent and obligation as authors to not only enlighten readers by underscoring the African American role in the STEM disciplines but also how, through invaluable institutions like HBCUs and the military, the larger American society can truly continue to foster, produce, and capitalize upon the talents of African Americans still to come for creating public value and for the country's greatest good.

From the invention of the stethoscope by Imhotep of ancient Egypt (Black Inventions101) to more contemporary incarnations as the father of the Internet, Nigerian-born computer and mathematical scientist Dr. Philip Emealgwali, whose work in developing a super computer became the precursor to the Internet and whose intelligence quotient (IQ) is so off the charts that it defies being measured on any conventional test (Black Inventions101, Spangenburg

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and Moser 2003, Spangenburg, Moser and Otfinoski 2011), to Dr. James West, inventor of the electroacoustic transducer electric microphone (Black Inventions101.com) to whom every entertainer on the planet owes a debt of gratitude for his genius, all are just a few of the hundreds of thousands of examples of great innovators, scientists, and inventors of people of African descent on whose work we rely today. Dr. West's invention, for example, is what lends the telephone, tape recorder, camcorder, and microphone the acoustical ability to transmit information accurately, reliably, and clearly through small devices that are also lightweight and cost-effective to produce (Black Inventions101; Wiltz 2014).

During colonial times, or from approximately 1528 to the 1700s (DoD 1985; "African-American Inventors"), West Africans, who had long cultivated rice before their enslavement in North America, first introduced this manner of cultivation to the British in South Carolina and Barbados. It was the West Africans, together with the Native Americans, who introduced the British and the New World to dugout canoes, using the technique of hollowing the logs of cypress trees ("African-American Inventors"). Slaves schooled the British in the art of rowing as well. West Africans taught the White colonialists a simpler way of fishing by building dams and using the juices of certain plants to lull the fish into a stupor. This form of intoxicating the fish facilitated their swift catch by hand. It was the West Africans who educated the West on the technology of ironsmithing. It was the West Africans who brought the technique of inoculating against smallpox to the New World. And, specifically, it was Onesimus, a slave in Boston in 1721, who provided instructions to the Puritan cleric Cotton Mather about the procedure. By following Onesimus's instructions, Mather found that he could inject one person with the vaccine to render the second person immune from smallpox. Today, this procedure has become standard practice in the medical professions ("African-American Inventors"). Cesarean section, a routine procedure for child delivery by African midwives, was an invaluable skill that was passed down to African American women during the early 1800s. Now this method for childbirth is practiced routinely by physicians, midwives, and other healthcare providers.

During the 1700s, Benjamin Banneker, an astronomer, mathematician, and surveyor (Imbornomi; "African-American Inventors") developed America's first almanac. He also developed the blueprint of the buildings and monuments in Washington, D.C. (Imbornomi). In the late 1750s, Banneker, after prying open a pocket watch and carefully studying its components, created the first U.S. striking clock using his own calculations, carving the pieces from wood (Thorn 2013). In contrast, though, to the lives of Black people in America during the 1700s, James Forten is an anomaly of sorts.

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As the foreman of Robert Bridges Sailing shop, he subsequently became its owner and employed a workforce that was both Black and White ("African-American Inventors"). His invention, a technique for controlling heavy sails, brought him wealth, and he helped to influence the urgent issues of the day such as protesting America's effort to resettle Blacks back to the African continent. Forten also owned the newspaper *The Liberator* and helped to finance slaves to freedom through the Underground Railroad ("African-American Inventors"; Black Inventions101). While all inventions and innovations by African Americans have become integral to modern-day life, it is difficult at best to list them all. To that end, we can only list a fraction of those that we believe comprise a representative sample of its full scope, though we are ever mindful that any exclusion will not do this representation full justice. Consequently, we have opted to include a more comprehensive though not exhaustive list (Appendices A and B) on books, media, and other resources about Black inventors and innovators. Equally noteworthy though is the knowledge that this representative sample and additional resources provided here are far more limited in scope when judged against the full magnitude of the innumerable other inventions and innovations by Africans of the Old World and African Americans in the New World that are not STEM related.

In 1821, Thomas Jennings, a tailor in a dry-cleaning business, became the first known Black person in America to receive a patent for dry scouring, the forerunner of today's dry-cleaning process ("African-American Inventors"; Inventors). Unfortunately, slaves were denied the rights to their inventions but their White colonial masters profited bountifully from their creativity. Take the invention of Benjamin Montgomery, a slave, whose invention in making it easier for boats to navigate in shallow water was denied only because of his status as a slave, yet his White slave owner secured the proceeds of the profits of his invention. Upon achieving his freedom, Montgomery again applied for a patent but was again denied (Black Inventions101). Born in Canada and educated in Scotland, Elijah McCoy, a mechanical engineer who, following his immigration to the United States, invented such devices as the graphite lubricator, which continuously distributes even amounts of oil to the moving parts of railroad engines ("Famous Black Inventors"). He received more than sixty patents during his life and is also credited with inventing the ironing board, the lawn sprinkler, and other similar machines. It is said that the term "the Real McCoy" came from his inventions to discern whether or not something was authentic or legitimate ("African-American Inventors"). Jan Ernst Matzeliger was born in Suriname and moved to the United States at the age of nineteen. He worked as a cordwainer in a shoe factory ("Famous Black Inventors") where shoes were made and assembled by hand. Matzeliger invented the shoe lasting machine in 1883, which decreased the time

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and increased the output of shoemaking by 50 percent ("African-American Inventors"; Black Inventions101). His legacy has enabled the modern-day mass production of shoes.

A self-taught draftsman following a tour with the navy, Louis Howard Latimer became indispensable to Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell ("Famous Black Inventors"). He was instrumental in such inventions as the telephone and the incandescent light bulb, which he described in his 1890 book *Incandescent Electric Lighting: A Practical Description of the Edison System*. Life as we know it in modern times would have been incomplete without Latimer's two life-altering inventions. Similarly, Granville T. Woods, an engineer with sixty patents to his credit, developed the telegraphony and telegraph, which he used to transmit voice and telegraph messages over one line ("African-American Inventors"). Woods sold the rights to the American Bell Telephone Company. He also created the synchronous multiplex railroad telegraph, which enabled communication between at least two trains in different stations. William Harry Barnes, while serving as an ear, nose, and throat physician at the Frederick Douglass Hospital in Philadelphia, invented an instrument called the hypophyscope for easier access to the pituitary gland (Spangenburg and Moser; Spangenburg et al.). In addition, Barnes honed his prowess and was able to remove tonsils in ten minutes and without causing any bleeding. Daniel Hale Williams was the first physician in the United States to perform open-heart surgery on a patient ("Famous Black Inventors"; "African-American Inventors"). He also not only opened Provident Hospital but did so by employing an interracial staff (Biography, Black Inventions101). Within the same discipline, Dr. Charles Drew revolutionized the medical field by developing the process for storing blood plasma via blood banks ("Famous Black Inventors"; "African-American Inventors"). While at the time blood transfusion was nothing new, blood banks permitted the storage and preservation of blood following its separation from blood plasma ("African-American Inventors"; Biography). Dr. Drew was only forty-five years old at the time of his death. Yet, he had accomplished so much in such an abbreviated time that at his funeral Reverend Jerry Moore said of Drew that "he had a life which crowds into a handful of years' significance, so great, men will never be able to forget it" (Biography).

Ralph Alexander Gardner-Chavis was a scientist who worked on the atom bomb project and developed hard plastics ("African-American Inventors"; African American Registry). Entrepreneur and inventor Sarah Breedlove, alias Madame C. J. Walker, developed hair care products for Black hair out of necessity as she was losing her own hair (History). Married by the age of fourteen and widowed at age twenty with a two-year-old daughter to raise, Walker assumed the surname of her second husband, a journalist, who helped to market her hair care products for Black women. At the height

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of her business, Walker employed some 3,000 "beauty culturalists," as she called them, to make door-to-door sales calls. She is rumored to have become America's first female millionaire as a result. George Washington Carver, a botanist, scientist, inventor, and educator, used his skills to create alternative crops. The two most well known are peanut butter from peanuts and the uses of sweet potatoes ("African-American Inventors"). A related invention in 1853 is the potato chip by Chef George Crum (Thorn). The mailbox, a tacit symbol of the U.S. Postal Service, was first patented in 1891 by inventor Philip Downing (Thorn). The gas mask is credited to the work of Garrett Morgan (Thorn) as is the four-way traffic light ("African-American Inventors"), which he later sold the rights to the General Electric Company. Also, his preoccupation with safety led to such inventions as the safety hood and smoke protector.

The twentieth century essentially produced more of the same, an impressive cast of African American inventors and scientists with their immense array of innovations, too many to mention here but by which modern life has been radically changed. While using the cell telephone has now become a commonplace modern convenience, it was Dr. Henry T. Sampson Jr. who invented this technology of the "gamma electric cell" in 1971 that made it possible (BlackPast.org). In 1969, physicist Dr. George Carruthers was awarded a patent for his invention of the ultraviolet camera, dubbed a spectograph, that was used by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA) Apollo 16 flight in 1972 ("Famous Black Inventors"; "African-American Inventors"). During the 1980s, another one of Carruthers's inventions was used, this time to capture an ultraviolet image of Halley Comet ("Famous Black Inventors"). Still, another one of his inventions, also a camera, was utilized aboard the 1991 Space Shuttle mission. Archibald Alphonso Alexander, a design and construction engineer, designed the Tidal Basin Bridge and the Whitehurst Freeway in Washington, D.C; the University of Iowa's heating and power system; and the airfield in Tuskegee, Alabama (Imbornomi). Alexander was also appointed the first Republican governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Alabama's own Dr. Percy Julian developed a drug for treating glaucoma, physostigmine (Imbornomi). He invented Glidden Paint's Aero-Foam, a product made of soybeans, during World War II ("Famous Black Inventors"). By using the soybean, Julian is also credited for synthesizing such hormones as testosterone, progesterone, and cortisone, which are vital for treating rheumatoid arthritis. Julian's work earned him the status as one of America's first Black millionaires. He sold Julian Laboratories and subsequently created the Julian Research Institute. Emmett W. Chappelle is a scientist who worked for a number of institutions, including NASA, where he developed, along with Grace Piccolo, a technique for spotting bacteria that is crucial in

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detecting urinary tract infections (Imbornomi). Finally, Mark Dean, an electrical engineer at IBM, was influential in inventing the personal computer (Black Inventions101).

