

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Michael L. Sámano for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education presented on April 16, 2007.

Title: RESPECTING ONE'S ABILITIES, OR (POST)COLONIAL TOKENISM?:
NARRATIVE TESTIMONIOS OF FACULTY OF COLOR WORKING IN
PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES.

Abstract approved:

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The purpose of this research project was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experience of faculty of color. More specifically, this project explores how diversity-related workload expectations impact faculty of color who work in predominantly white community colleges. Known by various descriptors, the term used in this research project to capture additional diversity-related workload requests experienced by faculty of color is “cultural taxation.” The “technique” or method used in this study to document the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges was narrative *testimonios*. The use of narratives was important because this project looked at the degree to which diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. The following were used as the guiding questions in capturing, through culturally appropriate and respectful human interaction, the lived personal and professional experiences of faculty of color:

- Have you had any experiences with “cultural taxation?”

- Describe from both personal and professional perspectives, your experiences working in predominantly white institutions?
- What techniques have you tried in order to achieve a sense of balance in your personal and professional lives?

Five primary themes emerged from the analysis of the data collected from the narrative *testimonios*. The five primary themes are all connected to the concept of “cultural taxation.” Whereas scholars previously established clear and concise parameters to identify and define “cultural taxation,” the complex series of themes that emerged from this research project provide a rich “fleshing out” of the concept. The five primary themes are as follows: 1) *Cultural Taxation and Racist Bigotry*, 2) *Cultural Taxation and Convenience*, 3) *Cultural Taxation and Conscious Choice*, 4) *Cultural Taxation and Ignorance*, and 5) *Cultural Taxation and Pragmatism*.

The findings encourage community college leaders to engage in critical dialogue about structural changes that need to occur to ensure a work environment where all employees can engage in collaboration and partnership without a small number of employees becoming overworked in the area of diversity-related initiatives.

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RESPECTING ONE'S ABILITIES, OR (POST)COLONIAL TOKENISM?:
NARRATIVE *TESTIMONIOS* OF FACULTY OF COLOR WORKING
IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES

by
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APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Education

Dean of the College of Education

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

Michael L. Sámano, Author

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The coursework and production of an original body of research felt like a combination of individual and collective efforts. There were times of overwhelming feelings of isolation, countered by moments of overwhelming feelings of support. I wish to express deep gratitude for the love and encouragement of my family and friends. Sometimes the support came in the form of meals. Sometimes I was loaned a car for safe passage. Unfortunately, some friends and family members made the mistake of asking me for dissertation updates. Although, I found that continually explaining my work was important in helping me to focus my thoughts.

The Community College Leadership Program in the College of Education at OSU challenged me in culturally appropriate ways. The faculty of the CCLP pushed me to hone the intellectual skills necessary to produce a body of work that I believe is truly meaningful. Producing work for the sake of producing work is not the same as producing work that is purposeful and action-oriented. The faculty of the CCLP collectively encouraged us to maintain a respectful learning environment where I felt safe to explore topics of leadership beyond my comfort levels.

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For Rosa and Cuauhtémoc who feed my soul.

C/S

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RESPECTING ONE'S ABILITIES, OR (POST)COLONIAL TOKENISM?:
NARRATIVE *TESTIMONIOS* OF FACULTY OF COLOR WORKING
IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: A SYBOLIC STORY

Introduction

The focus of this research study is not about the European colonization of this hemisphere. Yet, it is the lasting direct and indirect effects of colonization that impact the focus and significance of this study, which was to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. Feagin and Feagin (2003) argue, "In the past few years, colonialism theory has been reinvigorated by research showing how the global colonialism of the past created social structures of oppression that persist into the present" (p. 35). Wilson (2004) writes, "Our empirical and scholarly understandings substantiate the connection between the reality of our circumstances today and the five hundred years of terrorism and injustice we have faced as a consequence of European and American colonialism" (p. 69). In addition to the five hundred year history of various forms of colonization in this hemisphere, history has shown us five hundred years of various forms of resistance and revolution in the form of decolonization efforts by indigenous peoples. This research study may be interpreted as an intellectual endeavor to honor ancestral efforts of decolonization.

Colonization

Wilson and Yellow Bird (2005) explain that colonization refers to "both the formal and informal methods (behaviors, ideologies, institutions, policies, and

economies) that maintain the subjugation or exploitation of Indigenous Peoples, lands, and resources. Colonizers engage in this process because it allows them to maintain and/or expand their social, political, and economic power” (2). Wilson and Yellow Bird continue, “In order for the colonizer to be the complete master, it is not enough for him to be so in actual fact, he must also believe in its legitimacy. In order for that legitimacy to be complete, it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must also accept his role” (2). Alfred (2004) argues that our definition of colonization must be expanded when he writes,

...I believe that the true meaning of ‘colonialism’ emerges from a consideration of how we as Indigenous peoples have lost the freedom to exist as Indigenous peoples in almost every single sphere of our existence. The thing that must be defeated, colonialism, is far beyond being merely an economic or political problem with psychological manifestations. I think of it like this instead: it is the fundamental denial of our freedom to be Indigenous in a meaningful way, and the unjust occupation of the physical, social, and political spaces we need in order to survive as Indigenous peoples (p. 89).

In the context of this research study, the historical results of colonization have established a relationship where people of color are positioned as the “other” with regards to resources, power, and prestige. Feagin and Feagin (2003) argue that colonialism theory finds “an emphasis on power and resource inequalities across racial lines” (p. 34). Some scholars have pushed colonialism theory in their focus on institutional racism to develop an emerging theory known as “coloniality.” Feagin and Feagin write,

...the current situation for key racial and ethnic groups in the United States is...one of “coloniality” – a situation of cultural, political, and economic oppression for subordinated racial and ethnic groups without the existence of an overt colonial administration and its trappings of legal segregation. Official decolonization does not mean an end to coloniality, for the colonial hierarchies of racial and ethnic oppression often remain. Indeed, seen from this perspective, most mainstream analyses of racial relations underestimate the major continuities between the overtly colonial past and the racial and ethnic hierarchies of the present (p. 35).

In predominantly white institutions, (here referring to colleges and universities), faculty of color, generally speaking, exist as individuals who are members of ethnic and/or racial groups within society, hence, their status as a societal “other.” As faculty of color within predominantly white institutions they also exist as another layer of “other” because they are not seen as members of the predominantly white faculty ranks. To exist as the ‘other’ other, represents the degree to which faculty of color are prevented from experiencing freedom, autonomy, and self-determination in their scholarly pursuits. Another layer of the “other” is in the additional workload that some faculty of color experience, either in the form of requests or spoken and unspoken role expectations.

Decolonization

Page one of this chapter contains the following sentence: “This research study may be interpreted as an intellectual endeavor to honor ancestral efforts of decolonization.” The Methodology and Research Design chapter (Chapter 4), contains

a more detailed analysis of the use of a “decolonizing methodology.” Prior to the information provided in Chapter 4, it is important to lay a contextual foundation in order to give meaning to information presented in the first three chapters. Wilson and Yellow Bird explain decolonization in this way: “First and foremost, decolonization must occur in our own minds...The first step toward decolonization, then, is to question the legitimacy of colonization. Once we recognize the truth of this injustice we can think about ways to resist and challenge colonial institutions and ideologies” (2). With regards to research specifically, Mutua and Swadener (2004) write, “...when speaking about decolonizing research, we are necessarily focusing a great deal on research conducted in third world countries, former/ex-colonies, and the third worlds within the first world, which often and coincidentally are populated largely by people of color” (12).

In an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges, this study is positioned within a framework of seeing colonization efforts and decolonization responses to attempt to make sense of the world. To further “make sense of the world,” the research methods of asking faculty of color to share their experiences through narratives, and specifically within a storied context of *testimonio* has also shaped this study.

First Mention of Narrative Testimonios

An integral part of any culture is language. Language not only develops in relation with a society’s historical, economic and political evolution; it also reflects society’s attitudes and thinking. Language not only expresses ideas and concepts it also shapes thought. Ancient Mesoamerican civilizations demonstrated the act of

communication not only through their degree of literacy in the form of hieroglyphics, but also in what they created to symbolize speech: two-dimensional human beings, facing each other with curved symbols flowing from their mouths. Fast forward hundreds of years, and one can see similar illustrations to demonstrate human verbal interaction in the form of bubbles drawn above the heads of characters in comic books (and other printed mediums). This dissertation uses narrative *testimonios* to capture (through full understanding and consent on their part) the experiences of faculty of color working in predominantly white community colleges.

Although the methods of narratives and *testimonios* are addressed throughout this study, an introduction here will provide groundwork for the symbolic story that ends this chapter. Tierney (2003) explains,

The *testimonio* has developed, in large part, not from Western Europe or the United States, but from Latin America. Unlike in oral history, the narrator bears witness to a social urgency; the text frequently falls within [a loosely defined] ‘resistance literature.’ The roots of *testimonio* go back to colonial *crónicas* and the war diaries of Simón Bolívar or José Martí. Over the past generation the focal points of the *testimonio* have been of those who have been silenced, excluded, and marginalized by their societies (p. 297).

In the context of this study, then, the use of narrative *testimonios* is more than a tool of gathering data. The use of this method tells the reader that what faculty of color say about their experiences in predominantly white community colleges should be read with a sense of urgency. While *testimonios* came to us out of Latin America, the need to humanize the experience of people of color living and working in a European-

colonized “America” provides the primary reason why it is being used in this study. What follows is a symbolic example that combines processes of colonization, decolonization, narrative *testimonio*, and spoken and unspoken social role expectations.

A Symbolic Example of Social Roles, Expectations, and Differing Worldviews

An analysis of the motion picture *Where the Spirit Lives* explains this movie as combining two elements of people and place, “Canadian cinema has left an indelible mark on films about Aboriginal people and films about life on the Prairies during the Great Depression. In the film ‘Where the Spirit Lives,’ these two areas meet.”

(<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0103244/> retrieved October 7, 2006). The motion picture, written by Keither Ross Leckie and directed by Bruce Pittman, takes place in 1937 rural Canada. In the movie, we follow a young indigenous brother and sister as they are removed from their family by an Indian agent and taken to an Anglican boarding school. Once there, the brother and sister personally encounter what became a 100-year government-sanctioned policy to “civilize the savage.” As Mihesuah (2001) explains, although boarding schools were a late nineteenth century phenomenon, the mindset to create these schools appears much earlier in this country’s history:

Since colonial times, missionaries from European countries attempted to ‘civilize’ Indians by converting them to Christianity. Throughout the nineteenth century, missionaries established schools on Indian lands and made numerous converts. In the 1870s, the government began a campaign to assimilate the Indians. Boarding schools were established with the intention of

taking young Indians from their homes and placing them in schools hundreds of miles away. One example was Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Pennsylvania. Established by Army Captain Richard H. Pratt, Carlisle was to serve as an example of how military discipline, harsh punishment, and rigorous studies could ‘kill the Indian and save the man’ (p. 41).

At the boarding school, white people of European ancestry, and at times their collaborators of color, use “civilizing” techniques honed by many years of experience such as, but not limited to: direct and indirect denigration of indigenous ways of knowing and doing, the cutting of hair, issuing of uniforms, assignment of Christian names, corporal punishment for speaking languages other than English, forced to practice and engage in various Christian spiritual belief systems (depending on who controlled the school), and the exposure to, and glorification of, a western European (and Canadian and United States depending on the location of the boarding school) worldview and history.

Boarding schools were driven by an agenda to turn indigenous people culturally into Anglo individuals. The ultimate irony of the culturally genocidal acculturation practice of boarding schools was that upon graduation, these indigenous people, now stripped of their original sense of self, were encouraged to enter a dominant society that had no interest in treating them as equals.

Boarding schools trained indigenous people in various trade occupations, with spoken social role expectations that made clear: upon graduation, with newly acquired technical and acculturation skills in hand, these individuals would be allowed to perform certain manual labor roles as fine upstanding Christian citizens. There were

also unspoken social role expectations (or at least implied through the rigid totalitarianism on display in boarding schools and a less-than-generous judicial system): the dominant society will not harass you as long as you know your place and don't start acting like "uppity Indians." Similar to the experience that Indigenous peoples have with treaties, or other types of government agreements, this unspoken expectation has not been, on the whole, honored.

Using a narrative *testimonio* style, Crow Dog (1991), a survivor of the boarding school process, attempts to describe the experience this way:

It is almost impossible to explain to a sympathetic white person what a typical old Indian boarding school was like; how it affected the Indian child suddenly dumped into it like a small creature from another world, helpless, defenseless, bewildered, trying desperately and instinctively to survive and sometimes not surviving at all. I think such children were like the victims of Nazi concentration camps trying to tell average, middle-class Americans what their experiences had been like. Even now, when these schools are much improved, when the buildings are new, all gleaming steel and glass, the food tolerable, the teachers well trained and well-intentioned...the shock to the child upon arrival is still tremendous. Some just seem to shrivel up, don't speak for days on end, and have an empty look in their eyes. I know of an eleven-year-old on another reservation who hanged herself, and in our school, while I was there, a girl jumped out of the window, trying to kill herself to escape an unbearable situation (p. 29).

In the verbal exchange below from the movie, *Where the Spirit Lives*, the sister Astokomi, at this point renamed Amelia, has been instructed to put on a white dress (uniforms were worn on school grounds) and escorted to the home of a rich white benefactor (Mrs. Barrington) to the school for presentation and possible adoption. In this scene, Amelia is sitting with Mrs. Barrington, while Amelia's white teacher (Kathleen) looks on.

Mrs. Barrington: "I'm so glad you and Amelia could come to my home."
 Kathleen: "Thank you for inviting us Ma'am."
 Mrs. Barrington: (To Kathleen): "I always find the atmosphere of the school slightly stuffy. I suspect it's Reverend Buckley... You've been like a breath of fresh air my dear; as one can see from Amelia. (To Amelia): What tribe are you from Amelia?"
 Amelia: "Kanai Ma'am."
 Mrs. Barrington: "Fine horsemen the Kanai. My late husband had a penchant for the study of Indians. Do you ride Kathleen?"
 Kathleen: "Yes I do Ma'am."
 Mrs. Barrington: (To Kathleen): "Well, you'll be interested to know that the Kanai were one of the first tribes of the region to trade for horses with the Southwestern tribes. I bet you didn't know that?" (To Amelia): But, I bet you did."

In this symbolic verbal "exchange," Mrs. Barrington acknowledges that Amelia is an Indigenous person who has some knowledge, but she doesn't see a need to allow Amelia to speak on behalf of herself or her people. Secondly, it is important to consider in the scene the assumption made by Mrs. Barrington about Amelia's historical knowledge. Since they were meeting for the first time, there was no way that Mrs. Barrington could know that Amelia had knowledge about their past. This is not a judgment about Mrs. Barrington's assumptions, but rather an observation about how human beings can presume, assume, study, stereotype, generalize that other human beings have a certain degree of competence, knowledge, or expertise on any given

topic. Based on what we believe another person might know, we may interact with them accordingly.

The scene continues, but the conversation shifts. Here we are able to see an interesting example where Amelia's Kanai work- and life-role expectations come in contact and conflict with the differing worldview of Mrs. Barrington:

Mrs. Barrington:	“What do you want to be when you grow up Amelia?”
Amelia:	“I would like to be a woman.”
Mrs. Barrington:	“Yes, but would you like to be a dressmaker, or a nurse, or perhaps a teacher?”
Amelia:	“Well, when I have children I think I will be all of those things.”

This scene typifies many such scenes in the film where Astokomi struggles against embracing the limited life choices of the newly christened Amelia. Here and in other scenes, Astokomi's sense of self shows her Indigenous worldview that places value and respect on various roles, such as adult- and motherhood. Meanwhile, Mrs. Barrington, a wealthy woman of European ancestry, represents a world where people like Amelia, through forced socialization, coercion, and manipulation have one sole purpose in life: to serve people like Mrs. Barrington in a subordinated role and to fulfill their expectations about what a “good Indian” should be.

The subtle clash of worldviews represented in these two scenes from the movie brings to mind not only the hegemony that is perpetuated through spoken and unspoken diversity-related work role expectations and experiences of faculty of color at predominantly white colleges and universities, but also the question that appears in the title of this study: “Respecting one's abilities, or (post)colonial tokenism?” When faculty of color are bombarded with diversity-related requests, is it a sign of respect

and acknowledgment of their abilities, or are these sorts of requests examples of tokenism?

Taking into consideration the rare exception, it can be assumed that almost everyone who enters academe life as a college or university faculty member is professionally socialized in graduate school. Through a combination of observation (lecture), interaction (office hours), mentorship (with major professor[s]), teaching assistantships, graduate teaching fellowships, and discussion with graduate student peers, work role expectations are either modeled for them, clearly explained, implied through on-the-job training, or outlined in job announcements and/or contracts. What can be less obvious to new faculty are those parts of the profession that can only be learned on the job (e.g. the politics of hiring committees). These aspects tend to be less clear, harder to define and interpret, and may negatively impact one's career. A driving motivation for this study was to consider the following question: Would diversity-related requests made of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges represent an example of a part of the job that wasn't anticipated upon entering academe life? And if so, how might this type of experience impact faculty of color?

Summary

Stated earlier, within the context of this research study, it is argued that the historical results of colonization have established a relationship where people of color are positioned as the "other" with regards to resources, power, and prestige. This "relationship" manifested through power and prestige were demonstrated in the symbolic story from the motion picture, "Where the Spirit Lives."

In Chapter 2 titled, Focus and Significance of Study, the following areas will be addressed: (1) Faculty of Color; (2) Campus Diversity Initiatives as Related to Workload Issues; (3) Diversity as Related to Workload Issues; (4) Community Colleges; (5) Predominantly White Institutions; and (6) White(ness) as a Racial Category. Each area will be defined and a rationale given to explain their role in the research study.

CHAPTER 2

FOCUS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Introduction

Stated in the previous chapter, the focus of this research study is not about the European colonization of this hemisphere. Yet, it is the lasting direct and indirect effects of colonization that impact the focus and significance of this study, which was to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. In this chapter, the following areas are discussed: (1) Faculty of Color; (2) Campus Diversity Initiatives as Related to Workload Issues; (3) Diversity as Related to Workload Issues; (4) Community Colleges; (5) Predominantly White Institutions; and (6) White(ness) as a Racial Category. Each area will be defined and a rationale given to explain their role in the research study. Before detail is provided on the specifics of what is being studied, who is being studied, and why they were invited to participate, *testimonio* as a research technique will again be addressed to provide more detail. (In Chapter 4, Methodology and Research Design, there is further attention given to the area of narrative as a scientific inquiry).

Focus of the Study

Discussion about the focus of any particular research study should not occur without reference made to the manner in which the data is gathered – especially if the data gathering technique is connected to a certain worldview, political purpose, and/or philosophy. The “technique” or method used in this study to document the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges was narrative *testimonios*. As González, et. al. (2003) explain,

Testimonio is [a] form of narrative account...Rich in its Latin American roots, especially in indigenous villages, the *testimonio* is used by the narrator as a denunciation of violence, especially state violence and as a demonstration of subaltern resistance. The power of such first person, novel length accounts is in their metaphor of ‘witnessing’ through real-life experience. The urgency of the *testimonio* aims to bring immediate and emotive attention to an issue, and has been called a ‘*narración de urgencia*’ in an effort to raise the reader’s consciousness (p. 234).

The use of narratives was important because the purpose of this study was to explore the degree to which diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. In addition, the use of *testimonio* signals to the reader a sense of immediacy or urgency to an issue. Tierney (2003) writes,

...the *testimonio* is developed by the one who testifies in the hope that his or her life’s story will move the reader to action in concert with the group with which the testifier identifies. There is an urgency to the *testimonio* that is not always apparent in life histories or biographies and is most often absent in autoethnographies, which are more concerned with literary structures than with changing oppressive structures. In the *testimonio*, the testifier’s life is directly linked to social movements and change (p. 298).

Faculty of Color

Who are the “testifiers” who were invited to participate in this research study? The focus on faculty of color does not imply that other faculty do not experience

issues of marginalization within the academe. Various studies refer to underrepresented faculty groups as *faculty of color* and *minority faculty* to capture and include the specific working conditions of women. While this study does capture narratives of faculty members who are women of color, the focus has remained more focused on one's *position*, or *status*, or *identity* as a person of color. Using a worldview or perspective that acknowledges the use of a term such as "predominantly white" to describe a college or university, positions the lived experiences of faculty of color in ways that are different from the experiences of white men and women faculty. For example, the geographic area that makes up this country used to consist of a population that was one hundred percent indigenous first nations peoples. Now, this same geographic area is made up of a population that is predominantly of white European ancestry. There are specific purposeful reasons for this demographic, cultural, spiritual, worldview, power-based shift. To acknowledge this history is to place the focus on the "purposeful reasons" why one population of humans dominates multiple other populations of humans. Therefore, to acknowledge that most colleges and universities are predominantly white, means that everyone who works within that type of institution would have varied experiences depending on whether someone was white or nonwhite.

The use of the term *faculty of color* is for descriptive purposes only and not an assumption of homogeneity. Aguirre (2000) points out that use of the term *faculty of color* should be seen as:

... a descriptive category for examining the academic workplace experiences of non-White faculty. By no means does the term indicate a perspective that

non-White faculty are a homogenous population, especially one with no internal variation... Thus, the term... is a descriptor, much like a fisherman's net, for capturing how the minority faculty is described in the research literature (pp. 86-87).

The discussion of the use of the descriptor *faculty of color* has so far focused on the meaning of the usage. Beyond an explanation of *why* any term would be used, a discussion of *who* one is being referred to is also crucial. Using a term like *faculty of color* not only attempts to label and distinguish one person from another, but also implies that, to some degree, the person in question agrees with one's use of the label to describe them. In other words, to achieve any degree of accuracy, identifying someone as a person of color, even if the person experiences light skin privilege, takes some understanding of theories that address social identity development (to be found in the following discussion) and the historical social construction of whiteness (to be found later in this chapter).

Much of the literature on social identity development theories describes social identity in terms of levels, stages, or degrees. Various theories present a spectrum from having little, no, or negative self-image on one end, to having considerable or positive self-image on the other end, usually with some degree of overlap in one's attitude about one's self (Morey & Kitano, 1997). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) point out, "in reality most people experience several stages simultaneously, holding complex perspectives on a range of issues and living a mixture of social identities" (p. 23).

In addition to the degree in which one feels positive or negative about their self-image, are discussions that focus on how a person maintains their identity, and how individuals look toward the identities of their ancestors when creating a sense of ethnic or racialized self. Omi and Winant (1994) discussed the notion of racial formation. They present the idea that race should be observed from a larger structural perspective, where it is developed within a sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhibited, transformed, and destroyed. Schaefer (2004) writes, “Many writers [historically] have shown almost a fervent hope that ethnicity would vanish...Ethnicity was expected to disappear not only because of assimilation but also because aspirations to higher social class and status demanded that it vanish” (p. 143).

Hansen (1952) developed the Principle of Third-Generation Interest. He argued that in the third generation – the grandchildren of the original immigrants – ethnic interest and awareness would actually increase, because by the third generation, individuals would be secure enough in their position as citizens, that they could feel safe in exploring the history of their ancestors. Waters (1990) interviewed suburban White ethnics and found grandchildren wanting to learn more about their ancestor’s cultures, histories, countries of origin, and spoken languages. Scholars such as those mentioned above, and many others who explore ethnic identity issues, build on the ground-breaking work of sociologists who came out of the “Chicago School” in the early part of the twentieth century as they studied and wrote about the transitional issues facing the children of Eastern European immigrants. As Steinberg (1989) explains, “The second generation was characterized by what the Chicago sociologists

termed ‘marginality’ – the experience of living in two worlds and not fully belonging to either” (p. 52).

Later in this chapter a more detailed discussion regarding the social construction of race assists in differentiating between white and non-white faculty. Furthermore, in the Methodology and Research Design chapter, the criteria that were used to determine who was invited to participate in this study can be found. In that chapter, “faculty member” is discussed and defined, as well as the sampling method that was to determine research participants.

Campus Diversity Initiatives as Related to Workload Issues

Cultural taxation, to be defined in more detail later in Chapter 2, Review of Literature, is a concept that was created to describe the undervalued additional workload burden (related to diversity) experienced by faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. In the context of this study, “diversity” refers to those plans, proposals, and programs that allow for:

- Greater access or protection for employees and students from historically underrepresented populations;
- the development of cultural competency and/or critical thinking skills for all employees and students;
- the elimination or reduction of individual or institutional bigoted past and/or current practices; and,
- the creation and maintenance of a safe learning and working environment.

Campus diversity initiatives directly and indirectly impact all individuals who come in contact with college and university campuses. The primary areas of campus

diversity initiatives related to faculty of color are: Personnel (recruitment, hiring, retention/mentorship, and tenure/promotion); Student Services (access and success, clubs/organizations, and student leadership development); and, Instruction (curriculum development/infusion). Aside from diversity as a general concept, the following discussion looks at examples of requests that are made on faculty of color that would be related to workload.

“Diversity-related work” refers to diversity work that is action-oriented and critical of institutional paradigms that have created tiered levels of oppression for various student and employee populations. In practice, this type of diversity-related work maintains a focus on social justice reform, or what Rhoads (1995) would refer to as “Critical Multiculturalism.” Rhoads describes the difference between mainstream and critical multiculturalism this way: Mainstream multiculturalism has limited impact because it fails to transform monocultural institutions into multicultural democratic communities because it does not fundamentally challenge Eurocentrically-conceived institutions. In contrast to mainstream multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism combines the conditions of cultural diversity with the emancipatory vision of a critical educational practice drawing from feminism, postmodernism, and critical theory. Critical multiculturalism seeks to transform educational institutions from monolithic centers of power to democratic constellations in which organizational structures reflect diverse cultures and perspectives (pp. 10-11).

Diversity-related requests that are made of faculty of color manifest themselves in a wide range of experiences based on the concept of “positionality.” Banks (2001) states that positionality is a term used to describe “the ways in which

race, social class, gender, and other personal and cultural characteristics of knowers influence the knowledge they construct and produce” (p. 9). Positionality used in this study refers to how one interprets their “position” in relation to others. In other words, it shows how one defines themselves based on agreed-upon criteria that human populations have socially constructed for themselves and others. So, depending on what U.S. census box one checks, diversity-related work requests can impact different types of populations in different ways. For example, LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered, Questioning) colleagues may have requests made of them that are directly related to issues of gender identity and sexual orientation, regardless of whether or not they were hired to work directly with campus and community LGBTQ individuals and/or groups. This researcher has personally observed or spoken with individuals who have experienced the following requests, and spoken or unspoken expectations:

- Invitations to serve on committees to represent “the” group because of one’s perceived expertise, politics, worldview, and/or perspective;
- Meet with an individual or group, or host a gathering for visiting LGBTQ individuals;
- Advocate on behalf of LGBTQ students and/or LGBTQ-focused club/campus organizations;
- Pressure to coordinate certain events on and off campus, or work closely with networking individuals and organizations that serve LGBTQ populations.

Some scholars interested in professional workload burden have focused on the experiences of female faculty on university and college campuses (Aguirre 2000,

Cooper & Stevens 2002, Fogg 2003). Similar to the example provided above, the conclusions of research looking at female faculty members is that they have requests made of them directly related to issues of gender and perceived (versus actual) ability.

