

Coloring the Academic Landscape: Faculty of Color Breaking the Silence in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities

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This article, based on a larger, autoethnographic qualitative research project, focuses on the first-hand experiences of 27 faculty of color teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities. The 27 faculty represented a variety of institutions, disciplines, academic titles, and ranks. They identified themselves as African American, American Indian, Asian, Asian American, Latina/o, Native Pacific Islander, and South African. This article reports on the predominant themes of the narratives shared by these faculty of color: teaching, mentoring, collegiality, identity, service, and racism. These themes, consonant with findings from the research literature, can be used to offer suggestions and recommendations for the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education.

KEYWORDS: faculty development, faculty of color, recruitment, retention, teaching

It is not difference which immobilizes us, but silence. And there are so many silences to be broken. (Audre Lorde, 1984, p. 44)

There seems to be a growing conspiracy of silence surrounding the experiences of faculty of color teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities. For many faculty of color, who reside throughout the academic landscape, their silenced state is a burdensome cycle that is rarely broken. Only rarely are they asked to speak candidly about their experiences so that we can learn how to develop effective recruitment and retention strategies for diversifying higher education faculties. Many of their White colleagues,

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too, seem silent even though few are afraid to speak truth to power or stand up for faculty of color when they observe behaviors that are racist, sexist, xenophobic, or homophobic. Why is this, I have often wondered? I posed this nagging question to Joe Feagin, a sociologist and a White antiracist scholar, during a distinguished lecture he gave titled “Black Students Still Face Racism: White Colleges and Universities.” His response, without a pause, was “because it costs White folks” (Feagin, 2004). When members of the dominant group speak up, it has tremendous impact because the dynamics of power, positionality, and authority are attributes that can only serve to deepen dialogues and influence policy and decision making on diversity and social justice in our colleges and universities. Conversely, when members of the targeted group speak up, the cost for us is enormous because these same dynamics are not yet equitable. We become at risk for a number of reasons, but a reason that often undergirds the silence is the lack of a critical mass of faculty of color in higher education.

When the silence is broken and faculty of color do choose to speak, many of us are not yet prepared to listen to the narratives. Even more problematic, we often remain unsure what to do with these data. African Americans, Asian Americans, Latina/os, and Native Americans constitute between 20% and 25% of the U.S. population. However, they represent 13.4% of the faculty at degree-granting institutions of higher education (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000). A review of the literature indicates that there are very few publications that focus on the experiences of these individuals in predominantly White colleges and universities (Aguirre, 2000; Alfred, 2001; Banks, 1984; Bowie, 1995; Essien, 2003; Fenelon, 2003; Harvey, 1991, 1994; Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Stanley, Porter, Simpson, & Ouellett, 2003; Stein, 1996; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2003). According to Blackburn, Wenzel, and Bieber (1994), “higher education institutions, as well as national research centers, need to focus on the experiences of faculty of color if we hope to understand the work environments needed to support creative talents” (p. 280).

In 2002, after 15 years of observing their classrooms, reading the literature, and participating in individual and group consultations about their teaching experiences, it became apparent to me that faculty of color were experiencing the classroom in ways that were unlike those of their majority, White colleagues. After conducting and publishing some preliminary research on African American faculty, particularly faculty at two predominantly White research universities in the South (Stanley et al., 2003), I embarked on another research project. I edited a book, *Faculty of Color: Teaching in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities*, that featured the voices of 27 faculty of color across the country who crafted narratives about their experiences on predominantly White campuses (Stanley, 2006). For many, their narratives have been made to feel silenced for far too long. After reading a draft of this manuscript my colleague, Susan Lynham, a White South African, shared an African proverb with me that captures the importance of individual narratives in breaking silences: “Until lions have their own ‘story tellers,’ tales of a lion hunt will always glorify the hunter.”

The narratives, containing both positive and negative experiences in academia, can serve as tuning forks for faculty and administrators at predominantly White colleges and universities. The purpose of this work is to share the themes from these narratives as well as offer recommendations for individuals and institutions working to recruit and retain faculty of color in higher education. I begin by providing an overview of key issues raised in the literature. I then discuss the methodology, the authors, the theoretical framework, and the data analysis; highlight some of the salient themes from the narratives; and conclude by offering recommendations and implications for further study as well as for institutional change.

Overview of the Literature

The literature on faculty of color teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities seems to be concentrated around four broad, interlocking, yet distinct themes: campus life and climate, tenure and promotion, discrimination, and teaching. It is difficult, as becomes evident in the paragraphs to follow, to separate these themes. National research on faculty of color in predominantly White colleges and universities is rare. One can speculate several reasons why this is the case. First, they represent a small number of overall full-time faculty; second, many scholars of color refrain from participating in such studies because their numbers are so small that they are easily identifiable; third, prior to the 1960s, they were not viewed as an important focus of research; and, finally, these studies are often conducted by faculty of color, and many majority White faculty do not believe that these individuals can be objective when researching their own community. Therefore, research on the experiences of faculty of color is sometimes viewed by traditional, often White scholars as lacking in rigor.

Furthermore, and even more problematic, a belief exists that this research can be validated only with a comparison group of White faculty. The presumption is that we continue to see these issues as binary and that the standard for normality and comparison is White. The sections to follow illustrate that the themes of campus life and climate, tenure and promotion, teaching, and discrimination are critical to our understanding of the experiences of faculty of color in higher education. It is time that we look at the factors contributing to the silence of these individuals and how we can learn from this silence to effectively recruit and retain more diverse faculties.

Campus Life and Climate

Campus life and climate are discussed here in regard to the degree to which faculty of color are comfortable with the culture, habits, decisions, practices, and policies that are part of the academic environment (Aguirre, 2000; Alfred, 2001; Essien, 2003; Harvey, 1991, 1994; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2003). Terms such as “marginality,” “alienation,” “isolation,” and “invisibility” are often used in the literature to describe the campus climate for faculty of

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color as well as their experiences with university life. A subtheme of the general theme of campus life and climate is the phenomenon described by many faculty of color as living in “two worlds,” described by some of these individuals as the constant tension of being pulled between their ethnic culture and the university culture (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Sadao, 2003; Segura, 2003). Many have developed coping strategies as a result. One such strategy is “code switching”—the ability to apply “parts of their separate value systems to different situations as appropriate” (Sadao, 2003, p. 410). Studies indicate that faculty of color experience higher levels of occupational stress than White faculty (Bronstein, 1993; Ruffins, 1997; Smith & Witt, 1996). They are “always in the spotlight” (Turner & Myers, 2000) and perceive that they have to “work twice as hard to be treated as equal” (Laden & Hagedorn, 2000). Stress is attributed to teaching, research, and service activities, with the latter two areas being more negatively affected by the nature and perceived load of the activities. For example, many faculty of color spend a great deal of time mentoring students of color. They engage in mentoring because they view this service activity as a way to give back to the community and a chance to effect positive change as role models. Some are looked upon as experts in matters of diversity.

Although many hesitate to serve the university and local communities as “diversity experts,” they do so because they know that if they do not, the diversity voice gets lost at the table. Some see this as a natural opportunity to open new lines of research or to use their research to effect change and influence decision making. Ironically, many are sought after only when there is a specific call for diversity—to represent their group and to provide the diversity perspective. It is rare when they are sought after to serve on committees with much larger and what could be considered as more prestigious charges, such as those that affect university policy, governance, finance, curriculum development, and research. Even more troubling is that when they come up for tenure or promotion, these very activities are not given serious weight in the process.

Tenure and Promotion

The process of coming up for tenure is characterized as “hazing” by many faculty of color (Ruffins, 1997). Stories abound in the literature about the hidden or unwritten versus written rules about tenure and promotion. Research on faculty productivity and rate of publication is limited (Antonio, 2002; Blackburn et al., 1994; Freeman, 1978). We often hear that faculty of color are not as productive as majority, White faculty, although available research comparing the publication performance of minority and majority faculty indicates no significant differences (Blackburn et al., 1994). In fact, according to Blackburn et al. (1994), the productivity argument needs to be substantiated with more research. In their study of faculty status among African Americans in U.S. higher education, Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, and Bonous-Hammarth (2000) stated that we must be cautious of such studies because of the vast difference

in the total number of African American faculty and the total number of White faculty on predominantly White campuses.

