Retrospective Theses and Dissertations

Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations

2003

Truths about Sojourner: African American women and the professorship: their struggles and their successes on negotiating promotion and tenure at a predominantly white institution

Lynette Letricia Danley
Iowa State University

Truths about Sojourner: African American women and the professorship—

Their struggles and their successes on negotiating promotion and tenure

at a predominantly white institution

by

Lynette Letricia Danley

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Education (Higher Education)

Program of Study Committee:
Florence Hamrick, Major Professor
George Jackson
John Schuh
Valerie Sheares
Carlie Tartakov

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2003

UMI Number: 3085899

Copyright 2003 by

Danley, Lynette Letricia

All rights reserved.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3085899

Graduate College
Iowa State University

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation of

Lynette Letricia Danley

has met the dissertation requirements of Iowa State University

Major Professor

For the Major Program

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Identification of Researchable Problem

In the United States, faculty of color represent fewer than 16% of faculty and staff at postsecondary institutions (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1998; hereinafter referred to as NCES, Racial/ethnic distribution of full-time instructional faculty and staff). Moreover, within the fewer than 3% of American colleges and universities ranked at the Carnegie Doctoral Extensive institutional level, there is only one non-White Doctoral Extensive institution, which is Howard University, a historically Black university (Carnegie Groupings, 2001). This means that most faculty of color who aspire to an academic career at the Doctoral Extensive institutional level will be much more likely to work at a predominantly White institution.

When one factors in gender with respect to faculty demographics at predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions, those statistics become even more alarming (Turner & Myers, 2001). In 1997, women represented only 36%, or 204,794 out of the total 568,719, of faculty members in American colleges and universities (Employees Colleges and Universities, 2001). At the tenured level, that number is only 26%, or 75,875 out of 291,894 faculty. In almost every ethnic group men represent double or even triple the proportion of females in terms of faculty appointments, with the exception of African Americans (Employees Colleges and Universities, 2001). This suggests that, regardless of race, promotion and tenure appear to be more challenging for women than men.

In terms of minority faculty, ethnic groups including American Indians, Asian Pacific Islanders, African Americans, and Hispanics represent only 0.1337% of the faculty in American higher education and 0.0589% of the total 568,719 faculty at the tenured level

(Colleges and Universities, 2001). Tierney and Bensimon (1996) suggested that this dismal

number of faculty of color may be a consequence of faculty feeling that in order to be

successful at a predominantly White institution they have to assimilate to the

White/European-American culture.

> The consequences of acculturation for the individual are well known. The myth
>
> that only the "best" survive ensures that only those who conform to the norm
>
> will succeed. Individual identity is homogenized. Yet the consequences for the
>
> organizations, and particularly for educational institutions, are equally harmful.
>
> The denial of difference does not allow members of the academy, and especially
>
> students, to appreciate the diversity that exists in society now and has existed in
>
> it forever. (p. 18)

While faculty of color may initially choose not to seek appointments at predominantly

White Doctoral Extensive institutions because of the aforementioned perception, they are left

with few alternatives because of the limited diversity (e.g., race and culture) of Doctoral

Extensive institutions. The concern then, is not only whether or not to work at a

predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution, but how to attain promotion and tenure

successfully at such an institution once a tenure track appointment has been secured.

Quite possibly, blueprints for success exist among the experiences of women and other

underrepresented groups. These recommendations can have a tremendous impact on higher

education in terms of faculty preparation, recruitment of women and minorities, and how to

support these individuals through promotion and tenure.

One population to consider is that of African American women, who are part of the

largest ethnic minority group in higher education as well as the largest ethnic group of

women in terms of tenure-track and tenured women faculty in American colleges and universities (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). In 1997, there were 27,723 African American faculty members in the United States (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). Of that number, 13,664 were women, and 4,598, or 34%, were tenured faculty members. That number of 4,598 African American women tenured faculty is a miniscule number in comparison to the approximate 291,894 total tenured faculty members in American colleges and universities (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). Hutcheson (2000) asserted the need for the examination of the diminutive number of African American women tenured faculty when he quoted a fellow colleague who contended, "Despite the increases in the numbers of Black women, they still remain largely invisible" (p. 184). Still, it is promising to consider that women represent 4.9% of the total African American tenured faculty members (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). Further study of these women could provide some insight into how to address the challenge of increasing the numbers and proportions of African American women faculty members at predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions.

Statement of the Problem

While African American women represent a miniscule proportion of faculty members in American colleges and universities, they represent the largest non-White number of tenured women faculty and their numbers are steadily increasing (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). Evidence exists that suggest that progress is being made in terms of African American women and their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure (Hill Collins, 2000; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Nettles, 1997; Turner & Myers, 2000). However,

there continues to be very small proportions of this particular group in American colleges and universities (Hill Collins, 2000; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Nettles, 1997; Turner & Myers, 2000). The aim of this study was to explore, through analysis of the experiences of six African American women faculty members, the perceived institutional and individual factors that contributed to their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. By analyzing the factors that affected their promotion and tenure, those that were painful as well as victorious, it is intended that others will benefit from learning about their journeys. While the information gathered is not generalizable or representative of all African American women seeking or having earned tenure, it is reflective of the achievements and milestones discussed in the extant literature on the promotion and tenure experiences of African American women and other faculty of color.

These findings add to the body of knowledge in higher education regarding access, equity, and success for these underrepresented faculty members in the academic community. The following theoretical framework will inform this study.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study included a synthesis of several theories. However, the main theory that guided this study was Black feminism or Black feminist thought. Black feminist thought is not only a combination of knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment shared by educators/activists, but also the race, class, gender, and sexuality constituting mutually constructed systems (Hill Collins, 2000, p. 227).

It was critical to examine not only the above factors individually, but also to focus on the interplay between and among them. Additionally, information was sought about the ways

in which the respondents want to be represented as scholars in their respective departments. One of the key aspects of this investigation is to study the success of these respondents and the choices they made in regards to promotion and tenure. The external and internal factors assisting them in those processes could be key factors in their success. Their narratives may appear somewhat limited in terms of broad applicability, but analysis of their experiences could contribute insight for departments and institutions of higher education. The following research questions guided this study.

Research Questions

Proceeding from the problem stated above, the following research questions guided this study:

1. What experiences do these respondents feel affected the way in which they negotiated the promotion and tenure process?

2. To what extent did those experiences help shape their readiness for and their knowledge of the professorship at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution?

3. What impact(s) do racial, gender, and self-identity have on respondents' perception of the climate and their perceptions of successful navigation of the promotion and tenure process?

4. To what extent, if any, do feminism, feminist methodologies, and Black feminist thought assist in understanding the ways in which African American women professors develop their pedagogy, research, or service as faculty members?

5. To what extent did a match and/or discord exist between the perceived criteria to successfully negotiate the promotion and tenure process and the expectations shared throughout the process?

Delimitations of the Study

The delimitations, predetermined or foreshadowed limitations, of the study included the following:

1. It was limited to only one institution, which is classified as a predominantly White, Doctoral Extensive, (previously) Research I, land-grant institution in the Midwest.

2. The focus was on the experiences of six African American women who earned tenure at a selected institution (there are eight African American women with tenure at the selected site, but two did not earn their tenure at the selected site).

3. The focus was on African American women who are tenured associate and full professors.

The first delimitation presents a challenge to the study because the views of the respondents are contextualized within the target institution. This being the case, the perspectives gained are situational and can only be placed in the context of culture and campus ecology of one institution as experienced by six respondents during the time of this study. This limits the international, national, regional, and in many respects, even local, direct applicability of the findings. Diversity in terms of institutional type as well as geographic setting was not an element of this study. Therefore, the experiences captured at one institution may or may not resemble the encounters at other institutions similar in institutional type or not.

The second delimitation acknowledges the small number of participants in the study, which limits the generalizability in terms of directly connecting the experiences of the six respondents to the larger pool of African American women who negotiated promotion and tenure at colleges and universities across the United States.

Finally, the third delimitation is that the focus was on African American women faculty members who held appointments at the associate and full professor rank. Understanding that the focus of the study was primarily on the individual characteristics and secondarily on the factors that contributed to the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution, only women who had achieved promotion and tenure were selected as respondents. That way, I would be able to identify central and/or unifying themes that emerged from the respondents as well as unique traits and factors that could be attributed to the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. Data were not gathered from African American women who held adjunct and assistant professor rank, nor from those who earned promotion and tenure from other institutions prior to accepting an appointment at GBSU.

Definition of Relevant Terms as Used in this Study

The following definitions and relevant terms will assist the reader with the context of this study:

African American/Black: Descending from, pertaining to, or belonging to an ethnic group and/or African heritage and residing as a citizen in the United States of America.

Associate Professor: Faculty who have been promoted with tenure from assistant professor, providing a continuing employment contract.

Black Lady: Middleclass professional Black women who depict a contemporary description

of the "mammy" (Shaw, 1996) but have "stayed in school, worked hard and achieved

much" (Hill Collins, 2000, p. 80) in terms of academic and career development.

Bricolage: A synthesis of concepts to help shape a grounded theory. An assembly of various

apparently unconnected elements. The expression "bricolage" is closely associated with

Claude Levi-Strauss (1908–), the Brussels-born anthropologist who studied the codes

of expression in different societies. There is a lot of pretentious theorizing about what

he meant, but the idea is perhaps best conveyed by entering a chain of French do-it-

yourself stores called W. Bricolage (Cohen & Kennedy, 2000, p. 374).

Carnegie Classification: It is the framework in which institutional diversity in UNITED

STATES higher education is commonly described. Most of the Carnegie Foundation's

higher education projects rely on the classification to ensure a representative selection

of participating individuals and institutions. The Carnegie Classification was originally

published in 1973, and subsequently updated in 1976, 1987, 1994, and 2000. Retrieved

November 18, 2002 http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classification/index.htm

Cultural Assimilation: The process by which an individual or group acquires the cultural

traits of a different ethnic or cultural group (Banks, 1997, p. 72).

Cultural Taxation: Process where an institution takes advantage of the cultural resources of

an individual, without institutional rewards, that serves to the detriment of the faculty

member, which is often a faculty member of color (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996, p. 15).

Doctoral Extensive: One of the institutional classification categories specified by Andrew

Carnegie's Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Retrieved November 18,

2002, from http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classification/index.htm

The Doctoral Extensive is Carnegie Classification for institutions that offer a wide
range of baccalaureate programs and are committed to graduate education through the
doctorate. They award over 50 or more doctoral degrees per year across at least 15
disciplines (Carnegie Groupings, 2001).

Effective-Holistic Mentoring: Relationship that incorporates availability, trust, commitment,
and sincere interest on the part of the mentor whereby he or she provides guidance,
leadership, accountability, and acceptance of mutual ownership regarding the
professional and personal development of his or her mentee.

Ethnic Minority: An ethnic minority has unique physical and/or cultural characteristics that
enable people who belong to mainstream groups to identify its members easily and thus
treat them in a discriminatory way (Banks, 1997, p. 15).

European American: White Americans of European descent who currently represent the
majority population in America. This population has the most influence on its culture,
values, and ethos (Banks, 1997, pp. 251–252).

Full Professor: Faculty who have been promoted from associate professor to professor
through a formal process.

"Good ol' boy" System: The belief and/or perception of a structure that was developed by
and created for the benefit and advancement of White/European-American males. This
"structure" has been said to have discriminated against and/or provided limited
opportunities and privileges for women and people of color (Lipsitz, 1998).

Insiders: Reference for the race, gender, and academic identities that connects and exists
between the respondents of this study; all of the women are tenured African American
female faculty members.

Mammy: Symbolic function that represented the image of a faithful and obedient servant in

the White homes during slavery. There can also be a sense of sensuality and sexuality

attached to this term from its slave era origin (Hill Collins, 2000, pp. 73–74).

Matriarch: Symbolic of the Black mother figure in Black homes, a woman with this label was

often viewed as aggressive and one who contributed to the social ills of the Black

community. The perception of this woman is that she chooses to work outside of the

home in addition to or at the expense of her household responsibilities (Hill Collins,

2000, p. 75).

Negotiation: Each of the respondents participated in mutual exchange with their Department

Chairs regarding how their scholarship (teaching, research, and service) as Assistant

Professor, could improve their chances of earning promotion and tenure. Additionally,

the respondents engaged in internal discussions as they determined what departmental

and collegial mores they were willing to accept and adopt, as well as, those beliefs and

values that they refused to compromise.

New Kid on the Block: Newly appointed or junior faculty member in a department.

Outsiders: Reference for any person/people outside of the race, gender, and academic identity

of the respondents in this study; anyone who is not a tenured African American female

faculty member.

Pipeline: A metaphorical explanation for the dearth of minorities due to losses of potentially

qualified candidates along the "pipeline" from secondary school to completion of a

doctorate (Turner & Myers, 2000, p. 78).

Spirituality: Belief in self as well as a power, not necessarily higher, but a force that exist

outside of oneself, where upon strength and encouragement is drawn.

Stick-to-it-ive-ness: A person's ability to withstand the pressure of a situation regardless of the obstacles presented.

Tenure: A means to an end; specifically: 1) freedom of teaching and research and of extramural activities, and 2) a sufficient degree of economic security to make the profession attractive to men and women of ability. Freedom and economic security, hence, tenure, are indispensable to the success of an institution in fulfilling its obligations to its students and society (American Association of University Professors, 1969, pp. 34–35).

Underrepresented Groups: A low percentage of minority faculty as compared to the minority groups' representation in the general population. Percentage of minority faculty compared to their percentage in the national pool of qualified individuals. Percentage of minority faculty compared to the expected availability (fewer in a particular job group than would reasonably be expected by their availability). Percentage of minority faculty compared to their representation in the appropriate civilian labor force, which may be geographically determined (Turner & Myers, 2000, pp. 64–65).

Voice: [For Black women voice is] the identification, access, and vehicle through which the knowledge that has constructed from oneself and of one's various lifeworlds emerge (Alfred, 2001, p. 69).

Welfare Mother: Woman who draws upon the moral capital attached to American motherhood, a woman content to sit around and tend to her children with the understanding that she will collect welfare (Hill Collins, 2000, pp. 79–80).

Welfare Queen: A phrase that describes economic dependency on and/or a mother whose children have no father figure in the household (Lubiano, 1992, pp. 337–338).

I used the terms African American and Black interchangeably throughout the study. However, one term may take on more significant meaning than the other based on the input received from the respondents in respect to how they prefer to be acknowledged. The Carnegie Classifications are relevant to the study to describe the type of institution in which the respondents are employed. I also provided a definition for associate professor because in rare cases, associate professors are promoted but not awarded tenure. For the purpose of this study, I investigated only the experiences of African American women who are associate and full professors with tenure at a selected predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. The next chapter provides insight into the literature base and an in-depth theoretical framework that was used to guide this study.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In reviewing the literature related to negotiating the promotion and tenure process of African American women at a Doctoral Extensive institution, four main themes emerged. These themes include the following:

1. The status of African American women in higher education, with respect to the history of higher education in the United States and the history of inclusion.

2. Graduate education and the socialization of women and minority graduate students.

3. The nature of the promotion and tenure process.

4. Feminist and Black feminist thought and other theoretical constructs that give voice to and recognize the contributions of African American women and other underrepresented groups.

First, selected aspects of the history of higher education and its impact of African Americans in America were reviewed to provide a background of how access and equality began for African American women in academe. Additionally, literature was reviewed regarding African American women and the importance of negotiating the power and usage of their "voice" in education (Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981). Next, in the attempt to foreshadow possible findings in the study, literature relating to African American women and graduate education, faculty preparation, and the impact of the negotiation and tenure process on the current status of African American women is also presented.

Finally, the selected theoretical framework for this study includes feminist and Black feminist thought and intellectual and moral development. Review of these theories shed prospective light on the way African American women have negotiated the promotion and

tenure process and serve as literature to sensitize the researcher. As a result, the findings from the six respondents of this study may enhance the current body of research pertaining to African American women and their negotiation of the promotion and tenure process. The selected themes and theoretical constructs lend themselves to the voices and experiences of women and people of color and provide a strong foundation for understanding the challenges faced by African American women faculty negotiating the promotion and tenure process at one Doctoral Extensive institution.

Higher Education and the Story of Access and Gender Equality

Higher education in the colonial United States began in 1636 with the founding of Harvard College (Rudolph, 1990, p. 3). As with the majority of the colleges, Harvard College was founded with the intent to train (White) men to be clergy, lawyers, doctors, and leaders of civic affairs (p. 6). This concept of training learned men was out of reach for most people because opportunities were based on social class and gender (Solomon, 1985).

For women in the colonial times, formal education consisted of that which would aid them in better caring for husbands and children in their lives. According to Solomon (1985), a woman's "place" was established from the time she was born. Her identity as a woman was directly connected to her roles in the family, including those of mother, daughter, wife, grandmother, and aunt (p. 2). This meant education for women was more hands-on, based on the assumptions that women either prepared or supervised the preparation of food, clothing, and household necessities, as well as the domestic affairs of cooking, cleaning, sewing, and serving men and family overall (p. 3).

In terms of education for Negroes [African Americans] in general, formal education was illegal (Collins, 2001, p. 30). Prior to the Civil War, many states developed laws prohibiting the education of Negroes [African Americans] that made it illegal to teach slaves to read and write, and so they were taught in secret (p. 30).

> Negroes were forcibly prevented from attending schools; teachers were not permitted to teach. Churches that often housed schools were sometimes burned. Some of the teachers, many of whom had lived along the fugitive Underground Railroad, suffered intimidation, insult, scorn and ostracism; a few were killed. (Clifton, Anderson, & Hullfish, 1962, p. 39)

Clifton, Anderson, and Hullfish continued:

> The most decisive words in the history of Negro education in America were spoken on May 17, 1954. . . . To separate [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. (Clifton, Anderson, & Hullfish, 1962, p. 201)

Federal laws were later enacted that legally increased access to higher education for women and minorities (Solomon, 1985, p. 2). The Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862, which granted access for people of modest means to be educated in the areas of agriculture, mechanics, and home economics, was a means of bettering the communities in which people lived. Initially, women and people of color did not have access to these institutions. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890 was enacted to increase access for African Americans and

other ethnic groups, to serve as another vehicle of access for women and minorities (Rudolph, 1990).

A crucial aspect that aided the advancement of all women, but specifically African American women in regards to this study, was the Civil War and the opportunities afforded to those who sought freedom from slavery (Solomon, 1985, p. 45). After the war, there was a need for formal education of these freed men and women in order to help them become self-sufficient. However, due to the laws of the time, African Americans were excluded from attending most colleges that were already in existence, so new institutions were founded. With this separate but equal concept, higher education expanded to include women and minorities (Banks, 1997; Solomon, 1985). This led to an influx of African Americans, including African American women, enrolling in higher education.

Solomon (1985) stated four motivating factors that facilitated the access for women into higher education:

1. Women's struggles for access to institutions.

2. Dimensions of the collegiate experience.

3. Effects of education upon women's life choices.

4. The uneasy connection between feminism and women's educational advancement.

   (p. xvii)

From the last, the "uneasy connection between feminism and women's educational advancement," along with the struggle for racial equality, evolved the notion of quality and access for all women. During colonial times, several individuals such as Emma Hart Willard, as well as groups like the Baptists, Methodists, Reformers, Quakers, and Presbyterians, challenged the traditional role of women and helped to educate women as well as African

African American Women and Higher Education

The first African American women entered higher education institutions in the 19th century. Slater (1994) reported that in 1897 the first African American woman undergraduate, Sara W. Brown, was enrolled at Cornell College. Robinson and Tucker (1997–1998) stated that, "Mary Jane Patterson made history by becoming the first African American woman to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree" (p. 63). However, it was not until the late 19th century that Black women began to acquire formal education legally. Whether that education was completed with the intentions of becoming educators as Perkins (1987) asserted, or to be trained as domesticated servants or mammies as reported by Collins (2001), African American women were exposed to formal education.

For African American women, as for many African Americans, the pursuit of higher education has been interpreted as an opportunity to better oneself and also to help uplift the race (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lomotey, 1997). In his text, *Sailing Against the Wind*, Lomotey (1997) stated:

> Even with its history of elitism and exclusion and its tradition of upholding
>
> and perpetuating the "good ol' boy" system, student activism and political/
>
> social demonstrations on campuses gave hope of inclusion, fairness, justice,
>
> truth, and possible redemption for this country. (p. 125)

Thus, African American women, as with men in the African American race, believed that education could provide them with the necessary tools and abilities to contribute significantly to one's community (Lomotey, 1997, p. 125). Collins (2001) stated that, "Education was seen as the key to unlocking the wealth, respectability, and economic development in the Black community after the Civil War and into the twentieth century" (p. 34).

American men (Hill Collins, 2000; Solomon, 1985). These actions eventually prompted and led to higher education of women and an evolution of women's roles in society. Once women, including African American women, had the opportunity to advance outside of their domesticated roles from 1865–1920, they did not look back.

African American women played a tremendous role in the Civil Rights Movement. According to Payne (1993), and later documented by Banks (1997, p. 226), African American women were the catalysts of the Civil Rights Movement in that they "formed the foundation of the organizational segment of the civil rights movement and coordinated activities and mobilized groups." As a result of the efforts and contributions made by African American women, the African American community as well as the academy has been better served (Boyd, 1993; Franklin & Moss, 2000; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Payne, 1993; Radford-Hill, 2000). Franklin and Moss (2000) explained:

> While it was not possible to measure the results of the numerous efforts to bridge the gap between the two worlds in which most African Americans lived, there was rather general agreement by the end of the 1960s that at least some of the approaches being tried helped to check the increase in racial antipathy. If the agencies, councils, bureaus did not succeed in getting America's melting pot to boil, they did dramatize the importance of the problem. They called attention to the fact that the great test of America's democratic tradition was the acceptance of Blacks into the mainstream of American life. (p. 474)

In the late 19th century, having access to formal education and the support of institutions such as Oberlin College, which was founded in 1833, women were able to act on their academic goals (Collins, 2001, p. 34). Collins (2001) reported that African American women educators and activists such as Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny Jackson Coppin, and Mary Church Terrell conducted research, established community service organizations, and founded schools for Black youth (p. 35). These acts of tenacity and courage during such blatant acts of racism and discrimination fueled the Black community and led the charge for African American women in the 20th century and continue to serve as the catalyst for the motivation of African American women today (hooks, 1994, 2000; Hill Collins, 2000; Radford-Hill, 2000). As a result, postsecondary education, particularly the pursuit of advanced degrees by African American women, has increased. And as with the past, African Americans were and continue to be strong advocates for the education of all underrepresented groups as suggested below by Blue (2001):

> Reclaiming the societal margins to which they/we have been relegated, Black women can then create a vision for liberation that is not only empowering for other Black women, but for all people. Black women have demonstrated throughout history that they/we have been and will continue to be instrumental in the struggle for freedom from oppression, leading the fight from the vanguard. (p. 136)

Graduate Education and African American Women

The concept of graduate education in the United States was adapted from the German Model (Rudolph, 1990, p. 233). This model emphasized "scholarly ideals, response to popular ideals, academic freedom, and one's ability to choose an academic plan or course of

action by way of an elective system" (Rudolph, p. 127). Graduate education in American history formally began with the founding of the University of Virginia in 1824 (Rudolph). Thomas Jefferson, its founder, thought it necessary to move the institution in a direction beyond traditionally focused disciplines to a variety of academic areas. Jefferson's idea of graduate education, which included his concept of "combining popular and practical new subjects with an intellectual orientation" (p. 125), is echoed by Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl (2000):

> In their doctoral education, faculty members are primarily socialized [through graduate education] into a discipline, not a profession. The emphasis is almost exclusively on cutting edge intellectual, theoretical, empirical, and methodological content of a field of study, with the operating assumption, often unstated, that once an individual masters a specialization, s/he can practice it by teaching or conduct research in any number of organizational contexts. . . . (p. 73)

However, the aforementioned passage is not often the case for many graduate students who are socialized to be better suited for certain types of institutions than others (Hutchings, 1993; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). In other words, it may be the intent of faculty to teach their graduate students how to be successful in their pursuit of faculty appointments, as well as, in their negotiations of promotion and tenure, regardless of their departmental, collegial, and/or institutional culture, but that level of success may not often be the case due to traditional norms and tenets that vary from institution to institution, and more specifically from college to college and department to department (Hutchings, 1993; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Hutchings (1993) contention appeared to be more in

line with what Rudolph (1990) was trying to convey regarding the desired outcome of graduate research and its practicality, but unfortunately, as shared in the following passage that is not often the case:

> Graduate programs vary . . . with respect to the levels of autonomy granted to students. Academic professionals tend to be autonomous workers, yet the ability to practice and grant autonomy varies by disciplines or profession and thus is unstandardized and left to faculty discretion. (p. 71)

The role that faculty play in the development of graduate students is clearly demonstrated in Hutchings (1993) passage above. Therefore, understanding the nature and power of faculty influence become essential, particularly in the lives of graduate students interested in the professoriate, because there is more at stake than just completing the doctorate degree. Faculty have the charge of determining and/or assisting graduate students with deciphering which institutional fit would better complement the students' strengths and talents. This determination is not to be taken lightly and does not come as easy for some faculty and/or students. Hutchings (1993) continued with his discussion on the complexities of this matter:

> The complexity of teaching, its value as intellectual [scholarly] activity, will be communicated to graduate students when there's involvement by "regular" faculty in their department; but whether those faculty have thought deeply about teaching and learning and therefore about the kind of knowledge that will lead their graduate students to be better teachers is far from certain. (p. 130)

While Hutchings (1993) referred to teaching without directly citing research and service, I believe that his passage encompassed the entire spectrum of scholarship that is required to be a faculty member at any college or university. The difference, I believe, is the extent to

which a graduate student chooses to put energy into one or more areas than another. In other words, the type of professor that a graduate student is learning to become in graduate school will serve him or her better if there is a scholarly match with the institution where he or she holds a faculty appointment (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000, Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001).

Until the late 19th century, before the doctoral research degree was imported to the United States, professional standards for college faculty were nonexistent (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000, p. 2). Furthermore, according to Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000), it was increasingly understood that one component of graduate school should be to further develop one's skill for a particular profession. In terms of the professorship, the extent to which graduate students are prepared for the professoriate depends at least in part on the faculty, department, college, and overall climate of the institution. Here, Weidman, Twale, and Stein (2001) stated:

> Faculty advisers may explain norms of organizational expectations quite clearly to their advisees, but not necessarily all of their peers may get similar information, a situation that can create dissonance for the students. (p. 59)

Furthermore, some graduate programs give more attention to faculty autonomy than what may be in the best interest regarding the preparation of graduate students for research or teaching at colleges or universities. Weidman, Twale, and Stein (2001) further contended that:

> Because faculty are expected to select and assess the performance of graduate students as part of their gatekeeping function, paternalism is sometimes evident. Faculty as gatekeepers hold the ascribed duty of regulating who will and who will not be granted

entry into a graduate program. They determine who shall be privy to the closely guarded body of knowledge they possess as well as which graduate students shall be anointed and certified as qualified to engage in professional practice. In the arts and sciences especially, faculty members tend to remain in sole control of the student's fate. (pp. 58–59)

In relation to the socialization of graduate schools and the effectiveness of postsecondary education, Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) identified four problems of graduate education:

1. A mismatch between doctoral education and the needs of colleges and universities that employ new Ph.D.s.

2. Graduate schools and departments seldom gather data with which to assess their programs.

3. The academy has resources that might be mobilized to preparing the future professoriate, but are unfortunately often untapped in terms of faculty preparation.

4. Changes that take place in faculty roles and in higher education tend not to be reflected in doctoral preparation. (pp. 3–6)

The first problem, the mismatch between what is experienced in graduate school versus what is actually experienced in a faculty appointment, is a challenge for colleges and universities across the country. Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) quoted in their text, *Building the Faculty that We Need: Colleges and Universities Working Together*, that:

One hundred and two universities—primarily research universities—award 80

percent of doctorates. . . . Students who aspire to faculty careers are routinely

socialized to those values of academic life in universities like these. Those who

go on to faculty careers, however, work mostly in the thousands of other

institutions that have different missions, student bodies, and expectations for

faculty. (p. 3)

Thus, this mismatch, can affect the way in which students connect and make meaning

of the information that they learned from their graduate school experience, especially

if they are unable to associate those meanings and practices to the employment that

they seek after completion of their advanced degree. Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl

(2000) go on to further suggest that this disconnect in terms of the growth of Ph.D.

students versus the decrease of faculty positions is a serious issue for colleges and

universities to consider.

Marincovich, Prostko, and Stout (1998) supported the aforementioned notion

when they asserted that:

The original emphasis on the development of teaching assistants (TAs)—both

for their immediate tasks in teaching undergraduates and for the career

development of those who intended to become faculty members—has now

given way to a broader conception of preparing all graduate students for the

teaching aspects of their professional careers, whether as faculty or in other

walks of life. (p. 1)

Secondly, the lack of assessment conducted by colleges and universities can also be

problematic. Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) contended that:

Without reliable information, leaders [e.g., department chairs and deans of colleges],

are unable to track the careers of their graduates to determine how their programs could

better prepare graduates for the realities of professional employment. (p. 6)

Therefore, with an emphasis more so or solely on research in graduate education as

opposed to a realistic balance of research, college teaching, and service, which are

also parts of the faculty experience, graduate education has often been detrimental to

graduate students who hold appointments at institutions where a combination of

research, college teaching, and service is valued (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000,

p. 4).

The next problem, the notion that the academy has resources that might be

mobilized in an effort to better prepare graduate students for the professoriate, is

another crucial aspect. "It is ironic—and unfortunate—that higher education so oddly

restricts its professional preparation to the classrooms and laboratories of research

universities" (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000, p. 5). Here it is implied that

colleges and universities, though maximizing their systems of support, may have to

include more diversity and creativity in terms of better preparing graduate students

for faculty appointments at institutions aside from Doctoral Extensive colleges and

universities. For example, workshops and seminars that are offered on campus or at

partner institutions, such as the English or speech departments, could offer services

that better prepare faculty for all aspects of the professorship including how to write

for publication and/or how to present more effectively at professional conferences.

Finally, the idea that changes in faculty roles may not necessarily coincide with

the academic and practical applications in graduate school is another problem that

colleges and universities need to address. Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) stated:

> The research institution, as a context, necessarily limits, narrows, and, frankly, mis-educates graduate students for the realities of faculty life elsewhere. It is unwise and wasteful to regard faculties in other settings as less capable professionals. We believe more inclusive and comprehensive model of professional preparation is preferable. (p. 6)

All four of the problems that Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) addressed could have possible implications to this study in terms of how the respondents describe their preparation or lack thereof in graduate school. Certainly, it is impossible to directly link success or failure to a graduate student's readiness for a faculty appointment, but the implications of preparation are certainly worth exploring.

The above literature related to graduate education is relevant to this study because preparation for faculty life was essential in regards to the eventual negotiation of promotion and tenure. In this study, respondents discussed whether or not they perceived themselves to be prepared for the rigor of negotiating promotion and tenure and described the experiences that shaped their level of readiness. Although each of the six respondents negotiated promotion and tenure, it was still pertinent to investigate the respondents given insights as to whether or not they felt ill-prepared or fully-equipped to successfully negotiate the promotion and tenure process. For example, respondents may have encountered situations where they felt as if they lacked certain competencies or experiences that made them have to work harder or differently than anticipated. If there are identifiable areas where the respondents could provide insight as to how to improve graduate education and/or preparation for those in

pursuit of an academic career, colleges and universities could consider those suggestions and improve the quality and quantity of experiences for those in the faculty pipelines.

The Current Status of African American Women and Higher Education

In 1992, at predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions, African Americans represented less than 7% of the tenured faculty in higher education (Nettles, 1997). This percentage encountered a decline from 7% to a miniscule 4.71% of the reported African American faculty members at the tenured professor level in 1998 (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). That number becomes even more diminutive for African American women faculty who represent only 2.1% or 2,674, of the total number 128,262 (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). Tierney and Bensimon (1996) suggested that "If we do not investigate the systems in which cultural capital is defined, then we shall be forever attempting to acculturate individuals to the mainstream rather than trying to change the system itself" (p. 18). Continued assessment is needed not only in the areas of statistical tracking but institutional culture as well. If institutions are only interested in recruiting individuals who already "fit" and/or those who will with little resistance assimilate into the departmental mores, this does not aid in creating and maintaining an atmosphere that celebrates, encourages, and appreciates the diversity of all potential faculty members and their scholarly contributions.

In 1998, 1,995 African Americans earned doctoral degrees, and 30% of these were in the field of education (Collison, 2000). Regardless of the academic area, African American faculty often faced direct and subtle discrimination and felt misunderstood and not welcomed

by their White counterparts (Pigford, 1988). For example, an African American associate professor argued:

> Few White professors can begin to understand the fear and anxiety I experienced as I attempted to fit into my new surroundings. Each day, I not only prepared myself for the myriad of unfamiliar tasks that awaited me, but I also prepared myself for handling any rejection, hostility, or indifference I might encounter. I prepared myself for not being invited to lunch, for being excluded from decisions, for being an outsider looking in, . . . (p. 55)

This perception of a "chilly climate," the myriad small inequities that by themselves seem unimportant but taken together create a hostile environment at the promotion and tenure-track level, is not new and has been reported at other levels of education from primary through postsecondary education (Sandler, 1996, p. 1). This chilly climate can take on many forms and could manifest in discrimination. Feagan, Vera, and Imani (1996) argued that U.S. schools and colleges have perennially been settings for African American "contest and struggle" (p. 7).

As echoed by Blue (2001):

Black women have continually had to reject negative stereotypes and preinscribed notions of both Blackness and womanhood based in a system of institutionalized oppression. Because Black women are duly oppressed along the axes of race, class, gender, and sexuality, it is necessary to take on the responsibility of recreating cultural identities and politicized knowledge and theoretical assumptions based on criteria that are important and relevant for them/us. Many Black women have provided models of how this can be done, both within and outside of academia. In either case, Black

women constantly work "within and against" White male patriarchy to create spaces in which they/we can comfortably reside. (pp. 135–136)

If there are successful patterns to the professorship that are not only identifiable but outlined and proven to work towards the efforts of the negotiation of promotion and tenure, other than assimilation at a predominantly White institution, those recommendations could have tremendous implications for higher education. In other words, these findings could offer tangible examples of blueprints that could provide guidance for African American women pursuing a faculty career.

The Promotion and Tenure Process

In regards to the promotion and tenure process at Doctoral Extensive universities, the "bar" is rising, and achieving access, inclusion, and ultimately promotion and tenure at a predominantly White institution is increasingly becoming more difficult (Wilson, 2001). The nature of the promotion and tenure process depends largely on the history and culture of an institution. Those tenets are defined at the inception of an institution and, though they evolve over time, they may or may not be clearly defined in institutional mission statements or departmental goals and objectives. Thus, negotiating the promotion and tenure process could be a challenge for professors of any demographic background. However, for certain groups, the process may be easier to negotiate than for others. Kovel asserted (as cited in McEwen, Roper, Bryant, & Langa, 1990):

Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) were founded for the intention of educating the White middle class. These institutions, based on Anglo-Saxon, Euro-American

values, are like all social institutions; they survive because they are symbolically related to the cultural values of the broader American society. (p. 429)

A person aspiring to be a faculty member at the college or university level must have a clear understanding of the many facets of an institution. These factors may include understanding the mission of a college or university and its promotion and tenure process, learning how to adapt to the campus climate, and understanding how to work effectively within the culture of a department (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996).

Coupled with learning how to acquire and maintain external systems of support, a person in pursuit of the professoriate may also need to develop inner strength to endure such a rigorous process as promotion and tenure. Additionally, Balderston (1995) wrote that the faculty is "difficult to build up at a high-quality level, sustainable only with constant effort and leadership, and subject to deterioration and defections if the university fails to meet faculty needs" (p. 221). Here, Balderston (1995) referred to the organizational—departmental and/or institutional—commitment needed to assist faculty in their negotiation of promotion and tenure. Ideally, a mutual commitment or partnership should exist between the institution and the individual with respect to achieving promotion and tenure.

The low number of faculty of color at predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions and their low promotion and tenure numbers are alarming. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) contended that it is crucial for the faculty and student demographics in higher education to become more diversified.

In most colleges and universities, the Whiteness of the professoriate stands out conspicuously, particularly in comparison to the more racially and ethnically diverse

composition of the student body. Colleges and universities are increasingly more

conscious of the need for a diverse population. (p. 103)

In addition to providing opportunities, Golde (1999) argued that colleges and

universities have to do more than just provide individuals with faculty appointments but,

additionally, equip them with tools that will retain them once they have been offered the job.