Not to be outdone, African American women like Madame C. J. Walker have had an equally remarkable record of innovating as their African American brethren. There are at least fifty Black women who have been recognized as inventors and scientists. But in light of the barriers associated with both race and gender, it is a triumph that these women ever received their deserved notoriety. Case in point. Shirley Jackson is a physicist and president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (Allen 2013). She is the first African American woman to receive a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). However, her claims to fame include such inventions as the touch-tone telephone, caller ID and call waiting, the solar cell, the portable fax machine, and fiber optics for improving the clarity in connecting telephone calls overseas. Sarah E. Goode, born a slave in 1885, was the first African American woman to receive a patent (Allen). It was for her invention of the folding cabinet bed, which she devised given space constrictions at the time (Sluby 1989). Her counterpart, Miriam Benjamin, a school teacher, was the second Black woman to receive a patent for what is known as the Gong and Signal Chair for hotels (Sluby). This novel invention allowed hotels to "reduce expenses . . . by decreasing the number of waiters and attendants, to add to the convenience and comfort of guests to obviate the necessity of hand clapping or calling aloud to obtain the services of pages" (Black Inventions101).

Another invention that was also patented in 1892 and which became a routine aspect of daily life is the ironing board (Allen). While Sarah Boone did not invent the device, she improved upon the contraption's utility, for example, to fit and iron sleeves. Majorie Joyner, an employee of famed entrepreneur and millionaire Madame C. J. Walker, invented the permanent wave machine, which was patented in 1928 (Black Inventions101). Dr. Patricia Bath, an ophthalmologist, who became the first woman on the faculty of the School of Medicine's Jules Stein Eye Institute at the University of California in Los Angeles, as well as the first woman chair of a residence program in ophthalmology in the United States, developed both the apparatus, the laserphaco, and the technique for the removal of cataracts (National Library of Medicine/National Institutes of Health). Finally, in 2006, Janet Emerson Bashen became the first Black woman in the United States to receive a patent for Linkline, a software that she developed (Inventors; Allen). LinkLine is a web-based application that facilitates the tracking of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) claims at the intake phase and the management and documentation processes of related reports.

Many reading this chapter about African American inventors and innovators in the STEM disciplines would, at this point, remark that it is foolhardy,

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if not downright an exceeding waste of time, to assemble and recapture information that is already known. However, we, as Black authors, believe that this mindset obfuscates the very purposeful act on our part to compile these data. Too often, as we see it, Blacks have been completely forgotten as part of the story and, if remembered, are seldomly portrayed as having made any significant contributions to America. The very manner in which African Americans have been and continue to be portrayed, and alas, even today, is one of abject negativity and inferiority that has become the center of gravity around which negative attributions about the entire race have devolved, thereby overshadowing the wealth of ourstoric achievements that Blacks have made, and continue to make, to society and the world. So, in this small yet deliberate way, to ensure that at least American society never forgets, we see our role then as proselytizers, if you will, rejoicing in stoking the seeds of reinforcement that only through repetition can be reproduced. Yet, apart from society's overwhelming exemplification of African Americans, inexplicably today, there appears to be a noticeable dearth of African Americans who are pursuing what are called STEM careers despite the prolific and robust ourstory of those Blacks who have done so and during an earlier era against enormous odds. What then has instigated this retrenchment?

A SECOND COMING FOR HBCUS

In analyses by Harris, Lewis, and Calloway (2012), two of whom are physicians, with the latter specializing in infectious diseases, the evidence for this absence becomes even clearer. Harris et al.'s research was four-pronged—to determine the reasons for the invisibility of underrepresented minorities (African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics) (URMs) from the scientific fields as health and healthcare providers; to understand how this shortage contributes to the disproportionate rates of health and healthcare disparities among these groups; to identify nontraditional strategies for ameliorating the problem by increasing the pipeline of health and healthcare providers within these groups; and in promoting how cultural competence can serve as an invaluable tool in educating especially White healthcare providers in improving service and communication with their patients of color. What the researchers found was that at the heart of these analyses lies racism at the individual, systematic, and provider levels in the healthcare system, compounded by the dilemmas of subpar quality in the public education system; high dropout rates at the K–12 level for these same groups; a gradual decline in federal and state funding to the primary and secondary levels of education that further exacerbates the problem of access for these very groups; high concentration of URMs at the lowest socioeconomic status of society; and

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alarming rates of health and healthcare disparities that afflict these groups. These barriers, say Harris et al., depict a 360-degree portrait that, together, conspires to rig the system and set these groups up, especially African Americans, for failure at every turn. For its part in the scheme, the American Medical Association (AMA) in 2008 admitted to collusion in that for more than hundred years the institution actively engaged in racism, either directly or indirectly, by preventing the membership of African American physicians into its organization. While this purging of the soul and the acknowledgment of its misdeeds was overdue but somewhat suspect, Harris et al. believe that this well-timed apology was primarily motivated by the demographic shifts in the population that are now afoot rather than pure altruism on the AMA's part. The researchers also suspect that, as an organization, the AMA sought to preempt and thus secure its standing as the chief and preeminent voice for the medical professions and as a measure of its financial and political future to render itself continually relevant.

The Sullivan Commission's study (2004) highlighted the problem for the health professions. The shortage or lack thereof of URM professionals is not limited to practitioners as physicians and nurses (Sullivan Commission 2004), despite the nominal increase in 2008 (American Association of Medical Colleges [AAMC] 2010), but they are also virtually absent in such subspecialties as radiology, surgery, and cardiology (Betancourt and Maina 2004); as faculty in academic institutions such as in nursing, dental, and medical schools (Sullivan Commission); and as applicants to medical schools (AAMC). At the state level, the status of URMs in health-related professions fare no better. In North Carolina, for instance, where the state's African American population stood at approximately 21 percent in 2002, only 5.5 percent of the state's physician population is Black (Thicketts and Gaul 2004). The quandary is that the individual, systematic, and provider level challenges all feed upon one another to set in motion a vicious cycle that perpetuates the negative effects, resulting in the absence of these groups from the health professions. Harris et al. conclude that it is fundamentally the shortage of URMs in the health professions that contributes to both their disproportionate affliction with health and healthcare disparities. The researchers also suggest that beyond increasing the number of URMs in these professions, cultural competence, especially for White healthcare providers, can prove to be an invaluable tool in sensitizing Whites to the plight of these groups. Accordingly, then, cultural competence should become a requisite skillset in the arsenal of tools for healthcare providers, regardless of race and/or ethnicity. Be that as it may, Harris et al. recommend the military as a nontraditional mechanism through which the pipeline of URMS can be increased within the health professions.

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To invoke an often used term in our vernacular, "the train has left the station" as per the most recent census, by 2060, it is projected that the U.S. population will make such shifts in its demographical makeup that URMs, at 54 percent, will become the country's majority population, and particularly for those constituting two or more races (U.S. Census 2017). As part of its overall mission to build increasing capacity all in an effort to meet the growing needs for and to respond to credible threats to the economy, the federal government has seen fit to stem the tide by producing a new workforce of STEM professionals to more formidably compete in these promising disciplines on a global scale. Turning to Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) is part of this master plan, one of which includes tapping into the talents of HBCUs (Clewell, deCohen and Tsui 2010; Cullinane and Leegwater 2009; Bonner, Alfred, Lewis, Nave and Frizell 2009; Palmer, Davis and Thompson 2010; Hurtado, Newman, Tran and Chang 2010; Fakayoda, Yakubu, Adeye, Pollard and Mohammed 2014). This is a much needed shot in the arm as many HBCUs have recently struggled to maintain and build resources as they increasingly attempt to identify nontraditional sources of revenue and support amid the precipitous decline in federal funding. This has, for the most part, become an unhappy existence and way of life, especially for publicly held HBCUs that have grown overly dependent on federal funding for survival. Fortunately, by way of an infusion of grants and professional assistance from the likes of the National Science Foundation (NSF), HBCUs are once again major players in preparing the nation's future, this time for the STEM disciplines. Still, this experience can serve as a lesson learned for HBCUs as to the imperative of diversifying their revenue streams to avoid falling prey to such future dire predicaments (Harris, Shivers and Deuster 2011).

Through its HBCU Undergraduate Program or HBCU-UP (Clewell et al.; Bonner et al.), the NSF has also funded similar endeavors like the Raising Achievement in Mathematics and Science (RAMS) scholarships and Summer Undergraduate Research Experience (SURE) (Fakayode et al.), the Institute of Higher Education and Policy's (IHEP) Model Replication Institutions (MRI) program, together with in-kind activities like the Pre-Accelerated Curriculum in Engineering program or PACE (Palmer et al.), and the University of Maryland at Baltimore County's (UMBC) Meyerhoff Scholars program (Maton, Sto Domingo, Stolle-McAllister, Zimmerman and Hrabowski 2009; Maton and Hbrowski 2004). UMBC's Minority Biomedical Research Support Initiative for Maximizing Student Diversity (MBRS-IMSD) program is directed at both the interest and application to UMBC's graduate program in the STEM disciplines (Summers and Hrabowski 2006; Rutledge, Carter-Veale and Tull 2011). As a matter of fact, this program has accelerated the number of URMs who secure Ph.Ds. in the STEM disciplines (Rutledge et al.).

