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**FULL DISCLOSURE: EXAMINING THE EXPERIENCE OF MALE FACULTY
OF COLOR AT A PREDOMINATELY WHITE INSTITUTION**

by

Thomas A. Cruz-Soto, Jr.

A Dissertation

Submitted to the
Department of Educational Services and Leadership
College of Education
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Education
at
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March 20, 2017

Dissertation Chair: James Coaxum, III, Ph.D.

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I have lived a wonderful life and I thank God everyday.

Abstract

Thomas A. Cruz-Soto, Jr.

FULL DISCLOSURE: EXAMINING THE EXPERIENCE OF MALE FACULTY OF
COLOR AT A PREDOMINATELY WHITE INSTITUTION

2016-2017

James Coaxum, III, Ph.D.

Doctor of Education

This study explores the lived experiences of male faculty of color (African American and Latino American) at Upstate University, a predominately White, private, liberal arts institution (PWI). To gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of male faculty of color, a group that has traditionally been underrepresented and marginalized in academia, the conceptual framework for this study will be guided by Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1995) Critical Race Theory (CRT). Specifically, the component of counter-storytelling was incorporated into the study. A qualitative phenomenological study was designed to dig deep into the research while constantly bracketing to capture the reality or true lived experiences of the participants (Collins, 2000; Creswell, 2007; Van Manen, 1990). Interviews were conducted with 15 full-time tenured (associate and full professor) faculty in Phase I and Phase II, via focus groups and individual interviews that responded to a questionnaire about their lived experiences at Upstate University. The findings of this study revealed that the experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University are both rewarding and challenging. The stories that participants told revealed a number of challenges in the lived experience of male faculty of color, revolving around issues of sense of belonging, lack of visible diversity with the academia and community, the negative impacts of race relations, the taxation of men of color within professoriate, and the great value of mentorship of male faculty of color at Upstate University.

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Chapter I

Introduction

For men of color within the academy, the pathway for opportunities, specifically in access to higher education as students or access to career opportunities as professionals, has always been a more challenging and bumpier road (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

According to (Cohen & Kisker, 2010), a “chilly” institutional climate while studying and working at predominately White institutions (PWIs) is what most men of color experience. Today’s private liberal arts institutions represent a rich array of buildings, art, and landscapes. Additionally, these institutions are repositories for rich histories, ritual, and traditions. However, these specific (PWIs) institutions also struggle with historical legacies and contemporary practices of exclusion and marginality. According to Cohen and Kisker (2010), the original colleges and universities were for the social White male elite. College life was designed as a system for controlling the often exuberant youth, and for inculcating within them discipline, morals, and character. “Each student was to attend class, tutorials, obey the rules, and avoid the intermingling with base (poor) people” (Cohen & Kisker, 2010, p. 27).

Legislation was also established to maintain the status quo. For example, the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court case upheld the constitutionality of segregation under the “separate but equal” doctrine Taylor (1998). The “separate but equal” policy was a legal doctrine in United States constitutional law that justified and permitted racial segregation as not being in breach of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which guaranteed equal protection under the law to all citizens, and other federal civil rights laws Taylor (1998). Because of this doctrine, government was allowed to require that

services, facilities, public accommodations, housing, medical care, education, employment, and transportation be separated along racial lines, however, the quality of each group's public facilities was supposed to be equal. It stemmed from an 1892 incident in which an African-American train passenger, Homer Plessy, refused to sit in a Jim Crow car, breaking a Louisiana law. Jim Crow Laws were a system of government-sanctioned racial oppression and segregation in the United States.

Rejecting Plessy's argument that his constitutional rights were violated, the Court ruled that a state law that "implies merely a legal distinction" between Whites and Blacks did not conflict with the 13th (Abolishment of Slavery) and 14th (Basic Rights of Citizenry) Amendments (Cohen & Kisker, 2010, p. 27). Restrictive legislation based on race continued following the Plessy decision, its reasoning was not overturned until *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

The *Brown v. Board of Education* decisions of the mid-1950s literally altered the complexion of the body politics of American culture, but left the head, and to a lesser degree, the heart, on the same two-society track, one White and the other non-White (black, brown, red, and yellow), one of "haves," the other, "have-nots (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Ensuing race-based court cases throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and challenges to desegregation and racial justice-oriented legislation have weakened and watered down many gains of women and minorities in the past 60 years, and repeatedly sounded the death-knell to governmental and societal responsibility (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

To understand the campus climates at most colleges and universities today requires reviewing and analyzing this current social climate at PWIs, with a specific

focus on the experiences of people of color within this academic and professional spaces. Laws like Title VII (1972) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, were created to forbid discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in public and private educational institutions unless it could be proven that the operation of the institution depended on people with particular characteristics (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Claims of discrimination based on Title VII came in two forms: disparate treatment and disparate impact (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). In the claim of disparate treatment, individuals must show that they were discriminated against in hiring, firing, promotion, or condition of employment, based on one of the forbidden criteria (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). In the case of disparate impact, plaintiffs must show that they belong to a protected group, that they were qualified for the job they applied for, and despite being “highly qualified,” they were rejected and the search remained open with candidates of similar or lesser qualifications. This more often than not affected faculty members of color, specifically male faculty of color (Turner & Myers, 2000). These qualified faculty of color ultimately would bring their case to the Office of Civil Rights for federal review and compliance with policies and practices. As a result, the federal Office of Civil Rights began requiring that every institution draw up an affirmative action plan, set goals, and establish specific procedures by which faculty would be recruited. Institutions of higher education began responding to affirmative action mandates in several ways. Perhaps, one of the critical issues was the perception by most PWI institution administrators and department heads that there were no qualified candidates from among the affinity groups sought (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

Despite these roads blocks of lack of hiring, retention, firing, promotion, treatment, and conditions of employment; some strides were made in elevating new appointments of faculty of color in certain academic areas across higher education disciplines without holding doctoral degrees (Turner & Myers, 2000). In addition, to further diversify the work force in higher education, national searches were implemented, campaign letters were sent to department heads, and strategic advertisements were placed in newspapers like the Chronicle of Higher Education. However, despite these numerous efforts, diversity recruitment numbers were still considerably low. According to Bilimoria and Buch (2010), private liberal arts institutions have 90 percent White male, while male faculty of color typically fall in the two to five percentile.

Even with laws and policies in place to advance the physical representation of men of color at PWIs, the number continues to be low and the few that break the glass ceiling are immediately greeted with a hostile work environment (Brayboy, 2003). Interestingly enough, the demographic shift in the student population across the United States has resurfaced the conversation around faculty of color within the academy, specifically at PWIs (Brayboy, 2003).

Faculty of Color in the Academy

While today's collegiate environment has improved significantly for faculty of color, they still face many challenges. These challenges include feelings of isolation (Phelps, 1995; Turner, 2002), having to prove themselves as academics (Alexander & Moore, 2008; Harlow, 2003), and being challenged more than others by their students (Harlow, 2003; Turner, 2002). Further, faculty of color, tend to be assigned additional responsibilities for race and gender issues more so than their White counterparts

(Alexander & Moore, 2008; Phelps, 1995; Turner, 2002). Alexander and Moore (2008), contend that there is a price to be paid for being “one of a few” ethnic minority in the faculty ranks, such as the emotional stress of heightened visibility in an ethnically or racially unbalanced environment and expectations that the individual is representative of the entire group. People of color also lose their personal uniqueness because of society’s expectation that they assume stereotypical roles and are not given the opportunity to professionally grow in other areas of the academy (Brayboy, 2003).

For example, According to Essien (2003), a prominent invisible barrier is the delay of denial of research funding for diversity related scholarship for faculty of color, because of the perception that this work may be considered biased because of the researcher’s identity. This is further compounded by the fact that most institutions do not want to know or cover up issues of controversy, specifically those around the areas of racial tolerance (Essien, 2003). Fenelon (2003) further adds to this discussion by stating that even though systematic issues of racism and bias may exist, faculty of color may not be able to research or report on them because it might not serve the institution’s best interest. Faculty of color that are passionate about issues of diversity scholarship can do the research, but are warned that it will be at the discretion of the host institution and this devalues their experience as professors of color at PWI institutions (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), campus climate issues stem from the fact that Whites are given privileged opportunities (agency) in a number of ways and represent the overwhelming majority in the faculty and among senior administrators. This reflection of White dominance is also seen in the ranks of the provosts, deans, vice

presidents, and institutional presidents. According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), this translates to the notion that being White carries more status and power than people of color and this impacts the lived experience of faculty of color in general, and men of color in particular, within the academy at predominately White institutions. As critical race theory points out, institutionalized racism based on White privilege and White supremacy creates power structures that reinforce the marginalization of women and men of color within the academy (Crenshaw, 1995).

For faculty of color, “fitting in” means developing a professional identity that is congruent with the norms, values, traditions of the academy, one that is often times at odds with the cultural, social, and personal identities that these faculty members bring into the academy (Bonner, 2004; Fries-Britt & Kelly-Turner, 2005; Heggens, 2004; Stanley, 2006). Therefore, minorities as academic professionals struggle to fit into two distinct cultural worlds and specifically struggle with the navigation and the stress of moving physically, cognitively, and emotionally between two or more cultural systems (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). This condition is called “Biculturalism” and according to Morrison and Von Glinow (1990), there are three factors that are faced by faculty of color at PWIs and these include the ability to network, overt racism, and little to no mentoring.

According to Turner and Myers (2000), recalcitrance by the academy to modify traditional practices and policies, accentuated by both covert and overt acts found detrimental to the success of Blacks and other groups of color at predominately White colleges and universities, continues to reify the “chilly climate” faculty of color often identify in these contexts.

This plays out with male faculty of color's research specifically, on issues of diversity scholarship not being valued or viewed as non-bias work. Male faculty of color are also not on-boarded (New Hire Orientation) in the same capacity or mentored or supported at the same level of consistency as their White counterparts (Turner & Myers, 2000). Finally, the out of the classroom engagement in these predominately White rural systems prove to be extremely challenging for single male faculty of color as dating, social, and networking options are very limited for this sub-group. These challenges and many others discussed throughout this study, make it difficult for male faculty of color to participate fully within the academy.

There is a gap within the literature regarding the experiences of men of color in the academy as faculty, specifically, at predominately White private Liberal Arts Institutions. This research study sought to understand the experiences of male faculty of color in the academy with a specific focus on private Liberal Arts Institutions. Any potential contributions to this literature can provide a sense of legitimacy for male faculty of color who often feel powerless and their work meaningless (Turner & Myers, 2000).

The work life experiences of faculty of color often reflect the hostile and often revolving door environment that exists for many faculty of color in higher education (Kayes, 2006). According to Kayes (2006), it is the lack of support for diversity-scholarship, mentorship, campus navigation, the chilly environment, and a sense of inferiority that impacts many faculty of color from being successful at predominately White Liberal Arts Institutions. This is further compounded by many African American faculty seeing themselves caught in a never ending cycle of having to prove their competence as intellectuals (Bonner, 2004). According to Bonner (2004), the literature on

the experiences of minority professors shows that many believe that they must work twice as hard as other faculty members to get half as far.

Turner (2002) points out that efforts to diversify faculty continue to be amongst the least successful elements of campus commitments to diversity. Turner (2002) state that entering a profession that has degraded, undervalued, and, marginalized African American males is not a welcoming and inviting profession in which to work. Turner (2002) goes on to say that if more diverse teacher populations are to be realized, more effort must be made to provide a welcoming and affirming space for these individuals as professionals and as students early on.

According to Brayboy (2003), in order to advance the agenda of diversity, institutions that truly value diversity must move toward considering wholesale changes in their underlying structures and day-to-day activities, especially if they are truly committed to refocusing the historical legacies of institutional, epistemological, and societal racism that pervades colleges and universities. Far too often, PWI institutions fail to make wholehearted commitments; instead they hire some faculty of color to implement diversity and the process stalls.

Further, in order to create a critical mass of faculty of color, especially in the areas of African American and Latino faculty of color; PWI institutions must first look at the diversity and training within the search committees that are formed to initiate the search process in the first place. According to Bilimora and Buch (2010), the composition of the typical faculty search committee is also non-diverse. When search committees are microcosms of the faculty from which they are drawn, they are likely to be homogeneous in terms of gender, race, religion, and ethnicity. According to Bilimora and Buch (2010),

this stems from our human tendency to want to clone ourselves; homogeneity based on institutional type, geography, political views, and theoretical orientation. To not have a diverse and well trained search committee will not lead to favorable results in the areas of faculty of color recruitment and retention, and will further impact the overall experiences of faculty of color when they arrive to campus.

This unwillingness to acknowledge race, ethnicity, or gender as legitimate and legally defensible considerations in hiring demonstrates a misperception held by some faculty that contributes to tension and potential conflicts among search committee members and prevents an open discussion of how the committee should consider candidate diversity in recruitment, mentorship, and overall retention (Turner & Myers, 2000).

Male faculty of color in the academy. Male faculty of color find themselves outside the informal networks of their departments and the greater institution (Turner & Myers, 2000). A sense of isolation is among the most commonly reported problems. Further, Turner and Myers (2000) believe that a major contributor to success in the professoriate is association with senior colleagues; without these affiliations, faculty of color are isolated and struggle through the socialization process alone.

According to Stanley (2006), there have been some great strides in higher education for male faculty of color in general in regards to recruitment and retention. However, male faculty of color are finding more opportunities at lower tier institutions like the community college and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), not at PWI private liberal arts institutions (Delgado-Romero, Nichols Manlove, Manlove, & Hernandez, 2007). Further, male faculty of color find themselves disproportionately concentrated in

the humanities, foreign language departments, and ethnic studies (Delgado-Romero et al., 2007). Most often, male faculty of color find themselves in relatively low-status, non-tenure track positions with little hope of advancement or entry into the power structure of academia. Male faculty of color experience an unwelcoming and hostile campus environments, particularly at the predominately White institutions (PWIs) (Stanley, 2006; Trower, 2003; Tuitt, Danowitz, & Sotello-Turner, 2007). For example, most faculty of color are coming to a workplace with the full understanding that they will be heavily scrutinized and held to a higher standard of assessment than their White counterparts (McGowan, 2000). Further, men of color are often not mentored, on-boarded, supported, or guided through the in and outs of the classroom bureaucracies and taught the importance of campus navigation.

Male faculty of color need mentorship, support for their scholarship, and perhaps even extra recognition than their White peers, because work loads for men of color versus that of their White peers tends to be greater; when we account for the racial campus climate issues that pull faculty of color into situations of also serving the institution as a crisis manager that must support students in need because of the lack of overall campus diversity.

For the purposes of this research, I looked specifically at Latino males and African American males. Throughout the paper, when I refer to male faculty of color, I am referring to these two subgroups. Therefore, it is imperative to examine research around these two groups.

According to Turner and Myers (2000), there is a critical need to review the challenges surrounding the recruitment, retention, and development of faculty of color.

For purpose of this research, I will explore the lived experience of male faculty of color with an intentional focus on African American and Latino American male faculty. This study will make a unique contribution to the existing literature on the experiences of male faculty of color, as it will exclusively relate to the predominately White private liberal arts institutions of higher education. This will be a great tool for institutional leaders, both presidents and provosts, and senior faculty members and deans to diversify the professoriate so that it adequately reflects our racially and ethnically diverse society (Ponjuan, 2011). Current researchers recognize the significance of discussing and uncovering the monumental challenges men of color face at PWIs. The experiences of African American faculty in the academy are very similar to Latinos and also to new faculty in general, however, their plight is more complex.

These complexities involve a higher level of demand within and outside of the classroom for faculty of color, particularly men that are propelled into crisis manager and mentor roles for students in need, along with serving on numerous committees that deal with diversity and inclusion. These extra demands add more work related stress and pressure for academics that should be allowed to focus on their scholarship, but either feel compelled or are strongly encouraged to assist PWI campuses that lack the physical diversity and skill sets to deal with the social and cultural climate aspects of the campus community. This leads to what many scholars in the field call “Cultural Taxation,” and it is an extra burden that faculty of color feel that their White counterparts do not have to engage in.

According to a recent article in the *National Association of Higher Education Journal*, researchers state the hands-on attention that many minority professors willingly

provide is an unheralded linchpin in institutional efforts to create an inclusive learning environment and to keep students enrolled (Tuitt, Hanna, Martinez, Salazar, & Griffin, 2009). This invisible labor reflects what male faculty of color arguably feel in having to serve as role models, mentors, even surrogate fathers, to minority students, while simultaneously, attempting to meet every institutional need for ethnic representation.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences of male faculty of color (central phenomenon) at a highly selective private, predominantly White liberal arts institution in rural Upstate, New York (Upstate University). This research was unique and meaningful in the sense that it provides a framework that outlines the experiences and challenges that male faculty of color face at private PWI liberal arts institutions. There is a vast amount of research that has been done at the two-year and four-year public institution levels, however, little to no research in the areas of PWI private liberal arts institutions that are located in rural areas of the United States. It is the geographic location, campus climate, demographics, hiring, recruitment, and retention of these specific institution types that will greatly complement the scholarship in the field in regards to the lived experience of men of color as faculty in the academy.

Elements of Critical Race Theory (CRT) were incorporated into this study. I used counter-storytelling to gain a more in-depth understanding of the experiences of male faculty of color at PWI private liberal arts institutions. According to Ladson-Billings (1998), counter-storytelling is the “true voice” and through this process provides specifically people of color the opportunity to tell their experiences unedited and without fear of retaliation.

According to Reyes and Louque (2004), there still are multiple levels of inequities for male faculty of color, particularly for those tenure-track professors employed at PWIs. For the purposes of this study, the specific campus involved in the research will be known as “Upstate University.” The name of the campus was kept confidential in agreement with IRB regulations and the promise made to the participants that their identities and place of work will be kept confidential. One of the central focuses of this paper was to produce a deeper understanding of how male faculty of color frame their experiences within the PWI academy, but also how they go about establishing a sense of identity.

According to institutional data from the Office of Equity and Diversity, Upstate University in particular, struggles to recruit and retain “highly qualified” male candidates of color in the faculty ranks (Office of Equity & Diversity, 2013 p. 1). This study sought to investigate, identify, and understand the lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University. To do so, a qualitative phenomenological study was designed to dig deep into the research while constantly bracketing to capture the reality or true lived experiences of the participants (Collins, 2000, Creswell, 2003; Van Manen, 1990).

According to Vagle (2014), when one studies something “phenomenologically,” one is studying a phenomenon and the intentional relations that manifest and appears (p. 27). One is studying how people are connected meaningfully within the organization, institution, or even the world. To not have this connection is to not have a sense of purpose, value, or belonging. Critical Race Theory (CRT) further creates a space and place for the subject matter (male faculty of color) to speak freely and without judgment or fear of retaliation or loss of employment. It gives scholarship and context to what is

being experienced by the central phenomena and provides opportunities to validate or affirm these experiences as real.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

In 1994, critical race theory was first used as an analytical framework to assess inequity in education (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Today, scholars use CRT as a framework to further analyze and critique educational research and practice (Ladson-Billings, 2005). Specifically, educational scholars have relied upon CRT to address school discipline and hierarchy, affirmative action, curriculum development, the presentation of history, standardized testing, meritocracy, and the lived education experiences of people of color (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Degaldo & Stefancic, 2001; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, 2002). Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a useful framework for the examination of the impact of race because it accounts for the role of racism in United States education and vigorously works towards the elimination of racism as a part of a larger goal of eliminating all forms of subordination in education (Yosso, 2002). CRT will allow the researcher to situate race related encounters at the center of the collective lived experiences in an effort to deconstruct and challenge commonly held assumptions about life in the academy for male faculty of color.

Critical Race Theory is comprised of the following five tenets: (1) counter-storytelling, (2) the permanence of racism, (3) Whiteness as property, (4) interest convergence, and (5) the critique of liberalism (Hiraldo, 2010). For the purposes of this study, counter-storytelling is the most essential in gaining a better appreciation and

understanding of the lived experiences of male faculty of color at PWIs in their own voice.

CRT scholars like Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), believe that race continues to be a factor in the United States today. I explored the component of counter-storytelling in critical race theory to determine if there are any intersections of impact between the experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University.

Counter-Storytelling. Counter-Storytelling is one of five tenets of Critical Race Theory and serves as a framework that legitimizes the racial and subordinate experiences of marginalized groups (Hiraldo, 2010). Counter-storytelling involves naming one's own reality and using narrative to illuminate and explore experiences of racial oppression (Turner & Myers, 2000). Meaning, the participants in this study were able to share their experiences from their lens, as they see it and experience it without fear or judgment or anyone's critique or rebuttal.

According to faculty within this study, too often they are not believed by their White peers or supervisors about the experiences that men of color face within the academy. These men of color claim that eventually they just stop advocating for themselves because the narrative that is out there for these faculty members is that they need to work harder or learn how to navigate the PWI system. Counter-storytelling provides a different uninterrupted perspective that speaks to the work that the system, or in this case the institution, must do to accommodate this distinct workforce.

This method can assist in studying the climate of predominately White private liberal arts colleges and universities as related to the daily experiences of male faculty of color. Through the use of counter-storytelling, male faculty of color at Upstate University

were provided the opportunity to tell their true lived experiences in real time unedited. I used critical race theory (counter-storytelling) to bring attention to the unique lived experience of male faculty of color in higher education at predominately White Liberal Arts Institutions.

Research Questions

For specific purposes of this study the following four research questions will be addressed.

1. What are the lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University, a predominately White private liberal arts institution?
2. What are the factors that contribute to the challenges that male faculty of color face in higher education?
3. How can Critical Race Theory play a role in understanding the experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University?
4. How can the theory of Cultural Taxation help to explain the experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University?

Significance of Research

This study is significant because it highlighted the experiences of an underrepresented group (Male Faculty of Color) at predominately White, Liberal Arts Institutions. There is not much literature about men of color that are faculty at PWI Liberal Arts institutions. This research provides useful data narratives that can help and be a guide to current and future male faculty of color as they seek career paths at predominately White, private, liberal arts systems. The research also can help institutional programs and departments that are seeking to recruit and retain male faculty

of color by providing examples of the barriers and struggles that exist for these specific demographics at PWIs. This research is important because men of color's presence on predominately White campuses results in new patterns of interaction because of their different values, assumptions, and cultural orientations (Alfred, 2001). Meaning that the new demographics within the student body across the nation could benefit from an ethnic reflection in the academy within the faculty, staff, and upper level administration. The world, nation, and institutions of higher education are more diverse than ever before and these demographic shifts demand change in curriculum and personnel in order to provide appropriate equity and access for all stakeholders.

Limitations and Delimitations

Delimitations. Men of color, both tenure track and non-tenure track, were identified for this study across the academic disciplines. Due to the lack of men of color at the institution, the recruitment for this study had to be campus wide and across all academic disciplines. During this study, intentionality was important to this research because of the limited participants. According to Vagle (2014), to be intentional in research means to have inseparable connectedness between subjects (human beings) and objects in the world. When one studies something phenomenologically, one is studying a phenomenon and the intentional relations that manifest and appear; one is studying how people are connected meaningfully with the things of the world. For this study, 15 male participants were involved. Due to the nature of the study's methodology, the findings will not be generalizable.

Limitations. There were a small number of available participants who met the research criteria. Because of this, male faculty of color, were selected from various academic disciplines across the campus. While all the participants work at Upstate University, their experiences are different depending on their department and peer group. While there were several areas of common themes, there were also different experiences depending on the participants' academic department and peer colleague group. The themes and data results can be used as a powerful reference to understanding the lived experiences of male faculty of color. However, this research should not be generalized to all men of color in the field.

This study was largely exploratory; therefore, there were several opportunities for other scholar practitioners in the field to build off of this research. A larger sample size and a multiple campus study would draw more generalizable conclusions. This will require more time and resources that were not available for my research. Further, a quantitative or mixed-methods approach to this research with much more allotted time could make the findings more generalizable.

Terms and Definitions

Throughout this study, I explored the lived experiences of men of color at elite private predominantly White Liberal Arts Institutions (PWIs). Throughout my research, there has been some reoccurring terms and/or phrases that require definition for the benefit of the reader. The following is a listing of terms that were used throughout the course of this study:

1. *Male Faculty of Color*: For purposes of this study male faculty of color will apply to all participants that self identify with this subgroup, however, there will be an

intentional focus on African American / Black, Hispanic / Latino participants within this study.

2. African American / Black: A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as Black, African American, or Negro. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

3. Hispanic / Latino: Hispanics or Latinos are those people who classified themselves in one of the specific Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino categories listed on the Census 2010 questionnaire - "Mexican," "Puerto Rican", or "Cuban"- as well as those who indicate that they are "another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010, para. 5).

4. Predominate White Institutions (PWIs): For purposes of this study, Predominately White Institutions are defined as colleges and universities that are 70 percent or more of the self-identified White or Caucasian race within the campus / university demographics.

5. Biculturalism: According to Morrison and Glinow (1990), Bi-Culturalism is the struggle of trying to coexist in two distinct cultural worlds of a dominate group and coping with the associated physical, cognitive, and emotional stress of co-existing in these dual systems as a person of color in a predominately White environment.

6. Acculturation: According to Osterman and Kottkamp (2004), acculturation is the adopting of the historically embedded behavioral patterns of the surrounding dominate culture.

7. Equity Score Card: According to Bensimon (2005), the scorecard provides concurrent perspectives on institutional performance in terms of equity in educational outcomes involving access, retention, institutional receptivity, and excellence.

8. Male Faculty of Color: For the purpose of this study, men of color will refer to specifically African American/Black and Hispanic/Latino Americans.

9. Critical Race Theory (CRT): Critical race theory (CRT) is an academic discipline focused upon the application of critical theory, critical examination of society and culture, to the intersection of race, law, and power. Critical race theory is often associated with many of the controversial issues involved in the pursuit of equality issues related to race and ethnicity.

10. Micro-Aggression: Racial put downs towards people of color (Bryan & Browder, 2013). Sue and Constantine (2007) assert that there are three variations of micro-aggressions: A.) Micro-Assaults: Defined as explicit, offensive act of racism (i.e., name calling) that is designed to do harm to people of color. B.) Micro-Insults: Are culturally insensitive and demeaning comments/statements about the cultural heritage or identity of racial minorities. C.) Micro-Invalidations: Are words or actions that convey rudeness, insensitivity or demeaning attitudes toward the racial or ethnic heritage or identity of people of color.

11. Hyper-Visibility: Male faculty of color standing out in predominately White systems and feeling uncomfortable or standing out more than the dominant group (Bryan & Browder, 2013).

12. Color-Blind: (sometimes spelled *colour-blindness*; also called race blindness) is a sociological term referring to the disregard of racial characteristics when selecting

which individuals will participate in some activity or receive some service. In practice, color-blind operations use no racial data or profiling and make no classifications, categorizations, or distinctions based upon race. An example of this would be a college processing admissions without regard to or knowledge of the racial characteristics of applicants.

13. Lived Experiences: For the purposes of this study, the “Lived Experience,” refers to the day-to-day lives (professional life experiences) of African American and Hispanic/Latino male faculty of color working at predominately White Liberal Arts Institutions (PWIs).

14. Cultural Taxation: Described as the obligation that ethnic minorities experience, due to the disproportionate representation of faculty of color at PWIs (Padilla, 1994).

15. Marginalize: To treat (a person, group, or concept) as insignificant or peripheral.

16. Otherness: The quality or fact of being different.

17. Visible & Invisible Barriers: Social categories such as race, appearance, gender, economic class, and religion shape who we are as individuals and how we identify ourselves (Lorsch, 1986).