She believes that it is crucial that:

Young college faculty who have received their first job offer are given advice on

negotiating terms of the position, including salary, moving expenses, teaching load, and

fringe benefits. [And that there should be] approaches discussed including knowing

oneself, gathering information, negotiating, becoming informed about campus

resources, and keeping track of decision deadlines. (p. 49)

Furthermore, Tierney, and Bensimon (1996) contends in addition to feeling as if one

has to assimilate into the European-American culture, African Americans and other faculty

of color experience "cultural taxation." "Cultural taxation," according to Padilla (1994, p. 26)

(as cited in Tierney & Bensimon, 1996), is explained as:

The obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for

ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to

a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution but which is not

usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed. (p. 115)

Thus, cultural taxation occurs when colleges and universities benefit from and take

advantage of the multitude of resources that faculty of color have access to, without

acknowledging faculty of color for those attributes, duties, and services that meet as well as

go above and beyond the responsibilities of White faculty. It is also crucial to note that in

many cases, faculty of color are not acknowledged and/or rewarded for the various roles that they are indirectly "required to play or fulfill for the department, college, and/or institution (e.g., excessive office hours for students of color or serving as *the* African American representative on various committees across campus).

As previously noted, there are many possible reasons why cultural taxation occurs for faculty of color including African American women. One is the existence of only a miniscule number of faculty of color at predominantly White institutions, which may cause some professors to feel obligated to serve in a number of capacities in order to have minority representation. Another is the communal need of African Americans to serve in the community often at the detriment of their personal or professional preservation (Jarmon, 2001). Here, she stated:

> It is critical for junior faculty, especially faculty of color, to find a balance between
>
> their commitments and interests in the community (within and beyond the university).
>
> There are high demands on women, in particular "minority women," for committee
>
> work and other service requirements, and we are generally over extended. (p. 179)

Moreover, in most cases, women in particular have been led to believe by societal norms that nurturing and care for others is their primary responsibility, forsaking care for self (Gilligan, 1982). African American women faculty negotiating tenure may experience this challenge of how and when to establish self-care for self-preservation if they struggle with their cultural and internal need to be communal during the faculty-probationary period where limitations and expectations exist for promotion and tenure. Understanding cultural taxation in this context could shed light into their experiences.

If African American women faculty experience cultural taxation to the extent that they are unable to meet their requirements for promotion and tenure, it is likely that they will not be present for long at that institution. Thus, another issue with respect to the negotiation of promotion and tenure of African American women faculty is not only the hiring of these women but their retention. Without institutional support coupled with internal tools of preservation, African American women will not be retained and thus will not be able to assist as role models for the constituents that they believe they were there to help in the first place.

The Need for African American Women Faculty

From 1994 to 1997, African American undergraduate students increased in enrollment by 10.1%, including an increase of 33% at predominantly White institutions (Nettles, 1997). The demographics are changing in terms of race, which includes African American female students, on the campuses of American colleges and universities, creating new challenges.

As more and more women and students of color enroll at postsecondary institutions, it is crucial to have administrators, faculty, and staff who not only have similar ethnic and gender backgrounds but similar social experiences as well. Thus, it becomes imperative that the faculty demographically mirror the students that they are teaching and serving:

If research has proven that colleges and universities have an obligation to serve all students, majority and racial and ethnic minority, then the problem of ethnic and gender shortage of tenured faculty becomes a vital concern for academe to address. (McEwen, Roper, Bryant, & Langa, 1990, p. 429)

It has been demonstrated that students of color want to see visions of themselves in roles of power at the collegiate level (McEwen, Roper, Bryant, & Langa, 1990). Tierney and

Bensimon (1996) also contended that "the denial of difference does not allow members of the academy, and especially students, to appreciate the diversity that exists in society now and has existed in it forever" (p. 18). The lack of diversity as well as the lack of understanding and respect for differences amongst faculty and students may provide another rationale for the small numbers of African American women faculty at predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions.

Although it has been more than thirty years since the passage of antidiscriminatory measures such as Title VII, Title IX, equal rights for women, and affirmative action, it appears that very little progress has occurred. African American women continue to struggle with racism, sexism, and other policies and practices that exclude them from the very highest strata of Higher Ed administration (Clift, Anderson, & Hullfish, 1962; Collins, 2001; Cruse, 1984; Franklin & Moss, 2000; Gitlin, 1993; Moore, 1998; Solomon, 1985). Therefore, addressing the unique needs of faculty, particularly women and faculty members of color who have been traditionally isolated in the academy, is crucial to their overall success in the academy. Tierney and Rhoades (1994, p. 29) cited that these feelings of isolation are examples of *disjunctive socialization*. This term, "disjunctive socialization," as coined by Wheeler (1960, pp. 61–62), occurs when "recruits are not following in the footsteps of predecessors." Internal and External Motivations (2001):

- Seek opportunities for involvement and leadership jobs in communities external to their schools.
- Develop the ability to perceive racism and sexism more as negotiable challenges than as immovable obstacles.

- Seek opportunities for internal support both from other African American women and White men in Higher Ed administration. External sources of support are also critical for these women; family and spirituality stand as the most important resources.

- Not expect to receive traditional rewards for their work. Rather, there will be times to recognize and accept the rewards found in working for the greater good.

Therefore, successfully navigating the promotion and tenure process for African American women may depend not only on research, teaching, and service but several other factors including, but not limited to, mentoring, internal and external motivation, a strong self-identity, cultural understanding, and pride (Turner & Myers, 2000). The voices and experiences of the respondents, including their levels of readiness for the faculty, were shared in this study, and the following theoretical framework guided this study methodologically.

Theoretical Framework

Several theories have been developed and utilized to give respect and voice to the experiences of women and people of color (e.g., Baxter Magolda, 1992; DeVault, 1999; Hill Collins, 2000; Josselson, 1996; Rosenau, 1992). The theories used to create the theoretical framework for this dissertation include a bricolage, or a synthesis of combined contextual frameworks. This bricolage consists of two main theories: feminism, which was used to help shape the need for the voices of women and underrepresented groups, and Black feminist thought, which was used to represent the unique voices of African American women. Additionally, three supplemental bodies of theory were used to amplify the two aforementioned main theories. Those theories include:

1. Identity formation in women to illustrate how women use reflections of themselves to make decisions and handle conflict (Josselson, 1987).

2. Ways of knowing to shed insight on the importance of recognizing the wealth of experiences people bring from their diverse backgrounds (Baxter Magolda, 1992).

3. The moral development of women to illustrate how women evolve from care of others to include the care of self (Gilligan, 1977).

Perceptions, particularly those dealing with self-concept and esteem, are vital towards establishing identity. Boyd (1993) offered this view on self-esteem:

Self-esteem is a core of personal beliefs that we develop about ourselves over the years. We receive many of these core beliefs from messages that are directed at us . . . as Black women. We're not always conscious of taking in the messages, but if we're repeatedly exposed to the same message, we begin to internalize the messages, which then become beliefs. We unconsciously store these beliefs away until a situation or event occurs that pushes that hidden message into our current reality. (p. 4)

With respect to the identity of African American women and societal perceptions that either uplift or degrade them, it is critical to discuss how African American women are portrayed. Hill Collins (2000) discusses that part of the silencing of the Black woman's power and voice is due in part to the myth that all Black women have similar experiences, challenges, and beliefs and are all alike:

Despite the common challenges confronting African American women as a group, individual Black women neither have identical experiences nor interpret experiences in a similar fashion. The existence of core themes does not mean that African American women respond to these themes in the same way. Differences among individual Black

women produce different patterns of experiential knowledge that in turn shape individuals reactions to the core themes. (p. 27)

Another aspect of Hill Collins (2000) Black feminist thought theory includes the image of the Black woman how society oppresses Black women due to narrow views that have been historically placed on African American women. Hill Collins (2000) asserted:

The dominant ideology of the slave era fostered the creation of several interrelated, socially constructed controlling images of Black womanhood, each reflecting the dominant group's interest in maintaining Black women's subordination. Moreover, since Black and White women were both important to slavery's continuation, controlling images of Black womanhood also functioned to mask social relations that affected all women. (p. 72)

These "controlling" images as described by Hill Collins (2000) encompasses that from "mammy" (p. 74) to matriarch of the Black family (p. 75), or "welfare" mother/queen to "Black" Lady (p. 80). Over time, the meanings behind the terms have changed, but Hill Collins (2000) asserts that the negative connotation still exist and thus, often plague the minds and thought processes of the academy and its constituents. It will be interesting to see whether or not the respondents in this study attribute any of their experiences to the impact that these aforementioned labels have had on their negotiation of promotion and tenure.

Finally, with respect to identity, it will be interesting to explore the concept of dual (two) identities as discussed by DuBois (1990). This concept of having to live out duality to manage in society was coined by DuBois (1990) as "double consciousness":

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking into one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world

that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,-an American, a

Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one

dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (pp. 8–9)

DuBois (1990), as with other scholars (Cooper, 1988; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981,

Mabokela & Green, 2001; Radford-Hill, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000), speaks passionately

about the challenges and tribulations that students and faculty of color face in the academy,

particularly at predominantly White institutions. The notion or perception that one has to

exist in and out of dual identities may prove to be imperative for this study, particularly given

the demographics of the respondents who are all African American women.

Cooper (1988) explained duality of identity not only from being a Black person in a

"White" world, but also being a woman in a "man's" world. She stated:

The greatest potential of the woman's movement lay not with white women but with

the women who were confronted by both a woman question and a race problem. . . . To

be a woman of the Negro race in America, and to be able to grasp the deep significance

of the possibilities of the crisis, is to have a heritage, it seems to me, unique in all ages."

(xlv, Introduction)

To this end, identity theories such as Cooper (1988), DuBois (1990), Gardner (1985),

Hill Collins (2000), and hooks (1981) were informative in terms of organizing concepts for

this study.

How the respondents came to know the lessons that they did in order to successfully

negotiate the promotion and tenure process was another critical aspect to consider. This being

the case, it was logical for me to incorporate Baxter Magolda's perspective on how as

students, and in this case, African American women, come to know and thus make

contributions based on that knowledge. This perspective can be instrumental when considering the acceptance and encouragement of what is perceived as scholarly in an academic department, college, or university. It has been documented that the research of African American women and other underrepresented groups has not been viewed in the same scholarly arenas as their White and/or male colleagues (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). When one is in a departmental culture that does not value one's type of research, challenges are present even for the most confident faculty person as illustrated in the following excerpt from Villalpando and Delgado Bernal (2002):

> I encountered a rude awakening to the horrors of being a junior faculty member in a department where at the time, sexism and racism operated rampantly. As the only African American female, with an overabundance of doctoral students to advise, two graduate courses a semester, one-quarter time in an interdisciplinary research center, I questioned the efficacy of academic pursuits. . . . I had been awarded grants from [the] National Science Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation . . . and had established the reputation of being a competent scholar, researcher, and teacher. . . . However, it became increasingly clear that my contribution was not valued by my colleagues, and at my three-year review, I received a negative evaluation of my work. Although individuals in central administration were very supportive, I decided that the institutionalized racism and sexism within the department [were] larger than I. (p. 243)

Therefore, it was imperative that I considered Baxter Magolda's (1992) theory cited in Evans, Forney, and Guido-DiBrito (1998) as well as their observation that "the context of socialization is related to how upbringing can affect voice and relationships" (p. 157). For

example, in this study, this concept of how voice is constructed and utilized was essential. It was interesting to learn how respondents chose to use the power of the voices that they acquired from their socialization (e.g., childhood experiences and interactions with female mentors throughout their lives) prior to their pursuit of promotion and tenure.

Finally, Gilligan's (1982) theory of care and responsibility was integrated into the theoretical framework for this study. This theory relates back to Tierney and Bensimon's (1996) cultural taxation which functions as an imposed institutionally example of self-sacrificial caring.

As early as the 19th century, there is evidence of feminist methodology. Anna Julia Cooper's essays advanced her view on the multi-dimensionalities of research and the need for the voice of women in the social sciences.

> All I claim is that there is a feminine as well as masculine side to truth; that these are related not as inferior and superior, not as better or worse, not as weaker and stronger but as complements—complements in one necessary and symmetric whole. . . . That, as both are alike necessary in giving symmetry to the individual, so a nation or a race will degenerate into mere emotionalism on the one hand, or bullyism on the other, if dominated by either exclusively; lastly, and most emphatically, that the feminine factor have its proper effect only through women's development and education so that she may fitly and intelligently stamp her force on the forces of her day, and add her modicum to the riches of the world's thought. (Cooper, 1988, pp. 60–61)

The voices of women and people of color have been heard by way of feminism and Black feminist methodologies. One of the primary factors that sets feminist and Black feminist theories and theorists aside from qualitative theories and theorists is that a central

purpose of their methodologies is to give legitimacy and "voice" to the experiences of the

underrepresented (De Vault, 1999; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 2000;

Rosenau, 1992).

Feminism, like Black feminist thought, embraces the notion that women, like

other underrepresented groups who have been silenced, have significant and meaningful

contributions that have traditionally gone unnoticed.

> Feminism is a movement, and a set of beliefs, that problematize gender inequality.
>
> Feminists believe that women have been subordinated through men's greater power,
>
> variously expressed in different arenas. They value women's lives and concerns, and
>
> work to improve women's status. (DeVault, 1999, p. 27)

Wolf (1996), the author of *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, provides additional support on

the importance of feminist methodology. She believes that feminists offer a point of view

that affords them, as researchers, "the opportunity to gain knowledge as well as understand

women and their issues in ways that others cannot" (p. 13). This statement is critical to this

study because it supports the representation of "voice" that I wanted to provide to the

respondents.

Many contended that Black feminist thought was derived from feminism. However,

many African American women agree that they can and do exist independent of one another

(Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1994). Hill Collins (2000) further suggested:

> Starting from the assumption that African American women have created independent,
>
> oppositional yet subjugated knowledges concerning our own subordination,
>
> contemporary U.S. Black women intellectuals are engaged in the struggle to
>
> reconceptualize all dimensions of a dialectic of oppression and activism as it applies to

African American women . . . reclaiming Black women's ideals also involves discovering, reinterpreting, and, in many cases, analyzing for the first time the works of individuals . . . who have been silenced. (p. 13)

Josselson's theory on identity formation in women (1987) addresses the internal and developmental experiences of women and how they handle crisis. This theory is critical in terms of the negotiation of the promotion and tenure process because a person's frame of mind and reaction to conflict affects the manner in which he or she makes decisions, a crucial aspect of the promotion and tenure process. Josselson identified four groups of women from her study including Foreclosures, Identity Achievers, Moratoriums, and Identity Diffusions. Josselson's identity model is cited in this literature review as one way to understand how women could choose to view themselves. Although not a central feature of this study, attending to this perspective could add additional insight as to how the African American women in this study present themselves, interact with their colleagues, select their research, and consider their promotion and tenure processes.

Baxter Magolda's cognitive development theory centers on the epistemological belief that a person's background and personal experiences help shape who they are as learners, and that it is important for those perspectives to be valued and respected (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Clinchy, 1989). Baxter Magolda's perspectives include Absolute Knowing, Transitional Knowing, Independent Knowing, and Contextual Knowing. This theory can be helpful in identifying gender-related patterns as the respondents in this study define their roles in graduate school, upon receiving faculty appointments, through their faculty-probationary period, and at the point of earning tenure. Moreover, it was ascertained how the roles of others, including faculty and peers, affected

the experiences of the respondents in relation to how these African American women faculty believed others perceived them. Thus, this theory is critical because the ways in which the respondents in this study came to know what they knew and how they applied what they learned could signal significant differences among their promotion and tenure processes.

Finally, a theory of moral development was incorporated into the bricolage for this study. Gilligan's theory on the Moral Development of Women (1982) theoretically suggested that women struggle through concepts of self and morality (p. 64). Evans, Forney, and Guido-DiBrito (1998) discussed Gilligan's model of Women's Development, which is described through a sequence of three levels and two transitional periods (p. 191). Those levels and transitional periods include Level I, Orientation to Individual Survival, First Transition, From Selfishness to Responsibility; Level II, Goodness as Self-Sacrifice, Second Transition, From Goodness to Truth; and Level III, The Morality of Nonviolence. Gilligan's theory of women and moral development was beneficial in anticipation of the tension between self care and the care for others that the African American respondents may have experienced from their graduate student experience, through their faculty probationary period, to the successful negotiation of the promotion and tenure process.

To that end, the next chapter will outline the research methods and methodologies that guided this study. Qualitative methods and methodologies that are informed by feminist and Black feminist approaches were used in this study.

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

Using qualitative methods for this study provided the flexibility, fluidness, and connectedness that maximized the richness of the data gathered from the faculty members interviewed. Through qualitative data collection methods such as open-ended interviews, I relied on the notion that they (respondents being interviewed) knew something that I needed to know (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). As a result, "voice" was given to each respondent. Here I thought that it was important to make the distinction between methods and methodologies because though they appear to be similar in context, methods and methodologies do have different meanings. Methods referred to the manner in which data were gathered (e.g., people being interviewed). Methodologies referred to the way in which the research method was justified, providing rationale for why or how data were collected in a particular way (e.g., the respondents having valuable information that I needed to know). Adopting a learner perspective and emphasizing respondents' voices was critical for this study because African American women, as with other underrepresented groups, have been silenced historically (Hill Collins, 2000).

Other respected scholars and practitioners have maintained that the meaning behind the quantitative numbers can be derived through conducting qualitative research (Kuh et al., 1991). Echoing the aforementioned problem statement for this study, I believed that quantitative research was not an appropriate method to obtain the data that I sought. Surveying respondents through questionnaires would only allow me to probe to a limited degree. Data relating specifically to respondents' intentions, circumstances, and interpretations of actions help to illuminate a person's behavior or social interaction and

could be lost or significantly diminished through quantitative research (Geertz, 1973).

Moreover, research and writing can be simultaneously expressive and scholarly. Denzin cites

in his text, *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnography practices for the 21st Century*, "that those

we study have their own understandings of how they want to be represented" (1997, p. xiii).

Although qualitative research methods provided me with flexibility and levels of

connectedness with the respondents of the study, some qualitative methods continue to be

grounded in American culture, which is still quite authoritative and patriarchal in nature

providing only one "truth" (DeVault, 1999). To this end, I introduced feminist methods and

methodologies to the study. Feminist methodology supported a form of data collection and

analysis that was critical to this research on underrepresented groups, including African

American women, because its foundation supports the belief that there are many perspectives

in the lives of people (Bloom, 1998). Bloom asserted that it is important that the research on

and by women be unrestricted. She shared that:

> Feminist methodology resists normalization and attempts to falsely stabilize
>
> it; it is created through situated relationships and social contexts; it demands
>
> freedom of mobility; and it is continually being constructed in language and
>
> discourse. (p. 138)

Moreover, Bloom (1998) stated that "the benefit of this methodology is that the richness of

data collected may advance feminist theory and politics by allowing for greater

understanding of women's subjectivity" (p. 138).

DeVault (1999), in defense of feminist methodology, argued that "the truths of

feminism are smaller, more tailored, and more intensely pointed truths than the discredited

Truth of grand theory and master narratives" (p. 3). I agreed that valuable information could

have been lost as a result of using the traditional, male-dominated qualitative forms of research and/or quantitative methods, which have customarily been the foundation for research in the academy. African American women and their stories have been traditionally overlooked or silenced, as with other underrepresented groups, due to lack of voice in a dominant culture (Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1994). It is because of this limitation that I was drawn to feminist methodology. The interviews produced narratives that ennoble human experience while facilitating civic transformations in the public (and private) spheres (Denzin, 1997, p. xiv).

Feminist methodology took on even larger and more relevant significance for this study when Black feminist thought was introduced. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) added to the body of feminist methodology by emphasizing the importance of dialogue, caring, and personal accountability, which is central to giving voice to respondents in qualitative research. She emphasizes that perspectives and knowledge are produced from a particular standpoint and are always located in and revealed only as a partial truth. Furthermore, she pointed out that knowledge that is admittedly partial is more trustworthy than partial knowledge presented as general truth. In this study, ranges of truths were sought from respondents who shared many viewpoints. Therefore, in regards to this study, the commonalties and/or differences were not limitations but rather attributes that could produce a more meaningful study and overall experience for the respondents as well as myself.

In conclusion, I believed that feminist methodology, particularly Black feminist thought, was the most reasonable and appropriate investigation method to guide the design and execution of this research. The features and attributes of qualitative, feminist, and Black feminist methodology and methodologies, were important to this study because the

experiences of African American women faculty were unique yet not mutually exclusive to the six respondents in this study. The respondents' trials and triumph experiences throughout their negotiation of promotion and tenure were captured and interpreted to the best of my ability. It was critical to give the respondents an opportunity to share how they successfully navigated the promotion and tenure process. To that end, it was also vital to create an atmosphere that promoted and encouraged the expression of their racial and gender identities (e.g. having interviews in their homes while sharing coffee and/or a meal together). Thus, for a couple of the respondents, that meant conducting the interview environments that were most comfortable for them including their residence or even after church, as was the case with two respondents. It was at such aforementioned places, where the respondents and I were able to dialogue, conduct the interviews, and share professional and personal time together. However, the majority of the interviews did take place in the respondents' offices due to their hectic schedules. The interviews consisted of an ongoing exchange of dialogue where all parties had equal stake and participation. For example, I shared the responsibility of assigning pseudonyms for each respondent with the respondents themselves. The majority of the respondents selected their own pseudonyms, and the respondents had the opportunity to read, clarify and edit their words, thus making them a part of the data analysis process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985b).

The respondents were informed both initially and throughout the prolonged engagement process that if they experienced discomfort at any point, they could refrain from that portion of the process and/or discontinue their participation in the study altogether. Here I made attempts to establish, incorporate, and maintain levels of care, trust, and respect between the respondents and me (DeVault, 1999; Gilligan, 1982; Reinharz, 1992). These

feminist methods provided essential tools for me, as well as levels of comfort and security for the respondents.

It was key for me to offer as well as develop partnerships with the respondents. The interviews were both semi-structured and conversational in nature to provide the respondents with the opportunity to flow freely and as uninhibited as possible given the sensitivity of the topics discussed (Reinharz, 1992). Therefore, all aspects of the research process were strategic, including the protocol questions that were developed with the intention of creating an atmosphere of trust and comfort with the respondents.

Site Selection

In an effort to increase confidentiality and levels of trust with the respondents, a pseudonym was assigned to the research site and the respondents either selected or were given pseudonyms to protect their identity as participants in the study. The pseudonym selected for the institution was Global State University (GBSU). All information about GBSU was collected using institutional documents that, for reasons of confidentiality, will not be formally referenced. GBSU was chosen for a number of reasons. First, GBSU was one of the first land-grant institutions chartered under the Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862. Thus, the institution enabled people from underrepresented groups to legally enroll underrepresented groups, including African Americans. This act led to African Americans earning advanced degrees and ultimately earning faculty appointments at GBSU. This was important because GBSU exhibited some form of commitment to equality and broadened access by virtue of its chartering. Next, GBSU was classified as a Doctoral Extensive institution according to the Carnegie classification system (Carnegie Classifications, 2000).

Figure 1 illustrates the number of White probationary and tenure-track faculty

members. As shown in Figure 1, GBSU is a predominantly White, Doctoral Extensive

institution. To set the context for the interpretation of Figure 1, it was important to note two

facts about the data. One, the data consist of tenure and tenure-track faculty members who

chose to self-identify as White citizens. Two, the 20% decline in White tenured and tenure-

track faculty members is not necessarily a negative decrease. I say this because even with the

decline, which is not slight, White faculty members continued to have significantly higher

tenure and tenure-track occurrences than any other faculty group, including that of African

American faculty (see Figure 2). One obvious asset to large numbers is that even when there

is a decrease in the statistics, there is still a significant pool of support to draw from. In other

words, it is not likely that it would be overly challenging for White faculty to find other

networks and/or alternatives to the systems of support that would leave GBSU at any given

time. This is not the case with faculty of color as shown in the proceeding graphs (see Figure

2). There are a number of possible factors that could have contributed to the decrease in
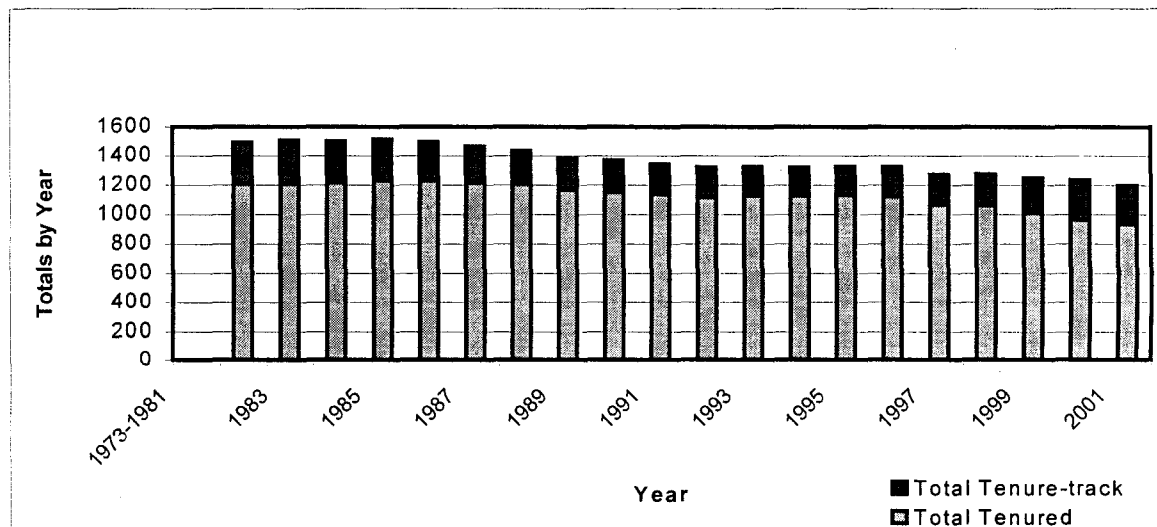
Figure 1. Institutional total White tenured and tenure track faculty (data not available for
1973–1981)
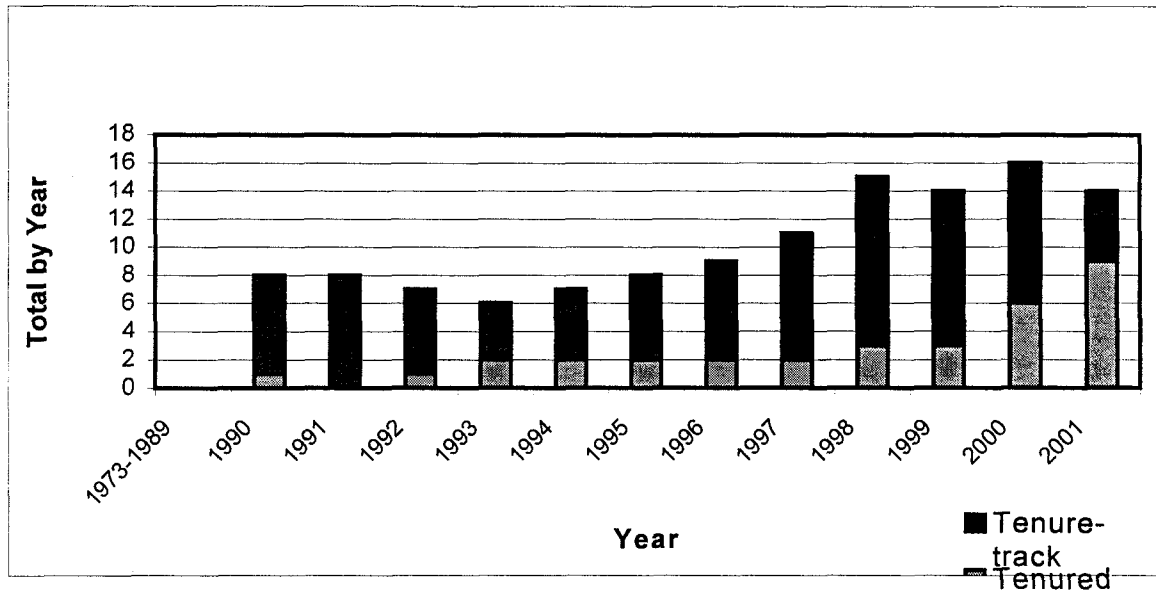
Figure 2. Institutional African American women faculty tenure status (data not available for 1973–1989)

White tenure or tenure-track faculty members. Perhaps, the decline is due in part to

retirement, death, change from GBSU to another institution, and/or faculty members who are

brought in with tenure that were not listed because they had not earned promotion and tenure

at GBSU. It is hard to determine the trends of White faculty prior to 1983 because the was

not available and/or accessible during the time this study was conducted.

White tenure and tenure-track faculty members represent the largest number of faculty

at GBSU. Therefore, even when there is a decline in the number of White tenure and tenure-

track faculty, their pool remains considerably higher than that of other ethnic tenure and

tenure-track faculty members, including that of African American women (see Figure 1).

This indicates that even White faculty retire and/or choose to leave GBSU for any reason,

there is still a significant number of this population by where systems of support can

be accessible for newly appointed White tenure or tenure-track faculty, which is not the case

for other faculty of underrepresented groups. In terms of the decline of White faculty, as shown from 1983–2001, there are a number of possible reasons that could be attributed to the decrease; explanations that are not necessarily negative in nature. One, at GBSU, as with White faculty on college and university campuses across the country, there is a "graying" or retiring of White faculty of tenure and tenure-track faculty members (Employees Colleges and Universities, 2001). Two, a portion of the decrease in White tenure and tenure-track faculty is due to the death of White faculty members.

Third, it is not uncommon for White tenure and tenure-track faculty to change institutions within the academy prior to or after receiving promotion and tenure. Fourth, as was the case with African American women with tenure faculty status at GBSU, White faculty may have earned their promotion and tenure from a previous institution and thus are not counted in the tenure pool at GBSU. Fifth, as was the case with a number of African American women tenure-track faculty members, White faculty may not earn promotion and tenure at GBSU and leave the institution to seek promotion and tenure elsewhere, which could also explain the decline in certain years. On that same note, White faculty members, as was the case with a number of African American women faculty, may have received indication that they were not going to receive tenure and decided not wait around to see when they were presented with the opportunity to receive promotion and tenure at another institution. Finally, with the implementation of Affirmative Action at GBSU in 1973 as well as the Provost Office Mentor Program that was put into action in 1995, there may have been a shift from solely grooming White graduate students for the professorship to better preparing all graduate students and junior faculty for successful faculty careers in the academy. In other words, though this may or may not be the case, some White faculty may

have decided that GBSU was moving to a place of access and equality that no longer complemented their ideologies on race and gender equality in higher education. Or on the other hand, White senior faculty and administrators may have genuinely shifted their efforts towards recruiting and retaining faculty and women of color, as there were increases shown in the number of African American women tenure and tenure-track faculty during this 16 year time-span (see Figure 2). It is hard to determine the trends of White faculty prior to 1973 because the data were not accessible during the time that this study was conducted. The archives were shelved and unavailable due to renovations being done on the academic building where statistics on faculty were being held.

When comparing the White and other tenured faculty to that of the African American women tenured faculty, the tenure rates of the two groups are alarmingly different and doesn't warrant a comparison (see Figure 1). While the number of White faculty members represented a high proportion over the targeted 16-year time span, African American women have been almost nonexistent with fewer than five tenured African American women (with the exception of 2001), and none in 1992. When we view the graph for other mentoring male/female probationary and tenured faculty, the numbers are still small, but yet more promising, as steadier proportions of tenured faculty members were maintained, with increases, between 1990 and 2001. Still, it was obvious from Figure 2 that the promotion and tenure numbers for African American women faculty at GBSU included recent slow but apparent increases from 1993 to 2001. Data prior to 1990 are in the form of written documents, which are not as accessible as data stored via computer.

At the time this study was conducted, there were approximately 1,084 faculty members at Global State University. Of the 28 African American faculty members at GBSU, there

were 18 women: one non-tenure track, eight probationary/tenure-eligible, two women who

earned tenure from other institutions, and six faculty members who earned tenure at GBSU.

Of the six professors who earned tenure at GBSU, one held professor rank, and the other five

had earned associate professor rank. It is important to note that adjunct faculty members are

not included in any of the graphs of this study. This is due to the fact that GBSU does not

factor adjunct tenure in data that illustrates the activity of tenure-track faculty members,

which can also be another reason for the low number of African American and other faculty

of color who choose, for a variety of reasons, to serve as adjunct faculty to GBSU.

GBSU, like most other predominantly White institutions, employed a very small

number of African American faculty members, which includes the six professors who had

earned tenure at GBSU prior to the time this study was conducted. Unlike Figure 1 where

tenure-track and tenure data have been collected on faculty members who self-identified as

predominantly White since 1983, data on African Americans were not incorporated into the

accessible documents of GBSU's Institutional Research Department until 1991. However,

two of the respondents in this study held tenure-track appointments since 1989. Regardless of

the small number of African American women seeking promotion and tenure, it is still

important to publicly cite GBSU's progress in creating and maintaining accurate institutional

records and, if nothing else, to serve as motivation for other African American women in

pursuit of the professoriate. Particularly, the trends that were illustrated in Figure 2 could

offer an array of implications as to the institutional changes that GBSU was experiencing

during the time of certain fluctuations. For example, there was an increase in the number of

tenure and tenure-track African American faculty members after the implementation of

Affirmative Action as well as the Mentor Program that was established under the direction of

the Provost Office, as seen from 1983–2001. Additionally, during this same time-span, there were a number of controversial issues on campus such as equal rights for women and people of color that may have impacted the outcome of promotion and tenure for many African American faculty (e.g., faculty could have chosen to leave the institution due to racial and/or gender conflict issues). Also, due to the low number of African American and other faculty of color at GBSU, faculty may have chosen to leave because of isolation and/or feelings that their scholarship will not be accepted in the same manner as their White faculty colleagues.

The final rationale for the selection of this research site was that GBSU's promotion and tenure rates of African American women closely mirrored the national promotion and tenure rates of African American women, which appears to be steadily rising in relation to other groups of non-White women ("Employees in Colleges and Universities," 2001). Both fortunately (for the purposes of the study) and unfortunately (for purposes of progress), the selected institution employs a very small number of African American women as faculty members.

At the inception of the study, the six respondents represented 100% of the African American women who had earned promotion and tenure at Global State University. While six tenured African American women faculty members is small for a respondent group, that number was rather encouraging because the respondents were all at one site. Having all six respondents in one location significantly increased their accessibility in two ways. One, because of my proximity to the respondents, it was relatively easy to establish interview locations for both initial and follow-up interviews (e.g. office or home environment). Two, I had established prior relationships in other contexts with three of the six respondents. As a result of those relationships, my status changed from that of an "outsider" [an African

American female graduate student] to an "insider" [an African American female in need of assistance]; a place where often only "insiders" [other African American women faculty members] are allowed (Hill Collins, 2000). In my role as "the researcher" where often I was the "instrument" in this study, this access equated to increased chances of conducting more thorough, meaningful, and overall in-depth interviews with each of the respondents (e.g., prolonged engagement).

Finally, as stated previously in this chapter, the respondents either selected, or granted me permission to assign, their pseudonyms for this study. Throughout the chapters that follow, the respondents are identified by their pseudonyms. The next section provides information on respondent selection.

Respondent Selection

This study investigated the experiences of African American women who had earned tenure at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution (see Figure 2). Initially, it was my intent to collect data from African American women at the associate professor level only. Due to the small number of African American women faculty members at GBSU, roughly 18 out of the approximate number 1,800 total faculty members at Global State University, the pool of potential African American women respondents was minimal from the onset. Moreover, when I decided to conduct research with only those associate professors who earned tenure at the institution (GBSU), the number became even smaller. Thus, I added professor rank to increase my respondent pool, which resulted in a total of six respondents.

I decided to conduct research with only those associate professors who negotiated promotion and tenure at the institution, the number became even smaller. I added professor

rank to increase my respondent pool, which resulted in six respondents. Although the total respondent pool included six African American tenured women faculty, that number represented all of the African American women at the full and associate professor level who earned tenure at GBSU. All of the respondents invited to participate in the study agreed to be participants. Initially, it was suggested by a few of my committee members and mentors that I investigate the experiences of all the tenured African American women faculty members with tenure, regardless of whether or not they earned tenure at GBSU. However, after consideration and consultation from my major advisor, I felt that the nature of the study would be compromised due to the multitude of dynamics that could come into play by trying to research diverse institutional types, varying departmental mores, and/or other internal and external factors, that one must consider when expanding research sites.