Based on personal and professional experiences, this researcher would add to a list of this type of work to include the following, regardless of one's professional training, or spoken (job-related) workload expectations:

- Curriculum development or assisting other faculty with diversity-related curriculum matters;
- Researching in areas related to diversity;
- Teaching courses containing diversity-related subjects;
- Student and/or club advising;
- Mentoring (students or junior faculty of color);
- Assisting with or conducting training/workshops related to diversity;
- Conflict resolution related to race and ethnic relations college-wide;
- Serving on department/division/campus committees related to diversity;
- Guest-speaking on self-identity issues (versus professional training or knowledge);
- Sponsorship or attendance at campus diversity events (fun, fetish, food, fiesta);
- Translating or interpreting for individuals or documents;
- Community volunteering, advocating, or networking.

More on Diversity as Related to Workload Issues

In attempting to define a broad term such as *diversity* it is important to consider the journey that any one person, or department, or college takes to become more mindful of the inner workings of diversity. In other words, it is important to take

into consideration the degree to which an individual or institution understands the interlocking nature of diversity because this will dictate how diversity is approached. There was a study published in 2002 (Bronstein and Ramaley) (detailed in Appendix A) that argues that as colleges and universities reach a certain level, or phase, of multicultural competency, the burden of demand regarding diversity-related workload issues for minority faculty actually increases.

Bronstein and Ramaley (2002) write, “A multicultural environment cannot be achieved easily...people may make progress and lose ground many times before creating together a campus-wide intellectual and social environment that sustains and nurtures diversity” (p. 33). Bronstein and Ramaley report “the Association of American Colleges and Universities outlined five phases that a predominantly White institution may pass through as it seeks to become genuinely multicultural” (p. 33). The researchers argue that junior-level women faculty and faculty of color should know what phase their institution has reached, “because strategies for building a successful academic career will need to be adapted to reflect that campus context” (p. 33). Specifically, phase three points to the workload issues placed on women faculty and faculty of color as institutions work toward providing a more inclusive environment (see endnotes for more detail). Bronstein and Ramaley write:

Although the values of embracing diversity are being promoted in good faith, and fewer incidents of overt bias may occur, the content and goals of exemplary scholarship are still defined according to the values of the majority culture. This can create a difficult paradox in which women and minority faculty are pulled between the need to meet the majority culture requirements

for scholarship and the wish to foster the growing attention to diversity and multiculturalism in other aspects of institutional life. Campus expectations pressuring them to contribute disproportionately to achieving these goals exacerbate the dilemma, in that yielding to them will leave less time for scholarly work (p. 35).

Mentioned earlier, the purpose of this research study is to capture narratives of faculty of color in higher education. Specifically, this study seeks to establish the personal and professional impact of unspoken diversity-related work role expectations and experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. The following details the criteria that will be used to establish the rationale for the choice for *type* of institution.

Community Colleges

This research study focuses on faculty of color who work at community colleges, as opposed to four-year colleges and universities. Two-year degree granting institutions, sometimes referred to as city-colleges, community-colleges, junior-colleges, or technical-colleges, are usually distinguished from other institutions of higher education because of their purpose, mission, and history. They offer some combination of lower division transfer courses, professional or technical certificates or degrees, and “community or individual enrichment” curriculum. Although there are now community colleges offering bachelor’s degrees, the majority of colleges are made up of public institutions that offer the first two years of instruction in the form of university transfer degrees, varying Associate of Arts terminal degrees, and technical and professional degrees and certificates, depending on the mission of each individual

college or district of colleges. Lastly, community colleges distinguish themselves from universities in their more open admission policies and philosophies.

The rationale for researching faculty of color at the community college level is two-fold: First, research on the personal and professional impact of diversity-related work expectations of faculty of color focuses almost exclusively on four-year schools. In addition to diversity-related working conditions, the majority of literature that focuses on the overall working conditions of faculty of color, (recruitment, hiring, retention, and tenure/promotion), is almost exclusively set in four-year colleges and universities (Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002). Research on faculty of color at predominantly white institutions has been so focused on universities, that the term *predominantly white institution* has become synonymous with four-year institutions. This is significant because the workload expectations are considerably different at four-year colleges and universities, especially if the institution is research-oriented, as compared to two-year community or technical colleges. Second, because the purpose, mission, and history of community colleges are unique, the issues facing community college leadership are also unique. Areas of concern for community college leaders that overlap with this research study include:

- Allocation of funds around curriculum development;
- Allocation of funds around the recruitment, hiring, and retention of a diverse staff;
- Campus diversity initiatives and strategic directions as impacted by shifting global, societal, and community demographics;
- A move toward less hostile learning and working environments; and

- Employee workload issues due to increased enrollment (or open enrollment philosophies) and a reduction of public funds.

Predominantly White Institutions

Earlier, there was a discussion of the social construction of identity in relation to one's sense of self. The discussion continues here with a clarification of the use of the term *white*. Embedded in the title of this research study is the phrase, *Predominantly White Institutions*. *Predominantly White Institutions* or PWIs is a phrase that has been used to describe those institutions of higher education (again, primarily focusing on four-year colleges and universities) that employ a significantly higher percentage of white faculty compared to the percentage of whites overall in this country. For example Schaefer (2008) reports that the 2000 U.S. Census identified whites as consisting of 70 percent of the population of the U.S. (75 percent if counting white Hispanics) (p. 6), yet white faculty in public and private college and universities tend to account for over 80 percent of the professoriate. In describing the racial inequality in higher education, Aguirre, Jr. and Baker (2008) explain demographics and motives in this way:

The occupational structure of American education continues to use a racist organizational culture to establish and maintain parameters that regulate the entry of minority faculty. Many white faculty hold fast to the notion that the entry of minority faculty challenges the integrity of the academy. One can see the effects of a constraining organizational culture, defined by a racial mindset among the white faculty, on the small proportion of minority faculty in postsecondary educational institutions. Whites make up the vast majority of

full-time faculty in postsecondary institutions; whites are 85 percent of instructional faculty and staff in higher education, and blacks are 5 percent, Asian and Pacific Islanders are 6 percent, Latinos are 3 percent, and American Indians are 1 percent (p. 42).

The National Education Association (2006) is an organization whose mission is to advocate for education professionals among other functions. The organization describes the lack of minority faculty in higher education this way:

Minority faculty members continue to be underrepresented at public and private colleges and universities. The percentage of African American, Hispanic, and American Indian faculty in 2004-05 are well below parity with 2020 population studyions...These numbers have not changed significantly over the past year. Given the anticipated growth in the Hispanic population, the gap will continue to increase unless serious effort is given to developing young Hispanic scholars to work in the nation's colleges and universities (p. 17).

The data for this research study was collected in the State of Oregon, which currently has seventeen community colleges. The following demographic information (rounded to the nearest whole number) was retrieved from the Oregon Department of Community Colleges and Workforce Development (<http://www.oregon.gov/CCWD/pdf/Profile/04-05Profile.pdf> on June 12, 2005):

Table 1.1: Oregon Community College System Faculty Racial Demographics

FACULTY	PERCENTAGE
White	85%
Ethnic Minority	6%
Nonresident Alien	2%
Unknown	7%

According to Knutson (2006), the Oregon University System and U.S. Census Bureau report the following statistics (rounded to the nearest whole number) for faculty and staff totals at the state's public four-year institutions:

Table 1.2: Oregon University System Faculty Racial Demographics

FACULTY & STAFF	PERCENTAGE
White	92%
Ethnic Minority	8%

In addition to a predominantly white faculty, PWIs also describe those institutions that serve a predominantly white student body. Of the seventeen community colleges in Oregon, the distribution of students by race and ethnicity are as follows (rounded to the nearest whole number):

Table 1.3: Oregon Community College System Student Racial Demographics

STUDENTS	PERCENTAGE
White	60%
Ethnic Minority	15%
Unknown	24%
International	1%

The Oregon University System provides the following statistical categories (percentages again rounded off):

Table 1.4: Oregon University System Student Racial Demographics

STUDENTS	PERCENTAGE
White	84%
Ethnic Minority	16%

Table 1.5: United States University Student Racial Demographics

STUDENTS	PERCENTAGE
White	69%
Ethnic Minority	31%

In contrast to the term “predominantly white institution” a term has been developed to describe those institutions that hold a statistically significant minority faculty and student body: Minority-Serving Institutions. “Minority-serving institutions make up a category of educational establishments including historically black colleges and universities, Hispanic-serving institutions and tribal colleges and universities” (Electronic dictionary 2004). Ultimately, there is no singular understanding or definition of what the term “predominantly white institution” is making reference to. With the demographic data that is available, and for the purposes of this study, colleges and universities that are referred to as being “predominantly white,” means that the faculty and students are over 60 percent white. In addition to a threshold of simple statistics, a predominantly white institution would also represent certain historical (colonization-inspired) practices of white privilege.

White(ness) as a Racial Category

There are certain things implied in this research study by using the socially constructed racial label “white” as a descriptor. Usage of that label is purposeful and acknowledges the historical differential treatment between those who have used and benefited from power granted through the social construction of human groupings based on “race” (the so-called “dominant group”), and those who have been excluded as members of subordinated groups.

The idea of “race” as a social construct can be seen in the variability granted within the racial categories of *Black* and *white*. In the documentary, *Race: The Power of Illusion* (2003), Historian James Horton explains the historical social construction of whiteness in this way:

Here's where it really gets interesting. In some places, for example look at the State of Virginia. Virginia law defined a Black person as a person with one-sixteenth African ancestry. Now, Florida defined a Black person as a person with one-eighth African ancestry. Alabama said, 'You're Black if you have any African ancestry.' Do you know what this means? You can walk across a state line and literally, legally, change race. Now, what does "race" mean under those circumstances? 'You give me the power, I can make you any race I want you to be.' Because it (race) is a social, political construction.

Haney López (2006) writes, "White as a category of human identity and difference is an enormously complex phenomenon. Races are not biologically differentiated groupings but rather social constructions" (p. xiii). Schaefer (2004) explains, "the designation of a racial group emphasizes physical differences as opposed to cultural distinctions... The issues of race and racial differences has been an important one, not only in the United States but throughout the entire sphere of European influence" (p. 8).

Haney López (2006) argues that race exists alongside a multitude of social identities that shape and are themselves shaped by the way in which race is given meaning. We live race through class, religion, nationality, gender, sexual identity, and so on (p. xiii). Haney López believes that like other social categories, race is highly contingent, specific to times, places, and situations. He says,

Whiteness, or the state of being white, thus turns on where one is, Watts or Westchester, Stanford University or San Jose State; on when one is there, two

in the afternoon or three in the morning, 1878 or 1995; on the immediate context, applying to rent an apartment, seeking entrance into an exclusive club, or talking with a police officer (pp. xiii-xiv).

In addition to the historical context above, Schaefer (2004) observes part of the social construction of whiteness in terms of using assigned skin privilege as advantaging one's societal position when he writes,

Whiteness carries with it a sense of identity of being White as opposed to being, for example, Asian or African. For many people it may not be easy to establish a social identity of Whiteness...However, one can argue that the social identity of Whiteness exists if one enjoys the privilege of being White...Being White or being successful in establishing a White identity carries with it distinct advantages (pp. 136-137).

Ultimately, using terms such as *faculty of color* and *white faculty, minority* and *dominant* group membership, assist in describing historical negotiations of position, privilege, power, interpretation, personal preference, and more. The remainder of Chapter 1 will explore the significance of the study and the questions that are guiding this research study.

Significance of the Study

This study focuses on the differential treatment (through spoken and unspoken expectations), experiences, and consequences (in the form of work performance, or the internalization of work-related stress) that faculty of color endure in predominantly white community colleges. When identifying institutional barriers for faculty of color, one usually thinks of overt racist acts and practices. The reality is that in the 21st

century, discrimination has become more covert in nature. Minority faculty may encounter what Hobson-Horton (2004) describes as “micro-aggressions” (p. 94). The researcher describes micro-aggressions as, “indirect racially motivated comments that are delivered verbally, nonverbally, and/or visually” (p. 97). Micro-aggressions can manifest themselves as derogatory comments, the use of stereotypes, the posting of offensive materials on a departmental bulletin board, or the subtle differences in how minority and nonminority faculty are given opportunities for networking, socializing, and mentoring (p. 97). These forms of micro-aggressions, when accumulated over time to manifest into a hostile work environment, can adversely affect the success of faculty of color.

Why should this research topic be pursued? Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998) write, “probably few policy areas of higher education have received more recent attention than the issue of race on campus” (p. 279). Villalpando and Delgado Bernal (2002) note that emerging literature on the American professorate suggests that there are racialized barriers that impede the success of faculty of color. Disproportionate racial stratification exists for faculty of color that impacts their productivity in the following areas: (1) types of higher education institutions employed at, (2) concentration in certain disciplines and departments, (3) overrepresentation in lower academic ranks, (4) slower tenure rates, and (5) work role expectations.

Fogg (2003) notes that institutions are disingenuous when they hire minorities, because the institutions will trumpet the hires as their proof of a commitment toward diversity, while not supporting the unspoken diversity-related work expectations placed on these same minority faculty members. In addition to teaching and service,

there is the issue of research and publication. Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, Bonous-Hammarth, and Stassen (2002) reported that:

Women faculty and faculty of color often encounter obstacles that constrain their ability to move up the academic hierarchy. Two obstacles of particular concern are (1) the tendency of women faculty and faculty of color to be overburdened with teaching and service responsibilities, and (2) the inflexible expectations of universities and colleges about research and publications. (p. 192)

Cooper and Stevens (2002) believe that the key issues currently facing minority faculty in the academe is their absence, and undervaluing (p. 6). Cooper and Stevens argue that minority faculty often feel “unwelcome, unappreciated, and unwanted” as they face continual pressure “to prove that they deserve their positions” (p. 6). Cooper and Stevens argue that there are both structural and personal barriers to academic success, usually measured through tenure and promotion. They highlight the following:

- Minority faculty continue to be underrepresented in the academe, holding a higher percentage of part-time and non-tenure track positions;
- Minority faculty remain disproportionately located in less prestigious community colleges and four-year schools;
- In the face of discrimination, minority faculty tend to leave the academy before they obtain tenure in significantly larger numbers;
- Research on minority-related topics is attacked as nonacademic or inappropriate because of a focus on social change and minority issues;

- Minority faculty hold more split or joint appointments which can serve as a barrier during the tenure review process;
- Minority faculty often feel isolation, lack mentors, experience higher rates of occupational stress, and have to deal with institutional sexism and racism;
- Teaching is undervalued if it involves minority-related subjects or courses;
- When minorities are hired, they may face disproportionate advising and service loads because they are often the only minorities in a department;
- Minority faculty tend to spend more time on teaching and service, leaving them vulnerable to attack at the point of tenure and promotion (pp. 6-8).

Cooper and Stevens conclude, “in sum, minority faculty continue to be perceived as ‘other’ and suffer from institutionalized racist attitudes that reflect their differences as inferior to dominant White Western values and norms” (p. 7).

Cultural Taxation

In 1994, after years of personal and professional experience, Amado Padilla coined the term “cultural taxation” to describe the differential treatment experienced by faculty of color primarily because their outward appearance is equated with perceived knowledge. Here, he thoughts reflect first-hand experience of cultural taxation when he writes, “...[we] frequently find ourselves having to respond to situations that are imposed on us by the administration, which assumes that we are best suited for specific tasks because of our race/ethnicity or our presumed knowledge of cultural differences” (p. 26).

In his research and writing on cultural taxation, Padilla has hypothesized possible motivating factors to explain why faculty of color take on additional

workload responsibilities. Padilla has also considered the psychological and physical toll that institutional diversity-related work and requests can have on faculty of color:

Often I, like many ethnic scholars, have responded to [requests for assistance] and similar situations out of a deep sense of ‘cultural obligation.’ However, I have experienced annoyance about having to take on these responsibilities, which tend to be very time consuming and often emotionally draining, when my nonethnic colleagues are seldom affected by similar obligations (p. 26).

Guiding Research Questions

The purpose of this research study is to document narratives of faculty of color in higher education. Specifically, this study seeks to establish how diversity-related work-role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. If this were a quantitative study, there would have been some way of measuring what “diversity-related work role expectations and experiences” are, and also how these expectations and experiences “personally and professionally impact faculty of color.” As a qualitative study using narrative *testimonios*, this qualitative study was concerned with how faculty of color research participants describe their lives in predominantly white community colleges.

This research study employs certain guiding questions to establish the parameters of this study. But because the technique (narrative *testimonio*) for gathering data is conversational in structure, it was anticipated that other questions would arise from the exchange between researcher and participant. The following were used as the guiding questions in capturing, through culturally appropriate and

respectful human interaction, the lived personal and professional experiences of faculty of color:

1. *Have you had any experiences with “cultural taxation?”*

Rationale: Because of the focus of this study, it was important to establish the degree to which a faculty member may or may not have experienced “cultural taxation.”

Furthermore, this question tried to establish whether faculty of color do or do not feel taxed, or the degree to which they do or do not, and why they think this is. This is an important question because it allowed faculty members to reflect on how they believe that they are perceived within their institution (i.e. the degree to which they feel as though others view them as a reference person on their campus regarding diversity issues).

2. *Describe from both personal and professional perspectives, your experiences working in predominantly white institutions?*

Rationale: It was important to have faculty of color research participants reflect on their positional status within predominantly white community colleges. First, in the broadest sense, this question allowed for research participants to discuss their self-image as a person of color. Second, research participants were able to consider the term “predominantly white institution” and what that term meant to them on personal and professional levels. Because this question looks at both personal and professional perspectives, the research participants were able to consider how they attempt to balance different aspects of their lives. Finally, the value of this guiding question is that it opens dialogue to look at their degree of interaction with college-wide diversity initiatives.

3. *What techniques have you tried in order to achieve a sense of balance in your personal and professional lives?*

Rationale: Recent research studies, discussed in later chapters, are focusing on the degree to which some faculty of color are psychologically and physically impacted by institutional and individual racism. The purpose of this question was to allow for faculty of color to discuss and articulate coping mechanisms that they use in their every day lives.

It was expected that the responses to these guiding questions would differ from faculty to faculty, depending on their cultural background and upbringing, field of study, motivation for working in their given fields, degrees attained and schools attended, and so on. However, in the common context of participation in higher education as students and then faculty of color, there was an expectation that there may be shared patterns or themes within the responses.

Summary

This study seeks to capture narratives on how diversity-related work role expectations personally and professionally impact faculty of color at predominantly white institutions. Insuring that bias did not manipulate the outcomes of this study, it is nonetheless still seen as a tool for decolonization. As a “tool” this study was created with the hope that the findings will serve to inform higher education leaders that more equitable and safe working and learning environments for all employees will only occur when they acknowledge that higher education has been an active member of the colonization process. In a broader sense, this research study touches on strategic planning areas such as: (1) contractual workload, work expectations, and work roles,

(2) compensation for degree of cultural competency, (3) campus diversity initiatives, (4) recruitment, hiring, mentorship, retention, and tenure/promotion of faculty of color, and (5) quality of work environment.

Finally, this research study is important because it focuses attention through narrative *testimonios* on what certain diversity-related work experiences look (or feel) like for some faculty of color. For those institutions whose leaders wish to push diversity beyond tokenism to take its' place as a strategic area of focus, this research helps to draw attention beneath the surface of how individuals can be personally and professionally impacted by spoken and unspoken expectations that are sometimes knowingly and unknowingly demanded of them.

In the next chapter, existing research on workload issues that are experienced by minority faculty in the academy will be reviewed. The focus of this research can be generally combined into three primary areas: (1) Research with a focus on lived experiences (socialization/mentoring) prior to employment as a faculty member in higher education; (2) Research with a focus on experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white institutions; and (3) Research with a focus on the effects (personally and professionally) of additional diversity-related workload burden. These three broad areas of research are reviewed under the headings of: (1) Cultural Taxation in Predominantly White Institutions; (2) Lack of Professional Socialization and/or Mentorship for Faculty of Color; and (3) Personal/Professional Impact of Campus Diversity Initiatives.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this research study was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived (work) experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. There are several areas related to the topic of the experiences of faculty of color in higher education including: affirmative action, recruiting, hiring, retention, promotion/tenure, campus and scholarship-related civil and human rights movements, campus climate studies and surveys, analysis of individual and institutional racism, and the social construction of ethnicity and race, to name a few.

All of the literature that was reviewed for this study was *in relation to* a certain group of professionals. Prior to the analysis of literature that was used for the foundation of this study, some thoughts on how the profession of *faculty* is defined will be addressed. (In the Methodology and Research Design chapter, there is a brief discussion about the faculty who were recruited to participate in this study and the reasoning behind the selection of participants).

Professor, faculty, instructor, and lecturer, teacher are common labels used to describe an individual who facilitates the learning environment of a classroom. Full, associate, assistant, tenured, non-tenured, adjunct, full-time, part-time, contracted, “freeway flier,” are labels used to describe the employment status of the professor, faculty, instructor, etc. All of these labels or descriptors have been socially constructed over time and tend to be situated in-relation-to a given school, college, university that is public and private. While the labels have evolved over time, one of the constants of

this population of people is the degree of occupational prestige that is granted to this group. Schaefer (2006) describes occupation prestige as the “respect and admiration that an occupation holds in a society” (p. 212). Various studies have shown that “college professor” consistently ranks in the top five most prestigious occupations (Davis et al., 2003; Nakao & Treas, 1991; Treiman 1977). Henslin (2003) reports that occupations with a high level of prestige share the following four features: “(1) They pay more; (2) they require more education; (3) they entail more abstract thought; and (4) they offer greater autonomy (freedom, or self-direction)” (p. 281).

In addition to a high degree of occupation prestige, college and university faculty experience a wide range of role demands within the occupation. While there is debate whether community college faculty have developed a unified and distinct professional identity (Outcalt 2002), there are still themes that emerge for the occupation of professor. Theall and Arreola (2006) define college professorships in the broadest context:

College teaching is a profession built on top of another profession – a meta-profession. Individuals come to the professoriate with specific, professional, knowledge and skills, including content expertise, practice/clinical skills, and research techniques. These skills constitute what may be called the base profession of college faculty. But college professors are immediately called upon to perform at professional levels in four possible roles: teaching, scholarly or creative activities (including research), service to the institution and community, and administration (p. 6).

In this sense, not only are all faculty considered to have expertise in their area of study, but there are professional general expectations and/or demands placed on faculty because of their role as faculty members in their institutions. For some faculty of color, there may be additional diversity-related expectations placed on them because of an additional layer of expertise or experience that others believe that they possess.

In order to provide appropriate background for this study, the literature that was reviewed for this study was divided into these three general areas: (1) Cultural taxation in predominantly white institutions, (2) Professional socialization/mentorship for faculty of color, and (3) Personal/professional impact of campus diversity initiatives. (This section combined literature in the areas of diversity, professionalism, occupational stress, and resiliency through balance). Although identified as three general areas, all of the literature reviewed for this study should be seen as pieces of an interconnected whole.

Cultural Taxation in Predominantly White Institutions

The focus here is on the phenomenon known as “cultural taxation.” This section will define the term as well as identify other terms that represent the same phenomenon: those spoken and unspoken diversity-related expectations placed on faculty of color that may negatively impact their personal and professional lives.

At predominantly white institutions, faculty of color represent a numerically small population. Because of this, there are work role expectations and experiences unique to this group that are not shared by white faculty. Ibarra (2003) refers to these expectations and experiences as “minority burden” to describe an “over-commitment

to minority activities/teaching” (p. 209). Hall and Rowan (2001) identify “cultural schisms” to symbolize the tension for “Hispanic-American males and institutions of higher education” (p. 572). Cooper and Stevens (2002) write, “When minority faculty are hired, they may face disproportionate advising and service loads because they are often the only faculty of color in a department” (p. 8). Aguirre (2000) observes,

Because they are often the only one in their academic department or college, women and minority faculty find themselves performing more service activities than White men faculty, such as advising or serving on committees that focus on women and/or minority students (p. 70).

Hobson-Horton (2004) points out that because of lack of representation in the faculty ranks, minority faculty tend to have heavier advising loads than White faculty members, causing minority faculty to spend more time with students. To clarify, the professional expectation made of all faculty is that they will advise and work with students. Therefore, in addition to advising and working with white students, faculty of color, because of their lack of representation, also end up with advising students of color in larger numbers than their white faculty counterparts. The time demands of such advising include “providing social support for students, writing letters of recommendation, and helping them with such post-undergraduate activities as job seeking, and selecting graduate/professional schools” (p. 95). According to Padilla (1994) cultural taxation is defined as,

“the obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the

institution but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed (p. 26).

All faculty, regardless of ethnic or racial background, are hired to work in institutions with up front, or spoken, work role expectations in the form of job announcements and/or descriptions, and negotiated contracts (not including union contractual agreements when applicable). Cultural taxation acknowledges a reality where faculty of color experience an additional workload expectation that goes beyond agreed-upon expectations. A work environment that consists of an undervalued workload burden that not only goes above and beyond one's other faculty duties, but also is a direct result of working in a predominantly white institution. Padilla argues that cultural taxation has the ability to take on many forms, some easier to identify than others (p. 26). Some of the more easily identifiable forms of cultural taxation include:

- being called upon to be experts on matters of diversity within the organization, even though faculty of color may not be knowledgeable on the issues or [feel] very comfortable in the role;
- being called on, often repeatedly, to educate individuals in the majority group about diversity, even though this is not part of the job description and those faculty called upon are not given any authority or recognition to go along with the responsibility;
- serving on affirmative action committee or task force that culminates in the rehashing of many of the same recommendations that we have seen in the past with little real structural change ever taking place;

- serving as the liaison between the organization and the ethnic community, even though we may not agree with the way the organization's policies impact on the community;
- taking time away from our own work to serve as general problem solver, troubleshooter, or negotiator for disagreements that arise in part because of sociocultural differences among the administration, staff, students, or community; and,
- being called on to translate official documents or letters to clients, or to serve as interpreters when non-English-speaking clients, visitors, or dignitaries appear at our place of employment (p. 26).

In the last section, the review of literature shows how various scholars have attempted to identify labels to accurately describe additional workload demands experienced by woman and faculty of color in academe life. In addition to attempts to describe in general terms the phenomenon of cultural taxation, some of these same scholars and others interested in this area of inquiry, have focused their attentions on when experiences of spoken and unspoken workload expectations begins. For some scholars, graduate school is where experiences and expectations start. In the following section, literature is reviewed that looks at the following four areas: (1) the degree to which graduate students of color are mentored and socialized to prepare them for their careers; (2) the experiences of graduate students of color regarding cultural taxation; (3) the degree to which faculty of color are mentored and socialized upon entering colleges and universities; and (4) the importance of more senior faculty of color eventually mentoring less experienced faculty and students of color.