One particular area of contention in the tenure and promotion literature is the research agendas pursued by some faculty of color and whether these agendas are rewarded in tenure and promotion processes. For example, many faculty of color engage in research that benefits communities of color. Affirmative action, diversity and student outcomes, institutional climate, and culture and ethnicity are just a few of the areas that, without a doubt, benefit most higher education institutions, but research on these topics is not always rewarded in the academy. Furthermore, such research is often viewed as “risky” and not mainstream. This clearly puts faculty of color at a disadvantage in the tenure and promotion process, wherein the most value is often placed on mainstream research. Many continue to feel the anguish of discrimination when behaviors and attitudes on the part of majority White colleagues, students, and staff point to racism, sexism, xenophobia, “Islam phobia,” and homophobia.

Many faculty of color lament the fact that they have received very little or no mentoring from senior faculty colleagues. For the ones who have benefited from mentoring, there is no doubt that this experience has enabled their success (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Specifically, productive mentor-protégé relationships have been shown to lead to improvements in teaching performance and research productivity (Tillman, 2001). Cross-race faculty mentoring is also helpful for enhancing faculty relationships and administrative skills (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Some faculty of color report that they have had to look beyond senior faculty in their department to find mentors elsewhere (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). There is some literature emerging on mentoring faculty of color (Frierson, 1997, 1998; Singh & Stoloff, 2003; Tillman, 2001; Verdugo, 1995), but more work needs to be done to ascertain the nature and effectiveness of mentoring relationships.

Discrimination

The wounds of covert and overt racism, sexism, xenophobia, and homophobia run deep for many faculty of color. Discrimination cuts across many areas of the academy such as teaching, research, service, and overall experiences with the campus community. Women faculty of color face additional challenges, including discrimination related to gender as well as race—the double bind syndrome (Alfred, 2001; Bowie, 1995; Bronstein, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1993; Gregory, 2001; Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Phelps, 1995; Singh, Robinson, & Williams-Green, 1995; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2002). Female faculty of color are likely to be more engaged in teaching, advising, and committee-related activities than White male or female faculty, and they are often excluded from collaborative research with colleagues (Gregory, 2001).

Many women faculty of color report that they had to sacrifice family and nonacademic commitments for some years while working to establish a career

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or refrain from participating in these commitments for fear of not achieving tenure and promotion (Turner, 2002). The commitment to community that is honored by many African American, Native American, and Chicano faculty, in particular, is a constant source of frustration (Cross, 1996; de la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1996; Stein, 1996; Turner, 2002). Many find solace in and among safe spaces such as their family, church, community, and allies who work to develop or understand their experiences in academia.

There is virtually no empirical research on the experiences of women administrators of color in predominantly White colleges and universities (Turner, 2002). This should not come as a surprise, because the numbers of these women are even sparser when one looks at the representation of faculty of color as a whole. The literature on women administrators of color (Chliwniak, 1997; DiCroce, 1995; Gorena, 1996; Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Poplin Gosetti & Opp, 2000; Ramey, 1995; Singh et al., 1995; Warner, 1995) indicates that their experiences are similar to those of women faculty. However, they experience even greater feelings of isolation, lower satisfaction with their professional lives, and more negative treatment by majority White colleagues.

Teaching

Empirical research on the teaching experiences of faculty of color in predominantly White colleges and universities is limited (McGowan, 2000; Stanley et al., 2003). The research that exists on the teaching experiences of faculty of color is largely found in the K–12 setting (see Delpit, 1993; Foster, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1997; Ladson-Billings & Henry, 1990). Many faculty of color report experiences in as well as outside of the classroom that include challenges to their authority and expertise, negative behaviors and attitudes of students, and complaints being made to senior faculty and administrators about their teaching (Bower, 2002; McGowan, 2000; Stanley et al., 2003; Vargas, 2002). Several studies show that many faculty of color believe they are negatively affected by student evaluations of their teaching (Bower, 2002; Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; McGowan, 2000; Stanley et al., 2003; Tusmith & Reddy, 2002; Vargas, 2002). In particular, studies indicate that some of the negative comments seem to be directed at faculty of color who work to be inclusive in their teaching efforts (McGowan, 2000; Stanley et al., 2003; Vargas, 2002).

Faculty of color who teach multicultural courses or work to incorporate a multicultural perspective into their courses often face resistance from White students (Stanley et al., 2003; Vargas, 2002). One illustration of such resistance was offered in the narrative of an American Indian faculty member who stated that when she used the example of tribal values to teach about social inequity, students would challenge her in class, expecting her to provide examples using nonmainstream norms (Vargas, 2002). Similar experiences from other faculty of color have been reported in other studies (Stanley et al., 2003).

McGowan (2000), in a study of African American faculty, noted that classroom challenges appear to be age and gender dependent. For example, African American women faculty who are 35 years of age or younger appear to face greater challenges from White female students in their 20s, while those who are 40 years old or older appear to face greater challenges from students in nontraditional age groups. African American male faculty appear to face greater challenges from White male students than African American women faculty.

Methodology

The narrative data included here were derived from a larger qualitative study focusing on the experiences of faculty of color teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities. The quotations and narratives are drawn from *Faculty of Color: Teaching in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities* (Stanley, 2006). The principal goal of the book was to address the need for faculty of color to provide ongoing narratives of their experiences so that predominantly White colleges and universities hiring faculty of color can understand the multiple forms of discrimination, bias, segregation, and unconscious racism these individuals encounter as a part of their daily institutional work.

The narratives were autoethnographic, with chapters solicited from the authors on their personal experiences teaching in predominantly White institutions. Autoethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing that, according to Ellis and Bochner (2000), “make[s] the researcher’s own experiences a topic of investigation in [their] own right” (p. 733). Autoethnographers “ask their readers to feel the truth of their stories and to become co-participants, engaging in storyline[s] morally, emotionally, aesthetically, and intellectually” (p. 745). I wanted the contributing authors to frame their experiences in their own terms and within their own personal frames of meaning and experience. I had no previous knowledge of whether or not they used reflexive journaling before they wrote their chapters. I asked the respondents to reflect on two questions as they wrote their chapters: (a) How would you describe your experiences teaching in a predominantly White institution? and (b) What recommendations would you offer to faculty of color and administrators based on these experiences?

The 27 contributing authors were solicited via the snowball sampling technique (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I relied on referrals through my association with the Professional and Organizational Development Network in Higher Education as well as from participants who recommended others for the book. Autoethnography allowed for contextualization in that it afforded faculty of color an opportunity to relate their life stories, thoughts, feelings, values, and beliefs as they pertained to their experiences as faculty on predominantly White campuses. In addition, it allowed an opportunity for these contributing authors to share personal accounts of their experiences with the majority culture and to express how, in many cases, they have been made to feel “othered” in academia.

About the Contributing Authors

The 27 contributing authors are from the disciplines of business, dentistry, education, engineering, ethnic studies, health education, political science, public policy, psychology, sociology, and speech, language, and hearing science. Two hold the title of lecturer, 7 are assistant professors, 13 are associate professors, and 5 are full professors. In addition, 5 are currently serving in an administrative role such as department chair or assistant dean. Many are the recipients of prestigious university, disciplinary, and national awards such as National Science Foundation career and young investigator awards, awards recognizing outstanding faculty members, college and university distinguished teaching and service awards, and fellowships. Twenty-five of the contributing authors are from research-extensive universities, while 2 are from liberal arts colleges.

The contributing authors also represent an array of social and cultural identities. For example, authors identified themselves as African, African American, American Indian, Asian, Asian American, Black, Chamorro, Indian, Jamaican, Jewish, Latina/o, Mexican American, Muslim, Native Pacific Islander, Puerto Rican, and South African. Gay and lesbian were also used as self-identifiers.

Theoretical Framework

I used critical race theory as a theoretical framework in my effort to present and break the often silenced narratives of faculty of color in a way that positions them as authentic and understood for what they are. Critical race theory “challenges the experiences of Whites as the normative standard and grounds its conceptual framework in the distinctive experiences of people of color” (Taylor, 1998, p. 122). The origins of critical race theory date to the 1970s, when it was used in legal scholarship in response to the paucity of progress made by civil rights litigation in producing meaningful reform (Taylor, 1998, p. 122). Critical race theory scholars (Bell, 1994; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Lawrence, 1991; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993) argue that “one powerful way to challenge the dominant mindset of society—the shared stereotypes, beliefs, and understandings—is the telling of stories. Stories can not only challenge the status quo, but they can help build consensus and create a shared, common understanding” (Taylor, 1998, p. 122).