For the purpose of this study, I, along with my program of study committee, felt as if the respondent pool, though small in number, represented the initial time frame to almost a twenty-year span in which African American women earned promotion and tenure at GBSU. From 1990 to 2001, the tenure rates of African American women faculty have fluctuated. Figure 2 illustrates a total number of only 16 African American women faculty members at any given year, which contradicts the number of 18 African American women faculty that were initially discussed in this section. The disparity is based on three possible factors. One, the total number of 18 African American women faculty members include adjunct faculty members, who are not identifiable on the graph because they are not considered tenure-track and/or probationary faculty members. Two, there were two tenured African American faculty members who left before the completion of this study and so the decline in the graph could be explained by their departure. Third, the years that the two African American women

faculty members who came in with tenure may not have been reported leaving the statistics steady in number. I did not receive a final explanation in terms of exactly how the Department of Institutional Research finalized and validated their data. In fact, there were a great number of data unavailable, from 1973–1990 in many cases. Finally, another limitation that relates somewhat to the third point is that on the graph in Figure 2, it is not clear whether or not the African American women faculty members earned promotion and tenure at GBSU or if they brought their promotion and tenure status with them from another institution. I was not given access to that information until I received approval from GBSU to contact all 18 of the African American women faculty members to inquire about their promotion and tenure experience. Nevertheless, I felt as if the graph was necessary in that it provides an instant snapshot of the promotion and tenure rate activity of African American women faculty members at GBSU.

In terms of Figure 2, there are periods of decline as well as steady and dramatic increases such as the time-span from 1997 to 1998. During this time, the GBSU provost's office suggested or recommended or strongly encouraged university-wide mentoring of junior faculty by senior faculty. This recommendation came into existence in 1999. Consequently, after that time the promotion and tenure rates have undergone some fluctuation as seen in Figure 2, but remained comparatively high. This increase of promotion/tenure rates could also be attributed to the political issues that the respondents shared were being addressed during the times of fluctuation. These concerns consisted of certain topics being more openly discussed by GBSU faculty and staff during the 1990s including gender equity, fair treatment of African American students by White professors, and the controversial naming of a particular academic building on the GBSU campus. Many

faculty and students of color of the GBSU and surrounding communities felt as if the woman that the building was going to be named after held many racist views against African Americans. This issue escalated even moreso because the academic building housed ethnic programs and departments including offices such as the African American and Native American offices. The dichotomy and ultimately determining factor was that this woman also contributed to the Women's Suffrage Movement that could increase interest and respect for the Women's Studies Department which was also housed in this particularly academic building. After what seemed to be a lengthy process of negotiating, it was decided that the building would assume the name of the woman in question.

Finally, the respondent group represented three of the eight colleges within GBSU: the colleges of Education, Liberal Arts and Sciences, and Art and Design. The reasonably broad representation is important to note because if commonalties exist among the experiences of these women regardless of their respective colleges and/or departments, then there is the potential for broader applicability in terms of the findings. Furthermore, if there are characteristics and experiences unique to specific colleges and/or departments that suggest either positive or negative impacts on the promotion and tenure process, those experiences can be explored in future research.

Data Collection

The six respondents participated in in-depth interviews that were scheduled at their convenience. The interview dates, times, and locations were set based on the convenience of the respondents. Initially one-hour blocks of time were arranged because the respondents indicated that their schedules did not allow for more time than that. However, the nature of

the interviews was such that many of them exceeded the one hour block of time and some interviews lasted up to two and one half hours. Moreover, the respondents were asked to share the perceptions they had formed as a result of their negotiation of promotion and tenure during their faculty probationary period. I felt as if the best way to maximize the narratives that the respondents shared would be by way of conducting semi-structured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

Interviews were arranged with each respondent. I conducted semi-structured interviews, as well as maintained consistent interaction through follow-up office visits, phone calls, and e-mails with the respondents, from December 2001 through March 2002. The qualitative methods of semi-structured and conversational styled interviews provided a great breadth of information from the respondents (Fontana & Frey, 1994). By using this approach to interviewing, I was able to ask interview questions and also respond to questions from the respondents with few restrictions. This level of personal dialogue was the result of prior relationships that I had established on some level with three out of the six respondents. Thus, member checks were easier to conduct through office and home meetings as well as obtaining clarification of data via phone calls and/or e-mails with all six of the respondents. The phone calls and e-mails were beneficial to both the respondents and me due to the responsibilities and tight schedules that the respondents maintain including research, teaching, and service. Levels of intimacy had been established, and the respondents trusted me even with the barriers of technology (i.e., phone, computers, faxes, mailings, etc.) with personal details regarding their feelings about their promotion and tenure experiences as well as their perceptions about their colleagues' distribution of time within their respective departments. This exchange became especially significant as the academic semesters grew to

a close and I needed data clarified in a timely manner. Usually, sensitive issues relating to promotion and tenure are not openly discussed unless trust has been established between individuals. Fortunately for me, this was the case with each of the six respondents on some level or another.

Respondents read and signed consent forms (see Appendix C) that allowed me to facilitate the interviews as well as document the interactions that transpired in the interviews. The consent form also included the possibility of follow-up meetings, phone calls, e-mails, and home visits until the study was completed. As a result of the follow-up interaction, another series of interview questions was developed. Primarily, the additional 17 questions were a summation of questions that emerged from the initial and follow-up interviews with respondents. For consistency purposes, I asked the same questions to each of the respondents (see Appendix D for the 17 additional questions). The information gathered from these 17 additional questions was documented, transcribed, analyzed, checked for accuracy, and then stored along with the transcripts from the initial interviews.

These data collection processes were imperative and instrumental in letting me capture the respondents' promotion and tenure experience at GBSU (e.g., conducting research, teaching, serving on committees, etc.) by allowing me to form context and establish sets of understandings that were common as well as unique to each respondent. Moreover, full and associate professors were asked to draw on recollections of their faculty preparation experiences (informal and formal). With the understanding that the respondents would have varying ranges of information to share, I constructed brief case studies of each of them consisting of the internal and external factors that contributed to their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. Berg (1998) suggested that in education, cases of interest (i.e., the

respondents) offer ways of discovery because a case study includes the examination of both people and programs to explore either their uniqueness or their commonality (pp. 212–222). I had the opportunity to gain more meaningful information from the respondents as a result of conducting in-depth interviews, which, as Berg contended, maximizes the data collected.

Given the versatility of the case study method, they may be rather narrow in their focus, or they may take a broad view on life and society . . . an investigator may confine his or her examination to a single aspect of an individual life . . . or, the investigator might attempt to assess the whole social life of an individuals . . . background, experiences, roles, and motivations, which affect behavior in society. (p. 212)

By using Berg's (1998) notion of case studies, I did not have to focus as much on the quantity of data that I gathered but rather the quality and relevance of the information that the respondents shared. Thus, feminist methods and methodologies were powerful tools for this study because I was able to focus on all the "truths" shared by the respondents. The data collection was grounded in the principles of amplifying the voices and experiences of the respondents. Additionally, by applying feminist methodologies and methods, I did not have to limit myself to one truth or one-to-one experience. Moreover, I was able to remain open to emerging themes and concepts as opposed to dismissing ideas or themes that were expressed by either one or only a few respondents. All of the experiences reported by the respondents were viewed as "truths"—for each were as valid as the next. I discovered that expecting the unexpected should be valued in qualitative research. The following passage from *Under the Sign of Hope* by Bloom (1998) echoed another viewpoint on the power and flexibility of feminist methodology:

Methodologies themselves do not fail; what fails us is our expectations that

Methodology can guarantee particular kinds of experiences or results. . . . Feminist

Methodology, then, may not provide the kind of strong scaffolding from which to build

a comfortable or predictable practice, but maybe, after all, this is just what we want: a

theory of research that neither stabilizes our practices nor essentializes us as

researchers. And this, I believe, is a sign of hope. (p. 153)

In regards to data collection, the promotion and tenure guidelines, along with materials

pertaining to the respondents' promotion and tenure process, were collected and reviewed.

Silverman (1997) further suggested that evaluation of documents is essential in determining

how people interpret, use, and benefit overall from the effectiveness of the documents used in

their respective area of concentration or specialization:

By examining documentary evidence, and following "paper trails" to check monitoring

and processing systems, they are also arriving at judgement that an academic

department is fulfilling its aims/maximizing its objectives and presenting a "true and

fair" assessment of itself. (p. 51)

Silverman asserted that documents are not mutually exclusive from the people who construct

them nor from the departments that utilizes them: "Understanding that documents do not

stand alone, they do not construct themselves or domains of documentary reality as

individual, separate activities" (p. 55), made it easier for me to link departmental culture and

practices to the written guidelines and policies that I reviewed. Furthermore, Silverman

(1997) contended that "while such audit may involve the direct observation of educational

experiences by external observers . . . it relies heavily on the construction of documentary

reality" (p. 52). Thus, if promotion and tenure documents were not clearly understood,

misinterpreted, or not fairly applied, then disparity could occur and success could be limited or denied. As reported by the respondents in this study, the negotiation process was far too important not to actively seek meaning, interpret, and clarify of the departmental, college, and institutional expectations for a successful pursuit of promotion and tenure. To that end, any discrepancies that may or may not exist between what the respondents' expected in terms of their promotion and tenure guidelines compared to what they actually experienced could shed some light as to either the effective strategies in place to ensure success, or, provide examples of miscommunication that need to be explored and improved upon for all newly appointed faculty regardless of race or gender.

Data Analysis Strategy for Interviews and Documents

The Constant Comparison Method introduced by Strauss and Corbin (1990) was utilized as my data analysis strategy for conducting interviews with the respondents. This particular method of collecting and analyzing data consists of a continual process of comparing segments both within and/or across categories to clarify meanings of each category. Additionally, I was able to create sharp distinctions between the emerging categories, as well as decide which categories were most applicable to the research questions and the overall study. As a result of applying this approach, well-defined patterns, themes, and trends were effective in assisting me with the articulation of sharing the respondents' voices, ideas, and concepts, which added more meaning and rigor to the study.

In terms of the promotion and tenure documents and other materials related to the respondent's negotiation process, I wanted to conduct an analysis to explore the language in each document. Silverman's (1997) recommendations on how to analyze documents were

used to review the guidelines for promotion and tenure and other documents related to that process. He contended that documents are important if one wishes to understand how organizations function and also to ascertain the value of the items that one needs to take into account regarding the role of recording, filing, archiving, and retrieving information (p. 46). Particularly, I investigated the sections that dealt with definitions of scholarship in research, teaching, and service. Additionally, I used the procedures below to identify guidelines and departmental and/or collegial practices that were common as well as unique to each respondent's respective discipline(s). This form of document analysis, as stated in Silverman's text, *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, may include:

1. Looking for special features or characteristics.

2. Listing those attributes.

3. Synthesizing the list of commonalties and unique characteristics among the college/department.

4. Reviewing the language used.

5. Stating the written guidelines that need to be covered in each document to make it applicable for the college/department and the organizational source of that document. (1997, pp. 53–54)

In terms of the language in the respondents' documents, I particularly investigated the sections that dealt with definitions of scholarship in research, teaching, service, and the expectations (levels of productivity) of each to earn promotion and tenure. The aforementioned list will be reviewed in more detail in Chapter 4, Document Analysis.

In terms of respondents' experiences regarding their socialization process throughout their negotiation of promotion and tenure, the information that they disclosed was

categorized into themes. These emerging themes were developed and disseminated to the respondents for their feedback and clarification. These similarities and unique experiences, though limited to the experience of such a small population, could further validate the stories shared by these women and other women and other underrepresented minorities in the academy. Moreover, if these commonalties and unique experiences that emerged are reflected in the scholarship of the academy, then those recommendations could also have great or grave implications for higher education and the future direction of women and minorities in higher education.

Establishing Trustworthiness and Rigor

To provide the maximum opportunity for the respondents' reported experiences to be shared, both trustworthiness and trust were key components for this process. Lincoln and Guba (1985a) stated that trustworthiness referred to criteria used to test the rigor of the data collected and interpretations made (as cited in Lincoln & Guba, 1985a, p. 654). There were a number of ways that trustworthiness was established in this study.

Lincoln and Guba (1985a) asserted that it is important to understand that inquiry is far from being value-free but rather value-bound (as cited in Lincoln & Guba, 1985a, p. 653). This means that people, researchers and respondents, enter into their relationships with preset notions and beliefs that they will not or cannot detach from solely because they are a part of a research process. Therefore, to assure, or at least increase, the probability that data are applied and tested with certain criteria for rigor in qualitative research, the methods used in this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985a) included:

1. Prolonged engagement or lengthy and intensive contact with the respondents to assess the possible sources of distortion and especially to identify saliencies in the situation.

2. Triangulation or cross-checking is because different sources and methods are used to ensure the accuracy of the data reported.

3. Peer debriefing or sharing interpretations with agreed upon colleagues or an outside party to assist with the test of rigor (this will depend on the comfort level of the respondents as well as who the agreed upon peer would be).

4. Negative case analysis or the active search for the truth(s) which can be confirmed by member checking with each respondent to ensure accurate reflections of each of their experiences for the best representation of the respondents.

5. Thick descriptions relating to the context about the degree or fit that may be replicated by others.

6. Dependability or confirmability that consists of a compilation of all documents pertaining to the study. (p. 654)

I maintained engagement for almost seven months with two of the respondents and a minimum of five months with four of the respondents. This time provided me the opportunity for lengthy and intense contact with all of the respondents from the fall 2001 and early spring 2002 semester (December through March) and through late spring and mid-summer 2002 semesters with two of the respondents (April–July 2002). I used a variety of methods to connect and interact with the respondents including e-mails, phone conversations, mailings, and semi-structured and conversational interviews, which took place at both the offices and homes of the respondents.

Prolonged engagement consisted not only of the initial seven months that I remained in contact with the respondents, but also the numerous exchange of e-mails between the respondents and me (e.g., a total of 154 e-mails were exchanged between the respondents and me by July 2002 and an additional 30 were exchanged between September and November 2002 to clarify data for accuracy). In addition to the exchange of e-mails, I forwarded Chapters 1–4 to each respondent for her final review. I wanted to ensure that each of the respondents was represented the way that she felt illustrated her personal and professional identity from the narratives that were gathered during the study. Additionally, the respondents were informed that follow-up contact would be necessary to review audiotape transcripts for accuracy as well as interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985b). I talked with two out of the six respondents via telephone and communicated with the remaining four respondents via e-mail. To that end, I received approval from the Human Subjects Department at GBSU to continue my review with the respondents up to one year if necessary (see Appendix B). Due to the conflicting and limited schedules of the respondents, the majority of the member checking was done via phone calls and e-mails, which increased the level of interaction with the respondents.

The next method that I used to establish trust in this study included triangulation of data. I reviewed the transcripts from the interviews, the content from the document analysis, and made sure that I had collected comparable information from each of the respondents when applicable.

In terms of the recommendation to utilize peer debriefers, I used both internal and external reviewers to test the rigor of this research. The peer debriefers for this study included two African American women who hold faculty appointments at predominantly

White institutions and one African American male who is a doctoral student at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. All of the peer debriefers are within the Midwest region. Drs. Reitumetsa Obakeng Mabokela is an assistant professor in Higher, Adult, and Lifelong Education (HALE) at Michigan State University, and Ada Ward Randolph is an assistant professor in Educational Policy and Leadership at Ohio University. Roderic Ra'Mone Land is approaching candidacy status in the Department of Educational Policy Studies, with an emphasis in the Sociology of Educational Foundations at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. Each of the peer debriefers is trained in qualitative research methods and methodologies. Additionally, they all have thorough understanding of the history of women and minorities in higher education in the United States. Peer debriefers shared a common interest in qualitative research methods and methodologies, particularly Black feminist thought, as well as had some understanding of faculty of color at predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions. The peer debriefers specifically assisted me with the following areas pertaining to this study:

1. Read all five chapters of this dissertation, with particular focus and attention towards the inclusion of key theorists in Black feminist thought such as Hill Collins, bell hooks, and Ladson-Billings in the review of literature chapter.

2. Carefully examined the methods and methodologies that I used for rigor as well as how I chose to establish rapport with the respondents in the study.

3. Critiqued my recommendations for practice as well as recommendations for future research and offered suggestions on how to convey my suggestions with more clarity and focus.

I conducted negative case analyses by verifying my interpretations of the respondents' experiences with them. I either called or e-mailed them for clarity. This was helpful because there were a few instances where a respondent either wanted to further explain a statement that she had made or add to a preexisting comment.

Thick descriptions of each respondent's experiences were provided to the best of my ability. I met with the respondents in their office and/or home environments and paid close attention to detail regarding the way in which they described themselves. From time to time, I had the opportunity to witness firsthand some of the respondents' interactions with their students and colleagues. Additionally, the respondents would comment on their colleagues who were also African American women in pursuit of tenure at the times of their negotiation processes. These instances provided me with additional information to share from each of the respondents.

Dependability or confirmability, consisting of a compilation of all documents pertaining to the study, was established and maintained. All of the documents pertaining to the study were and continue to be maintained and stored in a secure location, to which only I have access. I was careful to maintain consistency in terms of the contact that I made with each respondent, as well as maintain paper trails of our exchanges of e-mails, phone conversations, and notes, both transcribed and handwritten. When necessary, I had to include mailings to and from one respondent as well as rely on a close friend of another respondent, to relay messages due to a respondent being hospitalized as well as abroad for a significant portion of the fieldwork.

Establishing Rapport and Trust with Respondents

Lincoln and Guba (1985) asserted that the relationship between researcher and respondent, when properly established, is one of respectful negotiation, joint control, and reciprocal learning (as cited by Lincoln & Guba, 1985a, p. 652). Moreover, trust referred to the relationship established between the respondents and me (Behar, 1996; DeVault, 1999; Hill Collins, 2000). I gathered a diverse range of data by using qualitative techniques and feminist methodology and I left myself open to establishing a connection with these women, where I could be intertwined with each person like a piece of tapestry that if separate would be equally as beautiful. Understanding the value of how one is represented as well as the knowledge that is gained from the respondents is one of the greatest strengths in qualitative research. This approach to qualitative research enabled me to momentarily set aside the traditional roles of the researcher and respondent where the researcher was the expert, primarily established the rapport of the interview, and assumed the authoritative role in terms of learning and deciding what needed to be taught. Rather, I, along with each respondent, set the tone and pace of the interviews, negotiated the context in which we would exchange information, and equally contributed to the research process by establishing the common goal of wanting to improve the negotiation of promotion and tenure for other African American women.

Trustworthiness in feminist research comes from the comfort level created between the investigator and the respondents of the study. DeVault (1999) contended that "the aim of much feminist research has been to bring women in, that is, to find what has been ignored, censored, and suppressed, and to reveal both the diversity of actual women's lives and the ideological mechanisms that have made so many lives invisible" (p. 30). Due to the sensitive

nature of the study, it was critical to create an atmosphere in which respondents felt accepted, respected, and understood. To that end, my goal was to convey to the respondents that what they shared, felt, thought, and experienced was important. I encouraged the respondents to be upfront, honest, and free in sharing their experiences instead of trying to determine what I wanted to hear. Once that understanding was achieved, the interviews flowed more naturally. Experiences relating to their educational, academic, family, and economic status evoked an array of emotions and feelings. Again, I validated their voice and encouraged the respondents to share openly, particularly by reminding them that if they shared honestly and candidly, those experiences may be beneficial to other women and other underrepresented minorities. It was not uncommon for me to turn off the tape recorder to allow the respondents to collect their thoughts in order to share their comments in a more effective manner. This form of respect and/or sensitivity was either initiated by me or requested by the respondent during the interview. Additionally, I would, on occasion, restate and/or reinterpret the information that was shared by the respondents to demonstrate to them that I was actively engaged and listening to the experiences they were sharing. I also respected the voice behind the research. By this, I mean that there were data that the respondents shared "off the record," particularly when discussing details that were sensitive and personal in nature in terms of specific incidents that included incidents with colleagues or chairs of their departments. Once the respondents understood that my purpose was to provide the best possible interpretation of the information that they wanted to share, the information that they shared became more meaningful and powerful for the study. In summary, I was mindful of creating and maintaining levels of comfort as well as an atmosphere of trust. Lincoln and Guba (1985a), (as cited in Kuh et al., 1991) suggested that:

The axiom concerned with the nature of the inquirer-respondent relationship rejects the notion that an inquirer can maintain an objective distance from the phenomena (including human behavior) being studied, suggesting instead that the relationship is one of mutual and simultaneous influence. The interactive nature of the relationship is prized, since it is only because of this feature that inquirers and respondents may fruitfully learn together. (p. 652)

In regards to document analysis, the promotion and tenure guidelines from each of the respondents' colleges and departments were reviewed. In addition to reviewing the promotion and tenure guidelines, all other university and departmental documents, special reports, brochures, and other materials related to the promotion and tenure process provided by the respondents were analyzed.

As a result of gathering an array of narratives from each respondent, along with analyzing documents related to their promotion and tenure experience, a wide range of information was complied. Not only was I able to formulate understandings and make correlations to the extant literature that speak to the professional triumphs and challenges that African American women faculty members, such as these respondents face, but also, their was tremendous richness that helped to inform readers as to the personal gains and struggles that each of the respondents reported as being parts of their negotiation experience. Apparently, there are many components of the promotion and tenure process and equally if not more so, a multitude of facets that each respondent encompasses that will be discussed in the following chapter.

In the next chapter, I report the findings from this study which includes an introduction of the respondents, the emerging themes from the study, results related to the research, and

an analysis of the promotion and tenure guideline documents and their impact on the

promotion and tenure process.

CHAPTER 4. DATA ANALYSIS

The purpose of this study was to explore the individual and institutional characteristics as well as the internal and external factors that impacted and/or influenced the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure of six tenured African American women at one predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. It was my intention to explore possible reasons for the small number of tenured African American women. Furthermore, recommendations based on this study from respondents' experiences can aid efforts towards increasing access and equity for underrepresented faculty members in the academic community. As a reminder, the following research questions guided this study:

Research Question 1: What experiences do these respondents feel affected the way in which they negotiated the promotion and tenure process?

Research Question 2: To what extent did those experiences help shape their readiness for and their knowledge of the professorship at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution?

Research Question 3: What impact(s) do racial, gender, and self-identity have on respondents' perception of the climate and their perceptions of successful navigation of the promotion and tenure process?

Research Question 4: To what extent, in any, do feminism, feminist methodologies, and Black feminist thought assist in understanding the ways in which African American women professors develop their pedagogy, research, or service as faculty members?

Research Question 5: To what extent did a match and/or discord exist between the perceived criteria to successfully negotiate the promotion and tenure process and the expectations shared throughout the process?

Next, I introduce the six respondents who participated in this study. The chapter continues with interpretations of the data collected from the semi-structured and conversational styled interviews (Reinharz, 1992) with the six respondents. These interpretations are organized into themes and presented as findings. After the themes are presented, a document analysis of respondents' promotion and tenure guidelines, as well as any documents given to the respondents throughout their promotion and tenure process, will be evaluated and interpreted. Those interpretations will be followed by discussion regarding the five research questions that guided this study.

Through this analysis, readers will gain insight into the processes and phenomena targeted for this study. It is naïve to assume that the themes drawn from these six African American women reflect the experiences of all African American women at the institution or of African American women in higher education across the country. However, the findings echo many experiences noted in the literature and present a glimpse into the realities of the current struggles of African American women seeking promotion and tenure. Though the pool of respondents was small, their voices and personal and professional experiences spoke volumes regarding their pursuit of promotion and tenure. The suggestions offered by the respondents have a number of implications for faculty development and retention in higher education as well as for further research in the area of promotion and tenure of African American women and other underrepresented groups.

As previously stated, the respondents will be introduced in turn with descriptions of their family and community backgrounds, educational experiences, and pursuit of the professorship. The following themes emerged from this study and are discussed immediately following the descriptions of the respondents:

1. The respondents' perceptions of departmental promotion and tenure process and guidelines

2. The respondents' perceptions of departmental distribution of time

3. The external and internal factors that attributed to successful negotiation of promotion and tenure

   A. Mentoring

   B. Spirituality

   C. Identity

   D. Personal commitment to serving as change agents for campus equality

4. Respondents' recommendations for success.

The Respondents

Six women served as respondents in this study. They represented 100% of the tenured African American female members at the selected institution. Two women were in their mid 30s, and four women were between 45–55. Therefore, the ages of the respondents ranged from 35–55. One out of the six respondents was married with two children. One respondent was divorced with two children. The other four respondents were single without children. Prior to starting a family, the single respondents felt that based on the rigor and time commitment associated with the promotion and tenure process, that it was more important

that they first obtained promotion and tenure. One of the respondents who earned tenure in the spring of 2002 was married this summer. Single respondents also noted that the predominantly White environment provided limited viable candidates for dating and social interaction. The one married respondent's husband is also an academic, and she shared that they are happily married and support each other's pursuit of scholarship but not without sacrifice such as living in a largely rural area that offers limited resources in terms of African American culture (i.e., churches, social settings that cater to African Americans, ethnic foods, and hair products). The one respondent who is divorced encourages her two children, one a senior in high school and the other a junior in college, to spend quality time with their father in order to maintain a strong sense of family for her children.

The six respondents represented diverse geographic origins in the United States. One respondent is from the Northeast and lived on the East Coast for about 10 years, one is from the Southwest, and one is from the East Coast. One respondent from the South has now lived in the Midwest longer that she had in the South. One is from the Midwest, and one is from the Southeast.

One respondent earned her undergraduate degree at a predominantly White institution and her masters and doctorate at the same predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution where she is currently employed. One respondent earned her undergraduate and master's degrees at a predominantly White, private institution. Two respondents earned all three of their degrees, undergraduate through doctorate, at Doctoral Extensive predominantly White institutions. One respondent earned her undergraduate degree at a historically Black institution and her master's degree (the terminal degree in her area) at a predominantly White institution. One respondent earned her undergraduate degree at a historically Black institution

and her master's and doctorate degrees at Doctoral Extensive predominantly White

institutions. Four of the respondents had earned masters and doctorate degrees, and two had

earned master's degrees, which were the terminal degrees in their respective disciplines.

In terms of academic disciplines, one respondent is in the hard sciences and the other

five respondents are in the social sciences. Five of the respondents are affiliated with a

college of Liberal Arts and Sciences and one's department is in a college of Design. The six

respondents represent a variety of departments including Chemistry, Sociology, English, Art

and Design, Music, and Curriculum and Instruction. One respondent has earned the rank of

professor and the other five respondents have earned the rank of associate professor; all have

earned tenure. Two of the respondents were tenured one to two years early, and the other

respondents earned promotion and tenure within the typical six to seven year timetables.

The following sections will introduce each respondent by pseudonym and present each

respondent's family and community background, educational experiences, and pursuit of the

professorship.

Finally, while a number of commonalities exist among the respondents, respectively,

there is equally a list of traits unique to the women of this study as well. One of the primary

differences includes the diverse physical descriptions and personalities of each respondent,

which in many cases complement as well as contradict the societal perceptions of African

American women that have either praised or plagued Black women throughout history (Hill

Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981). In other words, I wanted to showcase the multitude of ways in

which African American women look, dress, express themselves, celebrate cultural and

ethnic pride, value family and community, address conflict, and how they believe they are

perceived by their peers, students, family, and friends.

Jane

Jane is what many people in the African American community would call an "educated, strong, and spiritually grounded woman." Although she has a small frame and graceful demeanor, she has the ability to command the respect of national and internationally acclaimed scholars. I had the opportunity to observe Jane during one of her class lectures. I was intrigued by her ability and effort to make the 300 students in her class lecture feel as if he or she was the only student in the classroom. From observing Jane, I also noticed how she exudes a no-nonsense demeanor, which I chose to correlate to the commanding presence of a military general or a well-respected leader in the African American community. Yet, her humility and approachable personality are warm and welcoming, which means that she greets students and colleagues in the hall, usually by name, as well as maintains direct eye contact and often repeats what a person says so that it is clear that Jane has been actively listening. Jane acknowledges the students as they enter her lectures as well as asks them if any of them has any exciting news that they want to share from the previous week. Furthermore, Jane sets the tone whenever she speaks or enters a committee meeting, classroom, or conference presentation making her appear larger than life. Jane maintains balance through many aspects of her life including her hobbies which include "church related work (e.g., Sunday school teaching), exercise of any kind, and going to plays and musicals," as shared by Jane. She described herself as a "good listener, good evaluator of myself, independent, and driven." Jane has held a faculty appointment at Global State University since 1996. Six years later, Jane earned promotion and tenure in 2002.

Family and community background

Jane credits her strength and tenacity to her parents who provided a solid foundation in faith in God, self-respect, and being comfortable with who you are regardless of whom you are around or the environment in which you find yourself. Jane attributed her strong sense of self to the encouragement that she received from her mother. She offered this:

> One of the things that has been very helpful is that my mother is a fantastic public speaker. And my father, being a minister, obviously was very comfortable doing the same kind of thing. She [my mother] put me in public speaking contests from maybe the fifth grade till I was a senior in high school. So the idea of standing in front of people and talking is not foreign, neither is it painful or scary. A lot of things like that she [my mother] did, made walking in a classroom probably more comfortable to me than maybe a lot of other people. It [public speaking] is still exciting and you get nervous on the first day of class, but it is not because of the crowd and it is not because of the idea of people and speaking to them. We [my family and I] have been doing that [public speaking] our entire life. So, the things [speaking publicly] that my mother called training actually fit into the whole teaching kind of thing for me.

From the above statement, it was evident that Jane realized that her early public speaking experiences helped to prepare her for faculty appointment. Through learning new things, such as public speaking, Jane acquired the ability to speak well in front of groups and built confidence in communicating with others in a variety of settings. Another example of the informal factors that contributed to Jane's preparation for the promotion and tenure process is also demonstrated through the following statement:

Informally, I would say my mother [taught me] much of the things [skills] that I use

now. I used to be in 4-H believe it or not and she did that because she wanted me to

make sure that I knew how to do things. A lot of that was etiquette types of things that

we learned. We would sit at our dining room table and she would set it completely. We

would practice what to do and what not to do. There was always practice from day one.

If we were going to visit the neighbors, then you had to practice how to say, "How do

you do, Mr. So and So?" It was always practice.

At an early age, Jane learned how to partake in new adventures as well as face the

unknown. An important part of the promotion and tenure process, as later reported by the

respondents in this study, is the ability to connect with others as well as promoting one's self

and one's ideas in a way that relate confidence, knowledge, and an ability to feel comfortable

in diverse settings. For example, etiquette is valuable when negotiating for a faculty

appointment or meeting with faculty colleagues because oftentimes a person is being

interviewed during a meal or when out for coffee. From early childhood, Jane was prepared

in many ways, whether she realized it or not, for negotiating promotion and tenure

successfully.

Educational experiences

Jane also acquired a drive for higher education because it was expected of her as long

as she can remember. Jane shared the following:

Well, let's see. Pursuit of postsecondary education, that had nothing to do with race and

gender, that had everything to do with [what my last name was]. So if that was the case,

you went to college. So it wasn't optional. Nobody even ever asked the question, "Are you going to college?" It was just understood.

Jane credited much of her success regarding promotion and tenure to her graduate school experience. From the interview, it appears that she acquired a greater appreciation for graduate school in hindsight. In respect to what Jane felt that she acquired from her graduate school experience, she had this to say:

There are some things I know I don't know because of my graduate school education. Research wise, I was taught perfectly, I liked that. Classroom wise, I didn't get it . . . I didn't understand [that] what I was learning was going to affect what I was going to be doing. And so I learned it and I did fine in classes, but it didn't click. And if I had known to need those things now, I would have prepared differently then. I tell people in a minute, you don't understand what I don't know. It looks like [I] might know, but I know what I don't know. My graduate education would have [been] done completely different. I would have had a much stronger foundation. It [stronger emphasis on certain graduate school courses] would have enabled me to teach some other things. But, it is one of those things you can't go back and fix that. I am stuck with what I got.

Pursuit of the professorship

Jane attended predominantly White institutions from undergraduate through graduate education and never questioned the type of institution at which she wanted to pursue a faculty appointment. Jane stated:

As far as [pursuing promotion and tenure] at a predominantly White institution, I never considered doing it anywhere else. It is my background. It is what I am used to. It never

even crossed my mind [to pursue promotion and tenure elsewhere]. Sometimes I say, it

would be nice to go teach at a predominantly Black institution, but that is not

permanently and I know that it [teaching full-time at an HBCU] is not for me. So it

never even crossed my mind to go to a different type of [institution other than a

Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive college or university].

As one of the most respected chemists in the nation, I initially thought that Jane would

be anything but approachable. On the contrary, what I discovered and witnessed firsthand

was the exact opposite. Even before our interview started, a student Jane had mentored

walked in and shared with Jane how much she appreciated her help because the student had

landed her dream job which included a high paying salary in a family oriented community.

Throughout her time at Global State University, Jane has mentored students from high school

through graduate school. Jane believes in the philosophy of engaging students and the value

of actively involving yourself in the many aspects of your students' lives. This commitment

of viewing students holistically is strongly connected to Jane's positive experience with her

major professor. As a result of the profound effect that Jane's major professor had on her

academic, professional, and social life, he continues to be one of her most valued mentors

today. Thus, when asked about those external factors which contributed to her successful

negotiation of promotion and tenure, Jane reiterated the value of her graduate school

education and the significance of her present and ongoing relationship with her major

professor:

I had a major professor who was very interested in what I wanted to do. And from the

moment that I ever mentioned the word teaching and academics, he started to groom

me to do it. He took me everywhere he went. He showed me how he was doing

[managing] grants and he made me write things [grant proposals]. He also made me evaluate papers and do things [faculty responsibilities] that probably a lot of people [other graduate students] don't even see how it [diversity of faculty roles] gets done.

Jane's focus and dedication has earned her, in addition to tenure, several awards and honors within the selected institution as well as several other national and international awards including being one of the top women chemists in the country. She is truly an inspiration to many and her story, perhaps, may shed insight for other African American women and their pursuit of promotion and tenure.

Hilda

Hilda is a tall, full-figured woman whose presence commands respect when she enters the room. Usually dressed from head to toe in African styled garments, it is clear that cultural pride is important to Hilda's identity. Her identity is further affirmed when you walk into her office where displays of African art and photos of legendary African Americans cover the walls. The environment sets the tone for the interview where Hilda attributed many of her triumphs to the contributions of her ancestry as well as her East Coast influence. When asked what she likes to do in her spare time, Hilda offered that she enjoys "reading, singing, teaching Sunday school, leading children's church, reading scripts, and sewing." Hilda stated, "I bring a strong, diverse program to GBSU, that of which they are lacking. I work professionally in my field, that of which few others in this program [Music Department] do." Hilda has been at GBSU since 1995 and was promoted and tenured in 2000.

Family and community background

Hilda made it very clear throughout our interview that her family was very important to her. She attributed a great deal of her tenacity to her upbringing and the diverse communities in which she lived and went to school.

It really helped me to know that I had a hard road ahead of me. It really helped me to know that I was in a truly rude awakening. I came from a Black neighborhood in New York; I went to a Black church; I was so sheltered. I went to Black schools. The one thing that I found or what helped me was that in my field, I had to prove that Black people could do it all. We could do Shakespeare, we could do gospel, we could do rap, we could do "down home" plays, contemporary. I had to prove [myself] constantly.

Educational experiences

When discussing her perceptions of the campus climate in terms of race and ethnicity, Hilda's expressions appeared hardened and cold in terms of her attitude about some of her experiences in graduate school.

Hilda noted:

I had the number one redneck in history as my professor when I was in graduate school. He would even say, "Them." and "You people." He would talk like that to me. And that was ok because he was from Kentucky. I was all right with that. I think it shocked him to see the kind of work that I could do, but it really helped me.

Here is it obvious that while Hilda encountered blatant acts of racism and discrimination, she opted to transform those experiences into strength and positive encouragement for her pursuit of promotion and tenure as seen below:

With a Master's of Fine Arts, you are supposed to do a project. In my case, I should

have directed a play and done work with that. But I chose to do a written thesis because

I felt that no one expected me to write. So I am constantly fighting a battle of that

stereotype. It is almost like a challenge for me.

Hilda found that from writing a thesis, she opened herself up to another world of possibilities

in terms of the type of institutions that she could hold a faculty appointment.