Professional Socialization/Mentorship for Faculty of Color

Padilla points out that not only does cultural taxation carry a burden of increased workload, but also much of the diversity-related work that is asked of minority faculty is not valued. He refers to this as a “double-bind” or no-win situation (p. 26). Throughout the socialization of people of color, first as students then as professionals in the academe, they are told that:

...although diversity may be important, it is not a substitute for intellectual excellence and that we must develop more than ethnic competencies in our training. In fact, our competencies must be in a substantive content area, plus research methodology, and, of course, we must publish. However, at the first sign of trouble with an ethnic student or client, the administration relinquishes responsibility and calls upon a resident ethnic faculty member or graduate student(s) to deal with diversity experiences that the administration is unable to manage on its own. Unfortunately, the eventual ‘payback’ for such service is, in the case of the student, the warning that too much time being spent on ethnic matters and too little on one’s graduate program or, in the case of the junior professional, threat of loss of job security and advancement within the organization (p. 26).

Mixed messages attached to one’s professional identity and workload expectations, as seen above, is another aspect of cultural taxation. Starting in graduate school, or undergraduate studies as students observe the world around them, students begin to contemplate the labels that are used to describe the various roles that faculty carry out. Aguirre (2000) reports that women and minority faculty feel that the

academic workplace is chilly and alienating. In this workplace, they are “ascribed a peripheral role...and are expected to perform roles that are in conflict with expectations” (p. 2). Aguirre writes,

On the one hand, women and minority faculty find themselves burdened with heavy teaching and service responsibilities, that constrain their opportunity to engage in research and publication. On the other hand, women and minority faculty are expected to assume and perform institutional roles that allow higher education institutions to pursue diversity on campus. (p. 2)

Kersey-Matusiak (2004) sees individual identity attached to the roles that we are asked or implied to perform, especially in situations of isolation, such as “professor, researcher, scientist, [and] philosopher” (p. 122). She writes,

For most of us, being the only representative of any group, or one of few, forces us to seriously consider who we really are in these settings. For a novice in the academy, particularly when one is isolated from networks of support, it becomes critical to acknowledge a self-identity that goes beyond the designated role of teacher, researcher, or scholar (p. 122).

Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998) see socialization as a key component in a campus environment when they write, “institutional leaders can significantly strengthen the psychological climate on their campuses by purposely becoming deliberate agents of socialization (p. 290). Ibarra (2003) researches Latino and Latina tenure issues, and believes that one of the problems faced by new faculty in general, is in the level of professional preparedness placed on faculty upon their arrival. He writes that,

one way to eliminate many of the problems faced by new faculty is to institute formal orientation, faculty development, and mentorship programs. At the very least, a faculty mentorship program is valuable, even in the absence of formal orientation and development programs (211).

Professional socialization or mentoring should be seen as a relationship between more senior and less senior faculty. Since, in the United States, the majority of colleges and universities are predominantly white, cross-race faculty mentoring becomes a crucial factor. Stanley and Lincoln (2005) write,

In comparison to majority faculty, the numbers of faculty of color in higher education remain disproportionately low...There is nothing more isolating and alienating than to be the first or only person of one's race and/or ethnicity to be hired in a department, and a mentoring relationship is one way to escape from that isolation (p. 46).

In this article, Stanley and Lincoln write about their own cross-race mentoring relationship. They report on ten lessons that they have learned throughout their years of collaboration. They are summarized here as follows:

- Cross-race mentoring requires extra sensitivity.
- Cross-race mentoring takes some familiarity with research topics that are often taken up by scholars of color.
- Cross-race mentoring may begin with an 'assignment,' but it is built on a relationship.

- Cross-race mentoring requires work on both sides – including deep reflection on the meaning(s) of white privilege; the assumption of white seniority and ‘voice;’ and departmental and college mores, traditions, and values.
- Cross-race mentoring requires assuming some responsibilities for the mentored individual.
- Cross-race mentoring is a multifoliate activity, addressing needs expressed by the individual mentored but also those that the individual may not be aware of. This can lead to conflict when constructive feedback is not considered supportive by the protégé.
- Cross-race mentoring may often mean expressing views that the scholar of color feels strongly about but may be afraid to raise in public meetings.
- Cross-race mentoring involves sharing opportunities for professional development and promotion, as well as pointing out landmines in the academic landscape.
- Cross-race mentoring is not academic cloning. It is the giving of self, expertise, and experience to help others achieve their goals.
- Finally, cross-race mentoring requires the majority faculty member to become sensitive to issues that might have seemed unimportant in the past (pp. 48-50).

Calls for ensuring the success of students and faculty of color through mentoring relationships are ongoing. As with a growing body of literature, scholars are looking for compromise, where a degree of intellectual autonomy and self-determination can be fused with culturally appropriate mentoring styles. Padilla (1994) wrote that as we moved into the 21st century, “ethnic research and scholarship must play a more prominent role in defining what constitutes a worthwhile intellectual

pursuit” (p. 26). He believed that in higher education, departments needed to “develop mentoring strategies” for students of color, to ensure their training, scholarship, and success in graduate programs (p. 26). He also focused on minority faculty when he argued that, “...strategies that ensure success for ethnic faculty members must also be incorporated into recruitment, hiring, and retention policies” (p. 26).

For many people of color, spoken and unspoken expectations and requests begins in graduate school, just as students are starting their professional socialization into the academe. Most graduate students, regardless of background, experience some degree of subordinated status and pressure to perform. For graduate students of color, cultural taxation adds an additional layer to their experiences. Perhaps to be thought of as a different, more negative sort of professional socialization. As Gay (2004) observes,

Graduate students of color also experience a form of marginalization that, on the surface, appears not to be marginalization at all, and seems to counter the isolation [that some students experience]. Their status of being the ‘only one,’ or ‘one of the very few’ in their programs of study causes them to be in popular demand for many service functions. They are sought after to ‘represent’ diversity on committees, programs and promotionals, as well as being frequently called upon to make guest appearances in classes... This ‘popularity’ has some troublesome features. First, it is indiscriminate in that these students are asked to participate in affairs without giving due consideration to whether they have the competencies the tasks require. The invitations come from people in status positions who have power and authority

that can be used to the benefit or the detriment of the students...The second problem with this 'popularity' is that it is precarious. Graduate students of color are popular and in high demand with faculty, administrators, peers and staff as long as they do not differ with or significantly challenge the wishes, ideologies and authority of the powers that be. If, or when, this happens there is no forgiveness (pp. 284-285).

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) were also interested in capturing how individual faculty members are or are not socialized to prepare them for employment in higher education. Once people are hired they ask, what additional socialization does or doesn't occur for them to have a productive and pleasant experience? Mentoring as a factor of retention and eventual tenure and promotion is a crucial consideration. While this research study focuses on faculty, mentoring as an aspect of socialization should be seen as starting at the student level. As Verdugo (2003) observes, in order for Hispanic students to be successful in higher education, Hispanic faculty must act as role models (pp. 245-246).

Williams (2004) uses the historical phrase "underground railroad network" as a metaphor for the mentoring and retention of students of color. Williams writes, "one sentiment echoed by many minority faculty and students who have either completed or are completing their doctoral degree requirements is that the graduate school environment, particularly at primarily white institutions, is covertly and/or overtly hostile" (p. 241). The researcher believes that mentoring should be carried out by "conductors" who form "an underground railroad of sorts" (p. 241). Retention and success of graduate students come from these conductors who create "a network of

collaborators who direct other students of color through hostile territories along a path to academic success and attainment of the doctorate” (p. 241).

Motivated by positive or negative experiences while growing up, or their experiences from their undergraduate or graduate studies, faculty of color may feel compelled, in varying degrees of intensity, to “give back” in the form of volunteering or seeking an active role in the mentoring and socialization of students and faculty of color. Some of these same faculty of color become actively engaged in their institution’s “diversity” efforts. The literature reviewed in the following section focuses efforts by institutions and their relationship to diversity and how this may impact the experiences of faculty of color.

Personal/Professional Impact of Campus Diversity Initiatives

When predominantly white institutions begin movement toward diversity-related initiatives, there is usually a primary focus on the recruitment and hiring (possibly retention) of faculty of color. For faculty of color, recruitment, hiring, and retention can bring added dimensions of stereotype threat, tokenism, stigma, and covert and overt racism (Flores Niemann, 2002). Stereotype threat is the idea that faculty of color can start believing in the negative labels and treatment by white faculty. This may lead to lower self-esteem, lack of productivity through reduced self-efficacy, and finally self-blaming within a hostile work environment (pp. 302-303). Tokenism refers to a faculty of color being the only one or a member of a noticeably small number of minority colleagues. Flores Niemann writes, “the assigned teaching and administrative load was made significantly heavier by unassigned responsibilities and obligations. As a woman of color, I felt duty-bound to respond to students who

felt marginalized in the institution, especially ethnic/racial minorities” (p. 300).

Stigma, perhaps here a byproduct of tokenism, covert, and overt racism, is the idea that a faculty of color was hired because of affirmative action, versus their ability to do the job. Stigma can also take the form of a the label such as “complainer” when a faculty of color points out that their workload is not equitable with their colleagues; or “militant” as they attempt to hold their colleagues accountable for their negative (sometimes covert/overt racist) behavior.

Brayboy (2003) examined how the implementation of diversity initiatives at predominantly white colleges and universities impacted the lives of faculty of color. His research relied heavily on interviews with “African American, American Indian, Asian, and Latino faculty members of junior status in predominantly white colleges and universities” (p. 72). His initial hypothesis centers on the idea that all across America, colleges and universities use the language of diversity as a way to signal their commitment to faculty and students of color. Yet, the implementation of diversity will inevitably fail if there is a lack of institutional commitment to “incorporating strategies for diversity into their research, teaching and service missions” (p. 72).

Brayboy argues that at many predominantly white institutions, diversity takes on a “window dressing” feeling, where the very structure of the institution remains the same (p. 74). The window dressing that he is referring to can be described this way:

Institutions figure, for example, that they can merely offer new courses on diversity, hire a few faculty of color, assign these faculty to cover committee assignments, work with students of color, serve as role models, and offer

suggestions on how to be a more user-friendly institution to all the students, including the ones of color. (p. 73)

Brayboy also states that there is a double standard between the expectations of white and non-white faculty when it comes to doing diversity-focused work, something he refers to as “implicit and hidden requirements” (p. 75). The hidden requirements are manifested in what faculty are expected to contribute upon their arrival: “White faculty are simply expected to be good teachers and scholars whereas faculty (or scholars) of color are expected to be good scholars and teachers, and in the process, to implement diversity” (p. 75).

As Brayboy reports, “...specific forms of service are performed by faculty (or scholars) of color and, in doing so, they encounter implicit and explicit forms of racism in their work” (p. 75). Ultimately, this system of expectations, knowingly or unknowingly impacts the personal and professional lives of faculty of color in the following way: the time and energy required of faculty of color to implement diversity, “may impede a faculty member’s ability to meet her or his retention, promotion, and tenure requirements of writing and publishing” (p. 76).

Additional Research on Professional Impact

Hobson-Horton (2004) refers to this time and energy required of faculty of color that may impede their performance as “clock-stoppers” (p. 99). According to her, clock-stoppers are, “any activity, meeting, professional responsibility, or other task that prevents a faculty member from using his or her time on activities that help secure promotion and tenure” (p. 99). She contrast clock-stoppers with “clock-

advancers,” those things that “help a faculty member complete activities, committee assignments, or other responsibilities that help secure promotion and tenure” (p. 99).

Ortiz (1998) explains that there are four stages that make up the traditional academic career. For faculty of color, she argues, movement through these stages is problematic. How people are able to combine teaching, research, and service “will determine the speed and height of advancement through academia” (p. 127). Some of the variables that may influence the experiences of faculty of color in higher education include, teaching and advising undergraduates and large lecture classes (if working in disciplines such as ethnic studies that historically haven’t offered graduate degrees), less likely to receive funds for research, and an expectation that “people of color are also expected to represent, speak, and act on behalf of their group” (p. 127).

For the professional careers of underrepresented faculty, Tierney (2002) believes that college and university leaders have a responsibility to address multiple areas of reform. He argues that there are “at least four issues one might consider with regard to retaining minority and women faculty” (p. 64). The four topics that he believes should be addressed more forthrightly:

- Graduate Student Socialization: Tierney argues that if colleges and universities function as “organizational cultures,” then socialization of students, both undergraduate and graduate, needs to be taken more seriously than in the past (p. 64). Furthermore, the burden of socializing students “ought not always fall on the shoulders of minority and women faculty” (p. 64). Women and faculty of color report that they were often less encouraged to pursue doctoral work, therefore,

Tierney believes, "...one concrete step is to concentrate on those [students] who are potential scholars" (p. 64).

- **Cleaning up the Tenure Process in the Academy:** Tierney believes that socialization is one significant way in which to increase the pool of tenure-track women and minority faculty. The other is through the mentorship of those already employed (p. 65). He thinks there are two key issues concerning mentorship. "First, the mentoring process of junior faculty needs to be more formalized...Second,...is cleaning up the tenure process" (p. 65). Tierney does not want to see the tenure evaluation process to become "reduced to a system of bureaucratic points and numbers" (p. 65). But he does acknowledge that the current system of conferring tenure is a "mystery that currently clouds the tenure process" that he believes could be easily changed and improved (p. 65).
- **Alternative Criteria within Sectors:** Tierney is critical of a "one-size-fits-all" approach to evaluating faculty in tenure review. Other than community colleges, "research is more valued and rewarded than other forms of academic work" (p. 65). He believes that in the twenty-first century, we need to become more creative in how we define and approach academic work. What he argues here is that institutions should "ensure that the multifaceted tasks that occur in an organization are equally honored and recognized" (p. 66). Tierney explains further, "One ought not call on, for example, some faculty to engage in community-based studies if that means they will not be recompensed in a manner akin to their counterparts who conduct research" (p. 66).

- Performance Contracts: Tierney reminds us that until a better system comes along, faculty have a responsibility to deal with the issues raised by critics of tenure – “some individuals do undertake research to the detriment of their teaching. Some faculty do achieve tenure and then become unproductive” (p. 66). What he would like to see in place is an ongoing dialogue between faculty and administrative leaders. An annual discussion where they talk “about one’s performance over the past year and what one hopes to accomplish over the next one” (p. 66). Annual formal performance dialogues, he believes, “enable an academic community to create communal contracts with one another that deepen, rather than lessen, individual obligation and responsiveness” (p. 66).

Brayboy (2003) believes that implementation of diversity initiatives at predominantly white institutions must consider four specific issues that impact faculty of color. First and foremost, he critiques the creation of diversity courses, without an institutional commitment to the infusion of diversity in other mainstream courses (p. 83). Second, by having faculty of color teach diversity courses, he argues that it sends the wrong message that qualified white faculty exist who could teach these types of courses. This degree of collaboration and sharing would illustrate the importance that diversity is the responsibility of everyone. Third, acknowledgement that because of work role issues, faculty of color require assistance in the teaching of diversity courses. Many of these types of courses (it was implied) have a tendency of being lower-division undergraduate courses with higher enrollments. Finally, beyond work role issues, professional expectations, and institutional inequality, Brayboy argues that

we must not forget that there is a personal impact associated with diversity initiatives at predominantly white institutions.

Additional Research on Personal Impact

Perceptions outside of academic life see the job of faculty as an occupation with low levels of stress. Gillespie, Walsh, Winefield, Dua, and Stough (2001) report that this perception is far from reality. “Research on stress among academic and general staff of universities from across the globe indicates that the phenomenon of occupational stress in universities is alarmingly widespread and increasing” (p. 54). They report that research conducted in the United Kingdom, United States, New Zealand, and Australia has identified several key factors commonly associated with stress:

- Work overload;
- Time constraints;
- Lack of promotion opportunities;
- Inadequate recognition;
- Inadequate salary;
- Changing job role;
- Inadequate management and/or participation in management;
- Inadequate resources and funding, and;
- Student interaction (p. 56).

Occupational stress has the potential to impact individuals on both professional and personal levels. Gillespie, Walsh, Winefield, Dua, and Stough state that “occupational stress negatively impacts job performance, interpersonal work relations,

commitment to the university, and extra-role performance” (p. 65). This, in turn, can create “high levels of stress, negatively impact self-esteem, a loss in collegiality, and hinder innovative or creative work” (p. 65).

Sound scholarship exists within the area of occupational stress, life satisfaction, and coping mechanisms, including attempts to find balance between professional and personal life demands. (Bryant & Constantine, 2006; Iwasaki, Mactavish, & Mackay 2005; Lenthall, 1980; Marston, Brunetti, & Courtney, 2005; Scheib, 2003). Unfortunately, while the majority of the scholarly literature in this area is strong, much of it does not focus exclusively on race or racism as a mechanism for causing stress.

The personal impact of being a faculty of color in a predominantly white institution can negatively impact individuals beyond their professional selves. The source of stress, as reported throughout this review of literature has pointed to individual and institutional racism. Barnes and Lightsey Jr. (2005) write,

Differing definitions of ‘objective racism’ and ethical concerns about experimental manipulation of racism have led to studies that assess individuals’ perception of discrimination. Because of such individual appraisal of situations determines the stress response, subjective appraisals of racism may be central to mental health (p. 48).

Focusing their research on African Americans, Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, and Cancelli (2000) investigated the relationship between racial discrimination, stress, and coping mechanisms among African Americans. They argue that “racial discrimination is insidious and permeates many aspects of African American life” (p.

72). In their investigation, they believe that “the experience of racism is multidimensional and can be classified by using a tripartite typology:

- The first type of racism is *individual racism*. In this type, African Americans are likely to experience racial discrimination on a personal level.
- The second type of racism is *institutional racism*. This type of racism is experienced by African Americans as a result of social and institutional policies that exclude them from full participation in the benefits offered to other members of society.
- Finally, *cultural racism* occurs when the cultural practices of the ‘dominant’ group are generally regarded by society and its institutions as being superior to the culture of a ‘subordinate’ group (p. 72).

Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999) utilized a Biosychosocial Model framework in looking at racism as a stressor for populations of color. They argue that examining the effects of intergroup racism and intragroup racism is warranted for at least three important reasons”:

- First, if exposure to racism is perceived as stressful, it may have negative biosychosocial sequelae.
- Second, differential exposure to and coping responses following perceptions of racism may help account for the wide within-group variability in health outcomes among African Americans.
- Third, if exposure to racism is among the factors related to negative health outcomes in African Americans, specific intervention and prevention strategies could be developed and implemented to lessen its deleterious impact (p. 806).

Brayboy (2003) provides an additional, not yet discussed, source of stress: the classroom. In his research, Brayboy investigates the classroom teaching climate that exists for faculty of color who find themselves teaching diversity courses. The emotional and psychological stress stems from faculty of color who teach diversity courses where the faculty is a member of a population (being studied) that has been historically subjugated by whites, and the faculty of color is teaching to a classroom of predominantly white students who display varying degrees of resistance to a history that they have little or no knowledge of (p. 84).

There is emerging research on the impact that cultural taxation has on the personal lives of faculty of color. Smith (2004) likens it to a sort of “battle fatigue” found in military veterans. He observes,

Racial battle fatigue develops in African Americans and other people of color much like combat fatigue in military personnel, even when they are not under direct (racial) attack. Unlike typical occupational stress, racial battle fatigue is a response to the distressing mental/emotional conditions that result from facing racism daily (e.g., racial slights, recurrent indignities and irritations, unfair treatments, including contentious classrooms, and potential threats or dangers under tough to violent and even life-threatening conditions) (p. 180).

What Ibarra (2003) calls the “minority burden,” Padilla (1994) identified as “cultural taxation,” Gay (2004) refers to as “problematic popularity,” and Smith (2004) “battle fatigue,” can bring on various psychological and physical symptoms. Smith argued that race-related stressors are “those events that can throw a body out of balance” and can bring on the following symptoms:

...tension headaches and backaches, trembling and jumpiness, chronic pain in healed injuries, a pounding heart beat, rapid breathing in anticipation of conflict, an upset stomach, frequent diarrhea or urination, extreme fatigue, constant anxiety and worrying, increased swearing and complaining, inability to sleep, sleep broken by haunting conflict-specific dreams, loss of confidence in oneself and one's colleagues/department/college/ university/community, difficulty in thinking coherently or being able to speak articulately under stressful conditions, rapid mood swings, elevated blood pressure, and emotional/social withdrawal (p. 181).

Summary

The purpose of this research study was to document narratives of faculty of color in community colleges in order to determine how diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. The research reviewed in this chapter sought to establish a foundation to demonstrate the sense of *other-ness* that faculty of color experience in predominantly white institutions. The review of literature also attempted to place the narrative *testimonios* of faculty of color that were collected for this study into a broader societal and cultural context. Ibarra (2003) observes that there are concentrated efforts by voters, state legislators, and court rulings to dismantle decades of affirmative action and antidiscrimination legislation. At the same time, the barriers that women and ethnic populations have faced in academia remain unchanged. He believes that this is a crucial point in the debate about educational reform. Despite

steady increases by underrepresented populations on university and college campuses, real equity and diversity continues to remain elusive (p. 214).

In Chapter 3, Methodology and Research Design, the analysis shifts to the mechanics of this research study. The chapter includes discussion of the theoretical and philosophical framework for the study, including a section on researcher disclosure, and the specific ways in which the data was collected and analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The purpose of this research study was to document narratives of faculty of color in community colleges. Specifically, this study sought to establish how diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. This chapter begins with what Denzin and Lincoln (2003) describe as the ontology (theoretical and philosophical framework) of this research study, the epistemology (the guiding questions) that were used in this research study, and the methodology (or specific ways in which the data collected in this research study was analyzed) (p. 29-30). This chapter also addresses who participated in this study, the rationale that was used in selecting research participants, how data was collected and analyzed, and what strategies were used to ensure the soundness of the analysis and interpretation of the data. First, this section begins with a researcher disclosure statement that influences everything about this research study.

Researcher Disclosure

Qualitative research in general, and using narrative *testimonios* in particular, is very situational, contextual, relational, and historical to oneself, one's research topic, who the research participants are, and finally, one's relationship as an insider or outsider in relation to the participants and research topic. Neuman (2003) states that qualitative researchers "are more concerned about issues of the richness, texture, and feeling of raw data because their inductive approach emphasizes developing insights

and generalizations out of the data collected” (p. 137). Creswell (2002) writes that qualitative researchers are “not objective, authoritative, politically neutral observers standing outside and above the text...[they] are historically positioned and locally situated as an all-too-human observer of the human condition” (49). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) explain that qualitative research places the observer in the world, to “make the world visible” (p. 4). Qualitative researchers attempt to make sense, or to interpret, the meanings the natural settings where people interact in the world (p. 4-5). Qualitative research may involve the use of various techniques, in the study and interpretation of various “things,” ultimately deploying “a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand” (p. 5). Denzin and Lincoln continue in a more detailed way about the weight of personal biography on research:

Behind these terms [theory, method, analysis, ontology, epistemology, and methodology] stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective. The gendered, multiculturally situated researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that he or she then examines in specific ways (methodology, analysis). That is, the researcher collects empirical materials bearing on the question and then analyzes and writes about them. Every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretive community that configures, in its special way, the multicultural, gendered components of the research act (p. 29-30).

One of the primary reasons that I am drawn to certain aspects of qualitative research is because there appears to be more honesty around concepts such as: subjectivity, underlying motivation(s), and one's "social location." (Social location may include aspects of one's life to include: race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, ability, and age). Researchers who conduct qualitative research do so from a positional stance. From my perspective, the "positional stance" impacts what I chose to research and how I went about it. (There are other research methods, which spend little or no time addressing issues of subjectivity, motivation, and "positionality." While this is not necessarily dishonest, it does create an authoritative voice of objectivity which this researcher does not find sincere).

Professionally, I am a full-time community college faculty member who coordinates a non-mainstream academic discipline (ethnic studies), and who teaches and works from specific cultural and social justice perspectives. I am a politically active community member, who works on human and social rights issues, while navigating in culturally appropriate ways among various racial and ethnic groups.

Personally, I self identify as an indigenous person who seeks input from both youth and elders alike in order to hone life skills such as, but not limited to, self-reflection (so far mostly successfully) and humility (so far mostly unsuccessfully). "Indigenusness" for me refers to the original autonomous sovereign human inhabitants of a particular place. I know and practice some of my "traditional" ways of knowing and doing, while other ways have been lost or are not available for me to know.

Although there are many neo-Indian posers and wannabes in our midst, I myself never self-identify as a “Native American” or “American Indian,” panethnic terms commonly used to refer to the descendants of the first inhabitants of the United States, but not applied to the Indigenous peoples of Latin America, or Pacific Islands. Martinez (2004) writes, “Native American, American Indian, or Indian are imposed ethnic labels that do not account for the cultural specificity of the hundreds of Indigenous Nations to whom these labels are ascribed” (p. 42). The use of labels by indigenous and non-indigenous writers and scholars is influenced by one’s own self-identity, cultural awareness, place and time, personal values, and political orientation.

Although I identify with a certain degree of indigeness, I do not confuse my privileged life and ways with those indigenous brothers and sisters who live and struggle on our ancestral lands. Because of my lack of confusion, it is more common for me to use another label when I describe my self-identity: Chicano. Some Mexican-Americans who chose to honor their indigeness, prefer the term Chicano, to the labels Latino or Hispanic. The popularization of the term “Chicano” was intended to reflect Mexican Americans’ mixed culture and heritage, their presence for centuries in the United States, and their right to be seen and treated as equal American citizens. Some activists in the 60s and 70s used the term to relate their ongoing political struggles, to the historical indigenist struggles for cultural and political survival during and after the Spanish conquest. A close friend explained her reason to self identify as a Chicana this way: she wants to honor the “mother” (her indigenous heritage), and not the “father” (her Spanish heritage).

There are other aspects of my sense of self that influence my professional, personal, and researcher worldviews. I am also a permanently disabled military veteran who has no patience with aggressive, self-righteous, over-indulgent, self-entitled behavior. Finally, I am an individual who uses his male, heterosexual, and economic privileges to undermine various aspects of institutional supremacy in order to work constructively with those who don't share the same privileges that I do. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) report on those scholars interested in research paradigms that question how dominant culture paradigms have historically been interconnected with traditional research methodologies, which ultimately influenced and impacted so-called objective scientific results. They group them together under the heading of "racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies" (p. 248). Because of how I position myself professionally and personally, I have oriented my research from an indigenist decolonizing orientation.

Decolonizing Research

As seen in the last section on my personal disclosure, the ontology, epistemology, and methodology used in this research study are all influenced by my philosophical framework, which, in turn, is influenced by my personal biography. In this section, critical race theory and an indigenist epistemology will be presented as interlocking parts of the research act. All of these are also part of a larger "methodological stance." Jankie (2004) writes,

One of the challenges that face researchers is the manner in which they are positioned in their dual, often conflicting roles as both insiders and outsiders...They strive to look at and problematize the lives, experiences, or

cultures they are researching through the eyes of the participants themselves; yet cannot achieve this without drawing on their own images and multiple identities. Failing to do so renders or positions them as colonizers or research participants (p. 101).

Smith (1999) argues that historically, dominant culture scholars used research as an imperial tool to marginalize the researched other. In this way, dominant culture scholars were able to manipulate history, context, and ways of knowing and doing. But there is a growing response by faculty of color to this historical research model. Jankie writes, “Decolonizing research provides a site of agency for decentering colonial knowledge...as part of an agenda...researchers...use the ‘master’s tools’ such as those acquired or learned Western education, knowledge, languages, and theories to produce and legitimate research knowledge from insider perspectives” (p. 101).