I argue, in the context of the 24 narratives shared by the 27 contributing authors (African American, American Indian, Asian American, and Latina/o) in *Faculty of Color*, that specific themes emerged showing that critical race theory is paramount to our understanding of individual, institutional, and societal racism, sexism, xenophobia, and homophobia. Furthermore, if we ignore the narratives of faculty of color and do not listen to and learn from their experiences to effect institutional change in meaningful ways, this could have a profound impact on the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education.

The Narratives and Data Analysis

The contributors were asked to write about their experiences teaching on a predominantly White campus. I emphasized that they could focus on either a specific issue or a variety of issues for their chapter, however, they were instructed to keep in mind that the primary audience for the book would be senior administrators in higher education institutions, such as presidents, chancellors, provosts, deans, and department chairs. The secondary audience is faculty, particularly future faculty of color. I also encouraged the authors to share any recommendations or suggestions for change based on their experiences.

The data analysis was carried out through the qualitative research methods of content and narrative analysis. Specifically, I read through the 24 chapters looking for themes that were consistent across the narratives. I discovered that the themes were remarkably similar to the issues raised in the overview of the literature; however, the experiences were shared with more depth and detail and far more clarity. Each experience provides an opportunity for analysis of what it means to be different or an outsider in academia. There were no issues specific to race, gender, or ethnicity. For example, a particularly strong theme was classroom teaching. African American faculty reported similar experiences in the classroom, as did Latino and American Indian faculty. However, for some faculty, identity issues such as sexual orientation, nationality, and religion were more salient to their experiences than race or ethnicity. The themes revealed as significant in analyses across the 24 narratives were as follows: teaching, mentoring, collegiality, identity, service, and racism.

Teaching

The first and strongest theme that came through a reading of the narratives was teaching. Many of the contributing authors wrote about their experiences with teaching and specifically the challenges they faced in as well as outside of the classroom. These challenges included problematic student attitudes and behaviors and questioning of their authority and credibility in the classroom. One of the contributors illustrated these challenges very clearly in her narrative.

On my first day of teaching, I walked into the large auditorium-style classroom and sensed the surprise of the students in seeing that I was a Black female. The male students sometimes would try to show that I did not know my material. For example, after I had explained a point in class, a male student would attempt to explain the point again in a manner that suggested my explanation was incorrect. From the tone of the student and the timing of the comment, I felt he was trying to demonstrate that I, this Black woman professor, was not knowledgeable. (African American full professor, electrical engineering)

Another contributor wrote about similar experiences in his classroom.

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I like to think I have come a long way in facilitating demographic space. . . . A few years ago, a Euro-American male student seemingly promoted and celebrated the critical material on racial oppression presented in class by me and others nearly every class session. Eventually, it became obvious to others that this student wanted to hear himself speak and condescendingly mocked minority voices by overusing and overemphasizing phrases like “Right on, right on!” “I’m down!” and “The Man!” with a sarcastic smirk on his face. . . . These are only a few instances of verbosity patterned throughout my classes. (Native Pacific Islander [specifically Chamorro] assistant professor, sociology)

Some faculty of color went further and addressed the challenges they encountered while working to incorporate diversity issues in their course content. Those who adhered to a social justice teaching philosophy found that students were often resistant to hearing about diversity. This type of resistance can take many forms. For example, some students share their dissatisfaction on student evaluations and in public venues such as the Internet and student newspapers. One of the contributing authors shared an excerpt written by an undergraduate White student for the university student newspaper about the course he had taken with this professor:

I am concerned that students who enroll in what they think is a course in political science and government know they are really signing up for a course in racial sensitivity. This type of deceptive advertising is nothing new to [the university]. If you sign up for an English course you are more likely to be required to attend a gay/lesbian teach-in. As an undergraduate I was less interested in what my professors thought about social topics and more interested in learning something about the course described in my catalog. I am fascinated that not only do professors have the extra class time to insert these ancillary topics, they seem to be the primary focus for the semester. Perhaps a fair approach would be creation of a department for these professors and be open and honest about their intent. This way students would not be ambushed. I realized this sounds terribly insensitive, but grant me [the] latitude of diversity of thought you expect for yourselves. (African American assistant professor, political science)

Another contributor, an assistant professor of education who is of American Indian background, teaches a course required of all preservice teachers as part of the licensure process. In his narrative, he shared the challenges he faced teaching students to be critical thinkers and to question the accuracy of what they read in textbooks. He wrote:

We push our students to consider how textbooks are written and revised based on censorship imposed from publishing executives, adoption boards, school administrators, parent groups, or other concerned citizens. . . . In the end, what we are asking is that they be open to hearing an alternative version of history, one that may be

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unsettling and that might force them to rethink their ideas about what it means to be “American.” What is most important is that we do this knowing that our presence in the front of the room is held suspect. White students have been taught that when people who look like us speak dangerous and unpopular truths, we have hidden agendas. We are not to be trusted. When we assert ourselves we run the risk of being discredited by students emboldened by their anger. The challenge then becomes not only leading the students from point A to B but also leaving the room unharmed with our sense of integrity intact. (American Indian assistant professor, education)

The narratives of the contributing authors reveal that faculty of color enjoy teaching despite the challenges described in these excerpts. Many made it clear that teaching is one of the reasons why they decided on the professoriate. One author, an associate professor who is African American, wrote about her “journey of discovering the joy of teaching.” I should also point out that many faculty of color were able to rely on senior colleagues who they felt mentored them about the challenges they faced when teaching. One particular author stated this point poignantly: “I had a mentor, a White female, who gave much of her time to listen and advise me during the difficult times of my early years. . . . She was the person who helped me change my habit of initially thinking people’s responses were because of who I was” (Stanley, 2006, p. 118).

Teaching is clearly a complex activity. However, the level of complexity is heightened when individuals perceive that race factors into teaching. Many of our students do not get an opportunity to interact with and learn from a diverse faculty. Excerpts from these narratives illustrate that race matters in the classroom. Many faculty of color perceive that students treat them differently than they treat their White colleagues. When individuals experience this treatment, it can take a toll on their psyche, often forcing them to question whether it is due to race or not. As these narratives suggest, faculty of color encounter challenges related to authority, credibility, and validity in terms of multicultural course content. These challenges should be acknowledged, confronted, and supported. If we hope to prepare students to live and function in an increasingly diverse, global, and complex world, then we have to examine the dynamics of the teaching and learning process and the intersection of this process with those of us on the faculty who do not look or think like the majority members of our culture and society.

Mentoring

The second theme across the narratives was mentoring. Many faculty of color described mentors who helped shaped them as scholars in the academy. Mentors helped them with teaching and research and how to be good citizens, which for many enabled them to develop a presence of leadership in their field. Some faculty of color benefited from cross-race mentoring, while others described same-race mentoring experiences. The gender of the mentor did not

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seem to matter; many shared their experiences with mentors who were both female and male. Some emphasized that they had mentors outside their discipline and home institution. In addition, many relied on a specific mentor for a particular situation. It was clear from reading the narratives that mentoring had an impact on the professional lives of faculty of color. For example, one contributor offered the following advice to future and current faculty of color:

I often reach back to a traditional value that many Latinos hold dear, the idea of community or “familia.” Even where the number of Latinos or faculty of color is slim, seek out a diverse network of committed teachers. They not only provide you with an extra set of eyes and ears for the classroom; they can also provide you with the type of honest feedback both you and your students require to succeed. While senior White faculty cannot address all the dilemmas encountered by Latinos, many have successfully navigated troublesome classroom waters. You owe it to yourself to avail yourself of their considerable knowledge and experience. Everyone talks a good talk about diversity. Look to those colleagues (White as well as colleagues of color) who are doing the work and walking the talk. (Latino associate professor, education)

Another contributing author had an unusual career trajectory. She wrote about her experiences working at the National Research Council (NRC) and how a mentor facilitated her transition from a nonacademic position to the professoriate.

My work at the NRC enhanced my professional development. It was at the NRC that I developed a research interest in human resource issues in the science and engineering workforce focusing on underrepresented groups—African Americans, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic White women. The executive director of my NRC unit actively encouraged my scholarly activities—including publishing. He understood academe and did everything he could to facilitate my return to the classroom. He was extraordinary. . . . Actively seek out mentors whether or not they are assigned. One can have more than one mentor at a given point in time. It is unrealistic to expect one person to be able to give advice on all aspects and phases of one’s career. Mentors can be in one’s home institution (but not necessarily in the same department) and/or can be in one’s discipline or research area at another institution. (African American associate professor, public policy)

One of the contributors wrote about how conflicting messages received from a mentor during her third-year review almost cost her promotion and tenure.