Pursuit of the professorship

In terms of her pursuit of the professorship, Hilda shared that she was not necessarily

concerned with the institution being predominantly Black or White, she just wanted to work

where she could earn promotion and tenure. Here she stated:

Well, having come from an historically Black institution, I just wanted to be tenured. I

didn't have s[my plans regarding tenure] definite all the way down to the

predominantly White institution. But I really felt that at some point in time having

taught on a college level since 1980 that I wanted to be something more than to receive

a contract every year, in hopes of being rehired. Whether it was a White institution or

not was not the issue. It just happened to be here at Global State University, and that

was good. But I did want to be more than assistant professor.

In terms of Hilda's preparation for her teaching responsibilities, she credited her

experience at a predominantly Black institution for her level of readiness and confidence:

I think what prepared me to teach at this institution was the fact that I had taught for

over eleven years at [institution prior to GBSU] a historically Black institution. I think

what prepared me to be at the level of the people here and in my program, my

department, was the fact that I had worked professionally and still work professionally

above and beyond the level of profession than any of my colleagues in my department.

There is no one in my department that works at the level of theater that I work. And

when I was hired I remember thinking, "Oh, am I going to be prepared for this

[challenge] coming from an HBCU?" But after sitting in on other colleagues' classes

and seeing them at work, I realized that I really worked those kids [college students] at

the HBCU, because the level of how I go about teaching is just so very intense.

In fact, Hilda believes that the level of scholarship she expected from students at the

historically Black college at which she taught was at a much higher level than at Global State

University:

My teaching style is what they [scholars in higher education] are now saying we need

to do, "Engage and discover." I have been doing that. Tell me something new. So, I

really think I was prepared and the sad thing though is that by being here actually

validated it. And that was kind of sad, because in all honesty, I was *valid* before I got

here, working at the HBCU.

In the aforementioned passage, Hilda makes a powerful statement when she asserted, "I was

valid before I got here." Learning to move from the validation of others to the validation or

acceptance of oneself is often talked about but difficult to claim and achieve, especially for

women and people of color (Gilligan, 1982; Hill Collins, 2000, hooks, 1981; Mabokela &

Green, 2001, Radford-Hill, 2000). It appears that a significant part of Hilda's identity was

linked to her ability to recognize her worth and the many roles that she plays as an African

American, woman, mother, scholar, teacher, thespian, activist, and lover of humanity. Roles

apparently, that for Hilda, expanded beyond the Ivory Walls of GBSU. Recently, it was

announced that Hilda resigned her appointment at Global State University at the end of the spring 2002 semester. Currently, she has a faculty appointment at another predominantly White institution.

Recently, it was announced that Hilda resigned her appointment at Global State University at the end of the spring 2002 semester. Currently, she has a faculty appointment at another predominantly White institution.

Sally

Sally is short and petite in comparison to the other respondents of this study, and perhaps smaller than most of the African American women that I know. However, it is crucial to note that it would be wrong to focus on her physical appearance and equate it to the enormous spirit and tenacity that exists within her. Sally looks directly into your eye and pulls no punches in terms of saying exactly what is on her mind. She does not seek or appear to need validation in terms of her opinion. Her strength was intimidating and yet comforting all at once. After I learned about Sally's personal and professional experiences, the picture was clearer for me in terms of the self-respect and pride that she possessed. Sally was the only African American woman at the rank of professor in the group and at the selected institution. Her office was full of texts, papers, and sticky notes as well as evidence that she is a mother to young children. Sally stated that she enjoys "reading, chess, dance, and supporting my children and their activities." Sally has held a faculty appointment at Global State University for 16 years. She initially came to GBSU in 1986 and earned promotion and tenure in 1992. She stated this regarding how she views herself: "I am very bright and

disciplined, but I am easily annoyed by hypocrisy. I am considered strong-willed, independent."

Sally was one of the two most challenging women to contact for this study. It took several e-mails, phone calls, and ultimately, a mediator, another respondent in the group, to encourage Sally to participate. Once Sally was made aware that I was "cool" and a serious graduate student, she agreed to meet with me, but only for a limited amount of time. We spent almost an hour and a half together.

Family and community background

Sally is extremely family-oriented, which is uncommon for the majority of the African American women in this study. It is not that the other women do not feel as if having a family is a worthwhile investment, but rather they feel that it is something that had to be put on hold in order to fully pursue promotion and tenure. Sally, however, believed that promotion and tenure was possible because of the support of her family. Here she emphasized:

> I can't imagine being here without my husband and children. I wouldn't be here. I don't know how women do academics now without that, and I have two children, one preteen and one close to it. And they keep me grounded.

Educational experiences

In terms of Sally's preparation for the faculty, she credits a great deal of her success to her graduate school education. When asked what she felt prepared her for the professorship, she stated:

Probably my graduate training, my mentor, and being in a graduate program that was

rated number two in the country might have helped me out. And [also] having a really

good network of students of color as a support system, as well as, a nice community of

top rate African American scholars [in my respective field].

In the aforementioned passage, Sally recognizes that there were a number of factors that

contributed to her successful negotiation of promotion and tenure including coming from a

highly respectable institution. Understanding that Sally came from an institution that she was

proud, it also easier to understand where her high expectations came from in terms of

research excellence. Sally appeared to be no stranger to hard work and as a result, she was

able to put those strenuous work ethics to good use in her department.

Pursuit of the professorship

Sally identifies with being a change agent and is proud of being a person who goes

against the tides in terms of her professional pursuits in higher education:

Being an African American female, I felt that I did not have a choice but to get higher

education. I have never been able to *stay* in my place, like the White folks tell me. I

have never been able to follow rules and be [submissive] to authority. I have always

had that problem. So I figured because I was [Black] and always thought I was as good

or better than White folks, that I had to get an education so that I wouldn't be [in a

position where I needed support], or one [a position where I had to] allow myself to be

supported. So, it has always been a struggle from day one. I attended a predominantly

Black undergraduate [institution] and had all White professors at that undergraduate

[institution]. And at that point, [I] went up against White males in the system there. So I

figured, "Oh well, this is going to be a life long process, I see."

Evidence of Sally's impact on the academic community is demonstrated in Hilda's following

statement regarding her admiration for Sally:

Success now as far as I am concerned is working for the next level [from associate to

full professor]. People like Sally inspired me 'cause she is a full professor. Nobody in

my department is a full professor. And so success for me if I were here that long would

be to become full professor.

Sally discussed the love-hate relationship between herself and the White people that she

encountered throughout her professional career. She, like other African Americans, struggle

with the idea of not knowing who to trust and when you can and cannot count on people in

positions of power, especially due to the historical mistrust between African Americans and

White Americans. Here she discussed how she dealt with many situations throughout her

negotiation of promotion and tenure.

I was defiant and had problems with some [White people], but then some were very

supportive and the ironic thing about it is that I have always had White male mentors. It

is scary. I had one older White female for [undergraduate education], but she was

[replaced by a White male]. But I have always had White males, very prominent White

males. I figured I'd [learn how to work with White people, particularly White males].

Sally was the most vocal and visibly concerned about her experiences at Global State

University. Considering, however, that she is the only one of the six respondents to earn the

rank of professor, she definitely has discovered strategies that worked for her in terms of

successfully negotiating promotion and tenure. She is living evidence that one does not have

to compromise identity or beliefs for promotion and tenure at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. Sally's experience echoed what Tierney and Bensimon (1996) contended:

> The participants in a postsecondary institution conform to specific norms that have accrued over time, and individuals who enter the organization simply must learn those norms. In effect, a standard is set, and successful socialization is defined by the ability of the individual to internalize, accept, and meet that standard. (p. 13)

Sally learned and mastered the game of [negotiating promotion and tenure] in a way that served her internally. Rather than take her chances on completely assimilating into the European American culture, Sally chose to combat the system by fighting injustices as they arose in her department, along with producing scholarly work to protect her voice. As a result, Sally was able to rise not only above but also beyond departmental standards, written and implied (expectations that are not in written form, but understood), in terms of research, teaching, and service. Below Sally affirmed that:

> Consequently I have had to work very hard to get access and not be invisible. It has been tough, but I figured if I am going to play the game, I am just going to go to the top and do it right. And so that is pretty much what I have done.

Lisa

My interview with Lisa was by far the most engaging from the perspective of the experiences that she shared regarding her graduate education and professional development. She was quite personable, warm, and sensitive to my role as a student but yet respectful of me as a future colleague. Throughout the interview, Lisa was concerned and cautious of what

she shared. It appeared from what she said that she was also quite calculated and strategic about how she negotiated her promotion and tenure process.

Lisa would have no problems writing a text on how to navigate the graduate education process successfully with sequels on how to secure a faculty appointment at a Doctoral Extensive institution and how to earn tenure. Lisa appears meek, humble, and willing to assist people if it is in her ability to do so. However, she also came across as a no-nonsense person who would have no problem distancing herself from a negative situation.

Lisa's office was smaller in comparison to the other respondents in the study but the multicultural and gender related texts which filled the shelves of her office offered an inviting environment for the interview. Her family background, as with Jane, complemented her eventual successful negotiation of promotion and tenure, in that many of the life lessons that her parents shared taught the necessary skills to negotiate promotion and tenure, such as the power of negotiation and the benefits of taking initiative. In addition to her family, spirituality has been Lisa's foundation. In her spare time, Lisa stated that she enjoys "sleep, contact with family, church, spending time with friends, working out, and going to the movies." Initially, Lisa chose not to offer a self-description of herself. After a pause, she shared the attributes that she felt she possessed including "non-productive, inarticulate, and a procrastinator." However, her peer-mentor and colleague described Lisa as "strong, analytical, outgoing, and consistent." Lisa was a graduate student at Global State University. Therefore, she has been at GBSU since 1989. Lisa became an assistant professor in 1993 and she earned promotion and tenure in 2000.

Family and community background

Lisa, as with the other participants in this study, believed that the support of her family enhanced her ability to earn promotion and tenure. Below she shared the effect that her parents had on the way she viewed her graduate experience as well as her pursuit of the professorship. Lisa's diplomatic and business oriented approach to promotion and tenure lay at the core of her success and she encouraged others to heed the message that her father shared with her on many occasions:

> My parents have been quite instrumental in my development. I was very close to my father, who was a very shrewd businessman. He learned how systems worked. [He] didn't always have the opportunities to take advantage of, but he understood how politics [worked]. [My father taught me that] if you can get certain sets of information about how people and money move through the system, then you can take advantage of that. [In college I said to myself], "I am going to have to talk to my dad all the time about what was going on in terms of the polities of the environment." That is key. Two things are key, he [my dad] has provided me [strategies for] how to go find out who can help you and how to establish those relations with mentors, how to get that mentor relationship established so that you have somebody running political interference for you. That is key.

Educational experiences

As we discussed Lisa's graduate school experiences, she felt as if the professional training and interaction with students and faculty that she had during her postsecondary experience equipped her for the life of an academic:

Well, let's see. I am going to guess that it [initial teacher preparation] was probably during my master's. I kind of got more a feel [for teaching] and had significant interactions with professors that were both personal and professional. So I got to feel a little bit more comfortable around people who have Ph.D.s and do this [hold faculty appointments]. I think that probably [was] when I began to realize that I wanted to do this [become a faculty member].

It was not only the in-classroom experiences that impacted Lisa's decision to pursue the professorship but also what she learned outside of the classroom. She always took the opportunity to learn something new and apply it to her professional quest:

Actually it [my initial interest in the professorship] was during my master's degree. I was at some program and heard someone speak. It was the first time that I probably ever remembered [something] that somebody said at a graduation presentation. The individual said, "The key to success was being in a position to take advantage of the opportunity." That [message] has always stayed with me even though it wasn't with my graduation speech. I think it was at the end of Upward Bound[1], where I served as a counselor that summer. This was a presentation that was given to the high school students and I happened to be there. That [message] stayed with me in part because you have to get to the point [where you are prepared for opportunities that will come your way]. You have to have access to people. You have to already have your basic skills in place so that you can take advantage of opportunities. You can't go to the movies if you're not up, showered, dressed, and ready to go. So when somebody calls you on the

---

[1] Federally funded college preparation program for first-generation and/or low-income high school students.

phone, and you want to go do something, but you haven't taken care of first things first, you can't do that. It is the same thing professionally.

Lisa stated that she gained confidence in knowing the rules of the graduate school process as well as had a pretty good grasp of how to utilize what she learned in her negotiation of promotion and tenure. Here she shared her perceptions of what her graduate school experience meant to her:

I was in a fairly good position. I secured my academic responsibilities, but I always tried to keep my ears open for opportunities that might [assist me in my] discipline. There are a lot of opportunities that present themselves. But part of [that is] being in a position of being open to these ideas and being flexible enough to go with those ideas. I am saying in a roundabout way that what I tried to do was to be open and available and be ready. [As a graduate student] you have to show yourself as being responsible in your teaching and taking care of business so that the faculty and professors can even consider you. I was in a position where people considered me for things. So as they would come up, they would ask me to participate in them.

Thus, the key here is not only being involved in the department, college, and on campus, but also having the preparation so that when opportunities present themselves, one is ready, as Lisa was:

Early on in my doctoral preparation, I received a lot of opportunities. I tried to take advantage of them. The key was you had to be willing [regardless of your department or academic area of interest], to go the extra mile. I could put in my 20–30 hours a week but then these other opportunities presented themselves. I got involved with some grants. I took the initiative in my area to learn some new resources, some new

technology resources. Then, I would try and create opportunities that I could demonstrate [my new skills]. One thing that I did was put together a newsletter and taught people how to use the newsletter [as a technological resource], how to develop a newsletter and the software that was [new] at the time. And so we had an in-house workshop with my colleagues, my undergraduate students, and the faculty.

Another aspect of the professorship is the ability to work independently as well as take on tasks without the constant motivation and/or monitoring of a chair/supervisor. Lisa contended that it is often viewed positively by peers and superiors for graduate students to discover new ways of completing tasks or identifying ways to enhance their graduate school experience:

> Taking that kind of initiative, I said, "Hey, maybe you can get involved with some other things, you got some ideas here, let's pull that in, let's pull this in." And then go to the professional meetings. I had professors who mentored me. So, I am at the professional meeting and they are introducing me to people and they are taking me around and showing me things and they are helping me write proposals.

Once Lisa began to demonstrate her ability to take and/or invent new responsibilities for herself, she discovered even more of a willingness from her professors to assist her with her research:

> So I write it [grant proposals] and they [faculty mentors] are showing me how to clean it up. So [my] chance of is succeeding increased. Okay, they [faculty mentors] are taking me to professional meetings and showing me how to present, how to carry myself, how to create networking opportunities, meet other people from other institutions so that I could do the things that the professors do.

It is apparent that Lisa credits a great part of her success to lessons learned from both her family upbringing as well as her graduate school experience. These lessons, which included the value of taking initiative, networking, and being open to learning different perspectives, were interwoven into Lisa's personal and professional life.

Pursuit of the professorship

In terms of her pursuit of the professorship, Lisa learned early on from her father that promotion and tenure was political in nature; a form or act of negotiation. Lisa used this information to her advantage. Instead of viewing promotion and tenure as a system setup to fail her, Lisa chose to see it as a partnership and/or mutual exchange between the individual and institution; a process that she could negotiate successfully. When asked of her thoughts on earning promotion and tenure at GBSU, Lisa articulated her experience this way:

> Well, promotion and tenure is a political decision. Nobody wants to say that. But in part, it seems like the [promotion and tenure] guidelines are ambiguous. But I think that promotion and tenure is a dual decision. Two people are making the decision, not just the institution that is making the decision, but the individual and the candidates also make use of the decision. I think that some people say it is really ambiguous and to a certain degree it is, but at the same time you can turn that and say that [while] it is poor communication on the part of the institution . . . you can [also] interpret that it [the negotiation of promotion and tenure] offers an awful lot of freedom for the individual. I think that is a good way to look at it.

Lisa's choice to view promotion and tenure as a partnership between her and the institution encouraged not only accountability on the part of the institution, but empowerment for her as

a faculty member. Lisa's understanding was grounded in her belief that promotion and tenure is a part of her professional experience, but that it does not define or consume her. Once she internalized this belief, she was free to negotiate without the fear of failure because she knew that regardless of being promoted or tenured, she would continue to be who she was. Lisa confirmed this interpretation with the following statement:

[I believe promotion and tenure] is political. So, he [my father] talked me through [the negotiation of promotion and tenure], "Well why don't you ask for this . . . Why don't you say this?" and, "The key to negotiation is that you have always got to be ready to walk away from it." [Therefore, I learned that] if I don't get what I want, that is fine. I am not so committed to it [promotion and tenure] that [I] had to have it [or] that they [GBSU] have to [grant me promotion and tenure].

Lisa further emphasized the importance of not allowing the position that you want to control or own you to the point where you feel trapped:

You have to be able to walk away. I was able to walk away because I had offers at other schools. So it wasn't as though Global State University was the only graduate opportunity I had.

It is not uncommon for academicians to view promotion and tenure as a political or bureaucratic process (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000; West, 1990). Cornel West's (1990) explanation offered an eloquent interpretation of the previous statement when he discussed the politics of promotion and tenure:

Demystification tries to keep track of the complex dynamics of institutional and other related power structure . . . in order to disclose options and alternatives for

transformative praxis. The central role of human agency (always enacted under circumstances not of one's choosing) . . . is accented. (p. 105)

Lisa's approach to negotiating promotion and tenure is not uncommon among academics and has also been echoed by scholars such as Tierney and Bensimon (1996).

Meg

Meg, like Hilda, is a tall and full-figured woman and considers her self to be a "no-non-sense, get-right-to-it" person. Examples of her work and "passion" at her office as well as at home surround Meg. She is a faculty member who considers what she does an opportunity to share her love of art with others. Meg's national and international travel enhanced her work/research. She incorporated the diverse contributions of the people and communities in which she lived and worked. The exchange of various culture served as an inspiration to Meg and has become a part of who she says she is today. In her spare time, Meg stated that she "reads everything that she can get her hands on and loves animated movies [because of] space [created] from non-reality to reality." Meg has been at Global State University since 1989 and earned tenure in 1993.

Family and community background

Meg shared that she grew up in a middle- to upper-class community and that she was very privileged in terms of wealth and diverse experiences. She noted several examples of strong Black women who impacted her life, and she credited many of them for her strong sense of pride and resiliency when asked if she had any positive role models:

Of course, my mother, grandmother, aunt, and women in my church. They each gave me the message of survival. My sister, a labor representative, negotiates in her job. My mother negotiates. I wasn't informed that I had that right, that I should have negotiated [in terms of her promotion and tenure process].

Meg, regardless of her ability to negotiate more throughout her promotion and tenure process, still possessed a positive outlook on her experience—one from which many African American women seeking tenure could learn and benefit.

Meg discussed how her exposure to the arts throughout her childhood influenced her to pursue the career as well as want to share her passion for the profession with others, particularly through mentoring. Meg affirmed that "mentoring African American kids/women is [the] most important thing I've done . . . to make [the] university community better for all people, not just a few."

Educational experiences

With regard to Meg's graduate school experience, she enjoyed not only learning but giving back to the students, peers, and professors with whom she worked:

I had a group of professors in the college, a group of friends that helped me tremendously. These people [faculty and peer mentors] told me what to do [participate in], what to say, what to put back, what to look for, what exhibitions [to participate in], because we need to do exhibitions. We could do books if we wanted to but I am a painter. I needed to do national and international exhibitions and one-person shows, things like that. And so they [faculty and peer mentors] told me this and also about teaching. It is a very difficult trick teaching art because it is very personal. And you

want to make sure that you don't take something away from people. You want to

enhance it [their work].

As stated previously, Meg grew up in a diverse community. It was integrated in terms

of race, culture, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. There were people from poor to wealthy

in the Southwest area where Meg grew up and her family was among the more affluent. As a

result of her early exposure to a wealth of resources, Meg feels that she has a great number of

life experiences to offer to the students she has taught:

> There is so much knowledge—you are talking about centuries of knowledge. How do
>
> you get that across to a kid who really has a great love and affection but really needs
>
> guidance with a friend? As a student and as a person now teaching, it is very difficult,
>
> yet it is so rewarding when they [students] do get it.

Pursuit of the professorship

As with four of the other respondents, Meg did not intentionally set out to hold or not

hold a faculty appointment at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. Her goal

was to follow her work; her passion. When asked how she decided upon Global State

University, Meg stated that:

> It didn't matter what institution and department it was, what race or what color, be it
>
> White or Black or whatever. Being a professor didn't matter. My professor [name
>
> omitted], he was a professor that felt that I needed to teach at a university. [My major
>
> professor felt that] because I had learned so much I had enough to give back. And this
>
> is how I got started and I started to apply for jobs. But it didn't matter where [or what
>
> type of institution in terms of White or HBCU] I [just] wanted to give something back.

Josephine

As with Sally, it was initially a challenge to connect with Josephine. Obtaining information from Josephine was very difficult due to her promotion and tenure experiences, which she did not share in great detail with me. I did gather, though, that her experience was challenging and in many cases disappointing and painful for her. Moreover, the majority of the data collected from our semi-structured and conversationally styled interviews were "off-the-record." It took almost two months before she and I were able to agree on a time and location to meet. The majority of our initial contact was through electronic mail, and even then the information that she provided was limited and guarded.

As a result of my initial interaction with Josephine, I had to modify my initial data collection methods to address her time constraints as well as the lack of a prior relationship between Josephine and me. For reasons that did not become clearer until after Josephine and I had met, it was important for Josephine to know how I would use the information that was gathered. After she felt comfortable with the aims and focus of the study, she agreed to participate.

Like Hilda and Meg, Josephine is tall and full-figured. Yet, there is a meekness and vulnerability about her that later corresponded to formal and informal information she shared about her protective personality. Josephine shared that with her free time she enjoys reading, listening to music, going to movies, and going to concerts or shows. Josephine described herself as having "great concentration." Josephine has been at Global State University since the fall of 1998, and she earned tenure in 2001.

Family and community background

Josephine's family and community background helped to prepare her for the promotion and tenure process at Global State University. She credits her home environment as well as her rearing for her strength and tenacity:

I am from the Northeast, New Jersey originally, and lived in New York for about 10 years before coming to GBSU. The fact that I went to predominantly White/or racially mixed [integrated] grammar school, high school, college, and grad school [to work at an institution like GBSU]. [Also, the fact] that my parents raised me to have self-confidence and not to look to others for my self-worth [helped me to face many of the challenges at GBSU]. [It helps to understand] that I *know* I'm smart and have known it even before I was in the first grade. Sister [nun] told my mother, "Josephine is tops," and I graduated with a medal as the second smartest student in my grammar school.

Josephine, like Jane and Lisa, had the support of family, and apparently that sustenance has proven to be invaluable to each of them. When asked about the value of her family during her educational and professional experiences, Josephine shared:

Family support is important. My family thinks that I am super woman. And that is good sometimes and that is bad sometimes. It is good in that they [my family] never expect that I am going to fail. I found that out when in graduate school, you're never sure that you are actually going to get that Ph.D. until you jump all those hoops. But your family thinks that [if] you sign up to get a Ph.D., you are going to get it. They don't understand that there is a possibility along the way that you might not make it. But that never was a question. I used to tell my mother, "Don't tell people I am getting a Ph.D. I will tell you after I have passed all my exams." Then, [I will tell you], "Okay, now I am sure I am

getting a Ph.D." But I didn't know that for sure really for myself until I jumped through all those hoops and that was like in my third [year of graduate school], three and a half years or so. So my family was important because they always expected that it [earning my doctorate] was going to happen.

Josephine, like Lisa, relied heavily on her mother's advice and support. Josephine's mother told her, "Don't let your career be defined by your university—get involved in activities where you will network with important people in your field."

After listening to Josephine's comments, I concluded that she was not initially aware of the full impact that the support of her family and mentor had on her in terms of promotion and tenure. She stated that while her mentor and family members were instrumental, "They played no direct role in my tenure case, except in helping me stay sane." This statement was shocking for two reasons. One, because "keeping sane" or being able to successfully negotiate promotion and tenure can often be mentally and physically challenging for all faculty and often more so for faculty of color at predominantly White colleges and universities (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Radford-Hill, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Two, while Josephine did not clearly identify family support as a key factor in her ability to negotiate her process, the other five respondents reported the exact opposite. Each of the remaining respondents shared how the encouragement from their family and friends kept them balanced spiritually, emotionally, physically, and mentally thereby directly contributing to their ability to successfully negotiate promotion and tenure.

Educational experiences

Due to the informal and formal preparation that Josephine acquired throughout her life, she was able to appreciate the rigors present in her department; a place where Josephine believes African Americans are not expected to do as well as White Americans. She attributes her attitude of survival from her graduate school experience. She noted, "I went to an elite graduate school which gave me teaching experiences as a Teaching Fellow." Josephine asserted that if she made it at the "elite" graduate school, then certainly she could survive GBSU. Josephine's departmental experience of inequity, it is not uncommon. For many faculty members of color, it is not rare for them to feel as if their research is not perceived as scholarly or that there is an expectation for their work to be at or above the same level of excellence as their White faculty member colleagues (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Alger, 1998; Jackson, 1998; Leik & Goulding, 1998; Turner & Myers, 2000). Despite beliefs and perceptions of inferiority, faculty members of color, as was the case with Josephine, continue to persevere and contribute intellectual teaching, research and service to her GBSU community as well as in her respective field.

Josephine's accomplishments came at the price of alienation, discrimination, and a great deal of pain and sacrifice. However, one of the support mechanisms that she reported aided her throughout the challenges of negotiating promotion and tenure was the tools that she learned from her graduate school experience. As with her tenured colleagues, Josephine noted that her graduate school experience was instrumental, particularly in terms of the mentoring that she received during her postsecondary education. Josephine shared, "One of my grad school profess [faculty member] is an example of someone who loves teaching and who I can talk to about frustrations and problems."

Pursuit of the professorship

Josephine shared that while she earned promotion and tenure at Global State University, it was not her initial intention to work at a predominantly White institution. Josephine asserted:

> Frankly, I never thought of *wanting* to be a professor at a "predominantly White institution." My goal was to be a professor at a *good*, well-known school. Also, when I look back, it wasn't until I was getting my doctorate that I realized that being a professor was thought of as the *only* path for those of us getting Ph.D.s in literature; I recall someone once informally telling me that when you get a Ph.D., you're overqualified for jobs like editing, which is what many of the MA students were thinking of going into [oral emphasis in interview].

Despite Josephine's reservations about some of her experience throughout the promotion and tenure process, she still remained positive and contended that "you can meet people who were instrumental in your career forever." Josephine, as with the other five respondents, maintained optimistic outlooks overall by focusing on the people who helped to strengthen and shape their promotion and tenure process.

The aforementioned section enabled me to illustrate some unique as well as common ideals and experiences among these women including their diversity, character, intelligence, reactions to issues, and the strategies that they believe to be "blueprints" for their success in academia. Coupled with the proceeding section on the themes that emerged from this study, the descriptions of the women will also demonstrate a need for further explanation into the encounters of African American women and their pursuit of promotion and tenure.

The next section of this chapter includes the four major themes that emerged from this study. Those themes include 1) respondents' perceptions of their promotion and tenure guidelines; 2) respondents' perceptions of their colleagues' departmental distribution of time; 3) the external and internal factors that attributed to successful negotiation of promotion and tenure; and 4) respondents' recommendations for success.

Perception of Respondents' Own Time Spent on Research, Teaching, and Service

Each of the respondents reported that they did not know what to expect. In terms of their promotion and tenure process, most respondents assumed that the largest percentage of their time would be spent on research, since Global State University is a Doctoral Extensive institution, but found that the majority of their time was spent on teaching. Although the majority of the respondents were reluctant to share their perceptions of their departmental colleagues' distribution of time regarding research, teaching and service, each of the respondents shared their best estimate according to her perceptions.

Half of the respondents perceived that their responsibilities would be equal to or greater in terms of their role and responsibilities, than that of their White departmental colleagues, but with fewer resources and/or less release time from their teaching requirements. The other half of respondents felt as if they had equal to, no more or no less, than their White departmental colleagues with equal resources and/or release time from teaching. Overall, the respondents reported that they had less time to produce research. This reduction of time was regardless if their White departmental colleagues had less time or not to conduct research. In short, there was a general feeling among the respondents that more time was needed to

conduct their research. The only exception where "less" was not problematic was with Lisa

who felt that while she produced publications, she personally experienced self-inflicted

resistance in doing so. "Writing-up" research was not Lisa's favorite faculty role. Therefore,

Lisa's reporting of "less" time for research was not as significant an issue for her because her

preference appeared to be more so in the areas of conducting research, teaching, and in the

area of providing service.

Table 1 provides a brief summation of the respondents' perceptions of their time in

relation to their departmental colleagues' time. As shown in Table 1, Sally felt as if she had

less time allotted for research than her colleagues. She also believed that she spent more time

teaching and providing service than her departmental colleagues. However, in terms of

research, Sally also felt as if she conducted and produced more research than her

departmental colleagues despite having less research time. Although there was obvious

tension as Sally shared her feelings regarding the inequalities regarding departmental

Table 1. Respondents' perceptions of time devoted to responsibilities compared with
perceptions of departmental colleagues' time

Respondents	Research	Teaching	Service	Other
Jane	Less	More	More	Not listed[a]
Hilda	Less	Less	More	More–Advising
Sally	Less	More	More	Not listed
Lisa	Less	More	More	More–Advising
Meg	Equal	Equal	Equal	Equal
Josephine	Equal	Equal	Equal	Not listed

[a]The respondent did not report an additional allocation for her time, such as advising or
attending conferences.

distribution of time among faculty members, when Sally was asked her opinion relating to what she thought her colleagues and students would say about her, she felt that they would say:

I am the best sociologist. (Very quiet) I am a great teacher. I do both research and I like to teach and I don't compromise my values and my standards. I go up against the grain.

On the other hand, Jane explained that while it may appear as if she spent more time on teaching and service than her departmental colleagues, and produced more research with less time, she felt as if her experience within the department was exceptional. Here she stated:

I would say if anything, that I received more support than the average person. It was only one, one assistant professor here when I started and he was about two years from tenure. So I didn't get to see him very much. But just in my perceptions people have gone even out of their way to make sure that I had the information I needed, information on grants and just in general have been very supportive.

However, Jane's perceptions of her own distribution of time compared to that of her departmental colleagues were not as similar as she portrayed. In terms of Jane's researching, teaching, and service, from her perception, she conducted 25% less research than her colleagues, 15% more teaching, and 10% more service than her departmental colleagues (see Figures 3 and 4). This disparity between Jane and her colleagues is noteworthy because while Jane perceived herself as having less research time, more teaching responsibilities, and provided more service, she still managed to meet and in many cases surpass departmental expectations earning her a unanimous vote for promotion and tenure from her department (see Figures 3 and 4).
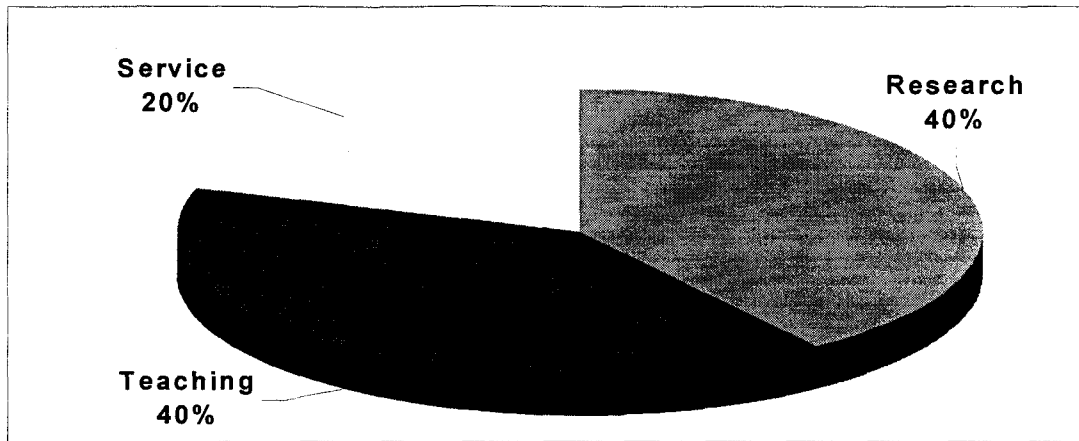
Figure 3. Jane's perception of how she spent her departmental time regarding teaching, research, and service
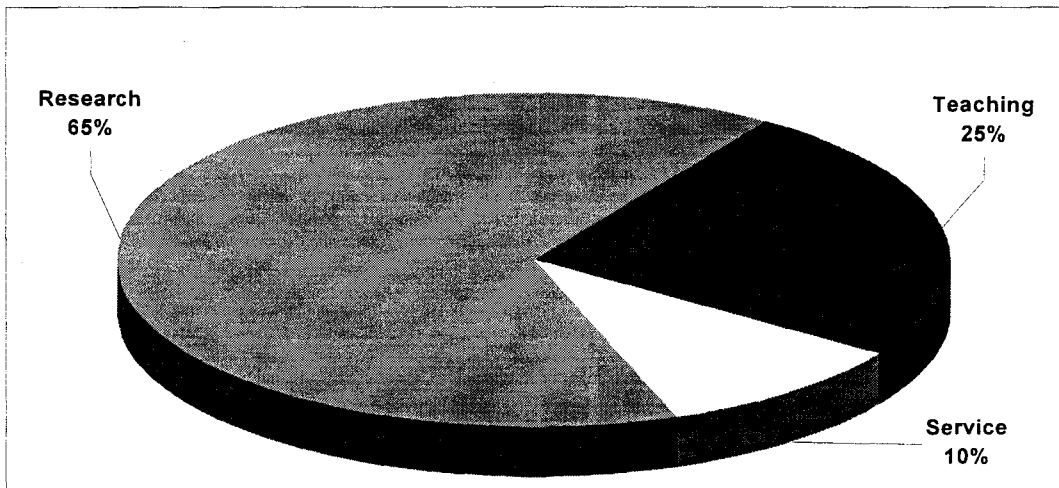
Figure 4. How Jane perceived her departmental colleagues' breakdown of their time regarding research, teaching, and service

Two respondents, Meg and Josephine, felt as if they did as much if not more research than their colleagues and without question provided more service to their departments, college, and overall campus community (see Figures 5 and 6). Meg felt that she could not fairly assess her departmental colleagues' distribution of time and initially resisted offering her perception. However, as she gave her perceptions, Meg noted:

I can't [provide a perceived distribution of their time]. I don't get involved with that

[concerning myself with how my colleagues spend their time]. I take my responsibility

and anybody else's [responsibility] is on them. I know what I have to do. And so, I

don't really care what they do, when it comes to that. I know a lot of people in that

college and they are very responsible. So I don't feel like there is any lacking in that

[colleagues not contributing their share of research, teaching, and service to the

department]. [But] I just don't know.
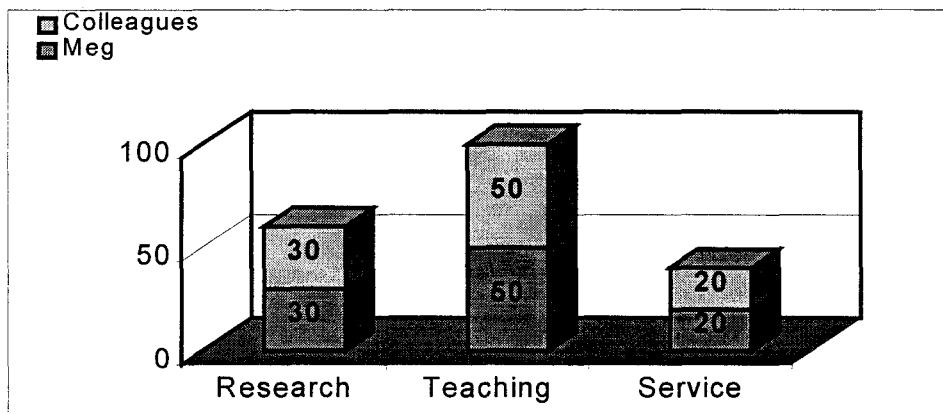
Figure 5. Meg's perception of her time spent on research, teaching, and service as compared to her departmental colleagues
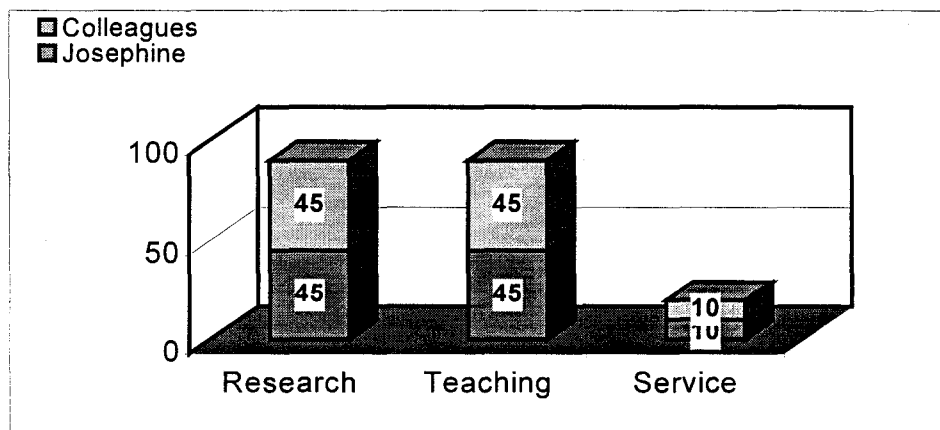
Figure 6. Josephine's perception of her time spent on research, teaching, and service as compared to her departmental colleagues

Two respondents, Hilda and Sally, were the extreme cases out of the six respondents

because they perceived their departmental colleagues to spend far less time on teaching and

service, as well as their colleagues spending far more time on research (as shown in Figures 7

and 8). When asked whether or not there was a match or discord with their distributions of
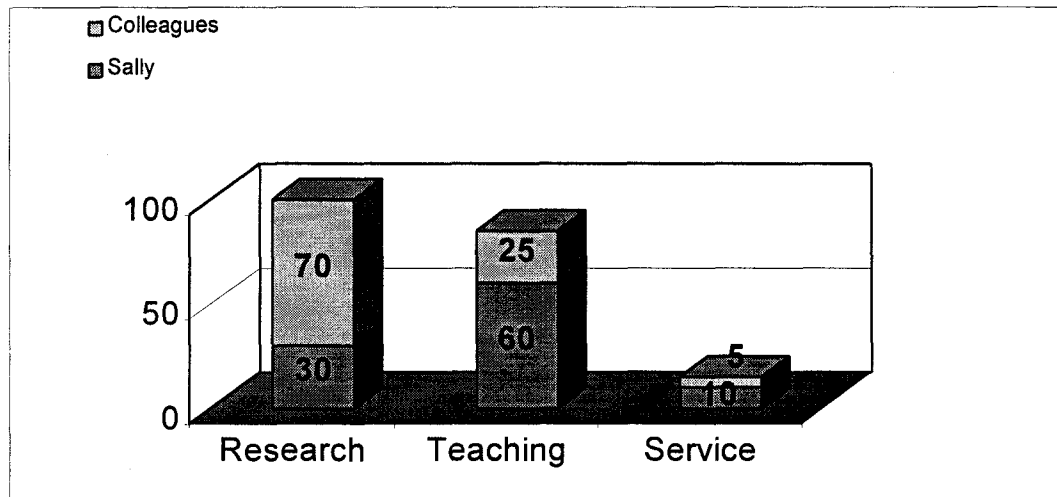
Figure 7. Sally's perception of the differences of time spent on research, teaching, and service as compared to her departmental colleagues
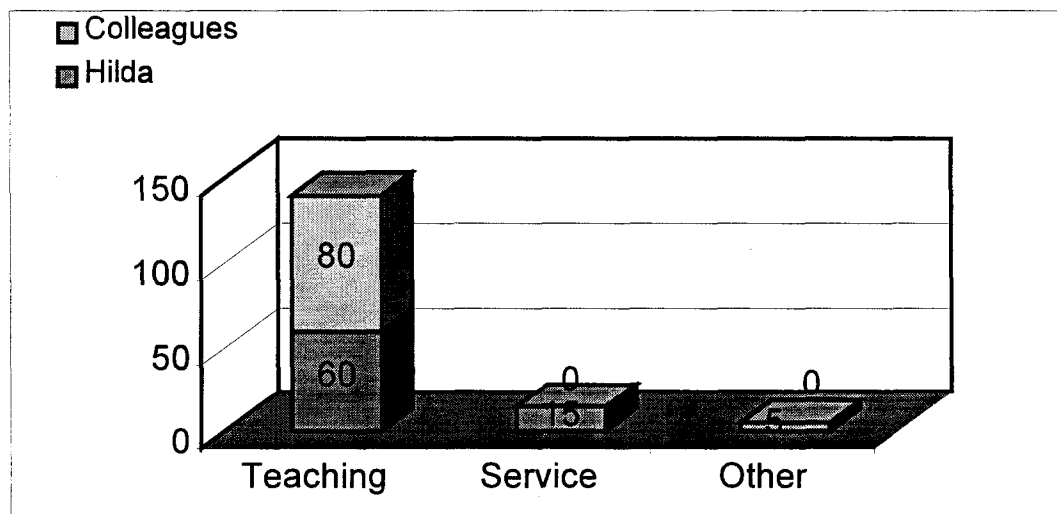
Figure 8. Hilda's perception of the differences of her time spent on research, teaching, and service as compared to her departmental colleagues (It is important to note that teaching is Hilda's primary responsibility which includes a research component.)

time in comparison to their perceived departmental colleagues' distribution of time,

unequivocally Sally and Hilda felt as if there were disparities. Sally contended:

> They give White folks more resources and breaks. Like grant money, summer salary,
> everything that I had to compete for, they [White departmental colleagues] get just
> because they are wonderful and they are White, especially the females. So they [White
> departmental colleagues] don't treat us [Black faculty members] the same.

