BLACK AND LATINO FACULTY NAVIGATING THE ACADEMY:
RECRUITMENT, RETENTION, TENURE, AND THE ACADEMIC CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative study is to examine the unique experiences of Black and Latino faculty as members of underrepresented minority designated (UMD) groups within predominantly white universities. The research also seeks to examine their views on institutional attitudes towards the retention and tenure of faculty of color, and the significance of these efforts and experiences on the continuous shortage of Black and Latino representation within higher education settings. With the use of a semi-structured interview protocol, the researcher will seek to reveal the more significant challenges that faculty of color face in the academe. In addition, an objective of the research is to investigate the role that the academic culture and environment play in perpetuating the dearth of these faculty members, such as relationships with colleagues, interactions between faculty and students, performance pressure, social isolation, role entrapment, and other potential factors. Kanter’s (1977) theory of tokenism is useful in helping to understand the Black and Latino faculty experience on campus. The research revealed that these groups did experience social isolation and role entrapment, but they did not report enough of a response and presence for performance pressure. Results about retention and tenure also revealed palpable issues with the process and policies in place. Lastly, results pertaining to the diversity deficiency revealed numerous factors that contribute to the issue, including institutional apathy, a lack of support, a lack of available population, confirmation of valued membership, the need for a welcoming environment, racial battle fatigue, and micro aggression. Moreover, the research identifies and explores several suggestions pertaining to the increased inclusion and acceptance of racial and ethnic minority professoriates within university faculties.
This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, John E. Aymer, Jr., who has been a source of strength, support, patience, and motivation for me throughout this entire experience. I am truly blessed to have you as my partner in this dance called life.

It’s You and Me Babe, I Love You So Much!

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iii
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Statement</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure and Promotion Impediments</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanter’s Theory of Tokenism</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University-Wide Perception of Faculty of Color</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Limitations</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: METHODS</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Design</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Interview</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Site Descriptions</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauve University</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue University</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celadon University</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation of the Data</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validity &amp; Reliability</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: RESULTS</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of Faculty Participants</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black and Latino Faculty Experience</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance Pressure</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Isolation</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handling the Isolation</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Entrapment</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention and Tenure</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention Efforts</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention Issues</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure Process and Pitfalls</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

v
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Theoretical Model .................................................................24

Figure 2. Data Map .............................................................................55
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. General Funds Budget and Appropriations .......................................................41

Table 2. Profiles of Participants ..................................................................................54
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The diversity of college and university faculties has been a subject of discussion, debate, and priority for several decades—particularly since the 1960s, when equity in higher education became a national priority as a result of the civil rights movement (Taylor, Apprey, Hill, McGrann, Wang, 2010). For several decades, universities have expressed a commitment to changing the traditional faculty composition of “faculty dominated by white males,” toward the inclusion of a “cohort of academic faculty of diverse ethnicity and nativity” (Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006, p. 70). The catalyst for such efforts derives from explorations of diversity initiatives, their implementation, and their effectiveness on university campuses nationwide (Thompson, 2008). Stanley (2006) references a study done by the American Council on Education and the American Association of University Professors that noted, “69 percent of faculty believe their universities value racial and ethnic diversity” (p.3). Yet, despite this belief and strategies designed to increase the number of faculty of color in the academe, she notes that the current representation remains dismal and is not proportionate to the rate of growth for students of color or representative of the U.S. population, where minorities constitute 20 to 25 percent (Thompson, 2008). According to Trower and Chait (2002), 1African American, Hispanic, or Native American faculty constituted only 5 percent of the full professors in the United States, and only 2.3 percent of faculty at predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCU) were African American.

1 “The study uses “Black” and “African American” as interchangeable terms when describing faculty experience, as participants had the option to identify as either on the study questionnaire.
When considering the pedagogical environment of universities and colleges in the past, it was commonplace to have only a handful of these minority groups as a part of the faculty (Trower, 2002). Even today, despite over 30 years of affirmative action, America’s college faculty remains largely White and largely male, especially at preeminent universities and within the higher rank faculty positions. People of color are less likely than White males to hold full-time faculty positions, be promoted to full professor, or receive tenure. In fact, when it comes to faculty rank, race does matter.

According to a U.S. Department of Education (2015) study of all full-time faculty in degree-granting post-secondary institutions as of the fall 2013 semester, 79% were White (44% were White males and 35% were White females), 10% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 6% were Black, and 5% were Hispanic. Making up less than 1% each were full-time faculty who were American Indian/Alaska Native and those of two or more races. Among full-time professors, 84% were White (58% were White males and 26% were White females), 4% were Black, 3% were Hispanic, and 9% were Asian/Pacific Islander. Making up less than 1% each were professors who were American Indian/Alaska Native and those of two or more races.

One of the reasons for the lack of progress, Turner and Myers (2000) suggest, is that many institutions place a larger emphasis on faculty recruitment rather than retention efforts for minorities. While shocking, these aggregated numbers do not help us to understand the nuances and experiences associated with the recruitment and retention of faculty of color within PWCUs. Thus, data on recruitment and turnover of faculty of color in general are inadequate (Stanley, 2006). In addition, recruitment efforts are a part of, but not inclusive of, success (Thompson, 2008). As a result, feelings of frustration, discrimination, and invisibility lead to a high attrition rate among faculty of color (Turner...
& Myers, 2000) and other factors contributing to this turnover, such as subtle and overt discrimination, may also arise from colleagues and in the classroom (Yoshinaga-Itano, 2006). Other experiences that cause high attrition rates stem from failure to gain tenure and disparities in movement in rank. Turner (2006) identifies several challenges for faculty of color. Most salient among these obstacles are issues of race, the undervaluation of scholarship, reliance on minorities for committee participation without such contributions factoring into promotions, challenges to authority, and balancing academic life with familial and community responsibilities (Thompson, 2008). In addition, studies have shown that faculty of color often experience a disparate burden of mental and emotional stressors at PWCUs compared to White counterparts (Burden, Jr., Harrison, Jr., Hodge, 2005; Fries-Britt, Kelly, 2005). Niemann (2003) attributes these stressors, in part, to tokenism; well-being is significantly compromised by working in isolation, albeit among members of other social or ethnic groups. Due to the isolation inherently experienced by marginalized and underserved groups, faculty of color at PWCUs are frequently disconnected from informal networks and not privy to sources of vital career development information (Timmons, 2012). As an added stressor, their work, ideals, and scholarly interests are often devalued (Burden et al., 2005; Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005).

The challenges that faculty of color face as a part of the higher education professoriate are plentiful and overwhelming, and the evidence is clear that these challenges impact the opportunity to achieve faculty diversity on college campuses. However, some may still ask: Why care about faculty diversity? Others would answer this question with a pragmatic justification; and that is because minorities are projected to exceed 50 percent of the U.S. population before 2050. Thus, a better job must be done to hire and retain more persons of color for faculty positions in order to provide diverse role
models for the nation’s changing demographics (Taylor et al., 2010). More compelling, however, is the argument that all students are better educated and prepared for leadership, citizenship, and professional competitiveness in multicultural America and the global community when they are exposed to diverse perspectives in their classrooms. This is a view that comprised a good portion of the social science foundation that undergirded the University of Michigan’s argument in support of affirmative action before the U.S. Supreme Court (Bollinger, 2007). Lastly, the success of efforts to recruit and retain a diverse workforce can also play a crucial role in dispelling the ethnicity-related myths and stereotypes (Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005; Harley, 2008) that impede teaching, service, and research outcomes.

This study aims to examine the Black and Latino faculty experience and address issues that these individuals often face. Another major objective of the study is to give voice to individuals in these two groups as an opportunity for them to explore the meaning that they ascribe to their career experiences. The study also looks to assess recruitment efforts and barriers, and address issues associated with retention and obstructions to promotion and tenure. Lastly, the research seeks to identify and explore several suggestions pertaining to the increased inclusion of minority professoriates within university faculties. To further expand the body of knowledge related to the faculty of color experience, Kanter’s (1977) theory of tokenism is used to explain and make sense of the collegiality experience of minority faculty at several predominantly white universities.

Theoretical Framework

Kanter’s theory of tokenism is the foundation for this study. According to Corman, Banks, Bantz, and Mayer (1990), it is considered a landmark theory in examining
minority/majority relationships. This theory argues that representation of types of people in groups has a direct effect on the interactions between group members and group members’ success, and posits that group composition affects individuals through performance pressure, social isolation and role entrapment. Tokenism is a term that refers to experiences of people who are considered rare or scarce. In this study, the tokenism theory is used to explain the experiences of Black and Latino faculty members who are employed at predominantly white institutions, assess the cause(s) of their scarcity, and provide a framework to fully understand the experiences that these faculty members face as a result of their scarce presence on U.S. college campuses.

Problem Statement

The nominal numbers of minority faculty members at predominantly White universities and colleges is a major concern of educators in the U.S. (Holland, 1989). There is an obvious underrepresentation and there are many rationales to explain the deficiency. The reasons include, but are not limited to, the perception of status and a lack of faculty retention efforts. Thus, the demographical profile of the higher education institutional setting is one-sided, and this is an issue that must be addressed. More research on this important topic is warranted as existing studies leave many questions unanswered and many opportunities to delve deeper into the issue. For example, many studies have chosen to focus on a broader higher education faculty of color population (Jayakumar, Howard, Allen, & Han, 2009). In addition, the etic bias, or researcher’s personal perspective, tends to be present and heavily influences the analyses of the data in most studies (Timmons, 2012). This study has the objective of focusing on Black and Latino faculty members within universities that have a common thread of Commonwealth
involvement pertaining to their receipt of annual state-appropriated funding: Mauve University, Blue University, and Celadon University. The goal of the narrowed focus is to compare Black and Latino faculty experiences within this small number of institutions to understand what the common and uncommon occurrences are from within these specific environments. In addition, each school has attained a level of ethnic diversity within their faculty that is either on par or greater than the national average of other institutions across the country (Collegefactual.com, 2016). For example, the ethnic diversity of the faculty at Mauve University is considered above average, with 49.7% White, 17.7% Black/African American, 5.6% Asian, and 4% Hispanic/Latino. The remaining 23% were categorized as either “ethnicity unknown” or “non-resident alien” (Collegefactual.com, 2016). The ethnic diversity of the faculty at Blue University is considered average, with 76% White, 8.9% Asian, 6.3% Black/African American, and 1.7% Hispanic/Latino. The remaining 7.1% were categorized as either “ethnicity unknown” or “non-resident alien” (Collegefactual.com, 2016). And the ethnic diversity of the faculty at Celadon University is considered average as well, with 82.3% White, 3.5% Asian, 2.4% Black/African American, and 2% Asian. The remaining 9.8% were categorized as either “ethnicity unknown” or “non-resident alien” (Collegefactual.com, 2016). These numbers are important if we are to understand what role the faculty demographic at these institutions has on the faculty experience and the campus culture. For the purposes of this study, a defined focus on Black and Latino faculty is both relevant and pertinent.

Often, the term “faculty of color” is used as a catch-all phrase that includes Hispanics, Asian Americans, American Indians, and “others” (Jayakumar et al., 2009) and the vast majority of literature on the topic of faculty of color within higher education often group all ethnic groups into one group descriptor as well. While the literature does
support the understanding that many of the experiences that one particular group faces are either very similar or identical to those of the other groups, this study has a focus on Black and Latino faculty; therefore, it is important to understand their role in the improvement of higher education’s commitment to diversity.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Latinos have accounted for most of the nation’s population growth over the last decade (56%) and currently represent 16.3 percent of the United States population (50.5 million people) (Ponjuan, 2011). Unfortunately, this growth has not been mirrored in higher education. Despite Latino student enrollment numbers increasing from 14.8 million in 1999 to more than 20 million in 2009, Latino faculty have not seen similar growth, making up only four percent of faculty nationwide (Ponjuan, 2011). These dramatic demographic changes and the increased presence of Latinos in American higher education highlight new challenges for the academy and portend an inevitable truth: While the higher education student population is dramatically changing, the number of minority faculty members still are not representative of this incoming cohort of students of color, especially the Latino student population (Ponjuan, 2011). Unfortunately, the literature also shows a lack of representation in academia for Black faculty as well.

Prior to 1963, African American faculty members were generally relegated to private institutions that solely catered to the needs of disenfranchised minority groups (Weems, 2003). The 1960’s civil rights movement legitimized African Americans’ entry into public colleges and universities, yet many PWCUs consistently lament the inability to recruit the desired number (Alexander & Moore, 2008a; Diggs, Garrison-Wade, Estrada & Galindo, 2009; Niemann, 2003). Currently, the number of African American faculty employed at PWCUs in the U.S. varies (Harley, 2008) and individuals seldom hold tenure
or advance to the higher ranks (Alexander & Moore, 2008b). In 2009, 498,201 full-time instructional faculty (professors, associate professors, assistant professors) served in U.S. degree-granting institutions: Public and private (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2010)². Only five percent (24,910) were African American. In comparison, five percent (24,910) were “other”; nine percent (44,838) were Asian/Pacific Islander; and 77% (383,614) were White (Timmons, 2012).

Despite these low representative numbers for African American and Latino faculty, there is no question that their contribution to higher education is invaluable. For example, Latino faculty members benefit higher education by uniquely engaging students in the classroom, improving Latino students’ higher education retention and degree completion rates, enhancing campus pluralism, and conducting academic research on racial/ethnic communities (Ponjuan, 2011). Black faculty contribute to the breadth of academic outcomes for both students and faculty as well. In addition to providing students an opportunity to “dialogue on issues of race and ethnicity that challenge students’ preconceived ideas of racial/ethnic groups” (p.100). Ponjuan (2011) states that Black faculty also view their teaching in the classroom as opportunities to “raise students’ consciousness and critical thinking skills even when faced with resistance” (p. 100). Furthermore, African American students in PWCUs are more likely to persist toward degree completion when they have African American faculty as role models. Black faculty also become inspiring symbols of professional success and powerful examples of academic excellence to their students (Ponjuan, 2011).

² The National Center for Education Statistics [NCES] study includes all levels of the professoriate, including tenure track faculty. The study is also inclusive of all institutional types (public, private, community, liberal, HBCU) which contributes to the large number of full-time faculty considered. The exclusion of these professoriate levels and certain institutional types would further increase the African American faculty percentage disparity.
Both groups are important to the academic climate, but the internal and external environments of the universities where they are employed ultimately affect their career decisions. Therefore, it is imperative that higher education institutions recognize the benefits of recruiting and retaining faculty of color and understand what is needed to integrate these groups into an environment of respect, inclusion, and meaningful engagement (Price, Gozu, Kern, Powe, Wand, Golden, & Cooper, 2005).

An examination of the academic workplace for minority faculty members becomes imperative if one considers that demographic predictions suggest that the U.S. workforce will become increasingly racially and ethnically diverse in the 21st century (Hainline, Gaines, Long Feather, Padilla, & Terry, 2010). An increased representation of minority faculty in the workplace has implications for institutions of higher education, especially at a time when it appears that faculty pools are shrinking as the demand for new faculty is increasing. In this era of rapidly changing student demography and a fluctuating economy, the professoriate of the twenty-first century will continue to face interesting challenges and opportunities—an aging faculty, new colleagues and students with superior technical skills, and the potential for developing new and more effective teaching strategies (Hainline et al., 2010). Faculty will also be held more accountable for learning as parents, accrediting and funding agencies, and legislators demand evidence that educational programs are improving learning (Hainline et al., 2010).

Full-time faculty are graying, due in part to the fact that there is no mandatory retirement age for college faculty, coupled with the promise of lifetime employment to those who are tenured. In addition, retirement pensions have recently diminished. When they do retire, full-time faculty are often not being replaced by younger full-time faculty; instead, institutions are hiring part-time or non-tenure-track, full-time faculty (Hainline et
The U.S. Department of Education estimates that “contingent” faculty comprised nearly two-thirds of the professoriate in institutions of higher education in 2006. If fiscal exigencies and “do more with less” mandates persist, institutions might continue to resort to the hiring of more part-time faculty who may or may not be held to the same standards as full-time faculty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). It is because of this potential shift in the faculty demography that academic institutions must be ever more mindful and committed to diversity efforts in preparation for the increased faculty demand.

As a result, one may speculate that faculty of color will increase their representation in the academic population, thus providing institutions of higher education with an enhanced opportunity to diversify their faculty ranks. If faculty of color are going to increase their representativeness in higher education, it is then necessary to examine the academic workplace to understand how they fit into the academic culture (Aguirre, 2000).

As mentioned previously by Stanley (2006), “69% of faculty believe their universities value racial and ethnic diversity” (p.3), but the question still remains: Why is there such a shortage of minority faculty within higher education, and what effect does this underrepresentation have on the overall academic atmosphere within higher education institutions?

Research Questions

The research questions will address the following:

- How do Black and Latino faculty make sense of their experiences and interactions with their non-faculty of color colleagues and students?
What are the Black and Latino faculty perceptions of respective university retention and tenure efforts?

What do Black and Latino faculty view as the main reasons for the faculty diversity deficiency within their respective institutions?

Significance of the Study

The study is significant because it is a catalyst to conversation about the personal and professional experiences of Black and Latino faculty at predominantly White institutions. Further, Kanter’s theory of tokenism has only been used to discuss either African American women in higher education or just women in general within an organizational setting. The researcher selected Kanter’s theory to apply to Black and Latino faculty members within an educational setting that is currently disproportionate in racial and ethnic representation.

The research illuminates the impact that institutional factors have on the Black and Latino faculty experiences. Finally, the study may also be helpful to college administrators in developing programs and creating an environment that will allow Black and Latino faculty members to be successful both academically and socially.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

During the first six decades of the previous century, discussions relating to the recruitment and retention of faculty of color on majority White campuses were virtually nonexistent (Weems, 2003). Over time, however, there has been much dialog, debate, and discourse about this topic and its social impact on the academic environment. This review of the literature examines faculty of color, specifically Black and Latino faculty\(^3\), and their institutional experiences with recruitment, retention, tenure and promotion impediments that have ultimately lead to a shortage of these groups within higher education institutions. The literature review begins with a synthesis of various sources that supports the significance of the study. The literature review then explores Kanter’s theory of tokenism and how it may be used to explain the effect that faculty of color paucity has on their personal and professional interactions and experiences at predominantly White institutions. The review also explores the impact of tokenism on minority faculty retention. Finally, the university-wide perception of minority faculty is addressed and the review culminates with a discussion of literature limitations.

Holland (1989) relates that the problem of retaining minority faculty, once recruited, continues to plague higher education due to unfounded stereotypes, biases, and prejudices. Once recruited, minorities are often overly patronized or patently ignored and given little or no guidance in adjusting to what had previously been considered a White institution (Holland 1989). Additionally, faculty members of color are not encouraged to

\(^3\) The study has a defined focus on the Black and Latino faculty experience. However, the literature also uses “faculty of color” and “minority faculty” as descriptors and provides an inclusive view of all underrepresented designations, as these groups encounter similar, if not identical, experiences within higher education.
develop programs or courses that pertain to their own ethnicity, or to publish articles that include the contributions and scholarship of other minority groups. Minority faculty also soon discover that financial support for travel and other faculty development projects are reserved for senior tenured professors who have proven themselves (Holland, 1989). Consequently, minority faculty are often denied tenure and promotion because they have failed to adjust to their new situation. In desperation, persons of color leave the institutions for those that are more consonant with their own background, training, and ethnicity (Holland, 1989).

Blackwell (1988) reports that many junior minority faculty experience a revolving door syndrome. Individuals are hired, kept on the faculty for five or six years, evaluated negatively, and are required to move on to another institution. Sometimes the process is repeated until the individual leaves university or college teaching completely. Some minority faculty are hired as a part of “tokenism” – or the practice or policy of making merely a token effort or granting only minimal concessions, especially to minority or suppressed groups (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.) - and in this position, they are sometimes drawn into minority activities unrelated to their competencies or interests. As a result, these minority activities compete with publication and research demands. Pruitt & Isaac (1985) stated that minority faculty often feel that they must respond to the needs of minority students who often perceive alienation in predominantly White institutions.

Blackwell (1988) goes on to report that a dilemma is created for faculty of color because of this added responsibility. On one hand, they must work and meet the traditional requirements for tenure; however, they must also respond directly to student demands and departmental and institutional expectations to not only work with minority students, but also to be the minority representative on every committee. Many who
choose the latter course receive the impression that such responsiveness is appropriate and may compensate for lower scholarly output at the time of tenure consideration. Unfortunately, they are disillusioned when the same persons in their departments who encouraged them to assume responsibility for all things minority then penalize them for inadequate scholarly productivity during tenure consideration (Blackwell, 1988). These are just some examples of institutional racism that minority faculty may experience.

Another possible reason for minority faculty shortage is the perception of status.

June Gordon, a professor at University of California, conducted extensive interviews with Black professionals and faculty of color. Her overwhelming conclusion was that students of color were discouraged from entering teaching by their families and teachers. “Over one half of the faculty members interviewed… claimed that the negative image and low status of teachers were among the main reasons students of color are not entering the field of teaching” (Gordon, 1997, p. 41). This, in turn, eradicated any chance of these students going on to become professors within a higher education setting. Gordon’s findings speak to the faculty pipeline disconnect that occurs between college graduation and the pursuit of professorship post-graduation.

Furthermore, Gordon found irony in the fact that the majority of her Black interviewees weren’t more confident in their careers, even though most were seasoned professionals who were at the top of their earning power, and most owned their own homes. Consequently, most assumed that today’s prospective student would not be happy in a career of education because of opportunities in other professions where they could make more money and have advanced opportunities. This notion unfortunately contributes to the faculty retention issue as well.
There are other societal factors at work against increasing the pool of minority faculty. When viewing the issue from the perspective of the minority doctoral student whose potential to become a part of a university faculty is great, what must also be considered is the greater level of mobility in all professions; it is acknowledged that today’s student will and does change both their mind and jobs more frequently than previous generations. A study conducted by Education Week called “Quality Counts 2000” (2000) reported that potential young professors who leave the profession early are often the brightest. The study also found that many of those who stayed were the ones whose test scores fell into the lower test score percentile. This is not encouraging if schools are going to meet today’s accountability standards.

A more promising trend is that second-career older workers are becoming educators. Some see it as an opportunity to move into a career where they can make a difference; however, many of these career-changers are entering teaching through alternative certification programs rather than working their way through the traditional college program educational curriculum, which forces colleges and universities to question the quality of their faculty (Hornick-Lockard, 2008). In addition to the listed reasons for the underrepresentation of minority professors, other issues that were discussed included inadequate academic preparation, unsupportive working conditions, and a lack of cultural and social support (Torres, Santos, Peck, & Cortes, 2004).

These are just some of the various obstacles that thwart many minority faculty from reaching the height of academic success and prevent many people of color from even attempting doctoral studies or pursuing academic careers, thus contributing to the prevalent dearth of minority faculty. The minority population is adversely affected by the traditional academic model designed by and for White males. This population is also
adversely impacted by the academic culture that says there is only one way of knowing, one way to conduct research, one way to “fit” into a department and be a good colleague, one way to prove oneself in the academy, one way to earn tenure, and one way to achieve full professorship (Trower, 2002).

For the minority population, the White male model is especially troublesome. A 1998 study by professors Linda K. Johnsrud of the University of Hawaii, Manoa, and Kathleen C. Sadao of the University of the Pacific, found that White faculty developed mechanisms that reinforced their dominant values and their power to define who is to be included and who is to be excluded from – or remain peripheral to- the academy (Trower, 2002). The unsettling component of this issue is that unless radical changes are implemented in retaining and promoting minority faculty, this situation will worsen before it becomes better.

Recruitment

Historically, American academics were primarily native-born White males, which in turn has created the current academic environment at most universities (Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006). Historically, student populations at many institutions were not diverse either. Pipeline problems, a common phrase used to identify barriers to channels that might produce greater numbers of minority faculty and students, bear on the lack of students of color on campus. These problems ultimately evolve into a lack of faculty of color on campus (Stanley, 2006). Faculty of color are less likely to want to work in a place where they might face obstacles and isolation (Turner, 2006). This approach is cyclical, as students of color may not matriculate to a certain university due to a lack of minority representation. Leonard, Horvat & Tiley-Tillman, (2002) suggest a nexus exists
between diversity in student and faculty populations. To diversify the pool of applicants for faculty positions, universities have implemented several programs and taken active measures to attract faculty members. These include grant writing and editorial assistance, funding for development, travel, and graduate assistants; and supportive family policies like longer maternity leave and other options that will advance progress toward tenure (Leonard et al., 2002). However, these initiatives require that administrators and frontline recruiting committees embrace them and take active measures to ensure they are being followed.