Unlike many of my colleagues who had mentors in the academy who showed them the ropes, I was on my own. I often felt I was swimming upstream, barely able to keep my head above water. The moment of truth was the end of my third year, before my fourth-year review. Two weeks before my annual review meeting, I had met with

my chairperson for my evaluation and was told that I was making adequate progress. At the annual review meeting I sat around the table with five White males, who comprised the promotion and tenure committee, and my chairperson, a White female. The committee proceeded to tell me that my teaching and service were excellent but that my scholarship was questionable, and they were not confident I would make tenure. One faculty member shared with me that one of the articles I wrote dealing with diversity had minimal significance and did not contribute to the diversity literature. This faculty member's area of research was not diversity. In the meeting, the chairperson, who two weeks prior assured me that I was on the right path, said absolutely nothing. . . . I met with my chairperson the next day to ask her about the conflicting messages I received. Her comment was, "Well, next year we'll see if you will be staying, or applying to a teaching university." (African American associate professor, school psychology)

Some faculty of color described experiences with mentors that were mixed. For example, one contributor described her experience in a mentoring program with an assigned mentor as well as other mentoring relationships she had worked to establish.

Upon my arrival at the university I elected to participate in a mentoring program offered by the university. I was assigned a mentor—a woman in the sciences, albeit a different college, who had already achieved the rank of full professor. During our few encounters, she admitted that I already knew more than she could possibly teach me. My true mentoring would come from an external network that I strategically created for myself. Networking was an invaluable tool during my first three years [at the university]. I found people who would nurture, collaborate, and provide me with feedback I needed to improve my research, teaching, and progress. I approached African American faculty members I already knew in my discipline, leading scholars that I met at conferences as well as administrators within my university system and other colleges and universities throughout the country. (African American associate professor, industrial and management systems engineering)

Many of us in the academy have come to know and understand that mentoring can be a crucial strategy for success. However, there are still some of us who adhere to the "sink or swim" mentality of mentoring. Furthermore, many of us believe that we achieved success without mentoring, so why should we spend our time and energy on an activity that sends the implicit message that someone needs help? After all, if one needs help, it means that one is lacking what it takes to succeed. Or we simply mentor the way we have been mentored, which is often based on a "one size fits all" model. Faculty come in all shapes and sizes, with different values, goals, beliefs, and needs. A "one size fits all" model is problematic for faculty of color, particularly when they look around and do not see many people like them represented among the senior

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faculty and administrative ranks. As is clear from their narratives, faculty of color often believe that cultivation of formal and informal networks makes a difference in their professional development. Mentoring remains one of the key attributes for the continued recruitment and retention of faculty of color at predominantly White colleges and universities.

Collegiality

The third theme was collegiality. Several faculty of color wrote about the relationships they had with their university colleagues. Some of these experiences were positive, while others were not. In the case of many faculty of color, their experiences with their majority White colleagues were either a major factor that enabled their success in academia or the tipping point that contributed to their decision to leave and move on to another institution. Collegiality is a nebulous concept in the college and university environment. One is never quite sure how to interpret the implicit and explicit rules that surround the meta-messages in academia. Therefore, many faculty of color are often forced to examine these rules through various lenses, including race, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, and age. One of the contributors wrote the following to illustrate this point and how the energy spent on working to interpret these messages contributed to occupational stress.

I found the academic culture largely impervious to “border crossing.” Decoding ambiguous messages from various institutional levels, especially the department level, represented an immediate challenge compounded by the need to ascertain a trustworthy colleague I could consult to assure I was decoding information as accurately as possible. A senior department colleague frequently reminded me that only thirty percent of tenure-line faculty were awarded tenure at our institution. I did not know how to decode this message. While the message may have been intended to inform, its effect was to incrementally ratchet up my stress level. (American Indian associate professor, educational leadership and policy analysis)

One contributor described his experiences with visibility and invisibility on the university campus and how these experiences affected collegiality.

At another occasion, one of my colleagues was honored with a university-wide award. Embarrassingly, only I and one other member of my department attended the event. The next day, the dean promptly called the department chairperson, chastising the department for their absence while praising, by name, the *one* faculty member that was present. The only person of color at this event, sitting right in front, next to the colleague now publicly named, I was present but not seen, noticed perhaps, but not remembered. It does not even help to attend university events for mercenary tenure and promotion capital when the colored corporeal yields such diminished returns. (African [South African] assistant professor, psychology)

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Another contributing author, now located at a liberal arts college, described her experiences with collegiality at her previous institution.

At the time I joined the college, I was the only African American woman in the department of over forty colleagues. . . . The majority of the faculty had offices on the eighteenth floor. My office was on the nineteenth floor. It was also located down a little alcove off the main hallway. Many students—and some faculty—had difficulty finding me. It was tiny. It was dark. It had no windows. . . . I was one of four women, one of two African Americans. The other women had straight long hair; I wore my hair in a short, natural style. I was twenty-eight and my colleagues were primarily in their forties and older. I did not wear a suit, preferring to wear dress pants and a sweater or blouse. I was different. I did not fit the mold. Not fitting that mold meant that peers treated me differently. I wasn't like the others. I was "Other." (African American associate professor, psychology)

For many faculty of color, collegiality also meant having to prove and "overprove" their presence and worth in the academy. One contributing author who self-identified as Muslim shared the following in her narrative.

Unlike passing comments, misconceptions were the hardest obstacles to overcome because they put me at an uneven playing field. In every aspect of my career, I had to start by working harder to gain the respect and trust of my colleagues, students, patients, and staff. It seems that I am seen first as minority and second as a dentist, teacher, and researcher. My merits were not the only factor being judged. Over time, trust has been gained, relations have been built, and opportunities have been opened. However, all this required me first overcoming the barrier that existed based on my status as a unique minority. (Middle Eastern [Jordan] assistant professor, dentistry)

Finally, one contributor wrote about her experiences with collegiality in the context of prevailing American cultural norms and values.

Collegiality is seen as necessary for faculty evaluations, and collegiality means the particular American personality type that is valued. Shyness and reserve are not appreciated, instead one has to be extroverted, outgoing, and friendly with an open and forthcoming style of communicating even with strangers. . . . If I do not talk or volunteer some general comments and observations at a faculty gathering I am seen as not very friendly or interested in participating. I am more familiar with Indian small talk and English banter, and therefore, I am sometimes at a loss when there are pressures to be collegial on campus with my American colleagues. (Indian associate professor, psychology)

Colleges and universities expend a tremendous amount of energy espousing collegiality. Sometimes we act as if the proverbial state of being collegial is a common understanding to us all. In fact, at many colleges and

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universities, the word “collegial” is often synonymous with faculty. A common presumption is that all faculty are collegial. In addition, faculty are often held to certain expectations concerning what the requirements are for collegiality. These expectations are sometimes stated; in other instances they are not, leaving many faculty to figure them out on their own, sometimes at great cost. Some of these requirements can take the form of expressed presence at faculty meetings and campus events and unexpressed presence at social department and college gatherings. Regardless of the situation, faculty of color perceive that they are held to higher expectations and that they are not acknowledged when they make an effort to respond to the requirements in place.

Identity

The fourth theme was identity. Faculty of color described how they were perceived in terms of attributes salient to their gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, culture, and socioeconomic status. Negotiation of one’s identity in the academic setting is a continuous process. Our social and cultural identities are complex. How we choose to identify ourselves in terms of the attributes just mentioned, for example, is important to our understanding of worldviews, values, and beliefs. In essence, it is difficult to separate our individual identities from the group memberships we hold and to grasp how our identities are constructed in relation to others and the cultures in which we are implanted (Epstein, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978). Many of the contributors wrote about their identities and how they intersected with their experiences on a predominantly White campus. One contributor described her experiences with “stepping out of the closet” as they related to her identity as a lesbian woman in the academy.

I recall working closely with one colleague on a paper we were authoring together. During our meeting, I was talking—not complaining—about the work I had to do at home. My colleague said, “you need a wife.” While I thought the comment was amusing (and yet insulting to the feminist in me), I chose not to view that as an opening for outing myself. I faced the common awkward interactions that many closeted gays and lesbians face when confronted with the seemingly innocuous question, “How was your weekend?” Fortunately, I had few close ties, so the question did not come up that often, but when it did, I had to figure out whether to talk about the “guy” I was dating, or say nothing, or say the truth. (African American associate professor, psychology)

Another contributor wrote about her identification as a Hispanic woman and her “other” self-identities.