Jankie points out though that, “decolonizing research does not imply totally rejecting Western theories and research-based knowledge. It invites deconstruction of Western research traditions and essentialist perspectives through collaboration between native and non-native researchers” (p. 101).

Pryor and Gharthey Ampiah (2004) write, “what the researcher counts as reality and truth...choice of methods, and...constraints...provided by...social context, as well as the ideological or ethical beliefs and motivations of the researcher are all strongly implicated in the methodological stance” (p. 161). The “methodological stance” is presented in Figure 1.

Pryor and Gharthey Ampiah (2004) created an image of a three section model (p. 162) to address what influences the research act. Similar to their model, the model

in Figure 1 is flexible, able to stretch and shift in all four directions, depending on the situational context being experienced during the research process (reading literature, gathering and analyzing data, writing) at any given time.

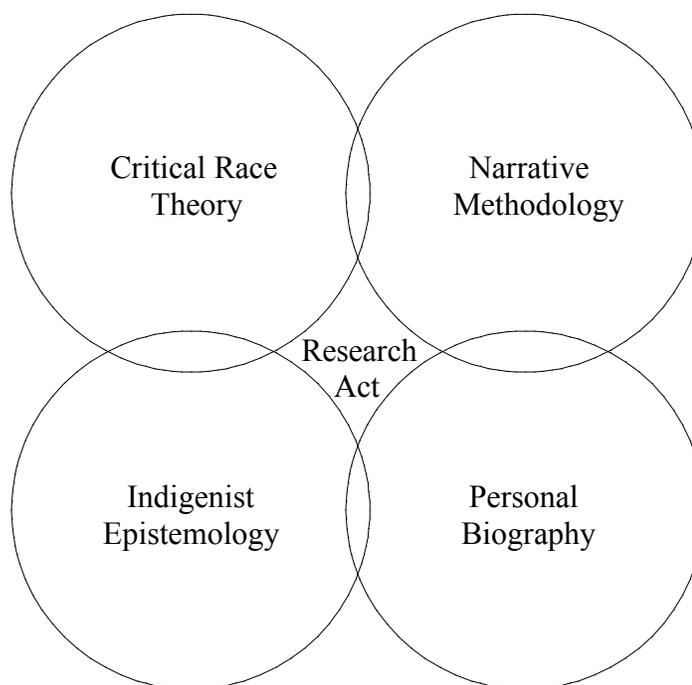


Figure 1: Research as an Act of Intersecting Paradigms

The degree to which a researcher is able to gain access to a research location or participant will be influenced by the researcher’s “personal biography.” In another example, using “critical race theory” as a paradigm will influence how one gathers, analyzes, or interprets data. The “research act” is influenced by all of these various parts shown in Figure 1.

Harding (1987) asserts “a research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence” (p. 2) while “methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed” (p. 3) and “an epistemology is a theory of

knowledge” (p. 3). Scheurich and Young (1997) explain research in this way, “ontologies are assumptions about the nature of reality, epistemologies refer to the ways of knowing that reality, and axiologies, the disputational contours of right and wrong or morality of values” (p. 6).

Critical Race Theory

In this section, critical race theory (CRT) as a research paradigm within an indigenist framework will be discussed. Critical race theory is a research paradigm and social movement that has been questioning long held beliefs concerning how knowledge is created and disseminated. Delgado and Stefancic, (2001) write,

The critical race theory (CRT) movement is a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. The movement considers many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up, but places them in a broader perspective that includes economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious. (p. 2)

One of the primary strengths of critical race theory is that both the focus and method is interdisciplinary. Solorzano and Yosso (2001) explain that the overall goal of critical race theory:

...is to develop a theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and pedagogical strategy that accounts for the role of race and racism...and works toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating other forms of subordination, such as gender, class, and sexual orientation (p. 472).

Overlaying critical race theory with an indigenist framework seems to be the most effective way for investigating cultural taxation experienced by faculty of color in predominantly white institutions, especially when predominantly white institutions are interpreted as manifested extensions of a colonizing process. Furthermore, using a critical race indigenist perspective as a research approach can be seen as a response to the historical social ontology of whiteness. Yancy (2004) observes, “a key feature of the social ontology of whiteness is that whites attempt to avoid discussing their own social, political, economic, and cultural investments in whiteness” (p. 4). In this way, the “research act” brings together elements in such a way that the *self* (meaning the researcher or how individuals view themselves in relation to others), the *other* (in this case representing researcher as a faculty member of color, and/or faculty of color research participants), and predominantly white community colleges (that the researcher and research participants work in), all become interwoven into a tapestry of inquiry and analysis.

Indigenist Framework

While using a critical race paradigm, the work will be placed within the context of an indigenist research framework. This stance is a way of establishing and ensuring some degree of self-determination while engaged in a research act that is highly structured and fixed. Also, from professional and personal perspectives, the research act becomes a way to pass along (teach) information that is learned from this research study, as well as gather data (learn) from those that are interviewed. Therefore, from this perspective, the “research act” also becomes a “teaching and learning act.” Jankie (2004) writes,

How native is a 'native' anthropologist or researcher? [Another researcher's] analysis of a native anthropologist helps understanding the relation between knowledge and power, researchers and researched in colonial and postcolonial contexts. [This other researcher] indicates that researchers use their own sense of identity and image as insiders as well as outsiders to construct themselves and the researched. In this sense, all the researchers – including the natives of a culture – bring to the field acquired knowledge and experiences that shape the researcher-researched relationship, the specific roles each one assume, the knowledge obtained, how it is interpreted and used (p. 93).

O'Connor (1995) believes that, "a self-determining pedagogy transforms tradition and engenders empowering identity formation and cultural practices" (p. 199). Manuelito (2004) brings a historical perspective to allow the reader to see a larger picture through self-determination. She writes,

Throughout the world, indigenous communities are at work to gain and establish recognition in societies that have colonized them for centuries. Indigenous people seek a role in societies that have marginalized them because of their small numbers, culture, language, and physical differences. They want to determine their own destiny, whether it is in the realm of education or economic development (p. 235).

Critical race and indigenist frameworks also help to provide a certain level of contextual meaning to a research study, which is important in attempting to balance the scientific endeavor with a feeling of groundedness. This sense of groundedness allows room for the lived experience as a person of color, to be able to speak from a

place of knowing. When access to faculty of color is needed, and rich data through narrative *testimonios* is wanted, having research participants interpret a researcher as someone who has had similar shared lived experiences as they have becomes very important. As Rigney (1999) writes,

A common similarity found within indigenous and feminist theorizing is that of lived experiences. The struggle against oppression is a key factor for seeking and analyzing societal structures to determine whether they are liberatory or colonizing in orientation. Such lived experiences of indigenous peoples enable indigenous researchers to speak on the basis of these experiences and are powerful instruments by which to measure the equality and social justice of society (pp. 115-116).

Finally, there is a connection between critical race theory and an indigenist framework, in that it is action-oriented. Rigney (1999) identifies the three interrelated principles of indigenist research as, “a) resistance as an emancipatory imperative, b) political integrity, and c) privileging indigenous voices” (p. 116). The combination of conducting action-oriented research from an insider’s perspective, allowed for significant access to the research participants who were part of this study. This allowed for a richness of data collected in the form of narrative *testimonios*.

Narrative Inquiry

The research methodology selected to explore experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges is narrative inquiry. According to Creswell (2002), in narrative research,

Inquirers describe the lives of individuals, collect and tell stories about people's lives, and write narratives of individual experiences. As a distinct form of qualitative research, a narrative typically focuses on studying a single person, gathering data through the collection of stories, reporting individual experiences, and discussing the meaning of those experiences for the individual (p. 521).

Although the interviews with faculty of color were conversational and exploratory in the sense of “gathering experiential narrative material that may serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding” (van Manen, 1990, p. 66), the primary focus of the interviews remained aligned with the guiding questions of the research study. Addressed earlier in Chapter 1, the following guiding questions were used as the foundation for building other questions:

1. *Have you had any experiences with “cultural taxation?”*
2. *Describe from both personal and professional perspectives, your experiences working in predominantly white institutions?*
3. *What techniques have you tried in order to achieve a sense of balance in your personal and professional lives?*

Without guiding questions, the possibility of confusion and poor information is increased (van Manen, 1990). To decrease the degree to which the exchange between researcher and research participant would lead to confusion and poor information, a culturally-appropriate in-depth narrative style was strived for. According to this researcher, a “culturally-appropriate in-depth narrative style” of interviewing acknowledges that there are various respectful ways or behavioral protocols of person-

to-person interaction that the researcher and participants enter into as dialogue or storytelling and story-sharing occurs. Some considerations or examples of culturally-appropriate behavior include: physical distance between researcher and participant; whether or not (or how) to shake hands; whether or not to make (or maintain, and for how long) eye contact; if and when to laugh, if and when to be serious; whether or not to offer food and drink; whether or not to accept food if offered; knowing whether or not to eat first, depending on variables such as age, status, location, and so on; and knowing when to speak and when to listen.

Reflexivity and Counter-Storytelling

In narrative inquiry, the researcher hopes to draw out narratives. An important technique related to this approach is to create a dialogue or exchange between the researcher and participant in the form of reflexivity and counter-storytelling. As Hertz (1997) observes,

Reflexivity implies a shift in our understanding of data and its collection – something that is accomplished through detachment, internal dialogue, and constant (and intensive) scrutiny of ‘what I know’ and ‘how I know it.’ To be reflexive is to have an ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment (pp. vii-viii).

Reflexivity is similar to the use of an indigenist framework from the perspective that the choice of research “tool” that is used is influenced, in part, by who one is so that our choices “permeate every aspect of the research process, challenging us to be more fully conscious of the ideology, culture, and politics of those we study,

and those we select as our audience” (p. viii). Ellis, Kiesinger, and Tillmann-Healy (1997) explain,

...we view interviewing as a collaborative communication process occurring between researchers and respondents, although we do not focus on validity and bias. For us, interactive interviewing involves the sharing of personal and social *experiences of both* respondents and researchers, who tell (and sometimes write) their stories in the context of a developing relationship. In this process, the distinction between ‘researcher’ and ‘subject’ gets blurred (p. 121).

Solorzano and Yosso (2001) explain that storytelling should be considered as both a method of telling a story and a tool for analyzing the data. Counter-storytelling is utilized within the framework of critical race theory and other critical paradigms. In counter-storytelling, it is considered a method of telling the stories of those whose experiences are often not told, and a tool for analyzing and challenging “the stories of those in power and whose story is a natural part of the dominant discourse” (p. 475). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) discuss counter-storytelling within the concept of critical race theory this way:

Critical race theory offers the researcher an opportunity to stand in a different relationship to the research (and researched). Some of the key features of CRT are storytelling, counterstorytelling, and ‘naming one’s own reality.’ The value of storytelling in qualitative research is that it can be used to demonstrate how the same phenomenon can be told in different and multiple ways depending on the storytellers (p. 417).

In this way, storytelling and counter-storytelling became relatively free flowing interactions where researcher and research participants told stories and counter-stories, to demonstrate understanding and affirmation of what was being said. The data was then analyzed and interpreted, shared with the participants through member checking, at which time researcher and participant again engaged in storytelling and counter-storytelling.

Key Concepts and Assumptions of Methodology

Previously, critical race theory (CRT) was defined as a research paradigm, and discussed in connection with an indigenist framework. Using the foundation of CRT from an indigenist framework, the decision to use a culturally-appropriate in-depth narrative-style of interviewing to gather data was also discussed. In this section the strengths and limitations of critical race theory, the use of an indigenist framework, and narrative inquiry is discussed, as well as how a criteria of truth was established.

Scholars of critical race theory believe that it does not exist as an all-encompassing theory, but rather the theory is constantly evolving and changing. At the same time, there is some agreement of an established list of key concepts and assumptions. Delgado and Stefancic (2001, p. 3) summarize the six basic tenets of critical race theory this way:

1. Racism is difficult to cure or address because it is the ordinary usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country;

2. Large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate racism because it advances the interests of both white elites (materially) and white working class people (psychically);
3. The concept of “race” is socially constructed. Race as a biological identifier is not objective, inherent, or fixed, and corresponds to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient. Society frequently chooses to ignore these scientific facts, creates races, and endows them with pseudo-permanent characteristics to keep certain populations oppressed;
4. The dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times, in response to shifting needs such as the labor market;
5. Each race has its own origins and ever-evolving history. No person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity. Everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances; and,
6. The notion of voice – the voice-of-color thesis holds that because of their different histories, situatedness and experiences with oppression, black, Indian, Asian, and Latino/a writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their white counterparts matters that the whites may know but are unlikely to fully comprehend. Minority status, in other words, brings with it a presumed competence to speak about race and racism.

Identifying “key concepts and assumptions” of an indigenist framework is more difficult, and perhaps impossible to establish. The key concepts and assumptions of an indigenist framework that are meaningful to this study comes from Grande

(2000) who refers to this type of research as engaging in an indigenous liberatory theory and construction that she refers to as “Red Pedagogy” (p. 344). A Red Pedagogy accepts race (as implied from the previous works discussed) as a structuring principle and maintains the following:

1. The quest for sovereignty and the dismantling of global capitalism as its political focus;
2. Indigenous knowledge as its epistemological foundation;
3. The Earth as its spiritual center; and,
4. Tribal and traditional ways of life as its sociocultural frame of reference (p. 355).

In describing the key characteristics of narrative research, Creswell (2002) writes, “despite the many forms of narrative inquiry, they share several common characteristics. These shared characteristics are as follows:

1. Seeks to understand and represent experiences through the stories individual(s) live and tell;
2. Seeks to minimize the use of literature and focus on the experience of the individual(s);
3. Seeks to explore the meaning the individual’s experiences as told through a story or stories;
4. Seeks to collect field texts that document the individual’s story in his or her own words;
5. Seeks to analyze the stories by retelling the individual’s story;
6. Seeks to analyze the stories by identifying themes or categories of information;

7. Seeks to situate the story within its place or setting;
8. Seeks to analyze the story for chronological information about the individual's past, present, and future;
9. Seeks to collaborate with the participant when writing the research study;
10. Seeks to write the study in a flexible storytelling mode; and,
11. Seeks to evaluate the study based on the depth, accuracy, persuasiveness, and realism of the account (p. 525).

Strengths and Limitations of the Methodology

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) argue that the “value of storytelling in qualitative research is that it can be used to demonstrate how the same phenomenon can be told in different and multiple ways depending on the storytellers” (p. 417). Solorzano and Yosso (2001) explain that storytelling and counter-storytelling can serve at least “four theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical functions” (p. 475). First, counter-stories can build community by putting a human face to educational theory and practice. Second, they can transform belief systems by challenging those in power. Third, storytelling and counter-storytelling can empower those who exist at the margins of society by showing them new possibilities and helping them realize that they are not alone. Finally, “they can teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality, one can construct another world that is richer than either the story or the reality alone” (475).

Critical race theory (CRT) has its detractors. Solorzano and Yosso identify the following critiques of CRT:

(a) outsider stories are unrepresentative because they are not typical of outsider experiences, (b) findings are not generalizable to the overall outsider population because stories over-emphasize perspectives unique to the author and/or “the voice of color,” (c) storytelling is not academically rigorous because it lacks clarity and analysis, and (d) “storytelling distorts the truth” (p. 489).

The authors note that there have been numerous responses to the critics of CRT. There is agreement among CRT scholars that stories in and of themselves “teach little unless supplemented with analysis and commentary...conversations must include statistics, case authority, and doctrinal analysis lest their colleagues reject their work as nonrigorous” (p. 489).

This research study employed interviewing as a method (“interviewing” used here to mean two-way relationship where human beings share stories and counter-stories with one another) with open-ended and close-ended questions to allow the research participants opportunities of storytelling to develop thick and detailed narrative. While doing this, culturally appropriate ways of knowing and doing were used where applicable in order to ensure a respectful and meaningful research experience. “Culturally appropriate ways of knowing and doing,” refers to interactions such as how to greet an individual, how to address them (formally versus informally), knowing when (or when not) to contact them (avoiding sacred days or observances), knowing when to be serious, when to share humor, when to speak, when to remain silent, and so on. Creswell (2002) believes that this degree of collaboration between

researcher and researched can be seen as both a strength (richness of data) and a weakness (bond between research and researched). He writes,

Unquestionably, when researchers seek out and collect the stories of educators about their personal and social experiences in schools or other educational settings, they establish a close bond with the participants...For the educators actually being studied, sharing their stories may make them feel that their stories are important and that they are being heard. Narrators give “voice” and identity to educators in this form of research. Moreover, telling a story helps individuals understand topics that they may need to process and understand. Finally, telling stories is a natural part of life, and individuals all have stories about their experiences to tell others. In this way, narrative research documents an everyday, normal form of data that is familiar to individuals (p. 531).

In the following section titled, “Criteria for Truth used in the Methodology,” there ensues a discussion about the methods used to ensure that this research study is scientifically legitimate in the eyes of scholars in the academe. The concept of “truth” or discussions regarding claims of what is “more true” than something else pushes a clearly qualitative study to justify its’ existence as a scholarly tool through clearly quantitative vocabulary. In this exercise, academic standards dictate that research be created with a certain uniformity that reinforces a type of objectivity. Bell and McGrane (1999) write,

To appear scientific, social science, literature, and the humanities abandoned the claim to wisdom and gave themselves over wholeheartedly to the gathering and ordering of knowledge. Philosophy increasingly abandoned ‘value-laden’

subjects like ethics for the more mathematical and scientific, and hence more respectable, areas of symbolic logic and philosophy of science. 'Objectivity' became the watchword. The scholar was told to separate himself as a human being and citizen completely from his role as social scientist and to drop forever the questions that have always haunted the human race: questions of justice and injustice, avarice and generosity, enlightenment and stupidity (p. 73).

Criteria for Truth used in the Methodology

The criteria for truth that was used in this research study had to take into consideration the use of a narrative method within critical race theoretical and indigenist frameworks. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that in order to establish trustworthiness, the researcher must demonstrate credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility is ensured by the use of inter- and multiple disciplinary methods of data collection as outlined in critical race theory. Using multiple methods of data collection, such as informal discussions with each participant, followed by interviews, the taking of field notes, and finally member checking were all helpful in creating credibility for this study.

Transferability is the idea that the research findings may be useful or relevant in other contexts. The findings in this study are thought to have a high degree of transferability with other marginalized faculty groups such as women, gays, and lesbians. In addition, because this research study focuses on work role and workload

issues, all employees who work within the academe should be able to find relevance in this study.

Dependability requires documentation of changes in the study over time, and accountability as to the appropriateness of decisions relating to the emerging data. Dependability occurred based on the consistency that was maintained for all research participants and how their data was handled. Connected to dependability, confirmability requires that the findings be based on the data and that the interpretation of the data be logical and accurate. This occurred through the alignment of the other three criteria previously discussed.

The criteria for truth is the search for interconnectedness between the degree of respectful and culturally appropriate interaction and collaboration between researcher and participant, what is written, shared, and summarized, how the written analysis is used, and to what degree liberation occurs. Creswell (2002) presents seven specific characteristics of research that are often found in narrative reports:

1. Experiences of an individual – social and personal interactions;
2. Chronology of experiences – past, present, and future experiences;
3. Life stories – first person, oral accounts of action;
4. Restorying (or retelling or developing a metastory) from the field texts;
5. Coding the field texts for themes or categories;
6. Incorporating the context or place into the story or themes; and,
7. Collaboration between the researcher and the participants in the study (p. 526).

Creswell continues, “As a form of qualitative research...there are specific ‘narrative’ aspects that those reading and evaluating a study might consider” (p. 535).

Some of these considerations deal with whether a research focuses on one or more individuals and their experiences. There is also the question of the degree of accuracy in capturing someone's experience, the idea of member checking, and the practice of restorying. There is also emphasis placed on whether or not themes emerge, and if so, how are they interpreted and analyzed. Finally, does the story adequately address the purpose and questions of the researcher (p. 535)?

Data Needed

The purpose of this research study was to capture the personal and professional narrative *testimonios* of faculty of color who work in predominantly white community colleges. With respect to the research topic, the following data was needed:

1. As mentioned earlier, the data (narrative *testimonios*) was collected through storytelling and counter-storytelling using culturally appropriate protocols developed prior to and during the interaction between researcher and participants.
2. In addition to narratives, data were "collected" in the form of the literature review. Some of the literature for this study consisted of original research establishing the parameters of cultural taxation, while other literature consisted of secondary sources that referenced existing studies on the topic. Furthermore, some of literature consisted of first-person narratives, while other sources consisted of theoretical pieces that did not involve specific people or groups.
3. The internet was an important resource to collect data on demographics based on race, ethnicity, and position in higher education. The internet was also used

to review community colleges statewide to establish how different colleges publicly defined and discussed “diversity-based” initiatives or work.

Study Participants

Every researcher must, at some point, decide who, what, and why something should be studied, and also how one should go about it. Because of the specific focus of this study, and because of the specific target participants, purposive sampling was utilized to identify who the study participants would be. Berg (1998) writes:

When developing a purposive sample, researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population. In some instances, purposive samples are selected after field investigations of some group, in order to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study (p. 229).

Creswell (2002) describes purposive sampling as a technique where, “researchers intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central phenomenon. The standard used in choosing individuals and sites is whether they are ‘information rich’” (p. 194). Neuman (2003) writes that purposive sampling is “an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgment of an expert in selecting cases or it selects cases with a specific purpose in mind” (p. 213). Neuman believes that purposive sampling is appropriate in three situations:

First, a researcher uses it [purposive sampling] to select unique cases that are especially informative...Second, a researcher may use purposive sampling to select members of a difficult-to-reach, specialized population...[Third]

purposive sampling occurs when a researcher wants to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation (p. 213).

With all research studies involving human subjects, the degree to which the researcher is considered an insider, can influence the level of access or degree of information that research participants share with them. Lofland and Lofland (1995) explain, “there is a great deal of wisdom in the old saying, ‘It’s who you know that counts.’ Gaining entry to a setting or getting permission to do an interview is greatly expedited if you have ‘connections’” (p. 37).

Discussed earlier in this chapter, this research study was conducted using a narrative style, where rich in-depth stories and counter-stories from each participant was sought. In recording narratives, the number of research participants can be significantly lower than if a quantitative method were being used. As the research study got underway, there was not a specific number of faculty members in mind to invite to participate. It was thought that the final number of recorded narratives could number four, five, or six. Through word-of-mouth, the final number of faculty members who participated in this study was eleven.

In addition to the number of faculty members recruited for this study, it was hoped that some degree of diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, age, time of employment, and occupation, would be present in the research participants. A goal of individuals differing in their race, ethnicity, and age, was met. Sexual orientation and gender were not. The identification of faculty members whose narratives were sought, was based on what McCarthy (2003) refers to as “their

thoughtfulness and experiences with the main focus areas of [any given] study” (p. 212).

Earlier in the first and second chapters, there was discussion regarding some of the criteria that will be used to establish the focused parameters of this research study, and the rationale behind certain decisions. The following is an additional discussion of the criteria used to define the research participants in this study.

For this study, a “faculty member” was defined as any full-time or part-time faculty member who is either tenured, or has at least two years of evaluative status (on a tenure- or advancement track, depending on the employment structure of a given college). Since the focus of this research study was on community colleges, there was hope that an equal number of men and women would be interviewed, but this did not happen. Out of eleven individuals interviewed, there were eight men and three women. The National Education Association (2006) writes, “...women still represent a minority share of faculty members. [Having said that] women are at parity with men in community colleges, but are below parity in other levels of colleges and universities” (p. 12).

“Faculty member” is used as a title at various institutions of higher education because different employees are considered instructional and non-instructional faculty. And at the community college level, where teaching and service are the primary focus, faculty represent a wide range of levels of scholarly involvement (researching, writing, publishing) connected to their professional development. Faculty who have received tenure, or are closer to receiving tenure than new faculty, were also important because of the richness of their experience. Although, it is important to acknowledge that long

time part-time faculty, as compared to new full-time faculty, have valuable institutional experience and were also able to fulfill this criteria.

As discussed in previous chapters, in addition to their status as faculty members, the research participants were also people of color. The focus will now shift to the use of the phrase “faculty of color.” According to Banks (2001) one’s sense of self-identity based on race and ethnicity should be viewed as “dynamic and multidimensional, rather than as static and linear” (p. 137). Although a sense of self and identity based on race and ethnicity racial is highly situational, variable, contextual, and political, “faculty of color” is defined as any of the previously defined faculty who are also members of historically subordinated racial or ethnic minority population of the United States, including those racial or ethnic minority members who benefit from socio-economic and/or light skin privilege.

Since this study sought to establish how diversity-related work role expectations and experiences may personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions, it was also important to identify faculty of color who not only may have experienced diversity-related work role expectations, but those faculty who have been active with diversity initiatives at their respective community colleges. Because of this, it was important to target those faculty of color who have a high degree of diversity or multicultural awareness, or what others refer to as cultural competency. Banks (2001) states that, “to reflect the myriad and emerging cultural identities among teachers and students, we must attempt to identify these identities and to describe their...implications” (p. 134). In his work, Banks created a

six stage cultural identity typology. For purposes of this study, faculty were recruited who display characteristics at or near stage six:

The individual within Stage 6 has clarified, reflective, and positive cultural, national, and global identities and the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities needed to function within cultures within his or her own world. The Stage 6 individual has the ideal delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identities, commitments, literacy, and behaviors. This individual has internalized the universalistic ethical values and principles of humankind and has the skills, competencies, and commitment needed to take action within the world to actualize personal values and commitments (p. 137).

The rationale to work with faculty of color in this research study was to be able to document cultural taxation from first-person narratives. To be sure, a follow-up study using interviews with white faculty about these same working environment issues would be important. When discussing issues of race and ethnicity *all* individuals should have a voice. But because of the specific focus of this study, only faculty of color were invited to participate.

Personal/Professional Impact of Campus Diversity Initiatives

In addition to the search for specific faculty of color as research participants, there was also a search for specific types of predominantly white community colleges: those with reputations as “industry leaders” of diversity work. In order to maintain validity in a qualitative process, the seventeen public Oregon community colleges were narrowed down based on how a college marketed its diversity reputation. What

public relations and marketing experts refer to as “branding,” or the creation of an organizational or institutional “public face.”

Many colleges and universities advertise their commitment to diversity, but either the school’s reputation does not match their rhetoric or there are no clear signs of their commitment. Rhoads (1995) observes,

The ascendancy of multiculturalism, of course, parallels the changing demographics of U.S. society and those who participate in higher education. In light of changing demographics, multiculturalism may be seen as a response to cultural diversity. At no time in the history of U.S. higher education has the student population been as culturally diverse as it is today...The fundamental flaw of today’s colleges and universities is that they continue to operate from a monocultural view (pp. 12-14).

Similar to ethnic identity development theories, many scholars have created stages of multicultural development that reflect an institutional commitment to diversity on various levels. Morey and Kitano (1997) argue that diversity-related models of multicultural change range from a focus on K-12 courses, to higher education courses and curriculum, to organizations as a whole (p. 22). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) caution readers about the use of stages of development:

We present the stages, for purposes of conceptual clarity, as if a person were to move neatly from one stage to the next. In reality most people experience several stages simultaneously, holding complex perspectives on a range of issues and living a mixture of social identities. This development model can be

helpful in understanding student perspectives and selecting instructional strategies, but we caution against using it simplistically to label people (p. 23).