In addition to historical barriers, faculty of color encounter and must confront myths surrounding their credibility and status as faculty. One huge impediment to progress centers on perceptions of competence. Yoshinaga-Itano (2006) notes that many existing faculty and administrators “express the attitude that faculty of color are not as qualified as white faculty” (p. 349). Such a sentiment inhibits collegiality and creates a non-supportive environment. This in turn leads to faculty of color changing institutions or leaving the higher education profession altogether (Turner & Myers, 2000).

Along with the issue of competence is the notion that some universities do not foster an environment conducive to embracing diverse cultures. Sadao (2003) discusses biculturalism: the idea that faculty of color practice two different cultures—their community and family culture and a separate academic culture—to fuse with traditional academe. Although academe is viewed as a liberal place where individuals are free to express their thoughts, those individuals are often from similar backgrounds or share similar experiences. Creating a multicultural climate entails broadening the expectations for what is quality work, appropriate behavior, and effective working styles. “Developing a positive and supportive climate for all faculty, especially faculty of color, requires
identifying those factors that support an individual’s desire to remain at an institution” (Yoshinaga-Itano, 2006, p. 349). Conduct that creates a welcoming environment includes establishing networking, mentoring, and professional development opportunities (Turner, 2006). Other essential factors are placing value during the tenure process on the additional service contributions often made by faculty of color and actively supporting research that might vary from the norm of traditional academic endeavors (Turner, 2006).

Collectively, recruitment efforts coupled with a sincere desire to embrace diversity and respect for faculty of color will lead to better results. However, recruitment efforts alone are not sufficient to solve issues of disproportionately small numbers of minorities in academe. Although the diversification of the faculty population has increased slightly, Schuster & Finkelstein (2006) note that the numbers may not translate into increased retention if appointments are not renewed or if they do not lead to promotion and tenure for faculty of color. In sum, it is important to monitor efforts in recruiting and retaining faculty of color.

Retention

Retention is a critical component to ensuring longevity in the profession. Once a person of color has joined an institution as a faculty member, another set of potential issues arises relating to retention. Issues important to retention are tenure, promotion, and academic satisfaction. Furthermore, “retention is affected by a hostile climate, lack of students of color, lack of community, lack of mentorship for both scholarship and role models of success in the academy, and inequity in job description irrespective of what advocacy programs are established” (Yoshinaga-Itano, 2006, p. 351). Other impediments include marginalization of work, feelings of isolation, and the difficulties of balancing life
in dual cultures. Support by colleagues and deans is critical for successful retention. Gappa, Austin, & Trice (2007) identify respect as the nucleus of a successful faculty work experience; adverse experiences in feeling respected may greatly harm retention efforts. Further, negative treatment of candidates and new faculty of color adds to potential barriers to successful future recruitment efforts.

Tenure and Promotion Impediments

Another critical component to ensure that retention efforts increase among faculty of color is to devise methods that support tenure and promotion for them. Efforts should focus on the perceptions of scholarship, service, and collegiality (Thompson, 2008). Aguirre (2000) identified several workplace stressors that serve as barriers to promotion and tenure for faculty. They include “time pressures, lack of personal time, teaching load, review/promotion process, research/publication demands, child care, and subtle discrimination” (p. 59). Minority faculty experience higher sources of stress in the areas of review, promotion, and tenure and subtle discrimination. He notes that these stressors disrupt faculty from performing tasks satisfactorily and affect “professional socialization, such as promotion and tenure” (p. 59). Consequently, faculty of color find themselves overburdened with committee assignments and larger advisory loads, especially advising students of color (Stanley, 2006). In addition, “Service, teaching and creativity are risky priorities for faculty members seeking tenure or promotion at many institutions” (Stanley, 2006, p. 12). Each of these is an area of concern for faculty of color, but service commitments to students and campus governance disproportionately engage them and require substantial amounts of time. Faculty of color note that students of color often seek guidance from them, which results in more work, visits, and time directed toward those
inquiries (Aguirre, 2000). They also frequently express mixed feelings toward excessive committee appointments, which may result in a lack of time to focus on scholarship (Turner, 2006). Those who feel a commitment to fostering the success of other minority scholars and ensuring inclusive policies are dedicated to the work, but they realize that they will not be rewarded for it. Stanley (2006) and Cooper (2006) caution that faculty of color are routinely snatched for numerous service obligations and must therefore guard their time for scholarship.

Another hindrance related to achieving tenure is the marginalization of scholastic efforts. Research drives the tenure process. The ideological ancestry of academic culture does not include the thinking of faculty of color automatically, as the prototype was that of a White male of European ancestry (Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006). When senior faculty or peers marginalize research efforts or devalue the research topics that faculty, especially faculty of color, choose, the likelihood of retention is highly improbable. Dominant perceptions of ideal topics may not coincide with the experiences or research interests of faculty of color, which may lead to breakdowns in faculty collegiality and a misunderstanding or devaluation of the research interest.

Service is another area where expectations of faculty of color are higher but may not result in academic gains or rewards in the tenure or promotion process. Service requirements are greatly heightened among faculty of color at various universities. In fact, Aguirre (2000) notes, faculty of color often find themselves overburdened with expected and solicited service requirements, more so than their white counterparts. Stanley (2006) refers to this expectation placed on faculty of color as “cultural taxation”— the expectation that they will perform service initiatives through mentoring students of color and participating as diversity representatives on committees (p. 5). Aguirre (2000) writes,
“Minority faculty spend more time in workplace activities such as teaching and service that do not necessarily promote their professional socialization in the academic workplace, especially the professional socialization that increases their chances of attaining tenure and promotion” (p. 70). In addition, he believes that the pattern of faculty of color participating in numerous service activities “weakens their fit in the academic workplace” (p. 83). Specifically, he notes, “Minority faculty are victimized in the academic workplace because White male faculty members perceive them as peripheral participants. In this sense, the academic workplace enhances the weak organizational fit of women and minority faculty” (p. 83).

Perceptions and performance evaluations have a great impact on promotion efforts for faculty of color as well. Research and numerous personal accounts suggest that some white students have biased perceptions about minority faculty and their level of competence. A causal nexus exists between these perceptions and evaluations that directly affect tenure and promotion. “White students perceive minority faculty as the products of affirmative action and, as a result, they are marginalized in the eyes and thinking of White students” (Aguirre, 2000, p. 82). Stanley (2006) underscores this notion in her report on challenges to authority in classroom environments. Turner (2006) emphasizes that one of the problems that faculty of color face at higher rates is being challenged by students. These shortsighted student attitudes arise when class members challenge their instructors’ expertise in subject matter, and such challenges appear in student evaluations that may bear on tenure and promotion decisions (Stanley, 2006).

Collegiality is another aspect of the tenure and promotion process. Stanley (2006) defines collegiality as the “nature of the relationship that exists between colleagues in the college and university setting” (p. 367). Subtle discrimination plays a critical role in
influencing a collegial environment. Because there is often a difference in culture between faculty of color and the traditional White male in academe, “Some faculty of color have a difficult time trying to interpret the unwritten expectations about collegiality” (Stanley, 2006, p. 367). The resulting isolation “excludes [faculty of color] from information and support networks in the academic workplace that are important to obtaining resources and rewards” (Aguirre, 2000, p. 70). In discussing the administrator’s perspective, Yoshinaga-Itano (2006) identifies “building community to prevent isolation” as one of the first “problems that must be addressed if progress to retain faculty of color is made” (p. 351). Stanley (2006) provides further support as collegiality is often an essential dynamic that prompts retention for faculty or encourages them to move elsewhere.

Suggestions to promote collegiality include helping white male faculty to appreciate and embrace diverse cultures, being receptive of new faculty and faculty of color, and encouraging all faculty to participate in programs that will further the likelihood of promotion and tenure at the identified university (Stanley, 2006).

Overall, “the unwillingness of the academic workplace to reward and recognize the work of minority faculty ends up forcing them out…” (Aguirre, 2000 p. 85). Yoshinaga-Itano (2006) describes several threats that must be addressed in an effort to increase promotion and tenure. Some of these threats are: The faculty of color inclusion in nontraditional, nonmainstream areas of scholarship, a lack of research mentors, a lack of senior faculty with knowledge about scholarship challenges, a lack of knowledge of the political systems in universities and of the steps necessary for successful promotion and tenure, and the lack of an equitable evaluation system (pp. 356–357). Taken together, the set of issues described above presents formidable challenges to the tenure process, and hence retention, of faculty of color.
Fortunately, there has been a change for the better in the more recent years concerning minority faculty recruitment and retention. According to Lee and Janda (2006), there has been a heightened interest in multiculturalism in higher education; universities and colleges have sought to become multicultural institutions by recruiting faculty with diverse cultural backgrounds. This has contributed to a growing racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity among professors (Achinstein & Athanases, 2005).

According to the National Study of Post-Secondary Faculty Report on faculty and instructional staff, the percentage of full-time minority professors in degree-granting institutions has increased steadily to 20% from 15% in 1998, and 9% in 1990 (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2004). Despite this upward trend, another issue has unfortunately arisen from this positive change, as the increased numbers of minority professors alone does not ensure a fair and equitable working environment in American higher education. Kanter’s Theory of Tokenism provides the foundation for the socialization struggle that faculty of color experience in the academe.

Kanter’s Theory of Tokenism

Rosabeth Moss Kanter, an Ernest L. Arbuckle Professor of Business at Harvard Business School and world-renowned sociologist, originated the term *tokenism* in 1977. Kanter (1977) presented this original theory initially as an attempt to better understand workplace gender discrimination. She theorized that group proportions are somehow linked to social experiences at work; and as these proportions shift within an organization, so too do the social experiences of individual group members. She further conceived that the most differential social experiences would result when the proportions of different types of people within a given occupational work group were highly skewed (e.g., there
are many more Whites than Blacks). Kanter also defined skewed groups as those containing a large preponderance of one type of person over another, designating a ratio of 85:15 as a theoretical benchmark – those members of the majority (85% or more) she dubbed dominants while the remaining minorities (15% or less) she labeled tokens. For this study, the tokenism theory is an appropriate framework to help make sense of the Black and Latino faculty experience, as these two groups maintain an underrepresented and disproportionate presence within predominantly white institutions.

Kanter’s theory of tokenism includes three concepts: performance pressure, social isolation and role entrapment. Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of concepts used for this study.

![Theoretical Model](image)

Figure 1 illustrates a representation of the concept of performance pressure, social isolation and role entrapment (Kanter, 1977). It is extreme proportional rarity, she argues, that brings about the three dynamic consequences of token status: visibility, contrast, and
assimilation (Gustafson, 2008). Tokens may feel more visible and receive more attention because they stand out due to their differences (Gustafson, 2008). Contrast refers to the gradual process through which dominants “become more aware both of their commonalities and their differences from tokens. To preserve their commonality, they try to keep the token slightly outside, to offer a boundary” (Kanter, 1977, pp. 201-211).

Assimilation, the third consequence, occurs when dominants distort the social characteristics associated with tokens to fit with their own shared stereotypes and generalizations of them (Gustafson, 2008). Tokens then assimilate, or step into an instant identity, by conforming to the labels assigned them by the majority group (Kanter, 1977, p. 211). The following three principles thus form the foundation of Kanter’s (1977, p. 212) theory of tokenism and token effects:

1. Visibility creates performance pressure for tokens  
2. Contrast leads dominants to heighten cultural boundaries, isolating the token  
3. Assimilation results in token role entrapment  

Highly visible, tokens find themselves under more pressure to prove their professional worth, as compared with their dominant counterparts (Gustafson, 2008). A prime example of the first principle of the tokenism theory is the dilemma of added responsibility and the inundation of work that faculty of color experience at predominantly white institutions, as mentioned previously by Blackwell (1988). They have to work harder to receive recognition for individual achievements and their mistakes are closely scrutinized (Gustafson, 2008). Tokens also know their acts have symbolic consequences (they may be representing an entire category, not just themselves), a fact that can place even more pressure upon them to perform well (Gustafson, 2008). At the same time, there is a great deal of pressure not to out-perform or “show up” dominants (Kanter, 1977) as tokens must tread lightly on the “turf” of dominants if they hope to succeed and avoid
reprisals (Laws, 1975). As tokens navigate through the academic culture set before them, they must also be careful not to fall victim to stereotype threat, or the risk of confirming as a self-characteristic or a negative stereotype about their social group (Steele & Aronson, 1995). In general, the conditions that produce stereotype threat are ones in which a highlighted stereotype implicates the self through association with a relevant social category (Marx & Stapel, 2006; Marx, Stapel, & Muller, 2005). When tokens view themselves in terms of a salient group membership, their performance can be undermined because of concerns about possibly confirming negative stereotypes. Thus, situations that increase the salience of the stereotyped group identity can increase vulnerability to stereotype threat (Stroessner & Good, 2016).

According to Kanter, when dominants feel challenged by or uncomfortable around tokens, they will defensively heighten their boundaries by exaggerating the cultural elements their group shares in contrast to tokens during informal occasions outside of the business routine. What results is an informal isolation, or the exclusion of tokens, from the networks by which informal socialization occurs and the politics behind the formal system are exposed (Gustafson, 2008). Lastly, when tokens assimilate into the stereotypical categories defined for them by dominants, the result is what Kanter calls role entrapment, a condition that forces tokens into limited and caricatured work roles. In defining special roles for tokens that set them slightly apart from dominant group members, role entrapment perpetuates stereotypes and limits advancement opportunities (Gustafson, 2008). Together, these three token effects can create psychological and physical stress with varying degrees of severity, for members of the numerical minority (Kanter, 1977). The tokenism theory is the ideal framework to inform the research questions for the study and influence the development of the interview protocol.
University-Wide Perception of Faculty of Color

Some may argue that an increase in minority professors enhances the multi-cultural dynamic of an educational environment, and creates a well-balanced and well-rounded learning atmosphere for the students. However, not all students view minority professors as qualified due to unfounded stereotypes, biases, and prejudices. Some students, for instance, continue to view African-American and foreign-born professors as less competent than White American professors (Lee & Janda, 2006). In addition, Boutte (1999) and McGowan (2000) agree that when students enrolled in courses taught by professors with ethnic and linguistic backgrounds different from their own, both the students and professors encountered some level of discomfort, tension, and conflict. Penny and White (1998) also found that students and professors have the least amount of conflict, and that students perform significantly better in courses where they have the same or similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds as their instructors.

Several studies (Cracraft, 1998; Goodwin & Nacht, 1983; Lee, Adb – Ella, and Burks, 1981; Lee & Janda, 2005; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977) reported racial problems in higher education. They found that students rated minority professors as less competent than non-minority professors in end-of-semester course evaluations. These researchers believe that the race and nationality of the instructors were significant in the students’ lower ratings for minority professors, and that they had negative perceptions regarding instructors’ teaching abilities based on the professors’ ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. These students did not appreciate the unique opportunity of exposure to the diverse perspectives of minority professors.

At times, students have biased opinions of minority professors even before interacting with them. Jacobs and Friedman (1988) observed that some students try to
avoid registering for courses after seeing “foreign looking” instructor’s names listed in the course schedule. They also confirmed that preconceived negative feelings toward a professor on the first day of class, or even before registration, may cause lower evaluation scores at the end of the course, and these students may not benefit as much from the course as non-biased students.

In a study performed by four professors of Sociology at the University of Nebraska - Lincoln, the researchers explored key themes from in-depth interviews with 20 instructors of color who taught required diversity courses at predominantly White colleges or universities in the Midwest. From the responses received, the researchers could identify central challenges for instructors of color, with a particular interest in how the faculty engaged their own agencies in the face of student resistance. They also identified the countermeasures that the faculty of color constructed to maintain their credibility and intellectual authority in the classroom. The study provided much needed insight on the current conditions of academic labor for instructors of color (Perry et al., 2009).

As a part of the study, the researchers entered the field with the following theoretically-grounded assumptions: (a) An instructor of color’s credibility and authority is problematized by his or her outsider status within the larger academy, and (b) his or her credibility and authority is further jeopardized by teaching required diversity-education courses whose subject matter is widely debated by students and instructors as peripheral to or outside of the academic canon (Butler, 2000). Participants were recruited either by electronic-email, telephone, or in person, and were drawn from a wide range of disciplines and program areas, including Communication Studies, Curriculum and Instruction, Economics, English, History, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, and Ethnic and Women’s Studies (Perry et al., 2009). The researchers conducted in-depth interviews with
each of the 20 participants; they chose in-depth interviews as the methodological format best suited to a population whose voices are often omitted or distorted in more positivistic research inquiry (Reinharz, 1992).

First, researchers asked each participant to indicate if their process of teaching a diversity-education course as an instructor of color ever created challenges to their professional credibility and authority. Second, if a participant answered in the affirmative, he or she was then asked to explain or illustrate such challenges. Without exception, all participant-instructors indicated that their professional credibility and authority had been challenged memorably in the classroom (Perry et al., 2009).

Each of the participant-instructors discussed ways in which their credibility and authority had been challenged, and some of the illustrations were astounding. Some participant-instructors linked the resistance to the fact that many of their non-minority students had little, if any, contact with or significant exposure to persons of color in positions of authority either within or outside of the academic setting (Perry et al., 2009).

While most participant-instructors’ professional credibility and authority were substantially challenged, the process did not paralyze most. The participant-instructors developed distinctive strategies for managing their classroom roles in the face of student resistance such as disarming, or creating a classroom environment that minimized non-rational challenges from students (Perry et al., 2009). The participant-instructors sought to create a classroom environment that was inclusive of every student’s perspective and less judgmental of his or her political positions and worldviews. At the core of the disarming strategy was the objective to incorporate the voices of all their students and to create a less confrontational and more student-centered classroom. This student inclusion minimized the hostility that many harbored toward both instructors of color as well as the subject
matter (Perry et al. 2009). The ultimate objective was to cultivate the pedagogical relationship between instructors of color and the students. However, this can only be done if both sides are willing to lay down all pre-conceived notions and learn from each other without prejudicial interruption.

Minority professors experience discrimination and lack of support not only from students, but also from peer faculty and administrators. Contributing to the discriminatory climate on some campuses is the belief that minority professors have been hired, not because they are the best qualified, but because their hire helps meet affirmative action quotas (Lee & Janda, 2006). Minorities are generally viewed as less competent than White American professors. This hinders a fair assessment of minority professor performance based on their scholarly merits and leads to a more frequent denial of their tenure and lower promotion evaluations (Branch, 2001, p. 178). Galbraith (2002) states that both minority students and professors constantly suffer from discrimination and negative attitudes towards various ethnic minorities. Students and the academic community must learn to respect the individual professor for his or her credentials and qualifications, regardless of their personal characteristics, such as ethnic and linguistic backgrounds (Lee & Janda, 2006).

Although there are obvious and numerous setbacks, various universities have committed to creating a multicultural learning environment. Many universities and colleges are beginning to realize that efforts to promote diversity in all aspects of college campus life bring a rich cultural environment for all students. Ethnic and cultural diversity on campus allow professors and students to retain their personal identities, have a sense of belonging, take pride in their own heritage, and foster an appreciation of diversity among the entire college community (Lee & Janda, 2006). Ethnic and cultural
diversity also encourage a [pedagogical] society where all people are equally respected, symbolizing society’s democratic commitment to human dignity and equality (Smith & Necessary, 1994).

The presence of minority professors in college classes enriches the quality of cross-cultural communication and advances the educational benefits to both White and non-White students (Adams, 2002; Boylan, Sutton & Anderson, 2003; Lee, 2002, Pascarella, Palmer, Moye & Pierson, 2001; Smith, 2004; Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorklund & Parente, 2001; Yates, 2000). When students interacted with diverse people in classrooms, they were more likely to move from dualistic thinking (believing in a right or wrong answer to any question) to more multiplistic or relativistic thinking (believing in multiple “right” answers to questions). Experiences such as attending classes with diverse professors, having personal interaction with members of different ethnic groups… contribute to the students’ problem solving and thinking skills. In essence, the more experience college graduates had with professors from other cultures during their undergraduate years, the more sophisticated their intellectual processes became” (Lee & Janda, 2006).

Chang (1999) found that socializing with someone of a different racial group was also positively related to student retention, self-confidence, group interaction skills, and satisfaction with the college experience.

Literature Limitations

A few recurring themes emerged from the literature review, including faculty support or the nurturing, assistance, and encouragement of faculty of color within an institution. Such support can come in many forms, whether it is financial, professional,
personal, or even psychological. Ultimately, faculty of color will always contribute and add value to the overall tone and success of higher education; thus, the inevitability of a multicultural learning environment must be embraced fully and supported completely.

The academic workplace is characterized in popular thinking as a place of enlightened thought and discourse that is immune to influences from the outside world (Aguirre, 2000). The reality, however, is that the academic workplace is characterized by group struggles over the definition of knowledge and what it means to be a knowledgeable person. Even those who research the topic of minority faculty paucity in depth continuously strive to answer the constant questions of how to improve their research methods, how to effectively report their findings, and how to reduce the level of ambiguity within their research.

The opportunity to consider so many different articles that pertain to the minority faculty experience was invaluable to the review, primarily because it provided a plethora of various viewpoints and an array of data, while simultaneously supporting one main objective and theme of multicultural campus promotion. Throughout the articles read, the main data collection tool used was interviewing, a method which is mostly qualitative in nature. Several national studies and reports were cited throughout the articles to provide a summary of data to show the numerical disparities between faculty of color and their White peers when it came to holding full-time faculty positions, as well as faculty rank. However, it would have also been helpful to incorporate a quantitative aspect into the supporting documentation; perhaps a description of what demographical sample of full-time minority professors were tested, how they achieved data collection, and what instruments of research were used. The study done by Perry, Moore, Edwards, Acosta, & Frey (2009) did an excellent job of providing a chain of evidence in the linkage of their
research questions, raw data, analysis of this data, and the conclusions drawn from the data. However, the study was initially thought to be quantitative, and ultimately was determined to be qualitative because of the methodological and analytical data collection choices. A quantitative analysis, or even the use of a mixed method approach, would give the reader a comprehensive understanding of the numbers rather than just a narrative basis for the study, and would provide a more valid and larger breadth of research procedures and results.

Although the literature was effective at providing subject support, another noticeable research gap can be seen in the suggestions and solutions discussed in some of the articles, which were designed to better equip campuses and minority faculty with the foundation for relationship cultivation. These recommendations needed to be more pragmatic, realistic, and feasible. Further, the literature did not offer any direct recommendations from the population of Black and Latino faculty. The opportunity to allow these groups to become their own source of solutions for positive change was not presented or discussed. The minority faculty-institutional disconnect cannot be treated as a trivial addition to the school’s “To Do List.” The pedagogical and working relationship, or lack thereof, between an institution and its minority faculty has a much greater impact on the institutional environment than ever anticipated. Higher education institutions must reevaluate their commitment to nurturing the minority faculty-institution dynamic and create more stringent and wholly effective solutions to effectively address the faculty of color underrepresentation issue.

Lastly, one recurring issue seen throughout the articles that provided some type of qualitative data in the form of interviews was the etic, or researcher’s personal perspective, bias of the researchers that heavily influenced the analyses of the data. For
example, Perry, et al. (2009) previously taught diversity education courses at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and in other settings. Research analyses, at times, filtered through the co-authors’ own personal experiences and responses. Because of this existent bias, other researchers with greater distance from the authors’ own pedagogical challenges may have to frame their research questions differently, thus potentially altering the applicability of the results to future studies.

Despite the potential changes, the objective of the review is to combat the campus barriers for faculty of color and to help generate a campus climate that confronts faculty isolation, lack of appreciation, and institutional disinterest in diversity; each article did an exceptional job in contributing to the goal.

Summary

The literature review focused on a general understanding of the knowledge essential for understanding the faculty of color experience, and Kanter’s theory of tokenism was reviewed as a foundation of this study. Performance pressure, social isolation and role entrapment were the components of Kanter’s theory of tokenism covered in the literature review.

The literature revealed specific conditions that affect the social experiences and retention of these groups. The literature also displayed instances and studies that support the notion of minority faculty paucity as a result of societal barriers that work against increasing the pool of these groups in higher education. Factors such as work inundation, faculty isolation, and a lack of personal and professional support and encouragement all adversely affect collegiality and thwart the academic success of faculty of color.
The literature also supported the claim that minority groups are still greatly underrepresented within higher education and there is much work that still needs to be done. Researchers have examined many variables and theoretical models associated with the successful recruitment and retention of minority faculty. However, a review of the literature indicates a lack of thorough research and provision of practical solutions that universities can use as a foundation for their true commitment to diversity.