Hilda's discontent appeared to be not only a culmination of more work for less pay than

her departmental colleagues, but also her perceived lack of respect and appreciation from her

peers and supervisors regarding the scholarship that she contributed to the department,

college, and overall institution. Hilda's dissatisfaction is illustrated in the passage below:

> I was supposed to teach 2/3 class [two one semester and three the next] and direct
> GBSU Theater and because of GBSU Theater being a compilation of many different
> kinds [of student and their cultural experiences], I am meeting them at whatever times
> they [students] are available. So I go up and beyond the classroom time. What a lot of
> people in my department do, but they get paid for it. They get paid for that design time
> and whatever, and I am really feeling that now I teach 3/3 classes and still [direct
> GBSU Theater], this semester I am teaching four classes and still directing. I am always
> directing GBSU Theater because we [the students and I] are constantly going out and
> doing stuff. I also have to direct the mainstage show for [GBSU Theater]. So no, I don't
> feel that the course [work that I produce] in a week is equivalent to that of someone else
> for the pay that I get. Because it wasn't until I got my tenure and promotion raise that I
> finally made $1700 more than this person, a White male that came in at the same time I
> did who did not get tenure, by the way. So I said [to myself that] the university didn't

even want him, didn't want him to [have] tenure and he still made more money than I did.

Hilda's aforementioned statement, paired with the distribution of time in Figure 8, suggests that she experienced what Tierney and Bensimon (1996) described as "a less-talked about form of cultural taxation [which] has to do with the commodification of race/ethnicity to make an institution look good" (p. 117), such as developing GBSU Theater Workshop. In other words, Hilda believed that while she was hired to add the cultural component to her department, which in her opinion has brought ethnic culture and diversity to the department, the commitment to actualize the full potential of such an insurmountable task for one person has not been supported by the department. If it had, Hilda believes that she would not have been the sole faculty member endorsing GBSU's diversity theater initiatives, particularly for less pay and recognition than the scholarship produced by her peers.

Perception of Respondents' Colleagues' Distribution of Time in the Department

The question regarding the respondents' perceptions of their departmental colleagues' distribution of time was specifically designed to provide another window into the respondents' perceptions of their negotiation of promotion and tenure. I wanted to investigate whether the respondents perceived their responsibilities to be comparable in relation to their departmental colleagues. Even though Jane and Meg both felt as if they really could not fairly assess the distribution of research, teaching, and service of their colleagues in their respective departments, they did provide their best possible estimations. When asked to give

her best estimation of her colleagues' distributions of time and how she felt she was treated

throughout her process, Jane responded:

> I had to meet the same requirements as everybody else. But I think it was almost, it was
>
> still, I was treated with so, everybody was very conscious of how they were handling
>
> me. Almost as if to say, "Yeah, we want you to meet the requirement, but we are going
>
> to take care of you."

I had the opportunity to observe Jane's promotion and tenure review seminar, where

she presented an example of what her class lectures are like with her students. I witnessed

firsthand the support that Jane received from her colleagues and students. Jane's colleagues

were highly in favor of her forthcoming departmental success and often stated throughout her

interactive seminar how impressed and proud they were of the research that she had

conducted. The seminar room was also packed to capacity with past and present students

whom Jane either taught and/or advised. Close friends and colleagues from Jane's college

attended, as well as faculty and staff from the Global State University community. Jane's

fiancé was seated next to the chair of her department, who had brought flowers and a teddy

bear to the seminar. These gifts were proudly displayed by Jane on the desk where her

presentation notes were placed. Jane remarked, as she compared her seminar to those of

others she had attended:

> I had been to seminars before where people were almost not attacked, but almost just
>
> pounded, kind of question whys, almost in a sense of checking to see whether the
>
> person knew what they were doing. And I really felt like people were asking me
>
> questions that they wanted to know the answers to, but I didn't feel like I was being
>
> quizzed as such. It was much more of a friendly conversation of "I want to know this,"

but not really to test me kind of thing. So I think they required the same thing, but I really think that they consciously, or unconsciously, I don't know which one, [but they] really have taken very good care of how they treated me.

Lisa felt as if she contributed more time to teaching, service, and other responsibilities such as advising students than her departmental colleagues but not as much in the area of research (as shown in Figure 9). In Lisa's case, however, she recognized that while she produced scholarship worthy of earning promotion and tenure that she often struggled with writing the research that she conducted:

Okay, if you break down research in terms of conducting research, writing that publication and getting grants, there is some of it [that] I like to do more than others. I enjoyed doing the research. I didn't particularly, probably out of those three, enjoy writing up the stuff [research that was conducted]. That wasn't the most fun for me. [However], I did all three. But I probably needed to have somebody say, "You did the research, write it up." Where I'd say, "I have got the results." "This is real exciting to me." "I can use this to go do something else." "I can use this [research] to write my next grant." "I can use this in my teaching, [but] I am not really interested in writing it." I probably needed to have somebody say, "No, you will sit down and write all of this stuff up." And sometimes there are articles I have written, I have never submitted. The article is done, I just didn't submit. I got the results I wanted. I probably presented it [my research] at conferences and published it part of it in [conference] proceedings. So for me it was more of an issue [that] I did what I wanted to do. I probably needed somebody to say, "What you need is to do a few more other things that you don't enjoy as much."
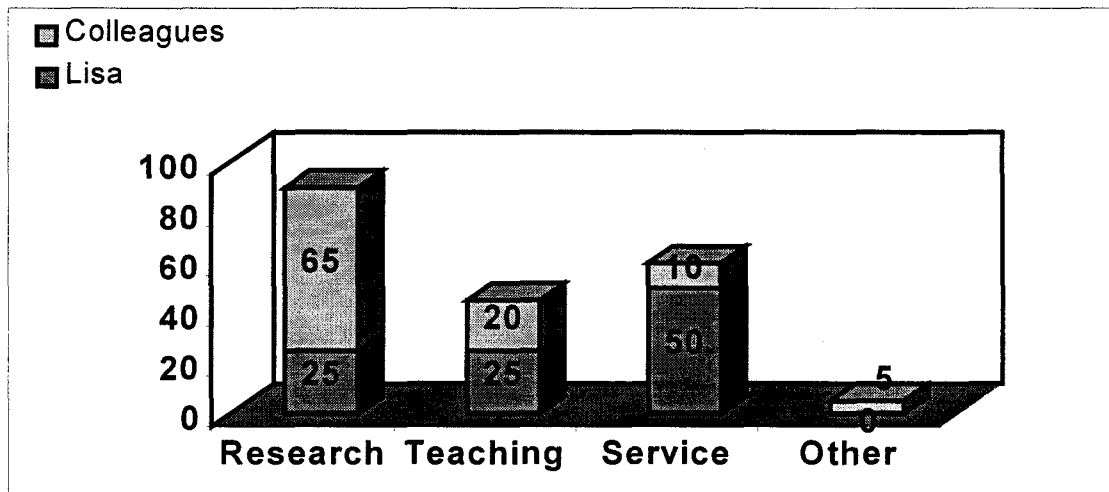
Figure 9. Lisa's perception of the differences of her time spent on research, teaching, and service as compared to her departmental colleagues

It is interesting that the hesitation Lisa experienced regarding writing up research was discussed by both Jane and Sally in terms of obstacles that faculty of color face in terms of negotiating promotion and tenure. Both Jane and Sally felt that preparation for conducting as well as writing research should be not only encouraged more in graduate school, but that faculty of color need to understand how critical publications are to the overall sustenance and success of earning promotion and tenure at a research intensive university.

Hilda, unlike Meg, Jane, and Lisa, felt as if there were colleagues in her department who did not produce enough overall scholarship to earn promotion and tenure. Nevertheless, Hilda did feel compassion for one of her colleagues who she felt was "strung" along throughout his probationary period who apparently to her was "clueless" about his forthcoming decline of promotion and tenure. Here Hilda displeasingly stated:

I had the opportunity to be on the committee for a White male who came in the same

time I did. So in other words I went up a year early and then he went up the next year.

So it kind of helped me because I didn't know anything about tenure or anything. And I watched and was shocked to know, he didn't get tenure and was shocked to see how [the process] works. Several people said, "Oh, well they're not going to get rid of you because of you. You are a Black woman, they need as many Black people as they can get," I felt that they don't have to fill out any quota for me. I was shocked that somebody would say something like that. I really felt that I had worked hard enough and I felt that there was an honesty in how they looked at the kind of work, or the quality of the work that I did versus other people. Because I really felt that the person did not deserve tenure. I was very upset in how they strung him along. They let him pass through all of the hoops up until the provost. So it is almost like a baby doctor. They don't give the shot to the baby, they bring the nurse in to give it to them so that the doctor always looks like a good guy in their eyes. Whereas, I thought, it needs to be stopped here. And I felt it needed to be stopped here because once it moved on, it would make us look bad [as a department]. So I think that there has been equity, but it is because my hoops have been smaller to jump through.

Regardless of whether or not the respondents had "smooth" sailing and/or challenging experiences from the beginning through the end of their negotiation process, they all reported external and internal factors that contributed to their success regarding promotion and tenure. The next section of this chapter describes these aforementioned support mechanisms.

External and Internal Factors that Contributed to
Promotion and Tenure Success

Four sub-themes emerged from the respondents' reports of the external and internal factors that they contributed to their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. Those factors included 1) mentoring, 2) spirituality, 3) identity, and 4) the respondents' personal commitment to serve as change agents for their campus community. While all six respondents felt as if promotion and tenure was certainly an attainable goal, they all felt as if they could not have negotiated the process successfully without the external and internal factors that they reported in this study.

Mentoring

The first sub-theme that will be discussed in this section is mentoring and the effects that these personal and professional exchanges have had on the respondents. All six respondents felt as if individual, institutional, and collegial mentoring components were necessary, viable, and integral parts of their promotion and tenure success. The respondents reported that while a formal mentoring program was not part of the university's promotion and tenure guidelines, the concept had been discussed institutionally as a recommendation from the provost's office of Global State University since 1992[2], as well as encouraged on the college and departmental level. The mentoring program at Global State University was developed through the provost's office with the support of its college's department executive officers (DEOs), who have "the responsibility of making formal arrangements" between the

---

[2]In 1992, Global State University implemented a mentor program between new faculty and senior faculty to initiate mentoring for new assistant professors.

new faculty and senior faculty. The four components of GBSU's formal mentoring program were outlined:

1. *Selecting a mentor:* Process where the DEO formally recommends the mentor (senior faculty), the new faculty member should participate in the selection. DEOs should consult with the new faculty member about what issues and projects he or she would like to pursue with the mentor.

2. *Getting started:* Process where the DEO should arrange to meet at the outset with the new faculty member and the mentor to clarify expectations for the senior and junior faculty members.

3. *Mentoring activities:* Process where mentoring should center on the primary position responsibilities of the faculty member including research, teaching, outreach, professional achievements, advising mentees as to the departmental cultures, and shared benefits.

4. *Sustaining the mentoring experience:* Process where all three parties involved—the mentor, the new faculty, and the DEO—should work together to design activities that best meet the new faculty member's particular needs in establishing a successful career at GBSU.

Particularly, it was the holistic and ongoing mentoring whether personal and/or professional, that proved to be most meaningful in terms of the respondents' successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. The respondents' interactions with their mentors ranged from learning how to mentally navigate the negotiation process through the power of spirituality and/or simply learning to laugh at yourself, to learning how to conduct research as well as strategically publishing articles from that research to reach scholarly audiences.

Three out of the six respondents enjoyed their mentor-mentee experiences throughout their negotiation of promotion and tenure, while the remaining three respondents shared that they often learned what not to do from many of their negative mentor-mentee interactions once they obtained promotion and tenure. While the experiences of the respondents varied in terms of how they felt about the types of mentoring they received, they all felt that mentoring, whether it be the direct initiative of the institution or personal exchanges with peers through a crisis, is a valuable asset in the negotiation of promotion and tenure.

While most of the respondents reported that they informally or formally had assigned mentors, their experiences varied from encouraging to a total lack of support. Below, Sally, one of the first tenured in the group, stated her opinion of the mentoring and the lack of support that she received:

I think that the fact that I was a University of [name omitted] graduate, really bothered a lot of people because nobody else was and they thought I was a loser from there. So it was just kind of like, "Well, if you are a [name of university] graduate, then you should be able to [do] this kind of thing [conduct research, teach, and provide service]." So, my attitude was "Okay, I will come in here and do excellently. [Although] you are asking me to do something that none of you have done. You set me up for failure because you are not giving me resources to do what you are telling me that I have to do." So, consequently, I became "sapphire"[3] in my first year.

Here, it appeared as if Sally had already internalized her perception about her White departmental colleagues not liking her and/or wanting her to be a faculty member in the

---

[3]"Sapphire" is a term or expression used in the African American community as one description for strong Black women with pride and attitude.

department. Perhaps, it was the way that she perceived herself as being treated or maybe a colleague did say something that Sally perceived as inappropriate. Nevertheless, Sally had made up her mind that she was alone and that negotiating promotion and tenure was going to be a fight and/or challenge every step of the way. Sally continued:

I let them [White departmental colleagues] know that, "I am not taking it [any crap] because I don't want to be here anyway." In fact I kept telling them, "If it wasn't [for] my husband [who was recruited to GBSU for a faculty appointment], we wouldn't know each other. This wouldn't be happening, so let us try to get through this together."

Sally decided that instead of trying to reason with her White departmental colleague, that she would take her concerns to higher authorities, where she believed her voice would be heard. Sally explained:

I [formed] relationships with the Dean, with the Provost, and I stayed in their faces every time somebody looked at me hard or pissed me off. So, the Dean continued to ask them [my departmental colleagues], "What was happening to Sally" and "What are you [Sally's colleagues] doing in here?" So they [White departmental colleagues] started treating me nice. In fact, I got a reputation of being the "bitch" that will run to administration. Oh well. I did [seek support], every time because I knew that that was what I had to do.

Not all of the respondents had such a trying time as Sally. In fact, Jane, to the contrary, perceived her departmental relationships to be pleasant and quite beneficial, especially the relationship that she had with her senior faculty mentor. Jane's mentor experience appeared to be the exemplary compared to the other respondents' interactions with their senior faculty

mentors. Regarding her interactions with the department chair, also a mentor of Jane, she shared:

> It has been outstanding. The present department chair was fantastic. I don't know if he is like that with every assistant professor. I assume so and I tell people that, but I don't know if that is the case. He guided me through [by] telling me exactly what I needed. He chaired my Promotion and Tenure committee and he hired me. He really knows me. He let me know exactly when deadlines were coming and what he needed. I never felt like I was running around trying to get stuff done at the last minute. He was always on top of letting me know. And he would even [review] my summary pages. There used to be six of those [summary pages or promotion and tenure review packet] and now there are three of them. I have the six which I had been using every year. After [annual] evaluation they would get a little bit longer. And he [my department chair] said, "I can tell you right now, they [P and T committee] are going to read three pages." And so he helped me format it, he went back and forth. He was very helpful at even checking what I had done saying, "Okay, now that looks like something that is going to be okay."

As illustrated in the aforementioned respondent narratives, it is clear to see the effects the that mentoring or the lack of mentoring can have on the negotiation of promotion and tenure for faculty of color. Extant literature supports many of the claims made by the respondents on mentoring and the positive and negative impacts that it can have on individuals (Boyer, 1990; Braskamp & Ory, 1994; Menges & Associates, 1999; Turner & Myers, 2000; Wisker, 1996; Zachary, 2000). In the case of the respondents, they all had varying experiences with mentoring yet the same outcome with promotion and tenure. Each of them wholeheartedly agreed that mentoring is necessary and helpful. However, the key is

the type of mentoring received or offered. Particularly, the respondents seem to share the view that mentoring consists of the effects of the experiences that a person encounters throughout his/her process and that one either learns what to do or what not to do when in a position to help someone else. The two extreme cases illustrated through Sally's and Jane's mentor experiences indicate that while the outcomes are similar, both earning promotion and tenure, there is still a place for a central, formalized mentor component that is fairly applied across disciplines and colleges.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) contended that:

Mentoring involves more than dispensing advice and imparting wisdom. If individuals learn by example, then one way junior faculty will come to understand the organizational culture is by observing the actions of those in leadership positions. The importance of teaching, collaborative work, and positive interaction with colleagues is as much learned from the act itself as from telling someone what to expect. (p. 58)

Further echoed by Austin (2002), the need for mentoring was confirmed in a study she conducted on graduate students:

Few graduate student respondents reported receiving any guidance about the array of other tasks that faculty members must fulfill, including advising, committee work, curriculum development, managing ethical issues, and public service outreach. (p. 105)

Thus, if junior faculty begin their faculty appointment ill-prepared from their graduate school experience and then fail to receive adequate and/or consistent mentoring from accomplished faculty, the negotiation of promotion and tenure process can be difficult and challenging to obtain if not impossible for a significant number of junior faculty, particularly faculty of color (Austin, 2002; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000).

Each of the respondents reported the need for and value of mentoring throughout the promotion and tenure process, but just any mentoring process will not suffice. Implementing a mentoring program where mentees are haphazardly assigned mentors with senior faculty who may or may not hold or have similar interests as their colleagues was not optional. Rather, the respondents specifically noted strategic and purposeful attributes of effective mentoring. These attributes included personal and professional support, which allowed mentors to serve their mentees holistically as opposed to just one aspect of their lives. The following passages illustrated the supportive and empowering mentoring experiences that respondents had throughout their promotion and tenure process.

Jane, in providing her definition of mentoring, also specified the type of mentoring a person receives throughout the negotiation of promotion and tenure:

When I say mentor, I mean somebody successful who knows you well enough to know how to drive you and also somebody who is going to be able to tell you the good things and the bad things. 'Cause you need to hear both of those from somebody who is trying to help you.

Hilda, despite initial reservations about the White colleague assisting her, admitted that she received more support from her White colleague than her African American mentor. Hilda reported after failing to receive the type of support that she sought from her African American mentor that:

My professor in charge was not African American, [but] White and [yet], he encouraged me. And I thought is he encouraging me for a setup? He listed things [on my review for promotion and tenure] that he knew that I had done that were far above and beyond those [other departmental faculty] who were already in the program. He said, "Yeah,

you have done just as much if [not] more [than Hilda's departmental colleagues]. So [in that way] he encouraged me.

Sally asserted that it is essential to have at least two mentors in order to successfully negotiate the perils and challenges of promotion and tenure. Here she cautioned:

Black people should have at least two mentors, not one. Because one person can tell you anything and lose their minds, [especially senior faculty] can because you [newly appointed faculty of color] are vulnerable. So they [Black faculty members] should have at least two mentors; one associate and one full; one White male and one a person of color if they have such thing or not. [This way], you have balance and [can] keep it [role as faculty of color] in perspective, I think. [Faculty of color need] somebody that is going to be around, not somebody who doesn't understand us [Black people].

Lisa shared examples of how her faculty mentors took strategic measures to increase her chances of earning promotion and tenure throughout her probationary period:

They [mentors] were clear in terms of what my expectations were. My annual reviews were strong. I received signals that I needed to conduct more research, do more writing, more publishing.

Meg discussed an undergraduate experience of hers and how a professor with whom she had no initial relationship assisted her with further developing her artistic abilities by giving her access to the resources that graduate students use. Here she shared:

I had a portfolio, 'cause I had been painting since the age of seven. And I showed it [my work], he [a faculty member who later became one of Meg's mentors] went in and he took me to the office, gave me a key, took me over to the graduate studio and said,

"You'll paint in here for the rest of the time you are at [Meg's undergraduate institution]."

Josephine, when asked about the type of support that motivated her, replied:

My [department] chair was very supportive, saying my course evaluations were exceptional and giving me a lot of encouragement concerning my strengths in teaching, research, and service.

An outline of the effective and specific characteristics of effective mentoring, as described by the respondents, will be outlined in the concluding chapter of this dissertation. The next sub-theme discussed in this section is the role of respondents' spirituality on the promotion and tenure experience.

Spirituality

The respondents reported several individual and institutional characteristics that enabled them to achieve promotion and tenure. Spirituality was among the individual level characteristics mentioned. In addition to religion, which can be a part of spirituality, the respondents also chose to define spirituality as self-love, pride, and even the people that you choose to interact with both personally and professionally. Most of all, however, each of the women related to a higher being or power that they recognized as greater than themselves, as was the case with Hilda and Lisa.

Hilda defined her spirituality and tenure process in the following way:

When I was up for tenure, I handed in my documentation. I prayed over it before I

handed it in and I never thought any more about it. I think I told you this story where I

just woke up one day and said, "I think I am just to go on and do it" [submit promotion

and tenure materials for early review].

As demonstrated in the aforementioned passage, Hilda relinquished her fears and

concerns in exchange for peace as well as the opportunity to increase her faith in God. This

release of power actually enabled Hilda to obtain more power as described by Boyd (1993):

There's a trick to being in control. Being in control of ourselves means that we have to

be willing to give up control of things outside of ourselves. . . . When we feel out of

control, we place a serious drain on our sense of self-esteem. By recognizing the limits

of our control, we increase our self-esteem. (pp. 134–135)

By choosing to trust God for the outcome of her situation, Hilda was empowered to move on

in her life and control those tasks and responsibilities within her immediate control, thus

making her able to be content and productive regardless of the outcome related to her

promotion and tenure review.

Lisa offered this view on spirituality and its effect on her promotion and tenure process:

I think that the thing that fundamentally changed the quality of my life and my ability

to pursue tenure with any gusto was the realization that Christ needed to be the absolute

center of my life. Because in essence it actually freed me up from so many of the other

things that owned me. Success became way different then. And I was actually then free

to own stuff [promotion and tenure] and not that stuff own me.

Here, Lisa was able to experience a similar freedom as Hilda in that she realized that letting go can equate to freedom; liberation from undue stress, worry, and helplessness of situations and/or decisions outside of her immediate control. As a result of her emancipation from powerlessness, Lisa learned to rely on God like friends and colleagues for her peace and serenity. Lisa shared:

> And the relationships that I was able to develop at church establishing friends that had the same priorities as I did [negotiating promotion and tenure] and also had the same concerns for me [my personal and professional success]. Probably the thing that I learned the most was that even though I had friends and I think friends [who] care about me, I don't think I really understood what friendship was until I had friends whose center of their life was Christ. Because then their care for me wasn't dictated on whether they felt good or not, it was dictated on Christ. Christ helped them, and helped my friends care about me. [Christ] helps me care about my friends. And probably for the first time when I had that freedom when I submitted my [promotion and tenure] papers, that was grace saying, "Hey, your life is not tied into this place. Your life is tied around me. I will provide for all your needs." And when I look back, he [Christ] always has provided for my needs and oh, so many of my wants.

Lisa explained her connection to God in the aforementioned passage and how having that relationship enabled her to find a new state of freedom that she had never had before. Once Christ had become an intricate part of her life, Lisa found ways to maintain that link through her faculty members and administrator-friends who were also Christians. These associations formed a stronger foundation for Lisa both inwardly and outwardly giving her the boost of confidence and unconditional support that she had grew to appreciate from her childhood.

Lisa's experience, being able to discuss her religious beliefs and practices with her colleagues, is not as unique to higher education as one may think. According to Strange (2001):

> From its inception, American higher education has long honored a relationship between the intellectual and the spiritual. Particularly in the beginning, education of the whole person—knowledge, talents, body, soul, and character—guided the enterprise, and questions of the ultimate formed the discourse of the day. However, the ensuing period postsecondary education has witnessed a distinct dividing of the waters, with things of the spirit receding to one bank and those of the intellect to the other. (p. 60)

Josephine, like Lisa, also credited her "faith in God" as the "key source of [her] strength." Throughout our interview, Josephine often referred to God and her family as her "rock" and foundation of love and support. Josephine shared:

> My church and the family I have within, that is tremendous. I was just working 24 hours a day, then I assumed I would have that same kind of work ethic trying to get tenure, and I did, but it was surprising that I had time to do what I needed, as far as church things were concerned. And that was important because there are a lot of people there who have been through this process [negotiation of promotion and tenure], so that is good, so they kind of understand that. There is also a nice opportunity to get away from this [break from promotion and tenure], so it is not just the only thing that I was doing. And that is just tremendous for me, the support and everything that comes with that has been really important.

> While Meg did not specifically cite a specific higher being as the source of her strength, she did emphasize the importance of the friendships in her life and the value of those bonds

on her personal and professional life. Here she voiced how critical it is for women to have outside interests aside from promotion and tenure:

Have a life. Have a social life. You don't have to go [out] every day of the week, every night, but have a social life and make sure you're with other women of color, other women. That is extremely important, so that you can laugh and talk and still open [up] and you don't feel so alone. Because regardless of your spouse, women, just like boys need boys, women need women. It is very simple. [Women] need to be able to express, to talk, and certain things you just don't feel like talking to grown men about. Find someone you can feel very comfortable with and you do that [spend time with them]. Then you get involved. If you're religious, find a church. If you are not religious, find an organization.

Thus, in addition to addressing the competitive and individual tenets of historically European American higher education (Rudolph, 1990), the respondents in this study identified with the spiritual canon established from the founding institutions, where spirituality was a part of the postsecondary process. Regardless of the method or source, each of the respondents, whether it was through the support of God, family, friends, the church, or any combination thereof, found that factors external and/or outside of themselves equipped them with additional tools of strength throughout their promotion and tenure process. Therefore, it was not a matter or question of a person having faith in God or any particular higher being per se, but rather, a belief and/or accountability to something or someone aside from themselves that enabled the respondents to draw upon extra strength when needed.

The respondents credited a number of factors for their personal and professional growth which continues to sustain them in the academy. In addition to spirituality, the respondents

attribute their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure to their development of self-identity.

Identity

I was interested to learn about the circumstances, if any, that these women experienced with respect to race and gender. Each of the respondents, though some more than others, felt that race and gender impacted their negotiation of tenure. Jane, Lisa, and Meg seemed to have different experiences from the other three women in the group in terms of how they chose to internalize their process. Meg was surprisingly optimistic about her overall promotion and tenure negotiation despite the fact that she has been at Global State University during some very politically challenging events. Meg has seen many of her colleagues of color recruited but not retained as they tried to endure many of the trials and tribulations that occurred in GBSU's environment. For whatever reason, many of Meg's colleagues failed to negotiate promotion and tenure at GBSU. Understanding that Meg had been at GBSU, an institution where issues of race, gender, sexuality, were problematic for students and faculty of color, for almost two decades, it is feasible to conclude that her resolve is encouraging. Meg withstood the turbulence of racism, sexism, and classism and now serves a catalyst for women and other newly appointed faculty members of color.

Meg's optimism, like Jane and Lisa's enthusiasm, about their status at GBSU, is due to their personal commitments to earning promotion and tenure regardless of the obstacles they encountered. In other words, these respondents decided early on that they would not focus on race and gender as issues of deterrence, but rather use their identities to fuel and/or thrust them further towards their goal of access and equality in the academy. Extant literature on

women and faculty of color in the academy speaks towards self-determination and tenacity as characteristics needed to earn promotion and tenure at predominantly White institutions (Gregory, 1995; hooks, 1981; Rains, 1998; Turner, 2000b; Turner & Myers, 2000).

It is important to add that while neither Lisa nor Jane sought to challenge anyone who chose to discriminate or participate in racial acts, neither did they shy away from addressing issues of race and gender when confronted with it. This way, they would be free to conduct research, teach, and provide service to their students and the campus community without the added pressure brought by worrying about what others think. Jane discussed her view on how she chose to handle the issue of racism and gender discrimination and whether or not she felt as if those "isms" existed at Global State University:

> Absolutely one thousand percent [discrimination] exists. There is no question about that. [Although] I think [that] I was in a unique position, I am confident that it [discrimination] exists. I am also confident that it may have happened around me, but because of my mindset. I didn't count it [discrimination] as that or I just was moving and it [discrimination] didn't hit me. You know what I mean? Sometimes when you're more insecure, you feel everything. You [are] just like a dartboard. But if you are just moving and doing what you need to get done, people throw them [discriminatory darts] and sometimes you are so busy or so engrossed in what you are doing, it just is irrelevant. What happens [then] is when people [who throw discriminatory darts see that] it doesn't affect you, people stop. So, I have hundred percent belief it happens, no question about it. I think it even happens in my department, but it just didn't happen to me. It just wasn't significant to me.

Jane has clearly chosen not to allow the "isms" related to race and sex to be her problem, but

rather the issue of those who bring up such negativity. Whether Jane knowingly or not set out

to resist a system of oppression, she has demonstrated what Hill Collins (2000) describes as:

> Resisting by doing something that is not expected . . . [such resistance] could not have
>
> occurred without Black women's long-standing rejection of mammies, matriarchs, and
>
> other controlling images . . . [thus] silence is not to be interpreted as submission. . . .
>
> U.S. Black women intellectuals have long explored this private, hidden space of Black
>
> women's consciousness, the "inside" ideas that allow Black women to cope with and,
>
> in many cases, transcend the confines of intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender,
>
> and sexuality. . . . (p. 98)

Thus, in regards to promotion and tenure, Jane's success was due in part to her ability to

resist racial and sexist stereotyping. By choosing not to respond to and/or acknowledge

negativity, Jane's minimized the often paralyzing effects of racism and discrimination. As a

result, Jane was able to channel her energies into the development of her professionalism,

which contributed to earning promotion and tenure.

Lisa, as with Jane, also chose not to internalize [take personally] the "isms" often

associated with the promotion and tenure process for women and minorities. For Lisa,

however, her focus was more on understanding and mastering the process of negotiation as it

related to promotion and tenure. Rather than viewing herself in a deficit position because of

her gender and ethnicity, Lisa chose to address the intimidation associated with promotion

and tenure by accepting the system for what it is as well as viewing herself as an equal

partner in the negotiation process. It is important to note that acceptance does not equate to

approval in Lisa's case. Rather, Lisa believed that "you cannot change a system on the

outside." Thus, Lisa's approach of acceptance and empowerment allowed her to successfully negotiate her promotion and tenure process. Lisa stated:

> I don't really feel like I have talked a lot about the implications that race and gender have played on my [promotion and tenure process]. But, it is an issue. People might say it isn't an issue. It is an issue. Because what race and gender allow us to do is to categorize or make it easy to identify and categorize people. The university, like other entities, like every organization, is a political entity. Even though it [the university] doesn't look like it [political entity] or parts [departments and/or colleges] of it [university] don't look like it [political entity]. It [politics of a university] tends to be a little bit more [covert] than other environments. [Still], it [politics in higher education] is an issue. It is a threat to the establishment, whomever the establishment is. It wouldn't matter if it were Black females in the establishment and we were trying to have White students, White female or White males, come into the academy. It is a threat to the power base. Any type of change. So it is an issue even if we don't want to say it is an issue. It is always an issue. Just like gender and race might not be the issue when you have a group of all Black females, but there is a power issue there. Who is in charge? I want to be in charge. Somebody else wants to be in charge. You can see that in any group get-together. So, there is an issue. It just happens to be that with race and gender it is clearly identified and there is a long historical, well-documented history precedent of keeping down females. And when you [are] an African American female, you at the bottom 'cause you are the least important and the one thing you [the system] want to keep down the most.

Lisa's feelings about higher education and its bureaucracy speak to a power base of White superiority and dominance that is widely discussed in related literature of faculty of color at predominantly White colleges and universities (Gregory, 1985; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000).