18. Glass Ceiling: Reaching the highest level of employment opportunity.

19. Ivy Tower: A state of privileged seclusion or separation from the facts and practicalities of the real world.

20. Silenced Voices: Statement and/or concerns of the marginalized that go unheard or dismissed by an institution or society.

21. On-Boarding: What Upstate University refers to as orientation for new faculty employees.

Summary

This chapter begins with a historical overview of the challenges that minorities face in obtaining opportunities in higher education. It transitioned into the focus of how men of color in the faculty ranks are absent and need to be represented in these areas of the academy. Next the concept of the “Lived Experience” was introduced with an emphasis on the day-to-day lives of male faculty of color at predominately White Liberal Arts Institutions (PWIs). Critical Race Theory (CRT) was then introduced as a method for obtaining a better appreciation and understanding of the experiences of associate and full professors at Upstate University that also happen to be men of color. Further, the importance of intentionality was discussed as it relates to the research participants and gaining what Vagle (2014), refers to as the “essence” of the phenomenon. The essence of the phenomenon is the essential structure to a phenomenon and the intentional relations that characterize that phenomenon. Finally, the research questions that will lead the study were introduced.

Chapter II will focus on the literature related to male faculty of color at PWIs and their lived experience at these institutions. Critical Race Theory was utilized where appropriate to advance the understanding of the participants from a historical race based context. This phenomenological qualitative study of male faculty of color’s experiences at Upstate University dug deep into their lived experiences in the professorate and described their experiences while also bringing to light their often silenced and undocumented true voices.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

This study will explore the experiences of male tenured faculty (Associate & Full Professor) of color at Upstate University, a historically predominately White Institution in rural Upstate, New York. First, I review the literature on faculty of color at PWIs. Second, I specifically look at men of color with a granular focus on African American and Latino American men. Third, I review the literature on Critical Race Theory (CRT). I incorporated CRT into the study to bring attention to the specific sub-group of the professoriate. Finally, I focus on areas of job satisfaction, institution fit, and the research participant's day-to-day work lives in and out of the classroom.

Faculty of Color

According to Aguirre (2000), the popular image of the academia is of an “Ivory Tower.” However, the domain of academia has also been referred to as a “chilly and alienating” environment for faculty of color (Aguirre, 2000, p. 19). This is compounded by the enormous amount of challenges and commitments that faculty of color have to endure. These include serving as an advisor or mentor to minority or international students, participating in diversity related committees, and other unequal service expectations that are not required of their White counterparts (Aguirre, 2000). According to Padilla (1994), this cultural taxation negatively impacts the experience of faculty of color, specifically, men of color, as they are more often reached out to because of the disproportionate representation of faculty of color at PWIs.

For faculty of color, “fitting in” means developing a professional identity that is congruent with the values and traditions of the academy, one that is oftentimes at odds

with the cultural, social, and personal identities that these faculty members bring the academy (Bonner, 2004; Fries-Britt & Kelly-Turner, 2005; Heggens, 2004; Stanley, 2006). According to Turner and Myers (2000), recalcitrance by the academy to modify traditional (Ritual) practices and policies, accentuated by both covert and overt acts found detrimental to the success of Blacks and other groups of color at predominately White colleges and universities, continues to reify the “chilly climate” faculty of color often identify in these contexts. Unfortunately, the reality is that the burden of teaching while Black and Brown makes these instructors’ experience uniquely and qualitatively different from that of their White counterparts (Tuitt, Hanna, Martinez, Salazar, & Griffin, 2009).

According to Osterman and Kottkamp (2004), acculturation is defined as the adoption of behavioral patterns of the surrounding culture. Osterman and Kottkamp (2004) suggest that most predominately White institutions were not created for women, minorities, or the disabled, however, with the changing times these groups have gained access. However, based on the literary work of Osterman and Kottkamp (2004), it can be inferred that these groups also gained access within the system of acculturation and the adopted set of behaviors of the traditional institution, many that were built in the 1800s. While the institutions have become more diverse in the student demographics, the faculty and senior administrator ranks remain largely White (Kayes, 2006).

Bilimoria and Buch (2010) make the assertion that the unwillingness to acknowledge race, ethnicity, or gender as legitimate and legally defensible consideration in hiring and retention demonstrates a misperception held by some institutions to make systemic demographical changes/hires in the faculty ranks. This qualitative research study was designed to explore research on the lived experiences of male faculty of color

as related to their persistence in higher education as scholars at predominately White, liberal arts institutions.

The literature review accomplishes several purposes involving sharing the results of other studies with the reader that are closely related to the one being undertaken. These studies are discussed in great depth in Chapter III of the methodology section of the dissertation. Information shared in this section, relates the study to a larger ongoing dialogue in the literature and it also identifies gaps and priorities for further research (Creswell, 2014). Studies in general need to add to the body of literature on a topic, and literature sections in proposals are generally shaped from the larger problem to the narrower issue that leads directly into the methods of a study (Creswell, 2014).

According to Upstate University, its increasing student population is quickly developing as a microcosm of the world. The students come to the campus from all 50 states and more than 46 countries. What has interested me in this area of inquiry is although Upstate University is diverse and growing within the student population, the faculty of color numbers are constantly low and declining. Bilimoria and Buch (2010) state that the widespread sense that faculties at U.S. colleges and universities need to be more diverse is tied to the sense that the students at U.S. colleges and universities have become more diverse, which indeed they have.

According to Schein (2004), embedded cultural beliefs survive even when new members enter the institution and some old members depart because group members value stability in that it provides meaning and predictability. Because of this embedded system of acculturation at Upstate University, it is perceived that tensions around race, gender, social class, and sexuality are largely prevalent on this campus. According to Osterman

and Kottkamp (2004), acculturation is defined as the adoption of behavior patterns of the surrounding culture.

Brayboy (2003) argues that the language of diversity and efforts to implement it are bound to fail in the absence of an institutional commitment to incorporating strategies for diversity into research, teaching, and services missions. The author goes on to further state that diversity is something that cannot be simply added to a campus without changing the underlying structures of the institution and its day-to-day operations. From this, it can be implied that to advance the agenda of the recruitment and retention of male faculty of color that institutions that desire this talent pool have to consider making wholesale changes to their organization structure in order to be successful in this endeavor. Brayboy (2003) believes that colleges and universities can start organization change by reviewing the historical legacies of institutional, epistemological, and societal racism that pervades throughout higher education.

Kayes (2006) supports this idea by stating that predominately White search committees at PWIs need to have professional development before a search even begins. The authors suggests that this lack of expanded professional development on diverse hiring for search committees prevents them from examining how their cultural biases can determine the search and hiring processes. This fits the overall research of the experience of men of color at PWIs, because it shows from the inceptions of being hired, these faculty members are not welcomed and supported in the same fashion as their White counterparts.

Historically, faculties of color have been woefully underrepresented in higher education (Tuitt et al., 2009). Since the 1980s, though, numbers for these academics have

begun to increase. According to a 2005 report from the American Council on Education (ACE), faculty of color have experienced steady growth during the past two decades, more than doubling their numbers to over 82,000, and increasing their share of faculty positions from approximately 9 percent to 14.4 percent (Tuitt et al., 2009). Similarly, among full professors, faculty of color representation has more than doubled over the past 20 years, rising from approximately 7,600 to nearly 17,000 (Tuitt et al., 2009). Despite these gains for faculty of color, there is another reality, supported by an emerging body of literature, which suggests these increases may come at a cost. For some faculty of color, an unwelcoming and potentially hostile classroom environment awaits those who choose to teach in predominantly White institutions (PWIs).

According to Bonner (2004), the reality of today for 21st century PWI's higher educational systems is, although some progress has been made by and large, many faculty of color are subjected to an unwelcoming and potentially hostile campus environment. For example, according to Stanley (2006), a host of phrases and terms have been associated with the experiences of both male and female faculty members of color at PWIs. A few of the terms include, multiple marginality, oppression, otherness, living in two worlds, Ivy Halls, visible and invisible barriers, and lack of mentorship. The unfortunate reality is that many faculty of color willingly come to work with the full understanding that they are more likely to be scrutinized and held to higher standards than their White counterparts (McGowan, 2000).

In addition, male faculties of color, in particular, are often times academically challenged by White students more frequently than any other demographic (Baez, 2000). According to Baez (2000), male faculty of color are often considered to be affirmative

action hires by their White colleagues and are often questioned more than any other group regarding their credentials and relevance during class.

Experiences specifically for male faculty members of color are consistent with this chilly environment theme, especially at private institutions that are centrally located in rural areas of the United States. According to Baez (2000), these remote beautiful central geographic locations serve as a utopia for Whites, but have documented histories of racial segregation and tension where practices of exclusion and marginality are the norm. The few faculty that do gain access are often met with the challenge of navigating racialized landscapes, with associated feelings of isolation and alienation (Baez, 2000). The current literature on male faculty of color has gaps, specifically at predominately White liberal arts institutions. According to Turner and Myers (2000), faculty of color remain underrepresented and overburdened in the academy and their experiences continue to be marginalized. As this research develops, specifically, around the area of lived experience, what is found may paint a more vivid picture of the shortcomings and pitfalls that exist at PWIs for this specific demographic. This qualitative phenomenological research study is designed to explore day-to-day life experiences of men of color at elite, private, and predominately White liberal arts institutions in higher education.

Male Faculty of Color

Bryan and Browder (2013) state that it is difficult to enter into a profession that has degraded, undervalued, and marginalized African Americans and other men of color for so long. Being a professor or teacher in these types of environments that are not welcoming and inviting, is a tough profession to chose and persist in. Bryan and Browder

(2013) further suggest that men of color are often viewed as “Not the right kind of men, for the profession” (p. 146). Documentation of the experience of men of color is critical, as little is known about men of color as teachers or professors. Their lived experiences must be documented, barriers that hinder their progress must be identified, and mainstream ideologies that marginalize them must be debunked.

According to Bilimoria and Buch (2010), the competition for the allegedly small pool of highly qualified male faculty of color is at an all-time high at the nation’s highest ranked colleges and universities. However, there is a gap in this growing trend in the recruitment and retention and lived experiences of male faculty of color at PWI private liberal arts institutions; specifically, for Latino and African American men.

Bilimoria and Buch (2010) provide additional issues to regarding the experience of male faculty of color. Hispanic candidates, according to the authors, were more likely to reject than accept a position at a PWI for the following reasons: lack of diversity in the department level, perceptions of campus climate, availability of work for traveling spouse (Dual-Career Issues), and lack of near by child care. Improving these areas at PWIs could increase candidate acceptance rates in the future, however, more research would have to be done in this area to determine validity.

Hispanic male faculty of color are extremely relevant to this study because as the literature identifies, Latinos have increased by over 5 million people in the last 3 years, which is the largest of any racial or ethnic group (Delgado-Romero et al., 2007). In 2005, according to the American Community Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), more than 41 million people reported themselves as being of Hispanic origin. This is out of a United States population of 288.4 million. By 2025, the Spanish language could very well be the

number one language, trumping English in the United States. Because of this, institutions like Upstate University that are interested in these pools of student applicants may have to strongly consider diversifying the faculty and staff ranks of higher education with bilingual employees.

According to Sue et al. (2006), male faculty of color and people of color in general deal with microaggressions and other subtle messages that occur in their daily lives at PWIs. Sue et al. (2006) go further to say that there are three types of microaggressions: micro-assaults, micro-insults, and micro-invalidations. Micro-assaults are explicit racial attacks that can be verbal, nonverbal, or environmental in nature. According to Sue, they are intended to assault (attack) people of color. Micro-insults occur when a verbal remark or action “conveys rudeness, insensitivity, or demeans a person’s racial identity or heritage” (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007, p. 73). Micro-invalidations are acts, which occur that disregard or exclude the thoughts, perceptions, and experiences of people of color. During my research, I will draw from these notions in an effort to contextualize the experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University.

Women of Color

Thomas and Hollingshead (2001) investigate barriers for women of color that are faculty at PWIs. Thomas and Hollingshead (2001) document how Black women resist marginality and Fries-Britt and Kelly-Turner (2005) studied how they retain each other in, what can be a hostile environment. Thomas and Hollingshead (2001) address some of the barriers that women of color face at a predominately White institution in the Northeast. The researchers distributed 106 surveys to random African American females on the campus, 32 were returned. The respondents were in various job classifications ranging

from contractual to faculty-administrators. Questions in the survey asked about the necessity of education to advance, the relation of experience to advancement, and whether or not politics, the network system, friendships, and departmental faculty recommendations were essential to advancement.

The conclusion of the study indicated that a significant number of respondents believe that education and experience are not related to advancement at their university. The respondents believe that politics, friendships, the network system, and other factors outweigh qualifications of education and experience in determining whether job/position advancement occurs at the University (Gutierrez, 2012). The author contends that women of color as faculty need a “Fairy Godmother” or a “Prince Charming” to succeed at predominately White institutions (Gutierrez, 2012). Consequently, women of color find themselves stumbling along as faculty members (Gutierrez, 2012). There is a steep learning curve for all new faculty, but especially so for faculty of color. According to (Gutierrez, 2012), anxiety is reduced when you have supportive colleagues who protect new faculty from burdensome committee work, present you with suitable teaching assignments, and genuinely support your research agenda and scholarship. This outreach and support unfortunately rarely is offered up to woman or men of color as faculty at PWIs (Gutierrez, 2012).

Thomas and Hollenshead (2001) explored how African American women faculty have managed to cope in their marginalized positions and how they have used this position as a point and a place of resistance in order to persevere and succeed in their academic careers. The researchers collected data from two data sources – the Faculty Work Life Survey and from interviews. The results of the study yielded interesting results.

Of those who completed the survey, 60% of Black women felt that there were organizational barriers that prevented them from progressing in their careers. Seventy-six percent of White men felt that research interests were valued by their colleagues but, only 53% of women of color felt that way. The most interesting result, however, was that 43% of women of color and 33% of White women feel like they are under scrutiny by their colleagues, but only 15% of men feel that way (Gutierrez, 2012).

In another study, Fries-Britt and Kelly-Turner (2005) described how two African American females created an environment for each other to enable them to resist their marginalized status in the academy. They used a personal narrative methodology and case study methods as their data collection process. They examined how they established a successful working relationship in the academy as one moved from a non-tenured status to a tenured status and the other moved from being a doctoral student to tenure track status. They found that African American women needed to connect with other African American women faculty because of their history of being devalued and denied access to economic rewards. Connecting with other African American women faculty is a support structure that Black women faculty need to succeed in predominately White and male academic environments (Gutierrez, 2012). The participants also felt that they had been silenced in the larger social system.

The nature of faculty work in itself can be disconcerting. Faculty complain of being overloaded with work (ASHE, 2008; Eddy & Gaston-Gayles, 2008; Murray, 2008) and faced with unclear expectations about the requirements in the promotion and tenure process (ASHE, 2008; Hardré & Cox, 2009). In addition to these challenges, faculty of color have expressed issues with gaining access and succeeding in the academy (Allen,

Epps, Guillory, Suh, & Bonous-Hammarth, 2000), unpleasant academic environments for faculty of color (Stanley, 2006a), being the minority in predominately White institutions (McGowan, 2000), and high levels of stress (Thompson & Dey, 1998).

The obstacles that women face are similar to those faced by male faculty of color, like high levels of stress (Gutierrez, 2012). Also prevalent were differences in work requirement based on gender (Doyle & Hind, 1998) and challenges they faced when they made the choice to have children (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004). As far as women of color are concerned, Ward and Wolf-Wendel found that these faculty face specific barriers. Women of color as faculty must resist marginality (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001) and retain each other in what can be a hostile environment (Fries-Britt & Kelly-Turner, 2005). Women of color faculty are faced with “double marginality” in that they must contend with both racial and gender bias (Urrieta, 2010). Further, there is an accepted mantra that people of color, especially women of color, will have to work twice as hard as their White male counterpart and still be paid less (Gutierrez, 2012). This perception for faculty of color in general, becomes a reality that is too hard to bear, causing many to leave the field all together.

Latinos in Higher Education

According to Ponjuan (2011), institutional efforts in recruiting and retaining Latino faculty is poor at best. Ponjaun (2011) goes on to further discuss the value of having qualified Latino faculty members, which immensely benefits higher education with their unique abilities of engaging with students in the classroom, improving Latino students' higher education retention and degree completion rates, enhancing campus pluralism, and conducting academic research on racial/ethnic communities. According to

Urrieta (2010), most Latino faculty, particularly male members, view their teaching in the classroom as opportunities to “raise students’” consciousness and critical thinking skills even when faced with resistance. Further, recent research regarding degree completion states that students of color persist to graduation at a large rate when they have faculty members of color as role models (p. 3).

According to Ponjuan (2011), higher education has shifted and the demographic challenges facing our nation suggest that our education systems needs to refocus how it assists our diverse student populations, particularly our Latino populations. According to Moule (2005), as the proportion and number of children of color increase in this nation, their should be an increase and support for educators of color with multicultural awareness / competency and perspective to match this growth. According to Moule (2005), a “reflection in the academy,” that mirrors the rising student demographic is essential in higher education today.

The United States has become a microcosm of the world. If we just take a look at Latino data from the United States Census Bureau (2010), 26.7 million people identified as Mexican, and this is only one subgroup of a huge and growing Hispanic population in the US (Delgado-Romero et al., 2007). According to Ponjuan (2011), the U.S. Census Bureau has Latinos accounting for most of the nation’s population growth over the last decade (56 percent) and currently represent 16.3 percent of the United States population of 50.5 million people. Because of this, Latino enrollment numbers are on the rise; going from 14.8 million in 1999 to more than 20 million in 2009. These exponential demographic shifts and increased presence of Latinos in American Higher Education illustrate the new challenges for the academe. While the higher education student

population is dramatically changing, the faculty members of color still are not representative of the incoming cohort of students of color, especially the Latino student population (Ponjuan, 2011). These transformative numbers in the Latino demographics from a greater societal perspective calls for recruitment, retention, support, and mentorship of Latino faculty in general, but there is also a great need for visible (darker skinned) male Latino faculty of color that are often times hired at a lesser rate (Ponjuan, 2011).

The reality is when Latino male faculty of color are forced to navigate a campus culture with a racial burden, these male faculty experience a uniquely different experience from their White counterparts that presents more challenges, stress, and less institutional support (Harlow, 2003). This experience is felt by male Latino faculty of color with real life day-to-day experience of microaggressions and macro invalidations, which serve as daily reminders that although faculty males of color share the same titles / roles as their White counterparts, Latino male faculty of color are treated as guests in someone else's house and never granted full participation into the academy at the same level as Whites (Turner & Myers, 2000).

African American males as faculty members experience similar if not worst challenges within the academy. The follow section will explore the experiences of African American male faculty in the professoriate at private liberal arts PWI institutions.

African Americans in Higher Education

An alarming racial gap exists for Black faculty in American higher education, who only make up 6.4% of assistant professors, 5.4% of associate professors, and 3.4% full professors, despite making up about 13% of the U.S. population (Aguirre, 2000).

In a study that examined the status of African American faculty and in relation to access and success in the academy, surveys were sent to colleges that provided institutional support for the recruitment and retention of African American faculty. Data were received from 1,189 college and university faculty (Allen et al., 2000). The majority of the respondents were European American (1,024), then Asians (130), and then African American (35). A major finding of this study was that African American faculty had fewer mean years at their institutions, and in light of the low response rate, indicated that there is a persistent and dramatic underrepresentation of African Americans among the nation's college and university faculty, specifically male faculty of color (Allen et al., 2000). White male faculty members were four times more likely than Black males or females to be satisfied with their careers. The study revealed that African American faculty taught more hours and more undergraduates than their European peers (Richardson, 2013). They also found that African American faculty spent more hours per week advising students on academics and future careers. Fundamentally, this research showed that African American faculty members had less academic stature, worked at less prestigious institutions, earned less, and had lower academic rank than their White peers (Richardson, 2013). They found that Black faculty were systemically disadvantaged on all measures compared to White faculty (Allen et al., 2000).

Stanley (2006) conducted an auto-ethnographic research project that focused on the academic environment of 27 faculty of color from various disciplines including dentistry, ethnic studies, engineering, and education. They ranged in rank from lecturer to full professor and five were serving as department chair or assistant dean. The participants were asked to produce a chapter for an upcoming book about their

experiences as faculty at a predominately White institution. Most faculty identified student attitudes as being problematic in that they questioned their authority and credibility. The participants perceived that students treated them differently than their White colleagues. This perception had an impact on the psyche of the minority professors and caused them to question if the treatment was due to race (Stanley, 2006).

Collegiality also emerged as a theme. Male faculty of color felt that it was a major factor that geared them toward success or either contributed to their decision to leave their institution (Richardson, 2013). One respondent talked about how he felt like he had to prove and over prove his presence and worth in the academy. As far as service was concerned, many faculty of color mentored students and faculty of color, served on diversity committees related to recruitment and retention, and were responsible for educating the college or university committee about diversity. Experiences of racism also permeated the narratives. One respondent stated that his students viewed him as an affirmative action hire. Some felt that their departments danced around issues regarding diversity and did not engage in authentic conversations about the meaning and necessity of a diverse campus. Further, “Black Voices,” are often times left out, misunderstood, viewed as angry or threatening, and frequently discounted and / or silenced (Turner & Myers, 2000).

McGowan (2000) examined the teaching experiences of African American faculty in predominately White colleges. The guiding questions for the research focused on how race impacted the teaching and learning process and what challenges African- American faculty faced when teaching White students. Focus groups were conducted with 10 African American faculty who taught at a large predominately White university in the

Midwest. Four were male and six were female. In the focus groups, participants were asked about challenges that they faced in the classroom, how they managed them, and the prevalence of race as a factor. Overall, the results indicated that White students appreciated having African American faculty in their classrooms. However, the challenges that they expressed mostly included students testing the credentials of the faculty of color in the classroom and disrupting the learning process by challenging statements made about the subject matter. Faculty of color also spoke of power struggles in the classroom. Other challenges were age and gender specific. African American females who were 35 years or younger were typically challenged more by White females who were 20 years old or less. If the faculty member was 40 or over, he typically had problems with the returning student, who was there to complete an undergraduate degree. African American male faculty indicated that they had greater challenges with White male students.

High levels of stress are also associated with Black faculty regardless of gender. Thompson and Dey (1998) investigated data from a larger survey investigation conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute. They selected the data from 796 African American respondents who indicated that their main responsibility was teaching. They concentrated on four variables that related to stress. They were: (1) time constraints such as lack of personal time, teaching load, and time pressures, (2) home responsibilities such as child rearing, household responsibilities, and children or marital problems, (3) governance activities such committee work and faculty meetings, and (4) promotion concerns such as research and publishing demands and preparing for the promotion and tenure process.

Faculty stress was assessed by analyzing the responses to 18 questions that were designed to gather information about general sources of stress. They found that the area where faculty experienced the least amount of stress was taking care of responsibilities at home and with governance duties. Most of the stress was attributed to time constraints and concerns about promotion. Those who selected “community minded” areas of focus such as diversity for their research agendas found that it was difficult to find sources of publication that validated and accepted their work. Because publications are critical to the promotion process, the inability to find sources for publication of articles can be stressful. Time constraint stress was also often associated with receiving lower salaries, the requirement to create new courses, research demands, and working in private institutions. The results of this study revealed that faculty of color experience significantly more stress than their White male counterparts.

Shaping of Predominately White Liberal Arts Institutions (PWIs)

The colleges in America during the days of the colonies were modeled on an amalgamation of ideas and forms coming from Europe (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). These institutions developed around the notion of acculturating young elite White men, passing on the wisdom of the classics, and preparing them for not only service as clergymen, but as public servants as well. Few young people in the American colonies attended college due to the cost of tuition, lack of interest, or chosen career paths that did not require a formal education. According to Cohen and Kisker (2010), college life was designed as a system for controlling the often exuberant youth and for inculcating within them discipline, morals, and character. Each male student was to attend class, obey the rules,

and stay away from “base people,” which were individuals of lower economic social status (p. 27).

Eventually, other types of colleges began to emerge, like institutions for women with designed curriculum for homemakers that would later evolve into teacher training colleges. The belief that education could serve as a vehicle to get individuals out of poverty into the middle class and with hard work even to the upper middle class emerged. Bledstein (1976) comments, “In a nation without effective apprenticeship system and without a significant gentry, the school diploma more and more served as a license with which an individual sought entry into the respectability and rewards of profession” (as cited in Cohen & Kisker, 2010, p. 123).

For minorities, the road was a lot slower and had to truly wait for legislation, court rulings, and targeted expansion in their education preparation. Affirmative action would make gradual but steady strides towards ethnic diversity in higher education in the faculty ranks. Specifically, in 1972, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was expanded to forbid discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in public and private educational institutions.

Today, colleges and university are more diverse, however, at the elite private liberal arts schools where the student demographics are slowly shifting, the faculty, staff, and administration statistics are on average 80 to 90 percent White in most of the colleges and universities nation wide (Kayes, 2006).

Critical Race Theory

According to Yosso (2005), critical race theory is an academic discipline focused upon the application of critical theory, which is a critical examination of society and

culture, to the intersection of race, law, and power. Critical race theory is often associated with many of the controversial issues involved in the quest of equity, access, and inclusion that are normally related to issues of race and ethnicity. According to Solorzano and Yosso (2002), “CRT serves as a framework for identifying, analyzing, and transforming the structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial positions in and out of the classroom” (p. 2).

CRT is comprised of five basic tenets: (1) counter-storytelling, (2) the permanence of racism, (3) Whiteness as property, (4) interest convergence, and (5) the critique of liberalism (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Counter-storytelling is “a method of telling a story that ‘aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority’” (DeCuir & Dixson, p. 27). The use of counter-storytelling serves as a platform in providing marginalized groups a true voice. It also serves the purpose of exposing and critiquing normalized dialogues that perpetuate racial stereotypes (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 2005). Counter-stories provide a rich method for understanding knowledge from people of color (Delgado & Villalpando, 2002). Found in several forms, counter-stories include personal stories/narratives, other people’s stories/narratives, and composite stories/narratives and are a tradition for African Americans, Chicanos, Asian Americans, and American Indians (Delgado & Villalpando, 2002). Counter-storytelling will be the preferred method used in this research, as it gets at the essence of the lived experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University through uninterrupted or edited personal narratives.

The second basic tenet of CRT is the permanence of racism. CRT scholars strongly believe that race and racism is a permanent, powerful, dominant, and a normal

component of American society (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). CRT scholars believe this so passionately that they are more surprised at the absence of racism than they are by its presence (Broido & Manning, 2002). According to Lopez (2003), society fails to see racism because it is an everyday experience that is often taken for granted. Racism is so common that society fails to realize how it functions and how it shapes our institutions, relationships, and ways of thinking (McCoy, 2006). The ultimate goal of CRT is to expose White privilege and display a society that is deeply divided by racial lines.

The third tenet of CRT is the concept of Whiteness as property. Because of the role of race and racism in history, CRT scholars argue that Whiteness can be considered a property interest that only they can possess (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). CRT scholars believe that the United States is a nation built on property rights (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Property functions for Whites include the rights to use, enjoyment, to exclude, and the privilege of high status (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Historically, the ownership of property entitled one to be franchised, resulting in the legal pursuit of happiness and reputation and the right to exclude. From an educational viewpoint, the right to exclude has resulted in faculty of color, including African American male faculty, being marginalized or isolated in academia (McCoy, 2006).