Chapter 3 will describe the qualitative process and methodology designed to explore the Black and Latino faculty experience further.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Research Design

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the perceptions and lived experiences of Black and Latino faculty members within a higher education setting. The rationale for collecting material on the lived experiences of these faculty members is to understand, from their perspectives, what their experiences mean to them and to provide a thick and rich description of these experiences in order to give voice to the occurrences. The study also aims to identify and understand the individual events that lead to the perceived differences between the treatment of minority faculty and non-minority faculty within institutions of higher education, and the possible factors that lead to a continuing shortage in faculty of color representation. Therefore, a qualitative methodological approach to the study is most appropriate.

Qualitative research focuses on describing the meaning people give to their lived experiences (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 1998). According to Mertens (2009), qualitative research also emphasizes the individual’s subjective experience, with the ultimate intent of understanding and describing an event from the participant’s point of view. For this study, the researcher is looking for a window into the diverse experiences and personal journeys of each participant, with the objective of gaining a better understanding of the shortage phenomenon. A qualitative approach was well suited for this study because of the objective to seek out participants’ experiences and perspectives on the minority faculty shortage to glean ideas on how to increase faculty diversity. This is an achievable goal using the qualitative process as opposed to any other method because the “essence” of the
phenomenon from the perspectives of those who experience it is what will assist in the creation of essential and unique solutions.

There are varieties of data collection methods that can be used in qualitative research, including interviews, conversations, participant observation, focus meetings, action research, and analysis of personal texts (Lester, 1999). For this study, the interview method was employed and open-ended questions were asked to gain a comprehensive understanding of the participants’ perspectives.

Pilot Interview

Prior to the commencement of the study, a pilot interview was conducted. Pilot interviewing is considered the pre-testing or “trying out” of a particular research instrument (Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). One of the advantages of conducting a pilot study is that it might give warning about where the main research project could fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated (Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). More importantly, pilot interviewing is particularly important in qualitative studies, as it helps to provide a framework and develop research questions (Mertens, 2009). A formal pilot interview was conducted with a faculty member from one of the researcher’s desired populations in September 2016 to assess the interview protocol. The study lasted approximately 50 minutes and the interaction with the participant aided the researcher in confirming the validity and applicability of the interview questions for a broader audience. Although the interview was conducted with only one member of an underrepresented minority designation (UMD) group, results gleaned from this pilot interview show that there is an expressed concern about the larger academic culture and environment that Black and
Latino faculty members are a small part of. There is also a belief that tokenism has played a part in their professional experience. Lastly, there is concern that their experiences at predominantly White institutions will continue to be negatively influenced by factors such as isolation, inequitable treatment, and the belief that their schools constantly devalue their academic contributions. Based on the pilot test, the study is affirmed to gain the interest of the desired population and generate significant participation and rich data.

Participants

The sample for this qualitative method study was drawn from the population of two underrepresented minority designation (UMD) groups of faculty across three state-related universities: Mauve University, Blue University, and Celadon University. More specifically, the study focused on the Black and Latino faculty experiences, as these are two groups that are facing the troubling trend with substantial shortage percentages. Black and Latino faculty were selected as participants based on their personal experiences and perceptions regarding the faculty of color shortage within their own academic environment. In addition, the study participants consisted of approximately five Assistant, Associate, and Full Professors from each institution for a sample total of fifteen participants. Each participant was employed at his or her respective university for at least one full academic year.

Study Site Descriptions

To maintain the anonymity of each institution and the confidentiality of information, pseudonyms have been created for each study site description. Given the
university descriptions provided, anonymity is not guaranteed, but efforts have been made to both acknowledge and respect the privacy of each institution.

_Mauve University_

Mauve University is a large, state-related research institution located in an urban setting. The university was founded in the 1800s. Recently, Mauve University was ranked as a top public university in the country and has more than 38,000 undergraduate, graduate, and professional students enrolled in over 460 academic degree programs that are offered on more than nine domestic and international campuses and within 17 schools and colleges. Mauve University is one of the largest providers of professional education in the nation. This institution also has over 2,000 full-time tenured, tenure-track, non-tenure track, and adjunct faculty members. According to the school mission statement, “Mauve University seeks to create new knowledge that improves the human condition and uplifts the human spirit. To achieve this goal, the institution maintains its commitment to recruiting, retaining, and supporting outstanding faculty that prize diversity of thought, excel in scholarly endeavors, and support the aspirations of capable students” (Mauve University, n.d.).

_Blue University_

Blue University was founded in the 1700s. This state-related research university is located in an urban neighborhood. Blue University is ranked highly as one of the best national universities and is a large non-government employer in the region (U.S. News Best Colleges, 2016). Blue University offers 16 schools and colleges where over 34,000 undergraduate and graduate students matriculate in more than 200 majors. The university also has over 5,000 full-time and part-time faculty. According to the school mission
statement, the trustees, faculty, staff, students, and administration are dedicated to striving for the advancement of “teaching, research, and public service” (Mission Statement, n.d.).

_Celadon University_

Celadon University is a public research institution founded in the 1800s. The _U.S. News & World Report_ ranks the university’s undergraduate program highly among the top public schools in the United States (U.S. News Best Colleges, 2016) with more than 97,500 undergraduate and graduate students across its many campuses and online through its international campus, making it one of the largest universities in the U.S. Celadon University also offers more than 160 majors throughout all campuses (Celadon University, n.d.). The institution has over 6,400 full, associate and assistant professors, lecturers, and research faculty members. According to the school mission statement, their instructional mission includes “undergraduate, graduate, professional, and continuing education offered through both resident instruction and online delivery” (Celadon University, n.d.). Celadon University’s “educational programs are enriched by the cutting-edge knowledge, diversity, and creativity of faculty, students, and staff” (Celadon University., n.d.).

Mauve University, Blue University, and Celadon University are three public research institutions that were pursued for faculty participation. The three schools were selected based on the common thread of involvement pertaining to their receipt of annual state-appropriated funding. This means that each university receives annual financial appropriations in exchange for each to offer tuition discounts to its students that are residents of the state. Each university also operates as a separate and private entity that operates under its own charter and is governed by an independent board of trustees with their assets under their own ownership and control (Alberts, 1986). Another commonality among these three institutions is that they represent the largest non-governmental
employer in the state with more than 68,000 full- and part-time employees (faculty and staff) combined (Government and Community Relations, 2016). In addition, the critical impact these institutions have on the economy is important to note. Public research universities attract more than $1.7 billion dollars of research funding annually. Those research dollars alone support nearly 60,000 jobs and the combined research force of these institutions is a major asset to the home state on the national and international level (Government and Community Relations, 2016).

Unfortunately, the recent appropriation history for the three state-related universities illustrates the very difficult funding environment faced by these institutions despite their positive impact. State funding for these state-related universities has stagnated over the past ten years, as seen here in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State-Budget (Cumulative Percent Change)</th>
<th>State-Related (Cumulative Percent Change)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2011</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Retrieved from Access to Moving the Commonwealth Forward*

Although there has been a decline in state support for these universities, the positive economic impact, research prowess and intellectual capital generated by these research
powerhouses cannot be taken for granted or overlooked (Government and Community Relations, 2016).

The choice to conduct a multi-institutional study stems from the desire to obtain a quality cross section of Black and Latino faculty experiences from different institutions as opposed to limiting the results to one single university. It was the objective of the researcher to gain a breadth of knowledge and data from the interviews in order to understand participant perspectives of their academic environments and how they fit into the narrative.

Data Collection

An initial “call” for participants was made through on-campus flyer and announcement postings (Appendix F) via university listservs and campus directories (virtual/physical locations). In addition to the postings, a major component of participant recruitment was snowball sampling, where existing study subjects referred and recruited future subjects from among their acquaintances.

Prior to data collection, the researcher required each interested participant to sign an interview consent form (Appendix C) acknowledging participation in the study and agreement to have the interview digitally recorded. Each participant then took part in one five to ten-minute informal screening phone call and completed one preliminary three-page questionnaire (Appendix B) that inquired as to their race, professoriate level attained, tenure of employment at their current institution, and their school’s state-funding status. All the questions were in relation to the required criteria of the study and participant responses assisted the researcher in filtering interested applicants down to a select number of qualified candidates. The selected study participants then participated in one interview
ranging in length from 45 minutes to 120 minutes. The preferred interview method was face-to-face and those interviews were conducted in neutral locations that were convenient for each participant to provide a comfortable non-threatening environment. However, due to a substantial amount of distance between the researcher and several participants, the majority of the interviews were conducted online via Skype or Google + Hangout and within a locked and secure space only accessible by the researcher. All participants and the three institutions were given pseudonyms to protect their privacy and maintain confidentiality.

According to Mertens (2009), the researcher is the data collection instrument within a qualitative research design; therefore, the researcher’s connection to the study topic is of vital importance. The researcher’s relation to the study was as an impartial interviewer. Interviews were conducted by the researcher, which required an objective and unbiased position, particularly for interviews with participants that were well known, in order to reduce the potential for etic bias to emerge. Paradoxically, meeting the objective of minimized bias must first begin with the acknowledgement that bias feelings and opinions do exist. However, the manifestation of said bias was lessened through continuous and consistent communication with the researcher’s committee chairperson and committee members for interview question validity, relevance, and reliability. The researcher developed a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix D) to give order to the interview process with specific questions and sub-questions to ask. Comprehensive interview questions were developed out of the literature review and were created based on the research questions. Depth-probing questions were also used to encourage participants to elaborate more on their responses when appropriate (Glesne, 2006). During the interviews, the researcher focused on both verbal and non-verbal feedback from each
participant and used a field notes page (Appendix E) to record the behavioral cues and the surrounding interview setting. Interviews were conducted and recorded over a span of two months (December 2016 – January 2017) and were digitally taped on a Sony digital voice recorder with the consent of each participant. A secondary recording device was also present to provide redundant recording support in the event of a device failure. The researcher did not receive consent to record from one participant, at which point the researcher became the interview scribe and manually recorded as much of the interview as possible. The researcher transcribed all fifteen interviews using the Transcribe online transcription and dictation software. Once transcribed, the researcher emailed a copy of the interview to each respective participant for review and confirmation of the credibility of the information and narrative account. Upon approval from each participant, the researcher then utilized the NVivo qualitative data analysis software to discover major themes, sub-themes and to code the data. The NVivo codebook is provided in Appendix G.

By using the interview strategy for qualitative methods design, the data was collected in three phases. The first phase was the filtering process, where the researcher provided each interested candidate with a background questionnaire and screened each person via phone to find the most appropriate participants. The second phase was the collection of qualitative data that built on the results of the initial screening results. In addition, the initial screening process not only helped the researcher to narrow down the pool of potential participants effectively, but the process also increased the likelihood of research validity and result reliability. The third phase included member checking, also known as participant or respondent validation. At this stage, the interview transcripts were given to the participants to check for accuracy and resonance of their experiences.
All transcripts were sent securely through TUsafesend to ensure that confidentiality was maintained. To further validate the information, the researcher had each participant review the raw data (e.g., transcriptions and/or observational field notes) and then informed them of any overarching themes that emerged during data collection to ensure that the themes made sense, that they were developed with satisfactory evidence, and to make sure that the overall account was realistic and accurate. Member checking is an effective technique the researcher used to reaffirm the accurate representation of the interviewees’ responses and confirm the credibility of the results.

Explicitation of the Data

The heading ‘data analysis’ is deliberately avoided here because Hycner cautions that “analysis” has dangerous connotations for qualitative studies. The “term [analysis] usually means a ‘breaking into parts’ and therefore often means a loss of the whole phenomenon… [whereas ‘explicitation’ implies an] …investigation of the constituents of a phenomenon while keeping the context of the whole” (Hycner, 1999, p. 161). Coffey and Atkinson (1996, p. 9) regard analysis as the “systematic procedures to identify essential features and relationships”. It is a way of transforming the data through interpretation. Now that the term explicitation has been clarified, a simplified version of Hycner’s (1999) explicitation process will be provided, which the researcher used in data analysis. With the assistance of the NVivo qualitative data analysis software, the researcher followed the five “steps” or phases of the explicitation process, which are:

1) Bracketing.
2) Delineating units of meaning.
3) Clustering of units of meaning to form themes.
4) Summarizing each interview, validating it and, where necessary, modifying it.

5) Extracting general and unique themes from all the interviews and making a composite summary.

1. Bracketing. It would do a great injustice to human phenomena to over analyze the data, remove the lived contexts of the phenomena and, worse possibly, reduce phenomena to cause and effect. Further, qualitative studies point to a suspension or ‘bracketing out’ “in a sense that in its regard, no position is taken either for or against” (Lauer, 1958, p. 49) the researcher’s own presuppositions and not allowing the researcher’s meanings and interpretations or theoretical concepts to enter the unique world of the participant” (Creswell, 1998, pp. 54 & 113; Moustakas, 1994, p. 90; Sadala & Adorno, 2001). For the purposes of this study, the bracketing of the researcher’s personal views or preconceptions was done to keep research bias at bay. Holloway (1997) and Hycner (1999) recommend that the researcher listen repeatedly to the audio recording of each interview to become familiar with the words of the interviewee in order to develop a holistic sense. Each recording was reviewed at least two times.

2. Delineating units of meaning. This is a critical phase of explicating the data, in that those statements that are seen to illuminate the researched phenomenon are extracted or ‘isolated’ (Creswell, 1998; Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999). The researcher is required to make a substantial amount of judgment calls while consciously bracketing personal presuppositions in order to avoid inappropriate subjective judgments. The list of units of relevant meaning extracted from each interview is carefully scrutinized and the clearly redundant units eliminated (Moustakas, 1994). To do this, the researcher considered the literal content, the number (the significance) of times a meaning was mentioned, and how
it was stated (non-verbal cues). The researcher then made a list of all relevant words or phrases and grouped interviewee responses based on the emerging themes.

3. Clustering of units of meaning to form themes. With the list of non-redundant units of meaning in hand, the researcher again bracketed personal presuppositions to remain true to the phenomenon. By rigorously examining the list of units of meaning, the researcher tried to elicit the essence of meaning of units within the holistic context. Hycner (1999) remarks that this calls for even more judgment and skill on the part of the researcher. Clusters of themes were formed by grouping units of meaning together and identifying significant topics, also called units of significance (Sadala & Adorno, 2001). The NVivo software identified these units of significance as nodes. Once the nodes were created, the researcher again reviewed the interviews to confirm the list of non-redundant units of meaning to derive clusters of appropriate meaning (Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999). There was some overlap in the clusters, which was expected considering the nature of human phenomena. By interrogating the meaning of the various clusters, central themes were determined, “which expressed the essence of these clusters” (Hycner, 1999, p. 153). The NVivo package was helpful in easing the task of data analysis through the capability of rapid and sophisticated searches and line-by-line coding.

4. Summarize each interview, validate and modify. A summary that incorporates all the themes elicited from the data gives a holistic context. At this point, the researcher conducted a ‘validity check’ by returning to the participants to determine if the essence of the interview had been correctly “captured” (Hycner, 1999, p. 154). Any requested modifications were done as a result of this validity check.
5. General and unique themes for all the interviews and composite summary. Once the process outlined in points one through four was done for all the interviews, the researcher looked “for the themes common to most or all the interviews as well as the individual variations” (Hycner, 1999, p. 154). Care was taken not to cluster common themes if significant differences exist. The researcher concluded the explicitation by writing a composite summary, which reflected the context or “horizon” from which the themes emerged (Hycner, 1999; Moustakas, 1994). According to Sadala and Adorno (2001, p. 289) the researcher “transforms participants’ everyday expressions into expressions appropriate to the discourse supporting the research.” However, Coffey & Atkinson (1996, p. 139) emphasize that “good research is not generated by rigorous data alone … [but] ‘going beyond’ the data to develop ideas.” Both the opportunity to create field notes and observe the face-to-face verbal and non-verbal cues of each participant was helpful to the researcher in understanding the personal experiences and opinions of the study participants in regards to the study topics.

The analysis is an important tool that was used to either confirm or contradict the suitability of Kanter’s theory of tokenism to the study. The data was also analyzed to see if it yielded to the hypothesis Kanter created with performance pressure, social isolation and role entrapment. Based on the analysis, the pillar of performance pressure was not found to be a profound factor of the faculty of color experience. This finding will be discussed further in chapter 4. Thus, this observation of the data may potentially lead to a revision of the theory based on the results of participant responses.
Validity and Reliability

According to Babbie (2004), “qualitative research is usually valid, but has a potential problem with reliability” (pp. 304-305). The problems with reliability exist in the personal bias that may exist in the researcher.

This research study used four strategies to ensure validity and reliability of the findings.

- The researcher personally transcribed each interview recording. The researcher listened to the recordings once to complete the transcripts. The researcher then listened to the recording two more times to ensure the overall accuracy of the transcripts.
- The researcher provided a complete description of the Black and Latino faculty experiences and findings through the voices of the participants.
- The researcher utilized the explicitation process to test the validity of Kanter’s theory of tokenism, which lead to the creation of nodes and categories to analyze the faculty experience.
- The researcher gave pseudonyms to the institutions and to the participants. This allowed the participants to feel comfortable enough to give rich, thick descriptions of their experience at each university.

By using these strategies, the researcher could check for accuracy and credibility of the qualitative study to ensure that the findings were as valid and reliable as possible.

Summary

This study utilized a qualitative approach to examine the personal and professional experiences of Black and Latino faculty members in predominantly White universities.
After receiving approval to conduct the study from Mauve, Blue, and Celadon Universities, the researcher selected fifteen participants. The primary method of collecting data was through semi-structured interviews. The interviews took place over a span of two months, between December 2016 and January 2017.

The researcher applied Kanter’s theory of tokenism as the theoretical framework to organize and analyze the data. The researcher also utilized the NVivo software package to assist with the coding process. The researcher, using the methods and procedures of content analysis, analyzed the data collected from the interviews. Using, in part, such information as the number of faculty members who addressed similar issues and experiences during the interviews (the frequency of responses on a given topic, theme, or question), patterns and themes regarding their experiences emerged from the data. Finally, the researcher utilized four strategies to ensure validity and reliability of the findings.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study in response to the three study research questions that pertain to the Black and Latino faculty experience, retention and tenure, and the diversity deficiency. A discussion of the faculty experiences is also presented using Kanter’s (1977) theory of tokenism and the components of performance pressure, social isolation, and role entrapment.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

The lack of racial and ethnic diversity in the ivory tower is not a new phenomenon, but it is an issue that permeates the academic, social, and cultural climate of an institution. Mauve University, Blue University and Celadon University are only three of many schools around the country that are affected by the deficiency, and this disparity in diverse representation can cause faculty of color to ask themselves: “Do I belong?” and “can I succeed here?” When faced with almost immediate and consistent adversarial conditions, those can be difficult questions to answer affirmatively. Although many institutions display a façade of commitment to inclusiveness and support for faculty of color, the numbers tell a very different truth. The fact is that academe remains a predominantly white enclave for people with PhDs (McMurtrie, 2016).

This study examined the unique experiences of Black and Latino faculty groups within predominantly White universities. The research also examined their views on institutional attitudes towards the retention of faculty of color, and the significance of these retention efforts and experiences on the continuous shortage of Black and Latino representation within higher education settings. Lastly, the research addressed issues associated with obstructions to promotion and tenure. The literature review revealed specific conditions that affected the social encounters and retention of these groups. It also exhibited instances of support to the notion of minority faculty paucity due to societal barriers. An application of Kanter’s (1977) theory of tokenism was helpful to the researcher in understanding the Black and Latino faculty experience on campus and provided a framework to help understand the meaning of those experiences.
Kanter’s theory of tokenism is the theoretical model for the study. The theory was imposed on the data for the first research question to help frame and analyze it within the three pillars of tokenism: Performance pressure, social isolation, and role entrapment. To further link the theory to the first research question, the researcher created interview protocol questions that included the principles of the three pillars, searched for descriptors in participant responses that related to the three components, and then organized the responses by performance pressure, social isolation, or role entrapment. Based on findings from the literature, two other research questions were used in the study. The first question pertained to retention and tenure. The second question pertained to diversity deficiency. The themes that emerged from the data about retention and tenure were: Retention issues, retention efforts, the tenure process and the problematic issues surrounding tenure. The themes that emerged from the data about diversity deficiency were: Institutional apathy, a lack of institutional support, a shortage of the Black and Latino faculty population within higher education, not feeling like a valued member, the presence of an unwelcoming environment, racial battle fatigue, and micro aggression. Lastly, the findings addressed several additional themes that unexpectedly ascended from the study findings. The themes of familial consideration, and intersectionality factors were not based on the theoretical framework; rather, they emerged from participant responses. The following research questions guided this study:

- How do Black and Latino faculty make sense of their experiences and interactions with their non-faculty of color colleagues and students?
- What are the Black and Latino faculty perceptions of respective university retention and tenure efforts?
What do Black and Latino faculty view as the main reasons for the faculty diversity deficiency within their respective institutions?

Overview of Faculty Participants

Each faculty member was given a pseudonym prior to participating in the semi-structured interview. A demographic profile of the study participants provides their pseudonym and background information on their level of professorship, race, gender, and their U.S. citizenship status, which also played a role in their academic experiences. As shown in Table 2, three participants attained the status of tenure, ten of the participants identified as Black or African American, five identified as Latino/a, eight participants were female and seven were male. Of the fifteen participants, only two in the entire sample were not U.S. born citizens; however, all participants were current U.S. citizens at the time of data collection. The following table provides demographic information about the participants.

As the study progressed, the researcher created a data map to help organize and present the findings. As a graphical display, the map can help to understand the findings by connecting the data to larger parts of the study. Figure 2 provides a graphical representation of the findings for this study.
Table 2. Profiles of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Tenure Status</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Citizen Status</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Andrea</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
<td>Tenure Track</td>
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<td>Non-Immigrant</td>
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<td>Philip</td>
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<td>Melissa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Tenure Track</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Latino</td>
<td>Non-Immigrant</td>
</tr>
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<td>Alex</td>
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<td>Tenure Track – Previously Awarded</td>
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<td>Non-Immigrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
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<td>Non-Immigrant</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Black and Latino Faculty Experience: Kanter’s Theory of Tokenism

Research Question 1: How do Black and Latino faculty make sense of their experiences and interactions with their non-faculty of color colleagues and students?

Performance Pressure

The common belief is that structured inequalities are often contextualized by the institution’s history, whereas the racial and ethnic minority leaders have had to play by the rules of competition established by the dominant status group – White males. Moreover, although the concept of diversity leadership in higher education is inclusive, marginalized groups are pushed to compete with one another while the dominant group does not due to
their already inherent status and privilege (Chizhick & Chizhick, 2002; Haley & Sadanius, 2005). The presumed result is a significant amount of pressure to perform well and prove a professional worth, as compared with their dominant counterparts (Gustafson, 2008). This is known as performance pressure under Kanter’s theory of tokenism.

Although this concept is well defined, it was not found to be a major concern for the participants, which is contradictory to Kanter’s theory. In Kanter’s original theory, a majority group influences performance pressure; however, in the social setting of a collegiate institution, the minority group is self-imposing this practice of performance pressure. The reason Kanter’s theory of tokenism may not have helped in fully explaining this part of the Black and Latino faculty experience is because Kanter’s original study was conducted in an organizational setting, while this study was conducted in the social setting of collegiate institutions. The social setting of a college campus is different from the organizational setting because there is a hierarchical chain of command that is typically followed within an organizational setting that is not necessarily present in the social setting. As a result, the interaction between minority and non-minority parties may not be as fluid.

When coupled with an inadequate number of faculty of color within their respective departments, the study participants felt that they were being held to a different standard than their non-minority colleagues. This presumed standard was one that created a certain sense of uncomfortable and unsolicited visibility that subsequently created a requirement for them to prove their professional worth, as compared with their counterparts (Gustafson, 2008). Although initial assumption was that the pressure resulted solely from external forces, the present study also found that the performance pressure was partially due to an intrinsic desire to satiate the professional expectations of
colleagues and supervisors. According to Gustafson (2008), the majority group within an organizational setting typically initiates performance pressure. The opportunity to impress a majority group and a minority groups’ willingness to show they belong with a majority group is typically the catalyst for performance pressure. However, a majority group did not initiate performance pressure in this situation; rather, the faculty of color attending the institution initiated it. The perception of performance pressure was found to be due to the personal pressure that the faculty put on themselves to succeed at predominantly White institutions.