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To address the shortage of African Americans in STEM, some PWIs have also become actively involved. The University of Colorado at Boulder's Minority Arts and Sciences Program targets high-achieving African American students to encourage them to pursue degree programs in engineering and the sciences for such careers (Johnson 2007). PWIs have partnered with some HBCUs to increase the number of Blacks in the pipeline such as the agreement forged between Fisk University and Vanderbilt University for the Masters-PhD Bridge program in the physical and biophysical sciences (Whitaker and Montgomery 2012). Other collaborations include a mentoring program from the Masters-PhD program (Stassum, Burger and Lange 2010; Stassum, Sturm, Holley-Bockelmann, Burger, Ernst and Webb 2011). HBCU Jackson State University, along with other MSIs, is engaged in contracts with Indiana University's School of Medicine (Gibau, Foertsch, Blum, Brutkiewicz, Queener, Roman et al. 2010). This program offers financial assistance to URM students who pursue graduate studies as well as to foster their research in STEM. As a result, this program has served as a feeder group for increasing the number of URMs who are pursuing PhDs in the STEM disciplines. Elizabeth City State University, another HBCU, is partnering with the University of New Hampshire (Williams, Wake, Hayden, Abrams, Hurtt et al. 2011). This partnership has not only resulted in securing multiple external grants but also managed to grow the number of URMs as faculty and students in STEM.

Besides the well-known activities that have been spearheaded by the federal government, there are other national programs designed to spur the interest of URMs in STEM. The focus of the National GEM consortium, which includes the National Consortium for Graduate Degrees for Minorities in Engineering and Science (gemfellowship.org), is to increase the rate at which URMs graduate from STEM programs and offer internships, fellowship programs, and networking opportunities for students. This includes the Future Faculty and Professional Symposium to promote undergraduate and graduate URMs to pursue STEM programs. Another, the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering (NACME), aims to grow the pipeline of URMs, particularly in engineering, and provides funding for this purpose. The National Physical Science Consortium (NPSC) also encourages URMs to assume graduate degrees in STEM. Finally, the Committee on Institutional Cooperation endorses the Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP) as another conduit for cultivating URMs by enrolling them in graduate STEM programs at the respective CIC institutions.

Collectively, the work of these programs has achieved measured success, although not at the rate that is necessary to close the chasm between African Americans entering and pursuing STEM careers with those of their White counterparts. Even so, albeit a slow growth, the news is nevertheless

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encouraging. It is also worth noting that HBCUs have consistently produced the nation's largess of Black workforce in the STEM disciplines. For example, although HBCUs only represent 3 percent, or 103, of the 4,084 institutions of higher learning, with 89 of them offering 4-year degrees and 14 as 2-year colleges, all together they register roughly 14 percent of African Americans in higher education (Institution of Education Sciences 2007). Also HBCUs produce approximately 28.5 percent of the total number of undergraduate degrees that are awarded to Blacks (Brown 2002).

Specifically, in the biological sciences, HBCUs generate 40 percent of African Americans with bachelor degrees (NSF 2002). Similarly, approximately 40 percent of undergraduate degrees earned by African Americans in the STEM fields that include such disciplines as astronomy, chemistry, physics, the environmental sciences, and mathematics are graduates of HBCUs (NSF). A more recent study by Owens, Shelton, Bloom, and Cavil (2012), analyzing data from both HBCUs and PWIs for the years 2001 through 2009, shows that while the composite average for these years HBCUs produced 21 percent of the baccalaureate degrees awarded to African Americans, essentially confirming previous analysis by the NSF, HBCUs yielded a composite average of 39 percent of all undergraduate degrees in the STEM disciplines. An average of the four-year STEM degrees awarded to African Americans during the nine-year period is as follows: computer science (25%), engineering (46%), mathematics (46%), engineering technology (45%), biomedical sciences (48%), and the physical sciences (47%). Further, for 2006, while 866 Blacks were conferred doctorates, approximately one-third of them secured their undergraduate degrees from HBCUs (NSF 2008). In 2009, of the 2,221 doctorates earned by African Americans, 420 (18.9%) were in the life sciences, 135 (6.1%) in the physical sciences, 134 (6%) in engineering, and 176 (7.9%) were in the nonscience and engineering fields (Kaba 2013). These findings suggest that HBCUs continue to make a profound difference in contributing to closing the gap in the number of African Americans who pursue the STEM disciplines, with HBCUs as the chief academic institutions to do so.

According to Hamilton (2004), "In the battle to increase the number of African American Ph.Ds. in science, technology and engineering, the nation may just have a secret weapon: historically Black colleges and universities" (p. 26). Moreover, HBCUs ranked in the top eight of fifteen colleges and universities that conferred the most engineering degrees to Blacks between 1998 and 2002 (Morris, Joseph, Smith, and You 2012). But Chew (2004) and Morris et al. put things into perspective to help us to better understand the still grim shortage of African Americans in the STEM disciplines as a percentage of the general civilian population. So the reality is not that HBCUs have not been overwhelmingly successful in producing STEM graduates. The

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Table 10.1 Data (Raw) of African American Graduates in STEM Disciplines at all Academic Institutions for 2001–2009

	Year									
Discipline	*2001*	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	*2007*	*2008*	*2009*	*Total*
Computer Science	2,656	2,824	6,017	6,233	5,804	5,274	4,591	4,012	3,876	41,287
Engineering	1,424	1,452	1,396	1,429	1,537	1,409	1,449	1,276	1,404	12,776
Mathematics	721	697	637	623	605	604	607	522	541	5,557
Engineering Technology	971	982	1,112	1,121	999	974	876	814	879	8,728
Biological Sciences	4,043	3,785	3,647	3,760	3,689	3,678	3,975	3,815	3,970	34,362
Physical Sciences	993	944	826	832	796	804	882	831	962	7,870
Total	10,808	10,684	13,635	13,998	13,430	12,743	12,380	11,720	11,632	110,580

Adapted From: Owens, E. W., Shelton, A. J., Bloom, C. M., and Cavil, K. 2012. The Significance of HBCUs to the Production of STEM Graduates: Answering the Call. *Educational Foundations, 26*(3–4), 333–347.

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challenge has been that now PWIs are siphoning a large number of Black students and eventually graduates from these programs. Even so, HBCUs are having a tremendous impact as they continue to serve as feeder institutions for African Americans who subsequently pursue Ph.Ds. in the sciences and mathematics, for instance. Likewise, the migration of Blacks from other parts of the world, such as Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, and Latin America, to the United States has contributed to this growth (Kaba). (See tables 10.1 through 10.4.)

Between 1999 and 2001, of the 34,649 doctorates that were conferred to non-U.S. citizens, 1,515 or 4.4 percent went to Blacks from Africa, and from 2002 through 2008, of the 89,323 doctorates that were awarded to non-U.S. citizens 3,305, or 3.7 percent, were from Africa (Kaba). Kulis, Shaw, and Chong (2000) applaud the growth of Blacks at the undergraduate level who are pursuing the STEM fields but laments the still anemic representation of those who are actually pursuing these fields at the graduate level. Too, the converse is true in that as the level of degree rises, the number of African Americans who pursue them decline (Eugene and Clark 2012).

As indicated by Harris et al. (2012) as to the barriers that consistently stifle URMS' growth in pursuing at least the health professions, we believe that more of the same reasons appear to apply to African Americans with a desire to enter the STEM disciplines as well. Some of these same reasons include not having positive role models in these professions (Smith 2003, Harris et al. 2012; Kaba); Blacks not feeling a sense of belonging within the culture of the STEM disciplines (Marra, Rodgers, Shen and Bogue 2012; Hurtado et al.); feeling academically underprepared to pursue the STEM disciplines (Harris et al. 2012; Marra et al.; Hurtado et al. ; Perna, Gasman, Gary, Lundy-Wagner and Drezner et al. 2009a); and poor family support (Harris et al. 2012;

Table 10.2 Percentage of Four-year Degrees to African Americans in STEM at HBCUs as a Percentage of All Academic Institutions for 2001–2009

Year	*All Academic Institutions*	*HBCUs*	*HBCUs (%)*
2001	10,808	5,054	47
2002	10,684	4,944	46
2003	13,635	5,043	37
2004	13,998	5,190	37
2005	13,430	4,949	37
2006	12,743	4,635	36
2007	12,380	4,549	37
2008	11,270	4,291	38
2009	11,632	4,272	37
Total	110,580	42,927	**39**

Adapted From: Owens, E. W., Shelton, A. J., Bloom, C. M., and Cavil, K. 2012. The Significance of HBCUs to the Production of STEM Graduates: Answering the Call. *Educational Foundations, 26*(3–4), 333–347.

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Table 10.3 Professional Degrees Awarded to African Americans by Discipline and by Gender for 2008–2009

Disciplines	*Both Sexes*	*Men*	*Percentage (%)*	*Women*	*Percentage (%)*
	6,571	**2,500**	**38**	**4,071**	**62**
Dentistry (DDS/DMD)	275	95	35	180	66
Medicine (MD)	1,095	399	36	696	64
Optometry (OD)	40	8	20	32	80
Osteopathic medicine (DO)	150	43	29	107	71
Pharmacy (Pharmacy D)	801	270	34	531	66
Podiatry (PodD/DP)/Podiatric medicine (DPM)	39	11	28	28	72
Veterinary medicine	75	12	16	63	84
Chiropractic medicine (DC/DCM)	94	28	30	66	70
Naturopathic medicine	5	3	60	2	40

Adapted From: Kaba, A. J. 2013. Black Americans, Gains in Science and Engineering Degrees, and Gender. *Sociology Mind, 3*(1), 67–82.