Interest convergence (fourth tenet) is the concept that the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation are not people of color but Whites (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998). It has been suggested by CRT scholars that the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was made because the material interests of Whites converged with the civil rights interests of African Americans (DeCuir & Dixson; Lopez,

2003). In short, critical race theorists suggest the *Brown* decision was made for the benefits of Whites and not African Americans (McCoy, 2006). If you believe this theory, then one has to believe that interest convergence ensures that racism remains and that social progress advances at a pace determined by Whites, or at least agreed upon by Whites (Lopez, 2003).

The critique of liberalism is the final tenet of CRT. CRT scholars are critical of the concepts of colorblindness, the neutrality of the law, and incremental change (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Colorblindness is discounted because being White is considered the *accepted* norm or standard for understanding the experiences of people of color. Second, the idea that the law is neutral is insufficient because rights and opportunities in the U. S. have often been conferred and withheld based on race (McCoy, 2006). Finally, incremental change is not promoted because change for marginalized groups should not come at a pace that is acceptable to those in power (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

According to DeCuir and Dixson (2004), critical race theory is taught and innovated in the fields of education, political science, women's studies, ethnic studies, and American studies in numerous colleges and universities across the country. CRT is used in educational research as a tool to bring attention to the experiences of people of color. Of the five components, counter-storytelling is particularly the most relevant to this study because it will allow for a better and more in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of male faculty of color. This lived experience has everything to do with recruitment, retention, and most importantly, job satisfaction. Overall, job satisfaction is referenced in the literature as one of the number one challenges to the happiness, experiences, and retention of male faculty of color. In the next section, I will review the

literature on job satisfaction and the overall implications it has on the socialization experience of male faculty of color at PWIs.

Examples of a Study of Critical Race Theory in the Academy

Critical race theory is a theoretical framework generated by legal scholars of color who are concerned about racial oppression in society (Crenshaw et al., 2000; Delgado, 1990). CRT reviews how so called race neutral laws and institutional policies perpetuate racial / ethnic subordination. This framework illustrates the importance of reviewing and understanding policy in efforts to deconstruct the underlying racial context behind the law, policy, or system. The following defining elements form the basic assumptions, perspectives, research methods, and pedagogies of critical race theory (Crenshaw et al., 2000). Each of these elements is important to our examination of the racialized barriers that impede success for faculty of color.

Critical race theory, recognizes that racism is endemic to American life and expresses skepticism toward dominant claims of neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy. CRT further, challenges “ahistoricism” or the lack of concern for history, historical development, or tradition, and insists on a contextual / historical analysis of institutional policies. CRT insists on recognizing the experiential knowledge of people of color and our communities of origin in analyzing society. This is why CRT is considered to be interdisciplinary and crosses epistemological and methodological boundaries. Finally, CRT works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression. These defining elements form a framework that applies to real-life social problem, especially in education (Crenshaw et al., 2000). In fact, according to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), a number of education

scholars have begun to use critical race theory as a way to further define and examine problems endemic to education, schools, and the schooling process.

Astin, Antonio, Cress, and Astin (1997), apply critical race theory in his research to challenge “the dominant discourse on race and racism as it relates to education by examining how educational theory, policy, and practices are used to subordinate certain racial / ethnic groups” (p. 122). The six defining elements of CRT mentioned above provide a framework in identifying and analyzing the racialized barriers that impede the success of faculty of color in academia. However, the component of counter-storytelling of CRT best suits this research for the intent of getting at the lived experiences of male faculty of color from their own true voice.

In a study by Astin et al. (1997), an analysis of race and ethnicity in the American professorate and the biannual faculty reports issued by UCLA Higher Education Research Institute, found that most analysis of national data for faculty of color are seldom disaggregated by race, ethnicity, and gender. Data for faculty of color are often aggregated and reported in a homogenous analysis of “minority faculty,” that unfortunately, tends to confound their distinct experiences in the academy, which often leads to the erroneous conclusion that all faculty of color share the same socio-historical experiences, demographic characteristics, professional values, aspirations, and levels of success (Astin et al., 1997).

To avoid this pitfall, Astin et al. (1997) disaggregated data for African American, Asian American, Mexican American, and Puerto Ricans that were apart of the study. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in particular, although a part of the Latino / Hispanic diaspora, were viewed as having distinctly different lived experiences; so they were

separated categorically. The CRT theory was incorporated into this study by the use of counter-storytelling which was weaved in with the disaggregated data to present both distinct and shared experiences of faculty of color in their specific identified self and true voice. This is where CRT can be critically significant to any study that is dealing with the socialization, marginalization, or lived experience of a subgroup. In the next section of this research we will review the various factors that could lead to male faculty of color feeling marginalized in at PWIs.

Marginalization

A variety of challenges are suggested in the literature regarding factors that marginalize male faculty of color at PWIs. These include the following: (1) Job Satisfaction, (2) Institutional Fit, (3) Acknowledgement of problem, (4) Mentorship, (5) Funding for Research, (6) Racism and Stereotypes (CRT), (7) Acculturation, (8) Cultural Taxation, and (9) Biculturalism.

Job satisfaction. Spector (1986) defined job satisfaction as an affective response that an organizational member has toward his or her particular job, and results from the employee's comparison of actual outcomes with those that are expected. Sources of satisfaction for male faculty of color are morale, institutional fit, institutional support, autonomy, and promotion and tenure opportunities (Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Laden & Hagedorn, 2000; Olsen, Maple, & Stage, 1995; Tack & Patitu, 1992). For many faculty of color, especially men of color, intrinsic rewards such as service to students, continual learning, and autonomy provided the greatest satisfaction (Olsen, 1993). It should be noted, that faculty of color, particularly male faculty of color, are twice as likely to work with student groups of color, mentor students,

and serve as tutors, role models, or confidants for students of color. None of these extra duties add credit towards tenure completion. These additional tasks that quickly become extra duties for many male faculty of color are often not recognized or rewarded. These duties at times impact male faculty of color's work satisfaction positively, but because of lack of recognition of this extra commitment that are not requested or expected from their White peers, this unfortunately becomes a dissatisfying aspect of the workplace for male faculty of color.

Factors that negatively impact male faculty of color's satisfaction were morale, rank, tenure status, increased work hours on administrative tasks, lack of university support, university structure, and the institutional reward system (Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Olsen, 1993). Additionally, the literature has revealed that institutional leadership (Allen et al., 2000), low salaries (Allen et al., 2000; Diener, 1985), lack of recognition for professional achievement, and a lack of personal development (Diener, 1985) may be sources of dissatisfaction for male faculty of color. Studies by Rosser and Townsend (2006) and Daly and Dee (2006) suggest that faculty across institutional types who were unsatisfied with their jobs expressed a greater intent to leave the institution. This is especially true for men of color, who have the most challenging of times navigating the campus and adapting to predominately White social norms (Daly & Dee, 2006).

Many say that the institutional fit is critical in higher education. This means that when faculty are looking for work, they should review the core values of the organization and the mission and vision of the place to determine if there is a match. For male faculty of color this may mean exploring the ethnic demographics of the place and reviewing the history of the institution to determine how people of color are supported, especially at

PWIs. In this research, I will explore how the norms and values of a higher education institution, often called “institution fit,” plays out in the lives of male faculty of color.

Institutional fit. The values, abilities, and goals of male faculty of color should fit the values, needs, and goals of the postsecondary institutions that employ them (Olsen et al., 1995). According to Chatman (1989), the concept of person-situation fit has been defined as the congruence between norms and values of organizations and the values of persons. Hence, organizations tend to reward and support those interests and activities that are consistent with their own values and goals. As a result, a poor fit between a person and the work environment has been associated with lower job satisfaction and higher rates of turnover (Caldwell & O’Reilly, 1990; Chatman, 1989; Olsen et al., 1995). According to Olsen et al. (1995), a misfit between an individual and an institution can result from a failure of accommodation by either the institution or the individual.

Additionally, Olsen et al. (1995) found that race and gender affect the support faculty perceive they receive independent of whether or not their personal professional goals are in congruence with institutional values and norms. Moreover, their findings suggest that the degree of fit with university values and goals is as much a product of perceptions of fit as it is a convergence of institutional and individual goals and values.

Acknowledgement of problem. The first step to beginning the much needed diversity work at an institution is acknowledging that there is a problem with the lack of diversity in the first place. Too often institutions do not see an issue with the overwhelming majority of the faculty being White. But, as Bilimoria and Buch (2010) state, this unwillingness to acknowledge race, ethnicity, or gender as legitimate and legally defensible consideration in hiring demonstrates a misperception held by some

faculty that contributes to tension and conflict among search committee members and prevents a discussion on how the committee should consider candidate diversity. If predominately White institutions cannot have an open dialogue about race and gender and how this relates to the search process, effective change at these institutions will be minimal at best.

This impacts male faculty of color because the implicit and explicit racial bias of search committees significantly limits that amount of access (getting the job) that these faculty subgroups will receive, and further, the ones that do break the glass ceiling will be met with, what Bilimora and Buch (2010) have referred to as a “Chilly Environment,” which means an unwelcome campus climate that never fully embraces or supports male faculty of color (or faculty of color in general) as equals at the institution.

Mentoring has provided some opportunities for male faculty of color to have a greater sense of belonging and empowerment. These efforts of mentorship could potentially enhance the socialization process for this specific demographic of faculty.

Mentoring. Based on the literature, an induction can be made that mentoring can be critically impactful for personnel of color that are coming to environments that lack large numbers in diversity. However, according to the literature, too often institutions maintain a business as usual mentality that prevents these opportunities from happening. According to Brayboy (2003), to advance the agenda of diversity, institutions must move forward in considering wholesale changes in their day-to-day activities; especially, if they are truly committed to refocusing the historical legacies of institutional, epistemological, and societal racism that pervade these types of colleges and universities.

According to Turner and Myers (2000), mentorship is critical to the overall happiness and retention of faculty in general. Mentorship is especially paramount for male faculty of color that find themselves often in the single digit numbers or the only ones at an institution (Turner & Myers, 2000). However, based on the literature, there seem to be inequities in access to mentorship opportunities. Many scholars have written about how mentoring influences the success of junior faculty of color (Turner & Myers). Mentors can assist young up and coming faculty of color with navigating the hidden curriculum of the university. Perhaps the most critical significance of mentoring faculty of color is that informal and formal mentoring can help faculty of color manage the impact of institutional racism, especially as it relates to men of color.

According to Turner and Myers (2000), faculty of color find themselves outside the formal networks of the department. A sense of isolation is among the most commonly reported problems within the literature. Merit and autonomy are touted as institutional values in the academy, however, a major contributor to success in the professorate is the association with senior colleagues. According to Turner and Myers (2000), without such affiliations, faculty of color are isolated and struggle through the socialization process alone.

Funding for research. Faculty of color have stayed clear of requesting funding in regards to researching certain fields of diversity at PWIs. At times, faculty feel pressured to do research that is less controversial or does not draw negative attention to the institution. According to Essien (2003), a prominent invisible barrier is the delay or denial of research funding with no real reasoning behind the rejection. This specifically comes into play depending on the alumni donors that are involved at a university. Questions are

asked like, “Does the university approve of or want research that may illustrate racism in the institution, its’ sponsoring companies, or general society” (Fenelon, 2003, p. 89). Even though, systemic issues of racism and/or bias may exist and faculty may not be able to research or report out on it because it does not serve the best interest of the institution.

According to Stanley (2006b), there is a devaluing of diversity research that is placed on faculty of color by many White faculty, because it is viewed as bias work or not objective. Interestingly enough, when the same diversity research is performed by White faculty, the same perceptions do not exist and are twice as likely to receive funding. This is why national research on faculty of color at predominantly White colleges and universities is rare because many White faculty do not believe that faculty of color can be objective when doing research about their own community.

Racism and stereotypes. Pittman (2010) suggests to foster faculty diversity and effectiveness, classroom environments should be supportive of, or at least not hostile to, faculty who are of color. However, the author goes on further to discuss how faculties of color are challenged in the classroom with inappropriate questions about their scholarship, not only from the peers, but also from the students in the classroom; many of which are majority White. There is limited literature focused solely on the job satisfaction of faculty of color, specifically African Americans (Hooker & Johnson, 2011). Findings in Allen et al.’s (2002) study indicate that White faculty had higher levels of satisfaction with their institutions than African Americans (p. 170). According to Jayakumar, Howard, Allen, and Han (2009), job satisfaction of faculty of color specifically, as it relates to males can be hindered by a negative racial climate.

Further, the negative stigmas around male faculty of color as educators extend from post-secondary education all the way down to kindergarten. According to Bryan and Browder (2013), racial and gender microaggressions contribute to the unwelcoming and uncomfortable feelings as they occur in the day-to-day lives of male faculty of color in overt and covert ways. Specifically, the most pervasive stereotype is that men of color are not expected to teach young people. Additionally, Pittman (2010) assert that men who are interested in becoming educators, specifically in the early years, are oftentimes victims who are regarded as ‘perverts,’ ‘homosexuals,’ and a ‘danger to children’ (as cited in Bryan & Browder, 2013, p. 153). At the college level, men of color are viewed as not qualified and often questioned in an attacking manner by White students at a frequency that is higher than any other subgroup.

Cultural Taxation

Padilla (1994) coined the phrase “cultural taxation” to describe the obligations that ethnic minorities experience due to the disproportionate representation of faculty of color at PWIs. According to Padilla (1994), minority faculty members are often one of the few, if any, faculty of color in their department. According to Aguirre (2000), because there is such a small number of African American and Latino academicians at PWIs, they often find themselves with hefty advising and service loads and performing additional out of the classroom diversity related engagement and programming for no value added merit or points. This is particularly relevant for male faculty of color that are often times tapped with more frequency to engage in service related activities that are not expected, or even requested/expected, of their White counterparts (Aguirre, 2000).

Based on the literature, it is true that more men of color and faculty of color are

teaching within the academy than in past history. However, the “dismantling of affirmative action and similar programs contributes to unfriendly campus and departmental climates for these faculty” (Turner, 2003, p. 122). Male faculty of color try to counter this chilly climate by working harder and getting more involved campus wide in efforts to prove their self worth to the university. However, male faculty of color often times end up performing more critical work in student affairs versus in their actual scholarship and research.

Some researchers argue that these factors, in addition to institutionalized racism and the “publish-or-perish mantra of academia” perpetuate racial disparities in academia (Turner, 2003, p. 122). Thus, “faculty of color encounter special challenges as they climb the academic ladder, one of which is cultural taxation” (Conway-Jones, 2006, p. 123).

Because of these “special challenges” that male faculty of color encounter that are not shared by their White peers, men of color find themselves working twice as hard in hopes of receiving equal treatment and respect (Laden & Hagedorn 2000). This unfortunate and undocumented reality adds to the stress of being a male faculty member of color at a PWI. This is compounded by what Joseph and Hirshfield (2011) call “unequal faculty expectations,” in which in addition to being faculty, men of color are asked to serve on diversity related committees, do only diversity related scholarship, and being an advocate for all issues related to the students of color that White faculty do not have to tend to. Thus, according Joseph and Hirshfield (2011) faculty of color are expected to bear the burden of dealing with diversity-related issues in ways that White counterparts are not.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework or “idea context” of the study revolves around the ideas, myths, and beliefs that are held regarding a phenomenon (Maxwell, 2005). The conceptual framework also serves as the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support and inform the research. According to Maxwell (2005), the most productive conceptual frameworks are often those that integrate different approaches, lines of investigations, or theories that no one had previously connected. Conceptual frameworks incorporate pieces that are borrowed from elsewhere, but the structure, the overall coherence, is something that you build, not something that exists ready-made (Maxwell, 2005, p. 35).

There are four main sources or modules that can be used to construct a conceptual framework. These include experiential knowledge, existing theory, exploratory research, and thought experiments. For the purposes of this research, I will begin with experiential knowledge, because it is both one of the most important conceptual resources and according to Maxwell (2005), the one that is most seriously neglected in works on research design. The experiential knowledge was incorporated and guided by critical race theory (Counter Storytelling) and cultural taxation that was also used in developing the conceptual framework of this research. These themes along with the conceptual frames assisted in developing the thematic lens for the research.

The conceptual framework for this study was guided by Gloria Ladson-Billings’ (1995) Critical Race Theory (CRT) component, counter-storytelling. Counter-storytelling is the best approach to get the true voice of those impacted by alleged racial injustice and inequality. This model was selected for the conceptual framework because it addresses

the lived experiences of faculty of color from anticipatory socialization (graduate education) through the role continuance phase (promotion and tenure) of organizational socialization (McCoy, 2006). It is grounded in the ways academic disciplines select, socialize, and express institutional culture to new faculty, but also specifically, how it may be a considerably different lived experience for male faculty of color. CRT further digs deep into how systems of acculturation affect the lived experience of male faculty of color at PWIs today. The following chart below (Figure 1) outlines the conceptual framework for this study.

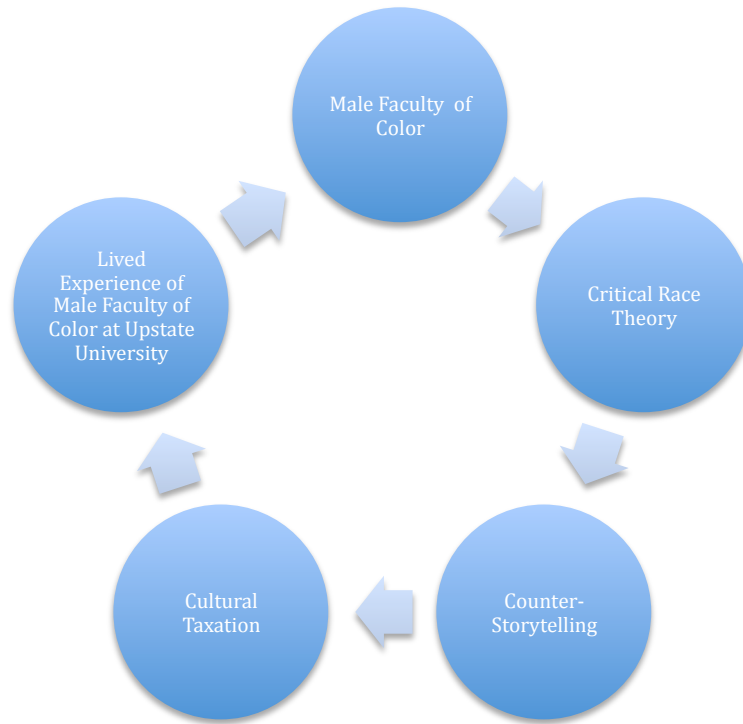


Figure 1. Conceptual Map

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) posit that race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States. Race matters in society. If we look at high school drop out, suspension, and incarceration rates of men of color in America we see a disproportionate amount of men of color marginalized and profiled by society. This is further compounded by the perception that male faculty of color cannot be educators or at least are not often conceptually visualized in that capacity (Bryan & Browder, 2013).

According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), racism is not a series of isolated acts, but rather an endemic in American life that is deeply imbedded in the legal, cultural, social, and psychological structures of American society. CRT explains that this country was built on the concept of property rights over human rights. It further discusses how the rights of Native American and African Americans were discounted largely because of the

one main property value that either group could never possess: Whiteness. According to Ladson-Billings (1998), slavery linked the privilege of Whites to the subordination of Blacks through a legal regime that portrayed the Blacks as objects of property. Similarly, the seizure of Native American lands supported White privilege through a system of property rights in land in which the race of Native Americans rendered their first possession right invisible and justified conquest. From the removal of Indians from their land, to the military conquest of Mexico, to the construction of Africans as property, the ability to define, possess, and own property has been a central feature of power in America. This construction of Whiteness as the “Ultimate Property,” will be reviewed through this study to determine if there is any validity or impact related to the ultimate findings of this study, as it relates to the experience of male faculty of color at PWIs.

Summary of Literature Review

As the primary researcher for this study, I am aware institutions of higher education are not perfect, because flawed humans govern them (Turner & Myers, 2000). It is our shared responsibility as scholar practitioners to continue to challenge, question, and push our universities to become more equitable and just systems of higher education.

The review of the literature acknowledges that the lived experiences of men of color at PWIs are a vital component of the overall “being” and success at the academy. Issues of mentorship, support for scholarship, and acknowledgement all were presented as key themes that either contribute positively or negatively to the experiences of this subgroup. It is important to acknowledge that faculty in general, regardless of ethnicity and gender, may have some similar socialization experiences upon entering the academy (McCoy, 2006). However, according to McCoy (2006), it is also just as important to

recognize that faculty will have differing experiences based on their race, ethnicity and/or gender. Consider this, scholars, are encouraged by Tierney (1997, as cited in McCoy, 2006), to explore the socialization and lived experiences in its' entirety and from the various perspectives of male faculty of color and women of color.

Regardless of race, ethnicity, or background, being a faculty member is difficult; however, it is even more difficult for faculty of color (Branch, 2001). Thompson and Dey (1998) argue that the faculty role is intensified for African American and Latino faculty, so much so that they characterize the experiences of these subgroups as frequently demoralizing and stifling to their intellectual development as professionals.

Additional research will be required to fully understand the plight of male faculty of color at PWIs. Previous research has touched on faculty of color and women, but not specifically on male faculty of color at PWI private liberal arts institutions. For this reason, this research has great merit and will contribute to the developing research of the experiences and socialization of male faculty of color at PWIs.

Counter-storytelling, an element of CRT was incorporated into this study to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the experiences of male faculty of color. An additional theory, known as cultural taxation, was also introduced as a potential key operating theme for this research. Because men of color as faculty of predominately White private liberal arts institutions has not been thoroughly researched, my research contributes to the understanding and appreciation of the challenges and great difficulties that is experienced by this subgroup.

Chapter III

Methodology

This study looked to investigate, identify, and understand the lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University. To do so, a qualitative phenomenological study was designed to dig deep into the research while constantly bracketing to capture the reality or true lived experiences of the participants (Collins, 2000; Creswell, 2009; Van Manen, 1990). Counter-storytelling, a component of Critical Race Theory (CRT) was incorporated to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the experiences of male faculty of color.

The purpose of phenomenological research is to illuminate the specific, to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation (Lester, 1999). Phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual. According to Lester (1999), phenomenology is a powerful tool for understanding the subjective experience and gaining insight into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom. This research was conducted at a predominately White private liberal arts institution (PWI). PWIs are defined as such, by having 60 to 70 percent or more of the student, staff, faculty, and/or administration identify ethnically or culturally as White.

Phenomenology is the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point-of-view. Phenomenology allowed the researcher to create an environment for male faculty of color to be the central focus and to explore their "being," in a predominately White setting. According to Vagle (2014), phenomenology as a

research methodology stems from its philosophical roots of studying what it is like to be in relation with others (e.g., teachers with students, nurse with patients, therapist with clients, and other things.) Heidegger (1927) discusses a phenomenon as that which becomes manifest for us, he suggests that phenomena are brought into being through living in the world (as cited in Vagle, 2014, p. 20). Phenomena are the ways in which we find ourselves being in relation to the world through our day-to-day living.

For the purposes of this research, I explored the relations of the male faculty members of color with a particular focus on predominately White institutions. I explored how the male faculty member participants of this study viewed their experience in relationship to their peers and the institution. Phenomena can appear in innumerable ways, and according to Husserl (1964), to say that something appears, rather than is built inside one's mind, is saying something of philosophical significance. Pictures, words, symbols, perceived objects, state of affairs, laws, social conventions, history, social justice, race, otherness, and "onlyness" all played a role in crafting the lived experiences of these participants. According to Husserl (1964), phenomenologists are interested in trying to slow down and open up how things are experienced. Studying the world as it is lived by male faculty of color was the goal of this research.

The purpose of this exploratory study was to gain awareness and a greater appreciation about the experiences and the work environments that men of color face within the academy, specifically, at PWIs. Though progress has been made, at these historically exclusive institutions, faculty of color in general and male faculty of color specifically, still find unwelcoming and potentially hostile environments for those that choose to teach at PWIs (Stanley, 2006a; Trower, 2003; Tuitt et al., 2007). In this chapter,

I explain my rationale for using a phenomenological qualitative design, the sampling procedures, the data collection strategies, and my procedure for data analysis.

In order to identify and describe the lived experiences of male faculty of color at PWIs, the following questions will guide the study:

1. What are the lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University, a predominately White private liberal arts institution?
2. What are the factors that contribute to the challenges that male faculty of color face in higher education?
3. How can Critical Race Theory (Counter-Storytelling) play a role in understanding the experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University?
4. How can the theory of Cultural Taxation help to explain the experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University?

Methodological Framework – Phenomenological Research Design

Phenomenology is both a way of viewing the world (philosophy) and a method of inquiry (research methodology) about lived experiences. From a philosophical perspective, Edmund Husserl's conceptions of intentionality lie at the very center of the methodology. Intentionality requires that we become aware of ourselves and our existence in the world, and recognizing that we and the world are inseparable components of meaning (Moustakas, 1994). Intentionality contains two concepts: the noesis and the noema. The noesis refers to the act of reflecting, feeling, and judging - the experience itself. Noema are the perceptual meanings of the experience and what is meant by the experience (Moustakas, 1994). Wherever there is noesis, there is noema.

This study used the notions of noesis and noema to make sense of the data by having participants reflect upon and make meaning of their experiences as male faculty of color at a PWI (Richardson, 2013). The use of qualitative methodology requires extensive data collection, time-intensive analysis, and expertise on the part of the researcher with interviewing, triangulation, coding, and observations.

For the purposes of this research, a descriptive phenomenology approach was incorporated to get at the lived experiences of male faculty of color. According to Giorgi (1997), the word “description” means to communicate both the data one collects from those who have experienced the phenomenon and what the researcher crafts (description) in order to communicate the invariant meanings based on his or her analysis. Giorgi (1997) distinguishes between the researcher’s role and the research participant’s role in the process, the latter being responsible for describing the experience from the natural attitude, that is, the everyday, taken for granted way we tend to move through the life world, and to provide a description “That is as faithful as possible to the lived through” (p. 96).

From a methodological perspective, phenomenological research asks the main question of what the experience is like. It is a systematic attempt to uncover the meaning of lived experiences and to describe and interpret them with richness and depth. It is the search for what it means to be human. While simultaneously, Critical Race Theory (CRT) seeks to also determine the human experience, but explores deeper to determine if there are any differences in lived experience based on race. Phenomenology considers the sociocultural and historical traditions that have shaped our ways of being in the world. It takes into account what it means to live in the world as a man or woman (Van Manen,

1990). CRT compliments phenomenology in that it also explores the worldview of men and women, but also goes into the distinct experiences of people of color whose professional and social lives based on skin color and (or) race may differ.

Phenomenology interfused with CRT is the methodology, because it allowed me to look at what it means to be a man of color within the professoriate while considering sociocultural and historical traditions of predominately White institutions. Critical race methodology is appropriate because it focuses on male faculties of color gendered, racialized, and class experiences (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

Intentionality. Phenomenologists use the word intentionality to mean the inseparable connectedness between subjects (that is human beings) and objects (that is, all other things, animate and inanimate, and ideas) in the world (Vagle, 2014). For phenomenological research purposes “intentionality,” will be used to gather how participants are connected to their perceived world based on their individual experiences. This will be critically important, because when one studies participants phenomenologically, one is studying a phenomenon and the intentional relations that manifest and appear (Vagle, 2014). According to Vagle (2014), one is studying how people are connected meaningfully with the things of the world. Phenomenological interviewing combined with storytelling (CRT) was used to capture the essence of these participants’ experiences (Creswell, 2005, p. 58).