When asked to describe her experience as a faculty member of color working in a predominantly White university, Yasmine, a Black Female Assistant Professor, responded as follows:

Initially, considering if this was the right place, right? Like "whoa, did I make a mistake, should I be here"? And the other factor was I was supposed to not teach my first semester and they gave me a class. I was finishing up my doctorate and so, it was almost like a test to see if I would flunk out. It was a lot of pressure; it was a policy class and I was a practitioner, and so I also felt the pressure of having to excel and perform while doing all of that. And knowing that the Dean picked me, so I don't want to disappoint.

Yasmine further went on to describe the pressure she felt as a result of being considered the “diversity candidate”:

It was overt; it was like "you were chosen to be...you know, there's other folks." Also, the feeling that people are waiting for you to mess up. So, it's almost like you're not qualified; by virtue of being the diversity candidate, it isn't that you are diverse and qualified, it is you’re diverse and not supposed to be here. It’s like you can't make mistakes.

The assumption of elevated expectations from colleagues and superiors, combined with an intrinsic desire to professionally perform well and meet said expectations was the ostensible catalyst for the pressure felt.
To further support the subjective assumption of pressure, only one participant out of the fifteen mentioned the evidence of this concept. Although the study was performed within the confines of a small sample size of fifteen, the minimal mention of performance pressure is an indication that this concept of Kanter’s theory was not identified as a profound influence on the experiences of Black or Latino faculty at predominantly White institutions for this particular study. Consequently, the lack of discussion about performance pressure leaves space to assume that this tenet of Kanter’s theory may not be as prominent in the faculty of color experience as once presumed. The personal proclivity of the participant to perform well had much more significance than any external pressure applied to their experience. Although the participant’s response to the issue of performance pressure was low, it must also be noted that the outcome is not indicative of the relevance of the issue itself. The other pillars of Kanter’s theory, such as social isolation and role entrapment, did have a major impact.

Social Isolation

The second part of Kanter’s theory of tokenism examines the concept of social isolation. Social isolation is created when a minority group either does not fully integrate themselves or they are either deliberately or unintentionally excluded from the networks by which formal socialization occurs and the politics behind the formal system are exposed (Gustafson, 2008). The feeling of isolation across the institutions was evident in 12 of the 15 participant experiences. This leads to a conclusion that social isolation is an issue among Black and Latino faculty at Mauve, Blue, and Celadon Universities and that it may heavily influence their experiences at these universities. This conclusion is further supported by the literature, which states that many faculty of color feel isolated from
informal social and professional networks and often struggle with socialization within university communities. A supportive environment has often been cited as the single most important factor in their success, but when the climate is unwelcoming, it becomes an occupational hazard for minority faculty. It leads to isolation and decreases opportunities for socialization and social networking, all of which are needed if one is to succeed in academe (Williams & Kirk, 2008).

The reasoning behind the span of noted social isolation experiences ranged from a lack of being understood personally and professionally to a simple lack in numbers within their respective departments. Other mentioned causes included the consideration of sociocultural aspects (food, haircare, etc.), the geographic location of each university, the assumption of immediate and well-established friendships based on race, self-imposed isolation, and institutional culture.

One of the twelve participants that described a social isolation experience felt that a major factor of their feeling of isolation centered around a comprehensive lack of understanding from colleagues about who they were as a person, academic professional, and researcher. When asked to describe her experiences with isolation, Grace, a Latina female Assistant Professor, said the following:

So previously, prior to this year, I felt isolated and that I feel like people don't really understand me. Like I said, they are kind of like "Yay [Grace], you're so great" but they don't really understand what I do. They don't understand where I come from, they don't understand what I am about, they don't understand what it's like to be a person of color in such a White space, in a White city, in a multi-racial home. So not even just me as a faculty member, but me as a person.

Grace further went on to note the lack of desire from colleagues to know her from the personal and research perspectives as well:
So, they just don't fully understand me. And so, I go and I have very surface-level conversations with my colleagues because that's all I can have. So yes, I feel isolated just as a person; they don't understand me as a person, which I think is important. To feel fully one hundred percent valued, you have to be understood as a person. I always thought it was kind of weird that most of my colleagues have never invited me to their homes or holiday parties...but I think that's weird that they don't even want to know me as a person; they don't know my children. So, I'm not fully one hundred percent part of the community as a person, I don't think. And me as a person, and my personal life, it matters. You can't be siloed, so all of that comes into play when it comes to feeling valued and accepted. They don't really get my research either, but if it's good research that is all they care about...the things I study aren't here and they are not issues in [in this state], so they are hard for them to grasp, so they don't fully get that. I don't have people inviting me to write big research grants, which I think is important for a junior faculty member; that's how junior faculty learn how to write big grants; they partner with senior level faculty, but I'm not invited to anybody's big research grants because I don't really fit into anybody's work, or they don't see me as being a part of what they do. So, I have to go outside of the university for pretty much everything.

Grace’s experiences with personal and professional isolation from her colleagues are automatically internalized and interpreted as being deemed a faculty member of lesser value to her institution. As a result, Grace feels that her research and academic work are not respected within her institution which subsequently forces her to find acceptance elsewhere.

Another cause of social isolation mentioned was the socio-cultural aspect of their experiences, or the customs, practices, and norms that the Black and Latino faculty would typically pursue as a part of their daily life but could not due to the geographic location of their chosen institutions. The norms discussed included things such as where to get their hair done and even where to find the types of food they typically enjoyed. The lack of regard for the importance of sociocultural factors at predominantly White universities is another consideration in the social isolation of faculty of color, and it is a part of the reason why faculty of color continue to feel frequently disconnected from informal
networks (Timmons, 2012). Two of the twelve participants that described a social isolation experience expressed this concern. In fact, Alvernia, a Black Female Assistant Professor, had this to say:

So, the social, the professional, the spiritual, the academic... and there are only so many places to be as a Black woman here! It’s not like we're in Atlanta, so there are only so many restaurants, there are only so many people.

Philip, a Black Male Associate Professor, also mentioned the following:

On the minus side, again, we have not effectively yet accommodated the distinctive pressures that make it difficult for faculty of color to stay here, because we insist on acting as if simply opening the doors is enough; because we refuse by and large to act responsibly in light of the different kinds of pressures and conditions that confront faculty of color. How can I operationalize this? Because we're in [a rural area] and because there is not a critical mass of people of color in the area, Black people in particular in the area and the university, we have some of the standard complaints that people in situations like this often have. "Where do I get my haircut? Where do I get my hair straightened? Where do I get my chicken wings?" All that stuff!

For Alvernia and Philip, the cultural isolation they experienced stemmed from the remote locations of their institutions and a lack of resources that they were previously accustomed to receiving prior to working at those institutions. Subsequently, the cultural isolation had a direct impact on the social isolation they experienced professionally.

For two of the twelve participants, their feeling of isolation was a direct result of the isolated locale of their institutions. The choice to conduct a multi-institutional study was two-fold: as mentioned previously, the researcher wanted to obtain a quality cross section of Black and Latino faculty experiences from different institutions, as opposed to limiting the study to a single university. In addition, the researcher also wanted to compare their experiences based on the stark difference in institutional setting for each
university. Two of the three institutions were in urban settings, while the third was in a remote rural setting. The researcher’s initial assumption that the geographic locale of the schools would be an important factor of faculty of color experiences was validated through participant responses.

When asked, what factors contributed to feelings of isolation, Fatima, a Black Female Assistant Professor, said the following:

I think perhaps it's also the location. A lot of people are scared to come to the middle of [this institution] (laughs) because there aren't a lot of Black people here and they are scared. The people that are here are farming people and then there's the university. When you're in a sea of Trump voters and people are worried about that, it's not fun; that part is not fun.

When asked the same question, Alma, a Black Female Assistant Professor, expressed similar opinions when asked what factors contribute to her feeling of isolation:

Geography has contributed to that, so that's definitely a factor.

Again, geographic location was mentioned as a factor of social isolation for the participants. The remote locations of Fatima and Alma’s schools only magnified the fact that there was a small number of Black and Latino faculty present in those settings, thus creating a heightened feeling of isolation for them.

The next factor of social isolation that was mentioned was both a surprising and enlightening point of research for the study, which was the automatic and immediate presumption of friendship that was thrust upon two participants by their colleagues and leadership, based on the sole commonality of race. This new data was surprising to the researcher because it was a facet of the research that was completely unexpected and never before mentioned in the review of previous literature. However, the impact of this experience ultimately created context and meaning for these faculty members. When
asked to describe her experience, Alvernia said the following:

I felt most isolated because I was a part of a half-baked cluster hire, where they brought in two Black women...two of us, and made the immediate assumption that we were going to be best friends. And because of a lot of shared experiences, we were very very close for a time. But when we disagreed on things, and I could look around and see the White people's confusion, because we went through the whole thing where we got called each other's names even to the point where personal documents of hers were placed in my box...So the way in which we were forced together and forced to rely on each other almost exclusively, because there were so few places we could go to process what we were going through. And then of course they would do things like have one diversity award; so now we are not only relying on each other exclusively, we are in competition with one another. And there was the constant expectation that we would understand one another.

When asked the same question, Melissa, a Latina female Associate Professor, expressed a similar experience:

There was one Latina here actually, when I interviewed, there was one Latina. And everybody expected me to be friends with her, which is interesting. They're like "Oh, they're here!" but we never were friends; She was here for four years I think and then she was actually let go at her fourth year review. She wasn't the reason why I came; I didn't know her before but when we were here interviewing, I never really felt like a connection in any way. So, it wasn't because of her that I was going to come here or not come. And then when we were here for four years, we never really became friends. I say hi to her at conferences and I'm glad that she is doing well, but we are not buddies, and we never were buddies.

The automatic assumption of cultural, personal, or professional similarities and connections solely based on the race component further helped the participants to come to terms with, and reaffirm, feelings that their institutions did not fully understand them or have a desire to do so, which also resulted in an increased state of isolation.

In addition to racial assumption, another interesting aspect mentioned was the expressed role that two participants played in their own experiences with social isolation, whether because of rigorous research deadlines or a personal aversion to social settings. In both regards, the support from their institutions for social interaction was present, yet
their choice to participate was not. Fatima discussed this in detail when she stated the following:

Because I was finishing my dissertation, I would say that I had self-imposed isolation. But not from the faculty. As a matter of fact, our faculty is so social that that's kind of one of the problems. It’s getting time by yourself to do your work. We have what I call here the "multiplication of committees" and I think it's just because we are out here in the middle of nowhere and people like to see each other. But every time you see someone, it's like "oh yeah, we should make a committee or do that". Then you're like "oh my God" there's no time left in the day. And then you are basically meeting at 8 o'clock at night; it's dinner, but it's a social dinner but you're still working... and it's like no.

For Melissa, the isolation was a result of her own personal limitations socially:

You also have to understand yourself and how you feel in the context of who you are. I am not the most social person (daughter interrupts to ask about lunch)...I have a friend, the colleague that I am collaborating with, who is African-American and she is really well connected here. She goes to different groups that are full of minority scholars I think; I have never attended those. But I think in some ways that it is my personal choice, which in some ways has led me to feel isolated...But the reality of my isolation is because I have been working toward tenure for eight years and being a single parent has really changed how I live my life. So, I don't socialize; yes I have felt isolated, but it's more from personal choice. My colleague, who is African-American, is definitely connected. And so, when I think of me in relation to her, I wonder if it is just me that just hasn't built those relationships.

The choice to self-isolate, either because of professional obligation or personal choice, is a potential indication that Black and Latino faculty do not see the value of incorporating themselves into the academic culture of their institutions, even those that attempt to display supportive efforts of assimilation for these groups. The lack of diversity at these three institutions plays a major role in the choices of Black and Latino faculty to disengage outside of the classroom, and this is something that the universities must pay attention to.

Another factor of the social isolation experience is the nominal number of Black
and Latino faculty within their respective colleges and departments, which is also a common cause of diversity deficiency within higher education. Three participants mentioned the impact of having a small representation of Black and Latino faculty and the influence on both their experiences with isolation and even institutional decision-making. When asked about the small number of Black and Latino faculty at his institution, Mark, a Black Male Full Professor, said this:

I'm the only person of color in my college that is a Full Professor. Does that mean I am isolated?...If you go into a faculty right now and you have a faculty made up of predominately a majority race-wise, they are going to make decisions that reflect theirs. So, you do not have a voice any place else...

Although Alma had only been employed at her institution for just over a year, she also recognized the impact of the diversity deficiency on her feeling of isolation, as described here:

I feel lonely in the sense that there are just not enough of us around to just have like a crew or a critical mass. Now, this is also because I just came; I'm sure in the next couple of years or so it won't be so bad, but right now it's definitely something that is real.

Both Mark and Alma address the effect of not having a higher number of Black and Latino faculty representation at their universities. For Mark, the shortage in numbers means that there is also a shortage in faculty of color leadership, and thus a missed opportunity to have a strong voice in university governance. The imbalanced representation ultimately forces him to call into question the impartiality of the leadership decision-making process. For Alma, the lack in numbers for Black and Latino faculty is palpable, but she remains hopeful that both her experience and the numbers will improve.

Carrie, a Black Female Assistant Professor, is another participant who was
overwhelmed by the feeling of social isolation, and she also introduced the factor of gender, in addition to race, as a consideration and cause:

I'm a Black female in Math, I'm a freaking unicorn (laughs)... The place that is recruiting me has a large Math program, 70 professors, and 160 graduate students. 60 of them now are women, 40%, and they have had that track record of having 40% women graduate students for a long time... So, I feel like if I go there, I won't feel the pressure of “I've got to revamp their system, they need well-known women.” There are clearly people there who already care about those issues, and I can add to it. I can mentor or I cannot and work on my research. I have options, and in that sense I think I would feel less isolated. Whereas at [Celadon University], and there's only me, I mean I care about these things, and a couple of other people do but there's not a whole system in place to support women and people of color and they do.

Carrie’s isolation factors were two-fold in that she is both African American and a female within a field that is scarcely populated by either demographic. Thus, Carrie acknowledges the combination of these factors as the cause of her isolation and has made the decision to search for an environment that would better suit her professionally and would also allow her the opportunity to be around others with whom she is more socially compatible.

The last factor of social isolation mentioned was the inherent issues that exist within the context of institutional culture and practices, as expressed by three of the fifteen participants. Many of the issues centered around institutional apathy towards ineffective recruitment practices that perpetuated the lack of diversity across all three universities; as a result, this evasion of change ultimately led to a high level of isolation for these faculty of color already in place at the institutions.

Alvernia expressed this sentiment when she stated the following:

So, we are hired and the next year, no faculty of color come in, which is why I call it a half-baked plan. Because we came in in a group and ok, apparently, you could only find two qualified people of color to hire... but
six of us were hired with only two people of color. The next year, no people of color are hired. The next year is a hiring freeze. Okay, so it was just us as it falls apart! That I think was the most isolating period in my life.

Norman, a Black Male Full Professor, also felt the same way, when he mentioned this:

Where I differ a little bit is that I don't see that that means that faculty do everything. But especially around issues like diversity, if you leave it in the hands of the faculty, I don't know that it's going to get better because faculty will talk themselves out of it because ultimately most of them want to hire someone that looks like them in more ways than they ever will admit. So, they will find a reason to go to the mat for the "mediocre White boy" or for some White guy because they have been recommended by someone that they like, know, etc.; versus taking an objective look at what really needs to happen whether it's around the university or content, that's why curriculums don't change... If you want effective change, I think you have to legislate it or really give it teeth. Or, if you have strong leadership, something happens.

Philip also expressed the need for a stronger institutional culture and subsequently made a connection to the generational gap in commitment to diversity when asked about his experience with isolation:

...In part for the reasons that I talked about and in part for other reasons. As often happens in places like this, the faculty of color who are here get sorted into generations, and the different generations have different concerns and objectives and orientations to the place. And without a strong institutional culture to sort of knit all that together, there can easily be some sort of a centrifugal force.

This research study has shown that many racial and ethnic minorities have encountered barriers to social acceptance in situations where their institutions do not create an environment that welcomes their contributions or their social differences. Konrad (2003) argues that this phenomenon is due to an outdated “trait model of diversity” where stereotypes, prejudice, and institutional and interpersonal discrimination goes ignored because these issues – if highlighted – are threatening to the dominant group. In higher education, the challenge of having more inclusive and diverse faculty begins with
stressing transformation by adopting the values of cultural pluralism and multi-culturalism.

For Alvernia, Norman, and Phillip, their respective institutions did not incorporate cultural pluralism, which created an ostensible uneven playing field between them and their non-Black and Latino faculty members.

Handling the Isolation

The discussion about feelings of social isolation did not end there. After establishing instances of social isolation, the researcher asked a follow up question about how the faculty handled the isolation and received various responses. For some participants, they were fortunate to take advantage of the social networking invitation that their institutions provided, as described by Alma here:

I go out of my way to accept whatever invitations are thrown at me. Like, if the faculty of color or the Black faculty are having some kind of shindig, I show up! They organized a group, the female faculty of color, they have like a social group where they once in a while do things. I definitely show up for that. And literally when I see people at meetings, I reach out and I exchange phone numbers and contact information, so I'm very proactive about seeking out.

Social isolation is a reality for these groups and the experience ultimately creates an uncomfortable space that prompts faculty of color to leave or to look for social acceptance outside of their own institutions. Research results confirm that social isolation is a common occurrence for Black and Latino faculty. In fact, a significant number of participants encountered social isolation at one point or another in their professional careers, which means that these groups are not experiencing a diverse enough environment. This in turn keeps them from fully identifying with their campuses and
majority colleagues. For those that choose to go outside of their own institution, they must create their own supportive spaces and establish their own set of friends and opportunities for socialization. When asked about how she handled the isolation, Grace said the following:

I go outside. I create my own space... I have a group of women who I consider more like my social group as opposed to my professional friends, so I have different networks. I've got the faculty of color who I hang out with who aren't necessarily in [my school]. And I have found the Latino faculty on campus; there's one in every school, so we have a connection and we have done things and we have gathered and we have write-on-site days.

When asked the same question about handling the isolation, Fatima expressed similar solutions:

I basically had good friends outside of school and hung out with them, got together on Saturdays and Sundays. They weren't a part of the school, which was a nice thing about being in the city. We did things, we went grocery shopping together, we made dinners together. There were other students of color, and we got together and we talked. There was a group for students of color at a nearby university that got together and made dinners and time to get together. So, I would say those moments became more of these kind of places where I started to socialize. I socialized a bit with my group, but there were definitely tensions there because a lot of them did not understand what the tension was about. They were just ignorant.

The external personal connection and friendships created for some also grew into much more intimate relationships as well, where the participants ultimately gained best friends and even husbands as a result. For example, Andrea, a Black Female Assistant Professor, had this to say:

I think by having developed some real genuine true friendships that are aside from the work. That was a bonus... But then I also have friends who I have purely sought out, or the connection we have is that we have a connection instead of the fact that we share an office space. I try hard to maintain some self-care things; so, I go to a hip hop Zumba class that is taught by one of my friends. We’re going to an overnight spa
day. Those kinds of things are what I do with people whom I have an easy relationship with; the friendship is easy. A lot of people of color who are here know that the dating scene here is dry. So, having a husband and a child at home makes it home for me. It's hard to be isolated when you have a 5-year-old.

For Carrie, her remedy for social isolation turned into a lifelong support system:

So, getting married was probably one of the best professional decisions I've made... I was working all the time trying to prove myself and then I just started cracking up...So, I decided that maybe I should try to find a boyfriend. And he turned into a husband! And he's extremely supportive, he's not in academia, which helps me personally. It makes a big difference.

In addition to forging great personal connections, there were also professional connections formed that not only allowed the faculty to combat their feelings of isolation, but also motivate them to become a champion for someone else experiencing the same struggle.

For example, Yasmine had this to say:

Initially, I did. But what is really nice is that I had another colleague in the same department who is of color and she pulled me in and shut the door and said "let me tell you how things really are." And it was like "Oh My God! I thought I was going crazy!" She's like "Nah" (laughs). So, I was until somebody... she sort of pulled me in and has been the champion for me and she helps me navigate the different fields. Because of that, I don't feel lonely, I have a partner... I think what was instrumental for me staying and learning the job was my colleague of color. I think from a retention perspective, if she wasn't here I would be gone. Because I think it is too demoralizing to feel alone and to feel like you are the "other". So, one of the things that we do as a group informally is that we have someone of color that was hired for a lecture position faculty appointment. We pulled her in and said "ok we're going to take care of you, the way that somebody else took care of me." So, there’s sort of that ritualizing that I think we can do for ourselves within institutions. Because she was like "Oh my God, I thought I was going crazy". And I was like "yup, no you're not"

Unfortunately, the social isolation factor can be extremely overwhelming for some.

Despite opportunities to connect socially, one participant came very close to leaving their institution because of the strong feelings of isolation, and seriously questioned their ability
to stay in such an unwelcoming environment. Melissa mentioned this:

... I did consider applying for other jobs because of the isolation. It wasn't because I wanted to be closer to my family or because I wanted to be in a place where there were more Latinos, no that was not the reason. I truly wanted to leave because I just felt isolated.

After speaking with several Black and Latino faculty that each had their own struggles with social isolation in an academic setting, it is evident that the impact on their experiences is strong and that social isolation does exist across these three institutions. The results showed that social isolation is not always intentionally initiated by a majority group, as Kanter states, but that it may also occur as a self-imposed side effect of other involved factors. It is true that there are institutional components that contribute to social isolation for Black and Latino faculty, but there is also hope in knowing that the institutions were willing to provide opportunities for social connection and interaction. In addition to institutional support, the participants also discussed the importance of an external support system that they created to soften the blow of social isolation. Most were fortunately able to find friendships, mentors, or champions of change to help them navigate through these feelings, while others had a much more difficult experience.

Role Entrapment

Role entrapment is the third component of the tokenism theory. Kanter’s view of role entrapment is that a member of a particular group, specifically minority, may never really be seen for their true selves because they are always fighting the stereotypes associated with their particular racial or ethnic group. The ethnic characteristics of a minority group are usually distorted by a majority group to comply with pre-existing stereotypes of a certain ethnic group. These ethnic stereotypes may keep a minority group
in a set place and out of the mainstream of interaction. As a result, the use of ethnic stereotypes means a minority group may become entrapped in limited roles associated with their ethnic group, and may inhibit their ability to socialize and interact with a majority population. As mentioned previously, role entrapment is a key element of tokenism and tokens, or the minority group, must be careful not to fall victim to the risk of stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

The theme of role entrapment was evident in the study and it did appear to affect the Black and Latino faculty experience across the three universities. Participant responses addressed ways in which the expectations of role entrapment could potentially be met, ways in which they chose to challenge or confront the entrapment, or ways in which they ostensibly appropriated the role(s) set before them, begrudgingly or otherwise.

In the case of Alvernia, she had bouts with all three scenarios. She speaks of the institution’s projected expectations here:

Just that silence that falls when something difficult or a racist comment is made in a room; and even as a junior faculty member, the expectation is that even if the senior faculty member was the one to make that comment, the expectation is that I would be the one to address it. And that silence falls over the room and they are all looking, and sometimes I look up from my laptop and say a few words and sometimes I don't. But I definitely know that that is expected of me, not just because of my interests, because sometimes they are completely related to issues that are tangential to my research and to my activist identity.

Despite the potential for entrapment, Alvernia also expressed the other side of her role as a token faculty member. Here, she describes how her own “performance of Blackness” also has a place in her position as a token:

I can code switch; I know how I talk when I'm at home, but I speak in a certain way with my PhD hat on. It was only after third year review, after... girl, I spent probably close to $2,000 on wax print clothing that year
after I passed. I had dashikis, I had Kente, and my earrings got bigger after my third-year review! I know that they saw me coming to work sometimes like "we don't know what we just did!" Yup (laughs). I think I played that role to attain a certain amount of professional security and they recruited me to play that role. No one can look at them and say they don't have one because they do. (inaudible) not philosophically; like if you have to contend with my ideas, you got a problem. But my performance of Blackness is one that meets the expectations of how a token should be.

The cultural dissonance between Alvernia’s cultural norms and values with those of her White colleagues necessitated cultural switching, a process through which Alvernia adjusted to and subsequently negotiated the norms of her institutional culture. As a result, she ultimately learned how to navigate through the incongruity and developed a full repertoire of cultural understanding of herself and her university.