As stated previously, I wanted to explore the factors and/or circumstances that the respondents experienced in terms of race as they negotiated promotion and tenure. Below, the responses from Meg echo Lisa's aforementioned passage on not only accepting the culture of your institution but also how to successfully negotiate promotion and tenure in a campus ecology whose views may differ extremely from your own. Meg offered:

> Now what I think is extremely important for anyone coming in and, especially for
>
> people of color coming into an academic environment, [is to understand that] we do
>
> have class structures at universities and in communities. When you are in a
>
> predominantly White environment and you are at Global State University somebody is
>
> lying if they think you are not [in a social class system], you are. Look at your
>
> population and say, "Okay, what is the population of the people that live in the state
>
> [where GBSU is located.]" And then you also want to look at the bias against the class
>
> system of "age" here. I think all of these things should be totally made aware of.

Here, it is apparent that Meg is discussing the categories and/or classes that exist at GBSU as well as the surrounding community including diverse ethnic groups, various socioeconomic statuses (e.g., poor, middle class, upper class), different denominations, and even educated and uneducated classes of people (e.g., certain youth are labeled as "professors' kids" opposed to students whose parents work in the blue collar community). Meg continued to

share her recommendations to help with the recruitment of women and faculty members of color. Meg discussed:

> I think there should be more of a sensitivity toward young people and their children, especially minorities and people that are coming in here. And I hate to use the word minority because I can't see somebody being in the minority when you think about it. It depends on how you are looking at them [minorities] when we live in such a small world now. But [in my classes] I have got five Black [students], I have got twelve Hispanic [students], one Native American [student], and they are being treated a certain way and there is no one negotiating from the university to let their parents know what their options are. I think packages should be made. The university used to work very close with the school systems here to make sure that faculty members were aware of what was going to happen to their kids. [Now] we lose more and more faculty because of that [present lack of awareness and information]. I think that is one of the number one things I have heard from faculty, they leave because of the way their children have been treated. Which is really unfortunate. And a lot of it is not because the people [people in GBSU community] are just bigots, or they are biased; it is because they really don't know what is actually happening. They are totally unaware of the fact. And also because they have been so used to dealing with a certain class of people that have such control of their children until you get in this situation.

In the passage above, Meg discusses the importance of awareness not only for institutions hiring minority faculty, but also for minority faculty to educate themselves to the institutional, collegial, and departmental cultures in which they are seeking appointments. Meg cautions new faculty and/or graduate students interested in the professorship not to be

disillusioned by the campus and/or community where they will work and live. She asserts

that in order to successfully negotiate the promotion and tenure process, she had to deal with

"reality," which meant understanding and accepting that she held an appointment at a

predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. For Meg, this acceptance meant

providing certain levels of latitude and patience for the systems in which she would interact.

In Meg's opinion, prejudice and discrimination was not always the catalyst for the

mistreatment of people of color, but rather a lack of cultural and social awareness of the

people who were employed at GBSU and/or those individuals who lived in GBSU's

community. Meg's realistic approach to accepting what "is" as opposed to idealizing about

what "could" or "should" be enabled her to make a difference not only in her life but also in

the lives of others. Again, Meg's realization draws back to identity and knowing who she is

and what she is capable of contributing and achieving. This is not to say that Meg equates her

African American female identity to one of limitations or boundaries. Rather, Meg, as was

the case with Lisa and Jane, understood the role she played at GBSU. Meg was comfortable

with her ethnic, cultural, and gender identities as she learned to work around and within the

context of her personhood. When she outgrew the identity that served her throughout her

negotiation of promotion and tenure, Meg was able to recreate another context that better

served her. This was not the case for a few of the respondents, such as Hilda and Sally, who

chose to challenge the system and by doing so, often felt attacked and/or isolated in their

departments.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) stated:

Some faculty feel isolated and others never "learn the rules of the game."

Administrators often want to hide "bad news," and others do not want to believe stories

about life "in the trenches" that document overwork and stress for women and faculty of color. . . . The framework for promotion and tenure varies by institutional type, but we shall suggest . . . that the experiences, frustrations, and challenges of faculty members are often remarkably similar, yet paradoxically, an individual's or group's experiences are also unique. (p. 4)

Because of the reported issues of isolation and the value of understanding institutional culture, the majority of the respondents, such as Meg and Lisa, felt it was imperative to remain connected to other faculty and students of color by serving as support systems for one another and the campus community. So whether it was intentional or by happenstance, the respondents often became change agents for their campus community.

Role as change agents for campus equality

Each of the respondents offered that they viewed and identified service as a natural part of who they were as African American women faculty on a predominantly White campus, particularly service to individuals. In terms of being a change agent for the community, Jane had the following to share in regards to their role as servants to Global State University:

The community service part is less community service to me. The times that I have decided to spend with students, the time that I have decided to spend helping other people kind of do the same things that I have done or just kind of figure out how to maneuver through undergraduate or graduate school, that time to me was required for me. I had to do that because somebody else did that for me. And I recognized that that [service to others] is so critical to success. In undergraduate school, I didn't realize that it [helping others] was that important because undergraduate school wasn't hard to me.

But graduate school was very hard to me and so I really became aware how important it

was to have somebody kind of guiding you through that because it is deadly if you

don't.

Jane shared her commitment to giving back the kind of assistance that was given to her

throughout her postsecondary experience. Here, Jane acknowledged the impact of personal

and academic support on her educational process. In turn, she feels it not only adequate, but

necessary, to return the supportive gestures of others, by helping the students she encounters

through their postsecondary processes as well. Jane continued:

I didn't realize that I would do as much helping of undergraduate [students] 'cause I

didn't think undergraduates needed that much help, but they did. I kind of feel like it

[helping others] was probably related to being a Black person. You [as a Black person]

get the sense [that] you are responsible for helping other people because somebody has

helped you.

With the passage above, Jane not only emphasized the value of giving back but also equated

the need to help others to her identity as a Black person. As was the case for Jane, it is not

uncommon for people of color to feel obligated to "give" back to others in exchange for the

assistance they were given throughout their lives (Cruse, 1984; Gitlin, 1993; Gregory, 1995;

Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1994; Turner & Myers, 2000).

In addition to her cultural and ethnic identities, Jane also felt a sense of obligation to

assist others because of her gender. Below Jane explained:

As far as the way I teach, I think it is very feminine. I think it is very comforting. I

think it is care taking. I think that [my pedagogical style] is not male, that it is clearly

female. Not that it could not be male, but I think it is clearly female. It is much less [a

matter] of, "This is my job. Go in and put this information up." It is much more important to me for you [students] to get it [the lesson that I am teaching]. So I care about your response to what I am doing and I think that is what my teaching style is like. But not because I sat down and thought about it, that is just who I am and the way I would do it [teach] anyway. Even in my research group, I think they [high school, college and graduate student mentees] would feel similar. I think they feel like they [students] have the open line of conversation that they want with me. They also know that I am going to give them really honest feedback but it is okay because I am also going to try to help them do whatever they need to get done.

Jane's feelings regarding her need to care for and nurture others are not uncommon to the experiences of women and people of color in the academy. Often to their detriment, women have chosen the self-sacrificing views set by society on them versus the preservation of self (Gilligan, 1982; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981). Fortunately for Jane, she learned early on in her professional career that you cannot help others if you do not help yourself.

In addition to Jane, respondents such as Hilda, Sally, and Lisa also decided to serve as change agents throughout their negotiation of promotion and tenure. For example, Hilda shared her perceptions and values on effective teaching even when colleagues in her department did not appear to share her same views on how to connect with students. Hilda proudly stated, "My teaching style is what they are now saying we need to do . . . engage [students], discover [new knowledge]," which Hilda contended has been her teaching style throughout her professional career. Hilda believes that she has always taken the road less traveled, even in graduate school, when she asserted:

I was writing my dissertation and nobody told me the deadline. I didn't know abut the

deadlines and I had missed the deadline [to deposit for the upcoming graduation]. And I

stopped all of a sudden and said, "So what?! There will be another deadline." We just

keep putting so much value on materialistic stuff and that is too scary. . . . We have lost

our minds trying to be like White people.

In this case, Hilda resisted the expectations to have her dissertation completed in someone

else's time frame. Rather, she released herself from disappointment, from mentally and

physically breaking down and/or beating up on herself emotionally because she had missed a

deadline that was not set by her. Here, Hilda made a valid point that has been addressed by

many scholars and that is minority students often feel that if they are not keeping up with

their White peers, then they are not excelling or on par in terms of the departmental or

collegial norms (Anthony & Taylor, 2000; Green, 2001; Jackson, 1998; Jones, 2001; Levine

& Cureton, 1998). Hilda used the situation of her passing the dissertation deadline as an

opportunity for self-affirmation and empowerment. She chose not to be bound to the

departmental standards or her perceived White peer expectations in terms of when she should

complete her dissertation. Rather, Hilda reset her mind and decided to meet the next

deadline; one which better served her. Hilda continued to dispel myths and addressed issues

of equality throughout her professional career even when it meant confronting her colleagues

in departmental meetings. Hilda provided this example:

When I am in a committee with all White women, I always make it [to those meetings

in particular]. Now from a Black woman's viewpoint . . . I am constantly letting it be

known [that] my viewpoint is going to be different. It is not going to be this, "I don't

see color." . . . I have told people, "What you are seeing is color. You are so liberal."

[Hilda cynically pauses] "I don't see color." You have already shown me your racist

side because I am color. "I don't see color." What the hell is that? You have already

said that something [a form of identity] has to come under one umbrella, the umbrella

of non-color. So, that is knocking me out of the picture already.

From the aforementioned passage, Hilda clearly experienced what many scholars describe as

learning to negotiate voice, demand acknowledgment of her presence, and call for acceptance

of her contributions as a scholar. As a Black woman, Hilda wanted recognition as a scholar

and woman of color which reflects the desires of many women and faculty members of color

(Gregory, 1985; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Turner, 2000). Hilda challenged her

colleagues to see her as the change agent that encompasses all of her identities and not for

who they wanted her to be.

For Sally, being a change agent meant challenging her students in and out of the

classroom, as well as claiming the ownership and privileges that she believes come with the

life of an academic. Here Sally explained:

In terms of teaching, my exams are very tough. I make them [students] read a lot and so

they complain, "The exams are tough but good." I have colleagues [who use my course

material] and stuff like that. And "Oh, [I tell them], "You don't just take my stuff." And

students finally accept [my] expectations 'cause they don't expect to have it tough

[from an] African American who knows her stuff. . . . I publish. I don't come in

sometimes when I don't teach. I am not sitting here [in my office], I am doing what

they [my White departmental colleagues] are doing, working someplace in my "home"

office or at the library, and do research.

Sally's choice to take her students with her, willingly or unwillingly, to another level and her ability to understand an important aspect of the culture of her department, "publish equates to privileges," enabled her to establish her own identify as a Black woman and a well-respected scholar. Bolton (2000) explained such actions of independence and courage as "intentionally molding the message you're trying to send" (p. 67). As the only Black female with the rank of full professor, it appears as if Sally's message is loud and clear.

In Lisa's case, serving as a change agent meant challenging the belief system of the postsecondary institutions when she earned undergraduate and advanced degrees when she ultimately earned tenure. While Lisa's approach may not appear "head-on" confrontational, she certainly uses her understanding of U.S. history and her power of non-hostile negotiation to obtain her personal and professional goals. An example of Lisa's understanding of the academy and assertiveness is illustrated in this passage:

> Some opportunities were available to me because I had put myself in a position [of access] by doing well in my classes. [However], there were some things that opened up to me . . . some scholarships because I had done well academically and because for hundreds of years African Americans have been denied opportunities. So now people . . . society is "trying" to even that [inequality] up. So there were some scholarships that were available to me . . . but when I came for my master's [degree] I refused to come on that [minority scholarship]. I negotiated with them [graduate college] for what I wanted. [I told GMAP[4]] what my monthly stipend would be and

---

[4]Graduate Minority Achievement Program at Global State University developed to finance minority students who maintain a high level of academic achievement through their graduate education.

[that] I would be a graduate assistant, or some sort of teaching [assistant]. I argued for

two things, "You need to raise my stipend and I want for sure one paid conference."

Lisa used her ability to recall historic events regarding race and inequality within the United

States, as well as her knowledge of negotiation, as empowerment tools. As previously shared

in this chapter, Lisa learned the politics of the academy through life lessons shared with her

by her father. Lisa's choice to not only listen, but also grasp, internalize, and actualize the

valuable information that she had been taught, equipped her with the resources she needed to

successfully negotiate promotion and tenure.

The negotiation of promotion and tenure, though consisting of both similar and

differing processes, was attainable for all six respondents. That being the case, it is possible

to identify commonalities as well as unique traits and contributing factors that equated

towards the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure for the women in this study. And,

quite possibly, it is plausible to suggest their recommendations to other African American

women and minorities as helpful tips that lead to earning promotion and tenure in the

academy. The next section addresses the respondents' recommendations.

Respondents' Recommendations for Successful Negotiation of Promotion and Tenure

Each of the six respondents offered a wealth of information and tips for African

American women and other minorities who are considering life as an academic. The

recommendations do not fall in any order of importance and are also outlined in Table 2 as a

summation of the respondents' suggestions for teaching, research, service, and other. They

are as follows:

1. Validate yourself.

2. Seek clarity for implied as well as unwritten guidelines.

3. Identify your talents.

4. Find institutional match.

5. Redefine scholarship but also understand department's views on scholarship.

6. Identify support systems (internal and external) to help you through crises.

7. Appreciate and learn from postsecondary experiences.

8. Network with campus and local community.

9. Understand your individual characteristics—play to your strengths and enhance your weaknesses.

10. Seek and foster professional development.

11. Holistic mentoring relationships are key (build internal institutional relationships as well as external collegial relationships).

12. Understand the impact that the campus and local community will have on you, your family, and the effects of those interactions on your negotiation of promotion and tenure.

As illustrated in Table 2, the respondents echo similar recommendations such as establishing mentors and networks and being true to yourself and also never forget the institutional culture that you are a part of. Additionally, the respondents seem to share a "love" and "passion" for teaching and also cautioning scholars to publish their work. Some examples of variance existed in terms of providing service, particularly the extent of service and the impact that certain levels of involvement have on the negotiation of promotion and tenure. The key factors that continue to surface include the respondents' equation of teaching

Table 2. Respondents' recommendations for successful negotiation of promotion and tenure

Respondents	Research	Teaching	Service	Other
Jane: First African American, female or male, in her department to earn promotion and tenure	• Identify research agenda • Learn to write grants	• Be yourself • Be sure to obtain strong theoretical foundation in graduate school to increase level of competency as well as to strengthen and diversify classes that you can teach	• It will come naturally if it is a part of your personality • Provide only to to the extent that it serves you and not harm you	• Document everything • Have life outside of academia • Self-preservation is key • Value your graduate school experience and take it more seriously • Support system is key
Hilda: First African American in her department to earn promotion and tenure	• Share your research because you love it • Share your research to educate, not only to fulfill publication requirements	• Do not focus on the professor title. Use your power to educate and help students	• Use your power to nurture	• Document everything. Get things in writing • You are already valid before you get tenure
Sally: First African American, male or female, in her department to earn promotion and tenure	• In graduate school, learn how to conduct good research • Publish, publish, publish • Meet departmental requirements	• Exchange of teaching and learning between students and faculty • Have good relationships with students	• Minimize service; it does not count • Work with students who have interests in your research	• Use your internal and external networks • Understand power of negotiation • Ask for help • Family is important
Lisa: First African American woman to earn promotion and tenure in her department	• Enjoy doing it but also write it up	• Request teaching assistantships if they are not offered to you • Show yourself as being responsible in your teaching and taking care of business	• You volunteer your time initially in order to be in a position to take advantage of opportunities • Important to have access to people	• Understand the culture of your institution • Laugh at yourself • Self-care is key • Be willing to go the extra mile

Table 2. Continued

Respondents	Research	Teaching	Service	Other
Meg: First African American woman to earn promotion and tenure in her department	• Set goals and plan as much as possible • Negotiate the time that you need for your work	• Teach with passion • Bring out the passion for their work in the students that you work with	• Is a part of who you are as a woman and person of color • Campus/local community support is key, so get involved	• Learn what you can and cannot negotiate • Use your power of negotiation • Have social life • Don't consume yourself with what your colleagues are doing
Josephine: First African American, male or female, to earn promotion and tenure in her department	• View research as an opportunity to reflect on your research and crystallize your ideals	• Possess a love and passion for teaching	• Get involved in activities where you will network with important people in your field • Meet people who will be instrumental in your field	• Define success for yourself • Believe in yourself, even when others don't • Do NOT assume that all Black people are your allies • Family is important

with giving back, the need and value of holistic mentor relationships, and understanding the written and implied guidelines in one's department with respect to earning tenure. Examples that speak to these aforementioned themes and sub-themes are presented in the form of passages from the respondents of this study.

Josephine discusses her tenacity which she prides herself for having, as well as outlines her weakness throughout her negotiation of promotion and tenure. Josephine shared:

I've got great concentration to focus on research and teaching even if I'm stressed out. I had to learn patience, since waiting for the tenure decision requires that [patience].

Patience had been my Achilles Heel.

Josephine understood the promotion and tenure guidelines in terms of what her department expected. She also understood her strengths and weaknesses and how to balance the combination of all three factors—departmental expectations, her strengths, and her weaknesses—that enabled her to successfully negotiate promotion and tenure.

For Meg, it is apparent in the following passage that identifying support groups such as her friends and family, as well as taking the time to travel and paint, helped to sustain her throughout the promotion and tenure process. Moreover, she chose to free herself from guilt and/or wrong regardless of the outcome of her promotion and tenure process and review. Meg shared:

Oh gosh yes. Friends. Real good friends. I have family that was very supportive and I liked getting involved in things. [The tenure process] moved so fast, until, by the time you looked at it, it was like "Wow!" One thing that you have got to always [remember is to] never, never, ever feel sorry for yourself. You don't want to have to do that. That is a waste of too much time. You just have to say, "Okay, it's a done deal. I have done

it, I got to get up and finish this up." So I think that is basically it. I had a lot of good

friends. I had a couple of really, really good friends, and then I traveled. I was taking

someone [with me] who I had known for years and years and we traveled in between

[the tenure process], we traveled a lot and had vacations. I worked a lot, so I was

painting every moment I could get my hands . . . so that is just the way it is [how I got

through the promotion and tenure process].

Instead of choosing to blame herself and others for her success or lack of success in terms of

earning promotion and tenure, Meg elected to produce and submit her highest level of

scholarship, surround herself with people who love and support her unconditionally, and to

occupy her time with traveling and painting throughout her tenure process and review. Meg's

ability to trust herself and let the chips "fall" as they may, empowered her with self-

confidence and validation.

In the following passage, Lisa is very clear on suggesting that as a new faculty person

of color, that it is crucial for a person to understand the institutional climate. She also

emphasizes the importance of understanding your rank and what it will take to move up in

rank as she equates the promotion and tenure process to being in the army. Lisa stated:

Well, one piece of advice that I would give particularly if it is going to be in a

predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution [is] first of all this is a research

institution. It ain't about teaching, it ain't about service, it is a research institution. We

can define research a lot of different ways from a very broad way [but] don't deceive

yourself or sell yourself short by being upset with that expectation when you get here.

This is the type of institution . . . so understand the kind of institution that you are at.

One is not better than another, doesn't mean a Doctoral Extensive institution is [only]

the type of institution. There are lots of types of institutions. And don't fool yourself, understand the kind of place that you are going to. And understand the kinds of commitment that you are making. I think that that is really [a] part of it. And the other thing, I would say that is really important is . . . understand what your position is. If you are there to be a professor, be a professor. Although, part of who I am by virtue of our [African Americans'] place in society, we do have some changes to make. We do have some contributions to make. [However], unless you are hired to do that, that is not what you are there to do first. So when you come, when you enter the profession, you are a private, maybe a private first class, you are never going to change the army until you become a general. You are not going to become a general until you establish yourself as a competent, skilled, "dah, dah, dah, dah," [next higher rank] 'til you prove to the academy and 'til you prove yourself in the academy as it stands.

Lisa understood that conducting and publishing research would enhance her efforts towards earning promotion and tenure. Equally, Lisa was able to acknowledge and accept the institutional climate for what it was and learned to negotiate within that system. She is a firm believer and it is evident in the preceding passage that you cannot change "the" system unless you are a part of "the" system.

Sally's recommendations addressed up-and-coming African American scholars. She encouraged them to consider what they are getting into regarding the responsibilities and expectations of the academy, particularly in regards to publishing articles in refereed journals. She also cautioned them not to internalize the rejections that come with the attempts made to publish in refereed journals. Finally, she stressed quality versus quantity in regards

to publication as well as inquiring about the publication rate and publishing outlets of your departmental colleagues. Sally asserted:

I am concerned about the young African American males and females coming through. What their trajectory, what their obstacles are. Some of them will be the same, but some of them will be a lot different and that concerns me. The recurrent thing that African Americans particularly need to learn is how to do good research, get good training in doing research. And take every opportunity to comb and sharpen those skills. And don't [graduate] without writing, and doing research, publishing. Just do it [publishing] regardless of how intimidating. It is a very intimidating process. Every time I start a new article is almost like you have never done this . . . and realizing that it is a tough process, rejections and all of that, you are going to get that part of it. But learning [not] to be personalized in rejection [is key]. When you get a rejection look at it, put it away for awhile. Go back to it. You just say, "I am going to get this job." I say that is a challenge. White folks weren't born publishing. Pick out people who you think could care about you and give you good feedback on manuscripts and just go for it. Just do it. Because that is the number one obstacle to African American becoming tenure faculty at predominantly White institutions. It is not grant money, they can get grants, it is publishing where they are peer reviewed, that is the biggest obstacle. Oh, and the other thing, the important thing African Americans have to deal with is this quality versus quantity issue in publishing. They are going to tell you, oh, you didn't publish in the top journal. All you have to do is say may I see your data please, and you will find that most of them haven't [published in refereed journals]. They tell us we have to keep in mind [publishing in refereed journals]. Do you realize how few people get to publish

in that journal? Only the top dog and you don't get in unless you are coming in through

a window. That is the game that they don't tell you. So they are going to put that in

your faces and have you burning yourself out trying to get [publications] that you are

never going to get unless they help you get it and they ain't going to do that cause they

haven't been able to do it. So you have to learn how to publish in [refereed journals]

that are responsive to your work.

Sally has been the extreme case throughout this study. She has endured many trials and

tribulations as she demonstrated in many of her passages presented in this dissertation.

Despite the perils and conditions that Sally perceived herself as having, she still chose to

negotiate promotion and tenure at Global State University. As a result of sharing her

experiences, Sally hoped that other African Americans would benefit from what she endured.

Jane is on the opposite side of the spectrum from Sally, making her also an important

case. However, unlike Sally, Jane reported her negotiation of promotion and tenure as

"wonderful" and she stated that for the most part she was handled with kid gloves. Still, both

Jane and Sally attributed their graduate school preparation as a source for successfully

negotiating promotion and tenure. Jane offered the following advice:

Wow. I would tell people, "First of all to really try to be as prepared as far as graduate

work is concerned." That is something I didn't do as well as I would have liked to have

done and it hurts me in certain ways now. So graduate course work [and having that]

foundational preparation is critical. Then I would tell people to get a mentor. You have

got to have one. It is just virtually impossible [to negotiate the promotion and tenure

process without a mentor]. It is one of those things that if you have never done it

[negotiate promotion and tenure] before, you really don't know how to. It doesn't

matter how smart you are or what skills you have. You [junior faculty] don't know how to do it [negotiate promotion and tenure] if you haven't done it. I think it was really important for me to have somebody to help me maneuver [negotiate the promotion and tenure process].

In the passage above, Jane echoes the importance of doing your best in graduate school because of the significant impact that such preparation can have on your successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. Jane also described the role mentoring played throughout her experience and why it should be an integral component of the promotion and tenure experience. She particularly discusses having a mentor who is capable of establishing boundaries, so there is a balance of challenge and support. While Jane acknowledged all aspects, social and academic, of a graduate student's or new faculty experience, she believes that the foremost priority and responsibility of a mentor-mentee relationship must consist of the completion of set goals. In Jane's case, those aspirations included completing graduate school, holding a faculty appointment, and ultimately earning promotion and tenure, which she successfully did.

I would say to do it [negotiate] in such a way that you are satisfied with what you have done in the end. You need to know at the end that that was all I [you] could do. It is a very calming feeling. It keeps you from thinking everyday, "Oh, I wonder how my tenure is going?" It is much more comfortable just to do the best you can, as long as the best you can is meeting the requirements. You don't ever want to leave it [your work] half way done and then get through it [review process] and say, "I could have done better than that." What you want to say is, "That is all I had." That is a very comfortable feeling.

What Jane expressed here, were her feelings of contentment and/or her level of satisfaction with the work she had done. All of the respondents expressed levels of satisfaction with their scholarship. The respondents reported that by validating their own scholarship opposed to waiting for other's to validate their work, they were able to focus on other aspects of their faculty roles and responsibilities. Still, the respondents had to build boundaries that helped them decipher when to help colleagues and students and when to allow those individuals to help themselves. These negotiation tools enabled Jane and the other respondents to successfully negotiate promotion and tenure. Jane continued:

> I tell people not to get caught up in stuff [the drama of office politics] that has nothing to do with them. It is really critical to take care of yourself, 'cause there are many issues on predominantly White campus that you can get involved in as a minority professor that will not make a hill of beans difference when it comes to tenure day. It just won't matter. There are so many issues with students and there are always going to be students who have this issue and that issue and they want to use you to get tied up [into] their particular issue. Don't do it. Do not do it. I tell people [students], and my colleagues look at me funny when I say it, "I do not have a job." "You got a job [when you have tenure], but I don't have one [when Jane was an assistant professor without tenure]." "So I am not going to do anything that is not meeting my goals until after I have a job." Now [that Jane has earned tenure] there are a lot of things I can do now.

The respondents suggested a number of ways to negotiate promotion and tenure. Hilda encouraged new faculty to "document everything." She believes that there is power in starting and maintaining a paper trail. Also, she, as the case with Josephine, believes you cannot expect your mentors and peers to assist you just because they are African American.

Oftentimes, as was the case with all six of the respondents, it was the support and mentoring of White faculty who helped to equip the respondents with many of the resources that they needed for their negotiation of promotion and tenure. Moreover, it was the respondents' faith that helped to calm many to weather storms throughout their negotiation. Hilda stated that she yielded to:

> Prayer to release it to God and knowing that what will be will be. Also, I did not put the value on promotion and tenure like people do. I know that if I don't get it [promotion and tenure], it is because God has better plans for me somewhere else.

Hilda's ability to place her trust on her walk with God, not on the system, apparently increased her self-confidence and empowered her to detach herself enough from the promotion and tenure process to a point where her life's values and worth were placed into perspective. This freedom allowed Hilda to feel valid and validated with or without earning promotion and tenure.

The recommendations gathered from the respondents covered an array of internal and external factors that the respondents perceived as having an impact on their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. Many of the recommendations suggest action on the part of the institution such as colleges assisting new faculty with identifying senior faculty mentors or the need and value for departments to preserve a unified effort in terms of offering stronger faculty development programs to better prepare their graduate students in the areas of teaching, research, and science. However, the primary attributes and suggestions listed in Table 2 strongly indicated individual factors as resources. It is from this standpoint, viewing the individual as a primary source of power throughout the negotiation process that will be the center focus of the proceeding sections. To better understand the impact of

individual power, it will be informative to learn how the respondents perceived their negotiation of the promotion and tenure process through their perceptions of the documents that were given to them at the onset of their negotiation of promotion and tenure. The following sections will include the commonalities and unique traits of the documents given to the respondents.

Document Analyses and Respondent Level Perceptual Data

In regards to document analysis, I collected copies of the respondents' promotion and tenure guidelines that were mandated by Global State University. Document analysis was important because while the three colleges that the pool of respondents represented each operated within the mission of the overall institution, they each had different organizational and cultural climates and structures that affected the promotion and tenure process similarly or uniquely for each respondent. Berg (1998), who encouraged emphasis on a specific area or situation occurring in an organization (p. 218), supports this approach. To better understand the promotion and tenure process, a document analysis was conducted. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, Silverman's (1997) recommendations on how to analyze documents were used to review the guidelines for promotion and tenure and other supplemental materials related to that process. As a reminder, the following procedures outlined by Silveman (1997) assisted me in the document analyses:

1. Looking for special features or characteristics.

2. Listing those attributes.

3. Synthesizing the list of commonalties and unique characteristics among the college/department.

4. Reviewing the language used.

5. Stating the written guidelines that need to be covered in each document to make it applicable for the college/department and the organizational source of that document. (1997, pp. 53–54).

Any supplemental materials that the respondents were given by their departmental and/or collegial colleagues that pertained to their promotion and tenure process were also shared with me and analyzed. These documents (e.g., former review packets of tenured colleagues and summations of annual departmental evaluations), as shown in Table 3, provided a context in which the respondents negotiated their promotion and tenure process. All of the respondents received some form of written promotion and tenure guidelines, whether they were institutional, college, and/or departmental (see Table 3). Each respondent provided me with originals and/or copies of the documents and supplemental materials that they collected from their departments and colleges. I analyzed all those documents and supplemental materials, along with the perceptual data gathered from the respondents regarding the aforementioned information, to determine commonalties and unique traits among the items listed in all of the documents. The analysis consisted of a review of the institutional, collegial, and departmental documents that were given to the respondents sometime during their probationary period. These documents, both formal and informal, and guidelines were distributed to the respondents for the preparation of their promotion and tenure review process. Although, each of the respondents did not receive the same level of information, each respondent shared their initial and experienced understandings of the documents and/or supplemental materials that they were given. Jane, Lisa, Hilda and Sally had a wealth of combined promotion and tenure guidelines and supplemental documents that

Table 3. Respondents' promotion and tenure guidelines and supplemental documents

Respondents	Departmental P/T guidelines	College P/T guidelines	Institutional P/T guidelines	Other P/T guidelines
Jane	Not given to me	Not given to me	Yes	Summary page: Examples of guideline summation (outline of information needed for P/T review committee)
Hilda	Yes	Yes	Yes	Summary page: Examples of guideline summation (outline of information needed for P/T review committee)
Sally	Yes	Not given to me	Yes	Not given to me
Lisa	Not given to me	Yes	Yes	Notes from departmental promotion and tenure meetings
Meg	Not given to me	Not given to me	Yes	Not given to me
Josephine	Not given to me	Not given to me	Yes	Not given to me

had been given to them by their department chairs, tenured departmental colleagues, deans of their colleges, and/or from their peer mentors at external institutions.

Each of the respondents had access to the university's promotion and tenure guidelines, which was included in GBSU's faculty handbook as well as on-line on the institution's website. However, additional documents such as departmental and collegial guidelines specific to the respondents' disciplines were given to Lisa, Sally, and Hilda. While Jane was

only given a copy of the university's promotion and tenure guidelines formally, she was also given a copy of the outline for the summary that would be expected of her by the time of her promotion and tenure review. Moreover, Jane indicated that through her mentoring relationships in her department as well as with the dean of her college, she was able to have her tenure review materials assessed prior to the formal review. Like Jane, Hilda was also given a summary of what to prepare for her tenure review process, but unlike Jane, Hilda didn't receive her summary until the year of her review. It would be impossible to assess, without further research, whether or not having all of the promotion and tenure documents from the onset would ensure a smoother and/or more successful negotiation process. It does make sense, however, to conclude that if all of the expectations were more clearly defined, from the institutional, collegial, and departmental level, that new faculty will be better prepared for the process. Then, assistant professors can work with increased knowledge, heightened confidence, and with a keener awareness about their role in the academy, not to mention a greater feeling of connectedness to the department and a sense of commitment on the part of their respective institutions in new faculty's success in academia.

The first and second recommendations from Silverman (1997) included looking for special features or characteristics and listing those attributes, which was somewhat of a challenge initially. However, further discussion with each of the respondents to share their perceptions and understandings of what research, teaching, and service meant in their respective departments yielded the information found in Table 4. As shown, the respondents shared all three components, research, teaching, and service. However, each explained that, based on their department and discipline, research, teaching, and service took on different meanings. For example, Meg's area is Arts/Design, so her research has been creative work

Table 4. Respondents' perceptions and interpretations of their departmental guidelines

Respondents	Terminal degree	Research	Teaching	Service
Jane	Ph.D.	Laboratory, articles	Class lectures and mentoring	Mentoring students, presenting at conferences, serving on review
Hilda	MFA	Developing plays and musicals and setting up the necessary components for production	Class lectures and directing plays/musicals	Mentoring and directing minority plays for GBSU campus/local community
Sally	Ph.D.	Publications consisting of refereed journal articles, texts, book chapters	Class lectures and mentoring undergraduate and graduate students	Mentoring students and presenting at conferences, serving on editorial review boards
Lisa	Ph.D.	Publications consisting of refereed journal articles, texts, book chapters	Class lectures and technology lab demonstrations; lectures and mentoring students	Departmental, college, and institutional service; mentoring students and presenting at conferences
Meg	MFA	Painting, sculptures, sketches on exhibit locally, nationally, and internationally	Class lectures and study abroad trips with students for hands-on experiences	Mentoring under-graduate and graduate students; at the departmental, collegial, and institutional level
Josephine	Ph.D.	Publications consisting of refereed journal articles, texts, book chapters, and literary magazines	Class lectures	Departmental, college, and institutional meetings, present-ing at conferences

such as sculptures, paintings, and sketches. Still, Meg voiced concern about productivity expectations as compared with her own expectations for high quality work:

Well, yes, [I struggled] because there were times when I really felt as though my work was not finished. My research wasn't finished. No one probably would look at the work and tell. But I could. And it truly bothered me. I really felt that there were several times [that]I refused to exhibit anything because of that [my not being finished].

While Meg stated that for the most part she and her colleagues had similar tasks and responsibilities (see Figure 5), she did state that at times she struggled in terms of the distribution of time that she was given to initiate and complete her research and how displeased she was with some of her work due to that lack of quality time and effort that she could put into her work. Yet, there were other respondents, such as Jane, who felt as if they would diversify and/or maximize the resources that they were given. For example, Jane asserted that in a typical week:

We [White departmental faculty members and I] are all doing similar things [research, teaching and service]. [At] different times we are doing different things but across the board when you look at it, we all do similar things. And typical is amazing because there is never a typical week. There is no typical week. But if you look across the board at a year, I think you would see all of us writing grant proposals. You would see all of us managing our research groups. You would see all of us planning lectures, teaching, [and] giving exams. You would see all of us writing papers, you would see all of us reviewing articles [and] reviewing papers. Although we all have different committee responsibilities, you would see all of us doing committee duty of some sort. And you definitely [would] see us all traveling whether that was to meetings, conferences, or to

other universities to give lectures. Those are all things that we all do. And you never

know from day to day what is going to happen. I have a stack of things that I plan to do

in a day and other stuff just comes in. We are interviewing faculty candidates, we got

visiting speakers coming in all the time. It is just always something. So typical in a

week, is probably not good. But typical in a year, we all do similar things.

Meg was adamant in making the point that there really are no differences to the roles

and responsibilities that she carries as an African American female faculty member in her

department. When she compared herself to her White departmental faculty member

colleagues, Meg found that all in all, that their duties were about the same, even if that meant

that they were not doing the same type of scholarship simultaneously. Josephine and Jane

had somewhat similar experiences to Meg. Therefore, continuing to look for commonalties

and unique traits among the promotion and tenure guidelines appeared to be the next rational

step to take.

Commonalities and Unique Characteristics of the Promotion and Tenure Guidelines

The promotion and tenure guidelines for each of the respondents consisted of a number

of similar traits. However, there were some distinct characteristics in regards to departmental

goals, objectives, and policies that impacted the negotiation of promotion and tenure for the

respondents in this study (see Table 5).

In my review of the language used in the documents that I analyzed, I found similarities

as well as inconsistencies. Particularly, inconsistencies include the language that deals with

scholarship and what is considered excellence in research, teaching and service, as well as

Table 5. Commonalities and unique characteristics of the promotion and tenure guidelines

Respondents	Area	Commonalities	Unique traits
Jane	Chemistry	T,R,&S[a] cited in p.t.g.[b]	Emphasis on grants, external collegial relationships
Hilda	Music	T,R,&S cited in p.t.g.	Directing is research
Sally	Sociology	T,R,&S cited in p.t.g.	Emphasis on publications
Lisa	Curriculum & Instruction	T,R,&S cited in p.t.g.	Extended service, grants, mentor, and teaching
Meg	Art/Design	T,R,&S cited in p.t.g.	Exhibits are research
Josephine	English	T,R,&S cited in p.t.g.	Books and literary magazines are scholarship

[a]T,R,&S = Teaching, research, service.
[b]p.t.g = Promotion and tenure guidelines.

clarity on what it actually means to be excellent in at least one of the three areas to be nominated for promotion and tenure. Below are examples of the language from each of the respondents' respective departments. Additionally, I also stated the written guidelines that need to be covered in each document to make it applicable for the college/department and the organizational source of that document, which was the final suggestion of Silverman's document analysis list (1997, pp. 53–54). To provide insight relating to the language used in the respondents' promotion and tenure documents and supplemental material, examples of language used in a few of the respondents' documents are provided below.