Prepositions. Prepositions are words or phrases that are used to connect nouns or pronouns (Vagle, 2014). You can use prepositions in many ways to connect the two nouns to express different ideas. For example: “Faculty” and “Book.”

The book about the faculty

The book by the faculty

The book regarding the faculty

The underlined words relate two nouns to each other. These relationship words are called prepositions. Prepositions may be defined as any word or group of words that relates a noun or a pronoun to another word in the sentence (Vagle, 2014). These words and phrases will be significant as I write this research because, according to Vagle (2014), when we study a phenomenon we need to carefully tend to the subject, the object, and the intentional relation connecting the subject and object. So, the way studies are worded matters to the essence of the research or as Vagle (2014), puts it, to get at the “of-ness” of the phenomena.

Descriptive phenomenology. Descriptive phenomenology was used in this research. Giorgi (2009) uses the word “description” to communicate both the data one collects from those who have experienced the phenomenon and what the researcher crafts. According to Giorgi (2009), in getting the description of others, he strongly recommends interviews and also includes drawings of the writing experience. Further, he set up distinct roles for the researcher and research participant; the latter being responsible for describing the experience from the natural attitude, that is, the everyday, taken-for-granted way we tend to move through the “lifeworld,” and to provide a description “that is faithful as possible to the lived through” (Giorgi, 2009, p. 96).

Invariant meaning. Throughout this study, I searched from the collected data for the invariant meaning of the phenomenon. Invariant meaning is defined as the “unchanging or constant” structure of a meaning or understanding a phenomenon (Vagle, 2014). This is Giorgi’s (2009), model that I will incorporate into my study that will help

the research go beyond simply the universal essence towards the invariant or constant theme belonging to the phenomena being studied.

Worldview

As a man of color and as an administrator in higher education, I hold a social constructivist worldview (Creswell, 2009). According to Creswell (2009), social constructivists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. The meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meaning into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research will be to rely on the lived experience of the participants or sub-groups being studied.

My worldview and career path as a diversity officer in higher education has provided me a lens that allows me to be critical and analytical about the experiences of people of color in the academy across the racial spectrum. I have experienced from a first hand perspective how people of color, particularly men, try to “fit” into the academy. This usually means attempting to develop an identity that is congruent with the core values and traditions of the institution.

Throughout my career in higher education, I have had several conversations with faculty and staff on the importance of a culturally rich in and out of the classroom-learning environment. I have been repeatedly disappointed by the poor recruitment and retention strategies that I have witnessed first hand at predominantly White colleges and universities (PWIs).

Subjectivity

Subjectivity can be defined as “How the judgment of someone can be shaped by personal opinions and feelings instead of outside influences.” I will guard against subjectivity by backing up all my statements with scholarly literature in the field. I will further, only use the member checked transcripts of my participants and not infuse my opinions regarding the subject matter. Finally, I will allow all participants and selected practitioners in the field to review my dissertation (before submission) for accuracy and transparency.

Sampling and Participants

Purposeful sampling describes sampling in which the researcher uses some criterion or purpose to replace the principle of canceled random errors. Purposeful sampling techniques result in samples that are minimized and more strategically focused. Purposeful sampling fits my study due to limited resources that I have available for this research, the short time frame for this study, and the small population size of male faculty of color at Upstate University.

A total of 15 (associate & full professor) male faculty of color participated in this study from Upstate University. The participants were purposely selected and asked individually for their participation within this study. Purposeful sampling is the process of selecting participants that are likely to provide rich information in regards to the purpose of the study (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). Participants were selected based on being a self-identified, man of color in the associate or full professor tenured ranks at Upstate University. Informed consent letters (Appendix B) provided a detailed explanation of the nature, purpose, benefit, and risks of the study. The risks of the study

were minimal as all materials and interviews were conducted in a sound proof room on campus, and all documentation and recordings were in my sole possession, secured in a safety deposit box at my residence. These materials will be destroyed after the completion of my dissertation. The research objective is to identify and describe male faculty of color experiences with reference to predominately White liberal arts institutions (PWIs).

Setting

The study was conducted at Upstate University, located in a rural area of Upstate, New York. Upstate University is a leading liberal arts institution that is currently ranked in the top 20th percentile in the nation (Office of Equity of Diversity, 2015). Currently, the student body is at 3,000 students, with 286 full-time faculty and 307 full-time staff. Of the 286 faculty members, only 15 identify as male faculty of color for the purposes of this study. These details are consistent with peer elite schools that are highly selective private liberal arts schools that also happen to be predominately White and have limited pools of faculty of color. According to the Office of Equity of Diversity (2015), the department does not currently keep retention data for faculty. However, the Diversity Office does keep track of demographical data.

For 2014-15, the Office of Equity and Diversity reported the following demographic percentages and raw numbers for faculty ethnic / racial representation. Full-time faculty are 75.1% (268) White, 12.9% (46) Asian, 6.4% (23) Black, 5% (18) Hispanic, and 0.6% Native American (Office of Equity & Diversity, 2014). These percentages include a 57.7% male to 42.3 % female ratio.

Student demographics include a 67.8% (1946) White population, 8.4% (242) Unknown group, a 7.9% (226) Hispanic, 4.2% (122) Black / African American, 3.6% (103) two or more races sub-group, 3.4% Asian. Of these students, 55.2% are female and 44.8% are male. Regarding geographic diversity, students are represented at Upstate University from all 50 states and over 40 countries. Finally, administrative staff are over 91% White and support staff are at 97% White.

The literature that I have reviewed to date has led me to seek out a small private liberal arts institution as my place of study. According to the literature, it is at these specific institutions where faculty of color struggle the most to gain access and acceptance (Kayes, 2006). According to Kayes (2006), these issues of access and acceptance, are caused by poorly trained non-diverse search committees, lack of mentors for faculty of color, and little to no support for diversity scholarship and research. In regards to my study, I am employed at Upstate University, which provides extended privilege to gain access and approval to purposefully sample a select demographic. This decision supports the feasibility and timeline that I have established for my research and completion date.

Regarding programming and offerings, the institution offers courses that lead to career fields ranging from financial services to education, from health / medicine to business management, and communication / media. There are 54 majors with an average class size of 17 to 1 student to faculty ratio. According to both professors and students at the institution, the small class size lead to greater professor to student engagement.

Geographic location. Upstate University is located in a village community, New York State, with the population of 3,500 residents. Its small rural nature and long winters have at times been believed as one of the detractors of getting diverse communities to live and work at the institution. Specifically, single men of color looking for faculty positions. More research needs to be done in this area to determine the resources, housing, and other amenities available in this area of New York State. It is unclear at this time that the village life of Upstate New York is not desirable for would be faculty and staff members of color at Upstate University.

I have chosen this site because these small private geographically located institutions appear, based on current literature that I have reviewed, to have the most difficulty with diversity in regards to the lived experiences of male faculty of color. The target site is a small rural geographic location with long winters that has at times been believed as one of the major detractors of getting diverse communities to live and work at the University. More research needs to be completed in this area to determine the resources, housing, and other amenities available in this area of New York State. The literature suggests issues of bias, racism, discrimination, biculturalism, acculturation, and lack of mentorship are significant challenges to the lived experiences of faculty of color in general (Stanley, 2006). These challenges will be incorporated within the research through the critical race theory framework.

Data Collection

For the purposes of the data collection process, I have chosen to go with a general interview process comprised of semi-structured and open-ended questions. According to Rubin and Rubin (2012), the researcher has a specific topic (experiences of male faculty

of color at Upstate University) to learn about, prepares a limited number of questions (24) in advance, and plans to ask follow-up questions. A semi-structured interview protocol was constructed prior to meeting with the participants (see Appendix A). According (Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004), semi-structured interviews provide flexibility during the interview process and their suggestions have influenced the development of the interview questions; there is an attempt to establish rapport with the respondent. The ordering of questions is not so important, leaving the interviewer free to probe interesting areas that arise, and the interview can follow the respondent's interests or concerns.

I have further chosen to break down the data collection process into three digestible phases. Phase I of the study began with a graphic elicitation activity to serve as a warm-up prior to the start of the individual interview process (Appendix C). Phase II involved three (5) member focus groups consisting of all male faculty of color that also participated in the study as individuals during the interview phase. The purpose of focus groups is to bring groups of individuals together that are representative of the demographic being researched. During this phase of the research, I had pre-established focus group interview protocol questions (Appendix D). As the researcher, I acted as a facilitator to move the conversation forward/along. Focus group members respond to each other's comments or opinions in agreement, disagreement, or modifying in anyway they choose (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The hope of Phase II was to ultimately reach some common themes amongst the participants. Finally, in Phase III I selected material cultural or images, photos, brochures, documents, and other materials that related to emerging

themes that were brought up in Phase I and II to determine any relationship or key themes that could potentially guide the research.

Phase I: Graphic Elicitation / Semi-Structured Interviews

During Phase I of the study, I interviewed (male) full-time (associate and full professors) tenured African American and Latino male faculty. Through the interviews, I gained rich, personal, and in-depth descriptions of the lived experiences of the study's participants. A graphic elicitation was used as a warm-up activity to elicit data about the challenges that male faculty of color face working with their colleagues, or at the institutions in general. Graphic elicitations are effective instruments of thought and a valuable tool in conveying those thoughts to others. As such, they can be usefully employed as representations of a research domain and act as stimulus materials in interviews (Crilly, Blackwell, & Clarkson, 2006). A word bank was provided to stimulate thoughts. The word bank serves as a list of common themes that come up in the academy related to faculty, the tenure process, organization structure, and diversity. These words are only to be used as triggers that may or may not relate to the experiences that male faculty of color are having on the participating campus. The participants were allotted 10 minutes to complete this exercise. Next, a series of 24 semi-structured, open-ended research protocol questions were administered following the graphic elicitation. The interview protocol questions were geared toward the overall lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University. At a later date, all participants were invited back to participate in focus groups related to the study.

Qualitative (narrative) data were collected via participant interviews during the initial phase of the study. Schoper (2011) discusses three general types of interviews: the

informal conversational, the general interview guide, and the standardized open-ended approach. I used a semi-structured interview approach to make the participants feel comfortable and to also gather data from their true voice: unformatted and unedited. However, the interviews were goal-oriented and had set questions along with potential follow-up questions. The qualitative data were collected via digital audio-recorded application for the general interviews in a sound-proof conference room. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative data provide an emphasis on people's lived experiences and further provides "meaning" of people's experiences based on the events, processes, and structures of their lives. According to the authors, qualitative research provides connections to these meanings as they relate to the social world around them.

An interview protocol was used to guide the interviews. The interview protocol for general interviews is comprised of semi-structured and open-ended questions (Creswell, 2003). This format is designed to gain a broader narrative of the participants' experiences. Other strengths of the general interview / informal conversation format include being able to get large amounts of data quickly, the potential for immediate follow-up and clarification, and an opportunity to gain an understanding of the meanings associated with the participants' daily activities (Creswell, 2003). (See Appendix A)

Disadvantages of interviews included the potential for the researcher's presence biasing the participants' responses (Creswell, 2003) and the participants perceiving the likelihood of their anonymity being maintained as low (Johnson & Turner, 2003). The willingness of the participants to be interviewed and the ability of the interviewer to ask questions that evoked long narratives were also potential limitations to conducting interviews. Since some of the participants in this study were newly tenured (associate)

faculty, there was a great concern expressed by them regarding their anonymity being maintained. As a result, some participants were reluctant to fully discuss their lived experiences and kept the conversation more general or did not choose to participate at all. Retaliation from the institution was a real fear for many of the men of color that participated or did not participate in this study.

Critical race theory was utilized during the study to gain a more in-depth understanding of the experiences of full-time associate and full professor tenured faculty that are also African American and Latino male. One of the fundamental elements of CRT is the centrality of experiential knowledge. “Critical race theory recognizes that the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critically to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26). Critical race theorists believe experiential knowledge is a strength, and therefore, use storytelling, family histories, biographies, scenarios, parables, chronicles, and narratives to learn about people of color (Solórzano & Yosso). Critical race methodologies provide a means for communicating the experiences and realities of the oppressed (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

I used counter-storytelling to learn more about the lived experiences of full-time tenure-track African American and Latino male faculty. Counter-storytelling is “a method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority” (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27). Counter-storytelling “counters a set of unexamined assumptions made by the dominant culture... [and is considered] a rich way of understanding knowledge from communities of color” (Delgado & Villalpando, 2002, p. 172). Counter-storytelling allows for the challenge of

privileged discourses, thus allowing it to serve as a means for providing a voice to marginalized groups (DeCuir & Dixson). It is telling the stories of those whose experiences are not often told (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Found in various forms, counter-storytelling may include personal narratives, other people's stories/narratives, and composite stories/narratives (DeCuir & Dixson). For the purposes of this study, personal stories/narratives were recorded (with permission) to advance the understanding of the participants' experiences.

The interviews incorporated CRT through the use of counter-stories and were designed to elicit information about the participants' experiences as associate and full professors. Each interview was tape-recorded (via cell phone app) and took place in a mutually agreed upon location – most often off campus to make the participants feel safe and comfortable. Pilot interviews were conducted with two full-time tenured African American male faculty. The pilot interviews were conducted to test the quality of the interview questions, estimate the length of the interviews, and to identify any problems with the interview process. Interviews lasted between approximately 30 to 60 minutes. All interviews were conducted during the summer / fall of 2016. An interview protocol (see Appendix A) incorporating critical race methodology was utilized to guide participants through the interviews. The interviews were transcribed verbatim during the data analysis phase. The transcripts of these interviews were shared with the participants for trustworthiness. All data will be kept in storage off campus and destroyed after research is completed in order to protect participants.

Phase II: Focus Groups

During Phase II of the study, I collected qualitative data via focus groups. The data collected from the focus groups were coded using descriptive coding in the analysis phase. The focus groups were hosted after the completion of the interviews with the same purposefully selected participants. During the focus groups, I took rigorous notes and audio-recorded the sessions that were later coded, developed into themes, and transcribed to create key themes for the fundamental portion of the research. All notes were shared and approved by the participants for transparency and reliability.

Phase III: Material Culture and Document Analysis

During phase III, I collected material cultural items. Material culture played a role in this research because of the historical legacies that are associated with these images and physical objects. According to Ossewaarde (2009), objects are the material things people encounter, interact with, and use. These objects are often referred to as material culture. For example, statues and paintings of past alumni, faculty, or presidents memorialized on a given campus are a form of material cultural. At PWIs, these items tend to be representative of one demographic (White majority). The term “material culture” emphasizes how apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people and are acted upon by people, for purposes of carrying out social functions and regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity. Objects can range in size from a pencil or a photo to an academic building. Through this material culture, I also hoped to look at traditions and rituals at PWIs that may or may not impact the experiences of people of color, particularly men of color at these institutions.

For example, Upstate University has images through the campus that only focus on self-identified White individuals (mostly men) that have either been students, staff, or faculty at the institution. Further, the institution has residence halls that were erected in the early mid-1800s, named after alumni that were known slave owners and against the abolitionist movement in Upstate, New York. The messages that are espoused either indirectly or directly to would be prospective students, staff, and faculty about this university may be negatively affected by these images. These makers of identity and cultural and political power were explored further through this research.

Because of the small remote community that prides itself on “everybody knows everybody,” I conducted these interviews on campus in a sound proof room. I also record these sessions and hired a professional transcriptionist to transcribe the interviews in preparation to set up another interview for member checking purposes.

Additional data were collected through the analysis of documents. Document analysis is one of four basic types of qualitative data collection (Creswell, 2003) and is typically used to enhance and enrich research that utilizes other qualitative methods (Love, 2003). I incorporated the use of both general and personal documents in this study. Documents “are any written or recorded material that was not prepared specifically in response to a request from an inquirer or for some official accounting” (Love, p. 85). Documents are categorized as either general or personal (Love). An example of a general document is a policy statement. An email or letter would be considered a personal document. The general documents analyzed for this study were the promotion and tenure policies of the institutions where Phase I of the study was conducted. The personal

documents analyzed were the curriculum vitae (CVs) of the faculty participating in the qualitative phase.

Document analysis is an unobtrusive method, considered rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting (Love, 2003). My hope was that the analysis of the promotion and tenure policies would enrich my understanding of the culture and expectations of the institution where faculty that participated in the initial phase of the study were employed. The review of the CVs, permitted me to obtain demographic data such as educational and employment history. In addition, I developed better insight into the participants' research interests, courses taught, and involvement both within and outside their respective institutions.

The primary strengths of document analysis are their richness as a source of additional data and their ability to stimulate additional interview questions (Love, 2003). The most significant limitation to document analysis is the non-interactiveness and non-responsiveness of the process. However, Love (2003) considers the unobtrusiveness and non-reactiveness of document analysis to be a strength, because it can be conducted without disturbing the setting. An additional weakness of document analysis was the amount of inferential reasoning or interpretation by the researcher (Love, 2003).

Data Analysis

These individual interviews and focus groups were transcribed, coded, and triangulated to identify key themes or patterns throughout the research. Data were also triangulated from the graphics elicitations and material culture that were collected to help support existing or prevalent themes that emerged. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed for accuracy. The observations were conducted and recorded using an

observation protocol format. Finally, as a way to reflect, analyze, and try to make sense of all the data collected, I incorporated the use of several day-to-day analytic memos (Saldana, 2009). According to Saldana (2009), coding and analytic memo writing are concurrent qualitative data analytic activities that assist in understanding a central phenomenon. According to Saldana (2009), coding is most often a few words or short phrases in order to capture the essence of an interview, observation, or field notes. Coding is significant to data collection because it helps establish themes for further research within a study and also allows the researcher to narrow the focus of the study. Once coded, I looked for correlating themes during the first cycle of my study followed by “member checking” with my participants to discuss the matching themes that I had discovered to ensure trustworthiness of my findings.

My biases as the researcher must also be considered when ensuring the quality of the inferences. Love (2010) asserts that a challenge qualitative researchers must confront is allowing personal interest to bias the study. The review of the literature on the lived experiences of male faculty of color definitely biased me. I had an expectation that the qualitative phase of the study would provide numerous examples of struggles during the socialization process for those participants who entered the academy in environments that were less than welcoming (PWIs). As a Puerto Rican American male who has worked in higher education administration for over 19 years, I expected to be able to identify with many of the issues that were discussed by the participants in the qualitative phase of the study. However, I was committed to maintaining an open-mind and presenting the findings in a manner that best articulated the experiences of those participating in the study and not my own.

To ensure this research integrity, I provided copies of the interview transcripts to the participants to ensure the accuracy of the transcriptions. The findings of the study were then provided to all participants to ensure that their experiences were accurately presented. In addition, I shared my findings (without names of the participants) with two colleagues who are familiar with the content of the study. Both colleagues have had over 30 years of professional experiences at PWIs and further are men of color.

Protection of Human Subjects

The following procedures were utilized to protect the rights of those participating in the study and to inform them of the study's purpose: 1) All Institutional Review Board (IRB) materials from Rowan University and Colgate University were completed prior to the start of the study; 2) Pseudonyms and the removal of the actual institution's name was enforced; 3) Written consent forms were signed in advance by participating faculty; 4) Research goals and objectives were explained to participants at the start of the study; and, 5) Verbatim transcripts of the interviews were provided to all participants in the study to verify accuracy.

The primary focus of this study was to conduct individual interviews, collect material culture, and conduct focus groups for a purposefully selected group of male faculty of color at the University. A male faculty of color demographics list was obtained through the Office of the university Provost.

Ethical Considerations

Threats to the research would be to not infuse my own beliefs or bias within the scholarship. According to Rubin and Rubin (2012), researchers must resist the urge to infuse our own moral or political views, especially during the interview phases of the

research. I am extremely passionate about diversity work, however, I have learned my own opinion and even expertise has no place in my scholarly work. I used member checking and probing techniques to establish rigor and trustworthiness of the data collection and coding processes. Further, participants' identities were not disclosed in order to protect them from potential backlash, but also to obtain the most candid information possible.

According to Rubin and Rubin (2012), the core expectation and obligation of the researcher is to ensure that the interviewees do not come to harm because of their participation in the study. I took a relational approach to this study stressing equal status collaboration for myself as the researcher and the researched participants (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Protecting and showing respect for these individual's time and contributions to my work was my priority. This meant that all documentation was kept confidential and the identities of the participants unknown to anyone else on campus other than the researcher. It further meant that I would keep all records off campus in a locked safe at my residency and all interviews would be done off campus at an undisclosed location chosen by the interviewee. I showed respect and honored the promises that I made to the interviewees throughout the process regarding their identity, safety, and participation.

Trustworthiness

Phenomenological data analysis is an interpretive process. As researcher, it is my responsibility to be truthful to what is meant by each participant. To maintain trustworthiness, I used member checking, peer debriefing, and journaling to maintain the integrity of the study. Member checking is a qualitative term used to determine the

trustworthiness of the data analysis (McCoy, 2006). I used member checking to ensure that the interview transcripts and recording were an accurate reflection of the participants' thoughts and experiences. Member checking enabled me to verify that I captured what the participants meant. Respondents were asked to review these transcripts for accuracy. Second, I had follow-up questions based on the transcript findings to determine whether the interviews captured their experiences (Love, 2003). Third, I incorporated related literature to provide additional context for the respondents' experiences as captured on tape and transcribed. Fourth, I peer-debriefed these findings with scholars within the academy whose research and scholarship specialize in the areas of male faculty of color within the academy. Finally, I used a journal to document all research exercises and my thought development throughout this process. By doing this, I held myself accountable to how themes and descriptions of the phenomena evolved.

Summary

The method for the study was presented in this chapter. Phenomenology guided the data collection and analysis process. During data collection and analysis, trustworthiness was ensured by continually referring to member checking, peer debriefing, and journaling. Individual themes and descriptions were developed from the data for each participant. These descriptions captured the phenomena from the participant's point of view. The composite description was a result of analyzing and synthesizing the individual descriptions and themes to adequately represent the experience as a whole. The following chapters present the individual and composite descriptions, the emergent thematic analysis, and discussion.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) was discussed, particularly counter-storytelling. The CRT component of counter-storytelling was incorporated to gain a better understanding of the experiences of male faculty of color that are full-time tenured associate and full professors. The theory of cultural taxation was also intertwined into the study to gain a stronger understanding of the lived experiences of male faculty of color from a psychological and emotional perspective. The findings from this study, presented in Chapter IV, could be used to bring attention to the lived experiences of male faculty of color, in order for senior level administrators and faculty to implement systemic changes and policies that may assist male faculty of color during their entry and tenure within the PWI academy.

Based on the literature review, it can be safely determined that there is a need to conduct research to explore the lived experiences of male faculty of color in higher education with a specific focus on predominately White, liberal arts institutions. Findings from the literature provide a theoretical framework for this study as a mechanism to analyze the factors negatively impacting the overall experience of male faculty of color in higher education.

The purpose of this study was to fill in the gaps and perform groundbreaking research that would explore the experiences of male faculty of color in the academy. This can contribute greatly to the scholarly literature and begin national conversations on the importance and significance of male faculty of color in the field, and further develop best practices to remedy any issues or challenges that present themselves within this study or future work of other scholarly practitioners regarding the lived experiences of male faculty of color at PWIs.

Chapter IV

Findings

The purpose of this study was to investigate the lived experiences of full-time tenured male associate and full professors of color at Upstate University, a predominately White private liberal arts institution. This chapter focuses on their perceptions of their experiences in and out of the academy at Upstate University. In this chapter, I discuss the qualitative findings of the study. The chapter begins with a profile of the participants. I then go into the identified themes of the study, which are: 1) Sense of Belonging, 2) Lack of Visible Diversity, 3) The Impact of Race, 4) The Taxation of Men of Color, and 5) The Value of Mentorship. I begin by discussing each of these themes and presenting on how faculties struggled to gain a true sense of belonging at the institution. I then discuss what the participants called a “lack of visible diversity” on campus, which according to them, has negatively impacted their experience. I then transition into the theme of cultural taxation, in which male faculty of color feel as though they have to work twice as hard as their White counterparts to get equal respect. Using a critical race theory lens (counter-storytelling), I follow-up with discussions that occurred around race and its impact on the experience of this faculty sub-group. Finally, I present a discussion around mentorship and how this has played out or not in the lives of the 15 participants at Upstate University.

Graphic Elicitation & Material Cultural

Graphic elicitation are verbal & non-verbal stimuli that are employed before the interview process as an ice breaker activity in which the subject matter defies the use of a strictly verbal approach. “Such stimuli might typically include physical specimens, maps, drawings, photographs and video-clips” (Crilly et al., 2006, p. 1). Participants within this

study engaged in a 15-minute graphic elicitation warm-up activity in an effort to make them comfortable for the much longer interview process (Appendix C).

Material Culture was also used in this research to understand the visible landscape of Upstate University and if the physical and surrounding environment were reflective to diverse cultures. According to Ossewaarde (2009), material cultural can be objects that are the material things people encounter, interact with, and use. The things could be photos, paintings, statues, buildings, and other structure that expose the identity of the surrounding environment.

While these two components were used in the research, they did not yield the extent of useful data that semi-structured interviews and focus groups provided. However, these techniques could be useful in future studies with more time and resources. For the purposes of this research, these were great resources to make the participants comfortable and preparing them for the individual interviews and focus groups.

Participant Profiles

The 15 participants within this study have over 272 years of teaching experiences at Upstate University combined. There were three full professors and 12 associate professors that agreed to participate. No assistant professors agreed to participate within this study due to a great fear of retaliation, including the fear of being terminated. Assistant professors do not have tenure and are basically entry level employees, or what the university calls “at will employees,” this means they could be terminated for a good reason or no reason at all. Because of this, only faculty with tenure status at the associate or full professor ranks agreed to participate within this study. However, this group also wanted to be ensured protection. I took all precautions possible in protecting the identity

of these participants, including the use of soundproof conference rooms, meetings off campus, and maintaining all audio recordings and transcripts off campus. This specific attention and care also included being discreet about participants' actual discipline of study. I include broad discipline titles that would make the participants' identities difficult to determine. The years of service are averages and the university does not keep public records of years of service after tenure. I chose this approach because several members within this research are the only males of color in their entire department. Many potential study candidates did not participate because of this fear of retaliation in the form of being terminated for what they might say about their employer.

Demographically, we had nine African American and six Latino American male participants in this study. Table 1 provides additional data of the participants, including education, rank, and years of service. All names provided are pseudonyms to provide anonymity to the participants. The participants teach in a range of departments including the Sciences, Math, Education, Women's Studies, Religion, and Sociology. The specific departments within the discipline were not included to protect the participants. These participants identify as African American or Latino American, but also as former first generation college students, and for the most part, grew up as socio-economically poor. A few of the participants were raised under the welfare system and one participant was adopted. An interesting fact regarding all the participants is that none of them went to an elite school during their undergraduate years or for their doctoral studies. Table 1 introduces the participants for this study.

Table 1.