While most faculty of color would shy away from the stereotypical characteristics of being a token, Alvernia found strength in being able to fully expose and embrace that role. Alvernia’s strength also manifested through her refusal to acquiesce to assumptions of her role as a token faculty member of color, as she stated here:

I am not responsible for diversifying everyone's curriculum. I am not formally responsible, even if you ask me to serve on a curriculum committee. And then I am not informally responsible...So as the emails trickle in about "oh Alvernia, I was wondering if you could look at my syllabus" it is a natural response where if you email me three times and I say no each of the three times, but I am not communicating to you that your emails are inherently inappropriate, you're going to feel some kind of way about me. But whether I said yes to read the syllabus or I take the time to send you a carefully worded email talking about how this is an unjust burden on me as a faculty member of color, as a faculty member who does this work, that's the same amount of time that it would take me to read the syllabus, I might as well read it! Instead, I am saying no I do not have time; now they feel some kind of way, now I feel some kind of way. They're thinking “oh she's not really committed to diversity”...so all of that adds up.

It is evident in this statement that Alvernia has had to frequently confront and subsequently combat the presumption of her role as a Black faculty member in order to
maintain her own academic objectives and goals, which is a common theme among many
of the participants. Another example of the institutional expectations set for faculty of
color is found in Alex’s statement:

… because you are a person of color, all of a sudden you become the go-to
person for all person of color things; irrespective of whether or not you
have something intelligent or meaningful to contribute, you know? And so,
it's not necessarily a bad thing, I think. But, it's one of those well-
intended but ill-thought processes that perhaps could be improved, you
know? And so, um, you know just because you're a minority doesn't mean
you are a representative of all minorities that come through this institution.
Um, and so, it sort of undermines the very intent of what people try to do
when they’re trying to be inclusive in that way.

Grace expressed a similar experience as a part of her interaction with several students at
her institution:

It's hard not to feel tokenized. When I first got here in our department, there
were several Latino students who people knew were having a really bad
experience… People asked me if I could reach out to some of them and
help them because they were struggling. They said to me that they needed
somebody and that it could be me. So, there was a lot of that initially.

Role entrapment is a function of conformity; however, this assumed compliance can also
perpetuate stereotypes and leave those in the roles feeling as though they serve a sole
purpose of quota fulfillment. In conversation with Norman, he had this to say:

I think that they don't want to say it, but anytime a White faculty has a
person of color, they feel good like they have checked a box.

In discussion with Owen, a Latino male Assistant Professor, about role entrapment within
his specific department, he said this:

And you know what, it helps reinforce stereotypes; all the people of color
are doing social justice work and equality jobs. The statisticians, the
science, the public health, the epidemiologists, oh we don't have them
there.

Norman and Owen’s experiences are informed and reinforced by Kanter’s theory of
tokenism, which states that role entrapment forces tokens into limited and caricatured work roles. In defining special roles for tokens that set them slightly apart from dominant group members, role entrapment perpetuates stereotypes and limits advancement opportunities (Gustafson, 2008). Their experiences are a clear indication that role entrapment is a practice in tokenizing Black and Latino faculty and is a direct cause of stereotype preservation.

With the acknowledgement of these assumed roles also came the great potential to fall victim to them, despite efforts of evasion. When asked about her experiences as a token faculty member and her role as a faculty member of color, Alvernia had this to say:

I teach the race courses. Even when I don't teach the race courses, I teach the race courses because I am racialized in a particular way, so I always teach the race courses. I do the diversity lectures. I am asked to serve on committees that I am not qualified to serve on. I don't have a Master's in Education, I have a Master's in Black Studies and African American Studies. If you put me on the M.Ed. committee, you have only done it because I am Black!

Owen mentioned a similar experience of when he was asked to be on a committee:

So, I think that I have felt that. For instance, there's a new technology committee being put together, and Owen is the only Latino so they reach out to me, Boom, Boom, Boom... we want diversity. And that was clear in the email as well. They need diverse voices, so I was dropped into this technology IT committee. So, I have felt that from the institution.

Although Norman did not experience falling victim to role entrapment himself, he did recall a colleague that encountered a similar situation:

A friend that was just offered the job to be the Vice Provost of Diversity, we talked about it and what we realized is that he was going to get the job but he was not going to get any support, and they were going to bury him in this. And they didn't care about his research, his research was doing quite well. And he said this was an appointment just to check a box for an administrator. I don't like the sort of, I hate to say "chitlin circuit" kind of thing that they have at other institutions.
Again, the perpetuation of the stereotypical assumptions of roles was present, but Alvernia, Owen, and Norman’s colleague all felt the need to be diplomatic in their approach to these assumptions. Perhaps their intent was to dispel the stereotypical myths or to keep a low profile, however those objectives did not distract or detract from the obvious experience of role entrapment that they faced.

While some participants were very careful about how they met the role entrapment expectations and even adapted to the roles; others were adamant and vocal about their disapproval of their presumed roles. For example, much like Alvernia, Alma had this to say:

I was invited to participate in a diversity committee and I said no because, I mean I am very interested in diversity and it is part of the work I do and I believe in it and everything, but on principle I'm like "nah" (laughs). I ain't taking pictures with them! You can miss me with all that! Like, White folks need to be talking to each other about diversity and inclusion and equity. I don't need to be there to run the agenda for them or to cosign or to approve the work they need to be doing.

By using a more assertive approach and affirming her presence, Alma challenged what she perceived to be unfair treatment and pushed her own beliefs and values to the forefront. Alma interpreted her colleagues’ cultural norms as unjust and assumed a more combative role. Alma was not concerned with how she was perceived; instead, her focus was on maintaining her own intrinsic level of satisfaction.

After speaking with these participants, the effect of role entrapment is deep-rooted and longstanding not only in day-to-day interaction, but also in how faculty of color perceive themselves and their own abilities as professionals. The long-term effects of role entrapment create an air of apparent insecurity and inferiority. For example, Mark had this to say when asked how his experiences influenced his interaction with colleagues:
…you develop a pseudo inferiority complex when you are put into an environment where you are isolated or you are tokenized. And as a result we have a tendency to withdraw. You modify your behavior according to the way they want it, not realizing that the only way you are going to get over there is you gotta cross the bridge… So, I think one thing that happens there is that you have to say all right, who are you? And understand your own personal values. And being able to say alright, I'm going to get knocked down but I get up. Because there is nothing in the world that is more devastating to somebody out there when they knock you down and turn around and see you get up. They knock you down again, you get up again.

Mark also mentioned the fear factor that comes with the discomfort of role entrapment:

The variable is that people are not successful in the academic environment sometimes because they are so fearful of the people they work with… Some people coming from an environment that is of color, they are terrified of White people! They will tell you that they are scared to death; they are not sure how to act or what to say or how to be perceived.

Grace talked about her struggle with self-promotion as a result of role entrapment:

I have never advocated for myself and I think that is partially because culturally I have never been taught that. I don't know if it's a gender thing, but I was never taught to self-advocate so I struggle to self-advocate. I don't even do well with promoting myself, which you have to do in academia, right?

And James, a Latino male Assistant Professor, even described his own bias:

In fact, I have my own bias on this. For example, I think my accent, however small, people can identify it and I have the perception that a Hispanic accent makes you sound not very intelligent…maybe a German or English accent makes you sound more intelligent. So, I think that bias along those lines of where you're from, before people start talking to you, they are already forming a perception about how intelligent or competent they think you are. Once they get to know you, that doesn't matter anymore. But in the beginning, those first impressions I think your ethnicity does matter.

Despite the long-term adverse impact that role entrapment has on the Black and Latino faculty experience, there were some participants who chose to see it from a more
pragmatic perspective. Two of the fifteen participants could identify their stereotypical roles easily; however, they were also able to find ways to cope with role entrapment and use their experiences to their advantage. For example, Alvernia had this to say:

When we think about Whiteness as property, there are aspects of that property that I rent for professional and social advancement, and I do so very intentionally. But there's that interest convergence there; it advances me, it allows me to provide security for my children, it allows me to provide security for my parents, but it also gives [Blue University] the advantage of saying "Look what we did, look how well our initiative worked!" I am very aware of that and it is a difficult label, but it's also a political label and it is a strategic label… There are times when I played the token because strategically, that is what allowed for advancement in that moment. And what do I have to gain by rejecting that label? Sometimes it's ok, you could lose your job, you could refuse to be in the meeting with the Provost, but what is gained by that? And to some extent, we need tokens because we are the only ones who can articulate what would be required to truly diversify. If the token represents the interest of the community that they come from, I don't consider that person a Tom [Uncle]. So, it is strategic, it's slow; a Tom [Uncle] would just be like "whatever you say Massah" (laughs), but a token is someone who says "well let's pull back for a minute and think about the logical end of the policy that you just articulated." It's just constantly balancing that, but I'm definitely a token; they know it, I know it, we all know it, you go to the website, you know it.

Melissa mentioned something very similar:

I do think that some of my colleagues have thought about it that way, but you know... just like I may be a token, I think sometimes I do benefit from that in some ways and I am not going to deny it. If I left, I knew that they would have a big change in their department, and so what did I do? I requested things. In some ways, I was playing the game. I don't want to play the victim; I think that some of us who understand that we are tokens, we also try to benefit from that tokenism in a way that will benefit us too.

For Alvernia and Melissa, their colleagues’ narrow vision of what their roles in academia should be did not discourage their efforts; instead, they chose to use these preexisting generalizations to their advantage and create opportunities for strategic advancement and promotion. This notion of role entrapment advantage was not mentioned in any of the
literature and is therefore considered a new phenomenon of the role entrapment component of Kanter’s theory.

The impression and impact of role entrapment was discussed in detail during the interviews. This component of Kanter’s theory of tokenism was found to be prevalent and profound and was exhibited through many different experiences that have affected several participants emotionally, personally and professionally. The next research findings discuss the current institutional retention and tenure practices, and how Black and Latino faculty perceived these practices within their respective universities.

**Retention and Tenure**

*Research Question 2: What are the Black and Latino faculty perceptions of respective university retention and tenure efforts?*

**Retention Efforts**

Institutional practices pertaining to the retention and tenure of faculty of color are the focus of the second research study question. The interview protocol main questions and sub questions on this topic focused on Black and Latino perception of their respective institution’s commitment to retention and tenure, the process and policies created to support retention and tenure for these specific groups, and a description of any personal experiences these faculty members have had throughout their careers. The overarching and recurring sentiment was that each institution had faculty of color retention in the forefront of their minds and took some action to showcase it as an objective, but they also lacked an effective level of commitment to making faculty of color retention a top priority. This lack of commitment could be easily identified and witnessed in practice and policy and subsequently written off as another failed institutional attempt at diversity.
When asked about her institution’s commitment to the retention of faculty of color, Andrea stated the following:

One reason I think it is probably a priority, more so than some other things, is because it's so measurable. And they [high-level administration] are very invested in numbers. It's hard to quantify climate, but you can quantify retention. So, for that reason, I think they are concerned with it. But do they have observable strategies for it? I think they honestly over rely on the uniqueness of the location here. You can kind of explain away a lot of the retention issues saying "well, it's [the city] and we can only do so much. We don't expect any faculty to want to stay here."

For Grace, she recalled a new retention bonus program that was implemented strictly for faculty of color as an incentive to stay; however, this institutional effort to entice and retain was limited in effectiveness because it was not implemented at the university or college level. When asked if she considered the retention of faculty of color at her institution to be a top priority, she had this to say:

No. I did just recently hear about this retention bonus that I was not aware of. Apparently, when you get tenure, you can sign a retention bonus… Apparently, the university will offer a retention package to faculty of color… So, I guess at the university level.

For Mark, he acknowledged institutional effort to recruit and retain faculty of color; however, he also acknowledged the need for strong leadership and a commitment from his institution to show those retained that they can have a successful personal life and professional career right where they are:

So, I think one of the positives is that they make an effort to show the people that there is a life here; that they can survive here. And also, who should they meet with in the university? So, the piece that is missing here is that there is no strong leadership.

For Andrea, Grace, and Mark, they can identify the retention efforts of their institutions, but they also recognize the lack of commitment and leadership that is needed to reinforce the effort. Despite the attempts made, that does not appear to be the focus of the literature
on the subject. In fact, many sources only mention the causes of failed retention efforts for faculty of color. For example, Yoshinaga-Itano (2006) mentions several factors that can negatively impact retention efforts, ranging from the creation of hostile workplace climates to the inequities of job roles. However, the testament from Black and Latino faculty that their institutions are making somewhat of an effort to retain them is a step in the right direction.

Retention Issues

To provide a comprehensive view of the institutional retention process for faculty of color, current issues or concerns about retention were also addressed. Responses included a lack of institutional empathy, the importance of post doc opportunities, and even the belief that the retention of minority faculty is not as important to the institutions as retaining non-minority faculty.

When asked about her experiences with retention, Alvernia mentioned the lack of empathy she received from her leadership when she brought her bouts with invisible labor to their attention. Invisible labor is defined as the activities that occur within the context of paid employment that faculty perform which are crucial yet often overlooked, ignored and/or devalued (Poster, Crain, & Cherry, 2016). Alvernia was regularly tasked with many projects that did not pertain to her scholarly work and expressed her frustration with how her institution refuses to acknowledge or respect her contributions to these tasks, as she mentioned here:

Another thing that would be huge for me is the recognition of invisible labor... You want me to be in all of these spaces and I am totally okay with that; I am totally okay with being the minority on display in strategic moments. But I feel that you need to be compensated for that. And when I told her that she said "well I have a lot of faculty on two search
committees." I was like wrong answer! If you don't understand the depth of the complexity of what I am saying to you as a leader then first, I don't understand you as an ally, and second this is the root of your problems with faculty retention.

Carrie, who is also a very well known, decorated, and accomplished researcher and faculty member, had a similar experience when she informed her university leadership that she was seriously considering a new position offered to her by a courting university:

As a Provost and President, you are politicians so you are supposed to at least appease your faculty and say that you can do something. But I did not get that. I did not get that "I will work hard to keep you here". I did not get any of that… I have not heard from the Dean. I had a meeting with the Provost, I had a half-hour slot and I just ended it after 20 minutes… So, first off, even if you did not know my record, I am a Black woman in Math. And she is a Black woman; maybe that should play a role, maybe it shouldn't, I don't know. But I feel like that should already be "ding ding ding, you should try to keep her here."… There was no language about "we are going to work hard to keep you here." And I am still waiting.

To further support the notion that faculty of color retention is not a top priority at these institutions, James mentioned his university’s heavy reliance on individual school and/or college efforts to retain faculty of color, as opposed to a stance of proactive effort. When asked if he considered retention of faculty of color to be an institutional top priority, he had this to say:

I would say no it is not a top priority. I think the institution relies on each individual school or college to retain the faculty of color and do everything they can, which is my impression.

The perception of a lack of institutional support in the realm of retention was a commonplace belief among three of the fifteen participants. However, the current literature does not talk about institutional apathy as a primary cause of diversity retention issues. As mentioned earlier in the literature review, the lack of faculty of color retention is primarily attributed to factors such as the presence of a lack of community, a lack of
support, and a lack of mentorship. Some may consider these factors to be byproducts of institutional apathy, but the overarching disinterest of institutions to correct the faculty of color retention issue was overwhelmingly present in participant experiences. Institutional apathy is also considered one of several main causes of diversity deficiency, which will be discussed later.

Another issue with retention efforts that was mentioned is the lack of post-doctoral fellow opportunities for newly minted PhDs. According to Melissa, these positions are vital to the successful fulfillment of research requirements that are a critical part of the tenure track process; however, the lack of her institution’s commitment to creating these positions does a disservice to faculty, specifically faculty of color. When asked the same question, Melissa said the following:

…that is why my department head is thinking about these postdoc ideas that you can give people some cushion for getting settled and figuring things out before they do the tenure track… If you don't give them that extra cushion of time, most likely they are not going to meet the threshold at the end of the five years. In terms of teaching and committee work, I think that we are pretty much on board and we want to help and everything, but when it comes to the research I think that that's where people struggle sometimes. As scholars of color, the publication aspect can be challenging, and that is what leads you to tenure… And that's why we're talking about this additional postdoctoral, for people like me that would have benefited and would have made the whole tenure track a lot less stressful.

Lastly, there was one participant who felt that her institution would not be as inclined to keep minority faculty over non-minority faculty. This feeling of inequitable value to the institution is an unfortunate derivative of poor university retention efforts and can also lead to the deficiency of faculty of color within higher education. When asked if her institution would give greater effort to keep non-minority faculty members, Alma had this to say:
I think so. I think there would be effort made... Efforts are made to keep people that they believe are valuable to the team. But then if you look at kind of structurally the way our work is valued, the way our particular contributions are valued, maybe faculty of color are not necessarily positioned in a way that they would be that valuable.

Although Alma was the only one that responded to the question in this way, the statement is an important one because she makes meaning of substandard institutional retention efforts by addressing the inherent issue that exists in the structure of the retention process at her university. Her experience is that the institutional lack of support is merely a manifestation of a system that is not meant to acknowledge or value the faculty of color contribution. As a result, the number of faculty of color, specifically Black and Latino faculty, will inevitably be insignificant.

Tenure Process and Pitfalls

Academic quality at universities is conceptualized and defined by tenured faculty who are majority White male and female faculty (Constantine, Smith, Redington, & Owens, 2008). With their student populations growing more diverse and activists pressing colleges to do more, departments have sought to hire and retain more minority faculty members. But many scholars say the efforts aren’t enough. The real sticking point, they say, is at tenure time (Wilson, 2016). While many universities are starting to bring in more minority faculty members, they do not always seem to want to keep them around – or at least well informed of the process to assist with the creation of a successful outcome. The researcher discussed the issues that some of the study participants had in regards to tenure experience, and most described experiences that were more negative. The main concerns that emerged included little or no mentoring through the process, the lack of communication and accountability on the part of their institutions, the personal adjustment
needed to make it through the tenure process, and the lack of time needed to maintain an appropriate tenure/life balance.

Three of the fifteen participants mentioned that their respective institutions did not have an appropriate process in place to effectively communicate their status in the tenure process, or how well or poorly their quality of work was. In turn, this created a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity about what their next professional steps would be.

To support this notion, Fatima makes comparison between her previous school’s tenure process and her current institution’s tenure governance system:

I was on the private side of the university where it was much more sort of mushy and people were trying to figure out what was actually required. There were not good governance systems in place. So, I would say [Blue University] is the opposite, there are really good governance systems in place. I know how I'm doing, I get a report back on my progress like every two years. So, I know how I'm doing and I can make life decisions based on those.

Grace described a similar experience when asked about her institution’s tenure process:

Because I am tenure track, I have tunnel vision; the only thing that matters is whether or not I get tenure right now… So, I am getting a lot of messages, but a lot of it is verbal messages. I have not gotten anything in writing that says I passed the 3-year review, but all signs say that I successfully have passed the review, but that's going to be important, just getting my department faculty review in writing… So, I haven't gotten anything official from the Dean, but all signs say that. So, that letter will be important. But otherwise right now it's just a lot of people just telling me.

Owen also makes mention of his university’s tenure process shortfalls as well:

...So I am on a tenure track; this is now my second year at this institution. In my third year, I have a formal review where they can promote me to tenure. And then I have two more years to work more on research, to publish data, to put my package together… The downside, and this is interesting, is that here I am not getting reviewed until my third year. Other institutions have a yearly review with their faculty, even if you are on the tenure track you get a formal written review of your progress. That is helpful, because then in the third year, you are not
blind. You know how the process is going on your tenure. Here, in my third year they can kick me out. So, I don't have a precedent of accountability. That is really interesting because I think that that's something the university is doing to protect itself, to say you know, third-year you are out. But it is also detrimental to me because I'm in a blind spot right now. Am I doing the right thing or not? Am I on the right track? I have heard from faculty that I am doing great, but nothing official in writing. I don't have that.

For Fatima, Grace and Owen, the university governance systems in place were crucial to how they valued their own contributions to the tenure process. The lack of communication on their progress weighed heavily on each experience and forced them to question their status and quality of work as tenure track faculty members. The literature reaffirms this need for better governance and evaluation processes, as Turner (2006) notes that perceptions and performance evaluations have a great impact on promotion efforts for faculty of color. Their narratives are clear examples that effective evaluation and communication are key to the Black and Latino faculty tenure experience.

There was also mention of the need for a feasible balance between personal and professional growth and the requirement to meet tenure benchmarks. Unfortunately, the ability to do both is much more difficult for faculty of color because of the numerous obligations and additional non-research related requirements that exist for this population. Fatima described her experience here:

We have so many committees that we are on and so many obligations and things that we are required to do, and then there is your research work... that if you want to take advantage of support, it actually kind of becomes a hindrance because you are spending time that you could be working on your research work, which is what you need and what the university regards as the number one thing; that's what you need to get for tenure. So, if you're going to take time to go to the discussion for diversity and tenure meetings, then you are going to be missing 12 hours or however many hours or sessions there are when you could have been working with other scientists on your research writing the paper...So, you have to find a way of participating in a way that also allows you to do your research work. So,
that means maybe you can go to one or two critical sessions, but then you can't go to all of them. Or you can go to the first half hour of this and you can't go to the other ones! You have to ration your time.

Philip also makes mention of the invisible labor that exists for faculty of color as well, but also notes the need for faculty mentorship to be a part of the tenure process:

One thing I will say is the general things that asymmetrically impact faculty of color, and people to their credit will talk openly about this now, is that we don't do a good job, and many institutions fail at this, of mentoring faculty at the associate level so they can become full. What we do instead is we burden them with all of the new service work that comes when you get tenure because you don't have to worry about tenure anymore, you're good. And for faculty of color, what that means is all that invisible labor really hits… But because of the invisible labor thing, it impacts faculty of color in a distinctive way. And not just faculty of color, but women faculty as well.

The literature provides significant documentation about ways in which minority faculty experience higher sources of stress in tenure. As mentioned in the literature review, Aguirre (2000) notes that these stressors disrupt faculty from performing tasks satisfactorily and affect “professional socialization, such as promotion and tenure” (p. 59).

Consequently, faculty of color find themselves overburdened with committee assignments and larger advisory loads (Stanley, 2006). Both Fatima and Philip have encountered the troublesome overload of academic responsibilities that come with the tenure process, which has ultimately created a barrier to successful assimilation into the institutional culture.

Another interesting dynamic of the tenure process for faculty of color is the belief that it will be inherently harder for this population because of the sheer lack in numbers. As a result, there is a personal adjustment, both mentally and professionally, that these groups must make for a successful process. Melissa stated the following:

What I can add to this is that tenure is hard as it is, and it can be harder for minority scholars because we have to adapt to many different things,
especially the fact that wherever we go, most of the other people are not going to be like us. That is a personal adjustment that you have to go through.

This personal adjustment may also mean that faculty of color must know when to remain diplomatic in their dealings with colleagues and leadership for fear of retribution at tenure decision time. Melissa also described those experiences:

There are dynamics when you are in tenure track, which is what I was until recently in July, you don't speak much. You stay quiet and that's what people tell you, to listen. Some people do; I am in groups of minority faculty on Facebook and they will say "I'm gonna speak my mind no matter what." Other people, like me, tell you to just get the tenure and then you can speak. Focus on tenure first, don't be so political… there have been issues that I probably could disagree with in the past that maybe I didn't speak about because I was on the tenure clock and I didn't want to come across as too negative… Now that I am post tenure, I am more free to make comments if I don't agree with certain things. It's kind of hard when you are on tenure track to always express your disapproval or if I am not okay with something because you know that you cannot be too political…

The struggle for faculty of color, specifically Black and Latino faculty, to be viewed as the “right fit” for tenure is ongoing and ubiquitous. Across all three institutions, there were participants that expressed their own personal battles with the tenure process in place at their respective schools, regardless of whether they were ultimately awarded tenure or were tenure track faculty. In fact, during data collection, questions about tenure were the ones most received with apprehension and trepidation. Each participant answered candidly about their experiences, but those experiences prove that the tenure process for faculty of color requires an assessment of current practices and a review of best practices for the process.
Diversity Deficiency

Research Question 3: What do Black and Latino faculty view as the main reasons for the faculty diversity deficiency within their respective institutions?

The college student population has never been more diverse, but that diversity ends at the front of the classroom. As a group, university faculty are still overwhelmingly White and male, and the Black and Latino groups are among the most underrepresented in the faculty ranks (Lai, 2017). Despite a discerned institutional effort to diversify the professoriate through recruitment and retention, current representation of faculty of color remains low. Based on the researcher’s interviews with study participants, some the following themes emerged and have been identified as factors of higher education diversity deficiency: Institutional apathy and a lack of commitment to diversity, a lack of institutional support for professional growth, and the perpetuation of limited Black and Latino numbers in higher education. Additional factors were institutional inability to make faculty of color feel like valued members of the academic environment, and the inability of these three universities to create a welcoming environment for these groups. Racial battle fatigue and micro aggressions were also mentioned as sources of the diversity deficiency as well. This discussion of diversity deficiency yielded many valid and relevant responses from study participants; as a result, these findings of the research are considerably larger than the rest.