Table 10.4 Top Generating HBCU STEM Academic Institutions, 2001–2009

Discipline	*Academic*	*# Graduates*	*Total*
Computer Sciences	Grambling State University	606	
	Alabama State University	508	
	Florida A&M University	501	1,615
Engineering	North Carolina A&T University	1,132	
	Morgan State University	654	
	Florida A&M University	588	2,374
Engineering Technology	North Carolina A&T University	630	
	South Carolina State University	410	
	Prairie View A&M University	390	1,430
Biomedical Science	Xavier University of Louisiana	1,420	
	Howard University	795	
	Jackson State University	651	2,866
Mathematical/ Statistics	Morehouse College	231	
	Spelman College	171	
	South Carolina State University	90	492
Physical Science	Xavier University of Louisiana	468	
	Florida A&M University	177	
	Howard University	172	817
Total			9,594

Adapted From: Owens, E. W., Shelton, A. J., Bloom, C. M., and Cavil, K. 2012. The Significance of HBCUs to the Production of STEM Graduates: Answering the Call. *Educational Foundations, 26*(3–4), 333–347.

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Hurtado et al.)—this is especially true for women of color say Ong, Wright, Espinosa, and Orfield (2011); lack of financial support (Harris et al. 2012; Slovecek, Whittinghill, Tucker, Ruth, Peterfreund, Kuehn et al. 2011; Perna, Lundy-Wagner, Drezner, Gasman, Yoon, Bose et al. 2009b); and perceived cultural norms in the professions (Harris et al. 2012) in the form of having a "hidden curriculum" (Green and Glassom 2009, p. 370) as to the norms of the disciplines that eventually leads to the weeding out of certain individuals (Green and Glassom).

Yet, for all of the perceived intractable challenges, and particularly so for Black women, it is the personal aspiration of those pursuing the fields that drive them to excel (Ong et al.). Spelman College has been exceptionally effective in this regard as faculty make it their personal and professional crusade not only to endorse the STEM disciplines through promotion among their students but also to make it a point of imparting to their students that admission alone to the institution is in itself an indication that they are already academically ready to take on the rigors of the discipline (Perna et al. 2009a). Faculty sees this preparation as key in dispelling the stereotypes about Black women as well as to build students' self-confidence. Therefore, the institution's faculty works in a purposeful manner to ensure that students embody this conviction. Incidentally, and which in many ways has proven to be an invaluable source of strength during our most formative years, is the fact that the authors of this book both attended all-female institutions—one, at an all-girls secondary school in Jamaica while the other, at an all-women's HBCU, Spelman College, for her undergraduate studies. We feel that this point is dually germane and significant in that these experiences have no doubt contributed to who we are today and the successes that we have achieved as a result.

At other HBCUs, notwithstanding the tremendous austerity in resources, male students in an engineering program point to their reliance upon one another in the form of study groups, the importance of family for support, and the inculcation at an early age for the love of learning (Bonner et al.). Faculty at the same institution relentlessly expressed the value of academic rigor and in creating a culture of learning for students. In their discussion of the successes of provoking interests in the STEM disciplines in an effort to ease the disparity in both the actual academic pursuits of these programs by African Americans and leveraging against this level to correspondingly boost the pipeline of those who go onto PhD programs and take on such careers, Maton and Hrabowski offer multiple insights given UMBC's experience with the Meyerhoff Scholars Program. First, the researchers see it as pivotal that parents become an integral part of the equation in helping their children to prepare academically at the precollege stage. This effort alone, say the researchers, is not only a crucial step in closing the interest and achievement gap given the socioeconomic status between African Americans and White

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students but doing so must occur at the earliest possible stages of students' development, most preferably at the elementary and high school years. And, second, it is vital that institutions of higher education engage in strategic intervention initiatives to increase the pipeline of those students who stay on course and eventually go onto PhD programs in STEM. Tables 10.1 through 10.4 capture the rates at which Blacks graduate from all academic institutions, including HBCUs, with degrees in the STEM disciplines.

UPLIFTING THE TRAJECTORY OF THE STEM WORKFORCE: ENGAGING THE MILITARY MODEL

While gains have been making a dent in closing the differences between the rates at which Blacks and Whites pursue the STEM disciplines, what remains a challenge is that relative to the African American makeup within the general civilian population, at 38.9 million or 13 percent (U.S. Census 2017), the STEM rate for this demographic group continues to woefully lag behind that of Whites as there are not enough STEM majors who are graduating. However, of note is that while the U.S. Census categorization of "Black" alone remains at 13 percent, experiencing a 4.2 million growth since the 2010 census, it is the Black population in combination with other perceived races and/or ethnicities that has grown by another 1.4 percent, for the total of 15 percent, that has witnessed the greatest gains. That said, in 2011, while African Americans represented 11 percent of the nation's workforce, they only represented 6 percent of the STEM workforce, a slight increase of 2 percent from 1970 (U.S. Census 2013). The categorization "White," on the other hand, at 76 percent of the population (U.S. Census 2017) in 2011, assumed 71 percent of the STEM workforce (Landivar 2013). The categorization "Asian," at 4.8 percent of the population (U.S. Census 2013), held 15 percent of STEM employment during the same period (Landivar), even though Asians constitute only 6 percent of the nation's total workforce.

In the military, Blacks are overrepresented within the enlisted corps relative to their percentage within the general civilian population (Population Report FY2013). However, within the active duty commissioned corps where, for the most part, an undergraduate degree is required, 8.6 percent of the officers are Black, whereas 9 percent of the officers with a college degree are Black. African Americans are generally overrepresented in the army in both the enlisted and commissioned corps on active duty, again, relative to their representation within the general civilian population (~23% vs. 12.3%). Yet, Blacks are underrepresented in overall gains in the military within the commissioned corps during the same period. For the navy, while Blacks are also overrepresented within the enlisted corps, they are underrepresented as

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officers on active duty (~18% vs. 8%). In the air force, African Americans are also overly represented within the enlisted corps but underrepresented within the commissioned corps in the active duty component (~16% vs. ~6%). Only in the marine corps, the smallest of the services, while Blacks are overly concentrated within the enlisted corps, that number is still an underrepresentation relative to their makeup within the general civilian population. And, the numbers are even more anemic for officers on active duty (~8% vs. ~4.5%). Overall, African Americans comprise 18.5 percent and 16.8 percent, respectively, of the active duty and reserve components (this includes the army and Air National Guard but excludes both the active and reserve components of the Coast Guard) of the military and 8.6 percent and 9.9 percent of the active and reserve commissioned corps (Population Report). These data then provide the general context within which the military occupational data can be reported as closely as is possible as representing those occupations under the rubric of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). Likewise, given the manner in which the military both codes and reports, these data for the STEM disciplines are estimates, at best.

Accordingly, in the most recent population report for the military (Population Report), African Americans on active duty and within the enlisted corps comprise 0.13 percent of what would be considered STEM-related occupations. Their representation is highest at 16.2 percent of the occupation coded as electrical and lowest at 3.4 percent in the occupation coded as craftsman. In all of the services, Blacks on active duty and within the enlisted corps are uniformly concentrated within the electrical career field. However, it would be interesting, if disaggregated, to know what specific occupations actually comprise this career field. The next largest concentration is medical (8.7%), followed by communications (7.9%), electronics (7.6%), and other technical career fields (2.4%). Within the active duty commissioned corps, of those occupations that appear to be STEM related, for the overall DoD, Black representation is less than 1 percent, or .07 percent, of those career fields. The largest occupational category for African American officers is coded as healthcare at 21.9 percent and the lowest is coded as scientific and professional at 4.9 percent. These categories are followed by tactical operations (20.1%), engineering and maintenance (15.1%), and intelligence (5.1%). But these numbers are inconsistent across the services with the marine corps, for instance, having no Black representation at all in healthcare. This, we believe, is perhaps readily a condition that this military branch derives much, if not all, of its expertise in this discipline from the navy, of which it is a department. The air force and army have the largest concentration of African Americans in tactical operations (20.3% vs. 16.8%). The dearth in the capacity of Black officers appears then to reside in career fields that are coded as scientific, professional, and intelligence.

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The reserve component of the military follows a similar occupational trajectory as its active duty counterpart. For the enlisted corps, Blacks are more likely to be concentrated in career fields coded as electrical (11.3%) and least likely to be found in either communications (3.4%) or electronics (3.9%), although more than likely in medical (6.9%) and craftsman (6%), and represented approximately just 0.14 percent of STEM-related career fields. These data are consistent across the services even though the navy (12.3%), the air force (12.6%), and the army (9.7%) are more likely to have African Americans in the medical-related career fields. Within the commissioned corps for the reserve components, African Americans represent less than 1 percent, or 0.079 percent, of STEM-related careers and were more likely to be concentrated in healthcare (23.7%) and least likely in intelligence (4%). Blacks pursued such career fields as tactical operations (11.9%), engineering and maintenance (12.3%), and scientists and professionals (5.8%). A somewhat disappointing but constant theme in the analyses of data for both the active duty and reserve components of the military reveals that African Americans within the enlisted and commissioned corps are more likely than not to pursue occupations that are designated as administrative in nature. See table 10.5 as a percentage of the African American representation on active duty and in the reserve components of the military for both the enlisted and commissioned corps.

Regrettably, the military then mirrors the patterns of the larger civilian workforce in terms of the trends and the propensity of African Americans to pursue the STEM disciplines. Therefore the military, as Harris et al. (2012) found in their analyses, fares no better than its civilian counterpart in this regard. But the military can leverage the panoply of monetary incentives at its disposal that are not available in the private sector and even in other government organizations. To that end, Harris et al. recommend how a nontraditional mechanism like the military can become a force multiplier in helping

Table 10.5 African Americans as a Percentage of the Active Duty and Reserve Components of the Military for Fiscal Year (FY) 2013

Race and/or Ethnicity	*Enlisted Corps*		*Commissioned Corps*	
	Active Duty	*Reserve*	*Active Duty*	*Reserve*
White	67.6	74.0	78.6	79.7
Black	18.5	16.8	8.6	9.9
Asian	3.7	3.3	4.6	3.8
Other	6.3	2.6	2.3	1.6
Unknown	3.9	3.2	5.9	5.0
Hispanic	12.8	11.2	5.7	5.9
Unknown	1.4	0.9	5.1	1.5

Source: Population Representation in the Military Services, FY2013.