Participants

Name	Ethnicity	Discipline	# of Years at Upstate University	# of Years in Academia	Rank	Degree
Frank	AA	Science	25	25	Associate	PhD
Chris	L	Science	15	22	Associate	PhD
Roy	AA	Science	20	20	Associate	PhD
Brian	AA	Women's Studies	15	22	Associate	EdD
Peter	AA	Education	25	25	Full	PhD
Steve	AA	Religion	9	9	Associate	PhD
Daniel	L	Sociology	10	10	Associate	PhD
Mike	L	English	40	40	Associate	PhD
Hassan	AA	Math	8	8	Associate	PhD
Miguel	L	Science	37	37	Full	PhD
Joe	L	History	10	10	Associate	PhD
Sam	AA	Latin Studies	8	8	Associate	PhD
Kevin	L	Art	10	10	Associate	PhD
John	AA	Education	27	27	Full	PhD
Arnold	AA	Global Studies	13	13	Associate	PhD

Note: (AA) – African American & (L) – Latino American

Why Male Faculty of Color Came to Upstate University

Many participants stated they came across Upstate University by accident or via discussions with colleagues that they met at a national conference or keynote speaking engagements at other institutions. A few participants knew of the great prestige of the institution and the resources that were available for scholarship. However, it is safe to say that many male faculty of color come across Upstate University by word of mouth. Frank, a recently tenured (associate) professor at Upstate University, explains:

I was completing a post doctorate fellowship and was referred by a friend of several institutions that may be interested in my candidacy upon completion of my fellowship; Upstate University was one of these schools. I was invited to Upstate to give a talk and after my presentation, I was provided dinner and immediately my host ask if I would be interested in becoming a visiting member of the faculty at this specific institution. I declined and several months later the same colleague reached out again and made the offer again and this time included the incentive that the institution would be willing to hold the opportunity for one academic year until, I completed my fellowship. Because of Upstate University's aggressive yet accommodating approach in seeking me out, I accepted the deal on the terms that it would also be a tenure track position. This was approved, so here I am.

Arnold, a full professor at Upstate, agreed that he also did not know much about Upstate University, but that the institution provided great resources, paid well, and had great incentives that were not available at other existing opportunities for this candidate.

He comments:

The institution is geographically located in the middle of nowhere, but I did not mind that, I just wanted to be at a place where, I was paid well, valued, and supported. For me, if I have that, I am good no matter where my job is located or what the demographics are.

Regarding recruitment, there seemed to have been a general consensus that not many male faculty of color knew of the institution prior to being recruited. This seemed to be because of where the university is geographical situated in Upstate, New York.

According to participants of this study, Upstate University tends to use that as an excuse to not aggressively seek out candidates of color. This draws the participants' opinions closely in line with the literature of Astin et al. (1997) who believe that higher education as a whole has done a poor job recruiting and retaining faculty of color, especially in geographically remote locations of America. However, all of the participants still came because the overall pay, professional development opportunities, and other incentives, which proved for this group to be great recruitment tools; even if, this institution had low diversity numbers within the professoriate. Kevin says:

When I am searching for an opportunity, I am not counting the number of people of color there to determine if I am going to be happy. However, I would like to meet everyone on campus during my orientation period, especially my community of color. My recruitment process was good, but once I got here, I felt like I was sold a false bag of goods. This is a great campus with a lot of resources. But, the people are just not friendly. My White colleagues of course have their issues of bias and the small community of color here is just out for themselves. It is hard to build true friendships when the environment is so limited.

Roy, an associate professor at Upstate University, saw value in the academic freedom that faculty obtained within the university. The ability to freely develop and structure courses and materials for instruction that will ultimately influence and shape the minds of the next generation's world leaders and workforce, was something that he saw as extremely attractive. Further, the ability as a Latino male with an accent to be able to "serve this great institution," was an opportunity that he could not pass up. Roy commented:

The desire to become a faculty member came quite naturally for me. I always have been a student with a great passion for learning. I particularly was drawn to the sciences and in my area of discipline you do not see many people that look or talk like me. I found my mission and purpose in my love of science and also an area where I could represent a demographic that does not always shine in this field. Most importantly, the ability to own the curriculum and how I will teach the course materials was an extreme plus for me as an educator.

John, a full professor at Upstate University, entered the academy because of his desire to be a role model and an advocate for marginalized students. He commented:

When I was in graduate school, I realized that I wanted to become a professor. There is no other job in my mind that is so self-fulfilling and that brings me joy like being a teacher. I benefit from having role models in my community, black men that were positive influences in my life that not only kept me out of trouble, but made school a priority for me. Not having a father in my life, I could have gone down a not so positive road. But, men in my community kept me focused. I never forgot that and when I became an educator, I found a way to give back to youth.

Based on John's comments, he seems to be bothered by the fact that faculty of color, in general, were not as visible at Upstate University as they should be. It seemed to not affect his overall initial working experience, but he was noticeably uncomfortable about this absence. Faculty participants also discussed how happy they were with the great resources of the institution but struggle in feeling that they truly belong at the college. The sense of belonging became a strong theme for this study.

Theme One - Sense of Belonging

According to Osterman (2000), a sense of belonging is a human need, just like the need for air or food or shelter. Feeling that you belong is most important in seeing value in your life (Suh, 2007). Participants within this study mentioned on numerous occasions the struggle to socially and emotionally fit into an environment that was not representative of them. This seemed to be further compounded by the issues of the few faculty of color that were present at Upstate University, not having a mechanism to meet each other across departments, or within the greater off campus community.

Faculty demands became an immediate subtheme impacting the sense of belonging of these participants. As faculty discussed their sense of belonging experiences, the subtheme of not "fitting into" the campus environment was discussed. This would be

accompanied by the relevant academic isolation that exists in this climate. Finally, the cross-departmental connections subtheme spoke to the institutional challenges that are systematic within the university departments as it relates to the sense of belonging of these men of color.

Faculty demands. Participants discussed the challenges of just simply being faculty and how challenging this could be. The study also discovered that not feeling like you belong added an additional level of challenges that perhaps other faculty within the White demographic did not have to deal with.

Roy comments here:

I feel that Upstate University is very forward looking. Meaning, I think they are progressive in some ways. The institution rewards hard work and resources are made available for everyone. The problem that I see is that for the people that need it, the institution does not meddle in social engagement stuff. Upstate University is not in the position of making people feel at home. This perhaps, for single people maybe problematic, I came to this area with a spouse; so my work and my family, take up my time. I think more should be done during orientation for all faculty. The social engagement stuff matters and I think, I was limited by not being able to meet faculty throughout the campus, especially faculty of color. I did not have much time during my initial tenure track days and less now with a full family, but if the networking opportunities were worth it, I would have found the time.

Roy, seems to be very independent and though he has stated that he could have benefitted from a more enhanced on-boarding (orientation) process, he seems to have done fine without one. Roy also discusses the lack of social engagement at Upstate and while (because of family life) it does not seem to be an issue for him, he does state for single men of color this maybe a challenge. Roy closes out by saying that he would have made time for engagement if the opportunity were robust or in his own words, “worth it.” Perhaps, department heads and hiring committees need to figure out new orientation strategies and on-going programming that touches everyone regardless of their family

commitments, research obligations, or lack of involvement. According to Roy, the opportunities for engagement need to be so robust that people will make the time.

Kevin adds:

My first year here was very tough. I think it is for all faculty, but when you also stand out as a minority, I believe it to be worse. I questioned if I belonged here, was my scholarship and teaching good enough, would I make it to tenure; I questioned everything. I did this mainly because I never felt welcomed and I thought it was because people assumed I was an affirmative action hire or not really qualified. The bad thing is, I started questioning my own work and credibility and was I good enough to be here. The first few years here, I struggled with knowing if I truly belonged here academically or socially.

According to Suh (2007), a strong sense of belonging is important to one's own well-being, and if individuals are thinking more about if they belong or not, versus producing quality academic scholarship and work, these faculty members are likely to burn out at a higher rate. According to several of the participants, this lack of validation or a lack of feeling of significance amongst their peers has been relevant throughout their careers. Peter shared his thoughts:

Look at the end of day, people have to be able to navigate the campus. Being a faculty member is hard, but try being a faculty member as a Black man. The extra barriers and scrutiny that we have to go through is crazy. Then we feel inadequate and because of the demands of just being a faculty member compounded by the stigma that we feel or they make us feel like we do not belong here, makes it tough to bare. I am surprised, I made it. I have been here for over 20 years. They should give me battle pay.

Roy, Kevin, and Peter share some compelling stories in regards to their struggle to establish a true sense of belonging at Upstate University. These emotions seemed to be drawn from how these particular faculty members were treated after accepting the jobs and being on campus for the first year. There also seems to be some self-inflicted wounds that developed through this lack of sense of belonging that manifested itself into self-doubt and these participants even questioning their credentials or legitimacy as faculty

members at Upstate. We will explore this further in the area of fitting into Upstate University and how participants were able to achieve this.

Fitting in. Fitting in was a subtheme that came up often within this sense of belonging theme as the participants struggled deeply with calling the university their own and most certainly not feeling as if they fit into the campus culture. Many faculties cited the geographic location of the university, the lack of diversity, and the institution's "slow response" to discriminatory acts that occur on campus either to students, faculty, or staff, as negatively impactful to the greater community of color. The perception by the participants is when bias incidents occurs on campus, the university proves it does not care because of how cautious they approach the issue. The participants feel that their sense of belonging is always second to the university's brand. Brian stated:

Fitting in is critically important to your overall success and well-being. Upstate University calls it the importance of the right "institutional fit," well, maybe during recruitment and orientation and throughout the university retention efforts, they should remind themselves that we need support as professionals of color that are expected to sink or swim at PWIs. The same cookie cutter approach used for majority faculty will not work for minority faculty. You know, I have attended only a hand full of faculty meetings in my time here. You know why? Because, the meetings do not speak to me, my work, or lived experience. If they want me to attend meetings, than speak to my needs and interest as well. I need to feel acknowledged to fit in, not ignored. I have been ignored for years. That's my experience. My scholarship keeps me grounded.

Hasson agrees:

I have done everything that the university has asked me to do. All I want is to be accepted, valued, and appreciated. Fitting in to a community that makes you feel that you do not belong inside and outside the work environment is a tough deal. This is why I feel like they should pay us more, because not only do we work hard, we have the extra stress of being made to feel like we do not belong here. It is a constant feeling.

Hasson shares the sentiments here of a lot of the participants within the study that have found success at Upstate University, but never truly have felt as if they have been

fully accepted into the institution. Hasson feels that he has done everything that has been required of him as a faculty member, but that still is not enough to gain full participation, access, and inclusion into the academy. Joe adds:

Fitting in is a two way street, right? The institution has to want you here and you have to want to be here as well. I am here because the resources and scholarship opportunities are some of the best in the nation. However, happiness or acceptance, I guess was never part of the deal. I knew, where I was coming to and was aware of the demographics. I just thought (silly me), I could navigate it better and fit into my community easier that it has been. I have been here ten years, I still do not know most my neighbors. They don't talk to me, so I don't talk to them. I guess, I will just continue to use this place for what it is worth.

The participants here discuss fitting into an academy that does not acknowledge them or speak to their needs. Participants like Brian early on in their current and perhaps even present day feel ignored by their university. If true, how terrible a circumstance this must be for male faculty of color at Upstate University. Further, this seems to be compounded by the poorly engaged campus community.

Academic isolation. Academic isolation is a term coined by Lori D. Patton (2009) regarding the loneliness and lack of campus connectivity that many faculty of color find themselves in at PWIs. Participants within this study seem to be in agreement that the level of community engagement, or what one faculty member called “artificial gatherings,” happens around alcohol rather than collegiality or care of community. This is particularly odd because Upstate University is a very small campus, but somehow there are no opportunities to connect meaningfully. The participants seem to feel this isolation throughout their careers at Upstate.

Chris, an associate professor at Upstate that came to the institution with tenure status from a previous institution discussed: “Coming into Upstate University with tenure granted is a completely different experience, however, you still feel lonely in a places like

this. You just do.” Chris lives out of town almost an hour away from Upstate University because he stated that there are “no people of color on campus or in the community.”

Chris makes efforts to explain his response in more depth. Chris elaborates:

I mean that the few men or women of color that are there are siloed out to their departments and we never see each other. I have never felt comfortable living or working at Upstate University, but it’s a great job (pay wise) so, I tolerate the lack of diversity. However, I commute almost an hour away due to that lack of diversity. I feel that I do not belong in the immediate community.

The interesting part of Chris’s statement is that there are people of color present on campus, they are just not visible to one another. There are small numbers of people of color in general at Upstate University. However, they do seem to struggle in building community. It just seems that no one is willing to put the time and effort into cultivating these types of community engagement models.

Mike contributes by saying:

You know this place overworks its faculty. We teach five courses an academic year, we need to always be publishing something, and our scholarship and committee services need to be on point. When do I have time to break bread with some one? It is hard to build community if you’re overwhelmed. Perhaps, the university should make this an institutional priority and free up some of us senior faculty from a course or two, then I have time, otherwise, leave me alone.

Mike brings a great perspective in stating that faculty have many demands on them in and out of the classroom lives. Most faculty, do not seem to have the time for much else, especially if they have families. According to Mike, course releases and other breaks from university services could provide more time for faculty to build community and reach out to one another. Joe seems to agree:

Look, I understand why people were not able to reach out to me in a meaningful way when I got here. This is an intense place for faculty. As faculty members here there are a ton of expectations that prevent us from being more community oriented. You just work and connect with the people that you need to reach your goals, normally that will restrict you to your immediate department. There are not

enough hours in a day and scholarship and teaching come first. I have tenure now and I have yet to mentor any new professors period. I am too busy. We need course releases or relief from other departmental duties that consume our time. If we can develop a better balance, I think that there are a number of faculty here that would volunteer to enhance the community experience for people of color. We just need time to organize it.

Joe has come full circle in his experience at Upstate University in not understanding why it was so hard to meet others within the academy, to now in his professional career, not having the time to reach out himself due to scholarly commitments and service responsibilities. Joe and Mike agree that if faculty had course releases or relief from other committee related duties, then perhaps more faculty would be able to work on the greater campus community issues around engagement. But, this would be up to the individual department to create these opportunities and points of connection.

Sam takes the conversation into a different direction:

I think the university should hire as many people of color as it can to create a critical mass that will support one another. We are too often depending on people to help us that do not want to be around us or are intimidated by our mere presence. If we had more people here that could help free up the time of our senior faculty, I think we would be in a better situation here at Upstate.

Sam brings up keys concerns about the lack of a critical mass of people of color at Upstate University that can support one another and how difficult it must be to not have that community. This is further compounded by the fact that the few people of color that are there are extremely busy with so many in and out of the classroom commitments that they never connect. Connecting across departments could be a key strategy in support these male faculty of color.

Cross-departmental connections. Many of the participants discuss how they are the only male faculty of color in their entire department and several did not have an opportunity or mechanism to meet other faculty of color on campus or across departments. This seems to impact their lived experience and could be an easy modification of programming that Upstate University could create to remedy some of these underlying issues.

Hassan discusses the problem:

All of are departments are siloed out. That is the problem. If you are math or science you stick with those faculties, if you are race and gender focused you are meeting with that group only, and their lies the problem. Upstate University only has a handful of us at the institution and if we are always stuck within our departments it hurts our engagement and any efforts to building community with other men of color or people of color in general.

Sam agrees:

I value my colleagues within my department, but it would be nice to meet others throughout the campus. Particularly, other people of color. I don't know why it is so hard, it just is. The only times, I have been able to meet others is through my work on search committees and service related committees. Connections across campus departments would actually be cool. It would be fascinating to hear about other scholarship and literature from an entirely different discipline. Yeah, we should make time for this.

Hasson and Sam seem to be in agreement of the benefits of cross-departmental connections and do not understand the politics around why this is so difficult to put together. Time seems to be a critical issue with all the demands of just simply being a faculty member. However, there seems to be great interest and value in connecting across disciplines and departments. Several participants within this study shared the same sentiment regarding the significance of cross-departmental connections, but also shared that it would be difficult to sustain because of the work expectations that are placed on faculty. Miguel states:

Meeting other faculty in general would be great beyond my department, but it would have been so helpful to meet other faculty of color during my first few years here. I went the entire first year of my employment thinking, I was the only man of color on campus. How sad it that? We need to do better in meeting across difference but more importantly meeting as men of color or people of color across the academy and supporting one another.

Peter adds:

Departments need to do a better job in getting minorities together on campus. Some people of color may not want to be single out like that, but for the ones that want to be connected a program should exist. It could be simply a lunch series where folks are invited to connect with colleagues of various affinity groups or academic interest. The lack of connectivity on such a small campus is troubling. We are not that busy.

Cross departmental connects would be a great initiative for Upstate University to consider supporting in creating collaborations and engagement that highlight the critical mass of diversity on the entire campus. This would assist in supporting male faculty of color at Upstate and making the diversity that the institution does have more visible campus wide.

Daniel believes we can even take it a step further:

Besides also connecting us via department, I would have like to see us reach out to the surrounding colleges and universities in this immediate area. We seem to exist in a bubble here and that is part of the problem. Connect to community outside of our institution could also be helpful in building community. Our department heads and institutional leaders can meet up with local school and establish meetings and other networking events that can assist in the overall climate and lack of visible diversity in this area.

The Sense of Belonging theme discussed the challenges of simply being faculty and the demands that are associated with being an academic compounded by also being a male faculty member of color. These faculty demands became an important subtheme to the theme of sense of belonging as it gave context to perhaps the varying levels of expectation for male faculty of color that are not placed on other demographics of faculty.

Fitting in at Upstate University was discussed as a subtheme to sense of belonging in the sense that although these faculty members have all reached a level of success in achieving tenure, for some reason they still feel like guests at their own institution. Perhaps, the subtheme of academic isolation uncovers this further as faculty do not even know each other or have systems in place to ever really meet. Finally, cross departmental connections rose as a subtheme that seems to be significantly helpful in the lived experiences of men of color and other affinity groups on campus. What the participants seem to want is to just be acknowledged on their campus, and most importantly that the few men of color that are there be more visible. Lack of visible diversity will be discussed in the next section and seems to be another great challenge for these men and for Upstate University in providing these spaces and opportunities of connection.

Theme Two - Lack of Visible Diversity

Visible diversity can be defined as the understanding of individual uniqueness and recognition of individual differences (Fernández & Langhout, 2014). For this particular study, I used the dimensions of race, ethnicity, and darker skin color to define physical diversity at Upstate University. Visible diversity according to the participants within this study is about seeing a reflection of yourself within the academy. According to the participants, this is important because when minority groups can connect on predominately White campuses, it helps them to establish a “sense of self” and “home” within a PWI space that may not always reflect images of men of color or even provide reflection of diversity on or off campus. Subthemes that emerged in the section include invisible off campus diversity that spoke to the on and off the campus challenges of male faculty of color not being provided opportunities to meet on campus, or even within the

immediate community. This was accompanied by the subtheme of marketing on campus diversity, which covered the paradigm of advertising the diversity that Upstate University does have on campus and the importance of making that visible to all members of the campus community.

Mike has been the only African American male in his department for over 25 years. Mike states:

There are very few African Americans here. I am the only one in my department. You would think after 25 years, they would have recruited a few more. But, this environment is a hard sell for people of color. The reason for this is because it can be a very lonely and isolating place, coupled by the fact that they are just not friendly here to people of color. I have very few people that work directly with me or even say “hi” to me. In the of campus community, I barely see anyone of color. I originally thought that my colleagues are just socially awkward, well, I have come to feel differently nowadays. If I was around more of my own, I think I would feel more included at this university. We cannot seem to find one another.

Mike shares a very jaded view of the social environment here at Upstate University and further discusses his disappointment that the demographics for African American faculty have not increased within his department. Mike also shares that based on his experience, the institution is not friendly, and men of color feel isolated and marginalized because of it. Mike also alludes to the invisible diversity, or at least the perception that there is no off campus diversity. The next section covers this concept of invisible off campus diversity.

Invisible off campus diversity. The lack of visible diversity on Upstate University’s campus and in the surrounding neighborhood drove a couple of our participants to live outside of town; with one individual, Chris residing an hour away from campus states:

They always talk about this is a great place to raise a family, it is so safe, and everything is available for us in the village. I do not see anyone else that looks

like me, or a potential family that I might want to raise here. My experience on the campus has been, I am “othered” or made to feel less than in the classroom and in the community, I get these odd stares and glares when I am in the town or at the grocery store or dinner. I wonder if these people have ever even seen a person of color before, because that is how they look at me. In order to have a better work life balance and to temper myself against what I feel is extreme ignorance and bigotry; I would rather drive over an hour to have my sanity. Work is work. I can deal with that but at home, I should be able to chill, right?

Many single participants found it hard to establish true friendships or even have realistic dating options. Kevin agreed stating:

I just work on campus and I keep a suitcase packed. The more conferences and papers, I can present the better. As for my dating life, that’s non-existing, it is just too small of a community and not enough diversity. I have friends out of state that I visit from time to time. It can get lonely sometimes.

Miguel agrees stating:

You know, I can go months without seeing someone that looks like me. It did not bother me at first but, as you settle in, you at least want to see a student, staff, or faculty member that kind of looks like you. But, nope, nothing! You have to have a strong sense of self to survive in this sea of Whiteness. I have successfully done it for a number of years, but I have sacrificed a piece of myself in trying to fit into this place.

Miguel here refers to real pain that he has endured trying to assimilate to a campus that lacks visible diversity. It would seem that his experience would be better if Upstate University would intentionally recruit a critical mass of more professionals of color, especially in the faculty ranks. Miguel admits that he has been able to adapt in many ways. However, his colleagues have not taken the time to learn about him or attend activities with him that support multiculturalism on campus. McIntosh (1996) offers suggestions regarding the importance of members of the dominant culture to increase their knowledge of people from different backgrounds. Many participants within this study questioned the commitment and sincerity of their colleagues wanting to learn more about different cultures and lived experiences of faculty of color. Miguel, has chosen to

engage and learn from the White dominant culture of Upstate regardless, if they do not take the time or interest to learn about him. Miguel feels that this has been at a significant cost to who he is as a professional and who he is as a man of color in the professoriate.

Arnold adds to the conversation:

For me, it is about wanting to feel comfortable in the community I live in and what makes me feel comfortable is having people around me that are working class, are involved in church, and represent a range of diversity from the various perspectives of thoughts and ideologies to physical representation. I cannot live in a homogeneous community so, I travel back and forth to work. I wish, I had more representation in my immediate community because, it would save me time and less stress of driving so much. But, the institution has not invested in wanting to make people of color live in the immediate community. So, we venture out to find our diverse living communities.

Hasson agrees:

There is no diversity in this campus town. I cannot even get a haircut in town. I have to drive over an hour for that basic need. Basic cultural food needs are also an issue that I have to travel extensively for as well. The environment is set up for the White demographic and everyone else has to assimilate to that. There is no off campus diversity because the immediate environment does not cater to that community. Different demographic require different needs. Until Upstate University realizes that, we will just be guests and never feel like residence of this space.

Hassan here discusses the lack of cultural needs for people of color. According to Hasson, it is difficult to build a campus community if you do not cater to all people's demographic needs. Hasson has to travel to get a haircut because of the lack of diverse barbers in town that can cut men of color's hair. He also discussed that cultural foods are limited and he has to travel for those basic needs. According to Hassan, you will not see more people of color in the community because this town does not cater to the needs of that community. According to this participant, this makes men of color feel like guests and not residents at the university town.

Roy suggests:

I look at the complexities of the living environment within the campus town and you find a high school that has all White students with sprinkles of kids of color from the faculty of color families at Upstate, that are taught by all White instructors. We are subjecting our kids to the same lack of diversity that we are facing in our work environments. We think we are providing them a better life, but at what cost. The psychological and emotional harm that it causes us as employees to be at Upstate and our loved ones also being subjected to the same lack of off campus diversity may not be worth it.

The participants share a range of sentiment regarding the off campus experiences at Upstate University. The experiences range from feeling “othered” by the community or not having basic grooming or cultural food needs available. Participants also share the lack of diversity within the town schools for their children and how their families are being exposed to the same or even worse lack of off campus diversity. Based on the statements of the participants, it is seem that Upstate University does not do a good job enough job with building community on or off campus, which hurts the living experience of people of color in general. Perhaps, marketing the diversity that is present would be an excellent way to shift the cultural norms of the environment and make the marginalized feel more empowered.

Marketing on campus diversity. The representation of people of color is more prominent, but according to the participants, there are no efforts to connect these faculty. According to the participants, most visiting or tenured faculty in their first years at Upstate think they are the only persons of color on campus or one of a very few. The lack of marketing this diversity on campus seems to be negatively impacting the experience of male faculty of color.

John agrees:

Seeing each other on campus would empower us! We can share stories and experiences and discuss teaching pedagogy and challenging students. It could be such a useful tool for men of color. But, our physical presence on campus is

limited and it hurts our recruitment and retention efforts in the long run. We have to do better with our physical representation on campus. We are failing each other.

Upstate University seems to fail on promoting the diversity that it does have. This seems to be an easy fix, but the institution does not seem to market the campus wide diversity that it does have. It seems that the institution is missing out on a competitive advantage that it could have in providing opportunities for all faculty to meet with and intentionally focus on getting male faculty of color to connect and be more visible at Upstate.

Daniel provides additional comments:

You know my entire search committee was White. In fact, I almost did not take the job because, I did not meet with any people of color during my visit. My wife talked me into taking the job, but I wonder to this day, if you want to hire more people of color; you should at least make efforts to highlight the diversity that you do have at the institution, right?

Joe believes that this can be accomplished pretty easily:

We have tons of events that happen throughout the year on campus. We should have strategic events that highlight and market the diversity that we have amongst our departments. This could be accomplished via public lecture, mini-conferences, webinars, and other simple events that make our faculty more visible and accessible to the rest of the campus community. This could help build faculty collaborations and getting people out of silos and into campus life.

Sam believes:

It starts with our campus materials that go out for distribution and our campus website. You never see people of color highlighted on these materials. It's like we do not exist. You know I do major events on campus all the time in collaboration with student affairs and I will send it photos, stories, and video of these events that happen through out the academic year. Most of the events are with students of color engaging in the classroom or co-curricular work that is happening in the campus community. Often times, my work will not get printed on the school newspaper or alumni newsletter. I have checked in on this and I was told that, "We do not want to over-represent," the community of color that is here on campus. But, we as faculty do not see each other or are students highlighted at all. It is troubling to say the least that we are not marketed as a strategic advantage. Our work can help building community, but instead, it is siloed and minimized.

This idea of celebrating the faculty experience through dialogue, public lectures, on print, via the university website, and via on-line mini-conferences could be a great way to introduce faculty not only to the campus but the surrounding community as well. It provides opportunities to make male faculty of color more visible and also helps match names to faces that could help in networking at future events through the academic year. The best thing about it is that it could also help with the perceived campus climate issues.

Hassan comments:

I think that the campus climate issues would be less intense if we just were more visible on campus. The websites could be utilized to put people's photos up along with their names, titles, and departments. Human resources could do a better job of marketing our diversity on campus by having hiring announcements that go campus wide, alerting all of us on the new community members here. They could even host a meet and greet for the new staff. I would recommend they do it on the Tuesday free period at noon when everyone is on campus. Everyone on campus is free on Tuesdays from 1130 am until 1pm, provide lunch and let's meet each other. Food has to be good though, just saying.

According to the participants, marketing campus diversity is a huge factor in making people aware of the great diversity that does exist on campus. The fact that these specific participants claim that they do not see visible diversity within their own campus or in their community seems to seriously hurt the overall experience of these male faculty of color. Upstate University should consider programming to increase the marketability of the diversity it does have and create opportunities for faculty of color to meet within the convenience of their workday.