Institutional Apathy

For universities that see no real reason to change their existing practices, traditions, or organizational cultures, bringing in a critical mass of faculty of color is often a slated
goal that never materializes. Institutional apathy towards remedying the diversity
deficiency extends far beyond the day-to-day interactions and experiences for minority
faculty. Institutional indifference begins with a systemic structural inadequacy that is
sustained by the lukewarm efforts of leadership. In fact, when asked about her school’s
attempts, Alvernia had this to say:

I think the problem is on a case-by-case basis; they're unwilling to fix the
structural problem; they only fix the individual problem… And they say
"oh that's a great idea" and I will watch them write it down. And then the
next semester we do it again, and then the next semester we do it again. So,
I think that overall, they respond to individual concerns as I raise them;
individually, I am embraced.

Alvernia further went on to explain her institution’s overshadowing concern with school
rankings in comparison to their diversity commitment:

I think we are ranked [highly] in the nation or something silly like that, I
don't understand rankings really. But I think we are ranked [highly] in the
nation and they are comfortable being that. And I think what does it mean
to diversify? It might mean a hit in the rankings for at least a short period
of time as you work to re-brand yourself; as you work to re-
identify yourself; as you maybe switch from a heavy quant-institution to a
mixed methods institution; as you work to integrate words like critical and
social justice… I think they are very comfortable being [this number] and
protecting it. If they want to ride the [ranking] wave as they understand
it, then they are fine with that. But they don't want to disrupt that in any
way, and I think that over time faculty of color experience a
burnout because we are recruited here and we presume that we are invited
to the faculty because they want us to be a part of their community, and
really it's more just being kind of chocolate sprinkles on a cake. I could
scrape it off, it's not embedded in the dish itself. We're not in the cake,
we're just kind of on and around the cake, and that is difficult.

When asked, what should be done differently at his institution, Philip also expressed
concern over the strategic shaping of his school’s efforts:

…if I were in charge and I could wave a wand and make things happen, I
would try to address some of the things I talked about by acting more
strategically… That requires a kind of intentional strategic shaping of the
opportunity structure, right, that we haven't done. Our efforts in this way
have always been limited by the commitments of our unit, which to some degree, they should be. But those commitments have remained insulated from the kind of social critique that you might bring to bear if you're in the process of institutional transformation. That is to say, if you want to change the faculty in the ways we are talking about, it is probably worth considering whether an aggressively positivistic orientation to social inquiry might discourage some of the people that you want to bring in, and whether it might unduly limit the pool of people that you bring in. It might also be worth considering that you will have to spend more than you would otherwise, right? Because the market factors work differently if you're dealing with a scarce good like senior faculty of color, right? And we don't think that way here.

Institutional apathy is well supported in the literature and has had many different names, including “interrupting the usual” (Smith, Sotello Viernes Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004). The literature on faculty diversification notes that many institutions fail to interrupt the usual way that they approach the goal of diversifying their institutions and, as a result, miss diversity opportunities (Bilimoria & Buch, 2010; Smith et al., 2004). For Alvernia and Philip, their institutions’ failure to “interrupt the usual” is viewed as a lack of concern or commitment to changing the way things are done when it comes to fostering diversity.

Another barrier to diversity mentioned pertained to maintaining the “status quo”, or the existing at the institution, and how detrimental this is to the diversity initiative. Norman describes his experience here:

So, you bring in someone that is a little different, thinks a little different and looks a little different, it may be hard to get them to sort of realize to a degree in which they might have to change that content… It was more important for them to have this kind of cloistered comfort where they were. So, some of that is about content, but it's also about the culture of the institution. And the leadership there traditionally has not challenged that. They are very set in their ways.

Norman went on to describe the social culture of his university as a “family”, one that seeks out only those that fit into the predetermined mold of what faculty is supposed to
look like and how they are supposed to act:

They do try to make a cozy faculty culture for faculty of color, but it's really a little bit, I hate to say this... the mindset of that group is a little outdated. They are in some ways really interested in developing a culture that is probably ten to fifteen years out… it's not a cult... but it is a little bit like a "family"… And it feels like that; they don't want to deal with the messiness of really dealing with the complexity of the world. So, they want people that can fit into that. I sincerely think they believe that they have a diverse population that will fit into that, but they are not going to change that; it is the situation.

To further support the notion of institutional apathy, Mark talked about the important role that the administration must play as champions of diversity, and the unfortunate gaps in leadership that exist at his university:

And the other piece there is that it also has to do with the leadership. When you go into an academic environment as a person of color, you’re looking for an ally. And a lot of times that ally should be the administrator, whether it's the Dean or head of the department. Why? Because that person is going to help you carve out the niche you want but also help you to negotiate the minefield and the obstacles that are out there. And one of my biggest headaches is that I have been surrounded by some very very weak leaders and decision-makers. And that is not because they did not want to be good leaders, it's because our system does not prepare quality leaders. And in the area of people of color coming in, very few of them are put in an environment where they learn the day in and day out of the operations of how everything functions… Why? Because the academic curriculum that we put out there is block to square, it's almost quasi-remedial, sometimes vocationalized. But we don't have it, so all of a sudden they get there and they can't go over that next step because they are not prepared…. Where I'm going with this is the fact that you can be involved in there but you have to be incumbent upon not only your coworker, but the administrators in there as well.

Norman and Mark attribute an insulated culture and ineffective leadership as the reasoning behind their schools' slow responses to the diversity deficiency. The institutional dismissiveness is telling of a bigger problem that may involve faculty diversity falling through the cracks. For these faculty members, the issue of diversity deficiency is a reality, but the ostensible “brushing under the rug” of the issue fuels the ongoing apathy.
Lack of Support

During the study, a question about ample support at the institution was asked, and the recurrent comment from participants at all three universities was that tangible support (programs, diversity groups, etc.) was readily available, however more should be done from a cultural standpoint to maximize support efficacy. For example, when asked if he felt supported at his institution, Norman had this to say:

…For me, I would say yes and no. [Blue University] has a lot of resources compared to many state universities and the universities within the state. There's a lot of sort of regularly distributed opportunities, some just for people of color and some for everybody, to compete for funds and resources to do that. There's a culture of faculty where faculty may feel as though they are nurturing, but they are actually not…So, is there support? I would say yes; they could probably point to paper and say there's support. Is it effective? It could be more effective.

Philip also stated that there are various resources for support; however, their usefulness is eclipsed by a flawed infrastructure:

There is financial support; there are initiatives that are meant to support faculty of color; there are programs that are meant to help diversify the faculty. There’s all that stuff, but all that stuff gets layered over an infrastructure that, in some ways, still doesn't quite get it. And so there is not... some of the support you would like to have come from colleagues and fellow faculty members who are having the same or similar experience, and there is less of that just because there are fewer of us.

For Alma, she recognized the supportive efforts of her institution, but also resigned to the geographic limitation that contributes to her university’s shortfalls in support:

I do. I believe that there is support in place for faculty of color at [Blue University]. I think that it is two types of support: the support that automatically shows up, at least when I showed up. I got onto people's list of who was Black and I got emails and invitations to go to this affair and that affair and welcome to this and that. We were offered mentorship specifically for professors of color, and I was told of different organizations granting bodies that were specifically charged to promote our work and support it. So, I do feel supported in that way. There are just
things that they can't help; they can't help that the schools in the middle of
the woods; they can't help that it's 90% White people out here; they can't
help that academia in general looks askance at the certain kind of work that
we do, especially those that focus on authorations of color or take a look at
our experience. So, there are certain buzz words that you would hear,
"caliber" or "rigor" or things like that that get thrown out there, especially
when people want to doubt. So, I think that's kind of baked into the
pudding, so to speak, and they can't help that. My immediate department, I
feel, supports my interests and my work and they are eager to see
me succeed. Now the institutional stuff, the geographic stuff... it's just what
it is.

Norman, Philip, and Alma’s responses help to reinforce the literature, which states that
faculty support does exist and can come in many forms, whether it is financial,
professional, personal, or even psychological. The issue, however, is that the
effectiveness of the support in place is thwarted by various factors beyond their control.

Despite the perceived efforts to provide support for faculty of color, two of the
fifteen participants felt that their institutions did not provide ample support, which created
a difficult path to success for them. For example, when asked about the support and
university climate for Black and Latino faculty, Fatima had this to say:

It was really tough. Instead of having a group that was communicating with
the Provost and with the President of the university about issues such as
people of color making tenure, etc., they didn't have the direct ear of the
powers that be, way up there like the trustees, etc. Then you are pretty
much on your own. And when you are on your own, then you become the
complainer or the "trouble person" or the person who seems to have trouble
adapting, so on and so forth.

James had a very similar response when asked the same question:

For faculty, you're on your own. They have support for faculty in general,
like career planning and dealing with stress, things like that. But not
anything specific to faculty of color.

The lack of support that Fatima and James experienced subsequently gave way to a feeling
of isolation. The lack of specificity or customization in the type of support provided also contributed to their struggle with isolation. Overall, the responses varied, but the predominant opinion was that institutions have a long way to go in providing ample support for their faculty of color.

Black and Latino Faculty Shortage

The pathway to diversity within higher education is not an easy one. A major gap in the road that was identified through this study was a shortage in numbers for the Black and Latino population. Various reasons for the nominal numbers were discussed, but the overwhelming opinion was that the pipeline, or the professional career connection from doctoral student to faculty member, was a major concern, one that had significant influence on the lack of minority population. Four of fifteen participants mentioned the importance of the pipeline and how important it can be to the academic population. When asked, what factors contribute to the Black and Latino shortage, Alex stated the following:

…there's a general shortfall of people of color in the academic pipeline. And so, I think there's been significant progress made with establishment of programs like preparing future faculty and programs of the sort that make a concerted effort to increase diversity in academia by providing support systems and the mentoring systems. But we have a long way to go there.

Alma also noted how the broken pipeline is a hindrance to faculty diversity:

The pipeline. I mean, the pipeline is broken. If we're going to have faculty of color, you're going to have to graduate PhD's of color. We don't materialize out of thin air, you have to cultivate a crop of us. So, the pipeline itself is broken… And it's really interesting to be on the other side of the searches and hearing conversations that happen around candidates; I definitely see why we don't have so many, because there's always a way to disqualify people and to sound like you're doing it on very rigorous and objective reasons. And they weren't! There is one particular unit in our college that remarkably has three Latina among their faculty, and they’re tenure track faculty. And they are hiring now. I am not a part of
the committee but I was hearing word of contentious discussions that happened in the committee when somebody said "well, we have enough" (laughs). I'm like, I didn't know there was enough; you never said it was a limit or a quota! You know when it's all White people, nobody says anything, nobody turns their head in amazement somehow or wonders why it's the case or perhaps this is odd somehow when you have a faculty of all Whites. But miraculously, they managed to get three Latinas and it's like "whoa, we're done! There is supposed to be a mission of diversity and inclusiveness, but there's a limit.

Both Mark and Robert mentioned the pipeline issues, but took it a step further to qualify their concern with the consideration of the full-time employment alternative. For some doctoral students, the opportunity to enter the workforce and earn an exceptional and immediate salary after post-grad is far more enticing than the pursuit of academia; this notion falls in line with the literature and is described here by Mark:

For example, you take math and science; there are not a lot of minorities in the pipeline there, even in the industries. See the other thing is the academic world is not getting people from the corporate world. So, you have engineers come out and they're going straight to the corporate world and they're going to make three times as much money as they will make here. And they're not going to come to this environment. Then you have other people out there who have been in other industries that don't come into the academic world.

Robert also mentioned something similar:

I don't think that necessarily the pipeline from graduate school to the faculty... I mean, I think it's earlier than that. I think it's students not even choosing as undergrads to major in Computer Science… So, um, I think there's just a lot of challenges to getting to this point. And I think especially something like, if you're a first generation going to college, and you get a Computer Science Bachelors, the job offers that you can get are fantastic. So, the idea of going to grad school for, you know, a small stipend I can imagine, and I've heard other students, especially of color, tell me this; that their families ask "are you crazy? You're going to turn down this $80, $90, $100Ks job and then go to grad school?"… So talented students, um, some of them don't consider grad school and things like that to be the best option. I mean, it's hard to argue with them that you basically sort of change your status in life by picking up a job like that.
Although the study shows that almost 30% of the study participants believe that the numbers are non-existent, there was one that proved to be hopeful for successful diversity efforts in the future. Alma had this to say:

"All I say all the time is we are not special; we are not snowflakes. There are so many out there, I do not allow anybody to say that the reason why they don't have faculty of color is because they can’t find them. We are not the "golden Black child". There's a good countless others of us; we have just been excluded; name the beast! The work has to be on their part to find us and groom us and not make excuses for not hiring us…"

The lack of Black and Latino population was an obvious barrier that was heavily discussed. Thus, the implication is that the lack of this population has a spillover effect, in that it likely impacts faculty of color recruitment and retention, the diversity of courses taught, and the extensiveness of research published in many well-known journals. In addition, and as the literature states, faculty diversity is important not only to the success of the students, but also to the success of the institution. However, as Alex stated earlier, we have a long way to go.

Valued Membership

Feeling like a valued member of the professoriate is another important factor in the fight for diversity. Fortunately, 13 of the 15 participants did feel valued by their colleagues and leadership, for various reasons. Only two participants did not feel valued at their current institutions. These results were contradictory to the literature and therefore were not considered an evident cause of diversity deficiency at the three institutions in this study. Andrea had this to say when asked if she felt like a valued member of the faculty:

"I do. One of the concrete reasons is that faculty members send students to me and when people are inviting me to be on their committees, a lot of times it's because a particular faculty member led them to me. Another
reason why I feel supported here is because my department Chair has been very clear about telling me that I don't need to be doing certain things, like being a part of the different diversity committees and things like that… But I am invited to do one-time things that don't take a lot of commitment from me. And, to me, it is a gesture of someone trusting my ability to contribute… When I am having conversations with people, I don't feel dismissed. Like on a regular basis, I feel like I am a contributing member for the team.

Fatima expressed similar sentiments when asked the same question:

I feel like a valued member of the faculty, especially now that I got the PhD… I think the profession has a real issue with understanding the kind of offerings that someone from the African American community can bring to Architecture, because it isn't heard a lot. And so often when you go into a school, you will be the only one; maybe there will be one or two, and there are not a lot of voices that are building around alternative perspectives. So, one of the things that I would say is that I am definitely valued… So, I would say yes I feel valued. But not just because of those mandates, but for what I have to offer in the school.

Alma also felt valued and believes that she is taken seriously as a faculty member:

… So far I do feel supported, I do feel valued and I do feel taken seriously, and I feel very important. They are willing to make available the tools that I need to succeed. So, it is not just that there is this expectation of success, but they are going to support it.

Carrie also feels valued at her university and even described the power that a simple “thank you” can have on faculty morale:

I think people recognize what I do with my work with students… [the Undergraduate Director] always tells me "you go above and beyond" and "you're extremely good at what you do". I definitely feel valued in that regard. I've organized a few conferences there and people appreciate that; people say thank you. And I think that it sounds kind of trite but that's underrated. Like, people say thank you. In terms of research, I think people know I'm doing good work. But I don't need anybody to toot my horn. I think people know that I'm doing good work, but we don't talk about it. But yeah, I do feel valued, I feel comfortable.

An interesting and unanticipated response came from Yasmine, who noted her status as a
non-tenure track faculty member as the main cause of her displeasure. The class system seemingly extends to the professoriate and had a direct influence on the treatment and ultimate value assigned to non-tenure track faculty. When asked if she felt like a valued member, Yasmine said this:

Ummm...No. There's a split in our particular program between tenured and non-tenured. I think that from that perspective, there's a hierarchy in which the tenured folks will let you know that you are not like them. So, then you are not valued in that way. And also, there is no process for promotion for non-tenured people. But, we do all the work that is equivalent to a tenured faculty. And so, people don't mind asking us for help; they like us on projects, but they also want us to stay in our place and stay in our lane. It's just disheartening in our field.

For Yasmine, a non-tenure track faculty member, the amount of work that she is tasked with does not equate to the level of respect that she is given within that position. In turn, this lack of respect causes her to feel undervalued. The failure of her institution to extend a reasonable professional level of commitment can potentially compromise the quality of the faculty that pursue employment there. Fortunately, the majority belief that value is impartially assigned to faculty of color is a step in the right direction and a welcomed antithesis to the literature.

Welcoming Environment

The creation and cultivation of a welcoming professional environment for faculty of color is another essential element of their success. To provide anything short of an opportunity to fully embrace diversity is an injustice to the institution, its students, and the entire academic community. The results from this study revealed that each institution tries to create a campus wide welcoming environment with no specific emphasis on faculty of color. Other participants felt that their campuses did embrace their Black and Latino faculty only, but with caveats to acceptance. Lastly, one participant felt that the ambient
air of acceptance had improved for faculty of color at his institution, and that barriers to entry were slowly but surely being broken down.

Three of the fifteen participants noted that their institutions did not focus their efforts solely on faculty of color; rather, their endeavors extended to all faculty. When asked if her institution created a welcoming environment for faculty of color, Andrea had this to say:

There is [a program here] which is an advisory board to the President. But anyone can be on that. It's not completely comprised of people of color. A lot of it is probably more universal campus-based rather than specifically for faculty… So, those kinds of things are happening, but they are campus-wide.

Alex expressed a similar statement when asked the same question:

That's a tough one to answer because I don't know if it's different, do you know what I mean? So generally, when they do things for faculty, they do them for everybody. They don't do it any different for one or another, at least I haven't perceived that. So, I guess. But I can't be affirmative in that guess.

Andrea and Alex experienced a seemingly “colorless” welcoming to their academic environments, meaning that race and/or ethnicity were not considerations in how their institutions chose to receive them on campus. While this may have positive meaning that the scope of diversity does not revolve around race alone, and that inclusiveness is not limited to color, this “one-size-fits-all” approach also has the potential to undermine the objective of diversity. If there is no acknowledgement of race or ethnicity, there is a possibility that the universities do not see the lack of faculty diversity and representation as an important problem to solve.

For other participants, their experiences revealed that their institutions did create welcoming environments for faculty of color, but only to a certain point; beyond set
boundaries, the type of treatment received and the welcoming environment they were once a part of seemed to disappear. Fatima had this to say when talking about her school’s welcoming environment:

I feel like right now as a junior faculty, people are welcoming and they are supportive and all these things. But then as one goes higher up, there are definitely closed doors through which you will not pass, or you will be treated in a really strange way...It makes me really worried for this place. I think that has to do with the more power that you get and the more you can control, the more people resist and try to push back and go back to the old ways...the lack of respect to the point where you're really going to have to fight, seriously.

Alma described the disparity in welcoming environments at both the department and college levels:

I believe they do. I believe that [Blue University] is welcoming to faculty of color. At least, I believe in my department that they are honestly invested in faculty of color. My reservations come from outside... I do not believe at the Provost level that they are so warm and welcoming, especially the fact that we are a public institution and that there is some sort of, not interference, but input on the part of legislature or governing bodies or the largest spheres of influence who have politics and interests that are distinctly different. Or they may harbor some kind of resentment because jobs were taken away from White men or because there is some kind of climate against White men. While my new department may not have that resentment, or have those thoughts, and perhaps even at the College of Education level we may not see that, the university is a big one and one that does not bother to even pretend it cares.

An unexpected response from James revealed that not all efforts to make faculty of color feel welcomed are fully embraced or accepted, as evidenced in his response to the question about welcoming efforts:

…they do not do anything special. But at the same time, they treat you just like everybody else so there is no bias...I believe it is necessary, but then after a while you start to think "if I show up [in this city] and they have all of these activities just for minorities or colored faculty, I get a little nervous. What about everybody else? Don't they get to have something too? I'm afraid of being proactive.

James’ response exemplifies the same insecurities and fears previously discussed in the
role entrapment results of this study. Instead of espousing the efforts of the institution, James alternatively questions the motives and deemphasizes the importance of effectively welcoming these underrepresented groups. However, Philip recognizes that these efforts should be embraced and he acknowledges the slow and steady destruction of racial barriers as a result, as stated here:

When I introduce that language, I just mean the old-fashioned barriers to entry; you know, the "no Negroes are allowed here." Or that the kinds of barriers that prescribe certain areas of inquiry. It is no longer the case that I have to, or at least it's much less often the case, that I have to argue with my colleagues in the field that critical race theory is of fame. Philosophers get that now, even if they don't do it, they don't recoil in horror when someone else says they do it. So, that doesn't happen anymore.

Participants mentioned the various caveats to the successful acceptance of faculty of color and the standardized institutional efforts to welcome all faculty through a “color-free” process. Lastly, a participant did acknowledge the palpable change that a welcoming environment had made in his interaction with colleagues and leadership. The last part of the deficiency discussion focuses on the racial battle fatigue and micro aggression that faculty of color also note as a part of their experiences.

Racial Battle Fatigue and Micro Aggression

Racial battle fatigue is defined as a theory attributed to the psychological attrition that people of color experience from the daily battle of deflecting racialized insults, stereotypes, and discrimination (Hernandez, 2013). Micro aggression is defined as the everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership (Sue, Capodilupo,
Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). Both experiences were prevalent in the cases of most participants. It was also found that some participants did not have either experience at their current institutions, but they instead could recall several instances at prior places of employment. The Black and Latino fight against racial battle fatigue and micro aggression inevitably and adversely affected their experiences, as evidenced by various participant recollections.

When asked about her experience with inequitable treatment, Andrea mentioned this micro aggressive incident:

Another micro aggression that I have is that I have to do narratives as a part of our dossier, so I have to write a 3-page paper basically… My department Chair suggested that also a couple of people who recently rolled off of the committee read it for me. One woman read it, and she's older and from a different generation, but her assessment was "you are really busy". And I was like "am I to take that as a compliment? Is that how you mean it? Are you surprised? Am I not supposed to be busy? Am I reading too much into this?" Just little things like that.

Alex described his interaction with a colleague where race dictated the assumptions made about his appearance:

So, my very first job, I remember coming in and coming in the week before classes, not here. And coming in jeans and a t-shirt because I'm moving into the office and all that stuff. Someone who I later learned was a colleague approached me and he says "are you a part of the cleaning crew? Do you know when the trash cans are being cleaned?" And so, I had never, never, never, ever had a similar sort of experience. So, you know it's the very first time where I actually felt like a minority, you know?

Grace also identified a recurrent situation where she consistently felt micro aggressed:

There is racialized aggression and the micro aggression and stuff, those are the obvious things to me. I think of course these things are going to happen because I'm in such a White space. People not responding to me; I ask a question and they respond to my colleague who I work very closely with, and they're not realizing that I asked the question, like why are you responding to her? I asked the question, I have an answer to your question! Things like that I pick up on real quick but they don't really pick up on
Grace also experienced another micro aggression incident that evoked a visceral response and left a residual feeling of resentment for a long period after it happened:

I went to a diversity training on campus and I had a bad experience because I felt like it was very Black and White, which is what happens in [in this city]. And I was in a very dark place at the time and I was not having it. There were two days of it and I did not go back the second day. I sent an email to the presenter and I told them that I was not going because I felt like I was completely ignored and invalidated in that space. I was micro-aggressed by him not including other races and I didn't appreciate that. And I didn't go back because I didn't want to cry and I needed to save my soul. I typed the email to him; the university had sucked my soul out of me and I thought I was going to go to a place that was going to give me life, and you sucked every last bit out of me! They didn't save my soul, they actually made it worse because I was in a dark space.

Owen describes his own bout with micro aggression and the discriminatory assumptions that come with him being a Latino man with a thick accent:

I have a thick accent, right? For me, that was important to have a diverse faculty that could speak like me, that could look like me... Because I have heard a lot that when you teach, the students make fun of you, like really critical reviews, right? "Oh he has an accent" or "we cannot understand him" or 'he's too radical" or "he's too opinionated." Those types that are out there among researchers and professors of color. If she's a Black woman, "oh she's too harsh, she's too opinionated." And we know that they exist, right? He's a Latino professor, he's "machista" or he's a macho man, you cannot talk to him.

For these Black and Latino faculty, the irony of micro aggression is that the statements made or actions exuded do not have the motive or intent to harm; contrarily, those committing the acts typically view them as innocent inquiries or meaningless assumptions. As Martin (2011) states, “People dismiss them as harmless, trivial and innocuous” (p. 38). However, the effect of experiencing micro aggression is felt long after the sting of the act had dissipated, thus leaving these groups with negative memories that impact their personal and professional lives (Martin, 2011). For some, the cause was the existence of
perceived White privilege; for others, it was considered “par for the course” of being in a White space.