In an attempt to determine the degree in which colleges present their public “commitment to diversity” face, all of the web pages of Oregon community colleges were reviewed. References to diversity such as: specific leadership positions connected to diversity, diversity-related curriculum offered, the existence of specific academic disciplines, and the overall comprehensiveness of a colleges’ mission or values was investigated. Furthermore, the Oregon Diversity Institute (ODI) was reviewed. ODI is a collective of organizations that work on diversity initiatives, contains member institutions, and holds an annual conference by rotating among Oregon community colleges. Through this network, one may be able to determine which community colleges are more active in the area of diversity, using the following factors: (1) how a school markets itself, (2) ease in navigation of a college’s webpage to identify diversity-related offices, programs, and/or resources, (3) an institution’s involvement with ODI, (4) whether or not a college has developed (and if so, how sophisticated is it) a diversity plan, and (5) the types of courses or academic programs that a college has that would be defined loosely as diversity-related. In addition to the above criteria, the gathering of data for this research also included talking informally with state-wide community college leaders about how they viewed theirs and other colleges in Oregon.

Data Collection Procedures

When considering data collection procedures, the idea of interview *location* became a topic for consideration. The data collection procedures took place in

(interviews and member checking) and out (data analysis and interpretation) of the “field.” Creswell (2002) states that the “field” refers to the location of interviews, which, in the case of this research study, could be on or off campus (p. 525). Through interviewing, storytelling and counter-storytelling, narratives were gathered to document each individual’s story in his or her own words. According to Whelan, Huber, Rose, Davies, and Clandinin (2001) the location of a participant’s interview may influence what is said, and how it is said (remembered). Location becomes important, because criteria for truth can be reinforced through consistency by interviewing all participants in the same manner. While the interviewing of participants did not happen in exactly the same manner each time, I did try to keep “location” into consideration whether I was in a participant’s home, in my home, a neutral public site, or a site relevant to the participants. Creswell (2002) writes, “The intent of the researcher is to collect field texts that will provide the ‘story’ of an individual’s experiences. Perhaps the best way to gather the story is to have the individual tell about their experiences, either through personal conversations or interviews” (p. 534).

The study employed interpretive and collaborative research methods, which included my own narrative story as it influenced the analytical process. Mentioned earlier, the “research act” draws on a pedagogy that is heavily influenced by critical race theory and an indigenous perspective as the conduit for the construction and transmission of knowledge. The objectives during the course of the study were to explore the many facets of unspoken diversity-related work role expectations and experiences of faculty of color at predominantly white community colleges, and to

challenge prevailing notions about their (our) experiences within the academe.

During the loosely structured interviews (with set questions), study participants were asked to narrate their personal and professional life stories as they relate to diversity-related workload expectations and experiences. The participant's detailed narratives and personal reminiscences were analyzed and interpreted to examine unspoken workload issues and expectations.

After identifying who was to be interviewed, initial face-to-face interaction (conversation) was conducted with each participant in the form of a discussion of the consent form. In these conversations, each participant was asked for their input in the building of the focus and direction of the actual interviews (in order to establish culturally appropriate ways of interacting). Because the participants were purposefully selected, their expertise and opinions were sought in order to document the most in-depth storytelling narratives. This allowed for a smoother transition and collaboration when their input was sought at the time of member checking and counter-storytelling. Also, this allowed the participants to start formulating their ideas and thoughts prior to more formal interviews.

After the initial interview question suggestions were gathered and developed, interviews were scheduled. Finally, no formal or informal conversations or interviews occurred prior to the completion and approval of human subjects protocol requirements.

Data Analysis Procedures

With qualitative data, initial analysis is the action of stepping back and seeing the forest through the trees. Creswell (2002) wrote,

The first step in data analysis is to explore the data by reading through all of your information to obtain a general sense of the information...beyond having a general understanding of your data, you also need to answer your research questions. This process involves examining the data in detail to describe what you learned and developing themes or broad categories of ideas from the data (p. 265).

This step was important because it required a double-check of what had been gathered up to that point, and whether or not it appeared as though the data collected was connecting to the original guiding research questions. Although the purpose was to document the stories or narratives of faculty of color, attention was given to patterns that emerged from their collective stories. After a broad overview was “completed” and themes developed, it was time to code the material. “Coding is the process of segmenting and labeling text to form descriptions and broad themes in the data. Although there are no set guidelines for coding data, some general procedures exist” (p. 266). Coding was used to both build descriptions to develop a “detailed rendering of people, places, or events in a setting” (p. 269), and develop themes. In this context, themes are “similar codes aggregated together to form a major idea...they consists of labels that typically consist of no more than two to four words” (p. 271).

After coding, the research participants were asked to assist in the connecting and interrelating the themes. Creswell believes that many qualitative studies do not go far enough in the analysis of data. He writes, “...by adding the layering of themes or interconnecting them, you can build sophistication and complexity into your research”

(p. 273). As previously stated, any patterns or themes identified through data analysis were influenced from an indigenist framework and by Critical Race Theory.

Strategies to Ensure Soundness of Data, Analysis, and Interpretation

To ensure soundness of data, analysis, and interpretation, Creswell (2002) presents seven specific characteristics of research that are often found in narrative reports: 1) Experiences of an individual – social and personal interactions, 2) Chronology of experiences – past, present, and future experiences, 3) Life stories – first person, oral accounts of action, 4) Restorying (or retelling or developing a metastory) from the field texts, 5) Coding the field texts for themes or categories, 6) Incorporating the context or place into the story or themes, and 7) Collaboration between the researcher and the participants in the study (p. 526). In addition to the seven specific characteristics found in narrative reports, Creswell identifies three primary forms in which to ensure the soundness of data, analysis, and interpretation:

Often examined throughout a study, and especially at the end, is the qualitative practice of validating the findings...[The] three primary forms typically used by qualitative researchers: triangulation, member checking, and auditing (p. 280).

For the purposes of this study, a variation of triangulation, member checking and auditing was used. Triangulation in the form of corroborating the data sources of interviews; member checking by asking the participants in the study to check the accuracy of the accounts that were documented and interpreted; and auditing – the move to ask an outside member for their input through the editing of the final document by qualified faculty members serving on the dissertation committee.

According to Creswell, “researchers may also ask a person outside the study to conduct a thorough review of the study and report back, in writing, the strengths and weaknesses of the study” (p. 280). Lastly, it was decided that if one or more of these three forms of ensuring soundness would violate the trust of the research participants, or prove to violate cultural protocols, one or more of these three forms would not be used. This was not applicable for this study

Strategies for Protection of Human Subjects

In preparation for conducting research involving human subjects, the National Institutes of Health Human Participants Protection Education for Research Teams online course was completed. In addition, the Oregon State University Human Subjects policy was adhered to, and approval sought through the university’s institutional review board, prior to undertaking this study.

Prior positive experience conducting qualitative research at an accredited university with a rigorous human subjects protocol, would most likely motivate researchers in their desire to protect human subjects. Having conducted two qualitative research studys, interviewing a combined thirty-eight participants, within the parameters of human subjects protocols at two major research universities, this researcher looked for strategies to protect the participants of this research study. In addition to professional experience, based on what was written in the personal disclosure statement of this chapter, it was important that credibility, respect, dignity, and friendship, where appropriate, was maintained with faculty of color who agreed to work on this study.

The following strategies were used to protect the research participants of this study: (a) all participants were assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity, (b) informed consent was explained to each participant and a signed copy of the consent form was obtained before conducting any interviews, and (c) proper cultural protocol were modeled with each participant while we collaborated together on this study.

Summary

The purpose of this research study was to document narratives of faculty of color in community colleges. Specifically, this study sought to establish how diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. This chapter began with what Denzin and Lincoln (2003) identify as the ontology (theoretical and philosophical framework) of this research study, the epistemology (the guiding questions) that were used in this research study, and the methodology (specific ways in which to analyze) the data collected in this research study (p. 29-30). The chapter then transitioned into a researcher disclosure statement that set the tone to demonstrate how personal and professional selves can influence the research study. The design of study section also included: participants in this study, the rationale that was used in selecting research participants, how data was collected and analyzed, and what strategies were used to ensure the soundness of the analysis and interpretation of the data. In the next chapter, the voices of the faculty members are “heard.”

CHAPTER 5

FACULTY OF COLOR NARRATIVES

Introduction

This study is titled, “Respecting One’s Abilities or (Post)Colonial Tokenism?: Narrative *Testimonios* of Faculty of Color Working in Predominantly White Community Colleges.” The first part of the title was created within the context of the following questions: How has it come to pass that faculty of color are faced with additional spoken and unspoken workload expectations related to diversity-related initiatives? When someone is hired at a community college, how is it determined that they are an "expert" in areas related to diversity? Does it have to do with the specific work that they were hired to do? Is diversity-related authority or legitimization granted based on age, disability, gender, race, sexual orientation, or some other personal factor? Is it based on a person's formal academic training, or their personal experiences? Perhaps it depends on how a person carries themselves in relation to others, or particular situations, the employment of the unique vocabulary connected to “diversity,” or some other signifier that they possess solid “street credentials” when it comes to diversity.

Beyond the source of one’s abilities, the first part of the title also mentions tokenism. Landau (2000) defines tokenism as, “the policy of attempting to meet certain obligations or conditions by partial, symbolic, or minimal efforts” (p. 774). As used in this research study, “(post)colonial tokenism” is referring to the institutional mechanisms (white privilege, Affirmative Action, diversity-related initiatives, predominantly white institutions, racism, discrimination, prejudice, and so on) that are

the results of the colonization process. Finally, “tokenism” is used here to symbolize the process by which people of color are (to varying degrees) coerced, used, and/or manipulated by the colleges where they are employed.

The second part of the title informs the reader about the focus of this study (faculty of color), the method used in the gathering of data narrative *testimonios*, and finally, the setting and focus of the study (predominantly white community colleges). Lastly, labels such as “faculty of color” and “predominantly white” provides a hint as to the “other-ness” aspect of the research study. Because of the use of narrative *testimonios*, there is also an implied position that there will be a degree of emotionality connected to the voices of those who were interviewed. In this chapter, the *testimonios* of the faculty of color who participated in this study can be found. Although the written word will be read, the participants’ deep and expressive narratives will hopefully give the reader a sense that they are “hearing” their voices. (There are times when the phrase, “hearing one’s voices,” is positioned within a context of pleading, desperation, hope, or victimization. Here, the meaning behind “hearing one’s voices” must be made clear: the individuals who participated in this study are autonomous faculty of color, who speak from experience, strength, authority, self-assuredness, and power).

Before the narratives of faculty of color are revealed, more detail of process is needed to provide context and create an intellectual transition (bridge) from Chapter 4 to Chapter 5. Toward the end of the last chapter, there was discussion about the need to follow a required human subjects protocol, a description of who participated in this study, and how they were identified. In this chapter, there will be more detail provided

about the human subjects protocol, the efforts to ensure the confidentiality of the research participants, the demographics of the participants, and rationale behind the questions used during the interview process.

Human Subjects Protocol

Oregon State University Institutional Review Board approved the human subjects protocol for this research study on February 20, 2005. As discussed in both the protocol and subsequent consent form, research participants were asked to participate in the study in a series of three different meetings.

In the first meeting, the Informed Consent Document was discussed. See Appendix B to review this document. After the signing of two Informed Consent Documents, (one copy for the researcher, one copy for the participant) the remainder of the first face-to-face interaction consisted of a non-structured discussion to talk about the research study, the participant's role in the study, and culturally appropriate techniques and strategies to capture the richest first-person narratives possible. While the time varied per research participant, the average meeting time per participant was one hour.

The actual interview took place during the second meeting. This meeting, while conducted in the form of a discussion, can also be considered as an "interview" because there was a set of formal questions. Only at this face-to-face discussion was an audio recording device used. These meetings took place in a variety of settings, depending on the preference of the faculty participants. Again, while the time varied for each research participant, the average meeting time per participant was one and one half hours. After the second meeting, the transcribing of tapes took place.

Three to five weeks following the second meeting, participants were contacted either by telephone or email to arrange for a final third meeting to check the accuracy of their narratives. This last meeting occurred face-to-face and served as a way to reiterate the importance of the study, the findings, and their willingness to participate.

When looking at the nine sections of the human subjects protocol below, one can appreciate the importance of the document (protocol) with regards to protecting the faculty of color who agreed to participate in this study.

1. Brief Description
2. Participant Population
3. Methods and Procedures
4. Risks
5. Benefits
6. Compensation
7. Informed Consent Process
8. Anonymity or Confidentiality
9. Attachments

Confidentiality and Pseudonyms

One area of the human subjects protocol that requires specific discussion is the use of pseudonyms to protect confidentiality. Research participants were informed that records of participation in this research study would be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. However, they were also notified that federal government regulatory agencies and the Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies involving human subjects) hold the option

of inspecting and copying records pertaining to this research. In this context, it is possible that these records could contain information that personally identifies participants.

To maintain confidentiality, all written recorded information, including interview notes, gathered during this study have been kept in a locked storage cabinet accessible only by the researcher. It is expected that all gathered data will be destroyed three years beyond the end date of the research study. In the event of any report or publication from this study, the identity of research participants will not be disclosed. Finally, results of this research study will be reported in a summarized manner in such a way that the participants cannot be identified.

A pseudonym was assigned to each participant of their choosing, and all information obtained from them or related to them is associated with that pseudonym. They consisted of names, locations, times, and objects. Some research participants saw the renaming as an opportunity to be serious, whimsical or, to make some sort of symbolic point. There were 11 individuals who agreed to be interviewed, and they went by the following pseudonyms: BlueCadet, ChrisChapelle, Edge, Estrella, Flaco, Guru, Jamie, Jo, Monday, Natalie, and Shell. It is not uncommon in qualitative studies to provide a brief introduction of each research participant to allow readers to gain some insight or context into the views and experiences of the participants. Because of a desire to maintain strict confidentiality, and because faculty of color number so few in predominantly white community colleges, it was determined that the potential of identifying participants was too great if they were in any way “introduced.” The demographic make-up of the participants are generalized in Table 4.1.

Demographics of the Research Participants

As a qualitative study that was going to use narrative *testimonio* as a data-collecting method, a large research sample was never considered. Eleven faculty of color participated and contributed in meaningful and culturally appropriate ways to this study. The table below (to be read top to bottom, not left to right) reports the most basic list of demographic characteristics, allowing the reader an idea of who participated in the study. Any other additional information has been left out of the table to protect the identity of the participants.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of Research Participants

Faculty ¹	Gender ²	Race/ Ethnicity ³	Year of Employment ⁴	Age ⁵
Full-time: 10	Male: 8	African Americans: 3	Range: 2 to 30 years.	Between 30 and 60.
Adjunct: 1	Female: 3	Asian Americans: 3		
Tenured: 8		Chicanos/ Latinos: 3		
Probationary: 3		Native Americans: 2		

¹ All of the research participants work at community colleges that have collective bargaining agreements. Both full- and part-time faculty can be tenured. “Probationary” is the period of time that a faculty member has to spend in their review for “tenure” status, usually a period of multiple years.

² No research participants were asked anything about their assigned or preferred gender identity. Based on stereotypes, generalizations, and years of experience knowing the research participants, they are categorized above using a western-inspired dualistic paradigm. There were no trans individuals (to my knowledge) who participated in this study.

³ Using the most simplistic of labels, the numbers are shown above. Please note that some of the participants interviewed see themselves as belonging to more than one of the listed groups, although this is not represented in the table.

⁴ Employment meaning in higher education, not necessarily at their present position or college.

⁵ Range is approximate because no question asked them to identify their age.

In an ideal research world, researchers would not only be honest about their biases and cultural influences, but they would also be aware of the importance of insider versus outsider access. In addition to access, one would also be able to articulate the cultural appropriateness of one's actions and interactions while in the "field." Finally, looking back on the history of research in this country, one finds an overwhelming sample of white male research participants. Therefore, in the twenty-first century, researchers should be able to grasp the importance of finding real, as opposed to artificial, diversity within their research participants. The characteristics listed in Table 6 demonstrate a reasonable balance in the make-up of the research participants.

Interview Questions and Responses

Stated previously, the purpose of this research study was to document narratives of faculty of color in higher education. Specifically, this study sought to establish how diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. This research study established certain guiding questions as the foundation for this study. The original three guiding questions (see Chapter 2), evolved into a more focused and detailed set of interview questions (see Appendix C). Ultimately, there were 25 questions that were divided into six sections (areas of inquiry). The questions and the thematic sections were the result of the review of literature and the themes that emerged out of previous scholarly works. It is important to note that although the interview questions were divided up into sections, the interviews were flexible enough to allow either the research participant or researcher to move back and forth between

questions and sections for reasons of clarification. Follow-up interactions utilized the same technique for member-checking and accuracy.

Section 1 – Personal/Professional Socialization/Mentorship

- Discuss any positive or negative mentoring or advice that you received as a student, related to your work in education.
- Discuss any positive or negative mentoring or advice that you have received in your professional career, related to your work in education.
- Describe how you have mentored or advised students of color in your educational career?
- Describe how you have mentored or advised faculty of color in your educational career?

In the first section titled “Personal/Professional Socialization/Mentorship,” research participants were asked about their early personal and professional development. Here, participants were asked about positive or negative experiences that they encountered either as a student or as a working professional. Later in this section of questions, they were asked to discuss the degree to which they have or have not felt compelled to “give back” (serve as a mentor to either students or fellow faculty).

The overall purpose of this first group of questions was two-fold: First, to determine the degree in which faculty of color are or are not socialized or mentored in such a way that will prepare them for a professional career where there is a high likelihood that they will work in a predominantly white environment. Second, to what degree are faculty of color socialized or mentored in such a way that will prepare them for the spoken and unspoken diversity-related workload expectations that are placed on them.

Lastly, this first section was developed, in part, to “warm up” or build rapport with the participants. Although there already existed a personal relationship with each participant, nothing could be assumed when the “researcher-subject” dynamic was established, and the semi-artificial setting of a “conversation” that was really an interview.

Each narrative *testimonio* contains the following: First, the pseudonym of the research participant; second, a brief synopsis of what they are discussing; and third, their narrative response.

BlueCadet (On being prepared to work in the academe):

I was joking with my major professor a few years after I graduated. I told him about some of the racist crap that I had experienced by colleagues at my school. Basically I asked him why he hadn't prepared me for this type of behavior. I'll never forget what he said. He just had this shit-eatin' grin on his face and he told me that I wouldn't have believed him even if he had told me. Perhaps he's right. I wouldn't say that I was ignorant to the possibility of college and university faculty acting out their little colonial intellectual garbage fantasies, I guess I just had a little more hope that certain assholes would be able to restrain themselves at work.

ChrisChapelle (Graduate school experience):

When I went back to school and started working on my master's degree, I had some very positive experiences. The mentorship and leadership I received from was immensely helpful. Certain individuals helped to guide me through the process, helped me navigate the catacombs of the institution. Really made my experience successful. On that note, that was really good, as the most positive stuff that I received as a student getting my graduate degree.

Although I am Black, there was an Asian American professor who really understood the role of people of color and high education. He understood what the challenges were, he understood what the barriers were. So he made it really easy for me to relate to him, to be able to explore different issues inside and outside the classroom and it was again a really fantastic experience.

ChrisChappelle (Entering their community college):

Not too long after I was hired here, I happened to be in a hallway outside of my office. My supervisors door was open, my administrators doors open. There were other students and members of the public that were in this hallway. I happened to be sealing an envelope, licking an envelope to place in the outgoing mail basket. A colleague in the counseling department at that time happened to walk by and her comment to me in front of everybody was, “Oh, I see, you finally found something that you are qualified to do.”

Now, I don't want to come across as an asshole who doesn't have a sense of humor. And it would have been funny had the comment come from someone who I had developed a positive connection with. But, this was an individual who I already felt negative vibes from. I was livid. I held my temper. I did not react in the way that I would have normally reacted based upon my upbringing. I utilized every possible avenue I could to keep my temper, to keep my mouth shut and walked away from it.

What disappointed me most was that nobody said a word. Nobody challenged this woman, nobody came to my defense. That is something that is becoming a repeated theme in my life on this campus: there is a witness to the bullshit that is going on and no action.

I have other incidents like that. I have had other comments that have been made in public, open, direct, unsolicited, unprovoked, verbal attacks by colleagues, by administrators, by other staff on this campus that has been not only personally hurtful, but professionally disrespectful. I have had to take it in, internalize it, process it and hold it in. At one point I took a term of leave from this place in order to keep from going postal.

Estrella (On mentoring other faculty of color):

I think there was a ten year period before we hired another person of color. It is strange to look back and think that there were only two faculty of color at such a large college. So, after ten years, two hires were made in a far shorter period of time. The important thing is that both came in at the faculty level, and I was excited because finally there was another Latino on campus. I tried to make that person feel comfortable, and fill him in on who were the people you could trust that, and who were the people to be careful around. Also, I explained who to go to for certain things. That was real important. For the most part, because of my seniority and because of my reputation, when junior faculty of color had questions that knew they could come to me.

Guru (On advising students of color):

Usually, I like to expose students to the possibilities that are out there so that they'll develop higher expectations than wanting to be the rappers or sports stars. I want students to consider a career as a doctor, or a lawyer. I'm also honest about what to expect in school to help them develop a plan and negotiate a system that is hostile. Having dealt with negative professional and personal mentoring – I'll just say it straight. In my professional career I have seen some very strange inter-departmental politics that I got caught up with, just because of who my advisor was and there were just some derogatory statements made toward me with the idea of obstructing my success.

Because of degrees that I have obtained, and my rich work experience, I definitely see myself as being a role model to students of color. Unfortunately, I have to be honest and I tell them that I'm trying to sell them on a system (higher education) that will place obstacles in front of them to try to discourage them from succeeding. The positive thing is that many of the obstacles are predictable. And many times, you'll find someone smiling in your face and then they will stab you in the heart (or back) with words. So you have to be able to read well, write well, speak well, be persistent. Sometimes they're just blocking you, not because of anything that's happening with you personally, but just because they can.

I describe these types of people who might serve as barriers to my students as "petty oppressors." Individuals, could be from the dominant group or a minority group, who believe that they are disempowered in their lives, so they feel the need to make it hard for someone else to succeed. So, basically, I advise my students to give them higher expectations, historical examples, known obstacles and success strategies. Finally, I tell them that through all of their good and bad times, they need to have a sense of humor.

After the initial questions regarding mentorship and socialization, the next group of questions explored at the concept of "cultural taxation." Discussed in previous chapters, scholars have attempted to utilize specific examples as they have developed the meaning behind the concept of "cultural taxation." For this part of the interview, a list of questions was created from previously reviewed literature. Each faculty participant was asked each question with instructions that any questions that

they answered “yes” to, should be accompanied by an explanation. What follows are narratives providing detail to questions that they answered yes to.

Section 2 – Cultural Taxation

- Have you ever been called upon to be an expert on matters of diversity within the organization?
- Have you ever been called on to educate individuals in the majority group about diversity, even though this may not be part of your job description?
- Have you ever served on diversity-related committees?
- Have you ever been asked to serve as the liaison between the college and an ethnic community?
- Have you ever had to take time away from your work to serve as general problem solver, troubleshooter, or negotiator for disagreements that arise among the administration, staff, students, or community based on racial/ethnic issues?
- Have you ever been called on to translate official documents or letters to clients, or to serve as an interpreter when non-English-speaking clients, visitors, or dignitaries appear at our place of employment?

Flaco (On workload demands):

It has been interesting in my career because how I self identify does not match the stereotypical image that certain people have of me. Not in my own community mind you, where we are used to seeing each other as being all sorts of shapes, sizes, skin color, eye color, hair texture, and so on. But definitely the white community has had interesting interactions with me. Especially when it comes to either expecting me to serve on a committee in order to be “The Voice” for all other minorities, or they will question why I have volunteered or been chosen to serve on this committee or that, assuming that I too am white.

Jaime (Being asked to serve on committees):

Yes, I’ve definitely served on committees because I was a faculty member of color. In fact, I have headed up hiring committees in my department because of that reason. But I also think the head of my division actually respected my clear thinking and that was part of it. I think that the division chair understood that I had the capacity for examining issues of race and diversity from a complex position. But overall, yes, I think I’ve been asked to do things because of my perceived ethnic background.

Monday (Committee work and expectations):

Oh, that's pretty much everyday life in a predominantly white institution. I'm not sure what else to say about this topic, you know. I think it's (diversity-related workload demands) an expectation if you're a person of color, that, yeah, that's what they're going to expect from you. But it's unfortunate that that's the way it should be. But at the same time, if you don't serve on certain committees, nobody else will. So it's sort of a catch-22, you know.

Let me ask you this question. How come we don't automatically expect white people to teach about white privilege? For us to have assumptions and just say, hey, you're white, come on and serve on this white privilege committee. And if they don't agree to serve, then we would pressure them and ask why they do not want to serve on this white privilege committee? I think it is always healthy to flip the script, to see if unequal treatment makes any sense.

Natalie (Committee service and a changing political climate):

Yes, I have been asked to sit in on diversity committees. When I was a part-time faculty member I worked at more than one school, and because my contract went semester to semester, I didn't feel as though I could say no to any requests to serve on committees. So I ended up serving on committees at both campuses without any sort of compensation. I was also asked to give talks on diversity, and religion, particularly because I was a woman raised in the Islamic faith.

Post 9-11 created quite a stir and I was asked to represent not only the history of a faith, but asked to speak on issues in which I am not an authority. So, I have been asked to serve on committees, give presentations, do the extra work that accompanies giving an institution a sense that they are doing the right thing. Helping with recruitment and retention, to reinforce how diverse the campus is, even when it wasn't.

Shell (On assumptions about knowledge):

Well, one of my first experiences, I was working at a HEP program (High School Equivalency), where it was assumed that I knew Chicano history and I knew all about Chicano experiences. And that was an expectation by community groups that were thinking: Well, here's a Mexican-American working at this program, you should know what the history of Chicanos are. So, I was asked to do some presentations, and basically it was assumed that I had that information. Also, the fact that I spoke Spanish, it was assumed that I knew about bilingual theory and bilingualism and all that stuff. So you get that part as well.

ChrisChapelle (A different perspective on language translation):

What I have had to do is cultural translation in English. You have to understand that technically, the official language is English. The linguistic currency we translate in is English, but there are aspects of the English language that culturally may not be familiar to certain segments of the African American population, or populations of color in general. I am talking about the linguistic currency of the institution. The linguistic institution is sometimes inherently hostile to communities of color because it's not user friendly. So, students may encounter financial aid documents, classroom situations, or bureaucratic red-tape that they are unfamiliar with, and these students will turn to me for assistance.

Guru (Reconsideration of an earlier answer):

I had initially said no to this question about translation thinking that it only referred to language translation. But then it occurred to me, I've done work for non-Spanish, non-English speaking people. I started thinking about folks who didn't grow up around college educated family members. They enter these institutions and try to negotiate a bureaucracy without a road map so-to-speak. I mean, I have helped Americans of all backgrounds who aren't hip to the hidden rules of bureaucracy. Having to help with financial aid forms, scholarship applications, and letters of recommendation, and all that stuff. So, yes, I have definitely done that for non-English and non-Spanish speakers.