Frank comments:

It is about setting a new campus culture that is connected. You would think with all the forms and mechanisms that we have to communicate, we would be able to do so. Our stories of success and struggles are not told on our campus. It is beyond marketing, we are not celebrated. We are ignored. We are not invested in. We enjoy the resources and the opportunities to teach and attain tenure status, but

I guess we would like it all to matter as well. I think men of color on this campus want to be validated as academics. We are not.

The participants seem to be on the same page here in regards to the need to have visible representation of the diversity at Upstate represented in search committees and engaging across the campus community. Having this presence visible is believed to help faculty navigate the campus better and could also help with certain negative perceptions of the campus community and local town, especially around matters of racial relations. Men of color also seem to want to be validated as a part of the professoriate at Upstate University and nothing less.

In summary, according to the participants, male faculty of color at Upstate University, want to feel a sense of empowerment. They want to be visibly promoted on campus via the university website or via print media. According to the participants, the marketing of diversity can shift the campus climate and their experiences specifically, if done correctly and intentionally.

Regarding off campus diversity, the participants of this study feel that the environment has to begin to cater to the needs of the changing demographics. Participants highlighted simple needs that are not available in town like getting a haircut or the buying of cultural foods that has a lasting impact on feeling included in the community. Participants also shared the lack of diversity in the public school system for their children that also negatively impacted their desires to live in the campus community.

According to the participants, race seems to play a significant factor in their daily lives, whether it is the lack of visibility for points of connections amongst male faculty of color or how they are treated, because of their African or Latino American identities.

Race seems to affect these participants' daily lives in the academy and within their immediate communities.

Theme Three - The Impact of Race

All 15 of the participants within this study believed that their race of either being African American or Latino contributed negatively to their experience as men of color at Upstate University. Many believed that race affected their socialization experience and on-boarding (orientation) to the campus. Several participants agree with Cohen (1998) that many higher education institutions, like Upstate University, need to reexamine their standards and apply equal status for all faculty or employees in general. The participants even got as specific as darkness of skin color and being married to a White woman as positively or negatively impacting their experience at Upstate. Roy suggests:

I have adjusted well. I am a lighter skin African American that can pass for White and I am married to a White woman. So, my experience has been different because, I can pass. My colleagues that are of darker skin tone or have a stronger accent or are not married, struggle more because of these factors; in my opinion.

In this section Roy, makes a suggestion that because of his lighter skin and marriage to a White woman, he is more socially accepted by the campus and community. Roy's ability to pass as a White male on a majority White campus has given him greater access to the university and acceptance than his other colleagues of color have experienced. Chris agrees:

Race does matter at Upstate University. Especially, if you are proud of who you are and are unapologetically Black or Latino of a darker hue. People respond to you differently and are quick to stare more and make you feel out of place if you are not White. What is worse is that these feelings are backed up by micro-aggressions and overt acts of prejudice that happen on a daily basis and go unchecked.

Hasson discusses an experience that gave him great pause when he was mistaken as a student on the football team. Hasson states:

I do know if this White women was trying to be funny or what. But, at an event that I was attending that was for faculty only, she goes on to ask me how the football team was doing this year? Now, I have been on the faculty for a number of years and I have tenure, my scholarship work is well documented, and my name is well known across the campus. Further, because this event was for faculty, why would she assume that a student from the football team crashed the event? I found her to be mean, racist, and rude. I felt like her goal was to make me feel uncomfortable amongst her peers. Mission accomplished, I was embarrassed, I did feel belittled. But, I eventually got over it. There are some people here at Upstate University that cannot accept seeing a highly qualified faculty member of color in their ranks; they act stupid sometimes.

Sam was not surprised to hear about experiences that male faculty of color had involving issues of race, he adds:

Upstate University is an ultra conservative place and it is never going to change. Being conservative is part of the institutional brand that makes this place an exclusive haven for wealthy White people. They are not going to change that. Too much money involved. They will make mild modification to their diversity agendas but at the end of the day, we have to know where we are at. We have to support one another.

Joe goes further into the conversation regarding race mattering at Upstate by stating:

There have been many discussions regarding incidences of racism on this campus. The problem is when these incidences happen, we do nothing about them as an institution, so people of color feel powerless. I personally have experienced issues of racism on the campus and I have just been advised to take the high road, be the better person. How convenient that is for people that don't want us here, that harass us, and overtly and covertly make us miserable here, all because of our race. How convenient.

Participants throughout this study continued to tell countless stories of how they encountered what they felt were overtly negative comments or acts against them because of their race. Many participants sighted racism as the reason why male faculty of color struggle at Upstate. Some faculty went on to further state or affirm the claims of Parker

and Hood (1995) that this institution, like many PWIs in higher education, are failing to address the issues of racial diversity. It seems that this was a core issue that affected the overall experience for these men of color, and while not impacting their persistence to tenure, it made the road that much more difficult and unnecessarily challenging.

Participants within this study often feel less than their peers and several mentioned having felt marginalized by the whole experience of being a man of color in the professoriate at Upstate University.

Marginalization. Marginalization can be defined as treating a person, group, or concept as insignificant or peripheral (Padilla, 1994). Participants in this study expressed their feeling often in regards to being tolerated at Upstate University versus being accepted and not having full participation within the academy.

The disappointment was clear for Sam as he explains:

I overheard one of my colleagues during my first year at Upstate refer to me to another colleague as a minority hire. I was so angry, I did not know what to say. Because of this, I knew that I would never really belong here. I am just trying to get what I can from this institution and leave. It is hard to make a career amongst bigots. I can't.

According to these participants, it is truly hard to feel supported on campus if you cannot even begin to develop genuine friendships with people. Chris believes that most of these poor or lack of interactions amongst colleagues are due to race. He states:

It is the way that most White faculty on campus look at me or the coded language in which they speak to me with or the silence that they engage in when issues of racism come up on campus. It is covert, so no one notices it, but I feel it. I know they do not want me here.

Daniel adds:

I was co-facilitating a course with a colleague, and we were talking about the Caribbean, and a specific, island where my family came from and, I frequently visited as a child. We began speaking about this place's history, people, and

culture and I had a great sense of pride because, I knew a lot about this place being that I have a family history there. However, this experience was short lived, as my White colleague challenged my knowledge of the region and asked in front of the class what scholarship and literature, I was using or had recently read. I named a series of texts and also informed him that I also have a lived experience in this area. To my disappointment, my colleague was not impressed and said because I have an “affinity” to the region and my work and comments were slightly biased. But, this professor had never been to the area that we were discussing and only knew of the island from books and movies! I have never felt so marginalized by a White scholar that did not know what he was talking about.

Male faculty of color at Upstate University, often feel that they have to legitimize their work and prove their competence in their subject matter. As Stein (1996) contends, one of the most damaging perceptions held by higher education and White faculty is that faculty of color are hired only because they are members of a “minority group” and not because they possess the qualifications for the job. Further, according to Stein (1996), faculty of color have historically been underrepresented within predominantly White institutions (PWI) and deal with academic isolation, marginalization of their scholarship, and racial hostility.

John comments:

I have earned various awards for my academic scholarship and research and received numerous honors from my national affiliations. However, this has not granted me the respect of my colleagues at Upstate. I am constantly looked over for key administrative positions and other opportunities that match my research, scholarship, and lived experience. These positions are normally granted to a White male or female. Just think, on how that makes me feel. That my life experience, scholarship, and research are not equal to that of one of my White colleagues. Think, how that makes me feel.

John here seems frustrated over receiving recognition from national affiliation that he is a part of and from other institutions for his scholarship and research. However, he seems deeply saddened and marginalized that this has not provided him with more leadership opportunities on his campus. John has witnessed his White colleagues

receiving opportunities over him regardless if the position profile fits John's areas of expertise and lived experience more (according to John).

Steve elaborated further by discussing how he was marginalized when he ran for chair of the faculty governance committee and was seen as unqualified, but his skill sets, abilities, and time of service match the job profile. Steve did not even receive an interview, much less enough nominations to be considered. Steve comments:

I have had problems with people not valuing me as a professional at Upstate, not accepting my accomplishments as valid. Every year, I try to think optimistically, but I am often reminded that I am not as good as my White colleagues. There is always something missing from my qualifications. I have been here for 20 years; you would think I have earned a certain level of consideration.

Frank adds:

I feel marginalized most when I am on diversity related committees and I begin speaking about the challenges I face early on as I persist to tenure and no one can phantom the idea that I experience micro-aggressions, racism, or have been marginalized on my campus. They look at me as if I am making stuff up. My favorite line is when my White colleagues ask me to "tell me more about that," that's when I know they do not believe me. So, I do not do diversity strategic planning committees or anything like that. Those spaces just re-victimize victims.

Marginalization was a solid subtheme for the impact of race as it discussed how male faculty of color begin immediately feeling on campus in their work environment interactions. Based on what the participants have stated, it seems that male faculty of color at Upstate are overlooked for key job positions, not given due credit, their scholarship is not valued, they have trouble developing friendships, and are often assumed unqualified for the position they currently hold.

If true, these are tough obstacles to overcome. According to the faculty participants, this is only one area of concern for them in the workplace. The participants

believe that a systematic form of institutionalized racism exists throughout Upstate University and that is yet another barrier that must be addressed.

Institutionalized racism. Critical Race Theory recognizes that racism is endemic to higher education and exists in many forms, although one of the most prevalent appears to be institutional racism (Padilla, 1994). According to Padilla and Chavez (1995), institutional racism is defined as a pattern of socially engineered forces such as colleges and university, banks, and courts that display negative or unequal treatment of people based on their racial affiliation (Ladson-Billings, 2005). Institutional racism most often exists in higher education as “standard operating procedures” that hurt members of one or more races in relation to members of the dominant race (Ladson-Billings, 2005).

Participants agreed that some small progress has been made in the areas of overt racism, prejudice, and/or bias. All faculty involved in this study further stated that either coming in with or earning tenure provides them a distinctly different lived experience than other faculty that do not have tenure status.

However, according to a few of the participants, there seems to be a more covert forms of bias on campus that impacts all faculty of color at Upstate University. John goes as far to say that he believes that there is “institutionalized racism” on campus that is covertly making the experiences of male faculty of color more challenging than it needs to be. John goes onto to mentioned that:

I believe that racism still exists, but most of my White colleagues would never believe it so, I do not bring it up when it happens. It is things, like my scholarship being unfairly scrutinized by my peers and students. Or when incidents happen on campus and the administration covers things up or hopes that the incident will just go away. They tolerate us, they do not accept us.

Arnold believes that because of his race (African American) he has struggled at Upstate University. Arnold comments:

Race adversely affected my experience at Upstate University. I believe this to be so, because, of the amount of times my authority in the classroom is questioned by White students primarily, but, also by students of color. I believe all demographics at Upstate are accustomed to seeing either a White male or female in front of the class, when they see a man of color; the credibility of this individual is immediately questioned.

Chris agrees and goes on further to state that this also affects research:

I love scholarship related to ethnic minorities, specifically men of color and college attendance graduation rates. I enjoy unpacking these issues and research how we can get more of us into higher education. However, I have been often criticized for my 'passion' and my White colleagues have asked me, "Can I really remain non-biased while exploring this diversity work?" In my professional experience, no White professor is critiqued in this manner. Faculty of color, we get it all the time.

Arnold and Chris both are unpacking racialized experiences that they have encountered that have presented challenges for them within the professoriate at Upstate. Arnold discusses the issue of his authority as a professor being challenged by primarily White people and his perception that this is racially motivated. Chris discusses how to deal with his White colleagues believing that his work lacks trustworthiness, because it focuses on men of color and so, limiting bias in his work must be a challenge.

John discusses how he tries to recruit all students without prejudice to his courses. According to John, some students just cannot get over the fact that he is a man of color.

John elaborates:

I have had students enroll in my class, come to the first day and drop it on the spot with out a word coming out of my mouth. This is with me not even handing out the syllabus. What am I supposed to think, as the only man of color in my department? I want to be a faculty member for all students but, if that is not reciprocated by all students, I do not know what to do about that.

John goes on to say:

I had a student one time tell me openly, that he was glad that he stayed in my class because, he learned a lot. When I asked him what did he expect? He honestly told me not much and goes on to tell me that I was his first Black teacher in his life. I respected this young man for his honesty, though, it reaffirmed what I thought about Upstate University. I respected that kid for his honesty and at the very least his ability to challenge his own prejudice.

Kevin remembers when he was recruited to Upstate University:

I was one of the first male faculty members of color recruited in the 70s. They spent a lot of time courting me and my wife and making us feel at home for the first couple of weeks. They (my department) damn near threw a parade for me! It felt good to be validated. I felt like I had arrived. Then, in my third week, I was chipping and putting at the local golf course and a White male alum asked me if I was a caddy? And, if I could go get his clubs. I informed the gentleman that I was not and that I was here to play on the course and that I was a professor. The alum thought I was joking and then offered me a cash tip to go get his clubs. My colleague (a White male) had to in a very firm voice say again, that I was not a caddy and then he accepted it and moved onto to the clubhouse. Probably, the most embarrassing thing that has ever happened to me at work.

John and Kevin talk a lot in this section about not being validated as academics by their peers or their students. Kevin even refers to a time on the golf course, during a time of leisure, where he was still slighted and perceived to be something other than a faculty member, according to Kevin, solely because of race and prejudice. Participants also discussed the challenges that often times, comes from their students. For male faculty of color within this study this often times comes from White students.

Being challenged by White students. Another challenging inequity issue that came up during this research was being challenged by White students. According to the participants within this study, faculty of color, specifically, men of color are more likely to be challenged in the classroom by White students. This was a huge issue for male faculty of color in this study because it spoke to the power dynamic within the classroom that White students feel they have over male faculty of color that other White faculty do not experience. This counters the beliefs of Rudenstine (1996) who discusses how a

diverse educational environment challenges students to explore and exchange ideas at a different level that is normally welcomed in higher education. In fact, according to the faculty participants, the majority culture students resented having these men of color as educators. According to the participants, the biggest challenge came from White male students who most times (according to the participants) addressed male faculty of color as if they had no business being educators. According to Hollander and Howard (2000), White men often use aggressiveness to assert their dominance over people of color and women. All participants within this study believed that they are challenged in their classrooms by White students more often because of their race than their pedagogy. But, according to these same faculty, no White department heads or administrators believe this exists.

Participants throughout this study have complained about one of the most challenging aspects of performing their job. This has been the direct criticism of White students in the classroom. According to the male faculty of color participants, that criticism by White students is not a reflection on work ethic or merit, but on racial bias. Participants during this study have stated that in addition to experiences with their colleagues at Upstate University being difficult, this is compounded by further challenges in working with White student demographics. Roy, in particular, has experienced some challenges because of his Latino accent. According to students, sometimes Roy is speaking too fast or his words are not pronounced well. Roy has been deeply bothered by this because he feels that he speaks well. Roy, discusses:

My experience with students has been great overall. I think if I have had any challenges, it has been students giving me a hard time about my accent and saying that it is difficult to understand. Talking slower or writing more on the board so that it is better understood. This criticism has come from only White students, so I

do wonder sometimes if it is fair.

Roy seems bothered by his accent being brought into critique and it somehow being viewed as affecting his teaching. He has made efforts to speak clearer and slower in class, however, because this evaluation (Set Forms) has come from mostly White students, it makes him wonder if this is some type of covert form of bias.

Set forms. Set forms are the evaluation tools that all non-tenure faculty have to complete with all students within their courses every semester. Male faculty of color at Upstate complained about the weight that these set forms carry and how often they fail under the bias scrutiny of White students towards male faculty of color at Upstate.

Participants within this study have always worried about recruiting White students for their classes, concerned about how they would be viewed as scholars, and how with an extra intensity their work will be scrutinized. Sam states:

My White colleagues are blind to the racial bias that happens on set forms that can impact a male faculty member's promotion to tenure opportunity. This blindness is caused by the fact that they do not experience it from their students. But, of course they do not, because they are not Black! It puts male faculty of color in a very difficult position. One bad set form can destroy a faculty member's opportunity to get tenure.

Arnold adds:

I have been here for over a decade, so I think I can say this with a reasonable amount of certainty from my lens and perspective. I have been treated unfairly here at times because of my race by students and my colleagues. My work is more often times challenged by my peers, my student evaluations have never been that great, and I am only chosen for committee work that revolves around issues of race, as if this is my only area of interest. Race is not even my area of discipline! Race matters here in an overt way at Upstate University and that is yet another obstacle that we have to overcome that others do not have to concern themselves with.

Daniel, an associate professor at Upstate, agrees that being a male faculty member of color at Upstate University draws extra criticism, according to this faculty member, specifically from White students. Daniel mentions:

When I am most challenged in the classroom, questioned, or critique, it comes from a White student. When I receive poor evaluations, it normally comes from my White students. It makes me wonder if they are questioning my teaching because, I am a Black man?

Daniel seems very targeted by his White students and gives the impression that he believes that this is based on race. It is his perception and if you ask him, it is his truth.

Mike, an associate professor that is months away from being granted full professorship, states that:

The demographics in my class are what they are. I knew that this was a predominately White school when I came here. But, when I am challenged or critiqued; it comes from White students. They say that they have trouble understanding me, or the work assignments are too difficult or not explained well. It drives me up a wall. But, students have a lot of power at this institution and it only takes one bad evaluation and I might not have earned tenure. Now, I am trying to make full professor, so I have to be careful.

Mike has struggled with being a man of color in the aspect of thinking that this is how he is being judge as a competent faculty member, not by his pedagogy in the classroom, but by the color of his skin. According to Roy, he thinks (suspects) his work in the classroom is being unfairly judged because of his race (African American).

Hasson, an associate professor at Upstate University has struggled with the same issue. He states:

When I bring an issue of potential racial bias up on my evaluation forms from White students with my department head, it is ignored. My supervisor does not believe that any student at our institution would use race as a measure of faculty teaching effectiveness. This is because he himself has never experienced this. But, this department head is White, so of course he never has. It is just so, frustrating to know that it is happening but, no one believes you.

Hasson is expressing real frustration in this statement. According to Hasson, male faculty of color are not believed if they turn around and say that White students at times, may be biased in their evaluation of classroom teaching by these male professors of color.

Steve agrees stating:

For many of these White students, it is the first time that they have a man of color as a teacher. So, they doubt that I am qualified to have such a position. They also pay attention to how I am treated by my colleagues, who also happen to be White and this adds to the negative experience. If White students see that my own White colleagues do not respect me as a professor, why should the students? It's a cycle, you see.

All participants had similar stories regarding their interaction with White students and their credibility being challenged almost on a daily basis. This perceived reality for men of color within this study made the struggle that much more when they constantly feel they have to prove themselves, regardless of tenure status or publication, or accolades; these men are not seen as legitimate members of the professoriate.

Participants agreed that the challenges with the White majority were prevalent within the student ranks just as much as in the peer faculty. However, the male faculty participants within this study also spoke about the challenges that students of color presented in the daily work lives of male faculty of color at Upstate University.

The “Look Out” phenomena. Participants within this study also had reservations about the bias that is placed upon them by students of color at Upstate University. At PWIs, the concept of a reflection within the academy speaks to the need of having faculty and staff that look like and have the same lived experiences of the diverse student demographics. For institutions that successfully hire critical masses of faculty of color, this seems to be an added value to the university. However, male faculty of color expressed that students of color at Upstate University look at these men as “buddies”

rather than professors, or someone that should be “looking out” for students of color and making course work easier for them. African American faculty experience resistance from students in the form of students’ critiquing the validity of their work (McGowan 2000), sharing their dissatisfaction on course evaluations or expressing dissent through public venues such as the Internet or student newspapers, or utilizing silence and color-blind ideologies to resist the intellectual efforts of African American faculty (Williams & Evans-Winters 2005).

Several participants within this study vented about how the expectations of students of color on male faculty of color to be a mentors, big brothers, easy graders, and a crisis manager place an unfair burden on these specific faculty members at Upstate University. Miguel, a full professor in the science department at Upstate comments:

I am always trying to get students of color into the sciences and specifically into my class. The problem is that most students feel that I am going to take it easy on them than say a White professor in the same area of discipline. These students soon come to find out that I may be even harder than my White colleagues. Students of color are often disappointed in me because, according to them I am not “looking out.”

Roy adds to the conversation by saying:

It is a slippery slope at times. I want more students of color in my classes. But, often times for a number of reasons, they are not ready to excel in the math or science areas of discipline at Upstate. So, I have to spend a considerable amount of extra time or find resources for them like tutoring to ensure that they pass my course. The most frustrating part is when I see a student of color that does not want to put in the extra work and believes that I will just give them a passing grade. I encourage those students to withdraw. Because of this, I am viewed as a “hard” professor or especially hard on students of color, so they avoid my classes. This hurts me.

Hassan agrees:

I want to be that reflection within the academy for my students. I want them to know if I made it then any of them can make it too. But, I have to be respected as a scholar. For students of color to think that I am going to socially promote them

through the system, is wrong. I will do all I can to support the students academically, but at the end of the day this man of color cares too much about these students of color to allow them to use me to cheat the system. It is offensive that they think that way of me. I have never seen or heard of students of color trying these “looking out” tactics with White faculty.

According to the participants, male faculty of color are placed in a rough area whereas they have potentially some White students at Upstate University unfairly incorporating racial bias into evaluation coupled by some students of color that make assumption about male faculty of color that they will “look out” academically for their own and make assignments easier for students of color. Joe, an associate professor at Upstate adds to this discussion by stating:

I cannot make the work any easier for anyone, especially because of race. I have received poor evaluations in the past from students of color, simply because, I worked them too hard. This is so frustrating to me, because, I enjoyed having them in the class and just wanted them to grasp the material and succeed.

Arnold comments:

I treat all my students the same. I provide extra support when needed but everyone will get the grades they deserve. It does bother me that some White students think I am not qualified to teach while students of color just want me to give them an easy (A) grade. But, as you grow as a faculty member students figure it out. Students also talk to each other and rate professor on-line, so I know they have said some harsh things about me. I stop reading on-line comments and set forms a long time ago. I just teach those that want to be educated.

These specific male faculty of color here are expressing their yearning to see a more diverse student body, but also their disappointment with a select few students of color that assume that male faculty of color should take it easy on them because they are of similar race or skin hue. This conflict for male faculty of color at Upstate is an experience with some White and some students of color. It seems to really have weighed on these specific faculty members as professionals. Faculty members in general have a difficult workload, but faculty of color, in this case, men of color, have multiple tasks and

duties that majority White faculty males may not have to ever deal with or are expected to in anyway.

The impact of race within this section discussed the marginalization of male faculty of color at Upstate University. Faculty shared how they were belittled and shamed by their White colleagues and often made to feel unqualified to be faculty. The participants went on to discuss the systemic issues of institutionalized racism and how this paradox was a daily challenge for them as professors. Participants discuss the overt, and perhaps the most dangerous, covert systems of oppression that male faculty of color would have to endure and Upstate University just to make it through a day or semester.

Challenges within the White student population were also discussed as members of the faculty participants mentioned the issues of being depicted as unqualified. Students of color were also discussed as equally as challenging, even though they may have enjoyed seeing a reflection within the academy, meaning people that looked like them in the professoriate. Students of color felt that these faculties should be easier on them because of the racial similarities. The participants' comment that students of color wanted them to "look out" for them by providing easier assignments and undeserved passing grades. The male faculty of color that participated within this study resented not being valued by White students and also being viewed by students of color as easy graders that should look out for them.

Male faculty of color at Upstate University seem to have a lot on their professional plates. According to the participants, they work harder than their White counterparts and are expected to do social justice and student affairs level work that White faculty are never asked to do. According to the male faculty of color at Upstate

University, White faculty can just be faculty. This taxation leads to heavy stress and burnout for many male faculty of color as they try to save the campus, but often times sacrifice their scholarship and research.

Theme Four - The Taxation of Men of Color

Padilla (1994) coined the phrase “cultural taxation” to describe the obligations that ethnic minorities experience, due to the disproportionate representation of faculty of color at PWIs. Participants expressed the thought that people of color are often over tapped to do jobs and services that others in the majority culture do not get asked to do. White faculty primarily can just be academics. Some researchers argue that these factors, in addition to institutionalized racism and the publish-or-perish mantra of academia, perpetuate racial disparities in academia (Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011).

Designated student affairs practitioners. Male faculty of color are often times tapped to do a number of jobs outside of the classroom that negatively impact their work as professors. These are normally social justice, diversity, or student affairs related tasks that White colleagues do not ever have to entertain. According to the participants, White professors at Upstate University can just be faculty.

Miguel agrees:

As faculty of color, we are constantly asked to perform out of the classroom in student affairs and or diversity related work. This leads to high stress and burnout of most of our young faculty of color, especially our men. It is hard enough to be faculty with a three two course load and demands to be published. People of color that are in the assistant and associate ranks should be left alone to do their scholarship. The university needs to do a better job in my opinion hiring qualified professionals to do that level of work, outside of the classroom.

Miguel, is expressing his opinion here on how male faculty of color and faculty of color in general may be over tapped by commitments outside of the classroom that do not

lead to tenure. Instead, Miguel believes this leads to high burnout and stress and ultimately results in entry-level faculty not persisting to tenure and promotion. Research supports these claims, as Hughes (2004) affirms that newly hired male faculty members of color are almost immediately asked to serve in additional roles to students' of color or first generation students. Meanwhile, according to Miguel, White faculty can just be faculty and not get involved in the campus life or tutorial development of minority students.

Daniel, agrees stating:

You are expected to do more out of the classroom because of the lack of diversity. Black and Brown students reach out to me all the time and I cannot just refuse to help them. Luckily, I already have tenure. I advise anyone that does not have tenure to not get involved in student affairs or any out of the classroom related issues. It is too much! The expectations for faculty of color in general on White campuses are outrageous. But, as one of the few Black men on campus, you have to be there for the students, but, this hurts my scholarship and research hours. White male faculty, do not have to do this. They have the liberty of just being faculty.

Hassan comments:

I want to say, "Why can't you get someone else to do it?" But, then I realize, I am one of the few and if I say no then perhaps our students of color's needs, will be ignored. It puts us in a tough bind because we only have so many hours in the day.

Roy shares an interesting comment:

I am a scientist. That is what I have been teaching for over 20 years now. It troubles me when I am sent students from other departments or even the dean's office to help counsel a student through a personal crisis. I am not a counselor or psychologist. But, at Upstate I guess they think because I am a person of color that I can relate to all the students' needs because we share a similar race? I normally just take the student to the appropriate office based on the problem or need and wait for them. This is the work of someone else, but I just do it for the sake of the student. It can be time consuming.

The faculty expectations seem to be unequal and discriminatory. According to the Participants, they are asked with more frequency to serve students of color that are

outside of their academic discipline and serve in capacities that they may not be qualified to perform. They also noted that their White colleagues are not asked to participate in similar activities, leaving White faculty more time for their research (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011). Furthermore, the assumption that only faculty of color can effectively mentor students of color removes this task from White faculty who should also be invested in non-White students' academic success.

This becomes the challenge that male faculty of color face in trying to fill all the needs of the university from a total campus perspective. According to the participants, this hurts persistence to tenure and many do not make it due to high burnout.