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the nation meet its increasing STEM workforce needs by simultaneously looking to and capitalizing upon a resource to which it has looked in the past, while offering viable career opportunities especially in an under-resourced climate where the decline of funding to higher education has taken center stage.

We offer similar strategies to those of Harris et al. dubbed the "military model," to mitigate the disparities in the STEM disciplines in attracting African Americans to those career fields. First, the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences, or USUHS, remains the sole DoD academic institution that provides education, training, and preparation for health professionals for the DoD, the military, and civilians (Harris et al.; USUHS). Scholarships via the Health Professional Scholarship Program (HPSP) provides tuition and the remuneration of related expenses to pursue professional degrees and training in the medical, dental, optometry, and other allied fields in the health and healthcare professions (Harris et al.). Recipients of these scholarships can forego the expense and personal hardships associated with financing a college education in exchange for serving in the military for a prescribed period of time. Second, the military can offer direct commission to civilian practitioners already in direct or related fields and, in addition to bonuses, can help recipients repay outstanding college debt (Harris et al.). Like USUHS, it will be necessary for the recipients of these incentives to enter into a quid pro quo relationship with the military by donning the uniform and agreeing to the obligation of doing so for a specified period of time.

Third, many already qualified active members of the military on both active duty and in the reserve component of the military, which includes the respective army and Air National Guard components, may have pursued STEM-related careers as technicians within the enlisted corps (Harris et al.). The military can then benefit from this experience twofold: one, by capitalizing on previously earned technical training in the enlisted corps as the foundation to launch more formal training as officers in the commissioned corps; and two, an indoctrinated or seasoned veteran already familiar with the ways, customs, and culture of the military will be much easier to assimilate within the commissioned corps. Further, the overwhelming research shows that former members of the enlisted corps make excellent commissioned officers (Smith 2001; Stone, Wiggins, Turner-Holland and Looper 1998; Harris et al.; Harris 2009). Fourth, apart from the respective military academies, the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) is a rich training ground for indoctrinating college students for careers and service in the military (Harris et al.). Finally, as a group, HBCUs are still the primary source of Black talent for the military (Harris et al. 2012). Since many HBCUs have partnerships with the military by way of ROTC programs, because HBCUs generate the majority of African Americans with undergraduate degrees in the STEM disciplines,

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this can become a triple benefit for the institution—recruitment of a diverse workforce, retention of an already academically prepared workforce, and promotion of the military as a proving ground for a STEM workforce. And, as Harris et al. (2012) point out, even if as expected, the military over time loses to attrition some of those African Americans who were successfully recruited into its ranks, all is not for naught. The military's loss will become society's gain as educated, qualified, and motivated STEM professionals are unleashed into the civilian workforce.

For additional resources on Black inventions and innovations, see the partial listing of books and other media (Appendices A and B).

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Chapter 11

The Allure of Military Service

Forecast for Black Recruitment

From enslavement and illegitimacy to integration, respect, and acceptance as part of the American citizenry, African Americans have always heeded the call to military service, finding in it utility for a greater purpose. Such has been the allure of military service that has taken many forms: First, as the ultimate leverage for freedom; second, as a proxy for economic well-being and autonomy; third, as a path to equality and education; and fourth, as a means of gaining credibility. In effect, African Americans have been literally engaged in a multi-century war on all fronts for the overdue recognition that they justly deserve. Hence, it is believed that these hard-won rights have not been in vain.

DISTURBING TREND: MILITARY INTEREST IN DECLINE

Yet, in the twenty-first century, and as the military draws down post–Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom as Operation New Dawn, the institution faces a new challenge. Unlike before, Blacks are no longer expressing an interest or are enlisting into the military at traditional rates (Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004). And, simultaneously, as per the findings of the Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) (2011), there lies a disquieting dearth of minorities within the senior ranks of its enlisted and commissioned corps that are expected to be exacerbated by the current, ongoing, and prospective drawing down of the force. As discussed in chapter 9, for instance, the situation is wreaking havoc, especially in the army where initial drawing down is already revealing adverse effects for African Americans in both corps, particularly within combat arms where, in opposition to the trends

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of previous years, Blacks neither have aspired to nor are to be found in any appreciable representation (Hoffman 2014). The poor selection rate of Black officers to leadership positions in these career fields is also wanting (Vanden Brook 2015). Other confounding variables, and again particularly for the army, include the anemic rates of promotion to the senior ranks by Black officers (Vanden Brook; Asch, Miller, and Malchiodi 2012). Overall, not only have Black enlistments declined since Operation Desert Storm during the early 1990s, which was the first indication of reduction in the propensity of African Americans to enlist in the military (Nixon 1993), but subsequent Youth Attitude Tracking Surveys (Lehnus and Lancaster 1999) also indicate this reality. In fact, youth surveys by the DoD between 2004 and 2008 (Carvalho, Turner, March, Yanosky, Zucker, and Boehmer 2008) and between 2005 and 2008 by the University of Michigan show the disturbing trend in African Americans' lack of desire to consider the military as a viable career alternative to the civilian sector (MLDC 2010). Also post–Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, the DoD now faces another uphill climb in staving off these declining levels owing to a more robust civilian economy (Population Report FY2013).

Even though it has already been well acknowledged that Blacks more so than other racial and/or ethnic groups have customarily utilized the military as a conduit for meeting their socioeconomic needs (Armor and Gilroy 2009; Asch, Heaton, and Savych 2009), the military can no longer rely on this rationale to buttress either its recruitment or retention rolls. And, across the services, gains in the accession of African Americans have declined (Population Report). While the army has been experiencing this downward shift, the rates at which the marine corps recruits and retains Blacks to both the enlisted and commissioned corps have been especially worrisome. According to Segal and Wechsler Segal (2005), African Americans, and especially those in the army, are more likely to be in the reserve component of the military than on active duty. Interestingly enough, and again for the army, it is the rate of Black women, at one-third of the enlisted corps, that has accounted for the preponderance of African Americans on active duty as Black men in the army now only represent just 20 percent, or one-fifth, of the active duty enlisted force. But the researchers note that, since the advent of the all-volunteer force in 1973, the military has never again managed to achieve those high rates where Blacks routinely outnumbered Whites in their propensity to serve. Say Segal and Wechsler Segal (2005), post-level lows for Blacks in light of previous highs are striking (p. 3).

Neal (2008) attributes these descending spirals in African Americans' interest in the military—mainly the army—to three concurrent forces at play. First, Neal cites the perception of Blacks' acceptance by the wider American culture, although judging from our assessment given the more recent negative

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encounters between the largely White police forces and African Americans across the nation that have more often than not resulted in fatalities and/or wanton abuse by the police, this is not the case or at best partially explains Neal's rationale. Neal points to the view that now military service is neither a requirement nor a measure of American citizenship. We cannot refute this part of Neal's justification as Blacks have ourstorically used military service to guarantee—as we stated at the outset of this chapter—freedom, economic well-being and autonomy, equality and education, and credibility. Neal seems to suggest that, owing to the multiple gains that African Americans have achieved in society in the above arenas and, indeed, in other walks of American society, military service is therefore no longer a prerequisite.

Neal points to then senator Barack Obama as the first serious Black contender for the country's presidency. And, yet, we would also argue that it is this seeming progress that idealists have dubbed post-racial that is perhaps the very reason for this backlash, and thus the regression, chiefly following the election of President Obama. While Neal does concede that racism is still alive and well, he is more sanguine about America's ability to accept differences, in this case, White Americans' tolerance of African Americans as part and parcel of American society and citizenry. An expanding middle class among African Americans has been advantaged from the civil rights movement (Robinson 1997); Black homeownership has grown by eight times its rate of 6 percent in 1960 to 47 percent in 2000, even outpacing the White middle class from 15 percent to 60 percent; with the benefit of higher education fueled in part by HBCUs, African Americans have made significant progress in the number of college graduates; and touting such prominent figures as former secretaries of state, media moguls, and as captains of industry, to name a few.

Second, declining interest by Blacks to enter military service, says Neal, has as much to do with the execution of the dual wars, Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, as well as which administration carried out the wars. While waning interests by Blacks to enlist in the military first showed its prominent decline at the dawn of Operation Desert Storm in 1991 (Nixon), it was following the September 11, 2001, attacks and the war on terror that reinforced this trend (Carvalho et al.; MLDC 2010). Further, misgivings as to the Bush administration's justification for launching Operation Iraqi Freedom heightened suspicions for Blacks as to the true reasons for going to war (Neal). In an interview with the *Boston Globe*, military sociologist David Segal proclaims that "this is not a Black People's war. This is not a poor people's war. This is an oil man's war" (Jackson 2007). The influence of various media, chief among them the Internet and the Black media, including entertainers and unions, only fomented this belief (Ford 2007; Gallup Poll on Iraq n.d.). Additionally, the U.S. involvement, especially in Iraq, has

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called into question the real reasons for the country's involvement and harkened back to an earlier quagmire, the Vietnam Conflict, when Blacks were believed to have paid a disproportionate price for being on the front lines. The United States descended into massive protests across the country. These were indications of the deep-seated distrust of the government (The Black Radical Congress). A Pew Research survey in 2005 concluded that, because African Americans were less dependent on employment and educational opportunities afforded by the military than they were during a previous generation, Blacks no longer believed that reliance on the military is their sole option for advancement (Pew Research Center 2005). As a result, Blacks were almost twice more likely than Whites to be indifferent about military service.