Jane's documents consisted of a copy of the university's guidelines for promotion and tenure which is also included in a section of the GBSU Faculty Handbook. What is puzzling about the institutional guidelines, as was the case with all six of the respondents' documents, is that teaching is listed first in order for areas to focus on as well as prepare for the promotion and tenure process. The order and focus of responsibilities appears puzzling because Global State University is a Doctoral Extensive institution, where research is placed at the forefront. This emphasis on teaching first certainly speaks to the strengths of many of the faculty of this study, like Jane, Meg, and Sally, who have been recognized on numerous occasions for their effective pedagogical style. In the following passage, an excerpt from the faculty handbook's section on promotion and tenure, included the following statement about teaching:

Teaching. Most faculty have significant teaching responsibilities, and the quality of their teaching is a major factor in evaluating their accomplishments and performances. Teaching is a scholarly and dynamic endeavor and covers a broad range of activities.

The section on teaching goes on to discuss examples of effective scholarly teaching as well as opportunities that faculty have to demonstrate their teaching skills as illustrated below:

The scholarship resulting from teaching is documented through such means as peer-reviewed publications, textbooks, videos, software, workbooks, lab manuals, invited lectures, and conference papers. Evaluation of scholarship in teaching considers its originality, significance, and/or impact as evidenced by its influence, use, or adoption by peers. While production of teaching materials and surveys of student attitudes about classes are valuable indicators of the scholarship of teaching, peer evaluation of both a faculty member's and her/his students' performances in classes and in subsequent

coursework are also appropriate assessments. Such assessments of performance need not be published or disseminated to publics outside the university.

Although the aforementioned passage speaks towards diversity in terms of application, it is important to note that teaching is also considered scholarship particularly at institutions such as GBSU where research is one of its primary focuses. Also, teaching is listed first as one of the main responsibilities of faculty because GBSU is largely an undergraduate campus where teaching is a significant portion of faculty roles and responsibilities. While the written expectations appear to leave room for flexibility and autonomy with regards to teaching, none of the respondents felt as if they could rely solely on their ability to teach effectively. As Lisa, Sally, and Jane cautioned, research and publishing are critical to the successful negotiation of promotion and income, particularly at Doctoral Extensive institutions.

Jane, in addition to receiving institutional guidelines, also received a copy of the expectations that she will have to meet at the time of her review. The key point to note here is that Jane received this document early on in her promotion and tenure process. This being the case, she was able to strategically outline her academic plan for the six years of her probationary period. The nine items listed in the summary were:

1. List of degrees, post-docs, etc. (date, institution, degree or position, research mentor).

2. Professional employment, Ph.D., and beyond (dates, institution, rank, title).

3. Information on publications (total numbers, total GBSU numbers).

4. Numerical data on grants and other sources of non-departmental funding.

5. Factual data on departmental, college, university, and extra university service (committees, preparation of departmental proposals, ACS offices, etc.).

6. Areas of GBSU research emphases.

7. Factual data on seminars and papers presented during the GBSU service.

8. Other factual data germane to the review, if any.

9. Courses taught in the last seven years.

It is obvious from the aforementioned list that Jane's professional path could be laid out in detail. While she had the challenge of actually putting the plan in place, she still had a strong foundation to build upon.

Another example of language that leaves room for diverse interpretation comes from Sally's departmental documents. The section I chose to highlight includes a section stating the criteria for review of promotion and tenure. The language is as follows:

Promotion and/or tenure shall be based on criteria related to the individual's appointment responsibilities and activities, domestic and/or international, in the following four areas: 1) teaching/advising; 2) research/scholarship; 3) extension/ professional practice; and 4) service. To be promoted and/or tenured, a faculty member must have **demonstrated excellence in at least one of the first three areas** and competence in the other areas relevant to his or her appointment. In all areas of activity, a faculty member must **exhibit a strong sense of professional ethics**. Faculty should consult the Faculty Handbook for further guidelines regarding the promotion and/or tenure process.

Sally's promotion and tenure guidelines and supplemental materials given to her, as was the case with all other promotion and tenure documents respondents, listed teaching as the first priority which is contradictory to "research" being the primary focus of GBSU. Sally seemed to understand that teaching was a primary aim of GBSU, especially because the largest

population of students at the institution is undergraduate students. Yet, when it came to

placing value on specific areas during her review of promotion and tenure, her research was

reviewed far more carefully than teaching and service. The two bolded statements above

represent areas that Sally felt can be too ambiguous especially for new faculty who may or

may not have an effective senior faculty in the department to assist with the interpretation. In

short, new faculty who do not have the benefit of guidance or do not have a personality

where he or she actively seeks assistance when clarity is needed regarding faculty roles and

expectations within their departmental culture, taking a guess about such responsibilities

could be taking a risk of grave consequences if wrong.

In Hilda's case, she received institutional, collegial, as well as departmental guidelines.

Yet, Hilda stressed that while she was told that her scholarship would be encouraged due to

her cultural emphasis and development of multicultural art, that throughout her process, she

constantly had to explain and provide rationale for the work that she did. Hilda believed that

the examples of research, teaching, and service that her colleagues expected should be

different in some aspects, similar in her colleagues in terms of outcome (e.g., publications).

What is problematic here is Hilda's conflicting perception that people who has little or no

knowledge of what she does can evaluate her work. This is due to her work being evaluated

by peers in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, whose frame of mind is centered on the

hard sciences. The following language represents a passage from Hilda's guidelines for the

Department of Music. Upon reading the guidelines initially, Hilda felt that there was

significant room for interpretation and space for the implementation as well as departmental

validation of her scholarly contributions:

The activities of the theatre area reflect Global State University's commitment to excellence in teaching and creative activity. Its principal research mission is creative activity. By designing, directing, acting, and writing for the theatre both in their on-campus laboratory [omitted name] theatre and through guest residencies with other state, regional, national, and international theatre companies, the theatre faculty members enhance their artistic and technological capabilities and enrich their effectiveness in the classroom.

Hilda explained that she initially felt as if she had a great deal of flexibility in the types of projects that she could engage in and she believed that her artistic expressions would be supported at both the departmental and collegial level. However, Hilda shared that this did not turn out to be the case. While she did earn promotion and tenure, Hilda shared that post-tenure, she experienced a decline in funding for what was now deemed as "special projects" and that having residencies as other institutions outside of Iowa was no longer viewed upon favorably.

Lisa, the first and only African American to earn promotion and tenure in her department, was given institutional as well as collegial guidelines and supplemental materials regarding promotion and tenure expectations and review. While Lisa felt that she had access to information as well as mentors to assist her throughout the negotiation process, there was room for ambiguity when she recounts experiences of colleagues who did not earn promotion and tenure in her department. The following passage is taken from an excerpt of the college's guidelines:

The College of Education is a professional school and therefore recognizes the context of its culture and responsibilities. The College emphasizes involvement with

constituents and action research as a part of its overall mission and goal. These relationships encourage faculty to be highly engaged with PK–12 schools, post-secondary institutions, governmental agencies, business, and industry. This College of Education promotion and tenure statement recognizes the importance of these relationships as a part of the definition of teaching, scholarship/creative activity, and outreach for all college faculty.

In our initial interview, Lisa explained that while she was the first and only African American to earn promotion and tenure in her department, she was not the only African American or African American woman who possessed the talent and skills to have earned tenure. She, in fact, stated that there were many faculty who were stronger in areas than she. However, for reasons that she is not sure of, they did not earn promotion and tenure. Whether it was a greater emphasis on practicing theory as opposed to creating and publishing it, Lisa shared that the department was and remains interested in "documented" proof of scholarly contributions as well as having your work in particular (e.g., refereed journals) outlets. Lisa considered it a "gift" as well as the "grace" of God that she earned promotion and tenure. Lisa now works towards helping and mentoring others to prepare to do the same as she.

Meg was tenured 15 years ago and shared that she no longer had her promotion and tenure guideline materials because throughout the years she has shared the entire or partial components of her packet with other women pursuing tenure. Josephine chose not to share any promotion and tenure materials. Josephine specifically made a point to note her discontent with how she felt her promotion and tenure process was handled, particularly the mismanagement of the materials in her promotion and tenure review packet, which she felt reflected the review committee's lack of sensitivity and appreciation for her and her work.

The final section of this chapter incorporates the results from the interviews and document analyses and how that information addresses the five research questions that guided this study.

Research Question Findings

This study focused on discovering internal and external factors that contributed to the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure among the six respondents. The following five research questions were initially constructed to guide this study:

Research Question 1: What experiences do these respondents feel affected the way in which they negotiated the promotion and tenure process?

Research Question 2: To what extent did those experiences help shape their readiness for and their knowledge of the professorship at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution?

Research Question 3: What impact(s) do racial, gender, and self-identity have on respondents' perception of the climate and their perceptions of successful navigation of the promotion and tenure process?

Research Questions 4: To what extent, if any, do feminism, feminist methodologies, and Black feminist thought assist in understanding the ways in which African American women professors develop their pedagogy, research, or service as faculty members?

Research Question 5: To what extent do a match and/or discord exist between perceived criteria to successfully negotiate the promotion and tenure process and the expectations shared throughout the process?

The responses for each of the following research questions provide insight into the

nature of promotion and tenure as experienced by the six respondents. The accounts of the

women in this study reflect many of the successes and struggles of other underrepresented

faculty members in the literature on women and faculty members of color in the academy

(Alger, 1998; Brown, 2000; Brown, 1988; Cooper, 1998; Fries-Britt; 1998; Jackson, 1998;

Turner, 2000; Myers, 2000). For this study, it was critical to understand the internal and

external factors that affected the way in which the respondents negotiated promotion and

tenure. Therefore, inquiring about any experiences, individuals, groups, practices, beliefs,

and/or institutional factors that aided or impeded the respondents' successful negotiation of

promotion and tenure was explored.

The experiences that affected the way in which the African American women in this study negotiated promotion and tenure:

The African American women who participated in this study reported internal,

external, individual, and institutional factors that affected the way in which they negotiated

promotion and tenure. Those factors included, but are not limited to, support of family and

friends, their graduate education preparation, interpersonal relationships with mentors,

reliance on God and deep connection with their spirituality, the ability to actively seek out

the necessary resources to produce and maintain respectable levels of scholarship, and their

willingness to adapt to the departmental, collegial, and institutional culture and practices

despite barriers that have historically limited access to women and minorities. With the

exception of two respondents, Hilda and Sally, who attended historically Black colleges and

universities for their undergraduate education, the remaining four respondents attended

predominantly White institutions for every postsecondary degree that they earned. Since

Hilda and Sally attended predominantly White institutions for their graduate studies and/or

had White professors throughout their postsecondary experience, all respondents were

accustomed to the mores of majority White institutions. Having some understanding of what

it is like to interact within and among such culture climates made the negotiation process for

each of the respondents, not necessarily easier, but manageable because the respondents

knew how to relate to their European American colleagues. The following passage discusses

Jane's experience with predominantly White colleges and universities and the impact of that

exposure on her comfort level and ability to negotiate promotion and tenure:

> Well, first of all I went to a predominantly White institution. I have never been to a
>
> predominantly Black anything from preschool [and school], primary; it has always been
>
> a lot of them [White people] and a few of us [Black people]. And even in the classes
>
> that I was in, it was two or three Black students in my classroom. So, just the life
>
> experiences that I have had in school makes me feel that is normal for me [being in a
>
> predominantly White educational setting]. So, I think a lot of times people have to
>
> adjust to being in the minority and that is what I am quite comfortable being. But
>
> graduate school education experience certainly, had me doing a little bit of everything.
>
> It was predominantly White just like this is [GBSU], 30,000 or so students, [but] about
>
> three or four thousand Black students. More than here, percentage wise, but still
>
> minority. But that I think [the experience] prepared me because that is what I am used
>
> to doing.

As with Jane, Lisa also felt that her graduate school preparation affected her ability to

negotiate promotion and tenure. Coupled with her postsecondary experience, Lisa also

identified the significant impact of her interactions with faculty as well as her comfort level with the GBSU community as one of her attractions to the professorship. Here Lisa offered:

> I knew that I felt comfortable when I visited here [GBSU campus]. I felt like I would have opportunities to learn technology and like I would have opportunities to grow. I felt like I would have friends here and that I would be okay socially. That was crucial.

Connecting personally and professionally with faculty as well as feeling comfortable within predominantly White settings helped propel Jane and Lisa from the rank of assistant professor to associate professor.

With Hilda, it was the confidence that she acquired from her prior teaching experiences, along with her perception that based not only her credentials but also race and gender, that she felt prepared to negotiate promotion and tenure. Hilda also credits her persistence and preparation in graduate schools as teaching and research assistants for her stick-to-it-ive-ness in the academy. Moreover, when it came to race and gender, it appeared as if Hilda initially chose to take advantage of the opportunities that were presented to her rather than to see her ethnicity and sex as liabilities. Hilda stated:

> I always taught even after undergraduate school. Like Dad says, "Being a woman and being Black you got two strikes against you." I always thought it was that I held two cards. Two entry level cards. Or maybe I held two punches in my card of life. But I think that was just so hard for me but I never let it be an issue. It was helpful here [GBSU] because what they [search committee] were looking for was a Person of Color. They needed a Person of Color because the position calls for it. So they were looking for People of Color or White people that would be sensitive. But after having been [an]

undergraduate at an HBCU and teaching at an HBCU, I just thought that . . . that this

was my job.

In Sally's case, as with Jane and Lisa, she felt as if her "training" in graduate school

significantly affected the way in which she was equipped to negotiate promotion and tenure.

Sally, as with Lisa, also felt that mentoring and having access to a community of scholars in

graduate school played a crucial role in her successful negotiation of promotion and tenure.

Moreover, Sally was drawn to the caliber of students, who she felt made negotiating the

promotion and tenure process worthwhile. Sally offered:

> I have had good relationships with undergraduate students. I have identified a web of
>
> good students that are committed to their work and to my work. A couple of
>
> undergraduates and a couple of graduate level [students] train and learn from each other
>
> as well as from me and not because I'm Black.

Jane, Lisa, Hilda, and Sally all spoke to the reported factors and experiences that contribute

to the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. While Meg and Josephine, the

remaining two respondents in this study, also reported similar feelings about their preparation

in postsecondary education as well as the positive impact of mentoring, they also reported

ongoing activities outside promotion and tenure such as cultivating their love for the arts as

integral parts in their negotiation process.

**The extent to which those experiences shaped their readiness for and their
knowledge of their professorship at a predominantly White doctoral extensive
institution:**

The respondents in this study attributed graduate school preparation, effective

mentoring, self-preservation, and tenacity as factors that contributed to their successful

negotiation of promotion and tenure. One of the common experiences echoed by each respondent was the impact of their graduate education, particularly the relationships that they established with their major professors and other faculty members in their respective disciplines. The respondents reported that those relationships helped shape and equip them with the necessary tools to pursue and earn promotion and tenure. When asked what experience helped to share her level of readiness for the professorship, Jane explained how many of the skills that she used to negotiate promotion and tenure were illustrated to her by her major professor throughout her graduate education. Jane acknowledged the benefits that she acquired from that relationship and explained how she presently reaps the personal and professional rewards of their involvement.

He [my former major professor] is just amazing. He does things that people think can't be done and I really like that. His mindset is not the kind of follow the rules, it is whatever you can do we are going to do it. He is really my bar as far as success is concerned. If he says it [my work] is good, I am completely satisfied.

While Jane benefited from positive experiences regarding her graduate school experience, Hilda chose to take negative encounters and use them to her benefit. Additionally, Hilda offered the pain of her past as valuable lessons. So she now passes on to her students the value of being true to oneself:

I teach by way of letting people [students] know that I am teaching from a Black woman's point of view; the only point of view that I am going to give, the only point of view that I have and that is the way that it is. So, I get real personal with them [students] and I know from being here [at GBSU] that is not common.

Lisa, as with Hilda, took full advantage of her undergraduate education, which helped prepare them both for the lives of professors. Lisa explained:

One of the smartest things that I ever did was to do well in my undergraduate education. I have a very solid GPA. That [my grade point average] opened more doors for graduate school, even though I never thought graduate school was intimidating.

As with Lisa, the remaining respondents of this study reported that while they benefited from and appreciated the external and institutional support, they relied most heavily on self-preservation and the strength drawn from their identities.

Impact that race, gender, and self-identity had on the perception of the climate in which the African American women in this study negotiated promotion and tenure:

All six of the respondents reported that race, gender, and self-identity in one way or another played viable parts in their negotiation of promotion and tenure. The difference, however, was the varying ways in which the respondents chose to internalize and act upon their multifaceted identities especially when issues of prejudice, racism, and discrimination became forces to contend with.

In the following passage, Lisa explained how she used her historic knowledge of the "system" and how she elects to deal with issues that bleed negativity:

In graduate school you try to put race out of your mind, especially if you are in my area [which] isn't that technical, but more technical [than other programs in the social sciences]. Part of what I always try to do is to separate that out and let race be somebody else's issue. Let race be whoever else brought it up; I am well aware of the fact that I am Black. And it is not new to me. I am well aware of the fact that I am

Black and I am just about the only Black person in my program, in my area. So that is not my issue. I always kind of let that be somebody else's issue telling, [unless] pushed to the head, or I had to deal with it [directly]. Once for me personally, some opportunities were available to me because I had put myself in a position by doing well in my classes. There were some things that opened up to me—some scholarships that were available to me because I had done well academically and because for hundreds of years, African Americans have been denied opportunities and so now people are trying to "even that up." So there were some scholarships that were available to me [because I am Black].

As with Lisa, learning to "play" the game for Sally meant understanding and existing within the departmental, college, and institutional culture of Global State University. Additionally, Sally not only learned how to interact successfully within the climate of her department, but also knew who she needed to associate with to successfully negotiate the promotion and tenure process. Her following statement confirmed her reactions to her colleagues' acts of departmental discrimination:

Half of them [White colleagues] don't believe that [a person of color] is actually here with them as a colleague. So a lot of it is disbelief [for White colleagues]. They have to come out of their fog that this is really happening to them that they actually have to deal with you [faculty member of color] as a real colleague and tenure-track faculty member. Whereas, they [White faculty] don't do that [have disbelief] with each other [other White faculty members]. The expectation is that all White people are stars, and, if we [faculty members of color] are stars, we are shooting stars which means they are going to make sure that we phase out.

Hilda, as with Sally, also experienced challenging encounters with respect to her identify as a Black person in a predominantly White department. Hilda is one of the few respondents who openly admitted that she would be unable to withhold her feelings if she ever felt threatened or backed against the wall. Hilda shares:

> I feel it [experience as a faculty of color] is so different from everybody else. I remember a senior professor, a Black woman, telling me when I first got here, "Be careful about some of the things that you have specific opinions about until after you have received promotion." And I said, "I can't compromise myself like that. I am not going to be rude. But I am never going to compromise how I am treated just to be a full professor." I said, "People will respect me more because I have been honest and true about my opinion." I said, "I can't do that because nothing means more to me than compromising myself as a human being and as an honest and true person." And I don't think anybody should feel that they should compromise themselves like that. No, nothing on the face of this earth is worth it. So always be true, be honest, and it will all come to you.

It is obvious that Hilda decided not to allow issues pertaining to race and gender to be the "problem" of those who bring it up negatively. Unlike Jane and Lisa, Hilda voiced profound anger when she perceived herself as being verbally attacked or placed in inferior positions. Perhaps Hilda's reactions are linked somehow to her exposure as an undergraduate student and teaching assistant at an HBCU where African pride and culture is incorporated into every aspect of institutional culture, unlike predominantly White colleges and universities where displaying or recognizing non-European American culture is often afterthought. With Lisa and Jane having only experienced predominantly White institutions, they may choose not to

allow the acts of others to disturb them in the same way. Or, as Hill Collins (2000) suggested, there are instances where African Americans have been discriminated against and are not aware of those heinous acts and/or have become so immune to inequalities that they have desensitized themselves to racial slurs and discriminatory acts, which could have been the case when Jane shared how she was "comfortable" with being a minority. Jane focused on communicating that being low in number in relation to certain groups does not have to mean that you have to accept a "minority" status mentality. Moreover, like Jane, many of the respondents also maintained that whatever you have to do to sustain yourself while you are focused on a goal, is what you have to do.

In terms of sustaining oneself through the rigor of promotion and tenure, Sally, like Hilda, has a very close relationship with her family. She prides herself on her ability to maintain a well-balanced personal and professional life and understands how special her situation is because of the high number of single and/or divorced African American women in the academy. Sally shared:

> The biggest issue I see is [having a] personal identity, personal life, having balance, having something bigger than the academic world, the academic process, and by getting meaning from life. I am not talking about religion and things like that in the Black community; I think it has to be a little bit more than that, it has to be people, a network, friendship, personal relationship, children, something that helps you to transcend all of the stuff you have to deal with in school.

Clearly, Sally is relating to her identity as a wife, mother, friend, and even a source of foundation for people outside her ethnic group to assist her through her negotiation of

promotion and tenure. As the only full professor, it is apparent that Sally's understanding of how she chooses to use and define identity has proven successful for her.

Like Sally, as well as other respondents Josephine and Jane, Lisa relied heavily on the guidance and support of her family for her sense of identity to recall who she was and where she came from throughout her negotiation of promotion and tenure. Here Lisa stated:

I have never felt gender was as much an issue as race. That is just my own interpretation, from my own experiences. I think in terms of my pursuit of postsecondary education, that was a given in my family. You are going. You had no choices about that. You may drop out, but that was the environment. My parents hadn't gone to college . . . they had taken some classes, but they hadn't gone to college like we go to college. We were in a university town and that was something that my parents wanted their children to have a chance to do. And so they raised [us] up with that assumption. I think that race had an impact because there were lots of other things in my community that would suggest to me indirectly that I would not do well in college. And it looked to me as though that was based on race far more than anything else. So it definitely had an impact in terms of whether or not you are telling me that I am not as good as, or as smart as [White people]. But I was pretty determined as an undergraduate student that I wasn't going to [internalize those beliefs].

In the aforementioned passage, Lisa is describing her internal battle of trying to hold on to the values and pride that her parents instilled in her regarding her African American heritage versus the subliminal messages that permeated her community. The dilemma for Lisa then became the conflict of reaffirming what she's been through when all around her she either observes or hears messages that negate what her father and mother told her about African

Americans and success. Lisa's experience is reflective of the extant literature on students of color who experience challenges relating to their campus ecology due to their lack of exposure to colleges and universities, especially predominantly White institutions (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Jones, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2000) . These students are usually among the first of their generation to pursue education beyond secondary, or even in some cases, primary, education and so they often do not have mentors that can assist them in the area of college preparation and/or how to successfully navigate through college (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Jones, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2000).

The African American women who participated in this study often discussed the dilemma that they experienced in going against or feeling the pressure to go against their inner belief of service and giving back, which is essential to their identity. Gwaltney (1980), as cited in Hill Collins (2000, p. 100), calls this dual with identity "one for them and one for ourselves." Hill Collins (2000) further discussed this dilemma in more detail:

> The struggle of living two lives . . . creates a peculiar tension to construct independent self-definitions within a context where Black womanhood remains routinely derogated. . . . For individual women, resolving contradictions of this magnitude takes considerable inner strength. (pp. 99–100)

Jane's experience may offer further clarification of the aforementioned cite as well as illustrate how Jane chose to initially set the tone regarding her identity with her colleagues. Jane explained that:

> As far as being a professor is concerned, I think that had more to do with race and gender from other people's perspective than mine. I didn't think, "Okay, well, I am Black or I am a woman and can I do this whole professor thing." That wasn't the

question. But I think the people who were interviewing me saw me as a Black woman without a doubt. And in a number of ways, that opened doors for me that I don't think other people would have normally gotten open. So I don't see that as a negative. I think they saw that as a positive. Just because there are so few Black women, particularly in sciences and stuff. And as far as this whole faculty probationary period, I don't think my colleagues recognized that I am a Black woman . . . I am just me and so they are used to me being me. Whatever that means, because most of them are White men. I am sure it means something greater to them than it does to me, because I am used to White men but they are less used to Black women. But as far as the way they treated me [differently], if anything, I really don't think it [race] made a difference. When I first started [began negotiating promotion and tenure], they [White departmental colleagues] bent over backwards to make sure I was comfortable because they didn't know that I was already comfortable. I think that they were uncomfortable because they didn't know if I was comfortable [or not]. And so, I think, they overcompensated, which was fine, [and] didn't bother me. But as far as changing the way they viewed me [or] the way I got evaluated in that room, I don't think it made any difference whatsoever. I hope it [race or gender] didn't make any difference.

In terms of helping to answer this particular research question on the impact of race, it appeared that it wasn't that Jane did not experience acts that could have been perceived as racist or sexist. What Jane's reactions demonstrate is her ability to maintain her focus despite her surroundings. By doing this, it really did not matter what Jane's departmental colleagues were saying and doing around her; Jane remained confident in her race and gender identity and chose to allow the negative effects of race and gender to be the concern of others.

Jane's experience from primary through postsecondary education equipped her with tools that enabled her to become resourceful and effective in her faculty role. Those traits include her ability to be comfortable in herself and her scholarship regardless of what her colleagues may or may not have achieved. Additionally, she prides herself on her tenacity that enables her to produce at or above the level of her colleagues. Finally, Jane attributes her humility as well as her ability to withstand the urge to take on the problems of the world, as another trait that has helped her to successfully negotiate promotion and tenure. While there are a number of other factors that Jane attributes to her success, it seems most apparent that Jane is comfortable with who she is, and as long as she can "sleep at night" or look herself in the mirror and say, "I know I pushed it to the limit today," is all that matters to her.

For Jane, along with the other five respondents in this study, questions regarding their identity was not necessarily a concern of theirs until they were put in positions where the context of the environment challenged either their self-concept, values, practices, and/or scholarly contributions. However, the difference between each respondent was how she chose to articulate and/or respond to situations where she felt disregarded, disrespected, and/or the need to be on the defense.

All the respondents shared experiences that related to the core values and practices of feminism and Black feminist thought methodologies. The next theme addresses the respondents' reported knowledge of theories that speak to voice as well as the need for recognition of the power and need for advancement of women and other underrepresented groups. Particularly when it came to Black feminist thought, whether the respondents identify with its methodologies or practices, a significant part of who they are and what they do represent Black feminism.

How feminism, feminist methodologies, and Black feminist thought assisted in understanding the ways in which the African American women in this study developed their pedagogy, research, and/or service:

Both of these methodologies address the strength of women who have traditionally been silenced or diminished significantly. For the six African American women of this study the attainment of promotion and tenure is within itself an act of practicing feminism and Black feminist thought, because traditionally, the academy, especially in relation to promotion and tenure, has been predominantly restricted to European Americans, males, and other groups with privileged knowledge on how to gain access into the academy (Cohen, 1998; Rudolph, 1990; Solomon, 1985). By these African American women earning tenure, particularly at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution, they have already dispelled myths as well as cracked glass ceilings, making it possible for other women and people of color to achieve a similar goal.

In the following passages, the respondents discussed their knowledge of and practices that reflect feminism and/or Black feminist thought. In the following quote, Hilda was proud to discuss her connection with and understanding of Black feminist thought. Hilda shared:

Coming from the University of [name omitted], where [renowned Black feminist worked] was and still is, [as well as] my understanding is interesting because we never called it Black feminism, we just called it being Black. I think now Black feminism is a very important part in my teaching because I need to show survival skills. I teach by way of letting someone see their whole picture, which I think is important. I teach by way of letting people know what it would be like if I am teaching acting and I am teaching acting to a male, I may take that theme and say, "I know this is difficult for you to understand coming from a Black woman."

Hilda's passage describes her understanding and practice of Black feminist thought through her ability to take risks in the classroom by clearly and purposefully adding the Black and female perspective to her teaching style and course materials. She made no apologies for sharing her knowledge from a Black perspective and encouraged her students to be open and accepting towards views that differ from theirs.

When asked about her views of feminism and Black feminist thought and how, if applicable, does she apply those beliefs and practices to her work, Sally replied:

I don't know what Black feminist methodology is. I don't know what none of that shit is. I believe in equal rights for women. I believe in taking care of myself. I believe I am different from men, but all of their *stamina ideology*, I just don't know what that means. Literally it gets in my way, because I don't trust White feminists and their standpoint ideology "blah, blah, blah." Most of them will shit on me to be honest about it. I get along better with their male counterparts than I do them [White women]. So, I can't use it [Black feminist methodology]. When I find one [Black feminist method] that I can half-way maneuver or manipulate, I just go along. I do some things, but I just get overwhelmed because I just find most of them [Black feminist methodology] are found to be not true. I think they [feminist] are all about [self]. The feminist standpoint [in Sally's opinion is] upper middle class White female privilege, the latest co-word jargon for them to benefit themselves to get into power along their White males. I don't think they do anything to advance women of color.

Sally's disbelief regarding the inclusive and liberating intentions of feminist and Black feminist methodology is not uncommon to many scholars in the academy, particularly those who experienced or researched the Equal Rights for Women movement and how Black

women were not advanced as White women were as a result of that struggle (Gregory, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Radford-Hill, 2000). In the following passage, Hill Collins (2000) discusses the concern and mistrust that many African American women such as Sally has:

> Black women have been described generally outspoken and self-assertive speakers, a consequence of expectations that men and women both participate in Black civil society. But despite this tradition, the overarching theme of finding a voice to express a collective, self-defined Black women's standpoint remains a core theme in Black feminist thought. (p. 99)

Regardless of Sally's belief that she is not aware of Black feminist thought and her obvious suspicion for feminism from what she perceives as the White female perspective, she still practices many of the values and beliefs of both methodologies. By implementing care for students in her teaching as well as understanding that self-care is a necessity, not an option, Sally's practices reinforce extant themes within feminism and Black feminist thought (Gilligan, 1982; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Reinharz, 1992; Truth, 2000). Sally also acknowledges that while she is different from men, she is still entitled to speak her mind, have her thoughts heard, and whether liked or not, have them respected. That belief relates to what scholars discuss as claiming, validating, and negotiating the power of voice (Gilligan, 1982; Gregory, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Radford-Hill, 2000; Truth, 2000).

Jane, another respondent who shared that she did not have a clear understanding of Black feminist thought, felt that while she did not have full knowledge of feminist and Black feminist thought methods and methodologies, she still believed that she incorporated what she did know in her role as an academic. Jane stated:

Prior to spending any time in your department [Higher Education], I did not know

formally what either of these two [feminism and Black feminist thought] things meant.

However, based on what my understanding is, which is minimal at best still, I would

imagine that some of the things that I did do not knowing it, fit. For example, you talk

about [incorporating feminism and Black feminism] in the way you teach or conduct

research, participate in community service, I mentioned before, those are things, the

first and the third of those, the teaching and the community service things are things

that I decided I was going to do.

Like Jane, Meg, one of the first respondents to earn tenure, discussed her knowledge

and practice of feminism and Black feminist thought. Meg shared:

Put it this way, I think as a Black woman, I have been integrating things [feminism and

Black feminism] since I was a kid. I think it is impossible not to be a feminist, a Black

feminist . . . no matter who you are, or what you do. Even if you decide that you've

gone and got five Ph.D.s and you decide, you just want to raise your children, it is

already there because you made a decision, you made a choice. And to me, that is what

it is all about. It is called a choice. And the individual choice, I will respect. So, the

impact of that is how I see myself. My mother's generation, they had to just say,

"Okay, this is the way it is, let me deal with it." And if I want to fight, I am going to

figure out what to fight for. That is the hardest part, I think, being a feminist Black

woman, to pick your battles, if you want to call them that.

Meg also shared in our initial and follow-up interviews that she has always asked the

"Why?" questions and challenged taking the word of someone as "the" truth. As a result of

observing her mother and others from her mother's generation be what Meg perceived as

somewhat submissive to the beliefs of their time, she decided that for her not speaking up was not an option. Still, Meg cautions that "I think feminists now have to be very realistic in what they are dealing with and how they are doing their teaching. How they are dealing with young people, and older people, because we have every mindset." Although Meg feels as if everyone is entitled to their opinion, she also feels that in order to reach diverse audiences you have to be able and willing to meet people where they are at in order to assist them.

With respect to assisting others, Lisa, Sally, and Jane felt as if boundaries must be established between service to others and service that preserves well-being and balance to self. Gilligan (1982) describes this form of self-care or preservation of self in the following passage:

> Although from one point of view, paying attention to one's own need is selfish, from a different perspective it is not only honest but fair. This is the essence of the transitional shift toward a new concept of goodness, which turns in the acknowledging the self and in accepting responsibility for choice. (p. 85)

Jane believed that while it is important to assist others, it is equally if not more crucial to take care of yourself, because if you do not take care of you, you are in no true shape to help others. Before Jane received official notification of her tenure she contended:

> You know what, I don't have a job. And I can't help you with whatever cause is important to you unless I have a job [earn tenure]. They [students in need of Jane's assistance] can't hear me, because they know, "She doesn't even have tenure. We don't know if she is going to be around or not so why should we take that time to hear that voice." But with a job [tenure] then there is something I can do and say. I am going to be here . . . it means a whole lot more. But if I don't stay here, if I don't do my part and

earn my job [tenure], it really hurts the students. So, yeah, it is one of those short-term

versus long-term things, but students have a sometimes hard time understanding. And I

used to tell them, "I will help you get a 3.0, I hope you can get your grade point up." If

20 students with a 3.0 went into that office and they say, "Look we're going to graduate

from Global State University and we got something to say, we are going to be alumni,"

that is a much more powerful voice than just 20 random folk who skip class because

they wanted to protest. "You have got to go to class," is my answer. So, you have to be

careful about getting involved in that [those kinds of experiences] for sure.

In the passage above, Jane expressed the power that she perceived herself having,

particularly as it pertains to assisting students. In order to achieve the level of power that

enabled Jane to provide maximum services for students, she felt that there were certain

times when she needed to focus solely on earning promotion and tenure. In an attempt to

explain her dilemma of wanting to help students, Jane provides an example that illustrates

how one's status and moral character has more merit or credibility when one is living up to

expectations. A possible rationale for Jane and the other respondents' sense of commitment

to giving back and serving others is encompassed in their history as African American

women (Cooper, 1988; Hill Collins, 2000; Moore, 1998). It was and still is not uncommon

for African American women to be the primary caregiver of children or matriarch in a

community where a large proportion of its men are imprisoned, in the military, homosexual,

dating, and/or married outside of the African American race (Clift, Anderson, & Hullfish,

1962; Cooper, 1988; Hill Collins, 2000; Johnson, 1998; Truth, 2000). Thus, having to often

carry the burden and responsibilities of the African American race upon her shoulders, the

African American woman had been influenced throughout history to care and nurture the

Black race (Cruse, 1984; Gitlin, 1993, Hill Collins, 2000; hook, 1981; Johnson, 1998; Truth, 2000). Hill Collins (2000) explained:

> Because African Americans have long been relegated to racially segregated environments, U.S. Black feminist practice has often occurred within a context of Black community development efforts and other Black nationalist-inspired projects. Black Nationalism emerges in conjunction with racial segregation—U.S. Blacks living in a racially integrated society would most likely see less need for Black Nationalism. As a political philosophy, Black Nationalism is based on the belief that Black people constitute a people or "nation" with a common history and destiny. Black solidarity, the belief that Blacks have common interests and should support one another, has long permeated Black women's political philosophy. (pp. 30–31)

In Hilda's case, she also feels that by being true to herself and her identity, she is practicing feminism and Black feminism. She uses the power of her voice in her class lectures as well as in departmental meetings. In the following passage, Hilda describes how in meetings she comes across and/or is sometimes perceived as being confrontational when she is merely stating her opinions. She believes that even after having disagreements with colleagues, once the meeting is over, so is the animosity. Hilda expressed:

> Yeah, I can say, "We can talk about this and then we can go out for lunch." I don't have any problem with that. I can agree to disagree with you about that bull crap and then it's like, "Where do we want to go for lunch" and I will have no problems. Put down the guns. It is hard for a lot of Midwesterners to deal with that. I had one woman pull me up on charges, bring me to the department head and anybody else she could bring me to, because she felt I was yelling at her. I said, "You ain't heard me yell at you yet."