People look at me in disbelief when I tell them that I am Mexican. They wonder how a person with fair skin and a German name could call herself Hispanic. Individuals who are interested in my explanation

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will hear what follows. I am a Mexican citizen, born and raised in Tijuana, Mexico. . . . I have fair skin—my skin color is nowhere in the continuum of brown. After more than 15 years in the United States, I have lost my “foreigner” accent. People have a difficult time believing that my native language is Spanish. For survival reasons, my German-Jewish grandparents had to move from Germany in 1938. My parents were born in Mexico and I am part of the generation that followed. (Hispanic assistant professor, school psychology)

One of the contributing authors, a dentist who grew up in Jordan, wrote about her experiences as a Muslim woman in academia and how instrumental these experiences came to be for her, particularly in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

It is easy for people to make the connection that a woman wearing a hijab (head cover) is a Muslim. It is not easy for them to make the connection that an educated young woman with the advantages of western society would choose to cover herself in a manner reflective of her religion. Comments such as, “Aren’t you hot in that?” or “You always wear that!” are a constant in my personal and professional life. At times reactions have been as extreme as a patient refusing my care based solely on my appearance and when I had to argue my way into the school affiliated hospital’s operating room just because I had my head cover. It seems odd to me for a demand that I take off my head cover when we are allowed to go in with scrubs. . . . And with the wound of September 11 still fresh, the picture becomes dimmer. Now I am also a threat! (Middle Eastern [Jordan] assistant professor, dentistry)

Another contributing author described and defended his identity as a Pacific Islander in the following manner:

I have been fiercely aware of the presence of racism as a minority in the United States throughout my life. . . . I became conscious of my combined invisibility and otherness as an “honorary Latino” and “oriental with a Spanish surname.” For instance, I recall a conversation with a Euro-American’s female classmate about childbirth and childrearing. Somehow, the conversation shifted to the fertility and procreation of Latinos. My classmate remarked, “You Hispanic men are so fertile. . . .” I attempted to clarify myself as a Pacific Islander and Chamorro, not to distance myself from the racialized stigma and distortion of machismo imposed on Latinos, but to avoid homogenization and to clarify my Spanish surname in the context of the Spanish colonization of Guam. (Native Pacific Islander [Chamorro] assistant professor, sociology)

Still another contributor, an Indian woman, did not identify with the term “faculty of color” but, rather, identified herself “as an Indian, a member of a cultural/national group.” She went on to explain her struggle with the use of “faculty of color.”

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The issue it raises for me is the construction of identity with skin color as opposed to identification with one's cultural group, which is a more natural, spontaneous identification process that comes from early membership within a family group, linguistic group, etc. There are many possible group identities, but shared skin color as a group identity is not a very salient one psychologically except in cases where it has been imposed from outside as a means of oppression. (Indian associate professor, psychology)

As a Jamaican woman who identifies with the term "Black" rather than African American, I, too, struggle with how groups of people perceived to be the same in skin color hue are often grouped together as "African American." In my own narrative, I shared the following experiences.

The predominant culture shock that I have had to face (and I am still facing) living in the American culture is the assumption made by European Americans that all dark skinned people are alike and of one origin. I also face the assumption made by African Americans that as a Black woman, who was born and raised in another country, I could not understand the various systems of oppression in the United States. It is assumed that I have not experienced any of the "isms" (racism, sexism, classism) because I am a cultural outsider—an immigrant minority. . . . European Americans also position me as "different." To some, I am a bit of an enigma, because I do not conform to the many stereotypes and mental models that they hold about African Americans—I am always being compared to "them." (Jamaican professor, higher education administration)

Identity is a significant component of one's existence. We no longer live in a society where "Please check the box that best describes your race and/or ethnicity" is sufficient to describe one's identity. Identity is much more complex. In fact, as the narratives illustrate, faculty of color, like most faculty members, represent multiple social and cultural identities. For example, a Muslim woman faculty member faces many challenges as well as stereotypes in a university environment. In addition, depending on the situation, xenophobia may trump gender in her perception of the issue that is most relevant to her experience. Therefore, we should not make inferences based on inadequate data from visible and invisible differences. Identity presents a unique opportunity to participate in and learn from cross-racial, cross-cultural, cross-gender, cross-nationality, and cross-sexual orientation dialogues. It also provides an opportunity to model diversity and social justice—attributes that are important in achieving a more diverse student body and faculty.

Service

The fifth theme was service. Faculty of color described service activities that included the following: (a) mentoring students of color, (b) serving on university and national recruitment and retention committees focusing on diver-

sity, (c) helping local communities in their educational efforts, (d) mentoring faculty of color, and (e) educating majority White faculty, administrators, students, and staff about diversity. The service activities that they engage in should not be ignored. Similar to what has been reported in the literature, the narratives continue to illustrate that faculty of color are often burdened with heavy service loads, specifically the need to use their scholarly expertise and experience to give something back to the community. In addition, participation in service activities, regardless of the rationale, is often not rewarded in merit and personnel decisions. In fact, for many, it involves a risk of not being promoted or tenured. The contributing authors shared their experiences with service at the university, state, local community, and national levels.

I, and I suspect many other faculty, view their professional lives in the context of pre- and post-tenure. For most, working toward tenure is a grueling process, particularly in research universities where tenure decisions are based largely on number, quality, and type of research products favored by the faculty member's particular field. . . . Providing service to my tribal nation presented another challenge to my progress toward tenure. Service to tribes and tribal communities is recognized in the scholarly literature to compromise the successful progress of American Indian faculty to tenure [Stein, 1994, cited in Stanley, 2006]. Prior to my faculty appointment, I had been appointed by the Cherokee Nation Tribal Council to fulfill a major responsibility requiring an approximate time commitment of three years. Through strong verbal support, the dean endorsed my work with the Nation. (American Indian associate professor, educational leadership and policy analysis)

One contributor wrote about her experiences with service as a faculty member and during her years in her administrative role as an assistant dean.

The demands of being a Black female faculty at a majority institution sometimes can be quite overwhelming. In addition to the usual teaching and research activities that all faculty perform, we also tend to perform more service because the small number of Black faculty means we are picked often for committees that need diverse representation, and become the "safe" person [to whom] underrepresented minority students turn to discuss their climate issues. . . . I overcame my feelings of isolation through certain university service activities. Even though senior faculty cautioned me against doing much service at the pre-tenure stage, it was my way of finding the "community" I needed. (African American full professor, electrical engineering)

Another contributor wrote about his struggles between heeding advice on not becoming too involved with service activities and knowing when to respond to invitations, particularly from senior colleagues. He described how he handled one particular situation:

During Martin Luther King, Jr., week, I was asked to join two other senior colleagues in a campus forum on reparations. While reparations

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do fall under the much broader topic of my primary research, Black Politics, it is by no means an area for which I possess expertise. However, despite advice from colleagues to not get bogged down into [many] service activities, I found it impossible to turn down a request made by a senior colleague (and former chair). In preparing for this event, I found myself allocating at least two weeks of research time. This just happened to occur at the beginning of the spring semester, during a time that I was preparing a new course (first time taught by me). Additionally, I had also taken on the daunting responsibility of reading and evaluating a manuscript for a book publisher. . . . The moral of the story is to “just say no!” . . . As one scholar/activist once stated, “these problems will be here while you are living, as well as when you are dead.” (African American assistant professor, political science)

Still another contributor described his experiences with service using the analogy of a forest and its relation to the constant dichotomy of being invisible and visible at the same time in an academic community.

But then, the faculty of color—the colored faculty—speaks up, even demands to be heard. And now s/he becomes recognized—all too well. The pendulum seemingly swings right over to the next side, from Black guy no one knows to Black guy everyone knows (in the dual analogies of the forest undergrowth that gets stepped on, and the tallest trees that get cut down first, neither position sits all that comfortably in the politics of tenure and promotion). From the expectation that you don’t have a voice, you now become a celebrity voice, a celebrity of color, to be sure, but a celebrity no less. Every university committee wants you in their band, every graduation ceremony has you walking next to the university president, every promotional flyer and glossy university magazine has you posing with chalk and tie in front of a rapt classroom, and your opinion is sought on all matters of difference without ever acknowledging yours. (African [South African] assistant professor, psychology)

One of the contributing authors found that his participation in service activities not only enabled the academic development of students of color but also bolstered White students’ confidence in engaging with diversity and social justice issues in higher education.