Finally, says Neal, African Americans have every reason to be optimistic about their future, although at the time of Neal's analysis, while race relations might have been at the tipping point, it was following President Obama's election when racists' attitudes gave way and began playing themselves out more overtly in society. Neal, however, identified multiple factors via surveys for this optimism within the Black community on four fronts: education, the economy, social, and cultural. Many African Americans simply believed that things were getting better for them (Derosby, Harris, Iheukamere, Taylor, and Thigpen 2008). The advent of the Internet, the Black media, and growing employment spurred growing entrepreneurship, networking opportunities, and an increasing number of African Americans who were enrolling in college and universities (Stevens 2015). Perhaps at the time of Neal's study, the sense of hope among African Americans seemed palpable in that given the mood of the country, many Blacks pointed to the anticipated enthusiasm should then senator Obama be eventually elected as president. And, ironically, several studies echoed the optimism that racism was not as it had been perceived as in the past (Jones 2008).

Neal determines that the decline in Black interest in the military is not necessarily a result of what the military, in this case the army, is doing or not doing. It is, in essence, what is working well in the general civilian society that is driving such declines. Consequently, the military is no longer as attractive to African Americans. Nevertheless, Neal believes that there is much that the army can do to avoid losing further ground in an effort to sustain what it has already achieved, such as partnering with minority-owned businesses, entertainers, or actors and participating in activities to expose its interest in cultural diversity. Paralleling what the army already does to promote certain events, the institution can engage in similar efforts in more urban enclaves and where minorities are more likely to patronize. According to Neal, these well-meaning endeavors can serve to boost the positive side of the army.

Dorn (2008) concurs in part with Neal that at the time of publication of both authors' works, and during Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi

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Freedom, the decline in African American enlistment and interest in the military may have only accelerated. As the undersecretary of defense for personnel and readiness for the Clinton administration, Dorn provides his perspective going further in his assessment as somewhat of an insider who is familiar with the intricacies of both the Pentagon and the DoD. He surmised at the time that the visible absence of African Americans as either generals or flag officers or even as political appointees during the Bush administration may have been found disconcerting to Blacks who did not see themselves as being represented. Other potential reasons, according to Dorn, for the downturn in Black interest in the military is, as Kleykamp (2010) found, an increase in Black enrollment in colleges and universities, disqualification of many African Americans who failed to meet the services' criteria for enlistment, and the military's push to attract Hispanics over Blacks.

While Dorn admitted that more funding needs to go the way of the army and the marine corps, which given their missions both bear the burden of these wars, the budget for troop increases as well as to replace aging military equipment are long overdue, although he suspects that the then incoming commander in chief would likely find such bloat in the budget as unsustainable. But Dorn also sees the decline of African American interest in the military as cyclical. He suspects that while the rates of interest will never again mimic the highs of the 1980s and 1990s, following the next drawdown post–Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, the propensity levels may again increase. Besides, as Dorn notes, the military is an institution that remains in consistently high regard by the public. He cites, as recommended for action by the 2007 Center for Naval Analysis (CNA) study that was commissioned by the marine corps commandant, that the corps can institute outreach programs in the community as one way of stimulating interest in the marine corps among African American youth. Moreover, as Dorn sees it, the issues of greatest concern to the Black community—education, civil rights, and economic development—are such that these same issues will essentially resonate as opportunities for Black youth in the military.

IS RACE RELATIONS STILL A PROBLEM IN THE MILITARY?

African Americans of previous generations turned to the military in an effort to level the playing field for economic and educational opportunities, believing that these could not be equitably secured within the civilian sector as a consequence of racial discrimination. Ahead of the civilian sector, the military took purposeful steps to protect its personnel from such discriminatory acts wherever they were deployed or stationed. It was the DoD and, by extension,

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the military that took the lead over its civilian counterparts in setting the stage for racial parity for its African American workforce. In 1971, this outgrowth came in the form of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI), which is now the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI), in an attempt to combat racial discrimination against Black military personnel while maintaining morale, cohesion, and effectiveness in the units (DEOMI 2002; Evans 2003). Through the DEOMI, ongoing efforts remain in order to gauge the continuing temperature of race relations in the military by way of the regular administration of the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS) about work environments, for it has been proven that race overwhelmingly determines the degree to which and how one perceives their work environments (DEOMI). In late 2013, DEOMI launched an updated version of the MEOCS, this time for commanders (DEOMI 2013).

Today, the analysis shows that Blacks and Whites in the military starkly diverge on how they view the climate in the military, with Blacks more likely than Whites to view the climate more negatively for, unlike Whites, they are confronted with racism. For example, in assessing the equal opportunity environment of a military medical center, Brannen, Brannen, and Colligan (1999) found that Blacks and Hispanics were less likely than Whites to rate the environment as positive. Ironically, the researchers found that Whites cited incidents of reverse discrimination. However, these data were considered spurious in light of the small sample size and therefore any generalization of the results was an overreach. An earlier study by Joseph (1997) that examined army nurses' attitudes toward their Black and Hispanic patients revealed the nurses to be more positive toward their Black patients, although a disaggregation of these data indicated mixed results. The study showed that following cultural diversity training, female nurses were more likely to rate their African American patients more positively and, specifically, African American nurses rated patients of their own race more favorably than Hispanic patients. As well, following the cultural diversity training, White nurses yielded the second highest positive ratings for African American patients. However, like the Brannen et al. study, lack of exposure to both Hispanic nurses and patients might have resulted in lower ratings, which were still positive, given the small sample of both Hispanic nurses and patients.

A more recent study by Kennedy, Jones, and Arita (2007) injected the need for cultural competence training in the military for healthcare providers. Yet, as Harris (2011) puts it, because the military is a microcosm of civilian society, it mirrors its culture, and the rising rates of health and healthcare disparities in the military, an equal access healthcare system, which are generally a condition of society's preexisting anomalies prior to enlistment in the military, may themselves be sustained and/or increased because of the need for cultural competence training for military healthcare providers as part of

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their overall professional and occupational training and development. Kutz's (1996) study of military physicians makes this apparent. Like their civilian counterparts, and despite military indoctrination, military physicians seem to be acculturated more into their profession as physicians than they are into the profession of arms of the military. For this reason, military physicians are not sensitized to their patients of different demographical makeup. But as Joseph found, when cultural competence becomes an essential component in healthcare professionals' skill sets, their favorability rating of patients increases. Harris, therefore, concludes that because the military has effectively become as diverse as the civilian sector and reflects its diversity in the demographical makeup of the population, military healthcare providers must be vigilant to the vulnerabilities of health and healthcare disparities among their patients of color.

In what we conceive then as a novel undertaking, Burk and Espinoza (2012) examine a full spectrum of the military's performance on a number of key factors to measure its progress in modern-day race relations. While the researchers acknowledge that especially with the advent of the all-volunteer military and thus conclusion of conscription of forces in 1973, the military was pressured to address systematic racism within its ranks to create an atmosphere that, in effect, is substantially less racially charged. But, doing so does not necessarily translate to an environment that is racism free. As Burk and Espinoza state, through this moral contract, the military agreed to uphold the principle of fairness in the administration of enlistments, promotions, justice, deployments in combat, and in caring for the injured. As such, the military agreed to support an equal opportunity climate by abandoning racism altogether.

Burk and Espinoza believe that Moskos and Butler (1996) were premature in assessing that the military had finally met its moral contract for race relations during Operation Desert Storm. Despite the seeming show of force of the military integration, ironically, the Gulf War was the first prominent indicator of a decline in the interest and enlistments of Blacks in the military (Armor and Gilroy 2010). Burk and Espinoza's analysis is complicated by fragmentation of the literature about the subject. In one study (Kirby, Harrell, and Sloan 2000), the researchers attempt to determine whether the paucity of African American soldiers in special operations is due to the problem of meeting the career field's criteria, or if other perceived barriers, such as racism or self-selection by Blacks who choose to pursue those occupations that they deem to be more transferable and marketable to the civilian sector, were responsible. Yet, these data are difficult to tease out as they may also be based upon what Elster (1992) sees as allocation principles—when institutions like the military decides to give certain goods to certain recipients. But making such determinations can be as difficult as they are subject to what Burk and

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Espinoza call "direct and indirect effects of government policies" (p. 403), recipients' selection patterns, and other institutional effects by chance. So deducing this information can be attempted in three ways. First, consider the military as if it is a heterogeneous organization, thereby permitting for variance in its compliance with this moral contract. Second, treat the complexity of the situation as if there are multiple rationalizations as to why racism occurs in the military. And, third, adapt the life course modality by recognizing the divergent degrees in which these changes can be measured.

Burk and Espinoza settle on measuring the progress of what they coin "military goods" for the aforementioned—enlistments, rates of promotion, how the Uniformed Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) is administered, the probability of death as a combatant, and the health and healthcare of injured active military personnel and veterans—based on the wealth of research already provided in these areas.

First, for enlistment, Burk and Espinoza see that although the rate of enlistment is a function of race and/or ethnicity, such outcomes as disparities may not necessarily reflect any variance in the institutional administration for different groups. Basically, more so than Whites, minorities, especially African Americans, view the military as a conduit for attaining social capital. As well, the military is viewed as less racially discriminatory than the civilian sector. Second, racial minorities do not view the equal opportunity climate as positive as White males, with African Americans, and specifically African American women, having the least favorable view of the military (Dansby and Landis 1998). Data from 1967 through 1991 reported that while superficially Blacks appear equally as likely to be promoted as White officers, upon further investigation, this was not the case (Hosek, Tiemeyer, Kilburn, Strong, Duckworth, and Ray 2001). In fact, Black officers were 29 percent less likely to be promoted as White officers given the pool of White officers who had separated from the military, thus masking the higher promotion rates of Black officers. Thomas, Edwards, Perry, and David (1998) and Johnson (2001) found that, at least for early promotions, White officers were ascribed with the use of more positive descriptors much more often than Black officers. Johnson determined that while such differences might not have been intentional, the practice spoke volumes as to the racial stereotypes that are attributed to African Americans. Other studies, including for the reserve components of the military, also reflect low promotion rates for Black officers (Butler 1999; DoD 1999; Smith 2010; Hosek et al.; Segal and Wechsler Segal 2004). Black officers were more likely to be younger at the time of commission and overly concentrated at the junior ranks (DoD; Segal and Wechsler).