Prolonged timeframes to promotion and tenure. All male faculty of color within this study are successful and have obtained tenure status. This speaks to their hard work and dedication and their ability to navigate through the challenges that they face at Upstate University. However, several faculties within this study stated that their path to tenure status and full professorship was much harder than that of their White colleagues. This is because of the cultural taxation or extra overburdening work that these select faculties had to endure. One explanation for these unequal tenure rates is the double standard for faculty of color, who often report being held to different expectations than their White colleagues (Brown 1998; Nakanishi, 1993). According to participants within this study, traditional tenure tracks are five to seven years. For full professorships, an average faculty member at Upstate can wait up to 10 to 15 years to reach this milestone. However, according to the participants within this study, their average tenure track was completed in 10 to 12 years and many full professorships, if awarded, have been earned by male faculty of color 25 to 30 years into their career. Some have retired and received

full professorship as a closing gift from the university. This has not sat well with current faculty members of color at Upstate. According to them, no administrators are addressing this issue at this time. According to Sam, a tenured associate professor at Upstate:

I feel that the institution does recognize hard work and scholarship. I know of several male faculty of color that did not in this calendar year. These individuals are solid scholars, but may have gotten caught up in too much student affairs related work that does not contribute to their research. This has impacted the time that it took my colleagues to obtain or to not persist to tenure. If the university does not value student affairs, diversity, or committee work, why are so many male faculty of color consumed by it? They should be focused on their scholarship and research and what gets them to tenure.

Kevin, an associate professor at Upstate agrees:

As male faculty of color, that happens to us a lot, where we are tapped to do more work outside of the classroom than our White colleagues. They can just be faculty. We have to be student affairs and diversity affairs paraprofessionals. This puts an unfair burden on faculty of color and most that are overburdened by this extra non-credit bearing work that does not earn tenure. I wish men of color could just be faculty but the unfortunate expectation is that they be the social justice experts and the ambassadors for the disadvantaged. It is unfair to men of color in the academy, especially at PWIs. They should hire more men of color in student affairs or in counseling services.

Kevin further contributes:

If we could just teach and be left alone until we reach tenure we would be much better off. The committee service, counseling, advising, crisis management, and any other out of the classroom duties should be left for student affairs folks. When we bring in talented males of color, we should do them a favor and leave them alone until they complete their obligation for tenure.

Kevin and Sam here speak to the overwhelming stress of being faculty members in general regardless of race at a private liberal arts institution, but also are addressing according to them, the unfairness that is associated with being a man of color in the professoriate and having to do more than their White colleagues. Literature on cultural taxation suggests that faculty of color often have more departmental and university obligations since they are expected to teach the same load and achieve the same research

standards as their White peers, while also serving on diversity committees and advising students of color (Aguirre 2000; Conway-Jones 2006; Turner 2003). This prolongs or even can prevent, tenure completion. Mike comments:

I have gotten a tremendous amount of criticism because of my lack of out of the classroom participation. However, the difference is, I have tenure and those folks will probably not get it. My work is in the classroom and in research, not in social justice. The university should protect faculty, specifically faculty members of color against this overburden of work in student affairs and in diversity related services that carry no bearing on tenure completion or promotion.

Mike expresses a lot of frustration here on the tenure and promotion process and how too many male faculty of color get caught up in the social justice and student affairs aspects of the university. Mike feels that faculty should focus on their work in the classroom and that the university should not allow faculty to participate in this level of diversity work, at risk of not earning tenure. Much of the literature on faculty careers and productivity agrees that certain roles and activities are more beneficial in the tenure and promotion process, especially research and publishing (Bowen & Schuster, 1986; Menges & Exum, 1983). According to Mike, Kevin, and Sam, the over commitments in student affairs related work hurts men of color in achieving tenure status at Upstate University.

All participants within this study brought up huge disparities in the amount of time it takes male faculty of color to get tenure versus that of their White counterparts.

Miguel a recently appointed, tenured professor at Upstate University, states:

The average amount of time it takes a White male faculty member on tenure track to reach this milestone is five to six years. This is to reach associate professor status. The same professor could potentially reach full professor at an average rate of five to seven additional years. For male faculty of color, it takes on average seven to 10 years to reach associate professor and many never reach full professor status. Those that do, average anywhere from 10 to 16 years to reach full professor status. Many achieve this milestone as they are retiring from the academy. This huge disparity is unequal and a problem that speaks to the inequities of the promotion and tenure process at Upstate University.

All faculty participants agreed that there seems to be a distinct level of difference in the work expectation of male faculty of color and their White counterparts out of the classroom. When committees on campus are formed, whether specific to departments or the larger university, they are expected to fulfill standard needs of diversity. Yet, given the shortage of minority faculty representation at most universities, male faculty of color at Upstate University can become overworked and overextended by greater expectations of service.

This form of cultural taxation (Tierney, 1996) relates to the idea that good citizenship toward the institution is tied to serving the needs for ethnic representation on committees and (or) demonstrating knowledge and commitment to cultural groups. These extra unequal workload demands can place much burden on male faculty color. Tierney's (1996) work suggests that faculty of color do four times the amount of service as that of their White colleagues. This extra work as student advisors, mentors, life coaches, or big brother scenarios that often end up on the faculty of color side of the house, seems to negatively impact the overall workload for male faculty of color. Some faculty have shared that they know of colleagues that did not get tenure because of too much work outside of the classroom in student affairs matters and not enough on scholarship and research.

Mike, an associate professor at the university states:

As a male faculty member of color you have to also be a student affairs expert, work with career service, engage with alumni, advise students during crisis, deal with incidents of racism and or bias on campus, work with town police. This is not what I signed up for! I took this job to be an educator, not a crisis manager!!

All male faculty of color within this study agreed that they are taxed to do work that is not expected of others and there are no points for this work. However, all also

stated that it is difficult to say no, when there seems to be no one else that you can refer the students (in need) to.

Faculties at Upstate University teach five courses per academic year. This is traditionally broken down to three course in the fall and two courses in the spring term. All faculties agree that the faculty workload is equally tough across the board. In addition, faculties are expected to engage in out of the classroom research and scholarship with the expectation of publishing their work annually. Upon completing tenure, publications become an option for some faculty, however, for those individuals that wish to continue to grow in the ranks; the grind continues on.

John adds:

We have a higher teaching load than most of our peer institutions. Being faculty here is tough. You add on all the over demands to publish, research, committee service, and tutor; it becomes overwhelming. This why we should not be doing student affairs work or diversity work on top of the pressure we already have on us. It is too much.

All faculties that participated within this study believed that they have to work harder than their White peers. The feeling is that White faculty have the choice of just being faculty. Cultural taxation has demonstrated the structural and unspoken inequality that still exists in academia for faculty of color who are clearly disadvantaged when it comes to receiving tenure or promotions. They are held to the same research standards and expected to complete additional tasks while White (male) faculty members are expected only to do their research (Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011). Male faculty of color within this study feel that they also have to serve in a student affairs capacity, specifically for students of color, that struggle at predominately White institutions. According to these study subjects, this places male faculty of color in an unfair position and adds additional

stress and barriers to their persistence to tenure, overall experience, work-life balance, and success.

Hassan follows up by saying:

I agree that we should either be incentivized for our extra work out of the classroom that others do not have to do or we should be strongly encouraged not to engage until after tenure. While, this may be difficult for us as men of color, we have to be able to help ourselves before we can help anyone else at Upstate University. We will have more institutional clout and leverage once we obtain tenure versus running around trying to save the campus when we should be completing our research.

The participants agreed that they need to feel empowered to focus on their research and scholarship and not have the extra barriers added of having to handle campus climate issues or other student affairs related work. This will take establishing institutional best practices in supporting our male faculty of color in the academy. Specifically, at Upstate University it seems like it will take quality mentorship programs that will help guide overwhelmed and culturally taxed young male professors of color through potential pitfalls of campus life.

The taxation of men of color is real for the participants of this study. The participants viewed their jobs as both parts of the world of faculty and student affairs, which set them up for overworked conditions and delaying their completion of the tenure and promotion process. Upstate University should look into this issue, as it seems to be a great problem of adequate staffing, especially in the realm of diversity hiring. Male faculty of color within this study, although successful, have seen many colleagues fail due to the unfair expectations and workload placed on men of color at the university. According to these men of color, the work should be distributed campus-wide within all the faculty ranks and administration. According to the participants, the absence allowed

for many White colleagues in out of the classroom student service related work at Upstate, hurts campus morale and further marginalizes the small fraction of people of color at the institution. It further creates an odd paradigm, where only male faculty of color can work with students of color at Upstate University.

Mentoring can assist male faculty of color at Upstate University to avoid these pitfalls of cultural taxation. Mentoring if appropriately set up can teach new faculty how to navigate campus cultural and the environment to have better work life balance.

Theme Five - The Value of Mentorship

Turner, González, and Stanley (2015) define mentorship as a process by which a person of superior rank and special achievements and prestige instructs, counsels, guides, and facilitates the intellectual and career development of person identified as protégés or mentees. The mentoring experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University were also explored in this study. In this section of the study, lack of mentoring appeared to be a major issue at the institution. The participants claimed to not have received any mentoring throughout their time at Upstate. According to the participants, “mentoring often would happen informally, if at all.” Also, it was believed that the university would have “rare” occurrences of mentoring, but nothing that was sustained over time in pursuance to tenure.

Roy states:

I have enjoyed my time here at Upstate University. It is not a cutthroat place. I have been able to travel the world presenting on my scholarship and research. Further, I was able to obtain tenure at this institution, which is extremely important to me. However, I am not blind to some of the bias that I have seen on this campus and what some of my colleagues of color have gone through. It is hard here for faculty of color because there is really no mentorship or support that assist professors in minority groups. Everyone is treated the same, unfortunately,

this type of approach leads to unfair circumstances that often times prevents tenure completion.

Roy points out the inequities that exist at Upstate University, while at the same time showing his gratitude to a place that has giving him so much in the areas of worldly experiences and professional attainment (tenure). According to Roy, mentorship is perhaps that most important tool that could benefit new faculty, but he sees it as a significantly great need for men of color. Mentoring can meet the individual needs of new faculty for growth, recognition, support, and sense of belongingness (Turner et al., 2015). Roy also points out that all faculty, specifically those in the self-identified minority groups, should not all be treated the same because this lack of support hurts men of color and others in minority groups at Upstate achieve tenure status.

Brian agrees stating:

It is hard to find mentors, especially if you do not even meet people during orientation (on-boarding). We meet other faculty members over the first few weeks with a breakfast or lunch served, but no real connections are made. You feel awkward. I am glad I came in with tenure status. I do not know if I could have persisted to tenure here without mentorship and guidance.

Kevin adds:

Perhaps the most critical piece that could be added to retention efforts here at Upstate University would be mandatory mentoring for new faculty on tenure tracks. Give current faculty a course release or some type of incentive. Mentorship is desperately needed and is not happening in a meaningfully broad way.

The participants within this study had comments or made reference to the importance of mentorship. In fact, it was often stated by participants that the only things that happened around mentoring were faculty socials revolving around alcohol or food. Male faculty of color, in the opinion of these participants, are left to sink or swim.

Peter comments:

A mentor would have been useful to help navigate the campus culture, to understand how to get my articles and other work through publications. I could have also utilized a mentor in dealing with student challenges and negative set form evaluations. Instead, I was left to my own approach to figure it out as I go. This made my work life more difficult than it needed to be.

Peter seems to have missed out by not having a mentor and though it did not prevent him from obtaining tenure, it seemed to make the path to completion that much harder. Peter also discussed that a mentor would have been great for purposes of getting articles published and other research recognized and or funded.

Sam agrees that the lack of tenure hurts the campus climate at Upstate University.

He explains:

The mentoring of junior faculty was more than likely to happen informally if at all. Also, mentoring would happen through artificial end of the year events (side conversations) over drinks or lunches. I would have preferred something more sustainable with a set mentor.

Miguel faced the same challenges when he came in as a young professional that was intimidated by the classroom setting. Miguel explains:

I was an accomplished scholar practitioner. I did extremely well in college and was entering the academy with numerous publications already being published. However, I never taught before. Upstate University would be the first time that I was actually in front of a class. This terrified me and for the first couple of years on tenure track, I struggled. I could have used a mentor to orient me to the classroom, to provide me best practices in teaching, and to simply coach my teaching. I did not have that. I was lucky to have earned tenure.

During this discussion on the importance of mentoring, many male faculty of color that participated in this study stated that mentors in an ideal situation can perform many useful functions. Especially in a time in higher education where academics of color are in severe need, especially men of color, mentorship from all senior faculty can

provide the answer to effective change needed in higher education (Turner et al., 2015).

Joe suggested:

Mentors can assist with learning and navigating the department and campus culture. Mentors can assist in how to access cash resources for professional develop or research purposes. Mentors can provide entry level to junior level faculty with constructive criticism that can help build up a young professor's career and provide direction. Finally, and perhaps the most important, mentors can just make a person feel welcomed and validated; as a male of color at Upstate, I cannot tell you how important this was to me.

Joe stresses here the specific importance mentoring can have with the overall success and emotional well being of a male faculty member of color at Upstate. To further illustrate this great need of mentoring for male faculty of color at Upstate University, Arnold offered his perspective:

I have never been able to ask someone to be my mentor. I just never learned how to do that. It would be nice to have a few mentors in one's career, but I am an introverted person and further asking for a mentor as a man of color, I felt would be admitting that I am over my head or incompetent. However, if this was an institutional best practice and a structured program, it would have been easier for someone like me to seek help out.

Men of color were concerned mostly about the lack of mentoring as one of the most critical issues in getting them acclimated to campus and adjusted to the campus culture. This severe lack of mentors contributed to poor teaching, marginalization, lack of sense of belonging, poor lesson planning, and hindered their professional development. Further, all the participants believe that they would have earned a tenure position sooner within the academy if someone would have simply took them under their wing.

Summary

In this chapter, the findings from the research of the lived experience of male faculty of color (associate and full professor) at Upstate University were presented. The

findings were presented in a sequential manner as they were conducted throughout the research.

The mode of inquiry for this study was from the perspective of phenomenological research with the use of descriptive narratives from a critical race theory (Counter-Storytelling) lens. As an active participant in this study gazing through the lens of critical race theory, this research offers a perspective that may appear unique and insightful through the use of interviews, graphic elicitations, field notes, and observations.

It is important to note that the most useful instrumentation of this research was the semi-structured interviews that were structured in a counter-storytelling and cultural taxation thematic context. Material culture and graphic elicitations were useful as warm-up activities for the participants, but did not yield much relevant data.

Emerging themes. The participants of this research provided great insight into the need for higher education institutions to diversify its faculty and to reflect the diversity of its student populations. All participants within the study shared a common concern of the diversification or developing a critical mass of diverse faculty. Although many of them have different ideologies about reaching diversity goals, several of them truly cared about having a strong sense of belonging at Upstate University. All participants believed that there was a severe lack of visibility of men of color on and off campus, and this negatively impacted their experiences as professors at Upstate. Also, all of the participants felt that race was a major factor in their lived experience at Upstate University. Many faculty went as far to say that if they were not Black or Brown, but rather White, that their experience at the university would have been positively different. Male faculty of color that participated in this study also felt overworked and undervalued,

because in their opinion, they were doing the work of student affairs practitioners in addition to their already complex faculty scholarship and teaching. The feeling from the participants was that White faculty do not have to work as hard and they could just simply be faculty. Finally, mentorship was not available to any of the participants within this study and that proved to make the persistence to tenure and full professorship exceptionally harder and disproportionately time consuming. All of these views and perspectives were captured in the five targeted themes of sense of belonging, lack of visible diversity, the impact of race, the taxation of men of color, and the value of mentorship.

These five themes served as overarching templates that helped in deconstructing the challenges that male faculty of color have at Upstate University. The participants within this study generally spent a lot of time venting their frustrations about Upstate University. Some participants wanted to talk about dismantling the systemic barriers of oppression that make the institution so resistant to people of color.

The distinct position that emerged revolved around having full participation within the academy and feeling a part of the university. Other participants wanted to connect intentionally with other colleagues of color on campus in hopes of building community. Several just wanted acknowledgment and awareness that issues of race are still prevalent today at Upstate University and that these participants have endured these pressures for years. Generally, participants discussed how they are overwhelmingly taxed as men of color in the professoriate, even more so than White colleagues, and could use assistance in how to mitigate those pitfalls. Finally, mentorship above all seemed to be

the theme that resonated with everyone the most, because none of them were ever engagement or presented a mentor as incoming faculty.

The participants involved in this study all have tenure and are either associate of full professors. Despite the overwhelming obstacles placed before them at Upstate University, their story is a narrative of overcoming the odds. Additionally, there were times when some participants asked me to stop recording or to play something back for them so they could hear how they sounded. The faculty participants were mainly fearful of retaliation. Many faculty did not want to be associated as trouble-makers or that they hate their institution. Generally, these participants have been in their position for several years and a couple are planning for retirement soon.

Key Findings

1. Male faculty of color struggle to find a sense of belonging at Upstate University. According to the participants, this is due to the environment not being representative of them visibly, social, or physically.
2. The participants of this study cannot find other each on or off campus and therefore cannot build community. The lack of visible diversity has impacted the experience of male faculty of color.
3. Issues of race are prevalent in the everyday lives of male faculty of color at Upstate University. The participants in this study believe that institutional racism exists on this campus and all the participants have felt marginalized throughout their careers at the institution. Male faculty of color seemed to feel most negatively targeted by their White peers and students.

4. The perception from the participants is that they are asked to do more than their White colleagues and this leads to extra stress and high burnout. It also negatively impacts the time to earn tenure or full professorship. Many faculty referred to this as cultural taxation.
5. According to the participants, mentorship does not exist at Upstate University, and this severely impacts male faculty of color in their success and well-being at the university and within the campus community.

Multiple Realities

Analysis of the data demonstrates that there are multiple realities that exist between men of color on campus at Upstate University. Many of the participants are impacted by the challenges that exist at the university. However, a couple of the participants only know of others that are going through challenges of racism, lack of visible diversity, and zero mentorship opportunities. This disparity in experiences was determined to be based on the discipline taught by the professors and the departments they were under. Additionally, married couples seemed to do better at Upstate University than single men of color. Male faculty of color at Upstate seemed to be most disappointed by the challenging of their legitimacy as scholars by White peer faculty and students.

In the next chapter, I will provide a discussion of the findings related to the research questions and the literature used for this study. Further, I will close with discussions, recommendations, limitations to my study, and conclusion that will tie in recommendations for future research in the field.

Chapter V

Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusion

This phenomenological study looked to investigate, identify, and understand the lived experiences of male faculty of color. The specific purpose of this study was to explore the lived experience of male faculty of color (associate & full professors) at Upstate University, a predominately White liberal arts institution (PWI). In this chapter, I discuss the findings of the study and their implications for higher education. I then present the limitations of this research and my recommendations for future studies in the area of research. This study was guided by four research questions that will be answered later within this chapter.

This study identified five major themes that developed from the research. These themes included: 1) Sense of Belonging, 2) Lack of Visible Diversity, 3) The Impact of Race, 4) The Taxation of Men of Color, and 5) The Value of Mentorship.

Discussion of the Findings

This study was conducted in March of 2016 until March 2017. Fifteen participants were interviewed using purposeful sampling. Qualitative interviews were conducted in 45-minute sessions. The location of the study took place in a soundproof conference room on campus. A few faculty chose to meet off campus to enhance privacy. A variety of data collection methods were utilized through audiotaping, unrecorded discussions that involved active field notes, observations, artifacts, university website, brochures, and other historical data. The analysis of data consisted of transcriptions of 15 individual interviews and three focus group sessions with five participants in each session.

All 15 participants signed audio release consent forms (Appendix E) and were given the opportunity to review final transcripts for the focus groups and individual sessions.

Using a descriptive phenomenological approach, with the incorporation of critical race theory, and cultural taxation theory as a conceptual framework, this study examined how men of color in the professoriate describe their lived experience at Upstate University. A descriptive phenomenological approach allowed access to the essences of experiences through the voices of 15 men of color, and is a culturally sensitive research approach (Moustakas, 1994).

During this research it was determined that male faculty of color struggle to find a sense of belonging at Upstate University. According to the participants, this is due to the environment not being representative of them visibly, social, or physically of the community of color. Further, the participants of this study cannot seem to find other each on or off campus and therefore cannot build community. The lack of visible diversity has impacted the experience of male faculty of color. Participants in this study claimed to go years at the institution without seeing other male faculty of color throughout campus and claimed that the institution needs to do a better job.

Issues of race seem to be prevalent in the everyday lives of male faculty of color at Upstate University. The participants in this study believe that institutional racism exists on this campus and all the participants have felt marginalized throughout their careers at the institution. Male faculty of color seemed to feel most negatively targeted by their White peers and students. Faculty also mentioned when they report these issues or incidents, nothing happens at the institutional level and men of color are often not believed.

The perception from the participants is that they are asked to do more than their White colleagues and this leads to extra stress and high burnout. It also negatively impacts the time to earn tenure or full professorship. Many faculties within this study referred to this as cultural taxation. Finally, according to the participants, mentorship does not exist at Upstate University and this severely impacts male faculty of color in their success and well-being at the university and within the campus community.

The participants of this study presented a compelling case for the need to enhance the lived experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University. The research questions revealed five distinctive themes through the data. The themes of sense of belonging, lack of visible diversity, the impact of race, the taxation of men of color, and the significance of mentorship were resounding concepts in the data. In the next section the answers based off of these data are provided.

Answers to Research Questions

1. What are the lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University, a predominately White private liberal arts institution?

The positive stories that men of color told were normally around the immense resources that are available at Upstate University and the protection of academic freedom. However, there were also many challenges that were presented. These challenges included lack of sense of belonging, lack of visible diversity, the challenges of race relations, the prevalence cultural taxation, and little to no mentorship available. Additional challenges at Upstate University revolved around fully participating within the academy, bias set form evaluations, student scrutiny, racism, quality of life, and isolation.

A positive aspect of these stories was that male faculty of color enjoy the overall engagement and relationships they developed with students. All faculties within this study acknowledge that working with all students was the most rewarding aspect of their work within the academy. However, this also presented challenges for men of color within the professoriate at Upstate, as it was perceived by the participants of this research that men of color as faculty have to work harder than their White male counterparts. The feeling was that White faculty in general could just be faculty and that men of color within the faculty ranks also had to do student affairs related work as it related to the experience of students of color on campus and that this placed additional unfortunate barriers on the research and scholarship demands on male faculty of color. Male faculty of color were often tapped for diversity and inclusion related work at more frequent rates than their White counterparts. These additional services, although culturally taxing, did not earn these men of color tenure points or credits, in fact, it hurt the process according to many of the participants.

Participants also told stories of how being men of color negatively impacted their experience at Upstate University. These participants seemed to believe that race was a major factor within their lived experience as faculty at Upstate. Men of color that participated in this study believe that being African American or Latino would often times result in extra challenges with not only their White colleagues, but with their White students as well. White students were perceived to challenge men of color that are faculty at Upstate more than any other subgroup.

Participants shared concern about the lack of mentoring at Upstate University. All participants agreed that the only events they could remember when they saw a

“community of color” was a function related to food or alcohol. Participants felt that there was truly no one present to help navigate the work functions of the professoriate. Participating faculty blamed senior faculty members, department heads, higher-level administrative deans, and the provost for the lack of campus engagement and mentorship.

Because of the use of associate and full tenured faculty within my study, these individuals provided a lot of feedback for incoming male faculty of color in preparing for work at Upstate University. To be successful at Upstate, participants suggested the following: 1.) You should not expect any established mentorship programs. 2.) You should have excellent academic skills and ability and a strong research agenda. 3.) You should understand that you will face loneliness and isolation at Upstate University. 4.) You should ensure that you create inroads in your department, institution, or partner with peer school faculty. According to these high achieving faculty members that participated in this study “No one makes it alone,” and aggressively seeking people out for help will be the only way you will make it to tenure at Upstate. Finally, 5.) You will face racism and/or other forms of bias but you have to develop the skill set “to work with, around, and through that.” According to these academics, scholarship and academic rigor trumps biased reviews and/or racism imposed on men of color by the White majority, whether it is by peers or students.

From a critical race theory perspective, the guidance delivered by the participants at Upstate indicates that race continues to negatively impact the lived experiences of men of color within the academy at Upstate University. In telling their stories, participants in this study declared that they often had to work harder than their White counterparts in and outside of the classroom. The claim by these participants is that White faculty in

general can just be faculty, where as men of color and faculty of color in general often times have to engage in diversity and student affairs work that has no bearing on the tenure process. These faculties also sternly believed that race affected all aspects of their work and campus life at Upstate University. These faculties stressed that because they are “of color” that their lives within the academy would be harder.

In conclusion, when telling these stories of their lived experiences, men of color at Upstate University describe an experience that is oddly both rewarding and extremely hard and painful. Faculty within this study stated that it is rewarding because of the students and their scholarly work. However, according to the participants as a whole, higher education as a whole has not overcome its unfortunate history and tradition of exclusionary practices, and men of color especially encounter these obstacles all the time upon joining the professoriate (McCoy, 2006).

2. What factors contributed to the challenges that male faculty of color face at Upstate University?

The participants within this study came up with a number of factors that impacted their experience as male faculty of color at Upstate University. All participants agreed that being faculty in general at Upstate University is tough enough with the classroom teaching demands, publishing, presenting at conferences, committee service hours, faculty meetings, and other scholarly work. In fact, many male faculty of color stated that they spend more time in their workplace than with their families.

However, in addition to the workload, male faculty of color felt being a racial minority at a PWI negatively impacted their overall experience at Upstate. Participants felt that White male faculty and White students in general often did not treat them with

equal respect. Male faculty of color felt they had to work twice as hard to be somewhat equal to their White peers. These participants would often times not feel fully included into the academy.

Lack of overall mentoring seems to overtly affect the male faculty of color experience. This experience of being “othered” within the academy and not having a strong sense of belonging, compounded by the severe lack of mentoring, negatively situates these men for failure; and even if they succeed, as all of the participants in the study have reached tenure status, the cost seems to be not worth it to some. When telling their stories regarding mentoring experiences, participants acknowledge that more could have been done in this area by the department and the institution. Male faculty of color at Upstate would have liked to learn more specifics of the tenure process and how to prep every year. Several participants wanted to discuss publishing and presenting at national conference and others simply wanted to become more familiar with best practices of teaching in the classroom setting at Upstate. Of all the challenges at Upstate, male faculty of color desired long term mentoring opportunities that could have potentially made the tenure process less intimidating. Many faculty also discussed the gross disparity for men of color earning tenure or full professorship, but, having to do so on average in 10 to 20 years versus their White counterparts earning the same statues in five to seven for tenure and an additional seven to 10 for full professorship.

3. How did Critical Race Theory (Counter-Storytelling) play a role in understanding the experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University?

Critical Race Theory, specifically counter-storytelling, provided a platform for male faculty of color at Upstate University to speak their truth in their own voice.

Counter-storytelling is “a method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority” (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27). Counter-Storytelling in this research is critically important because it provided and gave a stage to a different narrative that is often left out and is not discussed at predominately White liberal arts institutions. By providing a safe environment and protecting the identity of these participants within this study, counter-storytelling provides a detailed framework on how we can situate Upstate University and perhaps other PWI institutions to better accommodate male faculty of color into the professoriate with the respect and services that can be helpful to any faculty member.

Through the use of counter-storytelling, male faculty of color were able to tell their stories and realities of what they face within the academy. The findings of the study revealed that men of color that are faculty at Upstate University experience the institution in a distinctly different and separate ways from that of their White peers. The use of critical race theory as the methodological framework made these discoveries possible. It also gave validation to the voice of these participants, as I was able to back most of their claims with solid research and literature. The participants were overwhelmingly pleased to see the scope and depth of these challenges of men of color throughout the country and not just at their institution.