When you are one of a handful of faculty of color on campus, students of all colors often gravitate to you. Mentoring students is a privilege, but it’s not always a picnic in the park. . . . They come to my office to express a range of concerns, from feeling like academic frauds to encountering other faculty who they experience as racially insensitive to advising on projects addressing diversity. The flip side of the dilemma of building trust and addressing the suspicions of the students of color is addressing the concerns and suspicions of the White students. Over the years, I have seen them wonder, “Will he cater to the students of color?” or “Will he lower academic standards?” . . . I

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have found White students are also hungry for advising time. Perhaps due to the lack of faculty of color, it's unusual for White students to be able to engage . . . with an older person of color truthfully and thoughtfully over their issues and concerns about diversity. A faculty of color can provide them with . . . new windows into the world, but also new mirrors upon which to reflect back their Whiteness. (Latino associate professor, education)

Similar to the situation with collegiality, faculty in general receive mixed messages about expectations for being a good citizen. For faculty of color, service activities often contribute to the development of their community and create avenues from which to build a research agenda. For others, service activities help to alleviate isolation and enhance a sense of community on campus. These narratives suggest that there is a delicate balance between being a good citizen and knowing how and when to be strategic so that service activities enhance one's scholarly agenda. There are no easy answers here. Faculty of color are often at a crossroads: On the one hand, they are recruited to diversify the faculty and further the university's diversity agenda (because of perceived or real expertise), and, on the other hand, they often engage in these activities only to be told that they are of little value in merit and personnel decisions. Participation in service activities remains a critical area to which many faculty of color fall prey, and it is often a component that costs them greatly when they are being evaluated for promotion or tenure.

Racism

The sixth and final theme was experiences with racism. In particular, the contributing authors wrote about two forms of racism that affected them: institutional racism and individual racism. They described incidents that pointed to policies and practices that disadvantaged them on the basis of their racial group, nationality, gender, or sexual orientation. Many found ways to continue their scholarly pursuits despite these overt or covert experiences.

African American professors are confronted with institutional racism on a daily basis. Some of my students have challenged my credentials in and outside of the classroom and have had the audacity to question my appointment at a "superior" institution of higher learning. Often, majority students view me as an "affirmative action hire," just as they view minority students as being at a university because of their race or ethnicity rather than because of their intellectual abilities. In addition, parents have e-mailed and called me to question my knowledge, teaching skills, and grading scheme. I have actually had a parent tell me, "My husband is an M.D., and he read his daughter's paper, and she should have received an A. Are you sure you know how to write and teach?" I wonder, if I were a White male tenured faculty member, would I have been approached like this? (African American associate professor, health and kinesiology)

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One contributor characterized her experiences with racism as being associated with a system of oppression.

As do all institutions of higher education, the university I joined reflects the majority culture. Historically excluded from the academy, minority faculty have been admitted as guests within the majority culture's house, . . . expected to "honor their hosts' customs without question, . . . keep out of certain rooms . . . and . . . always be on their best behavior" [Turner, 2000, p. 85, cited in Stanley, 2006]. Minority faculty are subject to the expectation that they will think and act as do their White colleagues. Such statements and expectations have the isolating and alienating effect of objectifying an individual's personhood, a tiresome experience common to many mixed blood people. (American Indian associate professor, educational leadership and policy analysis)

Majority White faculty often say that faculty of color are quick to "play the race card." In fact, some will even go further and refute racism when it is called into question, saying that faculty of color are too sensitive and that all faculty members encounter many of the experiences described here. One of the contributing authors addressed this particular point in his narrative:

While I recognize that these are burdens and challenges that all persons face, the overwhelming fact of continuing racial segregation in the United States adds extra dimensions to the journey for racialized ethnics. And while many of my White colleagues do indeed struggle mightily with their class status in relation to their faculty position at a college or university, I more often commiserate with my minority colleagues about the additional pressures that inhere in the very real attachments and commitments to the racialized ethnic communities that have produced us, wherever we find them. I feel this all too keenly as an African American faculty member in an Ethnic Studies department at what many Colorado residents refer to, with what I sometimes take as a barely repressed sense of pride, as one of the Whitest schools in the country. (African American instructor, ethnic studies)

One author wrote about his experiences with institutional racism during the time he was interviewing for a faculty position.

Upon interviewing for the position, a recurring theme was the department's desire to be "sensitive to diversity." Now given that the department was already represented in terms of gender, that a variety of faith traditions were represented by the faculty, that the faculty enjoyed representation in terms of sexual orientation, and that at least two members came from decidedly working class backgrounds, I read the meaning of the departmental "sensitivity to diversity" as code for the wish to employ a faculty person of color. I say "code" because beyond a wish to appoint a qualified, "diverse" faculty person, it was never mentioned that what it meant, really, was a person of color. A senior member of the department commented: "While we'd like to diversify our department, we will make an appointment on merit, and will look

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for the best candidate,” a statement that illustrates the discursive ambiguity and unease with naming race. Moreover, particular conceptions of merit often erase the pedagogical and human richness (merit) that diversity brings to bear on the educational enterprise. (African [South African] assistant professor, psychology)

Many White faculty succumb to this “encoding” behavior, in part because of the way nondiscrimination law is written and in part because they are seemingly uncomfortable talking about issues of race and ethnicity. Rather than open engagement in a dialogue and a willingness to learn, this leads to a “dancing act” around these issues that can be perceived, as in this case, as a lack of commitment to valuing diversity. This particular incident demonstrates that institutions rarely engage in authentic conversations about how diversity plays into merit. The current conception of merit, particularly at research universities, is far too narrow and permits faculty to encode perceptions of diversity. For example, a current measure used in evaluating research quality (for purposes of promotion, tenure, and merit) is number of articles published in highly refereed or top-tier journals in one’s discipline. This practice is based on a socially constructed norm that benefits, in most instances, majority White faculty.

Diversity in and of itself has merit. What is becoming clearer, however, is that we have not yet found a means to weigh or count diversity. On the one hand, we are perfectly comfortable if, for example, an African American male professor does mainstream research and publishes in a top-tier journal. On the other hand, if a Latina woman does research that benefits her community and it is published in a journal that is not highly ranked or does not appear on the Social Sciences Citation Index, her work is often discounted as lacking in rigor. The preceding narrative suggests that this is a prime opportunity to discuss the value and merit of having diverse voices on the faculty and the implications in terms of shaping research, teaching, curriculum development, student learning outcome goals, and the overall department’s vision for the future.

There is a tendency for some majority White faculty, particularly those who believe that they are “in tune” with diversity issues, to banter with faculty of color in ways that suggest that they are “one of us.” Sometimes these behaviors and attitudes are not only condescending but racist. One author spoke to this point specifically:

Only four years ago, while walking with another colleague of color to a faculty meeting, a colleague said in jest, “This side of the hallway sure is looking darker lately.” My colleague and I exchange[d] glances with each other. This same colleague observe[d] the noticeable exchange and tried[d] to make light of the comment. “You ladies know I was just kidding, don’t you?” (Black associate professor, higher education administration)

Many of the contributing authors wrote about their experiences with another form of racism: xenophobia. One author described one of several experiences with xenophobia as an Indian woman faculty member in the United States.

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I remember when doing my psychology internship at a major New York hospital that my natural impulse was to talk about my being from India, and to refer to myself as an Indian. . . . Instead, I was met with a wall of silence as if I had broken an unspoken taboo of never calling attention to your own or other people's difference. I slowly over the years began to understand some of the underlying attitudes here—that it is not polite to notice difference because being different means that you are inevitably deficient in some way. I remember that in the same hospital, when we all had to bring some eats for a departmental party, I was told that there was concern about what kind of cheese I would bring since who knew what kinds of cheese Indians ate. (Indian associate professor, psychology)

Another contributor wrote about her experiences as a Muslim woman and the perceptions that came with her religious identity when she sought to enter into conversations about terrorism in the United States.