By the time the interview had transitioned into Section 3, the momentum of the moment allowed for questions that were much more direct and to-the-point when it came to working as a faculty member of color in a predominantly white community college. This group of questions builds off of the idea that the degree to which an individual is able (or willing) to engage in self-reflection and self-awareness in relation to group and institutional interpersonal dynamics, is an important aspect of many analyses of racial and ethnic relations in this country. This group of questions goes behind an attempt to identify a sense of understanding of one's self. It also begins to get at what, if anything, the faculty participants do to deal with negative workload situations that they might find themselves in. The last question in the group was designed to help transition the participant into the last sections of the interview where

questions continue to explore the strategies they might employ to create a better working environment for all employees.

Section 3 – Personal/Professional Impact of Workload Issues

- Have you ever noticed that you are one of a very few faculty of color in the institution. If so, how does it make you feel?
- Has anyone ever made you feel as though you were under-qualified to work at your institution?
- Have you ever experienced overt or covert racism, prejudice, or discrimination at your institution?
- What strategies have you employed to help you deal with the fact that you are one of a very few faculty of color in the institution?

Seeing faculty of color as members of separate minority groups, and as the “other” within a predominantly white institution, this series of questions attempted to address their sense of self within the context of their surroundings. One of the characteristics of minority group membership is that they experience a sense of peoplehood and a feeling of self-consciousness. Myers (2007) writes,

The feeling of self-consciousness is an outcome of discrimination by the dominant group as well as a potentially useful way to maintain unity on the part of the minority group. The members of the minority group know they speak a different language. Often they are more at ease when they are with someone who speaks their language. They are aware of who is and who is not of their group, just as the members of the dominant group are (p. 18).

BlueCadet (Reflections on additional workload burdens):

If I weren't so busy, I'd probably keep a journal on how busy I am! I'm expected to do the exact same work as all of my colleagues. But it's the other requests that keep me hoppin.' Asking me to troubleshoot on some “diversity” issue, mentor students of color about this or that, perhaps dealing with campus-wide personnel issues, etc. This work I

am dedicated to, and yes, I'm entitled to bitch about it. But, what really gets me irritated is when certain white faculty want to take an unreasonable amount of their so-called valuable time by snooping around and questioning my workload, or why I'm talking to so-and-so, or my whereabouts at any given moment. It makes me think two things: One, I'm glad I'm tenured, and two, they can kiss my brown ass.

Estrella (Accusations of lacking qualifications):

Because of budget cuts, my position was being eliminated. Through seniority, I suggested that I be moved into the multicultural center. It was just the two of us in his office and he looked at me and said, "No, because you're not the multicultural type." And I looked at him and I go, "I'm not, what am I?" I said okay and nothing more. I then knew that I had to be quiet, because I was going to go after this man. When I left his office, I went straight to my union representative. I fought that supervisor tooth and nail for the directorship of the multicultural center. And at every turn he said that I didn't have this or that qualification. I went through my files and went to the administration and said here you are, to silence that perspective. I didn't have to fight all that much because the union at that time was very good. The person who was representing me said, go look for this, I went to look for it and got it and he would take care it. And so, eventually I ended up in the center. As a side note, it took three years for him to apologize to me.

Natalie (Campus security decides who "gains access"):

I drove to campus the Sunday before finals week to do some paperwork. But I didn't have my keys to get into my office, so I called campus security from inside of the building. They were very reluctant to come by, and when they did arrive, they would not let me in my office, although my name was posted on a plaque on outside of the door. I even had proper identification that matched the name on the door! Eventually the officer said, "How do I know you weren't fired last week?" I was absolutely shocked. Why would they fire me the week before final's week? I was just trying to write a final, I lived 15 miles away, it was a rainy Sunday afternoon, and the officer felt completely confident in his actions. Looking back, I felt that it was a combination of things: my age, the color of my skin, and that I was a woman. It was interesting because when I tried to followed up with the matter, I never got a response, not from my union, not the vice president, nor the president.

BlueCadet (More on campus security):

Here's an example for you that I haven't thought about in a long time. I got hired to teach full-time at this other community college. Wanting to get settled and start prepping for the new academic year, I started moving things into my office. My second trip to the campus, I didn't

have a key yet and called campus security. So, here I am middle of the day on a weekday, I'm holding a bunch of shit, and standing outside of my office. This campus security dude starts questioning me. I look at him and say, "My arms are full of books that I'm trying to place IN an office." It was a surreal moment, I was being questioned about burglary and I was trying place things INTO a space. He didn't open the door until a white administrative assistant vouched for me.

Monday (Strategies for coping with work-related stress):

Networking, networking, and more networking. Hanging out is also crucial. Just creating that space, a space in which you can feel free to be yourself. Usually it's behind a closed door, or off campus. In order to survive, you have to have your armor on. You wear it around, and you hope that you don't get a chink in your armor for that day, because you spend the rest of the week, the month, hammering that chink out. So, I mean, it's basically finding those people that you can be safe with, close the door, and just relax. Other than that, there's not much you can really do besides help change the system.

The fourth section addresses how stress from cultural taxation may have psychologically and physically impacted the personal and professional lives of the research participants. Furthermore, there are also two questions that address on and off campus networking and how their experiences on their campuses may positively or negatively impact their relationships. The fourth section also serves to tie back to the first questions by asking them to reflect on both their lives as professionals and students. At times, it allowed for participants to clarify earlier answers.

Section 4 – Psychological/Physical Impact of Workload Issues

- Have you ever experienced stress in your college career related to you as a person of color working in a predominantly white institution?
- Do you believe that any of your experiences in higher education, as a student or faculty of color, has had a psychological impact on you?
- Do you believe that any of your experiences in higher education, either as a student or faculty of color, has had a physical impact on you?
- Have your relationships within your family ever been positively or negatively impacted because of your work in a predominantly white institution?

- Have your relationships among your colleagues ever been positively or negatively impacted because of your work in a predominantly white institution?

BlueCadet (On how stress manifests itself):

I have found it ironic to meet with a white male Ph.D. for counseling. I mean I feel fucking rage toward white men at times and their racist bullshit, and here I am going to a white man and sitting on his couch and talking about these feelings to him – very weird. Most of my “issues” are probably centered on the degree to which people act clueless about their behavior. The stuff that gets to me would probably be replaying scenarios in my head, long after they’re over. Eating too much of the wrong foods at the wrong times to feel better. Feeling on edge or hyper vigilant when at work, or depression, anger, or stress when at home. Headaches, lack of sleep, intrusive thoughts, stuff like that.

Flaco (Low level of stress as a constant reality):

Since I have been in this city, at this particular campus, doing the specific job that I do, I have thought more about the impact of stress in my life. Not to the degree of damage to my psyche, but just an increase at times in the level of stress or anxiety that I experience. Whether it is a challenge from a student or something that a colleague says or does, these are the times that I have thought about it most. I have sought out counseling on this issue, and have talked with a few colleagues that I am close with. As far as being a minority in an institution like this comes from them being always visually identifiable, such as the color of their skin or their gender. That type of stress is constant in varying levels. Since I have white skin privilege, I see my stress as being lower and centering around specific issues.

Guru (What stress “looks” like):

I am definitely glad for the money that I earn as a faculty member, but I’m also definitely glad for the breaks in summer and the other breaks during the academic calendar. I basically, start lose it mid-way during the winter months, so I don’t know if that’s a seasonal disorder thing or what. I see institutional racism similar to what Chester Pierce describes as a series of micro- aggressions. Nobody calls me racial slurs to my face, but the things are very subtle. I call it the death of a thousand paper cuts (laughs).

I’d say that the physical impact would be hyper-tension, and stress eating. Hyper-tension in terms of high blood pressure, blood sugar, diabetes. Stress eating meaning eating “comfort foods,” when I’m not comfortable, portion control, etc.

Monday (Workload expectations and psychological stress):

Well, labeling something as “stress” indicates that that’s an abnormal thing. I see stress as a pretty normative thing, especially when you’re a person of color working in these types of institutions. And, you know, it’s just one of those unwritten job responsibilities that you have to deal with. The pressure’s on you, and especially, you know, the expectation that you’ll be working with your community by in addition to doing all this other work. The expectation that you’ll work with students of color. The expectation that you will work with staff of color, and deal with issues as they arise.

I don’t think you’re ever immune to the stress. It’s simply how you deal with it, because it’s always there. Some people deal better than others. Some people deal with it by simply retreating, and never coming out. Going into their office, doing what they need to do, and going home. Keeping their heads down. That’s it. But you never hear from those folks. You wonder, you know, hey, did we ever hire them? I thought they were supposed to deal with their community, right. But then, you know, we’ve also had expectation about other faculty of color, that you’d do that, right. But if you retreat to your office, then you’re a sell-out or you’re less than -- when really, you know, we don’t ask the same of the white faculty, right. They do their job, go home, and nobody cares. Don’t get me wrong, I have met many white colleagues who are good employees. But the same can’t be said for an employee of color who goes home right when the bell rings. And, you know, it’s just a higher expectation of conduct for people of color.

Shell (Stress as an “emotional rollercoaster”):

You go through a lot of different emotions in a relatively short time span, like an emotional rollercoaster. For example, just in the span of one day, you might have a negative emotional interaction with the institution, or a member of the institution, and so you feel kind of down. And then you go into the community, or you see a student and they thank you for doing something that has had a positive influence on their life, so your emotional rollercoaster goes up again. Because of the ups and downs, the problem is that working in these types of institutions, as a person of color, the emotional stuff is not steady or level. I think it’s because we’re working as two different cultural ways of being every day. The stress comes from being that bicultural person, trying to negotiate the two different cultural roles. Trying to satisfy the needs of people with power, who tend to be white, and people who don’t have the power who tend to be minorities.

Jo (Balancing identities with expectations):

I could say that in my experiences I have felt that I was in the middle between what the college expects of me and what the native community

expects of me. That has created a conflict situation that other people outside of my community were unsure how to proceed – who to follow, or who to listen to. That has been a difficult situation for me to have to go in and contradict what was being done or said. Normally, I would just remind folks that there are a variety of ways to deal with any given issue. That there are 500 different Native American cultures on this continent and we shouldn't be mistaken to believe that there is such a thing as one Native American way.

ChrisChapelle (Psychological stress and violent fantasies):

I have seen two therapists in the past 11 years. I have had to work out issues of being in physical confrontations with colleagues. Miles Davis was one of the greatest jazz musicians of all times. Miles Davis made this statement shortly before he died: The one thing he wanted to do before he died was to have his fingers wrapped around a white man's neck and to be strangling him before he died. I have had the Miles Davis fantasy on more than one occasion. Not that I would ever do that, but I have had points where I have wondered what it would be like to snap and see what it would be like to just come in here and did something like that. It is sometimes gets to that point because the racist things that people say and do around here feel so insidious.

Section 5 – The Social Construction of Legitimization

The fifth section of the interview process consisted of three questions regarding legitimization. The focus of this section is to try to understand why some faculty of color working in predominantly white community colleges are seen as the “go-to” people when issues of diversity arise, while others aren't seen in this way.

- Are you seen at your place of work as a resource (or contact) person on issues related to diversity?
- If you do not think you are not seen in this way by others, why do you think this is?
- If you are seen as a resource or contact person by others, how do you think this happened? (If you were hired in a job that required a certain degree of cultural competency, how did you demonstrate your skills in order to get hired).

BlueCadet (Developing a reputation for diversity):

I don't know when I started receiving requests to help with diversity-related matters. But I definitely know it started when I was in my undergraduate years. I think I just started getting involved in causes

both on and off campus. And I was taking certain classes and majoring in certain academic fields. I guess word gets out and you start developing a reputation for knowing certain things. On the other hand, you also have to be willing to stick your neck on the line and do the work. So, I guess it is a combination of actually knowing things, having people think you know things, and the willingness to walk the walk. My last thought on this issue, based on the fact that I have been mistaken for at least six other employees of color on this campus, is that I “look” the part. I’m brown, have black hair, and probably have a pissed-off look half of the time. This probably fulfills some perceptions about what I should know.

Flaco (On public perceptions of racialized identity):

No. I don’t believe that I am seen as a resource or contact person by the institution, nor personnel in institutional positions. I believe this is due to my appearance. I think it is the same white-perspective bias that sees me as white and can’t imagine that I actually have experience and knowledge relevant to having a minority perspective. I do believe personnel in institutional positions know my views on diversity issues, and know my self-stated identity as a Chicano. But the cognitive dissonance is too great. They don’t know how to handle or process it. Consequently, I have not been invited to join, comment, or participate in any diversity issues by any administrative employee based upon my ethnic, cultural background, knowledge and experience, with one important exception.

I was invited to be the faculty student advisor of a Chicano student group, and served as such for several years. The initial invitation was made by a fellow Chicano who worked in the Multicultural Center. The invitation has been re-extended by others who have served or co-served as faculty advisor with me or after me. In these cases, they were also fellow Chicanos. I believe this was due to my public self-identity and credibility among my Chicano colleagues.

I have been invited by president of the faculty union to take a position within the union as a minority representative. However, here as well I believe the view was that given my "whiteness" that my positions would be more in line with the institutional (the union’s) position than with the minority community’s positions.

I have been invited to participate in events and recognized as a minority group member by minority faculty. Again this is not the institution, nor is it an issue of use as a resource person. I believe this was due to both my public self-identity and to my public positions on diversity issues.

On an individual or personal basis, both minority colleagues and a couple of non-minority colleagues have actively sought my advice or perspective into academic, professional, or institutional issues based upon seeing me as a resource for a minority perspective. In these cases I believe I was seen as a useful resource due to my public self-identity.

Jo (On in-group legitimacy):

I think that some people see me as part of the Native American community, while others have argued that I'm not because my people are not a federally recognized tribe. Even within Native Americans who are members of recognized tribes, want to maintain what little power that they have by trying to exclude people such as myself.

Shell (Knowledge as socially constructed):

The same assumption was true about me working in a program that served migrant farm workers, that I would have that expertise in migrant farm worker issues. My parents used to work in the fields as seasonal farm workers, but when I was born that was no longer the case. I also worked in fields, but not to the degree of survival that a lot of these people were engaged in. I have been called as an expert on matters just based on my last name.

The sixth and last section was important to allow the interview to wind down.

Abruptly starting or ending an interview does nothing in the building of relationships, rapport, or the overall mental and spiritual health of researchers and their participants. The questions were not only designed in such a way to allow for a sense of transition toward an end to the interview, but also a way for research participants to discuss concrete ways in which community college leaders could improve the work environment. The data collected in this section helped to inform final recommendations for community college leaders.

Section 6 – Strategies for Balance and Future Recommendations

The first two questions in this sixth section asked about strategies research participants are using as they strive for balance in their lives. The final question should be seen as a tool for informing community college leaders about the issue of diversity-

related workload burden.

- What do you do to strike a balance between your professional and personal lives?
- What tools do you use to deal with any work-related stress?
- What two or three things could institutions do to lower rates of cultural taxation experienced by faculty of color in the academe?

Estrella (Balancing the professional and the personal):

I really try not to bring my work home. There was another faculty member when I first started working that gave me the advice to not ever bring your work home because it will consume you and you will be used up a lot quicker than if you just do your work while you're there. So I took her advice to heart and I tried very hard not to bring the work home. There have been times where you can't avoid it, but for the most part, I really have tried that. When you're trying to relax, and you have friends in the same profession as yourself, I try very hard not to talk shop. If we're on committees together then it's okay, I will talk shop, because that's why we're there. But not when you're off campus and you're trying to relax. Beyond that I have lots of hobbies. And I have lots of friends and that's how I balance my professional and personal lives.

Natalie (On distractions away from work):

Well, talking to my family, connecting with my family. Going to visit people as much as possible, when I go back to my old community or I'm back at home. And I mentioned before that I try and go to the gym, try and take care of myself. And finding ways to just escape, because there are times, you know, this work inundates my dream life because it's very consuming. So, whether it be going to the stables and riding a horse, or going to the gym, the things that require you to be totally present. What's interesting is ever since I've been in teaching I've become more interested in extreme sports, and I mountain bike and I snowboard. It's this draw to do things that require you be in the moment, that require you to be present. I can't be thinking about something else when I'm jumping over a two-foot fence on a horse. I have to be right there mentally.

ChrisChapelle (On courage and honesty):

Be honest and be real about what's going on in the institution. It takes institutional leadership to have courage in their convictions, to follow through on the things they articulate to be a so-called "vision of inclusiveness." The fact is that employees aren't held accountable for that. As long as those individuals are not held accountable for the health and welfare of their staff of color, their retention efforts will

continue to be laughable.

Guru (Micro and macro institutional change):

One – Compensation for cultural expertise. If not in salary, then in trips or something like that for cultural enrichment. I hate the word pioneers, because of the obvious white association, but in terms of explorers, if people who want to think of themselves as being on the cutting edge want to use me as a “cultural expert,” they need to be able to send me to conferences and workshops so that I can be renewed, or enriched, in order to bring information back to the organization as if it was valued. So, aside from monetary compensation, compensation could be travel for professional development.

Two – Increase the cultural expertise in the organization. Not many persons can be seen as experts at the college. If there is more than one expert per work area, that helps to spread the workload. I’m not even talking about people of color, if you have a “diversity” expert who happens to be a white person, great, because that helps spread the load quite a bit. That’s what really taxing, the lack of a critical mass of individuals who can actually do the work.

Third – Design structures and practices and curriculum that are culturally competent. Not just what we teach, but how we teach it, and how we as faculty act in our professional roles. So, design those structures and practices, which require active use and development of cultural competency skills, so that in order to survive and thrive in the organization you have to bring up your skills in this area.

Monday (On the recruitment and retention of skilled faculty):

Pay them for their work, especially faculty with language competencies. And if they’re going to use them to translate stuff, that’s a skill. Recognize these things as skills, and pay them accordingly. Another thing is I don’t think you can really solve the problem of taxation unless you have critical mass. I’m talking about hiring lots of folks, and especially folks whose job is specifically to deal with certain curriculum or certain populations.

Shell (Advice for community college leaders):

Well, I think one is to increase the number of faculty of color. An increase in the presence of faculty of color at these institutions so that the work can be spread around a little bit more. At one of the other schools that I worked at, there were a lot of Chicano faculty there. That school decided it was a priority to increase the number of Chicano faculty and they just made it happen. Another idea would be for schools to create positions where the work is very focused, so that you wouldn’t have the current situation where faculty of color are supposedly hired to

do one thing, but then have demands placed on them to do additional work. Third, I think if a system is put in place that would honor, recognize, and promote the skill sets that faculty of color bring to the organization, I think that would go a long way to lowering all kinds of work taxation. I think those are three things that I would like to have: Increase the number presence of faculty of color, create positions where faculty of color would have specific responsibilities, and assessing the system of recognition and promotion.

Summary

There is a considerable amount of time and energy spent in developing areas of research focus, reviewing literature, developing the methodology and research design, and receiving permission to enter the field and conduct research. This chapter is meaningful because it represents the culmination of all the information found in the previous chapters. More importantly, the chapter represents the voices, the narratives, the *testimonios*, of decent, caring, hardworking, dedicated faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges. It was an honor to work with these research participants, to have them agree to share personally aspects of their lives in recognition of the positive impact that this research may have for future community college faculty. The next chapter will focus on the discussion of the primary themes that emerged from the data collected.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The purpose of this research study was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived (work) experience of faculty of color. More specifically, this study explores how diversity-related workload expectations impact faculty of color who work in predominantly white community colleges. The “technique” or method used in this study to document the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white community colleges was narrative *testimonios*. The use of narratives was important because this study looked at the degree to which diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. The following were used as the guiding questions in capturing, through culturally appropriate and respectful human interaction, the lived personal and professional experiences of faculty of color:

- *Have you had any experiences with “cultural taxation?”*
- *Describe from both personal and professional perspectives, your experiences working in predominantly white institutions?*
- *What techniques have you tried in order to achieve a sense of balance in your personal and professional lives?*

The faculty of color who agreed to participate in this study were very willing to share personal and compelling stories about their lived personal and professional experiences. In addition to the pseudonyms that were used to ensure confidentiality among the participants, there were numerous occasions when names of schools,

geographic locations, and present and past colleagues had to be changed, modified, or removed in the transcription process. This spoke to the willingness of the participants to full disclosure and honesty in their narrative *testimonios*. Ultimately, the narrative stories revealed details about their lives and the phenomenon that influenced their experiences with cultural taxation. Previous scholarly work on the experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white institutions have been crucial in identifying a phenomenon, naming it, and building theory to describe the breadth of the problem (Aguirre 2000, Brayboy 2003, Cooper and Stevens 2002, Flores Niemann 2002, Fogg 2003, Gay 2004, Hobson-Horton 2004, Ibarra 2003, Padilla 1994). From the data that was collected and analyzed for this study, themes emerged that advance the concept of cultural taxation experienced by faculty of color working in predominantly white community colleges bringing to light more complexity than has been previously reported.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Methodology and Research Design, it was important when collecting and analyzing the data for this study to ensure soundness and accuracy. As such, triangulation, member checking and auditing were used. Neuman (2003) described triangulation in the context of social research as “look[ing] at something from several angles than to look at it in only one way” (p. 138). Although he continues with a more detailed account of different types of triangulation, within the context of this study, triangulation was only used in a mostly casual manner. This was because additional methods were used to ensure soundness. Serious attention was granted toward member checking by asking the participants in the study to check the accuracy of the *testimonios* that were documented and transcribed.

Finally, auditing occurred in the sense that objective critique took place through the editing process with the dissertation committee.

Primary Themes

The primary purpose of this chapter is to explore the primary themes that emerged from the analysis of the data collected from the narrative *testimonios*. After interviewing 11 faculty of color, transcribing interviews, member checking, asking clarifying questions, and more transcription, the data was then analyzed where themes began to emerge. Overall, there were five primary themes that emerged that are all connected to the concept of “cultural taxation.” Although Cultural Taxation was discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Review of Literature, it is important to briefly revisit some of the major tenants of the concept. At predominantly white institutions, including predominantly white community colleges, faculty of color represent a numerically small population. Because of this, there are work role expectations and experiences unique to this group that are not shared by white faculty. Ibarra (2003) refers to these expectations and experiences as “minority burden” to describe an “over-commitment to minority activities/teaching” (p. 209). Cooper and Stevens (2002) write, “When minority faculty are hired, they may face disproportionate advising and service loads because they are often the only faculty of color in a department” (p. 8). Aguirre (2000) observes,

Because they are often the only one in their academic department or college, women and minority faculty find themselves performing more service activities than White men faculty, such as advising or serving on committees that focus on women and/or minority students (p. 70).

Hobson-Horton (2004) points out that because of lack of representation in the faculty ranks, minority faculty tend to have heavier advising loads than white faculty members, resulting in minority faculty spending more time with students. To clarify, the professional expectation made of all faculty is that they will advise and work with students. Therefore, in addition to advising and working with *white* students, faculty of color, because of their lack of representation, also end up with advising *students of color* in larger numbers than their white faculty counterparts. The time demands of such advising include “providing social support for students, writing letters of recommendation, and helping them with such post-undergraduate activities as job seeking, and selecting graduate/professional schools” (p. 95). According to Padilla (1994) cultural taxation is defined as,

“the obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed (p. 26).

Whereas scholars previously established clear and concise parameters to identify and define cultural taxation, the complex series of themes that emerged from this research study assists in providing a rich “fleshing out” of the concept. Five primary themes that emerged from this study include:

- 1) *Cultural Taxation and Racist Bigotry*
- 2) *Cultural Taxation and Convenience*
- 3) *Cultural Taxation and Conscious Choice*

4) *Cultural Taxation and Ignorance*, and

5) *Cultural Taxation and Pragmatism*.

What follows is a brief overview of each theme defined within this chapter:

1) *Cultural Taxation and Racist Bigotry Defined:*

In this context, cultural taxation exists as a purposeful phenomenon. Here, workload expectations and demands related to diversity are seen in these dimensions: (1) cultural taxation is considered to be detrimental to one's career, through sheer overwork; (2) cultural taxation is seen as a way to prevent faculty of color from completing their assigned work tasks, or (3) cultural taxation is generated as a tool of harassment as undervalued diversity-related work is constantly being thrust on faculty of color.

2) *Cultural Taxation and Convenience Defined:*

Again, similar to cultural taxation and bigotry, cultural taxation and convenience represents a purposeful phenomenon. This type of cultural taxation finds the predominantly white employees of a community college unwilling to take measures to become (for existing employees) or hire (for new employees) individuals who are culturally competent. In a work environment with a large cohort of employees who are culturally competent is it believed that cultural taxation would diminish, as diversity-related work would be more evenly distributed among many employees, workgroups, departments, and so on.

3) *Cultural Taxation and Conscious Choice Defined:*

The theme of cultural taxation and conscious choice positions the concept of cultural taxation away from the predominantly white members of a community college, and

places cultural taxation in the hands of faculty of color. Cultural taxation is complex in that it does not exist within the confines of binary thinking such as: *either/or*, *black/white*, *yes/no*. In fact, cultural taxation is contextual in the following ways: a) Race-conscious, politically progressive-leaning, social justice-oriented, and activist-practicing faculty of color have a tendency to not only seek out diversity-related work, but tend to establish their “diversity street credentials” as soon they arrive on their predominantly white campus. b) The degree to which a faculty of color feels as though they are “burdened” by diversity-related requests, depends entirely on who is making the request, when the request is being made, and in what institutional context the request is coming from.

4) *Cultural Taxation and Ignorance Defined:*

Here, it is believed by some faculty of color that diversity-related work requests made of them, are not being made out of bigotry or maliciousness. Rather, it is believed, that the additional work burden is an accidental byproduct of ignorance. In this context, white faculty and other employees, may have a high degree of cultural competency. High degrees of cultural competency can either motivate white employees to tackle diversity-related work tasks, motivate them to seek out employees of color as a way to validate the knowledge that certain employees of color bring to any task, or some combination of both.

5) *Cultural Taxation and Pragmatism Defined:*

In a pragmatic approach, faculty of color are called upon precisely because they are, numerically-speaking, “one of the few” in a predominantly white community college. The idea of “one of the few” or as I have seen it described, “a raisin in a sea of

buttermilk,” is that as legitimacy of knowledge is conferred, faculty of color are seen as a campus resource or a “go-to” person. In this context, diversity-related requests (it is thought by faculty of color and/or their white colleagues) are made out of necessity, not ignorance, convenience, or bigotry.

As the data was being analyzed, a picture was created in an attempt to make sense of the emerging themes. In Figure 1 titled, “Dynamics of Cultural Taxation, Institutions, and Individuals,” the fluidity of cultural taxation and its influences are portrayed and demonstrated.

First, there is a large circle symbolizing a historical and contemporary structural context (universities and colleges), under a heading of “predominantly white institutions.” There is a smaller circle in the middle of the figure representing individual faculty of color, identified here as “minority faculty.” Since one of the primary themes is titled, “Cultural Taxation and Conscious Choice,” the middle circle also represents cultural taxation as interpreted by individual faculty of color. The remaining four primary themes are shown in relation to both the structure of higher education and individual faculty members. Finally, the dynamic movement implied in the drawing (see arrows) represents the contextual nature of cultural taxation and the give-and-take relationship between institutions and individuals.