Where the transition for African American officers become especially problematic is the move from the senior junior company grade rank (0–3) to promotion to the first field grade officer rank (0–4) (DoD; Hosek et al.). Black

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officers are also disproportionately concentrated within the support occupations (i.e., supply, administration, medical) (Segal and Wechsler Segal; Population Report 2006) which are not rendered as critical career fields as say, aviation. However, if promoted, Black officers are equally likely to be promoted from 0–4 to 0–5, the second field grade rank, to 0–6 as senior officers (DoD; Hosek et al.), although more recent research by Asch et al. refutes this finding. Research by Harris (2009) on the active duty, reserve, and National Guard components of the air force also supports this finding. And in no uncertain terms, Butler does not discount that racism has a hand in these decisions. Just like the MLDC (2011), Butler also blames the dearth in Black leadership in the military to mentor junior officers who are also Black. Burk and Espinoza conclude that such court decisions as *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), which allowed race-based selections that must be narrowly tailored to achieve specific goals, have no doubt played a role in restricting the military in making such decisions, in this case, for the commissioned corps. While Burk and Espinoza, like the MLDC, were as concerned about the absence of minorities within the senior ranks of the enlisted corps, they found no indication that this absence of minorities within the enlisted corps was as critical as the commissioned corps.

Third, Burk and Espinoza found disturbing evidence in how the military administers justice according to race and/or ethnicity. Multiple studies, including by the MLDC (in Burk and Espinoza) and Moskos and Butler submit that racial discrimination exists in the manner in which justice is meted out to the different groups. For example, in 1992, a survey showed that African American males within the enlisted corps believed that UCMJ verdicts handed down to them were discriminatory in nature. Verdugo (1998) and Lurie (1998) found that only a little over one-third of Blacks within the enlisted corps believed that both Blacks and Whites received equitable punishment for the same infractions. Verdugo and Lurie (1998) suggest that the perceived inequity in due process may stem at the point where commanders exercise discretion as to the type of punishment that is imposed prior to the formal adjudicatory proceedings. Regrettably, African Americans are six times more likely than Whites to be imprisoned in the military (Burk and Espinoza), a rate that the researchers believe that Moskos and Butler significantly underestimated. As a matter worth mentioning, in *Chappelle v. Wallace* (1983), the federal court dismissed the charges of equal opportunity complaints against the military, ruling that such matters already have sufficient recourse through various forms of redress in the military via the UCMJ.

Yet, according to the U.S. General Accountability Office (GAO) (1996), difficulties within the complaints system in the military actually deter military personnel from filing such complaints. And, as late as 2008, the GAO found an inexplicable backlog of EEO complaints within the DoD. Research by

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Walker (2001) confirms the overrepresentation of especially African Americans in the military justice system. Dansby (2001) and Edwards (2001) found that the cultural differences between Blacks and Whites might be at the center of this bias. Dansby recommends greater socialization efforts for African Americans within the enlisted corps to military culture and mores, whereas Edwards suspects that African Americans, particularly those from metropolitan regions, might be perceived mistakably as insubordinate and combative by the largely White commissioned corps. Other factors provided also shed light in explaining the disproportionate number of Blacks in the military justice system that simply may be owing to poor legal counsel (Verdugo; Nalty 1986). By the way, African Americans were less likely than Whites to engage in plea-bargaining agreements in exchange for reduced sentences (Verdugo). Verdugo suggests, then, that African Americans who are charged with crimes should receive increased representation.

Fourth, the danger of death if sent to combat is a reality for military personnel. During the Vietnam Conflict, the disproportionate fatalities of African American soldiers ignited public outcry as, during conscription, their death toll moved from 6.5 percent pre-1965 to a whopping 21 percent in 1966, more than two times the rate of their representation within the general civilian population (Burk and Espinoza). Many civil rights activists believed that Blacks were being used as subterfuge to prosecute a war that was not theirs to fight (King 1967 as cited by Burk and Espinoza). The Marshall Commission, otherwise known as the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, concluded that African Americans, like other groups, should bear the weight of the war equal to their representation within the general civilian population (Flynn 1993). The casualty rate of Blacks thereafter subsided to their makeup within the civilian population (Moskos and Butler). Appy (1993) asserts that because of the disproportionate burden that Blacks were paying during the Vietnam Conflict, the war was about racial disparities. Today, according to Burk and Espinoza, for Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, the casualty rate for African Americans from 2003 through 2009 was underrepresented. Given this finding, they do not believe that, at least today, there are systematic policies in the military that are designed to unfairly place African Americans in harm's way for risk of death during war.

Finally, one of the military's moral contract principles is to take care of its personnel for duty-related injuries, including those received in war. For personnel on active duty, the military will take care of its own through its equal access to healthcare system (Burk and Espinoza). For those who have since separated from the military, the Department of Veterans Administration (VA) was created for their continued care. According to Rosenheck and Fontana (2002), racial disparities exist in eight of eleven healthcare services and outcomes for Blacks, Whites, and other groups who participated in VA

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programs for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD is not only a consequence of being in harm's way (Tanielian and Jaycox 2008; Rundelle 2006) but the gravity of its level is directly proportional to the symptoms experienced (Boscarino 2006), although exposure to war does not necessarily always result in PTSD. For example, 18.5 percent of those in Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom experienced PTSD, while 81.5 percent did not (Tanielian and Jaycox). Minorities are more likely to develop PTSD (Dohrenwend, Turner, Turse, Lewis-Fernandez, and Yager 2008; Brinker, Westermeyer, Thuras, and Canive 2007; Boscarino). For Vietnam veterans, approximately fifteen years post-service, Black men showed a 20.6 percent rate of occurrence of PTSD, while Hispanic men showed a 27.9 percent rate of occurrence (Schlenger, Kulka, Fairbank, Hough, Jordan, Marmar, and Weiss 1992). Loo and various colleagues (Loo, Fairbank, Scurfield, Ruch, King et al. 2001; Loo, Fairbank, and Chemtob 2005; Loo, Lim, Koff, Morton, and Kiang 2007), in examining the rates of PTSD among Asian American veterans, found that African American veterans who encountered racism had increased levels of PTSD.

Multiple studies including by Harris, Lewis, and Calloway (2012), Harris (2010, 2011), and van Ryn (2002) show that minorities receive compromised levels of healthcare. As Harris (2011) and others (e.g., Schulman, Berlin, Harless, Kerner, Sistrunk, Gersh, Dube, et al. 1999; Peterson, Wright, Petersen, and Daley 2002; Horner, Oddone, Stechuchak, Grambow, Gray, Khuri et al. 2002) have found that both the military and VA healthcare systems administer disparate levels of healthcare according to the race and/or ethnicity of the patients. Seal, Bertenthal, Maguen, Gima, Chu, and Marmar (2008) show that not only were African American veterans of Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom more likely than White veterans not to be screened for PTSD, but they also received reduced follow-up care (Kilbourne, Bauer, Han, Haas, Elder, et al. 2005), far fewer cardio-related referrals (Murdoch, Hodges, Cowper, Fortier, and van Ryn 2003), and experienced lower rates of service-connected disability (43% vs. 56%). Within the VA, Blacks are less likely than other groups to get flu shots (Straits-Troster, Kahwati, Kinsinger, Orelian, Burdock, and Yevich 2006) due to distrust of the general healthcare system. Unfortunately, Burk and Espinoza also conclude that Blacks do not receive equal care in the VA healthcare system.

Because racial discrimination was found in three of the five areas of study—namely, officer promotion rates, the administration of military justice, and disparate treatment in the VA healthcare system—Burk and Espinoza also conclude that it is incumbent upon the military to build a positive equal opportunity climate, because, repeatedly, the contract of moral principle in the distribution of military goods has been broken by the military. This breach of promise is evident in racial bias in the promotion rates of Black officers,

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subpar administration of due process in the military justice system for African Americans, and in the compromised delivery of healthcare in the VA.

Following the dire warning of the MLDC (2011) that, especially in a drawdown environment, the military must take calculated steps to ensure diversity within its ranks, and particularly so at the senior leadership levels in both the enlisted and commissioned corps, it appears that at least some of the services are taking this warning seriously. The army has already identified the problem as urgent, particularly in the combat arms career fields given the lackluster presence of Black officers and in senior leadership positions. Former army chief of staff General Odierno has publicly acknowledged the problem although on the 2016 promotion selection list, only six African American officers were elevated to lead at the battalion level, albeit an improvement by five over the 2015 promotion list (Vanden Brook 2015). The air force announced its diversity plan in early 2015 to increase the number of minorities and women in the enlisted force (Losey 2015), even though, given the mixed reviews, there is already pushback and some critics are calling the plan a quota system: they say that some objectives smack of the relaxation of entry criteria to some career fields. And, as stated, the Marine Corps commandant ordered a study by the Center for Naval Analysis (CNA) in an effort to identify strategies for increasing the recruitment of African American youth.

Unlike previous generations of Black Americans, the allure of the call to military service has lost its luster in impressing the present generation. Notwithstanding over a decade of two simultaneous wars, African Americans no longer view the military as the long-held route to legitimacy and, in effect, citizenship. While Black Americans who came of age during this period have already formed this opinion, many rely on the opinions of their predecessors, who, themselves, given their experiences with the military, are convincing their children and grandchildren to forego military service. Further, with a more robust economy taking traction, many college-age African Americans are doing just that, choosing to pursue a higher education over military service. This is the very group—high achievers—to which the military has long targeted for its recruitment. But in an era of military drawdowns, this predicament may not pose a crisis, although judging from the MLDC's (2011) report as to the lack of minorities in leadership positions within both the enlisted and commissioned corps, and particularly within a drawdown environment, it is disconcerting. In this regard, the military is being challenged on multiple fronts. Hence, how the military executes its drawing down of forces and the impact on African Americans will not only determine its retention of this demographic group but also have much bearing on its future prospects for recruiting this group.