I remember watching the news with my colleagues when the first tower fell with a gloomy feeling taking over all of us when I heard the comment, "maybe you should go home." Despite the fact that the comment possibly came from a good intention for my own safety, it sure made me feel viewed as responsible for what we were watching. It was almost as if I would not be allowed to mourn with the rest because others assumed people like me were to blame. In addition to being deprived my right to mourn, there was a sense of loss of my right of speech. . . . With the media playing a major role in people's perceptions of Muslims, I was constantly looked upon as if I was liable for what was happening and therefore was not entitled to my opinions. (Middle Eastern [Jordan] assistant professor, dentistry)

Institutional racism is usually entrenched in an institution's history and is systemic and habitual. African Americans, Latina/os, American Indians, Asian Americans, those born and raised in another culture, and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals live daily with the effects of institutional and individual racism. Institutional racism occurs, for example, when administrators do not support faculty members when their academic credentials are called into question for a grade they assigned to a student. Individual racism occurs when a faculty member is not confronted for using a euphemism to describe the color of a hallway in the presence of two African American colleagues. Institutional racism is often subtle to the majority White culture and rarely acknowledged publicly. Many institutions value diversity, but they often do not look deep enough to ascertain how habitual policies and practices work to disadvantage certain social, racial, or cultural groups. This is one of the key arguments made in critical race theory. Individual racism, for example, is often invisible to the majority White culture and brings with it a defensive posture when it is confronted.

Some of us believe that the academy is truly a meritocracy and culturally neutral. However, critical race theory shows that understanding truth and

merit means challenging concepts that are socially constructed to reflect and benefit the majority White culture. Furthermore, critical race theorists advocate that sharing experiences provides people of color with a “unique voice” to inform through their narratives (Bell, 1994; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado, 1995; Lawrence, 1991; Matsuda et al., 1993). The excerpts from the narratives, which illustrate the themes of teaching, mentoring, collegiality, identity, service, and racism, suggest that unless we acknowledge the experiences of faculty of color as authentic and challenge behaviors and attitudes that are disparaging, the status quo will be maintained. We will have perpetuated and maintained the power, influence, and well-being of one group over another. One might ask “Why didn’t these faculty members stand up for themselves? I certainly would have.” The answer is simply “because speaking truth to power assumes many things.” Among the assumptions we often forget are that there is an equal playing field, there will be no risk associated with engaging in the conflict, and, even more important, we will be heard and supported by our majority White colleagues when we break the silence.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Although their narratives were crafted on silence, all of the contributing authors expressed that the process of writing them was both cathartic and therapeutic. The excerpts presented here to illustrate each of the themes identified suggest some important ways in which colleges and universities can work to recruit and retain a more diverse faculty. In my review of the literature, I came across a descriptive study that explored gender-, race-, and ethnicity-specific differences on teaching, research, and service productivity measures among 665 tenured engineering faculty members at 19 research-intensive institutions (Jackson, 2004). Although the study was limited to engineering faculty, its argument—“that the story is not in the numbers”—was a fitting commentary on what I learned from reading the narratives of the contributing faculty of color. Individual stories are important. They provide qualitative data about oneself as part of a group or culture and help us understand and counter oppression. More important, they can lead to a better understanding of the experiences of faculty of color at predominantly White colleges and universities. This is the essence of critical race theory.

We can both learn from and break the silence on the experiences of faculty of color teaching at predominantly White colleges and universities. As indicated earlier, I asked all of the authors to offer recommendations based on their individual experiences. As I combed through the recommendations offered across the themes of teaching, mentoring, collegiality, identity, service, and racism, it became clear that most of them had strong implications for faculty and administrator development. In the Appendix, I present these recommendations according to the six themes identified. I do so with the hope that they will spark further dialogue and lead to the development of more effective strategies to recruit and retain faculty in our colleges and universities.

APPENDIX

Recommendations

Teaching

Recommendations for Faculty of Color

- Faculty of color should continue to advocate for themselves and educate White faculty and university administrators about the challenges involved in teaching in a predominantly White college or university campus when one is not the majority. This might be helpful for retention if White faculty, administrators, and students have a better understanding of what faculty of color can contribute to the teaching and learning of diversity and what it requires to do this well.
- Faculty of color should explore with administrators whether working to incorporate diversity and social justice issues in courses and curricula will place them at risk in regard to promotion and tenure, merit, or reappointment. Faculty of color are more likely than White faculty to develop and teach multicultural courses designed to better prepare our students to live and function in an increasingly diverse and global society. Therefore, when personnel decisions are made (e.g., annual performance reviews, promotion or tenure), these efforts should be taken into account.
- Faculty of color should encourage White colleagues and allies to teach or team teach multicultural courses. Teaching across racial identities as well as other social and cultural identities can only serve to deepen the discourse on diversity and social justice. In addition, when our students are able to observe and learn from faculty who team teach such courses, we will have modeled cross-cultural understanding.

Recommendations for Administrators

- Administrators should recognize that teaching multicultural courses might require additional investments of time and energy, increasing the workload of those who teach these courses. Therefore, it would be beneficial if expectations for personnel decisions such as promotion and tenure and merit pay were adjusted to account for these efforts.
- Administrators should survey all faculty, especially faculty of color, about their classroom teaching experiences and use the results of these data to inform policy and decision making. The teaching experiences of faculty should be made public. Through the creation of forums and other faculty development programs, for example, White faculty and students could be made aware of the obstacles faced by as well as the unique roles faculty of color could play in enhancing diversity in college classrooms.

- Administrators should support in financial ways faculty pursuit of social justice learning and teaching opportunities. Providing resources through departmental and college professional development funds so that faculty can attend conferences, symposiums, institutes, and retreats can help deepen the dialogue on diversity and social justice in faculty recruitment and course and curriculum development.

Mentoring

Recommendations for Faculty of Color

- Faculty of color should have mentors on as well as off campus. Mentors can come from within or outside one's discipline or research area. Successful mentoring relationships are long term and based on a variety of variables, including trust and a willingness to help others succeed. Cross-race mentoring relationships can be helpful in enhancing awareness about diversity and social justice and offer faculty of color opportunities to break the silence. One should not hesitate to terminate a mentor-protégé relationship if it is not working well.
- Faculty of color should take advantage of professional development opportunities offered by the institution. Grant writing and writing for publication workshops, for example, are ways to meet other faculty of color and university administrators across the campus. In addition, they can lay the groundwork for cultivating potential networks for interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary collaborations.
- Faculty of color should engage in networking with professionals in their field of study. Networking venues such as conferences, symposiums, national committees, journal editorial review boards, research foundations, and the like are examples of places where faculty learn about opportunities that can help advance their careers.
- Faculty of color should study the political makeup and culture of their department to identify the "powerbrokers." Powerbrokers are usually senior faculty who are productive scholars, have been in the department for some time, and are respected by others. Spend time with these powerbrokers. They can help you get things done in the department, be research consultants for your ideas, and point out the landmines at your institution.
- Faculty of color should expect most people to think they receive special treatment because of their social or cultural group membership. This is the nature of being perceived as "different." You should try not to concern yourself with what others think and never hold the attitude that you received something because of who you are. Holding on to this attitude will only serve to weigh on your psyche and lead to occupational stress. Believe that you earned everything you received because of hard work and determination.

Recommendations for Administrators

- Administrators should reward and learn from senior faculty who are proven mentors. Although the mentor-protégé relationship is highly individual, one can learn from these relationships through the sharing of best practices. Faculty professional development programs such as new faculty orientations and orientations for administrators such as department chairs and deans, for example, are ways to encourage these important dialogues so that effective faculty mentoring programs can be established.
- Administrators should recognize that many faculty of color feel isolated and marginalized on a predominantly White campus. For example, some faculty of color are the only ones of their race or ethnicity in their department. One way to alleviate isolation and marginalization is cluster hires—the recruitment and subsequent hire of more than one faculty member from a particular social and cultural group in a department. It is a proven, productive, and responsible way to build a climate of collegiality, trust, and belonging for those who are often located on the margins of an institution.
- Administrators should work to nominate, support, and mentor faculty of color for leadership development opportunities and positions. The administrative leadership positions at predominantly White colleges and universities are disproportionately held by White males. If we hope to develop and model successful faculty mentoring relationships and build a diverse faculty and student body, administrative positions at our colleges and universities must be held to similar scrutiny.

Collegiality

Recommendations for Faculty of Color

- Faculty of color should work to know the culture of their department and institution. Departments and institutions have visible structures and processes, espoused values, and basic underlying assumptions about collegiality. These expectations are not always communicated or transparent; therefore, it is to the advantage of faculty of color to ask senior faculty and administrators about them so that they can make informed choices.
- Faculty of color should work to know the written and unwritten rules, practices, and customs relevant to promotion and tenure in departments, colleges, and universities. They should know what is expected and, more important, the benchmarks used to assess progress. For example, many faculty of color are hired into split appointments and promised resources upon arrival at the university only to later not have these commitments honored. Negotiations such as these, at the time of hire, should be in written form.