These were also the same rationale given behind the Black and Latino struggle with racial battle fatigue. When asked about her experiences with inequitable treatment, Fatima explained just how hard it was in trying to relate to her students:

But in terms of the students, oh my God! There was always pushing and fighting and arguing, and I was trying to do it in a friendly way... it's just like...God... awful. It is exhausting.

Fatima further described her experiences with students and the struggle that ensues for faculty that are neither White nor elderly males:

It’s very subtle...It's a little bit of not understanding through the dynamics of White privilege, for example. People not getting that when you say something and a White person says something and they look like a professor, students are going to do it instantly and it's going to be done. If I say something like that, when I walk into a studio, I have to build trust. I have to build a rapport; I have to build trust without help, and that takes a week. You know, I have to get to learn my student's names and it takes longer. And then after a while, they trust me. But when someone who looks like a professor and is kind of elderly and White, immediately they say do XY and Z, it's like they don't care; you jump off a cliff, they all jump off a cliff. I build trust; that's a little bit different and that is very subtle.
It's discrimination for sure, but I guess that is how it is right now. That's what the world is right now. It's sad.

Finally, Fatima makes mention of the White privilege that is afforded to certain faculty and the ease that comes with privileged positioning:

I think it's a complicated question because it goes back to the whole White privilege or privileges that are afforded certain faculty when they walk in; it's just way easier to get stuff done because you don't have to worry about "oh, so are you going to participate in this?" Like, am I going to have to present an exciting drawing five times to get 10 students to do it when I need 20? Whereas another faculty member who has privileged position in academia, they might just get up there and crack a joke and all of a sudden they have 50 students lining up to pick up garbage and whatever! And I think people of color, and I have heard this from other departments as well, they are not always the most
popular because you often have to present points of view that are not popular. And in that sense, it means that you have some work to do in terms of getting some momentum behind you and behind your ideas. It’s not as easy, and it's very subtle too.

As a Black female faculty member, Fatima’s struggle to relate to her students and position herself as a respected leader in the classroom is supported by the literature as racial battle fatigue. Black, female faculty facing predominantly White student populations often struggle with issues that have been categorized as “disbelief, presumption, and disrespect” (Cleveland, 2004, p.132). Further, the disbelief can manifest as presumption that the person is not truly qualified, regardless of academic credentials and experience. This presumption subsequently manifests as disrespect in the form of constant challenges to the intellectual leadership that faculty of color possess (Cleveland, 2004). For Fatima, her endless struggle with students is a fight that she is still having, even today.

Fortunately, the participants could identify these incidents as they come and address them as needed, but it is not without difficulty. Alex describes the dynamism that must be a part of their everyday defense here:

So, I guess, being a person of color you have inevitably experienced enough of these kinds of instances to be a little bit more resilient than to be knocked out by something like that; you have to, you know? And then just by the nature of the academic profession, you have to have a thick skin anyway because, you know, it's very competitive, it's very evaluative, and so you just kind of learn to brush off things and keep on going... But more importantly, for good or bad we live in a world where people make categorical judgments about people's backgrounds, regardless of what they know about the person, that's just reality. And so, you just have to get some additional evidence to see whether continuing interaction is worthwhile or not with that individual and make your decision accordingly.

Mark expressed a similar sentiment when he stated the following:

But I think a lot of it depends on your ability to withstand; there is abuse. There is resistance, there's hostility. You've got to learn to be able to deal with those things, put them aside and say "ok, I understand that's here."
other words, when I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I know it's there, but I have got to keep on walking. Understand those things as they are and be prepared for them.

For Carrie, she understands the mental exhaustion that comes with racial battle fatigue and tries to cope as best as possible, as she mentions here:

Also, there is racial and gender fatigue. It’s exhausting sometimes. And I think about the number of times that I am doing work and something happens. And then I have to get out of that frame of mind, handle it, and then somehow get back into work mode. I mean, that doesn't happen to White dudes... Think of the energy you have to use handling that crap. So yeah...

The effects of racial battle fatigue and micro aggression were discussed in detail during the interviews. Both were found to be prevalent and extremely affective to the personal and professional experiences of these two groups, which indicates that they are significant elements of diversity deficiency within higher education.

**Additional Themes**

As the study progressed, and each participant expressed their own experiences with recruitment, retention, tenure, and their schools’ overall academic culture, there were common themes and recurrent concerns that emerged. However, there were also several subjects discussed that became thematic as unexpected and emerging because they were highly unanticipated responses. These additional themes that repeatedly bubbled up to the surface of discussion were the impact of family responsibilities on retention and tenure, the hiring of spouses as a determination of successful recruitment, and the intersectionality of factors other than race that influenced the Black and Latino faculty experiences.
Familial Consideration

During data collection, there were a significant number of responses that centered on faculty commitment to family responsibility and the consideration of family during the recruitment and retention processes. For those faculty members that had young children or a reliant household to care for, a major concern was the level of support that they received from their administration. Another major concern was the temperament of the surrounding area and institution towards their personal obligations. The hiring of spouses was also a major consideration and determinant for job acceptance and retention.

Andrea provided a good example of the importance of family in professional career decision-making. When asked about what things she considered before accepting a position at her university, Andrea said the following:

I have a 5-year-old and he was a huge factor. Like, if this wasn't going to be a place for him, then we weren't going to be able to stay here. And he has started kindergarten this year, so we had about a year of flex to figure it out and let him get used to it... We had some bumps transitioning to kindergarten, but he loves it. They were bumps for me, not for him. So, that was another factor; is it a place that I would raise my child?

Robert also expressed a concern for family when asked the same question:

Um, during the recruiting process, they sort of made me feel welcome, and made us feel welcome actually. I have a two-body situation, so all those things added up together and we decided to come here.

The importance of institutional support for work/life balance also had a significant impact on the participants’ decision to retain their positions. For those participants who had adverse experiences within their institutions, this support was crucial to their decision of whether to leave and search for other opportunities. Fortunately, most felt that they were well supported by their leadership and, as a result, chose to stay.
In James’ case, he felt supported by his schools’ willingness to be flexible during his tenure process in order to allow more time for completion due to the birth of his son, as evidenced here:

Every school is different, but on average I would say six years. You get hired and you have three years before your first evaluation. Then you do another three years and you go up for a promotion or tenure. I had an extra year tacked onto my tenure due to the birth of my son. So, they gave me extra time.

Melissa mentioned that her status as a single parent puts her in a precarious position when having to deal with professional obligations and personal responsibilities simultaneously. But she also recognized her institution’s desire to make her feel like a valued member through their support:

For me it is important that they understand my family situation; that is really important for me to feel like I am being appreciated and valued. And that is something that I think this department, for me, has done great... The reality is that I don't have any family here, I am all by myself here, and so if my child gets sick and my child needs me, I'm the only one to go. I cannot share that weight. To me that is important and that is one of the main reasons why I stay here... Because here they get me, and like I said maybe there are faculty that don't like that I do that, but as long as I have the support of the administrators, that's all I care about because they are the ones that are going to sign my paycheck.

Melissa’s university also supported her through her tenure process. As a result, she felt a strong connection to her institution and decided that her negative experiences would not predominate her commitment to the institution:

I am not just going to move if I know that I do have things here, especially the support in terms of understanding that my life has been a little trickier because I became a wife, a parent, a single parent, all within my tenure track. Knowing that my Dean and my department head stopped the clock for me twice for these transitions was really important because otherwise I could not have gotten tenure. I stopped the clock when I had my daughter, and then I stopped the tenure again when I went through the single parent transition... And they said that they would give me a year off; they didn't review me for one year. I'm very appreciative of that part,
but they understood. The reality is that as human beings or general colleagues, they were nice.

For Melissa and James, the personal responsibility and consideration of their families, more specifically their children, was paramount to the professional choices they made. Both are fortunate enough to work at institutions that are committed to work/life balance, and this commitment was shown through the level of support that was offered during difficult times in each of their lives.

Lastly, Fatima summarized her opinion of the dichotomy between the faculty of color experience and the non-minority faculty experience in the vein of family accountability:

These are really complex issues because I think sometimes it's harder for people of color to do research for many reasons, including that their families may not be as well off; so, you're taking care of your aunt who's sick and alone and wherever. You have to get them here, and none of your peers are doing that. Your peers are just going to class and teaching the classes and doing their research work and you might be like, trying to bring your aunt here from a nursing home to a new nursing home and settle her and get her doctors because she doesn't have anybody to support her. I think families of color, when you talk about it, it is a larger problem than just you; it's like your whole community, your whole infrastructure... Perhaps for people of color, that is a more prevalent condition and if they had more time off to do their research or to conclude the whole tenure thing, that might help.

Fatima addresses the differences and acknowledges how these personal struggles can negatively impact professional endeavors, such as research. The intrinsic obligation that faculty of color feel to support and care for even extended family does play a major role in their opportunities for advancement, and this is something that institutions must be cognizant of and sensitive to. The overwhelming participant opinion also recognized the variance, but also felt that they had an administration that acknowledged, embraced and supported their personal struggles.
Another factor of the diversity deficiency that was not initially considered is the importance of spousal support. In three of the fifteen interviews, participants mentioned the significance of hiring the spouses of potential candidates and the consequences of not doing so. This newfound facet of the diversity deficiency was interesting because the researcher was unaware of how common the act of nepotism is within higher education or how influential it can be on the likelihood of job offer acceptance. Carrie was seriously considering leaving her school for another that placed spousal support high on their list of priorities for her:

This is the first time I have been recruited, I have always just applied for the job and prayed that I got it; they are making a position for me! And they understand that the non-negotiable point is my husband has a job.

Norman did not personally have this experience, but recalled a colleague whose result was not positive. As a result, the faculty member’s experience was unsatisfactory:

I had a colleague who was a Chair in the department and they could not accommodate his wife coming... There was an opportunity for that to work, but the unit that would have to play along did not play along. It made his time there pretty horrible actually, because she was there with the two kids and he was here. He was really interested in coming, he'd actually left [another university] and that was a very particular situation where I thought the institution did not necessarily step up.

Philip was also able to recall a similar experience where a colleague ultimately left the university because of the lack of spousal support:

...One of the stumbling blocks to some of the kinds of retention efforts and recruitment efforts we're talking about is the two-body problem, the spousal situation... We lost a very senior faculty member in the Philosophy department because my Dean would not hire his philosopher wife...they were both very accomplished, but the Dean was not going to accommodate him in that way.

Only three of the fifteen participants mentioned the hiring of spouses as a concern and
factor of the deficiency, but their responses shed light on an institutional norm that influences the decisions of minority faculty to pursue employment opportunities, and furthermore certain institutions (Mannix, 2001). As was the case for Carrie, Norman’s colleague and Philip’s colleague, the issue is typically raised by the faculty member and the universities cannot overlook the needs of dual career couples, particularly those they are courting for employment (Bell, 2010). However, institutions will also need to be mindful of the potential conflict of interest that spousal consideration can cause.

Intersectionality Factors

Intersectionality refers to the idea that a person’s experiences are influenced by a multitude of factors, such as race, gender, sexuality, and social class, to name a few (Smith, 2013). These categories can interact or intersect in ways that can either advantage or disadvantage the person’s well-being and experiences. Using this rationale, intersectionality as an analytic tool can be used to study, understand, and respond to the ways in which these factors do intersect and can expose different types of discrimination and disadvantage (“Diversity/Intersectionality,” n.d.).

For this study, race, gender, sexual orientation, age, and social class all played a part in the various participant experiences. Gender is one factor that was recurrently mentioned as having a significant influence on the level of support received, the type of tasks that were assigned, and even the quality of institutional commitment to equitable recruitment practices. Understanding these identities as a collective way of experiencing the world rather than focusing on separate identity categories is the basis for an intersectionality framework (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). Intersectional theory is also helpful in thinking about Black and Latino faculty members who also have
gender and race identities. This is particularly true for Black women and Latinas who experience multiple forms of oppression (Hill Collins, 1990).

When asked if her department creates a welcoming environment for faculty of color, Yasmine noted that her department did create an atmosphere of acceptance, but only for the male faculty of color:

Yeah, and I stress again for men faculty of color... for men. Like they have a tremendous amount of support. I think they like having faculty of color women, but the support for women, it's different... They'll talk about social things with the women, like "how are you? How's your house? How's blah blah." And the men it's like "let's go have a meeting and talk to you and make sure you are in touch with this group or that."

Fatima also describes the unfortunate administrative trap that African American women at her institution fall into because of their genderized experiences:

I think African American women, in particular, have to be really careful. And then African Americans, in general, as well as people of color... because you will find that somehow, I don't know how it happened, but somehow the duties of secretary fall on you.

To further support the intersectionality between race and gender, James gave his thoughts on his institution’s negative presumption of female competency levels, and further specified this notion identifying the bias through racial cues:

I think that if you are a woman, there is still a strong bias that they are not as competent as men...yeah. But in the end if you're a woman and you're White of German descent versus Indian and you have the red dot on your forehead, I think that people will be biased more against the Indian woman than the non.

The cross road that is the intersection and consideration of gender and race at these institutions produced an environment that seemingly patronized female faculty of color and demoted the value that they bring to their respective institutions. Unfortunately, these faculty members entered a pre-established environment of discrimination that questioned
their abilities and their capacity for success.

For Robert, an Associate Professor in Computer Science, gender is the true determinant of diversity because there are so few women within that field of work. In Robert’s case, racial diversity is not the issue, as many Computer Science faculty are born internationally. Rather, gender is the more prominent factor that creates the feeling of inequity for those women that are there:

So, I guess one of the things in Computer Science especially is um, there's a lack of women... They want to recruit more women so, let's get the women faculty members to do it. And it sort of looks like they're sort of being asked to do more than the rest of us. So, I think maybe the push to diversify Computer Science, I think that almost always gets translated into more women first, and that more diversity in sort of other aspects comes in second.

Robert’s perception of the gender factor is that it is significantly impactful, even to his department’s faculty recruitment process, as he states here:

I think in the recruiting process, I don't think anybody particularly thinks about it one way or another, except going back to the thing I mentioned before, for women. So, if you get into a case that's sort of borderline, and you're thinking about, um, noticing that, oh wait this applicant's a woman, they're using that to break a tie, I don't even know if that's legal (laughs).

Gender was one of several factors mentioned, but not the only one. Sexual orientation was also mentioned as a factor in the faculty of color experience. Owen, a gay Latino Assistant Professor, was one that reflected on an inequitable experience he had because of his sexual preference and associated research:

I'm not only a Latino, I'm also a gay Latino professor immigrant, so all of this intersectionality plays a role too. And I'm also doing work with [gay males] and gender minorities, a very stereotyped and discriminated population... And HR, Human Resources, forced me to [change the name of my study to conceal the description of the work]. So, I have felt the discriminatory practices at the higher level of HR, you know, when you post. So, that was really interesting and shocking to me.
There is not much literature currently available on the intersectionality of race and sexual orientation at predominantly White institutions. In fact, Owen was the one participant to mention sexual orientation as an element of discrimination; however, the mention is noteworthy because of the connection made between race and sexual orientation. Also, as noted before, a lower frequency of participant responses to the issue is not subsequently suggestive of a low level of relevance.

Class and economic status were another element of the diversity deficiency mentioned. For some participants, the challenge was not in terms of racial background, but cultural upbringing and social status. Melissa makes mention of this here:

I think the challenge is everywhere, regardless of your location; but we are going to face the reality that most of our colleagues cannot relate to us in terms of our racial background, but also in terms of our family upbringing... So, it speaks to how class and race really intertwine when it comes to minority scholars; a lot of the challenges they face are not even academic or academia related; it's really about the context in which you live and the reality that most of your colleagues are going to be so different from you.

James identifies a similar sentiment expressed in this way:

But I think a lot of time too, people's perceptions are misplaced. I think you may have less in common with another person of color than you do with someone that grew up in your same economic background. I think economic status is a bigger stratification in our society. But what I see at the university is that you can have a Hispanic person and a person here from [a specific town] that's all White have much more in common because they both came up in families that made $35,000 a year; it has nothing to do with your ethnicity, it has to do with your economic background and how you felt oppressed because you didn't have the opportunity because you didn't have the money.

According to Marsiglia and Kulis (2009), class is a powerful force in U.S. society, although it is not always as well recognized as many other forms of oppression and discrimination. Dividing lines between social classes in the United States are fluid,
somewhat flexible, and often hidden. Rather than a rigid class hierarchy, the U.S. social class system is rooted in a triad of interconnected socioeconomic differences in income, education, and occupational status. These differences determine an individual’s position in the social hierarchy (and its associated privileges or disadvantages) and have wide-ranging implications for cultural identities, because they are systematically associated with gender, race, ethnicity, ability status, and other cultural identities. In the cases of Melissa and James, the intertwining of race and social class created feelings of oppression and an inability to relate to colleagues.

Lastly, age was also a mentioned factor of the diversity deficiency by two participants. For Alex, he believed his struggles had nothing to do with ethnicity, but were more profoundly centered around his young age at the time:

So, I told you that my first position was in a very senior institution in the military and academic institution where the average age of the students was 55. I was in my thirties when I entered that job and so it had nothing to do with my ethnicity, it had to do with my age. So, you know, I would have to go through this ritual of establishing my credibility as a scientist and so forth, but that was more based on age and it was ethnicity.

Alex goes on to state that the younger faculty at his current institution also experience an asymmetrical undertaking of administrative work meant for more senior faculty. As a result, their research suffers and their opportunities for tenure and promotion are compromised, which also ties back into the tenure and promotion issues discussed previously:

...What I've noticed a lot in this department is younger faculty are disproportionately engaged in a lot of administrivia. So, they're heading up committees and they're doing a lot of stuff that typically should be reserved for more senior faculty; leading and administrating some of that sort of activity...But I'm struck by the number of non-tenured tenure track individuals who are levied on for that kind of stuff. Whereas, their time and
energy should be protected to ensuring that they are doing the scholarly creativity and the part that they need to do to ensure tenure and promotion. And then as I think about that, there are a good bit of them that are minority of some sort...I think it's more of a function of their age rather than their gender or their race per se.

Fatima also recalls her first teaching experience as a novice female faculty member of color and her struggles once again with students:

When I first started teaching, I looked like I was 12 years old and when I first started teaching, people didn't know I was a professor. And then for sure when I was a Black professor, a lot of the students had a hard time... And so, the students were just always on me.

Not all factors were found in every participant case; however, the mention of each is a clear indication that they ultimately have influence on the range of experiences that faculty of color, and more specifically Black and Latino faculty, face within predominantly White institutions.

Summary

The study results on the generalized Black and Latino faculty experience were framed and analyzed within the three pillars of Kanter’s theory of tokenism: performance pressure, social isolation, and role entrapment. In addition, there were two other study topics that emerged, based on the findings, which pertained to retention and tenure and diversity deficiency. The results also addressed several retention and tenure themes and the various diversity deficiency themes that were found to be a part of the reasoning behind the shortage of Black and Latino faculty at predominantly White institutions. Finally, the findings addressed unexpected additional themes that bubbled up from the study findings: Familial consideration and intersectionality factors such a gender, sexual orientation, and age. The results of the study were helpful in increasing our understanding of the Black and Latino faculty and general faculty of color experience at predominantly
White institutions through the lens of Kanter’s (1977) theory of tokenism, retention and tenure, and diversity deficiency factors. These findings also assisted the researcher in addressing the three research questions.

Study participants reported a significant presence of social isolation and role entrapment, but did not report enough of a response and presence for performance pressure. Results from the retention and tenure research question revealed that the three institutions did have issues with current retention and tenure practices. The selected institutions did have practices and policies in place, however, they were found to be ineffective in the promotion of diversity. Fortunately, the three universities do acknowledge their shortcomings in this area and are actively working to correct them.

Results from the diversity deficiency question revealed that there are many different factors that contribute to the issue for faculty of color, ranging from institutional apathy to micro aggression, and that they do create a difficult environment for their pursuit of success. Lastly, the additional themes surrounding family and the various intersectionality factors revealed that there are personal elements of the Black and Latino faculty experience that can and often do influence the professional experiences of these two groups.

Next, implications of the findings will be identified for the consideration and consumption of Mauve University, Blue University, and Celadon University. There will also be a discussion of the ways in which these institutions and institutional leadership can create and cultivate an environment of inclusion for Black and Latino faculty and faculty of color. The recommendations provided have an objective to assist in the development of programs and practices aimed at creating a successful and fruitful experience for faculty of color within predominantly White institutions.
CHAPTER 5
IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the unique experiences of Black and Latino faculty as members of underrepresented minority designated (UMD) groups within three predominantly White universities. Specifically, this study examined their views on institutional attitudes towards the retention of faculty of color and the significance of these retention efforts and experiences on the continuous shortage of Black and Latino representation within higher educational settings. Moreover, the study revealed the more significant challenges that these faculty of color face within the academe and the role that the academic culture and environment play in perpetuating the dearth of these faculty members. The theoretical lens for this study was Kanter’s theory of tokenism, which posits that individual experiences are affected through performance pressure, social isolation, and role entrapment. Kanter’s theory was helpful in providing a framework for understanding the Black and Latino faculty experience on predominantly White campuses. It also produced a more comprehensive understanding of the faculty of color experience, which can be used by university officials to create a more supportive campus environment for these groups.

Several criticisms of Kanter’s theory of tokenism and the limitations of the study that can be considered as a part of future research efforts are acknowledged, and the implications for policy and practice associated with the current and future university efforts to address the faculty of color experience in predominantly White institutions are addressed. Lastly, several recommendations are offered for improved institutional recruitment and retention efforts, a more supportive tenure track process, and a welcoming academic environment for Black and Latino faculty and faculty of color as a whole. The
recommendations provided are based on the honest and transparent responses from study participants. The goal of the discussion and recommendations is to endow higher education leadership with evidence that the diversity deficiency concern does exist, and to also inform and identify future policy and practice.

Revisiting Kanter’s Theory of Tokenism

Although Kanter’s theory of tokenism was proven to be a useful tool and framework for the study, it is not without its own limitations and criticisms. One of the main criticisms of Kanter's theory is that its strong focus on numerical representation within a group diminishes any difficulties that might be associated with individual characteristics including sex, race, age, etc. (Stichman, Hassell, & Archbold, 2010). Zimmer (1988) argued that tokens could experience negative treatment due to perceptions of social inferiority, not because of their low numerical representation within an organization or group. This criticism of Kanter’s theory is supported by the findings of the study, as the intersectionality of race with gender, sexual orientation, age, and social class was considered a relevant factor in participant experiences and should not be diminished in value or ignored (Crenshaw, 1989; Hills Collins, 1990).

Research conducted by Yoder (1991, 1994) also discovered that tokenism is more complex than focusing on numerical representation of tokens in the work place. Yoder (1991) reviewed numerous studies that tested Kanter's theory of tokenism and concluded that tokens (specifically women) generally experience consequences related to contrast, assimilation, and visibility in gender-inappropriate professions (such as firefighting or law enforcement). She also found that Kanter's theory does not consider any “backlash” that could occur as more tokens become part of an organization or group. Kanter
predicted that as the number of tokens increase in a group they are less likely to have negative experiences. Yoder (1991) suggested an opposing viewpoint: tokens will suffer from harassment and other inequities as their presence increases within an organization or group as dominant members of the group will feel threatened by them.

Ott (1989) is another researcher who also tested Kanter's assertion of numerical representation and the importance of sex when studying tokenism. His study revealed that the effects of tokenism on men were the opposite on women; specifically, men resisted women entering their occupations but women did not resist men entering female-dominated occupations. Ott’s research on Kanter’s theory was conducted within an organizational setting that included interviews with police officers and nurses. However, as the researcher found, Kanter’s pillar of performance pressure was not considered to be a prevalent concern in the Black and Latino faculty of color experience, potentially due to the collegiate settings that were the backdrop of the study. As a result, another criticism of Kanter’s theory, based on the researcher’s study, is that certain components of the theory may not be appropriate for research conducted within collegiate settings, thus challenging the robustness of the theory.

Both studies provided additional, and even contradictory, perspectives to Kanter’s theory of tokenism. Results from this study provide support for both the ancillary and contradictory perspectives discussed.

**Limitations**

With all the data provided, one cannot help but wonder if what is being reported is thorough and accurate. Are investigators and readers of educational research getting a clear sense of what they know and what they do not yet know about Black and Latino
Faculty dearth and its influence on the academic environment and culture of predominantly White universities? As with anything, there is always room for improvement, and educational research is no different.