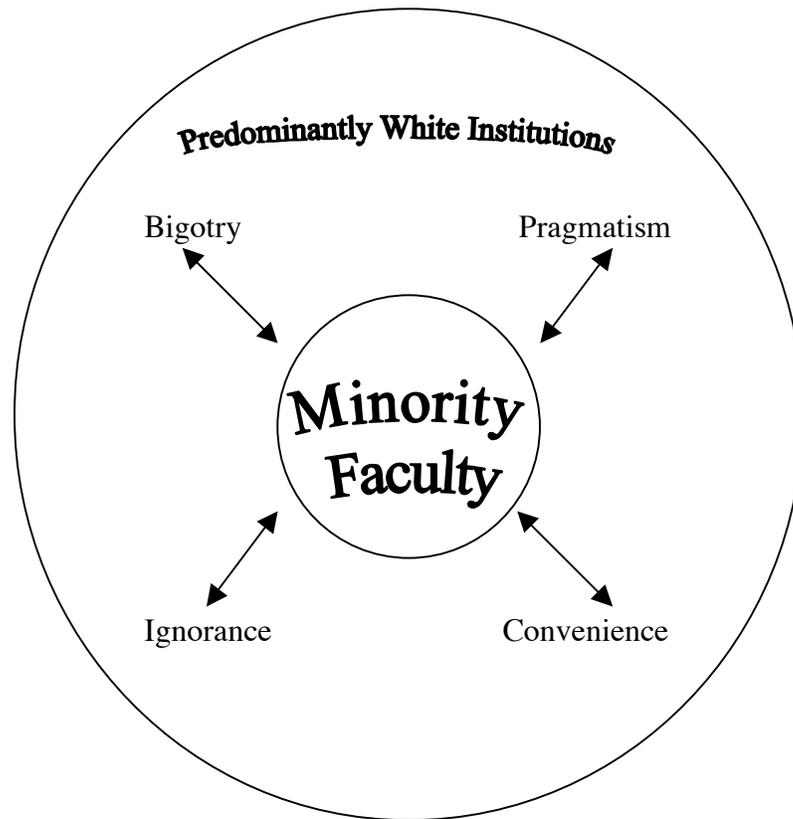


Figure 2: Dynamics of Cultural Taxation, Institutions, and Individuals

Although the five primary themes have been defined, a more detailed discussion is needed for clarity. Each of the five primary themes will be discussed with *testimonios* from the research participants included.

Cultural Taxation and Racist Bigotry Discussed:

At one point research participant “Estrella” started talking about being assigned an office space on a community college campus that was perceived to “belong” to another department. Because of this sense of ownership by a group of white male faculty, she faced years of harassment based on more than just her perceived race. She pointed out to me that when I talked about “diversity-related”

workload issues, she interpreted that as not only meaning work related to diversity, but that sexism, racism, ageism, disability rights, homophobia, were all related to “diversity issues.” Because of this view, she wanted to talk about the psychological impact that white male employees attempted to have on her upon her arrival. Bower (2002) reports on a sense of isolation that faculty of color working in predominantly white schools experience in this way, “...it is clear that the experiences of long-time faculty, many of whom were among the first minority faculty on their campuses, have made lasting impressions. Isolation, alienation, overt discrimination by peers and students, and a sense of separation are experiences shared by faculty...” (p. 83).

Estrella

Back when I was hired, men were very free to say what was on their minds. And as a woman of color, they (white men) had no qualms about making me feel unwelcome. Prior to my arrival, an office space was converted into a Multicultural Center and for some faculty that was not a popular move. They came with smiles on their faces, “Welcome to the floor, but this space is ours, so we hope you’re not going to stay for too long, and it’ll just be temporary.” Some used those words. Their negative attitude toward me was just so strong, very strong because the heavier (more senior) ones had their offices directly across from me, and they were also in offices that were right around and to the side of me. I felt surrounded. The most racist ones made no bones about it, they wanted that room back, they felt the space belonged to their department. They would make racist and sexist remarks to me and make personal and work demands of me that had nothing to do with my job description. They tried to wear me down but it just made me stronger.

Cultural Taxation and Convenience Discussed:

The response below by “Monday” brought into focus much that is reported in Appendix A: The five phases that a predominantly White institution may pass through as it seeks to become genuinely multicultural. In the five phases, the leadership of an institution may serve as strong advocates for creating and supporting diversity initiatives on their campus. With an increased emphasis on diversity, faculty of color

tend to experience an increased expectation that they will contribute to the institution's transition from one phase to another. Related to this, and found in the responses by some faculty members, was the sense that as few faculty of color are seen at the forefront of diversity work at an institution, white faculty, for whatever reason, will chose either not to engage in diversity-related work, or will chose not to develop cultural competency tools to help to distribute an institutional diversity-related workload burden. Finally, respondents felt that on an institutional level, there are neither sticks (penalties) nor carrots (incentives) to encourage faculty to become more culturally competent.

Monday

Any person of color that has any sense of, shall we say, self-worth, seems to be called on for diversity stuff, because they're so few, they're easy to pick out by their racial uniform. White faculty just look at you and say through words or actions, "There you go, isn't this (a diversity-related request) part of your job? What, you're just a History professor?" So, in terms of cultural taxation, the requests and assumptions that are made are never-ending. That's a big issue within organizations that are trying to become culturally competent, is how you value diversity knowledge as skills, and why doesn't everybody else have those skills? Who are supposed to do that as their job? Institutions function in such a way that there is no incentive for white faculty to become culturally competent, so many of them sit back and expect us to do the work.

Cultural Taxation and Conscious Choice Discussed:

"Guru" was the first research participant to explicitly state that he "allowed" himself to be culturally taxed. From this interview, all of the research participants were asked to comment on the idea of allowing oneself to be "used" in some way as a strategic tool. Up to that point, prior to Guru's statement, most of the research participants had talked about diversity-related work as being something that they were either committed to, or something that they were compelled to be involved in. This is not surprising when one considers that one of the criteria used for inviting faculty of

color to participate in this research study was their reputation as individuals who were involved in their institution's diversity efforts. Below is Guru's rationale as to why he would allow himself to be culturally taxed.

Guru

No one really talks about reverse affirmative action within a context where you hire the least qualified white person, who happens to be a relative, We've had some notable departments where that's going on. Where white employees have been hired by a phone call essentially. In addition to hiring actual blood relatives, is the phenomenon of 'Neo-Nepotism' where people are not exactly family, but are like-minded white folks who basically fly under the radar screen as part-timers and somehow become the 'cream of the crop' during a so-called 'national' employee search. In that form of taxation, I've frequently served on hiring committees to be the diversity expert. I will also participate in what I consider strategic hire and strategic positions. I will submit to the taxation that way.

Cultural Taxation and Ignorance Discussed:

This theme emerged through follow-up interviews. After reading through transcriptions, clarification was needed because of statements that certain faculty of color participants made regarding factors motivating white employees who make diversity-related requests of faculty of color. A theme emerged where ignorance was used to describe individuals who were creating unintentionally cultural taxation and did not appreciate how their requests were impacting faculty of color. Although the word "ignorance" has negative connotations, the quote below symbolizes the way in which the word was used in the context of this primary theme.

BlueCadet

It's funny when you think about it, but I would guess that most of the requests (diversity-related) that are made of me are from white friends and allies who are as culturally competent as I am. I don't know if it is a trust issue, or the rapport that we have as friends, or if they feel that they need to have a respected person of color to sign off on their ideas and work. Whatever the motivation, it is interesting in those times when I explain that I don't have time to help with something, when they come to the realization that they are making

demands of my time and energy – a virtual light bulb being turned on in a room dark with ignorance. [laughs]

Cultural Taxation and Pragmatism Discussed:

There was a question that was asked during the interview that asked each individual to discuss what it felt like to be one of the numerically few faculty of color in their predominantly white community college. Many of the research participants discussed in their narratives how they thought cultural taxation most likely originated out of some sort of necessity. “Natalie’s” response typifies the feeling among faculty interviewed, that not only does cultural taxation exist, but that it probably exists because there is a need to get something completed. Of course, there is an underlying issue here – the conferring or legitimization of authoritative knowledge on a person of color perceived to be the sole authority of a given topic on a community college campus.

Natalie

From my experience, much of these (diversity-related) requests are largely needs based. When an institution needs an expert, needs a work shop, needs a talk. Then all of a sudden, you are recognized as having this knowledge that’s useful and important, that you were never recognized as having before. And sometimes the expectation is that you do have a certain expertise in diversity matters, when you really don’t.

Summary

The concept of cultural taxation (and the related labels and terms used to describe the phenomenon) has evolved over time. What began as an attempt to name an experience felt by faculty of color, moved to research that attempted to define what criteria should be used to describe differential treatment of faculty of color. More recent literature has looked at both what it is, and how it impacts individuals on professional and personal levels. When analyzing the data collected for this study, a

complex series of themes emerged to provide a rich “fleshing out” of the concept. The five primary themes that were defined and discussed: 1) *Cultural Taxation and Racist Bigotry*, 2) *Cultural Taxation and Convenience*, 3) *Cultural Taxation and Conscious Choice*, 4) *Cultural Taxation and Ignorance*, and 5) *Cultural Taxation and Pragmatism*. It was important that the primary themes that emerged from the analysis of the data, coincided with the overall purpose and focus of this research study. At the end of the first chapter, it was argued that the focus of this research study can be generally organized into three areas: (1) Research with a focus on lived experiences (socialization/mentoring) prior to employment as a faculty member in higher education; (2) Research with a focus on experiences of faculty of color in predominantly white institutions; and (3) Research with a focus on the effects (personally and professionally) of additional diversity-related workload burden. From these three broad areas of research the literature that was reviewed for this study were listed under the headings of: (1) Cultural Taxation in Predominantly White Institutions; (2) Lack of Professional Socialization and/or Mentorship for Faculty of Color; and (3) Personal/Professional Impact of Campus Diversity Initiatives.

There were three questions that guided this study were:

- *Have you had any experiences with “cultural taxation?”*
- *Describe from both personal and professional perspectives, your experiences working in predominantly white institutions?*
- *What techniques have you tried in order to achieve a sense of balance in your personal and professional lives?*

A qualitative approach was used to allow research participants to speak in their unique narrative *testimonio* voices to answer questions related to the questions that guided this study. The primary themes that emerged from an analysis of the data were discussed in this chapter. The themes identified help to provide community college leaders with a greater understanding of the experiences of faculty of color who work in predominantly white institutions. The implications of this research along with several recommendations are explored in the following chapter. This last chapter will discuss some final thoughts regarding the results of the interview questions and format, significant factors that impact the research study and influence leadership decisions made by community college leaders, recommendations for community college leaders, recommendations for future research, and a reflective summary.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Brubacher & Rudy (1999) describe the creation of a system of higher education in the United States in a manner sought to reproduce the familiarities of life previously known: “In each part of the New World, the European settlers sought to create as close an approximation as they could to the culture with which they had been familiar back home. The English-Americans, for example, were determined that their children should preserve those aspects of Old World civilization which their fathers held to be all important” (p. 5). Because of this history, the system of higher education in the United States becomes a participant within the overall framework of European hegemony that forced itself here via colonialism. After hundreds of years of democratic “progress” and well-intentioned liberal (as the word is used and interpreted in the early twenty-first century) rhetoric, one may still find a plethora of postsecondary institutions that are predominantly white. For faculty of color in these institutions, they have the potential to experience a myriad of positive and negative moments that symbolize the lasting ripple effects of colonization.

The purpose of this research study was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived (work) experience of faculty of color. More specifically, this study explores how certain types of work-related requests and expectations impact faculty of color who work in predominantly white community colleges. This last chapter will discuss some final thoughts regarding the results of the interview questions and format, significant factors that impact the research study and influence leadership decisions made by

community college leaders, challenges for community college leaders, recommendations for future research, and a reflective summary.

Final Thoughts on the Six Areas of Inquiry

The questions that were asked the research participants, were divided into six areas of inquiry:

- Personal and Professional Socialization/Mentorship
- Cultural Taxation
- Personal and Professional Impact of Workload Issues
- Psychological and Physical Impact of Workload Issues
- The Social Construction of Legitimization
- Strategies for Balance and Future Recommendations

As discussed previously, the interview questions and their subsequent areas of inquiry (see Appendix C for a complete listing), were the result of the literature review from previous scholarly works on cultural taxation. Before recommendations for community college leaders and faculty are discussed, some final thoughts are in order from the six areas of inquiry. Each area of inquiry, underlined and written in capital letters, is followed by “final thoughts” with narrative testimonios where applicable.

- Area of Inquiry #1: Personal/Professional Socialization/Mentorship

Professional socialization/mentorship was more positive than negative. The first primary theme found that overall, the faculty of color who were interviewed for this study reflected on their years as undergraduates and then graduate school fondly. Some of the participants asked clarifying questions because they were unsure if they were supposed to reflect back to college or reflect further back to their K-12

experiences. The research participants were instructed that although the focus was higher education, they were more than welcome to begin their story where they felt it was appropriate/relevant.

Monday

I only see positive things coming out of the mentoring relationships that I have had. I have had a lot of people help me throughout my career, especially when I was younger. They took me under their wing, showed me how systems worked, how to do systematic change, without getting your head chopped off. Everybody I sought out I see as a mentor. It helped me create my own paradigm as to how to handle situations.

Professional socialization/mentorship did not prepare them for challenges in the academe. All of the research participants did feel as though their personal and professional socialization/mentorship fully prepared them for the professional expectations placed on them in the academe. At the same time, the participants felt (to varying degrees) unprepared for the times when they have experienced either prejudice and/or discrimination in the workplace. Although they did not feel as though they were professionally prepared for the more negative aspects of the job, they did feel as though family and friends, and their own degree of “street smarts” prepared them for the bigotry that they have encountered.

Mentoring of students and faculty of color was viewed as “giving back.” The faculty of color who participated in this study were not asked direct questions to identify themselves regarding their activism and scholarship. Yet, they all have a sense of self as activist-scholars or scholar-activists. Community colleges offer a unique opportunity for these types of individuals, where the granting of tenure is not based primarily on publishing. As such, all of the participants have reputations as being active both on and off campus. They all feel compelled to “give back” in the area of

mentoring students of color, and reaching out to faculty of color (and in some cases faculty of color offering assistance to newly hired classified and manager-level employees). These are individuals who seek out networks, community members, and allies, upon entering a new environment. They actively let it be known that they will work with student and employee organizations, and see their activism as something that is a must, just as important as drinking water and breathing air. Although the idea here is described as “giving back” it is not done so out of a negative sense of obligation.

- Area of Inquiry #2: Cultural Taxation

The amount of time requested of the faculty of color interviewed for this study is immense. For many of these individuals, because of their work on and off campus, there is a constant threat that the boundary that separates the professional from the personal will become blurred, with telephone calls at night or on the weekends, expectations to attend functions to represent the college, a department, an organization, etc. The emotional investment that these individuals have dedicated to their work has translated into difficulty in managing their time and stress.

Guru

Recently, I was cleaning out my papers, and I accidentally came across my original job description. The only reason I kept my job description is that I felt the description they used in the hiring process was so out of date, that it served as a motivator for me to constantly remind my coworkers that we need to bring our practices into the 21st century. In the job description from 1992, it is like diversity is not mentioned at all. Period. Not even once, it never appears. So, it’s not in my job description, but it’s clearly indicated by my field of practice. My diversity experiences were clearly part of the job in hiring me. I had all these experiences in diversity and “he happens to be black too, he’s articulate, he speaks well, dresses well, blah, blah, blah, he’s a nice Negro, he doesn’t confront us on racism.” I feel like I’m constantly

educating white people on basic stuff. Stuff that was old in the 70's. I feel like these people live back in the 70's. This gets old after a while. We shouldn't be having these same old discussions, we should be learning and moving on.

Cultural taxation negatively impacts workload. As Mills and Kleinman (1988) explain: "There are limits to the success of emotion management. In short, emotion management attempts are most likely to fail when stress situations involving important identities are persistent or recurrent. Substantial evidence, in fact, indicates that major life events and chronic role strains can produce serious psychological distress and impairment" (p. 1019).

Cultural taxation positively validates professional skills. Here, cultural taxation can be seen from a positive point of view. This theme should not leave readers to false conclusions about some sort of positive aspect to cultural taxation. All of the research participants were able to articulate using clear examples about the diversity-related demands made of them. But, there was also a clear consensus that their knowledge and experiences were respected and validated when requests were made of them.

- Area of Inquiry #3: Personal/Professional Impact of Workload Issues

The faculty of color interviewed for this study acknowledged their awareness of their demographic scarcity within predominantly white institutions. This is an important point because there does not appear to be consensus throughout higher education that "predominantly white institutions" (PWIs) exist. This claim is made based on the lack of scholarly literature defining what a PWI is, how they came to exist, and what can be done to transform them. The importance of this section of the interview questions rests with the understanding that overall, faculty of color are fully

aware of their status in the workplace. They are also fully aware of issues surrounding recruitment and retention issues that impact the pace in which change may occur.

- Area of Inquiry #4: Psychological/Physical Impact on Workload

Faculty of color experience varying levels of stress as they receive spoken and unspoken diversity-related requests. During the interviews with research participants, it was clear that when moments of cultural taxation occurred, all of these moments must be seen as existing with relational and contextual frameworks.

“Relational” here refers to *positionality*, the idea that at any diversity-related request that leads to cultural taxation should be seen in the context of how a faculty of color will interpret, respond to, or process the interaction and this will be influenced by various factors. Such factors include, but not limited to: Is there individual, group, or institutional history of similar requests? Is there a positive or negative history with the individual or group making requests? Are there insider or outsider issues in relation to who is making the request?

“Contextual” here refers to the same information provided above, but instead of positionality, the issue here is one of *motivation*. The factors become influenced by thoughts such as: What are the intended outcomes of my actions? Why is this request being asked of me? Is the request or expectation reasonable? To what degree am I being played (or allowing myself to be played)? In the quote that follows, research participant, “Jamie” discusses how one might develop personal protection:

Jamie

There’s a trust concept. Even though it sounds like it’s a sex education concept it’s actually a chess concept, it’s called “prophylaxes.” In chess, you take prophylactic measures to ensure that while you’re pursuing your ideas somebody can’t undermine your position. I think something that I do at length is try to ensure that I’m positioned in such

a way that people can't undermine me even if they want to for unreasonable kinds of purposes. I guess that takes energy, but that's one of the things I think I do. Who knows, it's entirely possible that it's my personality anyway and I would do that under any circumstances. I can say in some ways the fact that I have to wonder about people's motivations seems to me a by-product of being a faculty of color at a white institution. It also makes me wonder if things would be any different if I was a faculty of color at a very diverse institution.

As mentioned previously, the faculty of color interviewed for this study have a tendency to “go the extra mile” when it comes to their commitment to their craft, students, and their communities. It is not uncommon for these faculty to give out their telephone numbers to students, to be seen at, or participate in, campus or community events. There is a need to develop and maintain boundaries as they look for balance between their professional and personal lives. Many of the participants believed that they either currently do not balance these two aspects of themselves at all, or there are parts of their lives that are in balance, and other parts that are not in balance. The research participants stressed that in order to foster a healthy mind, body, and spirit, one must not only be able to work toward balance, but one must also develop a level of personal awareness as to the degree in which they do or do not have balance in their lives. Some research participants voiced frustration in the fact that they knew that they should have more balance in their lives, but seemed almost unable to say “no” to requests that blurred the boundaries between their professional and personal lives.

- Area of Inquiry #5: Social Construction of Legitimization

The responses in this area of inquiry were thoughtful and led to some of the primary themes discussed in the last chapter. In order for cultural taxation to occur, someone, somewhere, at sometime must come to a conclusion that a person of color holds some sort of specialized knowledge. Whether opinion is based on generalization

or stereotyping, a faculty of color, in the context of this study, must be thought of as a resource or contact person for diversity-related work.

- Area of Inquiry #6: Strategies for Balance and Future Recommendations

In the concluding part of the interview process, the research participants were asked to provide information about how they might seek balance between their personal and professional lives. They were also asked what two or three things that they thought institutions could do to lower the rates of cultural taxation experienced by faculty of color in the academe. What follows are three suggestions that were synthesized from the responses of the eleven research participants. The three suggestions are in quotations followed by a brief explanation of their meaning.

“Hiring more qualified, multi-skilled faculty of color.”

In the entire interview process, there was only one area where there was complete consensus among the faculty participants, and this was in the area of hiring. It was unanimously argued that more faculty of color must be hired to help offset the demands being placed on a few individuals. Furthermore, it was felt that skin color alone would not solve problems of unequal treatment on campus. Rather, hiring practices must focus on individuals who are not only highly qualified in their respective fields, but come to community colleges with multiple skill sets to enhance a respectful working and learning environment. This would include skill sets as obvious as technological literacy, and less obvious as the ability and willingness to work effectively and respectfully with groups of people that the individual might not be a member of.

BlueCadet

When hiring new faculty, skin pigmentation alone doesn't interest me. Don't get me wrong, I would love to see more faculty of color at my institution. But, I would definitely want to see faculty of color who understood what it means to be a person of color in this setting [predominantly white]. Also, folks of color who don't have a bunch of hang-ups about other protected classes. It won't help us as a college if we hire people of color who stand there with their mouths hanging open when they meet someone who's disabled, or gay, or whatever. Actually, that goes for all employees. I just want to see us develop a greater population of employees who can hang intellectually, and from a humanist or social justice perspective.

“Increase the culturally competency skills of all employees:”

Many research participants wanted to clarify that “predominantly white institutions” are institutions that weren't just predominantly white, but are institutions where the general atmosphere, core values, or strategic directions of the institution reflect a colonial Euro- or White American-centric mindset. In addition to the importance of hiring qualified faculty of color, it was felt that everyone would benefit from an increase in cultural competency skills. A working definition of cultural competency is found in Appendix D.

“Don't place the burden of ‘fixing the problem’ with already overworked faculty of color:”

The faculty of color in this study acknowledge that there is such a phenomenon as cultural taxation; they acknowledge that they are overworked and overburdened by spoken and unspoken expectations that they will “do” diversity; they are properly motivated to work to improve conditions for all populations in higher education; they are honored to be asked to play a significant role in moving higher education toward a more inclusive place; and at the same time, they don't want to be the only ones involved, and/or pushed to the point of burnout or worse.

Significant Factors Related to the Primary Themes

There were three significant factors, interrelated to, but nonetheless outside of, the primary themes, that community college leaders should consider for the purposes of developing more cohesive and respectful learning and working environments. These three significant factors influence and impact how one sees oneself, how one views others, how one believes others view them, and how these views (or perceptions) shape thought and action. The significant factors are listed under the headings of: Students as a Factor, Institutional and Group Cultures as Factors, and Professionalism as a Factor. (The three significant factors are addressed here to acknowledge that they impact the social roles that each individual plays out but should not be interpreted as part of the five primary themes).

Giddens, Duneier, and Appelbaum (2006) describe social roles as being learned through the process of socialization. These roles are socially defined expectations that a person in a given social position follows. Social roles are not fixed or unchanging. Rather social roles are created, changed, and negotiated. Ordinarily, our roles are sufficiently separated so that conflict between them is minimized. Occasionally, however, what is expected of us in one role is incompatible with what is expected of us in another role. This problem, known as role conflict, occurs because the expectations attached to the meaning of that role clashes with the expectations of another role. Role strain, on the other hand, (though related), is the conflict that is experienced from within a role. How these relate to the emotional experiences of the research participants are as follows:

STUDENT AS A FACTOR - Unlike the clear(er) boundaries that one finds

with the act of entering or leaving “the field” when conducting research, or the socially constructed boundaries that separate student from instructor, some faculty of color spoke of their early careers in higher education as a series of lines being crossed: the potential to interact with other students and faculty in classes (and labs), at politically-related events (such as rallies, protests, etc.), university-sponsored functions (cultural celebrations, sporting events, etc.), and “other social gatherings” (parties, shopping malls, movie theaters, coffee shops, night clubs, etc.). Because all students experience these differing roles to some degree, this type of role conflict or role strain is considered minimal compared to their experiences as professionals. (Jones, 2004).

Although a couple of the research participants spoke of their early childhood as the time that they began their journey to political awareness, the majority of them identified their early college experiences (classes, professors, peers, etc.) as having the greatest influence on them. For those underrepresented students of color who are being admitted to our colleges and universities, they are simultaneously feeling empowered and discouraged by their treatment in these predominantly white institutions. If leaders of higher education want to develop stronger pipelines to diversify their future ranks, it must start at the student level. As Stanley and Lincoln (2005) stated, cross-race mentoring is one way for faculty of color to positively transition into their professional careers. With an increase in the cultural competency of all employees, a community college would become a place where all students would have the potential for culturally respectful and appropriate mentoring.

INSTITUTIONAL AND GROUP CULTURES AS FACTORS - Sociologists

and others who investigate individual and group interaction within institutional settings have long seen large structures, such as a college or university, as formal bureaucratic organizations. As such, it can be argued that colleges or universities have a culture unto themselves. Therefore, any review of the working conditions of marginalized populations of people within a workplace would have to include an analysis of “culture” from the perspective of the individual, group(s), and organization. In addition to “institutional culture,” all human groups experience and interact with material and nonmaterial culture. Although not attempting to argue for a series of heterogeneous populations, the various communities of color represented in this study shared the following: the absence of open dialogue surrounding their experiences with cultural taxation with (1) family members, (2) co-workers, and (3) those who supervise them. The relationship between institutional and ethnic group cultures led the research participants to experience a sense of isolation from friends, family, and community as they worked to address cultural taxation in their work life, compounding a sense of role conflict and strain. Finally, culture influenced how they interpreted and internally processed their experiences as people of color working in predominantly white institutions.

PROFESSIONALISM AS A FACTOR - What, if anything, distinguishes the research participants from other colleagues in higher education? These faculty members, like their peers, are expected to conduct themselves in a professional, scholarly manner. Yet, other related and unrelated (to scholarly endeavors) work requests and expectations are made of them on a continual basis. Transitioning from an undergraduate student, to a graduate or professional school to the professoriate,

allows an individual to become a “professional.” Sociologists identify five characteristics of professions (Etzioni 1969, Goode 1960, Greenwood 1962, Henslin 2003, Parsons 1954): 1) Rigorous education; 2) Theory; 3) Self-regulation; 4) Authority over clients; and 5) Service to society, not self-interest. By the time that someone enters the academe, there are general expectations in terms of how one should conduct oneself, and perhaps even how they can expect to be treated by others (Siegall & Cummings 1995). These expectations led some of the faculty participants of this research study to describe the difficulty of juggling dual identities as active scholars and members of ethnic/racial communities. It is the lack of understanding or awareness of this struggle of duality that leads some of them to experience role conflict and strain.

Recommendations for Educational Leaders

The results of this study will be of important use to leaders both inside and outside of the academe. This research study is important because it may be able to shed light on what working experiences look or feel like for race conscious faculty of color through their narrative responses. For those institutions working on diversity as a strategic area of focus, this research will help to draw attention beneath the surface of how individuals can be personally impacted by unspoken expectations that we sometimes knowingly and unknowingly place on each other. Although most colleges and university leaders would readily claim that their institutions are “working on diversity initiatives,” it is difficult to qualify and quantify success where one finds vastly differing opinions on how “success” should be defined. In this section, recommendations for educational leaders will be addressed. Or, as Pewewardy (2005)

writes, perhaps a more effective tool would be to *challenge* educational leaders instead of making *recommendations* to them. Pewewardy argues,

Will we break through ethnocentrism, racism, and the colonial practices of the past? Can schools really change? Can teaching practices, the curriculum, and the school organization be made to serve Indigenous students and other underserved populations? These are critical questions [to be] addressed” (p. 150).