Recommendations for Administrators

- Administrators should work to ensure that there is a genuine interest in recruiting and retaining faculty of color. Furthermore, if diversity is an institutional priority, then espoused words should be consistent with one's actions. For example, it should be a criterion for performance evaluations of department chairs and deans.
- Administrators should regularly assess the extent to which the climate of the institution facilitates or inhibits faculty productivity. These assessment measures could include faculty focus groups, surveys, and work-life satisfaction questionnaires. The results of these efforts should include the extent to which faculty, students, and staff encourage or discourage faculty from underrepresented groups.
- College and universities should have a high-ranking administrator on campus who understands research on and best practices for the recruitment and retention of a diverse faculty. This person should have the institutional power and resources necessary to influence and create programs and policies to enhance opportunities for diversity on campus.
- Administrators should encourage collegiality and community building among all faculty by providing opportunities for faculty to network and meet colleagues. Faculty professional programs and informal social gatherings such as orientations, retreats, award ceremonies, graduation ceremonies, convocations, and the like are examples of events that create a sense of community and decrease isolation and marginalization.
- Administrators should meet with faculty of color when they are informed that other universities are trying to recruit them away from the institution. It is highly probable that other universities will approach a faculty member of color who is performing well. This occurs during as well as after the tenure years. Listening to the reasons why faculty of color are considering such offers and providing opportunities for counteroffers help to alleviate mixed messages and, more important, send the message that they are valuable to the university community.

Identity

Recommendations for Faculty of Color

- Faculty of color should strive to be true to themselves and not sacrifice their beliefs or identity just to fit in or assimilate. They should anticipate that the perception of being viewed as “different” often means that one will be misunderstood and judged. People assume that faculty of color are alike—hence the expectation that one can speak with authority on behalf of one's race, culture, ethnicity, or nationality. However, when these instances occur, they are an oppor-

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tune way to dispel stereotypes, myths, and educate others about the value and richness of diversity in a college or university community.

Recommendations for Administrators

- Administrators should work to expand their understanding of the definition of diversity. Discussions on diversity must move beyond race, gender, and ethnicity if we hope to achieve social justice. Diversity also includes religion, class, sexual orientation, nationality, and physical and mental ability. This is not a recommendation to be “politically correct”; rather, it is an acknowledgment of the fact that the demographics of our society and nation are changing. Institutions are asked to prepare graduates to enter an increasingly diverse and complex global workforce. This is an inherent component of the mission of many institutions in higher education. Therefore, every effort should be made to ensure that our language is inclusive so that everyone feels valued in our nation’s colleges and universities.

Service

Recommendations for Faculty of Color

- Faculty of color should work to develop strategies for responding to increased requests to serve on committees. There is a tendency for faculty, administrators, and students to ask faculty of color (because of real or perceived expertise) to serve on committees with a focus on diversity. Diversity is everyone’s responsibility. Therefore, it is necessary that faculty of color be strategic about these requests and learn to prioritize. The aim is to maintain balance and focus so that one does not lose sight of other priorities that will also demand one’s time.
- Faculty of color should actively participate in disciplinary professional associations and organizations by submitting, for example, conference papers and poster sessions. These activities heighten one’s professional visibility and increase the range of one’s professional networks. These activities are invaluable to promotion and tenure.
- Faculty of color should be cautious about taking on an administrative role before they are promoted or tenured. The career trajectory for many faculty of color is often not the same as that for majority White faculty. For example, it is not uncommon for faculty of color, because of their talent or expertise, to be approached to serve in administrative positions while they are on the tenure track. A primary reason for this is that the numbers of faculty of color in the tenured and tenure track ranks are so small. In addition, they are expected to maintain the same level of scholarly productivity in these positions as if they were still in their faculty role full time. Therefore, it is recommended that if faculty of color take on an administrative position before tenure or while working toward promotion, they ensure that

the details of the appointment are in writing and the expectations are clear so that they can make realistic progress toward these goals.

Recommendations for Administrators

- Administrators should not assume that because an individual belongs to a certain racial, ethnic, nationality, or other social or cultural group, he or she is the best person to serve as an official or unofficial spokesperson for that group on a committee. Many faculty of color are approached to serve on committees related to diversity with far more intensity than other committees. This sends the message that this is their only area of expertise and the only area of value they can bring to the academic community.
- Administrators such as department chairs and deans should act as “buffers” and protect faculty of color from becoming involved in representing the department or college on committees. If administrators take an active buffering role, it will help faculty of color focus on the things they need to do to achieve tenure or promotion. Furthermore, if they are asked to serve because of their expertise, such efforts should be accounted for in personnel decisions and steps should be taken to appropriately adjust their teaching and research loads for this participation.

Racism

Recommendations for Faculty of Color

- Faculty of color should expect racism, sexism, homophobia, anti-Semitism, misogyny, “Islam phobia,” and xenophobia to persist in academia as long as the playing field remains unequal. There are many White faculty who are strong allies for diversity and social justice. It is imperative that faculty of color work to find who they are and talk to them about their experiences. Faculty of color and their allies could work together to deepen diversity dialogues on campus. This is yet another opportunity to model social justice for the university community.

Recommendations for Administrators

- Administrators should require all institutional leaders to have appropriate diversity training that will equip them to lead in an academic environment that espouses diversity. This training should include but not be limited to identity development, critical race theory, levels and forms of oppression, multicultural organizational development theory, the cycle of socialization, race relations theory, and conflict management. A deep examination of these theories and their implications for practice in an academic setting is critical for

the professional development of administrators and, ultimately, the goal of building a diverse academic community.

- Administrators should always be positioned to frame institutional diversity with a commitment to excellence. There is a common perception in academia that diversity does not equate to excellence. For example, faculty of color are often told that they are “affirmative action hires” or “diversity hires.” These labels, regardless of the intention, come with a certain stigma. Furthermore, they are filtered down to the students and the remainder of the academic community in a disparaging way. This puts faculty of color at a disadvantage and forces them to be in a constant mode of working to “prove” themselves and always question whether a pejorative behavior or attitude directed toward them is due to their race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, religion, or sexual orientation.
- Administrators should develop appropriate guidelines for faculty search committees. Faculty search committees are not always equipped with strategies on how to diversify the applicant pool. For example, many of us are not aware of how our cognitive schemas work to disenfranchise certain groups. We tend to want to hire people who are most like us and who we think will best “fit” within the departmental culture. Faculty search committees need to be engaged early on in the process about diversity and what this means in the context of the department and the position they are seeking to fill. Such conversations engage everyone in a dialogue about the entire process so that every effort is made to bring in candidates who may not normally have been given a chance to apply.
- Administrators should recognize that recruitment and retention are not mutually exclusive and that a commitment to hiring a diverse faculty is also a commitment to retaining a diverse faculty. Retention begins immediately after the time of hire. Colleges and universities should develop strategies for retention once the recruitment phase is complete. These strategies could include mentoring, following through on promises and commitments made during the hiring process, and discussing expectations regarding teaching, research, and service.
- Administrators such as department chairs and deans should conduct periodic surveys gathering data on students’ evaluations of teachers to determine whether racism exists in classrooms. These surveys could include comparisons of faculty members across similar disciplines to assess positive and negative student comments. The results of these efforts could be used to develop faculty development initiatives designed to help all faculty understand the perspectives of their students.
- Administrators should provide faculty of color with opportunities to offer feedback on how they perceive the campus environment. This feedback could be gathered through surveys, focus groups, or com-

mittee task forces. The results should then be appropriately used to effect change in faculty policies and procedures.

- Administrators should develop data management systems for accountability in terms of faculty diversity. Data on date of hire, rank, tenure track status, race and ethnicity, retention, attrition, and exit interviews, for example, could serve to help improve the climate for diversity. In addition, these data systems should be monitored to determine the rate of progress and, if possible, identify barriers to institutional growth and development.
- Administrators should understand that the advantages and disadvantages associated with various systems of privilege (e.g., White, Christian, sexual orientation, gender, class) are usually accorded to groups on the basis of their access to power and resources, which can work to disempower other groups that are marginalized in society and academia. Understanding and engaging in dialogues about the nature and effects of systems of privilege can decrease institutional racism and help to create an academic landscape that is more reflective of the diversity of our society.

Notes

This article is based on an autoethnographic qualitative study of the first-hand experiences of faculty of color teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities. The goal is to promote deeper dialogues on and offer recommendations for the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education.

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