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Conclusion

"Out of the ashes flies the Phoenix" is an apt metaphor to describe the rise that African Americans have made from the early and dark days in the new American Republic as they now claim their rightful place in American society. It has been almost 500 years since the first arrival of Blacks from the Old World, albeit in the form of a Cuban from the New World, Estebanico Dorantes. During colonial times, Blacks were effectively barred from serving in the military. More importantly, White colonialists believed that to arm Blacks posed a credible threat to their existence, fearing that arming slaves would entice the lot to turn against Whites. The irony is that such sentiments remain unabashedly entrenched in contemporary America. It has been more than 230 years since the American Revolution when slaves exercised the rare opportunity to earn their freedom by fighting the British when resources in the number of available White men were scarce. It has been more than 200 years since the War of 1812 when all-Black militias became a reality, not under the Americans but under the French and Spanish, as part of the Louisiana Purchase. Yet, because the new republic was suspicious of Blacks who were armed, as they were still perceived as slaves and potentially dangerous, the newly formed all-Black militias were disbanded and unceremoniously so. While some northern colonies, like New York, permitted slaves and free Black men to fight in the military, earning many slaves their freedom, Black men continued to be called upon only when it suited Whites, and yet again only when White men proved to be an unreliable resource.

It has been more than 150 years since the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 took effect in 1865. At that time it was couched by a desperate but astute president that the act was promulgated under the guise of freeing the slaves. In reality, the overriding purpose of the legislation was to force the slaveholding South to cede its control to keep the American Union intact.

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Actually, President Lincoln could have done without having to deal with the matter of the slaves altogether. He initially sought what he considered to be a more expeditious resolution—simply resettle the slaves in the African continent. In the process, slaves were freed but not without bloodshed, for slavery, especially for the South, represented an impenetrable and unfailing economic system of free labor that brought the states prosperity that they were unwilling to surrender without a fight. As in earlier campaigns, slaves used such limited opportunities to fight, in this case for the Union army, to gain their freedom. Many African Americans fought for the Union in various ways. Harriet Tubman is well known for her repeated exploits of bravery in sacrificing her own life to assist the Union army, including working as a spy, to free hundreds of slaves in the South. She used her various networks of fellow abolitionists to advance their escape through the now famous Underground Railroad and facilitated their treacherous journey to safety to the North. It has been almost hundred years since the end of World War I and the United States' fight against fascism overseas, all the while promoting and engaging in racism of its Black population at home. The conditions for Blacks at the time were insufferable and were especially so in the South where life for even free Blacks within the racist system dubbed Jim Crow was repressive at best.

But this was a time of the emergence of such civil rights activists as A. Philip Randolph and noted intellectuals like W. E. B. Du Bois, one of the cofounders of the NAACP, who used his status and oratory skills to rally fellow African Americans to successfully fight for such inalienable rights as public accommodation. Du Bois was also a stanch supporter of the military, not for the purpose of supporting the military per se, but to use military service as a launching pad to help Blacks to overtly demonstrate their patriotism in the hope that such deliberate actions would expand their human rights in American society. But, again, to secure civil rights, as Du Bois and fellow activists found, would not be easily won without a dragged-out fight, either in the courtroom or literally on the streets. The few Blacks in the military then found that the racism that existed at home was not found abroad, but which they still experienced while overseas at the hands of their fellow White American soldiers who exported the affliction to the region. It has been more than seventy years since the conclusion of World War II when African Americans made strident gains in the military, including the enlistment of Black women, and in numbers not ever before witnessed despite the schemes employed by then the War Department to suppress the numbers of Blacks in the military to the lowest levels possible. During this period, Blacks dispelled several genetic myths, for instance, that they were neither cognitively nor biologically capable of piloting airplanes. The famous Tuskegee Airmen were at the center of success in validating Blacks' aviation prowess given their unprecedented collective success and performance during World War II.

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It has been more than sixty years since the end of the forgotten war, the Korean Conflict, when similar systematic ploys by the War Department were instituted to keep Black enlistment at bay. Yet, it was during this time that the Department of Defense first loosened its racist noose on the need to segregate Black and White troops. The successful integration of some units occurred overseas by the war's end. It has been more than fifty years since the landmark march on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. Its outgrowth came in the way of multiple legislations including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Even before then, Black frustration initiated effective collective action such as Rosa Parks's refusal to relinquish her seat on the bus to a White passenger in 1959. Events during the 1960s were known as the second wave of the modern civil rights era that was first ushered in by the likes of A. Philip Randolph and W. E. B. Du Bois. The movement also catapulted a then young upstart to prominence, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a charismatic civil rights activist and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for his gallant attempts to eliminate racism. But his renowned stature and nonviolent stance led to his assassination by an aggrieved White man.

It has been more than forty years since the end of the undeclared Vietnam Conflict. The number of African Americans used to prosecute the war skyrocketed, so much so that the number of Black casualties exceeded their representation within the general civilian population in the United States. Riots erupted nationwide, especially on college and university campuses. Military installations were also not immune and became the scene of multiple skirmishes. Finally, it was also more than forty years ago that military conscription and enlistment became voluntary in 1973. By now, the military has achieved full integration, showing even an overrepresentation of African Americans in the army, especially within the enlisted corps. And, HBCUs continue to have a long and cherished tradition as successful recruiting grounds for Black officers into the military.

This timeline of the evolution of the relationship between African Americans and the military can only be described as no less than tumultuous. W. E. B. Du Bois, in his pivotal piece *The Souls of Black Folk* (as cited by Pratkanis and Turner 1999; Harris 2010), fittingly explains the relationship between African Americans and the U.S. government as one of two yet to be reconciled selves: one as African Americans and the other as Americans. Similarly, DeGruy Leary (2005) sees this ambivalent relationship between African Americans and the government via its military as tenuous. On the one hand, Blacks believe that the military proved to be the gateway to a life of liberty and the pursuit of happiness as per the U.S. Constitution. Still, this juxtaposition bears out where on the other hand some Blacks view the military as part of a larger conspiracy by the American government to annihilate them. As Du Bois asserted, these two irreconcilable selves remain in constant conflict with one

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another, and, in the process, African Americans experience such stressors that come in the form of post-traumatic slave syndrome (PTSS) (DeGruy Leary), a consequence that still plays itself out today in the daily lives of Blacks.

So, it stands to reason then, that despite the gains, this 500-year-old tenuous existence between Blacks and the American military, while one of cautious optimism and even guarded suspicion, is symbiotic in the sense that both recognize the value of the other. African Americans have become an invaluable resource and part of the military's landscape while at the same time Blacks have utilized the military as a means of both human and social capital. More importantly, though, the U.S. military is obligated to uphold its moral contract to treat African Americans equitably despite its ourstory of blatant mistreatment. But, invariably, following two recent and long simultaneous wars, the country, of which African Americans are very much a part, is war weary. Further, unlike previous generations, the present generation of African Americans not only has benefited from the sacrifices of their fore parents, but as Neal (2008) sees it, do not believe that military service needs to be a prerequisite for success or even citizenship, for that matter. However, in time, we hope that given the military's still overall high standing in civilian society, and as predicted by Dorn (2008), African Americans will once again come to see the institution as simply the means to an end.

Therefore, it is incumbent upon the U.S. military to work diligently to improve its equal opportunity climate, not only in words but in deeds by giving special attention to areas where racial bias against Blacks is still evident and has proven to be intransigent. Only when African Americans believe that they can trust the military will interest in the institution likely increase. Likewise, as we earlier cautioned, how the military engages in its drawdown strategies and their impact on African Americans will be critical in how this demographic group continues to view the institution.

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Appendix A

Additional Sources for Black and African American Inventions and Innovations

BOOKS

Please note that this is only a partial list

1. *The Negro Almanac – His Part in America* (1967)
2. *What Color Is My World?: The Lost History of African-American Inventors* (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar)
3. *African American Scientists and Inventors* (Tish Davidson)
4. *African American Women Scientists and Inventors* (Otha Richard Sullivan)
5. *African Americans in Science, Math, and Invention* (Ray Spangenburg)
6. *African American Firsts in Science and Technology* (Raymond B. Webster)
7. *Inspiring African-American Inventors* (Jeff C. Young)
8. *George Washington Carver* (Tonya Bolden)
9. *George Crum and the Saratoga Chip* (Gaylia Taylor)
10. *Vision of Beauty: The Story of Sarah Breedlove Walker* (Kathryn Lasky)
11. *All Aboard!: Elijah McCoy's Steam Engine* (Monica Kulling)
12. *Daniel Hale Williams: Surgeon Who Opened Hearts and Minds* (Mike Venezia)
13. *Dr. Charles Drew: Blood Bank Innovator* (Anne E. Schraff)
14. *Outward Dreams: Black Inventors and Their Inventions* (Jim Haskins)
15. *The Black Inventor* (Henry E. Baker)
16. *Black Inventors: Crafting Over 200 Years of Success* (Holmes et al. [Editors])
17. *Black Inventors in the Age of Segregation* (Rayvon Fouche)

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Appendix B

Additional Sources for Black and African American Inventions and Innovations

OTHER MEDIA

1. http://www.blackventions101.com
2. http://www.theroot.com/photos/2014/02/black_inventors_changed_the_way_we_live.html
3. http://www.geni.com/projects/African-American-Inventors/1991
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12. http://www.infoplease.com/spot/bhmscientists1.html
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