The following challenges are subdivided into two groups: administrators and faculty. (Additional recommendations can be found in Appendix E). Leadership is usually conferred to individuals based on their titles, degrees/credentials, and other status-laden criteria. This definition of leadership is not in question. Rather, it can be argued that leadership is also an internally influenced mode of behavior. In this sense, any one individual, at any time, under the right circumstances, can act like a leader. If those around the individual *allow* them to be a leader, then leadership qualities will be the result. So, for the purposes of concluding this study, the following recommendations are subdivided into two groups, although it is believed that these two groups are not exclusive of the capacity of leadership.

Challenges for Administrators

Most leaders in higher education do not view their institutions within a predominantly white framework. In addition to the need to acknowledge for themselves and to others that colleges and universities are mostly predominantly white, they also need to consider that interlocking individual and structural “isms” not only assisted in establishing PWIs, but have since worked to maintain this way of

existing. Once leaders get to this point in their understanding of colonization and institutional racism, then the concept of cultural taxation can begin to be addressed. As McIntosh (2007) explains,

To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding (white skin) privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that *systems* of dominance exist (p. 102).

A philosophical shift in one's thinking, may lead to both individual and structural change. What follows is an argument for a collective changed perspective. Lee (2001) argues,

Multicultural or antiracist education is fundamentally a perspective. It's a point of view that cuts across all subject areas, and addresses the histories and experiences of people who have been left out of the curriculum. Its purpose is to help us deal equitably with all the cultural and racial differences that you find in the human family. It's also a perspective that allows us to get at explanations for why things are the way they are in terms of power relationships, in terms of equality issues...It also has to do with how the school is run in terms of who gets to be involved with decisions...It has to do with who gets hired in the school. If you don't take multicultural education or

antiracist education seriously, you are actually promoting a monocultural or racist education. There is not neutral ground on this issue (p. 557).

The following represents both pragmatic and philosophical challenges for administrative leaders. These recommendations reflect the information acquired through the data collected and literature reviewed for this study:

- Create pipeline work opportunities for culturally competent graduate students interested in community college faculty careers.
- Create pipeline work/mentorship opportunities for culturally competent faculty in administrative or other related “leadership” roles.
- Create comprehensive recruitment, hiring, and retention plans that discourage “back door” adjunct, temporary, or emergency hiring of individuals – currently the easiest ways to circumvent best hiring practices.
- Create anti-harassment policies and enforce them.
- Create strategic diversity-related initiatives and enforce them.
- Operate within a framework that views diversity as an ongoing endeavor, much as the continued training, usage, advancements, and upgrade of technology is seen.
- Designate individuals responsible for the implementation of diversity-related initiatives on campus. Provide these individuals with the infrastructure necessary to ensure the completion of each initiative.
- Create incentives for employees with diversity-related skills, such as cultural competency, bilingualism and biculturalism.
- Create an infrastructure on campus that allows employees to become competent in the areas listed in #7.

- Build stronger relationships with communities of color where applicable. Allow them a legitimate “seat at the table.”
- Hold bigoted employees accountable for their actions.
- Integrate a social justice perspective in all aspects of the college environment.

Challenges for Faculty:

In a report that reviewed campus efforts at the recruitment, hiring, and retention of faculty of color, Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Teraguchi (2006) present the importance of efforts to take diversity seriously when they write, Faculty play a critical role in the education, research, and service functions of the institution, from teaching and learning to knowledge development to university governance. Campus leaders today recognize that to truly achieve excellence in all of these areas, they must tap the kind of intellectual power and innovation that comes from a professoriate that is racially and ethnically diversity (p. 2).

As stated earlier, it is unlikely that one would find a college or university whose leadership is unwilling to tout their “diversity” efforts. The primary problem, according to Abraham (2006) is that the issue isn’t so much the establishment of a bureaucratic support web around diversity issues, the problem is that a bureaucratic approach usually means that bigoted events on college and university campuses are filed investigated and reported without a tangible solution that prevents bigoted events from continuing.

In order for those who have access to leadership positions within higher education to engage in actual social justice change, they will have to openly discuss

the historical origins and purposes of higher education in this country. Similar to administrators, faculty will have to admit that after hundreds of years of social change, these institutions are still predominantly white. They will have to admit that reform is in order, inside and outside of the classroom. Employee unions need to position themselves to help to liberate employees to be the best that they can be, not be used as a tool to protect predators (sexist, racist, homophobes, etc.) within their ranks – usually “protection” comes in the form of intellectual freedom. As Hurtado (2001) states,

The empirical evidence suggests that it makes a difference whether students are in classrooms led by diverse faculty and have an opportunity to interact with diverse peers on an equal status basis that may depend on the types of pedagogy that diverse faculty introduce into the classroom. The results show that women and different racial/ethnic faculty report having distinct teaching styles that may influence both the content and delivery of knowledge in the classroom. Therefore, the gender and race/ethnicity of the instructor are likely to have an impact on educational experiences of undergraduates in predominantly white selective institutions (199).

Gappa, Austin, & Trice (2005) believe that there are forces undermining faculty in higher education. Forces such as budgetary constraints, a move toward a more adjunct professoriate, that woman and faculty of color have needs that may differ from their white male peers, and expectations from new faculty who seek greater balance in their personal and professional lives (p. 34). It is important to acknowledge that forces that undermine the fabric of mostly white faculty also

undermine the professional experiences for faculty of color as well. Furthermore, in the continued shift toward a less-secure, adjunct existence, it will be faculty of color who will feel the brunt of this behavior in the future. As Gregory (1998) writes, “Any time a person is brought into a faculty, a statement is made about the future of that entire faculty. Anytime a person is hired, a decision is made about what the department believes, and values, its students” (p. 7).

The following represent both pragmatic and philosophical challenges for faculty leaders. These recommendations reflect the information acquired through the data collected and literature reviewed for this study:

- Create pipeline work opportunities for culturally competent graduate students interested community college faculty careers.
- Create an orientation program for new faculty that details the institution’s history and commitment toward diversity.
- Create a Code of Conduct for faculty (schools commonly have one for students, but not for faculty).
- Establish an operating philosophy where academic freedom is embraced as a way to liberate instruction, not perpetuate bigotry.
- Hold faculty unions accountable when they protect bigots.
- Related to #5, create a comprehensive practice of due process that allows for all employees to be protected, not just the perpetrators.
- Create mandatory education (training) opportunities that will enhance the cultural competency of the faculty.

Recommendations for Future Research

Focused studies such as this one create more questions than answers. The following recommendations fall under two categories, first, those areas of further research that were covered within this study but require additional attention, and second, those areas of further research that were not covered in this study.

- **Psychological and Physical Impact**

This is not a new, but rather an increasing area of research. Further research into the area of how a concept such as cultural taxation impacts individuals, psychologically or physically, might be important especially if projects look for correlations between institutional and individual prejudice and discrimination.

Related to the focus above on psychological and/or physical impacts of cultural taxation, a focus on motivation would help to expand knowledge in this area. On a more individual level, faculty of color, and their white allies, who create an anti-racist classroom environment, develop an anti-racist curriculum, engage in anti-racist activism, and use an anti-racist worldview, have a tendency to experience increased cultural taxation as they internalize the struggle and feel attacked or pressured by those who don't believe in, or buy into, an anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-heterosexist, anti-classist, and/or anti-abelist paradigm. As an idea for future research, strategies may be identified to demonstrate how faculty might create individual or institutional support mechanisms for one another.

- **Social Construction of Knowledge and Legitimization**

Faculty of color who are not seen as contact persons at their colleges for diversity-related matters were not asked to participate in this study, nor were white

faculty who are typically viewed as allies and resource persons on issues related to diversity. Because of these purposeful omissions, there are two areas in need of further study. First, every postsecondary institution employs staff who are seen as knowledgeable or “experts” in certain areas, while others are not. It would be beneficial in the expansion of the concept of cultural taxation to explore how expert knowledge is constructed. It would also be beneficial to explore how certain individuals are viewed as legitimate players (on issues such as diversity) while others are ignored (Doby & Caplan, 1995). Research in these areas will push cultural taxation research beyond the exploration of whether or not it exists, and into a more complex analysis of why some individuals experience it, while others do not. Finally, it would be interesting to replicate this study using white faculty allies or community college leaders in general and view how they would respond to the questions used in this study.

- Demographics

Part of the limitation of this study is that the focus was faculty of color. Within the broad category of faculty of color, there was an exclusion of the “international” voice. Specifically, those individuals who define for themselves, or are defined by others, to be people of color. And, while this voice is very important for inclusion in this type of study, there is no homogenous “international individual.” Focus could include non-citizens, United States citizens by naturalization or place of birth, country of origin, time of arrival, etc. It would also be interesting to attempt to replicate part of all of this study inviting white faculty or white and minority administrators to participate in the collection of narratives. A common mistake is made when discussion

issues of race, race relations, or racism: the exclusion of white voices. To hear what others have to say about cultural taxation would only serve to expand on the knowledge of this phenomenon.

Reflective Summary

I feel honored by the depth of self-reflection that each research participant shared with me. I was also concerned, (briefly discussed in Ch. 4), that I did not want to jeopardize existing relationships in my quest to complete this research study. I am glad to report that all of the relationships are intact, and perhaps stronger because of our scholarly collaboration. I have a much greater grasp of the topic of cultural taxation, and am curious about what directions I might take future research, as mentioned previously in this chapter.

As a faculty member of color, this research study was an interesting journey for me on both personal and professional reasons. During this study, one of my mentors unexpectedly passed away. His passing reminded me of a conversation that I had over the years with other mentors of color that have helped to guide me professionally, culturally, and spiritually. I recall one conversation with a tenured woman of color who said that diversity-related additional workload pressures should be seen as “just coming with the territory.” As we walked down a tree-lined sidewalk on a predominantly white research university, we were discussing the pressures of being culturally competent race conscious faculty of color within the academe, and to what degree we should engage in campus race politics. I’ll always remember when she said, “Whether you like it or not, if you wear the uniform, you’re in the Army” (Penn Hilden, personal communication, Spring 2000).

Lastly, I am highly critical of historical colonization and the creation of the white-dominated, euro-centric structure of higher education. (See Appendix F for an example of this type of critique). I am also almost certain that in my lifetime, most predominantly white institutions will not cease to be predominantly white, whether I am referring to demographics, the physical structure and layout of buildings, course content, pedagogy, or the ways in which we treat each other and treat students. Having stated this, I still hold out hope. Like many, I want to leave this place in a better way for subsequent generations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The five phases that a predominantly white institution may pass through as it seeks to become genuinely multicultural

Bronstein, P. and Ramaley, J. A. (2002) describe a study arguing that predominantly white institutions must transition through five phases in order for the institution to become “genuinely multicultural.” Although all five phases are listed below to provide for a greater understanding of the arguments, because of the subject matter of this research study, special attention should be focused on Phase 3 – Improving the Climate. In this phase, women and minority faculty may feel more pressure and stress as the institution works toward a more inclusive environment. The explanation in Phase 3 caught my attention and initial impressions seemed to suggest that as schools work toward a more multicultural environment, this actually has an adverse affect on women and minority faculty. This would seem counter-intuitive to the idea that movement toward a more multicultural institution would have a positive impact on the working lives of women and minority faculty. Taking the summary of research in its whole, if predominantly white institutions do pass through all five phases, the institution seems to be transformed in such a way that a more respectful learning and working environment would result.

Phase 1 – Good Intentions:

The campus [seeks] to recruit women and people of color as faculty, staff, and students, in an effort to open up higher education to underrepresented groups...In this phase, very little thought is usually given to helping new faculty to adapt to the campus environment or to promoting the professional development of newcomers, who may be likely to have difficulties functioning within a predominantly White, male culture. An important initial task is to find trustworthy mentors who can explain what the “rules” are and who will assist the newcomer in understanding and meeting the expectations of colleagues.

Phase 2 – Attempts at Acculturation:

Noting that women and minority faculty are getting tenure less frequently than their White male colleagues and that minority students are less likely to graduate, the

institution begins to focus on retention through the creation of special academic and social mentoring programs to support new “at-risk” students and faculty. These programs are usually based on the assumption that the newcomers have academic deficiencies that must be addressed and that they will not automatically understand the standards and expectations of the academy. The goal is acculturation to the dominant cultural norms – that is, to help women and people of color learn about the majority culture and become successful on its terms, rather than to facilitate their contribution to a shared or multicultural environment. . . Faculty facing this challenge may feel forced to lead bicultural lives, with a clear division between their attempts at assimilation in the workplace and their adherence to their own values and cultural norms in their personal lives.

Phase 3 – Improving the Climate:

At this point, the campus begins to realize that the major goal is not simply to recruit a diverse group of people and give them the resources to be successful in the dominant culture, but also to create, in a predominantly White institution, an environment that will nurture all faculty, staff, and students. In this phase, women and minority faculty face an interesting dilemma. Although the values of embracing diversity are being promoted in good faith, and fewer incidents of overt bias may occur, the content and goals of exemplary scholarship are still defined according to the values of the majority culture. This can create a difficult paradox in which women and minority faculty are pulled between the need to meet the majority culture requirements for scholarship and the wish to foster the growing attention to diversity and multiculturalism in other aspects of institutional life. Campus expectations pressuring them to contribute disproportionately to achieving these goals exacerbate the dilemma, in that yielding to them will leave less time for scholarly work.

Phase 4 – Adding Multiculturalism to the Curriculum:

At this point, the disparity between efforts to promote diversity and the continuing influence of the dominant culture on the intellectual life of the institution becomes apparent. The campus community begins to reframe the challenge of diversity as one of academic and curricular reform. . . This shift is generally driven by a growing realization that the institution needs to change its collective perspective and acquire a new set of competencies in order to achieve genuine diversity and to prepare its students to be successful in an increasingly multicultural/global environment. . . Most White male faculty remain uninvolved; it is easier to assume that only individuals who are personally affiliated with the issues can authentically offer instruction in that area – for example, that only women can teach women’s studies.

Phase 5 – Transformation:

In the most advanced phase, institutional transformation is truly underway, generated by a rethinking of the educational mission and a revisiting of the principles and goals of scholarship. A genuine engagement with diversity and with issues of equity and social justice begins. Opportunities are made available for all members of the campus community to acquire a stronger base of multicultural competence, which is now seen as a necessary condition for academic excellence in teaching, research, and service. At

this point, multiculturalism and diversity become integral to the educational purposes and are prized as vital intellectual resources by the institution. They become an essential and accepted aspect of campus life. In this phase, faculty are still held to rigorous standards of scholarship. However, scholarship is no longer defined according to the old norms that rewarded basic but not applied research. The new definitions are much broader, allowing for the integration and application of knowledge in ways that will directly address community concerns and improve the human condition.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Document
 (*new* School of Education has since been changed to College of Education)

***new* School of Education**
Community College Leadership Program
Oregon State University
Corvallis, OR 97331

Study Title: FACULTY OF COLOR NARRATIVES: CULTURAL TAXATION IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

Principal Investigator: Dr. Rich Shintaku, School of Education

Research Staff: Michael Sámano, Doctoral Candidate, School of Education

PURPOSE

This is a research study. The purpose of this research study is to document narratives of faculty of color in community colleges. Specifically, this study seeks to establish how diversity-related work role expectations and experiences personally and professionally impact faculty of color in predominantly white institutions. It is expected that the findings of this study will serve to inform higher education leaders, including faculty) to work toward establishing more equitable and safe working environments for all employees. The results of this research may be used for publication and presentation. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. This research study is being conducted in partial fulfillment for the Doctor of Philosophy degree requirements at Oregon State University.

Please read the form carefully. You may ask any questions about the research, what you will be asked to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all of your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in this study or not. This process is called “informed consent”. You will be given a copy of this form for your records.

We are inviting you to participate in this research study because you are a race conscious faculty member of color who works at a predominantly white community college in Oregon, which will enable you to discuss cultural taxation from a first-person narrative. It is anticipated that up to six faculty of color will be interviewed as a part of this study.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate, your involvement will take place between March-June 2005. This research study will employ interviewing as a method (“interviewing” used

here to mean two-way relationship where human beings share stories and counter-stories with one another) with open-ended and close-ended questions to allow you opportunities of storytelling to develop thick and detailed narrative. While doing this, researcher Michael Sámano will employ culturally appropriate ways of knowing and doing in order to ensure a respectful and meaningful research experience, for both researcher and participants.

During this four-month period, you will be asked for input on three separate occasions:

1. The first interaction will last for two-hours at which time we will go over the Informed Consent Document. Michael Sámano will provide you with two Informed Consent Documents to be signed. For record keeping purposes, one Informed Consent Document will be returned to the researcher and you will keep one. At any time, clarification questions by you are encouraged. We will spend the remainder of our time in a non-structured discussion to talk about the research study, your role in the study, and culturally appropriate techniques and strategies to capture the richest possible first-person narrative.
2. We will then schedule a more formal face-to-face two-hour discussion using specific guiding questions and follow-up questions where necessary. Only at this face-to-face discussion, will an audio recording device will be used.
3. Three to five weeks following the second “interview,” researcher Michael Sámano will contact you either by telephone or email to arrange for a final meeting to check the accuracy of your narrative. This last discussion may occur face-to-face, via telephone, email, or other appropriate modes of communication, depending on your availability and/or preferences.

RISKS

The possible risks associated with participating in this research study are as follows. Risk to you for participating in this study are minimal since your participation will be known only to you and researcher Michael Sámano, who will keep confidential the source of all information shared by you and other participants in the study in order to avoid jeopardizing your relationships with your colleagues or anyone else. You will be assigned a pseudonym and all information obtained from you will be attributed to that name. In addition, pseudonyms will be given to your institution and its location.

BENEFITS

There will be no personal benefit for participating in this study. However, the researchers anticipate that, in the future, society may benefit from this study by assisting those institutions of higher education working on diversity as a strategic area of focus. This research will help to draw attention beneath the surface of how minority faculty can be personally and professionally impacted by unspoken diversity-related

workload expectations that we sometimes knowingly and unknowingly place on each other.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION

You will not have any costs for participating in this research study. Nor will you be compensated for participating in this research study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Records of participation in this research study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. However, federal government regulatory agencies and the Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies involving human subjects) may inspect and copy records pertaining to this research. It is possible that these records could contain information that personally identifies you. A pseudonym will be assigned to you and all information obtained from you or related to you will be associated with that pseudonym. Your identity will be known only to the researcher, Michael Sámano. All written recorded information, including interview notes, gathered during this study will be kept in a locked storage cabinet accessible only to Michael Sámano. Researcher Michael Sámano will personally transcribe all interview tapes. All gathered data will be destroyed three years beyond the end date of the research study. In the event of any report or publication from this study, your identity will not be disclosed. Results will be reported in a summarized manner in such a way that you cannot be identified.

Audio Recording

By initialing in the space provided below, you verify that you have been told that audio recordings will be generated during the course of this study. Interviews will be recorded so that an accurate and complete account of the interviews will be available to researcher Michael Sámano during the analysis of the data and the writing of findings. On the recording, you will be referred to by an assigned pseudonym. Only Michael Sámano will have access to the recordings and when he is not using them they will be stored in a locked storage cabinet. Michael Sámano will personally transcribe the tapes. The tapes will be destroyed three years beyond the end date of the research study.

_____ Participant's initials

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Taking part in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you agree to participate in this study, you may stop participating at any time. During the interviews, you are free to skip any questions that you prefer not to answer. If you decide not to take part, or if you stop participating at any time, your decision will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled.

Should you withdraw from the study before it is completed, data already obtained from you will be integrated into data obtained from other participants and used in the results of the study. Your information will then be stored and eventually destroyed along with the information obtained from the other participants.

QUESTIONS

Questions are encouraged. If you have any questions about this research study, please use the contact information that was provided at the time of the signing of the consent document.

If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) Human Protections Administrator, at (541) 737-3437 or by e-mail at IRB@oregonstate.edu.

Your signature indicates that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Participant's Name (printed): _____

(Signature of Participant)

(Date)

POTENTIAL FOR FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

There is a chance you may be contacted in the future to participate in an additional study related to this study. If you would prefer not to be contacted, please let the researcher know, at any time.

RESEARCHER STATEMENT

I have discussed the above points with the participant or, where appropriate, with the participant's legally authorized representative, using a translator when necessary. It is my opinion that the participant understands the risks, benefits, and procedures involved with participation in this research study.

(Signature of Researcher)

(Date)

Appendix C: Interview Questions

The following is a copy of the interview questions that were used in this study. A copy of the questions were provided to each research participant with a reminder at the top of the document that their identities would be protected with the use of a pseudonym.

For confidentiality reasons, please be prepared to provide me with a pseudonym that you would like to use to protect your identity.

QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED

PERSONAL/PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION/MENTORSHIP

- Discuss any positive or negative mentoring or advice that you received as a student, related to your work in education.
- Discuss any positive or negative mentoring or advice that you have received in your professional career, related to your work in education.
- Describe how you have mentored or advised students of color in your educational career?
- Describe how you have mentored or advised faculty of color in your educational career?

CULTURAL TAXATION

- Have you ever been called upon to be an expert on matters of diversity within the organization?
- Have you ever been called on to educate individuals in the majority group about diversity, even though this may not be part of your job description?
- Have you ever served on diversity-related committees?
- Have you ever been asked to serve as the liaison between the college and an ethnic community?
- Have you ever had to take time away from your work to serve as general problem solver, troubleshooter, or negotiator for disagreements that arise among the administration, staff, students, or community based on racial/ethnic issues?

- Have you ever been called on to translate official documents or letters to clients, or to serve as an interpreter when non-English-speaking clients, visitors, or dignitaries appear at our place of employment?

PERSONAL/PROFESSIONAL IMPACT OF WORKLOAD ISSUES

- Have you ever noticed that you are one of a very few faculty of color in the institution. If so, how does it make you feel?
- Has anyone ever made you feel as though you were under-qualified to work at your institution?
- Have you ever experienced overt or covert racism, prejudice, or discrimination at your institution?
- What strategies have you employed to help you deal with the fact that you are one of a very few faculty of color in the institution?

PSYCHOLOGICAL/PHYSICAL IMPACT OF WORKLOAD ISSUES

- Have you ever experienced stress in your college career related to you as a person of color working in a predominantly white institution?
- Do you believe that any of your experiences in higher education, as a student or faculty of color, has had a psychological impact on you?
- Do you believe that any of your experiences in higher education, either as a student or faculty of color, has had a physical impact on you?
- Have your relationships within your family ever been positively or negatively impacted because of your work in a predominantly white institution?
- Have your relationships among your colleagues ever been positively or negatively impacted because of your work in a predominantly white institution?

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF LEGITIMIZATION

- Are you seen at your place of work as a resource (or contact) person on issues related to diversity?
- If you do not think you are not seen in this way by others, why do you think this is?

- If you are seen as a resource or contact person by others, how do you think this happened? (If you were hired in a job that required a certain degree of cultural competency, how did you demonstrate your skills in order to get hired).

STRATEGIES FOR BALANCE AND FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

- What do you do to strike a balance between your professional and personal lives?
- What tools do you use to deal with any work-related stress?
- What two or three things could institutions do to lower rates of cultural taxation experienced by faculty of color in the academe?

Appendix D: Revised Definition of Cultural Competence
Oregon Department of Education
Cultural Competency Summit Proceedings

Cultural Competence is based on a commitment to social justice and equity. Culture refers to integrated patterns of human behavior that include the language, thoughts, communication, actions, customs, beliefs, values, and norms of racial, ethnic, religious, or social groups.

Cultural competence is a developing process occurring at individual and system levels that evolves and is sustained over time. Recognizing that individuals begin with specific lived experiences and biases, and that working to accept multiple world views is a difficult choice and task, cultural competence requires that individuals and organizations:

- a) Have a defined set of values and principles, demonstrated behaviors, attitudes, policies and structures that enable them to work effectively in a cross-cultural manner.
- b) Demonstrate the capacity to 1) value diversity, 2) engage in self-reflection, 3) facilitate effectively (manage) the dynamics of difference, 4) acquire and institutionalize cultural knowledge, and 5) adapt to the diversity and the cultural contexts of the students, families, and communities they serve, 6) support actions which foster equity of opportunity and services.
- c) Institutionalize, incorporate, evaluate, and advocate the above in all aspects of leadership, policy-making, administration, practice, and service delivery while systematically involving staff, students, families, key stakeholders, and committees.

Appendix E: Recommendations for Educational Leaders

What follows are five recommendations from a study conducted by Michael and Young (2006). It is effective because properly trained leaders will be instrumental in shifting the culture of the academe. Michael and Young argue that in order to prepare future leaders, more senior leaders recommend the following:

1. The creation of more transdisciplinary professional preparation programs that ground prospective administrators both in leadership theory and managerial skills, and in the human relations and counseling skills needed to work successfully with school and community.
2. The use of skilled current practitioners, quality school sites, and hands on simulations, case study work, and critique to augment theoretical learning.
3. The creation of structured mentoring programs to provide trained mentors to support novices during the first years of their tenure.
4. The encouragement of networking, through building-based and out-of-building collaborations to mitigate stress and isolation in leadership positions.
5. The use of seasoned administrators to design and deliver meaningful professional development to new leaders (p. 4).

The reason that recommendations from other studies would be included is because what ultimately needs to happen is that leaders must make a philosophical shift to acknowledge that our educational system primarily consists of predominantly white colleges and universities in demographics and worldview.

Appendix F: Take the Power Back

There are unlimited ways in which humans can express themselves. Although this is a research study, where subjective personal expression is rightfully limited, there are still frameworks that were chosen because of the purposeful nature behind their creation. Using an indigenist framework through a critical race perspective and gathering data through narrative *testimonios* are perfect examples of this.

The following excerpt is from a song was written by Zack de la Rocha and performed by Rage Against the Machine in 1992. I see this group the same way that I argued the “Research Act” as a place where intersecting paradigms exist. The lyrics (edited from a longer song) attempts to challenge the structure of education and question it’s ultimate purpose and outcome (my interpretation not theirs).

“...The present curriculum
 I put my fist in ‘em
 Eurocentric every last one of ‘em
 See right through the red, white and blue disguise
 With lecture I puncture the structure of lies
 Installed in our minds and attempting
 To hold us back
 We’ve got to take it back
 Holes in our spirit causin’ tears and fears
 One-sided stories for years and years and years
 I’m inferior? Who’s inferior?
 Yeah, we need to check the interior
 Of the system that cares about only one culture
 And that is why
 We gotta take the power back

Yeah, we gotta take the power back
 Come on, come on!
 We gotta take the power back

Come on, yeah! Bring it back the other way!

The teacher stands in front of the class
 But the lesson plan he can’t recall

The student's eyes don't perceive the lies
Bouncing off every fucking wall
His composure is well kept
I guess he fears playing the fool
The complacent students sit and listen to some of that
Bullshit that he learned in school

We gotta take the power back..."