The great role that critical race theory has in this research was that it provided a stage for dialogue around issues of male identity and race in the context of navigating a predominately White campus. Many participants have never felt safe enough to talk about these issues, or according to them, never have been asked. Counter-storytelling was a useful mechanism to get at the truth from male faculty of color, that for once could

stand alone and not be challenged by the dominate White culture perspective or lens, but rather be supported by scholarly research.

4. How did the theory of Cultural Taxation help to explain the experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University?

This theory was an extremely helpful tool to have within the study because it allowed for some names to be provided for the conditions, challenges, and issues that male faculty of color face within the academy. According to the faculty participants, often times men of color consider themselves or are considered to be crazy, ungrateful, overly sensitive, unqualified, a sell-out, lonely, and inferior. By having this theory (cultural taxation) that can be associated to lived experience, provided male faculty of color within this research the opportunity to give their condition, circumstance, or struggle a name. These names and titles being further supported by scholarship and research by practitioners in the field provides these participants an avenue to explain their struggle, but also provides understanding on how institutions like Upstate University can improve the lived experience of male faculty of color in the academy.

A few participants stated the most fascinating aspect of this research is that majority White male faculty can just simply be academics. However, faculties of color, have to also be diversity officers and student personnel service employees as well. These extra duties all occur while most of the participants within this study are grappling with their own sense of belonging and loneliness within a system that they believe does not accept them.

Implications for the Academy

One of the purposes of the study was to bring attention to the lived experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University. This study was significant for many reasons. First it provided a platform for male faculty of color, a subgroup (minority group) at Upstate University to tell their stories both inside and outside of the workplace. Second, this study incorporated a qualitative phenomenological approach to explore the lived experience of male faculty of color at Upstate. This study provided a means for gaining a more in-depth appreciation and understanding for the unique experiences of male faculty of color at PWIs. More specifically, this study identified key challenges and possible solutions to enhance the overall experience for male faculty of color at Upstate University.

There are a few significant implications of this research study as it relates to the academy. First, mentoring is a substantial component of acclimation into the academy, and all faculty of color within this study stated that they had either limited mentor options or none at all. Senior faculty across social demographics and department lines should be willing to serve as mentors to grow and build the next generation of educators at the university. According to Tillman (2002), senior faculty who serve as mentors are more than likely to select protégés that are like themselves, however, perhaps greater intentionality could be attempted to reach across racial, gender, and cultural differences that can assist male faculty of color with departmental and institutional bias, prejudice, or racism. This intentionality will be important because if predominately White institutions like Upstate University are serious about diversification of its faculties, then significant efforts need to be made in order to provide inroads of success for male faculty of color.

These methods could include better on-boarding and mentoring efforts, educating new male faculty of color on the departmental policies and procedures, showing new faculty how to navigate the campus culture, developing campus classroom strategies, and how to obtain resources and support for publication and future scholarship.

Second, to enhance the opportunities of male faculty of color success in the academy, the institution has to counter the experiences of marginalization and isolation that this subgroup experiences at PWIs. The university has to make a commitment to deal with the barriers that adversely affect the lived experience of male faculty of color.

Supportive relationships are key to building the social and psychological development of male faculty of color, and if developed correctly, lead to their success (McGowan, 2016).

Upstate University should evaluate the recruitment, and more importantly, the retention efforts of all its departments within the dean of the faculty and provost ranks. Senior faculty should be incentivized to mentor incoming faculty of all demographics, but with an intentional focus on faculty of color, in order to show aspiring professors how to navigate the campus culture and politics. According to McGowan (2016), “Self- Efficacy” refers to an individual’s context specific perceptions about their ability to organize and implement actions necessary to complete a task (as cited in Bandura, 2002). Department and university procedures should also be evaluated to determine if there are any flaws within the system that adversely affect men of color. For example, many male faculty of color involved in this study felt that they are often times challenged more by White male students than any other demographic subgroup within the faculty. This becomes specifically challenging during “Set Forms,” which are faculty evaluation tools that are submitted by students. An environment of strong self-efficacy created by senior faculty

and administrators for male faculty of color at Upstate University or any PWI institution, could positively impact resilience, persistence, effort, and goal-setting (Bandura, 2002). These skill sets and abilities would be essential in assisting male faculty of color during challenging times, especially when bias may be affecting their annual evaluation from primarily White students. According to the participants within this study, department heads and senior leaders often never believe male faculty of color at Upstate when these faculty members state that the students are being racially biased on (Set Forms) annual evaluation forms. This is mainly because (according to the participants) these White department heads have never experienced it themselves, so they feel that it does not exist.

Third, administrators should examine the racial climate of the entire institution and surrounding community to determine if any efforts can be made to enhance the overall in and out of classroom experience for male faculty of color. Most participants stated that the overt, and more often times, covert racism that occurs at Upstate University really weighs on the mental and physical well-being of this subgroup. Reviewing how the institution and community can be more accepting, understanding, and appreciative of one another would be fundamental groundwork that could ultimately make systemic changes to the campus culture.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings of this study, there are several recommendations for future research. First, the role of race and gender in regards to unequal treatment and discrimination that occurs to both men and women of color at predominately White institutions (Tillman, 2002). I would recommend additional qualitative research with the

incorporation of critical race theory (counter-storytelling) to allow marginalized faculty of color to speak to their lived experiences at PWIs.

In analyzing the data from the interviews questions, it appeared that race is a factor at Upstate University and impacts who receives mentoring and who does not and further who gets challenged more often in the classroom or on evaluations forms. More specifically, it became clear, at least from the 15 participants within the study, that race adversely affects their lived experience at Upstate University. Analysis of the data indicated that participants at Upstate University find their campus to be “chilly” and unwelcoming to communities of color. Faculty shared the sentiment that they feel “tolerated,” not accepted, valued, or appreciated. Recommendations for further research in this area would include investigating how mentoring can mitigate against these feelings of not feeling welcomed or valued.

I would strongly recommend that all male faculty of color be provided a safe space to participate in future studies. This is significant, because based on the literature and this research study, many male faculty of color at PWIs do not make it to tenure stream positions. Having the opportunity to speak with these populations in addition to associate and full professors would add more depth to the research. I also feel that this specific study should be replicated to provide other racial and ethnic subgroups at Upstate University the opportunity to speak to their truth. This research focused on a narrow area of men of color (African & Latino American). Casting a wider net in the scope and depth of this study may provide stronger data points and recommendations. I would also recommend a multiple campus study for greater trustworthiness.

Additional qualitative research should be performed in the areas of the mentoring and on-boarding of male faculty of color to determine if any improvement can be reached. Specifically, mentoring by all senior level administrators and faculty seems to be what is lacking across the board for male faculty of color within the academy. Analysis of the interviews, focus groups, and graphic elicitation all pointed heavily towards receiving mentoring as a critical challenge for this subgroup at Upstate University.

I would recommend more research on the relationship between men of color that are faculty and engagement with students, with a specific focus on interaction with White male students at PWIs. Participants in all phases of the research and context within the literature draw critical challenges for men of color to garner the respect of White male students. Participants claimed that they are often times challenged more by White students than any other faculty members of a different gender or race. The belief of these participants (Male Faculty of Color) with this student subgroup (White male students) is that it is because of race that they are being challenged and falsely critiqued on faculty evaluation forms (set forms) rather than on the pedagogy or teaching. However, more research would have to be done in this area to determine the level of this perceived challenge within classroom space with this specific student demographic and faculty subgroup.

Finally, I recommend in future studies a quantitative approach that may allow for the broader generalization of this study's findings.

Trustworthiness

In an effort to further enhance trustworthiness within this research, I incorporated reliability and validity in order to ensure additional credibility for this study (Giorgi ,

2009). Reliability and validity are the means of which quality research is assessed. Schwandt (2007) defines validity as the “criteria that serves as a benchmark for inquiry” (p. 309). Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert that validity is one set of criteria in qualitative research to determine the trustworthiness of the naturalistic investigations and procedures of the study. Trustworthiness is the “quality of the investigation and its findings that made it noteworthy to audiences” (Schwandt, p. 299).

Although phenomenology is a qualitative research approach, Giorgi (1997, 2009) aver that reliability and validity in phenomenological research may have different meanings. Phenomenology is designed to illuminate and understand the meaning of the lived experience from first person point of view (Van Manen, 1990). The reality of the participant’s lived experience is inherent (Moustakas, 1994). Finally, phenomenology seeks to describe the lived experience (Husserl, 1964).

Reliability and validity are assessed from the perspective of the lived experience. Reliability in phenomenology operates on the premises that “human perception is perspectival and contextual” (Osborne, 1990). The human perception is based on a person’s lived experience. Although the participants are presented with the same phenomenon, their experiences will produce different meanings. These meanings are not repeatable, however, they create multiple realities that ultimately produce a coherent description of the shared phenomenon (Giorgi, 1997; Osborne, 1990).

Phenomenology research is concerned with the meaning of an experience. In short, reliability stems from the same phenomenon, but different experiences. Reliability (same phenomenon) in this study was the lived experience of men of color in the professoriate. Giorgi’s (2009) criteria for assessing reliability and validity were used in

this phenomenological study of the lived experiences of male faculty of color at Upstate University. First, Giorgi (2009) suggests that the researcher should bracket his/her bias and assumptions and describe in detail the data collection and analysis. In order to bracket, I addressed my biases and assumptions on the lived experiences of male faculty of color, race, class and gender, racial micro-aggressions, and thoughts on education in a description of my role as a researcher. In addition to addressing my biases and assumptions in my role as a researcher, I maintained a detailed journal of my experiences during the research process. Prior to and at the end of each session, I recorded my thoughts and reviewed them prior to each session. As Moustakas (1994) suggests, no matter how much effort you devote to bracketing, it is challenging. Although bracketing throughout this study was challenging, I was extremely cautious during data collection and analysis stages. I used multiple data collection strategies, including descriptive and pattern coding, three focus groups, 15 individual interviews, and collected field notes to illuminate the lived experiences at Upstate University. The interview protocols were designed to elicit an in-depth description of the lived experience of the men of color as faculty (Van Manen, 1990). Throughout the course of extracting the meanings of the phenomenon, I adhered closely to the adapted versions of Colaizzi (1978) as cited in Love (2010), and Giorgi's (1997, 2009) method of descriptive data analysis.

The researcher triangulation process occurred through the corroboration of the participants' lived experiences found in data through the transcripts, researcher's notes (field notes), individual interviews, and focus groups (Van Kaam as cited in Moustakas, 1994). According to Giorgi (1997), the final step in the assessment of validity is to what extent the description resonates with the experiences of other people who have

experienced the phenomenon.

Phenomenological data analysis is an interpretive process. As researcher, it is my responsibility to be truthful to what is meant by each participant. To maintain trustworthiness, I used member checking, peer debriefing, and journaling to maintain the integrity of the study. Member checking is a qualitative term used to determine the trustworthiness of the data analysis (McCoy, 2006). I used member checking to ensure that the interview transcripts and recording were an accurate reflection of the participants' thoughts and experiences. Member checking enabled me to verify that I captured what the participants meant. Respondents were asked to review these transcripts for accuracy. Second, I had follow-up questions based on the transcript findings to determine whether the interviews captured their experiences. Third, I incorporated related literature to provide additional context for the respondents' experiences as captured on tape and transcribed. Fourth, I peer-debriefed these findings with scholars within the academy whose research and scholarship specialize in the areas of male faculty of color within the academiFinally, I used a journal to document all research exercises and my thought development throughout this process. By doing this, I held myself accountable to how themes and descriptions of the phenomena evolved.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. The number of participants at Upstate University that identify as male faculty of color were few. Potential participants that did not have tenure did not want to speak with me out of fear of retaliation (fear of termination) from Upstate University. In fact, a few tenured and full professors declined the opportunity to speak with me regarding this research due to the same concerns.

Despite these challenges, I was able to secure 15 participants that identified as men of color and were either associate or full professors at Upstate University.

An additional limitation of this study was the amount of time allotted for this research (a full academic year) and the small amount of resources I had available to me. Also, limiting this research to one campus prevents these findings from being generalized and also leaves a level of uncertainty regarding the lived experience of men of color at other PWIs. A multi-campus study may be the next suggested effort to add to the findings and create additional trustworthiness for this study.

Finally, the great fear that some faculty and administrators displayed by either not choosing to be a part of the research or warning me of its possible implication on my future in higher education, spoke volumes on how important this research of the experiences of male faculty of color at PWIs is. Fear should never be a barrier to allowing marginalized people to tell their truth in hopes of making a greater tomorrow for institutions like Upstate University. However, I took necessary precautions to protect my participants and myself while simultaneously creating authentic work. But, if there was less fear of retaliation, I would have had more participants and been able to cast a wider lens of depth into this study that could have provided more resolutions to common day challenges at Upstate University.

Leadership Reflection

As a man of color and as an administrator in higher education, I hold a social constructivist worldview (Creswell, 2009). According to Creswell (2009), social constructivists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. The meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the

complexity of views rather than narrowing meaning into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research was to rely on the lived experience of the participants or sub-groups being studied.

My worldview and career path as a diversity officer in higher education has provided me a lens that allows me to be critical and analytical about the experiences of people of color in the academy across the racial spectrum. I have experienced from a first hand perspective how people of color, particularly men, try to “fit” into the academy. This usually means attempting to develop an identity that is congruent with the core values and traditions of the institution (Tuitt, Danowitz, & Sotello-Turner, 2007).

Subjectivity can be defined as, “How the judgment of someone can be shaped by personal opinions and feelings instead of outside influences” (Brown, 1996, p. 3). I guarded against subjectivity by backing up all my statements with scholarly literature in the field. Further, I only used the member checked transcripts of my participants and did not infuse my opinions regarding the subject matter. Finally, I allowed all participants and selected practitioners in the field to review my dissertation (before submission) for accuracy and transparency.

As a leader and researcher, I acknowledge my standpoint of being a Puerto Rican American man and my marginalized position as a man of color in the United States. Intuitively, I chose a phenomenological approach of understanding that men of color have a deeper story to tell, a personal narrative that is often never told. I selected Critical Race Theory and Cultural Taxation as my theoretical frameworks because of my lived experiences with race, class, and gender. But, also my experience as a man of color in higher education as an administrator and always wondering if the faculty side of the

higher education world was just as difficult, or even more challenging for men of color within the academy.

This research has taught me a lot in regards to the deep complexity of emotional, psychological, and physical stress that men of color face in the professoriate and how many are overburdened with issues of diversity that the actual university is ill equipped to handle on its own. I also reflected on the great work of Gloria Ladson-Billings and how critical race theory, specifically, counter-storytelling, provided an opportunity for participants to tell their truth in their own uninterrupted personal narratives. CRT scholars like Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) believe that race continues to be a factor in the United States today.

I listened to the participants' descriptions of their lived experiences at Upstate University, I did so with respect, empathy, and understanding. As I wrote their narratives, I became protective of their words and use of the language, which led me to present their stories verbatim. I took a great sense of pride in this work of people I now consider to be institutional heroes that have overcome so much to become tenured male faculty of color at a highly celebrated historically White liberal arts institution.

Heifetz and Linsky (2002) suggest that a person should take a balcony perspective. That is to remove oneself from the dance floor to view and understand the dancers. On several occasions, I found myself wanting to be a part of the dance, but I quickly reminded myself that this was not my journey, nor my story. I separated myself from the data by making sure I took breaks and used journaling and constantly checked in with my participants to make sure I was capturing their true voices. This form of detachment allowed me to hear the words that were being verbalized and understanding the

participants' need to express their thoughts from their perspective and the importance of not infusing my own thoughts or experiences.

Several participants thanked me for providing a “safe space” to discuss their lived experiences as faculty and authentically listening to them. These comments provided me the opportunity to think critically about my responsibility as a leader and an author of these narratives.

For the men of color in this study, their lived experiences provided me with a profound understanding of their day-to-day lives at a predominately White institution and the necessity of self-validation and self-advocacy that are constantly overlapping and colliding in their lives. Padilla (1994) coined the phrase “cultural taxation” to describe the obligations that ethnic minorities experience, due to the disproportionate representation of faculty of color at PWIs. According to Padilla (1994), minority faculty members are often one of the few, if any, faculty of color in their department. According to Aguirre (2000), because there is such a small number of African American and Latino academicians at PWIs, they often find themselves with hefty advising and service loads and performing additional out of the classroom diversity related engagement and programming for no value added merit or points

This issue of the taxation of men of color at Upstate University seemed like a key issue in the lived experiences of all men of color at Upstate University, and perhaps in institutions across the nation. The hope I have for this doctoral work is that many in the field will get to read about the amazing stories of Frank, Chris, Roy, Brian, Peter, Steve, Daniel, Mike, Hassan, Miguel, Joe, Sam, Kevin, John, and Arnold. Despite numerous obstacles, these institutional pioneers have made a difference in the demographic

landscape of the professoriate of higher education and in my life as well as a practitioner and administrator in the field.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University. The participants for the study were all tenured associate or full professors. In this study, I examined the experiences of a male subgroup that has been under-researched, specifically at the private rural liberal arts institutions. Findings within this study alluded to the fact that the road to becoming tenured faculty is a tough one, however, based on interviews from the participants, the experience of male faculty of color can also be compounded by race. In fact, all of the participants within the subgroup of this study equated race or being of color and faculty at a PWI, in this case Upstate University, was the main factor in all aspects of their lived experience amongst their peers within the academy.

According to Tillman (2002), minority faculty should be vigorously recruited. Institutions must reexamine how recruitment, promotion, and tenure practices are handled, and most importantly, how the institution provides a greater sense of belonging and ensure equity for these faculties of color that attempt to make a professional home at a PWI. Effective recruitment programs could provide prospective male faculty of color the opportunity to experience the sociocultural climate of an academic department and surrounding community of the institution first hand. The literature supports the need for PWIs like Upstate University to break down barriers for diversity.

This study contributed to the literature on male faculty of color at predominately White private liberal arts institutions by exploring the experience of African and Latino

American men that are currently tenured faculty at Upstate University. Senior faculty, department heads, and administrators can use this information to institute new best practices to improve the in and out of the work environment lives of this subgroup. Further, future aspiring male faculty of color can use this report as a guide on what to potentially expect at Upstate University or a peer school and be able to better prepare for the challenges ahead of navigating the campus culture.

Through descriptive narratives, the participants have shared their experiences and perceptions as guests within a system of which they should be members. This contribution to postsecondary education has the ability to increase our understanding of the work lives of men of color within the professoriate at PWIs across the country. The participants' readiness to share their thoughts demonstrates a positive step and may help other men of color to develop tools to navigate PWI systems. It is paramount that higher education becomes more mindful and sensitive to the historical position of men of color within the academy in order to provide a more inclusive and culturally rich environment. Finally, I feel that this study provides predominately White institutions that truly wish to diversify their campuses an extra set of tools to incorporate, not only with recruitment, but also with the retention of this amazing subgroup of highly qualified professionals.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol - Individual Participants

1. How did you become interested in the academy, in becoming a professor?
2. How were you recruited as a faculty member to Upstate University?
3. Describe your experience at Upstate University?
 - a. What were your initial feelings about the environment?
 - b. How did you navigate the campus culture as a new faculty member?
4. How do you feel supported as a male faculty of member at Upstate University?
5. What strategies does Upstate University utilize to retain male faculty of color?
6. What are challenges that exist for male faculty of color at Upstate University?
 - a. In your opinion or personal experience are your majority culture (White) colleagues experiencing the same challenges? If not, please explain.
7. How do male faculty of color adapt to the values of Upstate University?
8. Does being a male faculty member of color cause these individuals to live a dual life in and out of the academy?
9. What are the expectations around service for male faculty of color?
10. Describe the workload for faculty?
 - a. Explain similarities and difference with other male faculty on campus?
11. How does the workload for male faculty of color differ from other male faculty at Upstate?
12. Are the out of the classroom expectations for male faculty of color different from their peers?
13. How is diversity research and scholarship supported?
14. How do male faculty of color struggle to fit in at Upstate University?

15. Are male faculties of color, exposed to any work related emotional stress?
16. How do male faculty of color develop a sense of belonging at Upstate University?
17. How does Upstate University address issues related to male faculty of color?
18. Please describe your overall experience at Upstate University as a male faculty member of color?
19. Explain issues of racism, prejudice, and / or bias on your campus?
20. How have you experienced racial diversity on this campus?
21. How does Upstate University foster cross-racial interactions among faculty?
22. What factors contributed to your success at Upstate University?
23. What are your future aspirations within the academy?
24. Are there any additional comments you wish to share regarding your faculty experience at Upstate?

Appendix B

Informed Consent Letter



The Lived Experiences of Male Faculty of Color at Upstate University: A
Predominately White Liberal Arts Institution (PWI)

Informed Consent for Interviews or Interviews with Record Reviews (Expedited Review with identifiers)

Please read this consent document carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

You are invited to participate in a research study about understanding the lived experience of male faculty of color at Upstate University: A Predominately White Liberal Arts Institution (PWI). This study is being conducted by the Co-Investigators (Thomas A. Cruz-Soto, Jr.) at Colgate University; which for purposes of the research will be known as Upstate University. The Principal Investigator of the study is (*Dr. James Coaxum*).

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you agree to participate in this study, you would be interviewed for about (45) minutes. The number of participants in the study will be approximately (15) max.

You will be asked to complete a quick graphic elicitation as a warm up, which should take approximately five minutes of your time. This will be followed by a twenty-four question interview that relates to the research topic. The questions and answers will be audio recorded and should take an estimated time 45 minutes. All information will be kept **confidential**. No names of individuals or the institution will be used in my report findings or in my final dissertation work. There will be a max total of 15 participants for this study.

There is little risk in participating in this study; after the interview, you may have questions about your answers to questions regarding the study. Feel free to contact the Co-Investigator either vial email at tcruzsoto@colgate.edu or via cell at (856) 264-7609.

Your identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. Your information will be assigned a code number that is unique to this study. No one other than the researcher (Co-Investigator) would know whether you participated in the study. Study findings will be presented only in summary form and your name will not be used in any report or publications.

Participating in this study may not benefit you directly, but it will help us learn the challenges that men of color face (as faculty) within the academy at predominately White Liberal Arts Institutions. *Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose not to participate in this study, this will have no effect on the services or benefits you are currently receiving.* You may skip any questions you don't want to answer and withdraw from the study at any time without consequences.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact (Principle Investigator, Dr. James Coaxum at 856-256-4779. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Rowan University SOM IRB Office at (856) 566-2712 or Rowan University Glassboro/CMSRU IRB at 856-256-4078.

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM WHETHER OR NOT YOU AGREE TO PARTICIPATE.

Social and Behavioral IRB Research Agreement *(Use this only for research involving social and behavioral IRB research)*

I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily agree to participate in the procedure and **I have received a copy of this description.**

Name (Printed) _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

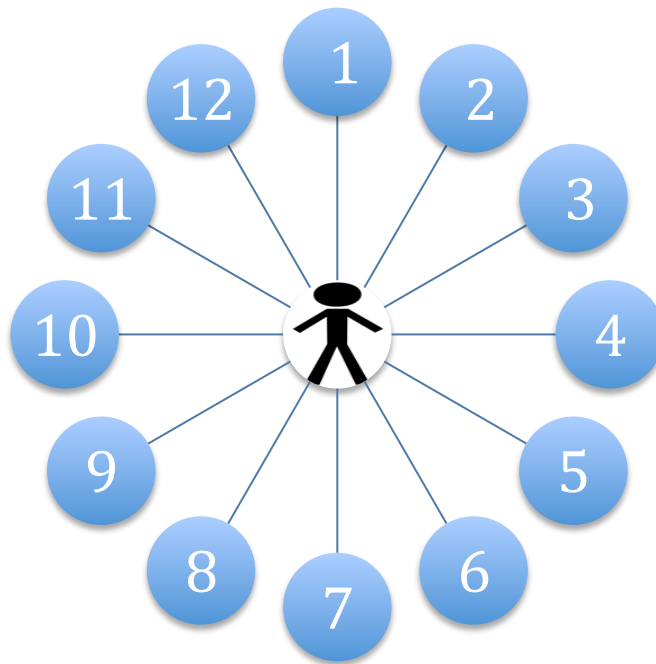
Co-Investigator: _____ Date: _____

Principal Investigator: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C

Graphic Elicitation

Instructions: The purpose of this exercise is to elicit data about your interactions with your colleagues that you work closest with and your institutional experience in the work environment. Please select words from the *word bank* below and place beside the ovals in rank order of the people or experiences in the level of importance to you 1-12. You can use the words in the word bank below or you can choose your own words that best describe your experience of people that you work closest to.



WORD BANK

SPOUSE
ACCEPTANCE
FAMILY
DEPARTMENT
PROVOST
CLASSROOM
WORKLOAD
ACADEMIC RIGOR
CAMPUS COMMUNITY

BIAS
STUDENTS
PEERS
FACULTY OF COLOR
NON TENURE
CAMPUS CLIMATE
SCHOLARSHIP
MENTORSHIP

PRIVILEGE
PRESIDENT
FRIENDS
TENURE TRACK
ADMINISTRATION
FELLOWSHIPS
LOCATION
FEELING VALUED

POLITICS
FACULTY
ALUMNI
RACISM
COMFORT

Appendix D

Interview Protocol - Focus Group Interview

1. What individuals have been instrumental in your acclamation to the campus?
2. How does the geographical location of the institution play a role in your lived experiences?
3. What types of mentorship programs exist?
4. Do you think race or gender played a role in your experience as a professor?
 - a.) **YES** – Please tell me a story on how race and/or gender has affected your experience.
 - b.) **NO** – Tell me why not?
5. Do male faculty of color feel accepted and valued at Upstate University?
6. What is the departmental and/or institutional comment to diversity
 - a.) In what ways did the department or institution adapt to you?
7. In most of your faculty meetings within your departments are you the only person of color? Can you discuss how that may feel to be the only one?
 - a. Today, for this focus group, you are in the majority in this room; can you discuss how this feels?
8. Tell me about your relationships with others at your institution, in the profession, or in the community?
9. What opportunities and / or barriers have you encountered?
10. What advice would you give a new male faculty member of color that is considering accepting an opportunity to work at Upstate University?

Appendix E

Audio Addendum to Consent Form



ROWAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AUDIO ADDENDUM TO CONSENT FORM

You have already agreed to participate in a research study conducted by Thomas A. Cruz-Soto (Co-Investigator) and Dr. James Coaxum (Principle Investigator). We are asking for your permission to allow us to audiotape the interview session at the individual and focus group stages as part of that research study.

Please Note: You do not have to agree to be recorded in order to participate in the main parts of the study.

The recording(s) will be used for the follow

- Analysis by the Co-Investigator of the study
- To capture the participants true voice during the interview
- For purposes of transcriptions, coding, and checking in with the participant to gain trustworthiness for the study.

The recording(s) will include audio recorded answers of the participants to approved research protocol questions. The participant will be given a surname of “Participant #1, #2, #3..... No other identifier will be used with this study. Please Note: Colgate University will be call “Upstate University for purposes of this study.

The recording(s) will be stored in a locked file cabinet with no link to subjects’ identity. This file cabinet is located in my personal home approximately 45 minutes from campus. The audio recordings will be destroyed upon completion of the study.

Your signature on this form grants the investigator named above permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that/those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

Signature of participant

Date

Print name of participant

Date of Birth

Signature of researcher

Date

Print name of researcher