For instance, although well documented, the notion of faculty of color paucity seems to be conducted from the perspective of those experiencing the prejudicial act (i.e. minority faculty). However, an equally effective option is to have a truthful and transparent interview with the faculty peers, students, and senior administrators that have been perceived to have a part in the prejudicial acts as well. This would help to either confirm or dispel the bias against faculty of color, and would identify the potential for any marginal misconception. The difficulty then lies in finding individuals in the institution that would be willing to speak freely and candidly on the issue. The same concern for open and candid conversation also extends to the faculty members of color that will participate. Despite participant agreement to take part in the study, the researcher must be cognizant of, and sensitive to, any potential barriers that would hinder forthright responses. These barriers may include fear of retaliation from their superiors, colleagues, or students, a desire to de-emphasize the truth about their experiences as a coping mechanism, or the presence of a prideful nature and the desire to give an appearance of power over, or false indifference to, the situation.

Another limitation to consider is the acknowledgement that the study is informed only by the individual experiences of Black and Latino faculty, and what they perceive to be the causes of diversity deficiency in their respective institutions. A more comprehensive view of the issue would be ideal for the study and should include the institutional administrators’ perspective to understand fully the cause and effect of the
shortage. The opportunity to investigate both sides of the issue could be helpful in either validating or nullifying the concern.

From a research design aspect, the researcher’s decision to use a specific and limited sample selection and size may also be a limitation of the study. The focus on a very specific set of higher education faculty members from a select group of universities has the intent of providing a more localized concentration for the benefit of similar institutions that are experiencing the same issue. However, this deliberate customization of the study may also prove to be disadvantageous in efforts to reach a more general institutional population.

Also, ten of the fifteen interviews were conducted through online software, either Skype or Google + Hangout. Although this provided a convenience to the researcher and participants that were too far in distance to meet in person, the convenience did have its limitations. There were several times when the Skype video and sound were not optimal. As a result, the poor quality of the video and sound created the potential to miss valuable data for the study. For qualitative studies that utilize semi-structured interviews, the most ideal form of data collection for the researcher is to have face-to-face interaction with study participants.

Another concern was the anticipated versus actual length of the interview. The anticipated interview time per participant was estimated to be 60 minutes; this time frame was also expressed to participants at the start of the study. However, the researcher experienced several interviews that ran anywhere from 45 minutes to 120 minutes. Notice should be given to participants in the beginning of the process that interviews may run shorter or longer than 60 minutes. The potential for longer interviews to be curtailed due
to participant time constraints may influence or hinder the quality and richness of the data provided.

Lastly, the decision to conduct a multi-institutional study created an opportunity to obtain a cross section of experiences from several different universities to gain a breadth of data and results. The researcher’s initial study objective included visits to all involved campuses for first person observations of the academic environment and the opportunity to meet and shadow faculty participants. However, visits to the campuses were not a part of the study due to a reconsideration of the relevance of a campus visit to the process. With that said, the lack of a first-person researcher account of each campus environment only provided the study with subjective perceptions and opinions of the study participants. The lack of a campus visit may potentially limit the scope of the study and alter the dynamic of the results.

**Implications for Policy and Practice**

Institutions can be sites of social transformation (Horvat & Davis, 2011), and findings from this study can inform institutional leadership, culture, and instruction to harness the pedagogical and cultural wealth of faculty of color to (a) increase academic and social outcomes for today’s diverse student population and (b) re-imagine the relationships between minority faculty and their non-minority colleagues and students. Not only can institutions begin to recognize the non-dominant capital that faculty of color bring with them into the higher education setting, they can also create the conditions and opportunities for these groups to convert that capital into institutional success.

The role of institutional leaders also plays a major part in the successful implementation of inclusive policy and procedures. Faculty narratives from this study can
inform institutional agents to take a pro-active and multi-cultural approach when
discussing the social context of the professoriate in predominantly White institutions. It is
also critical that present and future faculty of color are made aware of the value they add
to their institutions and the power they have in recognizing and legitimizing their own
precious and various forms of capital.

Lastly, the intersectionality of race and gender was a substantial finding in this
study, and must therefore be a concern and consideration for institutions. The study
illuminated the triumphs and challenges that female faculty members of color encountered
in educational and professional settings, and found that the often chilly and hostile
climates in which they must work does have a significant impact on their experiences.
Findings from this study can alert leadership that this is a real issue. Furthermore,
universities should be aware of the subsequent impact that their negative experiences have
on institutional diversity.

**Future Research**

The narratives of the Black and Latino faculty involved in this study both validated
and challenged the literature, tested the tenets of the theoretical framework, and revealed
new findings that were not previously considered. Based on these findings, it is evident
that there are factors of the faculty of color lived experience that would warrant further
research and understanding.

For example, the results show that the application of an intersectional lens can be
used to analyze and gain a more in-depth understanding of the Black and Latino faculty
experience, particularly between race and gender (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). The role
that the intertwining of race and gender plays in higher education has an impact on the
educational goals and pursuits of these groups, and it is a topic worthy of further research.

Also, more research should examine the experiences of these groups within departments, colleges, and universities that do not struggle with a deficiency in faculty of color, and its effect on their experiences. The assumption of Kanter’s theory is that Black and Latino faculty would not encounter negative experiences within a setting that is racially and ethnically proportionate and diverse. However, Yoder (1991) suggests that there is a tipping point that the majority group experiences when the minority numbers increase, thus creating a threatening environment for the majority and causing an increase in harassment and other inequities for the minority. Future research should test both theories to compare the findings.

A university needs diverse people to be engaged in knowledge creation and its dissemination. Professors and students need to share different experiences and participate in the most dynamic and global learning practices (Lee & Janda, 2006). There is the constant fear that adversity and resistance will always be present when considering the multicultural dynamic of a university setting. Yet, it is good to know that there are continued efforts on the part of higher education to minimize biased perceptions and protect minority professors from unfair judgment. With persistence and patience, faculty of color should one day be able to enjoy the pursuit of academic excellence in higher education.

**Recommendations**

The integration and respect of the minority professoriate is pertinent to creating and maintaining a successful higher education environment that promotes a diverse faculty belief, one that is free from ethnic prejudice or racial conflicts and where faculty of color
feel valued and accepted. Recommendations and suggestions on how to accomplish effective acclimatization within the three institutions are provided and range from theoretical to pragmatic changes that can be implemented by the universities directly. These recommendations are born both from the literature and the population that have offered up their lived experiences as the pilot test for future positive change.

Recruitment and Retention of Black & Latino Faculty

The primary tool for higher education recruitment is a search committee; however, many committees lack the very diversity that they are charged with pursuing, therein creating a diversity dilemma for effective recruitment for faculty of color. College Deans should initiate a dialogue with their respective departments as early as possible to promulgate the creation of a positive culture for the recruitment and retention of a diverse faculty (Tatum, Dinnerstein, Eribes, Groth, Jackson, Miller, Ota, Ruiz, Stoffle, Strauss, Swanson, Tal, & Zupan, 2002). The appointment of a search committee that is committed to diversity is essential to influencing the outcome of a search. Heads and Deans can appoint senior faculty members from other departments who are known for their commitment to diversity. An individual or individuals can also be assigned the responsibility to determine whether the plans for recruitment and retention of a diverse faculty are effective, whether the plan should be altered to better accommodate the goal of diversity, and to generally monitor the actions of the search committee. In addition, either a college-based committee or a university-wide committee should review each search committee’s plan for the recruitment of a diverse faculty for effectiveness and make recommendations where and when necessary (Tatum, et al., 2002). To assist in the review, search advocates, or those engaged with search committees throughout the search
and selection process, can be assigned. At every stage, they serve as consultant participants who will advocate for the search process and help committees identify practices that minimize the effects of unconscious or unintentional biases for the promotion of diversity.

To address the issue of the “broken pipeline” to the professoriate, institutions can create a “pipeline” project to encourage advanced graduate students to remain at the university as tenure-track faculty members or to return to the university after obtaining additional work experience (Tatum, et al., 2002). One of the more prominent concerns of the study participants was the need for a post-doctoral development plan. This investment in professional development is significant to maintaining the commitment of minority faculty and it is incumbent upon the institution to cultivate the talent that faculty of color bring by connecting professional development experiences to the day-to-day functioning of the roles of these faculty in the academic setting. Funding should also be provided to support faculty professional development by way of keeping them current in their respective fields (Robinson, Byrd, Louis, & Bonner, 2013).

Tenure

The study repeatedly found that the tenure process is both arduous and time consuming and that it leaves little room or opportunity for anything outside of research and writing. A recurring suggestion from participants to assuage the intensity of the tenure track was to allow more time for service and social gatherings. An increase in course releases, or the reduction in a teaching load within a normal academic year appointment, was another repeated request mentioned to facilitate the adjustment. Course releases would allow for more time to conduct research to obtain the successful
achievement of reaching tenure benchmarks, while also addressing the need for a better work/life balance.

Another common request was the desire to have increased opportunities for mentorship throughout the tenure process. The lack of direction and leadership while on the tenure track can lead to confusion about departmental goals and objectives. It can also cause a reduction in individual motivation and commitment to complete the process. The assignment of a senior faculty mentor specifically for faculty of color would provide the guidance, communication and feedback that this population so desperately needs.

Academic Culture

The support that faculty of color need as minority partners in predominantly White institutions can be emotional, social, professional, or personal. To accommodate these needs, there must be a complete commitment from leadership to create a space that these faculties can assimilate into and feel comfortable within. For some study participants, the answer was as simple as a desire to be heard and given credit for their contributions. For others, there was a suggestion for their institutions to create opportunities for cross-departmental networking. One participant suggested the creation of bi-annual meetings for all minority groups to meet, make professional connections, and build personal relationships. This provision for faculty of color mingling opportunities could be done at faculty orientation or at any time throughout the academic year.

Another factor of the academic culture to be considered is the familial commitment that many faculty of color have. Many participants recommended that their institutions acknowledge and become sympathetic to their responsibilities outside of the classroom. Services such as daycare, nursing care, job centers, and legal counsel would further
support their need for work/life balance.

Further, the need for cultural acclimation was also mentioned. For many of the study participants, their institutional settings limit access to the cultural norms that they would otherwise be accustomed to; this limitation is due to the geographical location of their campuses. Because of this, it is imperative that the institution recognize the “culture shock” that faculty of color experience in these environments and do everything possible to make this population feel welcome and comfortable. The creation of a community outreach partnership with the universities would connect local businesses with interested faculty of color who wish to patronize their services and/or products. This effort shows that the institution has a clear commitment to faculty of color inclusion and it also creates a community-relations initiative that can benefit the community, the institution, and all current and future faculty of color.

The recommendations provided are designed to help faculty of color better assimilate to their institutional setting and ultimately reduce or eliminate the diversity deficiency seen throughout higher education. These recommendations will allow minority faculty to feel welcome on campus and focus on creating successful careers.
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Galbraith, K. (2002). British universities, long focused on class issues, begin to confront race; new law forces institutions to recognize the concerns of minority students and professors. The Chronicle of Higher Education, 49(15), A40(3).


136


Williams, S.E., & Kirk, A. (2008). Recruitment, retention, and promotion of minority faculty.” *The Department Chair, 19*(2), 23–25.


Section A: Obtaining Information (This information will remain CONFIDENTIAL)

Who is completing this form?
☐ The study participant  ☐ Interviewer  ☐ Other

Name of person completing the questionnaire: ______________________

Contact Phone Number: ______________________  Contact Email Address: ______________________

Section B: Participant Information

1. What is your race (mark all that apply)?
   ☐ Black or African American  ☐ White  ☐ Japanese
   ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native  ☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander  ☐ Korean
   ☐ Asian Indian  ☐ Filipino  ☐ Vietnamese
   ☐ Chinese  ☐ Other:______________  ☐ Guamanian/Chamorro
   ☐ Samoan

2. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?
   ☐ No, I am not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
   ☐ Yes, I am Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
   ☐ Yes, I am Puerto Rican
   ☐ Yes, I am Cuban
   ☐ Yes, other Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin (list here):___________________
3. Gender? 
_____________________________________________________________

4. What level of the professoriate have you attained?

☐ Lecturer
☐ Assistant Professor
☐ Associate Professor
☐ Full Professor
☐ None
☐ Other (list here):___________________

5. In what department are you a faculty member?

_____________________________________________________________

6. How long have you been employed at your current institution?

_____________________________________________________________

7. Did you work in higher education prior to working at your current institution? If yes, for how long?

_____________________________________________________________
8. Prior to working at your current institution, where were you employed?

_____________________________________________________________

9. Have you ever left a faculty position within higher education? If yes, why did you leave?

_____________________________________________________________

10. At which university are you a faculty member?

☐ Temple University
☐ Pennsylvania State University (Penn State)
☐ University of Pittsburgh (PITT)
☐ Other (list here): _______________________

Thank you for your participation. If chosen for the study, you will be contacted at the phone number and/or email address provided.
APPENDIX B

PERMISSION TO TAKE PART IN A HUMAN RESEARCH STUDY

Title of Research: Black and Latino Faculty Navigating the Academy: Recruitment, Retention, Tenure, and the Academic Culture

Protocol Number: PROTOCOL # 24116

Principal Investigator: Dr. James Earl Davis, Policy, Organization Leadership Studies (19030)

Researcher: Veronica Aymer

Why Are You Being Invited to Take Part in this Research?

We invite you to take part in this research study because you identify as a Black or Latino faculty member and because you are considered a valuable candidate that meets all participant criteria. Veronica Aymer is conducting a study as a part of the requirements for a Doctor of Education degree in Educational Leadership with a Higher Education concentration. The views of Black and Latino faculty on institutional attitudes towards the recruitment, retention, and promotion of faculty of color, and the significance of these retention efforts and experiences on the continuous shortage of Black and Latino representation within higher education settings are the focus of the study.

What You Should Know About This Research:

- Someone will explain this research to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Who Can I Talk to About This Research?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, contact Dr. James E. Davis at: Ritter Hall Annex 433, 1301 C. B. Moore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19122. Telephone: 215-204-3002. Email: jedavis@temple.edu.
This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board (IRB). You may talk to them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team
- You cannot reach the research team
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject
- You want to get information or provide input about this research

**Why Is This Research Being Done?**

1. **Purpose the Study:** The purpose of this qualitative study is to examine the unique experiences of Black and Latino faculty as members of underrepresented minority designated (UMD) groups within predominantly white universities. The research also seeks to examine their views on institutional attitudes towards the retention of faculty of color, and the significance of these retention efforts and experiences on the continuous shortage of Black and Latino representation within higher education settings. With the use of a semi-structured interview protocol, the researcher will seek to reveal the more significant challenges that faculty of color face in the academe. In addition, an objective of the research is to investigate the role that the academic culture and environment play in perpetuating the dearth of these faculty members, such as relationships with colleagues, interactions between faculty and students, performance pressure, social isolation, and other potential factors. Moreover, the research will identify and explore several suggestions pertaining to the increased inclusion and acceptance of racial and ethnic minority professoriates within university faculties.

The literature supports the claim that minority groups are still greatly underrepresented within higher education. Several recurring themes emerged from the literature review, including the lack of faculty support and assistance, the need for encouragement at the institutional level, and the social struggles that Black and Latino faculty face within higher education.

Despite low representative numbers for African American and Latino faculty, their contribution to higher education is invaluable. Therefore, it is imperative that higher education institutions recognize the benefits of recruiting and retaining faculty of color and also understand what is needed to integrate these groups into an environment of respect, inclusion, and meaningful engagement.

The study is significant because it is a catalyst to conversation about the personal and professional experiences of Black and Latino faculty at predominantly White institutions. The research illuminates the impact that institutional factors have on the Black and Latino faculty experiences. Finally, the study may also be helpful to college administrators in developing programs and creating an environment that will allow Black and Latino faculty members to be successful both academically and socially.
2. **Procedures to be followed:** By way of this consent form, you are invited to participate in one five to ten-minute initial phone call screening to determine eligibility for participation in the study. You are also invited to meet with the researcher at a reserved room at the research site to (1) review and sign the Informed Consent form and (2) participate in one 60-minute interview for this research project.

3. **Data Collection:** You will be given the option of having your interview(s) recorded or handwritten by the researcher prior to the start of the interview. Recorded interviews are not required for your participation in this research. Recorded and handwritten data for this research project will be password protected and only accessed by agreed members of the research team (Veronica Aymer, Researcher and Dr. James E. Davis, Principal Investigator).

Collected data will be anonymized before it is stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Investigator’s office (1700 N. Broad Street, Suite 415) so that the data can only be accessed by agreed members of the research team. Collected data for this research project will be stored for seven years.

To the extent allowed by law, we limit the viewing of your personal information to people who have to review it. We cannot promise complete secrecy. The IRB and Temple University and other representatives of these organizations may inspect and copy your information.

4. **Interviews:** You will participate in one 1-hour interview. The total anticipated duration of your time in this research project will be one (1) hour. The Student Investigator intends to conduct the entire study over a total period of two months (November 29, 2016 to January 31, 2017) so observations and document reviews can be completed. The estimated date that the investigator will complete the study is May 1, 2017.

All research interviews will be conducted in a reserved room at the research site. Subjects in this research project will only interact with the researcher, Veronica Aymer.

The interview will consist of questions about your perception of institutional recruitment, retention, and promotion efforts for faculty of color. The interview will also consist of questions about your personal experiences as a faculty member of color within a predominantly White institution.

5. **Discomforts and Risks:** The study contents deal with issues that are sensitive. In this study, you will be asked to discuss and analyze your feelings towards your institution, colleagues and others, as well as the role that race plays in your professional experience. As a participant, you may feel uncomfortable about answering some of the interview questions. To minimize risk, you can elect not to answer any question that may make you feel uneasy, but still remain a study participant. You can withdraw from the study at any time or choose not to share your views. You can agree to take part in this study and later
change your mind. Your decision(s) will not be held against you. You can ask all the questions you want before you decide to participate in this study. Although no personal identifiers or names will be used, please note that there is a possibility that you could be recognized by your comments.

6. **Benefits:** Your participation in this research study is wholly voluntary. However, your participation will result in an increase in the body of research that is lacking. Information obtained may lead to changes and more awareness of issues faced by Black and Latino faculty members. The findings will also inform the body of higher education that changes are necessary to increase faculty of color representation in higher education. Lastly, participation in the study will provide the subjects an opportunity to have a voice in the potential change in policy and social environments within higher education.

7. **Use of Data:** The information provided in this study may be used for scholarly presentation/publication, institutional reports and instructional material. However, your name will not be used in any published or public reports. Direct quotations of what you say in connection with this study may be used for publishing purposes, but will not be in any way associated with you or any likeness of you. If withdrawal from the study takes place, any files pertaining to this study will be destroyed.

8. **Confidentiality:** Any information in connection with the study that is identifiable by and with you will remain confidential and disclosure will take place only with your permission or as the law requires. Your name will not be used in the data. Efforts will be taken to ensure your confidentiality as a participant in this study.

9. **Ongoing Consent:** To ensure ongoing consent, you will be asked if you agree to continue to participate in this research project at the beginning of the interview session.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to participate in this research study. If you consent to participate in this research study and to the terms above, please sign your name and indicate the date below. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your records.

I have read this “Consent to Participate in Research” and agree to participate in this study.

_________________________________________  __________________________
Participant                                    Signature and Date
I, the undersigned, verify that the above informed consent procedure has been followed.

________________________________________  __________________________________________
Researcher                                      Signature and Date

Do you agree that the researcher may digitally record the interview?

Yes______  No_______  Initials__________
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Project: Black and Latino Faculty Navigating the Academy: Recruitment, Retention, Tenure, and the Academic Culture

Date ___________________________

Time ___________________________

Interviewer ______________________

Consent form signed? _____

Notes to Interviewee:
Thank you for your participation. I believe your input will be valuable to this research and in helping grow all of our professional practice.

Confidentiality of responses is guaranteed.

Approximate length of interview: 45 – 90 minutes, 15 major questions

Purpose of Research:
To examine the Black and Latino faculty experience and their views on the attitudes and practices towards the recruitment, retention, and tenure of faculty of color within a higher education setting.

i. What challenges do they face?

ii. How do they experience relationships with non-minority colleagues and students?

iii. What impact do their experiences have on their interaction with non-minority colleagues and students?

iv. What role do higher education retention efforts have on the faculty of color shortage?
1. As a part of the ongoing consent process for this research, do you give your permission to participate and have this interview recorded as a part of this research project?

2. Take me back through the history in your educational and professional career that brought you to this institution (S).
   - Why do/did you choose to work at this university?
   - What factors did you consider in choosing to apply?
   - Was the demographic makeup of the faculty a consideration? If so, why?

3. Are you a tenured faculty member (R)?
   - If yes, when (date/year) did you become tenured?

4. If you were awarded tenure status at your prior institution, did you retain tenure status when you arrived at this institution (R)?

5. Do you feel like a valued member of the faculty (S)?
   - If yes, why?
   - If no, why?
   - What are the most important factors that must be present to make you feel like a valued member of the professorate?
   - To what extent are these factors present?

6. Do you believe there is ample support in place at your institution for faculty of color (S)?
   - If yes, what type of support is available?
   - If no, what should be done differently?

7. Have you ever felt isolated as a faculty member at your institution? Tell me more about that (S).
   - What factors do you think contributed to that isolation?
   - How do/did you handle the isolation?
   - Did you ever consider leaving because of this feeling?

8. Have you ever felt like you were considered a “token” faculty member (R)?
   - What have you experienced at this institution to support that feeling?
   - Do you feel that you are frequently and unfairly inundated with daily, weekly, and/or annual responsibilities that do not pertain to your scholarly work as a result of tokenism?
   - Do you believe faculty members of other race groups experience the same treatment?
9. Have you ever experienced any inequitable treatment during your time as a faculty member? Tell me about your experiences (S).
   - If so, how did this experience influence your interaction with those parties/entities after it happened?

10. Would you agree that there is a shortage of faculty of color at your institution, in general (S)?
    - If yes, what factors do you think contribute to the shortage?
    - If no, which university department would you say has the highest percentage of faculty of color?
    - Would you agree that there is a shortage of faculty of color within your own department?

11. Do you believe that your institution creates a welcoming environment for faculty of color (S)?
    - If yes, please give an example of how
    - If no, what should be done differently?
    - Do you believe that your own department creates a welcoming environment for faculty of color?

12. What do you know about your specific department’s recruitment practices (R)?
    - What changes, if any, do you think should be made to the current recruitment practices?
    - Would you agree that your department and/or institution actively pursues faculty of color for teaching positions?
    - Do you believe that your university has fair and equitable recruitment practices?

13. Do you believe the faculty of color at your institution have a voice in the recruitment process (R)?
    - If yes, how is that voice demonstrated?
    - If no, what changes do you think the institution should make to incorporate more of the faculty of color involvement?
    - Do you believe that faculty of color within your specific department have a voice in the recruitment process?

14. Would you consider the retention of faculty of color at your institution to be a top priority (S)?
    - Why or why not?
    - What personal experiences have you had with university retention efforts
    - Do you think your school would do everything possible to keep you if you ever decided to leave?
    - Do you think the institution would give greater effort to keep a non-minority faculty member?
- Would you consider the retention of faculty of color within your specific department to be a top priority?

15. Is there anything else that you would like to add about your experience as a faculty member of color (R)?

- **Closure**
  - Thank you to interviewee
  - Reassure confidentiality
  - Ask permission to follow-up, if necessary
## Field Notes

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<th>Participant # ___________</th>
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<td>Descriptive Notes</td>
<td>Reflective Notes</td>
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151
APPENDIX E

PARTICIPANT SOLICITATION FLYER

Do You Care About Faculty Diversity?
If So, We Need You For A Qualitative Study!

Black & Latino Faculty Navigating the Academy: Recruitment, Retention, and the Academic Culture

Goals of the Study:
➢ To learn more about the personal and professional experiences of faculty members of color at predominantly White institutions

➢ To examine and understand university recruitment, retention, and tenure efforts for faculty of color

➢ To give voice to your thoughts on the faculty of color shortage in higher education

Are you an Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Full Professor or Lecturer?

Have you been employed at your institution for at least one full academic year?

Does your university receive state funding from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania?

If so, you may be eligible to participate in this important research study!!

What are the Benefits of Participating?
You will be an integral part of research that will aid college administrators in understanding the faculty of color experience and assist in the development of programs to better support academic and social diversity.

What’s Involved?
This study involves the completion of a preliminary questionnaire and participation in one 1 hour interview

Interested? Have Questions?
Call Veronica Aymer,
Student Investigator
(O): 215-204-0589
(C): 215-983-7807
vaymer@temple.edu
## APPENDIX F

### DATA ANALYSIS CODE BOOK

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