I told lots of people to hear me because I am invisible to all you White people in here.

So I talk loud so that I can be heard. And you are upset by that because I am telling you

what to do, that is your problem. Let's get down to the real nitty gritty of it. It's

bothering you that this Black woman is telling you what to do. And I notice that here,

Black woman, Black feminism, they don't know what that means . . . even the White

feminists don't understand it. They don't understand.

Despite the consequences of what Hilda feels is often defending herself, she still believes that

it is important to confront issues up front because otherwise she is not being true to herself.

For Hilda, as was also the case for Sally, finding and protecting voice is imperative to her

survival in the academy.

Below is a passage from Alfred (2000), where the author shared her knowledge of

voice and what she learned from one of her participants. Learning to identify and use one's

voice is a key element of feminist and Black feminist thought, which means that the

following passage links directly to the extant literature on women and voice (Cooper, 1988;

Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981, 2000a, 2000b; Truth, 2000). Alfred (2000) explained:

Listening to the voices of others while using their [African American women] own

voices to define themselves as Black women and to articulate their competence have

been powerful forces in the participants' successful management of the White academy.

By listening first to the voices of family and members of the Black community during

their early development the participants learned ancestral legacies which later guided

their participation in majority cultures. . . . The need to be better [than Whites/the

majority] in order to be seen as an equal is part of the driving force behind Black

women's professional success in predominantly White institutions. (p. 68)

Lisa reported that while social activism was a part of her family and community

interactions from youth, she thought it best to assimilate, to a degree, in order to be

successful in the academy. Lisa explained:

Part of it was my upbringing and the way I was taught to survive and hopefully emerge

to thrive in our society. It was either you establish yourself in your own area, without

letting race be an issue. . . . And so part of what I did in studying, my discipline, race

isn't directly an issue. We just work with the technology, that is not an issue. So what I

try to do is develop myself in my own area. And establish myself as a competent,

skilled researcher in my own area. So in terms of my research . . . I am buying into an

academy. I am trying to be involved in a culture, in an environment that is already

established. I am trying to get at, so I didn't [intentionally incorporate feminism and

Black feminist values and practices], I was never involved in trying to change the

academy 'cause I wasn't a member. I was trying to get in. So part of getting in is I have

to buy into, I have to understand the community, I have to buy into the norms and the

rituals and the belief. . . . At least to get into the door. As you become established

[tenure], you get to ask some questions. You get to ask whether this is right or not.

In short, while Lisa may acknowledge the importance of and need for feminism and Black

feminism, she also understands that she works within a system that historically and presently

resists differences (Gregory, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Radford-Hill, 1985;

Solomon, 1985). So instead of going against the flow, Lisa chose to play the games with the

rules as written. Although many scholars may agree (Gilligan, 1982; Gregory, 1995; Hill

Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981), Lisa still practices feminism and Black feminism in that she

looks out for herself and makes personal choices, whether popular or not, and acts upon her

right to choose. Lisa understands that the promotion and tenure experience can be political and challenging and so she opted, exercising her right to do so, to take the road that perceived with less resistance. For Lisa, less resistance or "buying in" to the departmental culture meant attending professional and social events in the department, presenting at certain conferences with her departmental colleagues, and not directly challenging every act or statement as racist or sexist because Lisa understood that people, like, organizations, do not change overnight. Hill Collins (2002) discusses such a contradiction in the following passage:

> In particular, U.S. Black feminist thought and practice respond to a fundamental contradiction of U.S. society. On the one hand, democratic promises of individual freedom, equality under the law, and social justice are made to all American citizens. Yet on the other hand, the reality of differential group treatment based on race, class, and gender, sexuality, and citizenship status persists. Groups organized around race, class, and gender in and of themselves are not inherently a problem. However, African Americans, poor people, women, and other groups discriminated against see little hope for group-advancement, this situation becomes social injustice.

Lisa continued with her recognition of the need to combat social inequalities because she did believe in:

> Challenging the status quo, and doing racial uplift and growing and building my African American community. [But] I didn't know how I could do that if I wasn't established [tenured] in the academy myself. So it didn't mean that I didn't ask those questions. I didn't participate and haven't historically participated in a lot of African American community thing. I think I am going to do that some days (Lisa became

quiet). But I didn't, I wasn't personally involved in organizing getting the rest of it

together in part because I didn't have that freedom to do that. I could do that this year,

but I would never be here to do it again if I didn't take care of those things [getting

tenure]. Same thing [applies] with service. I think post tenure [that] I am in a much

better position to ask those questions, to challenge the status quo and to participate

more fully in building my community.

It was apparent that Lisa felt the need to help others, particularly African American students,

but she struggled with the inner conflict of needing to take care of first things first, which in

Lisa's case, meant earning promotion and tenure. Still, Lisa contended that during her

negotiation of promotion and tenure she managed to assist students because it was important

for her to do so. Lisa explained:

I think that even during that time period, I did do some of that [serving students],

especially in my teaching, they said, "Being an African American, anytime I have an

African American student in class. I am very conscious of trying to make this the best

academic opportunity for them to help, to ensure that they grow." And that is always a

catch 22. That is always a catch 22 because they have different expectations of me and I

am going to push. And that is just part of how I was raised and how I do things. I am

going to push all my students. And I definitely push my African American students

because I want you to be able to stand. And I am here to support you so we might as

well go full tilt here because I am trying to build that base in you. I am not going to be

here all the time. You aren't going to be here with me. You are going to go on out so I

am going to try and build your foundation here with me and I am going to be hard on

you because when you get out there, hopefully it will be a little easier. Hopefully you will be in a better position to handle what is coming up out the door.

Lisa, along with the other five respondents, evolved to a point where they placed themselves at the forefront of their care. In terms of serving as a voice or instrument, all the respondents, in their unique ways, respectively incorporated feminism and Black feminism into their research, teaching and service. Whether it was through the respondents' direct challenge of authority (Hilda and Sally), their choice to follow the rules as written (Jane and Lisa), and/or whether or not they choose to validate themselves for themselves (Meg and Josephine), they all discovered their own voice and place which resulted in each of them successfully achieving promotion and tenure.

A viable part of empowering oneself to negotiate through a challenging process is understanding what is expected of you. The final section of this chapter addresses the respondents' perceptions and experiences relating to their responsibilities and role as faculty in their respective departments and colleges.

The extent to which the African American women in this study experienced a match and/or discord between the perceived criteria and experienced criteria as they negotiated promotion and tenure:

The African American women who participated in this study were asked the question, "In what ways did your understanding of the promotion and tenure guidelines match the expectations articulated throughout your faculty probationary period as well as the actual promotion and tenure review?" I wanted to know whether or not the respondents negotiated promotion and tenure with full, partial, or lack of knowledge regarding what was expected from the inception of their faculty appointment through their review of promotion and tenure.

The results from the respondents varied from thoroughly prepared to a few of the respondents sharing how clueless they were to the promotion and tenure process.

Fortunately, Meg was among the few respondents who felt as if she had clarity regarding her role and departmental expectations regarding promotion and tenure. Meg negotiated promotion and tenure with the understanding that she was going to "work" the system and use it to her advantage rather than have the system "work" her. Meg explained how she decided not to take any preexisting expectations into her negotiation process. As a result, Meg did not encounter many of the hardships that a few of the other respondents shared in this study. Here Meg discussed her experience:

> I have no complaints. Once I read the rules, I knew what I had to do. I went up and got tenure early. I got it [promotion and tenure] and I did what they [White departmental colleagues] said. That is with any job, if you want a job. I didn't expect to be given anything. I expected to work for it and I got it. So, I never had some of the problems some other people have had on campus. And I am not going to make up some crazy crap. That just didn't happen.

Like Meg, Jane also felt as if she was prepared. Jane did offer, however, some instances where she had not fully grasped the amount of tasks that she would have to do simultaneously. Jane stated:

> As far as responsibility is concerned . . . yeah, I think that the responsibilities [and], the level of responsibilities that I anticipated was so. It was what it was. What I didn't know was how many things that I would be doing at the same time. I had no idea of the details of how much stuff happened in a day. But as far as just the general level of responsibility, I watched my boss do this as an assistant professor and I thought,

"Whew, that is amazing. . . . That is overwhelming." [So] it is pretty close, it is pretty close to what I expected.

On the contrary, Josephine, who did not always feel that she had clarity in terms of her responsibilities and was unsure of who or where to go to for assistance, shared:

A lot of times there are questions that you want to ask, but it is not comfortable to ask your immediate colleagues and he is always the person that I go to, kind of, to get that perspective of what is okay, what is not okay to do, what should I be doing, what shouldn't I be doing. So that was important to me.

Like Josephine, Hilda shared some of the complications she experienced in terms of lack of clarity. Hilda discussed how not only did she receive conflicting messages, but also how she felt reprimanded due to that lack of knowledge:

They want you to do one thing according to the paperwork and according to all this stuff, but then, they want me to continue my professional work, but I got to continue my professional work on their time. And I am being punished because I got to go without pay to do this professional work that they want me to continue so that they can say, "That is mine," child-so-to-speak, but they don't want to reward you for it. And you don't get rewards even in the department. It is almost like in this department, you don't get anything said because, like I said, I am the only one at the level. So I really feel that it is like a relationship, "He is good, he is sweet, he brings you cards, buys you candy, takes you out for dinner, sends you flowers, and then once you are married, then all hell breaks loose."

Comparing the mixed messages of her duties as a faculty member to that of a relationship gone sour is Hilda's way to convey that things are not always what they seem as well as what

people do to attract you is not necessarily what they do to keep you. Hilda goes on to explain

her discontent and frustration with the lack of guidance that she had in her department. Hilda

expressed:

> I didn't have anybody to help me [or] to guide me. I had a mentor that was assigned to
>
> me, another Black person that was assigned to me. The four years that he was my
>
> mentor, I continued to ask, "What should I do?" "What is it like?" "What is it?" "What
>
> does it mean?" I never got from him [the answers to those questions]. I didn't even
>
> know what to expect other than knowing that it [earning promotion and tenure] would
>
> mean security. As a single mom that was what I wanted. I wanted not to have to wake
>
> up to one more stress level, one more stress kink in my armor. And I didn't know what
>
> to expect. I just didn't know what to do.

As Hilda struggled to discover and define for herself what expectations would earn her

promotion and tenure, she began to observe the White colleagues in her department. Here

Hilda described:

> A lot of it was what I felt was common sense. "What would these White people expect
>
> from me?" To say that, I wanted to answer the question was for me to say, "Why
>
> should we [GBSU] want to keep you here?" "Why should we want to say you are
>
> ours?" "That is my child" or "That is mine." And I wanted to prove to them, you need
>
> me because I am this, that, and the other, and so that is why I constantly put together
>
> my documents [for tenure review]. You want me here because look at what I do, look
>
> what I have done, look at what I continue to do. So I constantly did it in that sense.
>
> Seeking departmental and collegial approval was not unique to Hilda's experience. Jane

and Lisa also reported that learning the "norm" in the department was essential to their

success. However, in Jane's and Lisa's case, it did not appear to be such an internal conflict with their personal identities as was the case with Hilda. As stated earlier, Jane's and Lisa's comfort level with White people due to their level of involvement and attachment within the European American culture made their promotion and tenure process easier to negotiate. Jane and Lisa did not seem to personalize the discriminatory acts of their White departmental colleagues. However, there were other respondents such as Hilda who often felt defensive and responded emotionally to the discriminatory acts of others. At times, Hilda appeared defensive and hurt more by what she perceived as her department and college shunning her. Hilda's hurt is grounded in her sincere intention to make a difference in her department by sharing her talents and scholarly contributions.

Sally, the only full professor in the respondent group, discussed how she challenged the "set" rules within the department, particularly when she did not feel as if they were clear and/or equally applied across race and gender lines. Sally contented:

This is what they have down on paper, the rules. I had to constantly tell these people, "Look this is not happening, okay." They kept telling me, "Okay, you have got to get grants" [as if Sally did not grasp that concept from the promotion and tenure documents]. Nobody else was going to get one for me, because I was an African American female and I think that the fact that I was a University of [omitted] graduate really bothered a lot of people because nobody else was and they thought I was a loser [wasn't able to cut it at such a prestigious institution] from there. So, it was just kind of like, well if you are a [omitted] graduate, then you should be able to do this kind of thing, and so. My attitude was that, "Okay, I will come in here and do excellent" . . . [Even though] you are asking me to do something that none of you have done. And you

set me up for failure, because you are not giving me resources to do what you are

telling me what I have to do. So, consequently, I became sapphire in my first year. I let

them know that I am not taking it, 'cause I don't want to be here anyway. In fact I kept

telling them that "if it wasn't for my husband having this job, we wouldn't know each

other."

While Sally did not like the disparities that existed within her department, she decided to

tackle the issue by not only speaking up against issues of discrimination, but she also turned

around what she perceived as their lack of support and negative energy and used it as fuel to

increase the level of her scholarship. Sally soon learned that receiving grants, publishing

articles, and receiving excellent student feedback evaluations gave more power to her voice

and placed a shield of protection around her in terms of her being able to withstand the

injustices around her.

For Lisa, understanding the requirements was not necessarily the problem, but putting

those expectations into action was her greater challenge.

I don't know if I was young or naive or just don't have a long attention span, but six

years is a long time. I couldn't sit down and say, "Okay, it is 2001, [in] 2007, this is

where I want." "I know where I want to be." I am not structured [enough] to say,

"Okay, I am going to serve on three committees and then do this and do that." I am a

little bit more opportunistic and a little bit more spontaneous. When I looked back at

my probationary period, I did what I wanted to do in terms of research, teaching, and

involvement on committees. So, when it was time for me to put my materials together, I

was actually surprised at how much I had done in research, teaching, and service.

In summary, whether the respondents felt fully equipped to negotiate their promotion and tenure process or undoubtedly ill-prepared, was not the gist of their experience. Rather, it appeared as if the major lesson learned was individual character, drive, and self-motivation, which all of the respondents initially or eventually discovered, as the most necessary resource to successfully earning promotion and tenure. Their experiences, however, do provide rationale for further review of faculty development programs, increasing effective mentoring programs that emphasize better matches and informative communication among senior and junior faculty. Overall, the respondents' experiences spoke considerably to the encounters of African American women and other traditionally underrepresented groups in the academy, regarding the need to possess a strong sense of self as well as the importance of actively seeking assistance when ambiguities arise. However, most of all, the respondents demonstrated that earning promotion and tenure, despite the rigor and obstacles, is possible.

The final chapter of this dissertation presents the results related to the research questions, summary of the overall study, conclusions drawn from the research findings, discussion of the research findings, limitations of the study, recommendations for practice, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter will summarize the findings, review the study's limitations, present the conclusions, offer recommendations for practice, and suggest recommendations for future research. As discussed throughout the previous chapters, the purpose of this study was to explore an array of individual and institutional factors that contributed to the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure as experienced by six African American women at a selected predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution.

Summary

When it comes to negotiating promotion and tenure, there is no set blueprint for success. However, the African American female faculty members in this study felt that from their personal and professional narratives, they could offer their strategies from which other women and minority faculty could benefit. The findings centered on the respondents' abilities to seek validation from within as well as identify and accept guidance from others. The respondents' establishment of internal and external institutional support systems empowered and better prepared them to address the inequalities of the "system" opposed to expecting systematic "equality." In short, the respondents actively pursued necessary resources by either outright asking for what they needed and/or strategically observing departmental practices regarding their role as faculty and their attainment of promotion and tenure. The respondents' experiences and recommendations could offer insight to new faculty members seeking promotion and tenure. Additionally, the respondents' suggestions

can equip graduate students, and quite possibly postdoctoral students, with the appropriate tools to obtain faculty appointment as well as successfully earn promotion and tenure.

All six of the respondents reported that their family, friends, and their social and academic communities had significant impacts on their ability to negotiate promotion and tenure. Lisa, Jane, and Josephine, particularly, attributed much of their preparedness to the knowledge that they acquired from activities that involved public speaking (Jane), learning about history and the politics of systems (Lisa), or having self-worth affirmed in her household (Josephine). These were all examples of early life experiences that the respondents reported as helpful in their eventual negotiation of promotion and tenure. Whether it came from their parents or the strong Black women leaders in their communities, the respondents agreed that a large portion of their self-confidence and levels of readiness was due to the love, advice, exposure, and support given to them by close relatives and friends.

The majority of the respondents reported that their acknowledgement of and relationship with God was and continues to be "*the*" source of inner peace and strength for them, such as Lisa, Josephine, and Jane. Other respondents, such as Meg, Hilda, and Sally, felt that while God is a source of their stability, family and close friends are also integral parts of their ability to sustain personal and professional challenges in the academy. In short, the respondents reported their relationships and connectedness with either God, family, friends, or any combination of those, as their foundation. These external entities enabled the respondents remain grounded, humble, and empowered throughout their negotiation process. Having external resources are proven to be essential for women an minorities who negotiate promotion and tenure, particularly women and faculty members of color at predominantly White colleges and universities (Gitlin, 1993; Gregory, 1995; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993;

Kronenfeld & Whicker, 1997). On that same note, not having systems of support (e.g., God, family, or friends) can be equally detrimental when those mechanisms are not in place or accessible for women and minority faculty members in predominantly White environments (Cruse, 1984; Gregory, 1995; Jackson, 1998; Kronenfeld & Whicker, 1997; Pigord & Tonnsen, 1993; Rains, 1998; Turner & Myers, 2000).

The respondents also discussed their willingness to release concerns and apprehensions during difficult times (e.g., waiting for the results of the outcome of their tenure review process). The respondents reported that the act of *letting go* actually empowered and allowed them to rechannel their focus inwardly for peace and strength. Mastering the art of letting go afforded the respondents such freedom that each of them shared that regardless of the outcomes from their promotion and tenure review, they felt whole and "validated" as stated by Hilda.

If I had to narrow down all of the factors that contributed to the respondents' overall success of promotion and tenure, I would have to say that each of the respondents' inner strength and "*will*" was the greatest determining factor. Regardless of faith, God, supportive colleagues, or the unconditional love from family and friends, each of the respondents maintained various levels of stick-to-it-ive-ness that ultimately led to their attainment of promotion and tenure. Therefore, the respondents in this particular study demonstrated that while each person may rely on her graduate preparation, family, friends, and even her spiritual beliefs, acquiring success comes down to a person's belief in herself.

Another key aspect reported by the respondents was the value of mentoring and its significant impact on the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. All of the respondents reported that they either had informal and/or formal mentor relationships from

their postsecondary education experience as well as through their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure. If respondents' interactions with their mentors turned out to be wonderful and encouraging, or if respondents dreaded going to professional conferences because they feared running into their mentors, the majority of the respondents felt that they still learned valuable lessons from having been engaged with other individuals. The data also outlined what the respondents perceived to be effective attributes of mentoring. Those traits and/or forms of engagement, as described in detail in Chapter 4, include mentors viewing their mentees holistically. In other words, the mentor's interest in his/her mentee does not have to be restricted solely to the mentee's professional development. Three of the respondents, Jane, Sally, and Lisa, however, cautioned and stressed the importance of setting boundaries and realistic expectations up front in the mentor-mentee relationship. This way, regardless of the level of interaction the mentor and mentee agree upon, their primary focus is always centered on the agreed upon goals set by the two parties. In this case, the maturity and expertise of the mentors, usually their major professors from graduate school or senior faculty either from their institutions or from another college or university, is key. The role of the mentor, then, is to help the graduate student or new faculty member set boundaries and realistic expectations themselves, so while each person has ownership, the mentee is aware that the ultimate goal is his or her overall growth and development. Particularly, the respondents reported effective mentoring as personal, holistic, strategic, consistent, as well as encompassing the ability to be up front and brutally honest when and if necessary in order to help assure successful outcomes for the mentee. While the respondents believed that institutions should and could play instrumental roles in the identification, matching, maintenance, and evaluation of such mentor programs, the respondents advised current and

new faculty members entering into negotiation of promotion and tenure to actively seek

mentors themselves. The respondents suggested that not only should new and prospective

faculty seek departmental mentors, but also guidance at the collegial and institutional level,

both internally and externally. This point is crucial to faculty development as well as their

successful negotiation, as assistant professors will need both inside and outside letters of

endorsement when they prepare for their promotion and tenure reviews. The most vital form

of support reported by the respondents, however, was their emphasis on self-validation and

looking inwardly for self-worth and approval of their scholarly contributions. The

respondents felt that once they became secure of and within themselves, they were

unstoppable.

With respect to race and gender identity, the respondents agreed that they were never

disillusioned about who they were as African Americans or as women. Two of the

respondents, Sally and Hilda, appeared more confrontational in terms of choosing to address

issues of race and gender when they felt as if there were inequities in terms of responsibilities

or disparity with faculty expectations within their department. Other respondents, such as

Lisa, Jane, and Meg, chose not to confront issues of discrimination unless the acts were

blatant, offensive, or directly aimed towards them or others (i.e., racist jokes exchanged at a

departmental meeting). Unlike Hilda and Sally, Lisa, Jane, and Meg placed the burden of

constantly worrying about race and gender on the shoulders of individuals who continuously

brought issues about women and minorities to the forefront of discussions. Meg disheartedly

shared her views regarding issues of race and inequalities:

> One thing that has bothered me and I have seen it is almost like reconstruction again
>
> [is] the backlash of things that people are afraid to say anything about race. Race is not

a problem, race is a problem. We see that now every day when they have to put on national TV, I am Black, I am an American, all these different races and I am thinking, "What is this?" But, that shows you how bad it is. So, it has not changed, I mean these are learned behaviors. These behaviors have to be unlearned. So, instead of universities just taking it for granted because I feel this way, that is not me, 98% of the population does. They are going to have to deal with that. So these are issues that are more important than anything right now [like] not eliminating kids of color or [the] poor. And also I would like to see them do more in bringing in and recruiting Native Americans into the school systems. I would really love to see that more 'cause that is something that I feel is just really ridiculous.

While the respondents were concerned with issues of disparity, as shown in Meg's aforementioned passage, they learned to address issues of race and identity by focusing on their research, teaching, and service, which in turn empowered them to earn tenure; giving them more of a voice to speak on behalf of others. In the meantime, many of the respondents discussed that while their tactics were not as "head on" and "in your face" as some of their colleagues would have liked for them to be, the respondents chose not to concern themselves with whether or not they were being perceived as sellouts to the African American race or to the fight for race and gender equality. Without hesitation, when asked if she ever felt like a sellout, Jane stated:

The only ones [Black people] who think you are a sellout are the ones who didn't make it [earn promotion and tenure]. You are not selling out, you are learning, you are maturing when you recognize what you need to accomplish so that you can reach your goals so that you can achieve that clout that you aspire. Before tenure, I have no job.

210

Although Jane, Lisa, and Meg interacted and worked with other faculty of color who often responded to and/or personalized the racist and sexist acts of their White colleagues, Jane, Lisa, and Meg refused to allow such discriminatory acts to impede their pursuit of promotion and tenure. In other words, Jane, Lisa, and Meg, despite the discrimination they may have encountered, decided that they would not carry the load and burden of those hurtful and negative experiences as parts of their identities throughout their negotiation process. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) commented:

> From the perspective advanced here, we seek to extend the idea of creating communities of difference in academe . . . we must work toward the creation of a community that does not demand the suppression of one's identity in order to become socialized to abstract norms. We support the development of organizations in which interrelatedness and concern for others is central. A community of difference implies that the community is de-normed. In keeping with the ideas of critical theory, postmodernism, culture, and ideology, we seek to find ways in which struggles might be brought to light and documented, not simply for the sake of "multivocality," but so that the community might develop ways to deal with the problems that individuals and groups face in the academy. Rather than assuming that "new recruits" must learn to deal with situations, we consider how the organizational culture might be changed. Unified, consensual notions of reality are rejected in favor of communities in which it is understood that different individuals and groups will always have competing concepts of reality. The challenge, of course, is to find ways to accommodate diversity and to create a climate for organizational change. (pp. 16–17)

Josephine's experience speaks to the preceding passage. How she perceived the expectations regarding acceptance of her race and gender fell between the middle of the two groups. Josephine shared that initially upon receiving her faculty appointment she did not have any "hopeful" or unrealistic expectations about the faculty in her department unifying among races. Josephine discussed how her departmental colleagues, particularly those suspicious of her credentials, interacted differently with her after she proved herself as a scholar in the field. Even then, Josephine reported that it took some time before White faculty began to respect views differing from what they had learned regarding race and gender issues, particularly in the area of English where Josephine felt that society perceives African Americans to be less competent than European Americans. Overall, with respect to their race and gender identity, all of the respondents reported that they had a strong sense of self and felt comfortable with who they were as well as proud of the scholarship that they produced.

With respect to feminist and Black feminist thought, the respondents reported experiences related to teaching, research, and service that reflected the extant literature discussed by scholars who research and utilize those methods and methodologies (Behar, 1996; DeVault, 1999; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Reinharz, 1992; Wolf, 1996). For example, the respondents discussed evolving from placing the care of others over their care of self towards an appreciation for self-preservation first (Gilligan, 1982). This self-actualization did not equate to the respondents failing to continue their "care" for others. Rather, the respondents internalized and then acted upon the notion that if one does not take care of oneself, one cannot truly care for others. This understanding and acknowledgement enabled the respondents to provide the highest care for others because they were then in

positions to help differently and perhaps more effectively because they were giving from their "best" selves.

Whether initiated in her postsecondary experience or throughout her pursuit of promotion and tenure, she served a change agent in her respective academic disciplines at the departmental, collegial, and institutional level. The respondents felt that while the academy could improve its efforts to increase access and equity in the recruitment and retention of women and faculty of color, they equally cautioned current and prospective faculty to have realistic expectations about the professorship, particularly considering the history of women and faculty of color in American academe (Alger, 1998; Branch, 2001; Brown, 1988; Cohen, 1998; Collins, 2001; Rudolph, 1990; Solomon, 1985).

The respondents seemed to agree that the likelihood of dreams for "utopia" coming into fruition from new faculty is not only unrealistic but also naïve. As Lisa discussed adamantly in her responses, "It is important to understand the history and tenets of the promotion and tenure process to decide if you are willing to negotiate through that system." Jane agrees with Lisa when she emphasized how new faculty members of color exhaust otherwise useful energy trying to take on the "system." Rather, respondents such as Lisa and Jane urge women and other minority faculty to concern themselves with "challenging" and/or "changing" the rules of the game after they have successfully played the game by earning promotion and tenure. Jane echoed the opinion of the majority of the six respondents when she stated:

> The people behind you are the beneficiaries, we mess up by expecting to be the
>
> beneficiary of what we [Black people] change, we [Black people] try to change the
>
> rules while we are playing [the game-negotiating promotion and tenure] and the risk
>
> that we run is they [White people] are saying that we [Black people] are not competent

as opposed to them [White people] being fair. [Thus], you have to follow the rules to change the rules, why you want to change something that you didn't go through. You have a lot more to say about how things should be changed because you have gone through it. It [Your voice is] more valid because you have gone through it. Never do anything to hurt yourself. The rules have existed long before I or any of us.

Jane, one of the younger tenured faculty members in age, but certainly one of the wisest in terms of understanding how systems and organizations work, offered a harsh but certainly realistic view on the canon and tenets of higher education in America. Rather than take on the system, Jane urges women and faculty of color to challenge their own way of thinking to see how one could work within an already existing system and create and/or maximize the resources that are present. Jane rationalized:

Black folks are doers. You [Black people] better write stuff [their research] down [publish their research]. You can run your whole game [benefit from academic freedom and autonomy] as long as you can meet the criteria. Academic freedom is not that free. When those grants are coming in or if I published those 10 papers, then I am free. Because I meet the criteria, they [colleagues who work with and evaluate me] cannot say nothing about what I do. When you spend time on things that don't count, that is when you mess up. I am not saying that I conform to every rule. What I do outside of my requirements is none of your business, but what I have come to understand is that it is foolish not to understand what the rules are, you have a Ph.D., come on now, just because it is academic freedom doesn't mean that there are no requirements . . . you've got to understand what battles are important. It ain't important for me to do something that's stupid to prove a point, like saying I got academic freedom so I am not going to

write papers, I am going to go out and do lectures. . . . The rules in my department are

clear, if I do not write papers I will not get tenure.

Jane's views may appear cold or insensitive to some Black faculty due to the disheartening

history of discrimination and prejudice against African Americans in the United States.

However, as was also the case with Lisa and Sally, Jane feels that identifying areas that one

can change as well as those that one cannot will result in a better use of one's faculty time,

which should consist of more productivity for one as a faculty member. Jane speaks volumes

about what many scholars report as barriers for faculty of color, which includes needing to

have better understandings of the climate and culture of predominantly White institutions, so

not to have unrealistic expectations of the academy (Golde, 1999; Green, 2001; Hu-Dehart,

2000; Jackson, 2001; Jarmon, 2001; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000).

Finally, the respondents indicated a number of recommendations that they feel

contributed to their success. The suggestions covered a range of areas about which current

and/or prospective faculty can educate themselves to help increase their chance for not only

being recruited but retained and promoted. Meg recommended:

I think connections with the school systems, connections with certain corporations for

jobs if one spouse is not teaching, connections with certain daycare outside of the

university would be nice so that you really would feel like your kids are being involved

with people that are educated and that have a sensitivity to different personalities

because usually with university professors, the kids [students] aren't. People may think

they are little Smart Aleks. But they [students] are not, they are just very bright. And

they can be mistreated if they are in an environment where it is a difference. I am being

maybe too simple here, but I hope I am not. I am trying to be as honest as I can. I have

no children. These are my friends that have told me the complications that they have

had with their children. And so, well, I am thinking, well there are ways to address

these issues. I think that even if you had to say, a spouse wanted to teach part-time, why

not become connected with junior colleges or other colleges close to [this town] and let

people teach to keep the family together? I mean there is partnerships this way that you

can do to maintain collegiate atmosphere. Things like that I think are extremely

important.

Meg's recommendations were representative of the other respondents of the study,

particularly Sally and Hilda, who have family to consider when making professional

decisions that will have an impact on more than just their lives. Having to balance family,

career, and one's own personal life, can be rewarding but equally chaotic for women who

have either earned or who are working towards promotion and tenure (Bolton, 2000;

Convington Clarkson, 2001; Gappa & MacDermid, 1998; Gregory, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000;

Turner, 1998; Wenniger & Conroy, 2001). Having and/or starting a family, whether family

meant having a husband and children or having a husband, was important to each of the

respondents. Yet, while each of the respondents discussed the desire to have a family, only

two of the six respondents were married (with one only recently marrying this summer); only

two respondents had children out of the six. As discussed in the literature regarding African

American women and their pursuit of promotion and tenure, the majority of these

respondents have also experienced the challenges of having it all; a family and career

simultaneously (Alfred, 2001; Collins, 2001; Cruse, 1984; Hill Collins, 2000).

In summary, the respondents shared a wealth of experiences that they learned and grew

from as a result of their professional and personal pursuits of promotion and tenure. While it

is not defensible to generalize the respondents' perspectives to all African American women faculty members in the academy, their perspectives contribute to a growing knowledge base about promotion and tenure in the academy. The next section of this chapter presents and discusses conclusions.

Conclusions

The women in this study, regardless of their various experiences, maintained that promotion and tenure is attainable. However, the respondents equally felt that for women and minorities the process can be especially challenging due to initial uneasiness about not knowing exactly what to expect in their faculty roles and negotiation process. Additionally, many respondents reported that they had to incorporate their cultural values and beliefs into the departmental mores particularly in the areas of teaching and service. Overall, the respondents shared their successes and struggles as testimonies and possible suggestions for consideration by new faculty and graduate students aspiring to hold faculty appointments. Conclusions from this study include the following:

1. Effective mentoring is key, particularly mentoring that consists of personal and closely knit connections between the mentor and mentee. Assisting the mentee with all aspects of her life appeared to be most helpful. Respondents reported that when they were able to receive guidance and support through both their personal and professional challenges, they were able to withstand the rigor of the promotion and tenure process. Therefore, in addition to playing a significant role in the total negotiation experience for the mentee, mentors had to possess the ability to offer the necessary time and availability needed to assist their mentees. The respondents

recalled and continued to cherish to this day the mentors who chose to invest in their overall success (Nora, 2000).

2. Respondents were conscious of an evolution in their caring that includes care of self. Connected closely to feminist and Black feminist thought, the respondents of this study discovered that self-preservation is essential to maintaining balance and high levels of productivity in their respective fields. Regardless of how individuals chose to protect themselves (mental and physical health), their time (maintaining balance of research, teaching and service), and ultimately their attainment of promotion and tenure, putting individual and professional needs first is not only a useful suggestion, but a core factor in one's overall success.

3. Remaining true to oneself is key. It is important to grasp and maintain a strong and balanced sense of self and make choices about framing one's identity. Searching inwardly (not outwardly) for validation, peace, and motivation was cited as the most effective strategy. Resisting an assumption of responsibility for others' perspectives and judgments whether positive or particularly negative is also necessary. Time is better spent on being productive on central tasks that complement efforts toward achieving tenure. Based on the findings from this study, promotion and tenure are challenging enough without adding the stresses of wondering, "Do I fit in?" or "Does my scholarship measure up to that of my colleagues?" Respondents' successes were facilitated by their awareness, appreciation, and overall comfort with and protection of their identity.

4. The individual characteristics that contribute to the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure include connection to a higher power and a strong sense of spirituality, and personal and professional accomplishments.

5. Connecting with or to a higher power or participating in the many facets of spirituality seemed to richly serve the lives of the respondents both personally and professionally. This is not to say that if a faculty member is an atheist and/or chooses not to practice any specific faith or denomination that she cannot earn promotion and tenure. Rather, it is a matter of stating that it is possible for external factors to empower, encourage, and strengthen individuals to the point that one feels capable to continue on in the midst of trials and tribulations. In other words, people who choose to pursue the life of an academic do not have to negotiate the process alone. While certain types of assistance [helpful departmental colleague or senior faculty mentor] may not be conveniently located in one's department and/or college, that does not mean that meaningful and significant support is not readily available elsewhere (e.g., support group of women faculty members of color across campus or a prayer partner from church). Having the ability to ask for assistance as well as the courage to seek help outside of one's comfort zone may provide unexpected mechanisms of support (e.g., other faculty of color that one meets at a national conference or writing grants to participate in workshops for newly appointed faculty members). Being open to diverse systems of support appears to be critical for women and faculty members of color regardless of what stage they are in within the academy.

6. On an institutional level, colleges and universities need to network and work more closely with each other in the geographic area. Moreover, it is important that institutions create and sustain effective relationships and open communication with local businesses and K–12 school systems so that prospective faculty, newly appointed faculty, and their family can be as informed as possible when making decisions regarding institutional and communal fit. These partnerships between collegiate institutions as well as between colleges and universities and community agencies are essential, especially where spousal accommodation and child care are concerned. Additionally, faculty development programs are crucial and should be offered consistently across disciplines and supported campus-wide (e.g., implementation of mentor programs that meet the unique needs of faculty and their colleges but offer similar resources with respect to availability and support to all faculty).

From the six categories drawn above, an underlining thread appears to be an emphasis on the individual and interpersonal level factors and resources that were perceived to encourage success in the promotion and tenure process. While there is a need to recruit and retain faculty of color, increase the efforts of faculty development programs in graduate school for new faculty members, broaden the scope of *scholarship* in the academy, cultivate the respect for both shared and diverse values, and have internal and external methods for effective evaluation and assessment processes are essential to the continued growth and development for higher education.

It is always possible to improve upon a line of inquiry in subsequent studies. This improvement can include the addition of research sites and/or changing the methods and

methodologies by which new knowledge is gained. The next part of this chapter consists of the limitations that I encountered as a result of conducting this study.

Limitations

The limitations related to the findings of this study included the following:

1. Time was a significant limitation in this study particularly as it related to the quantity of interaction I was able to have with each respondent.

2. The study was restricted to one institution in the Midwest. Adding additional sites could have strengthened the results of this study by further validating the commonalties and unique traits of African American women and how they experience the negotiation of promotion and tenure, particularly if this study were expanded or repeated in East and/or West Coast regions where there are larger concentrations of African American women. Additionally, regional views may differ with regard to race and gender in geographic areas or on campuses where equality is more consistently at the forefront of attention.

3. There was a disproportionate focus on individual factors in this study. Sources of data not explored include culture of the respondents' departments; and relationships with colleagues, chairs, and deans of their respective colleges. Therefore, I was unable to cross-reference the perceptions and observations of the respondents' departmental and collegial colleagues. These data could have enriched the study by either complementing and/or contradicting the respondents' experiences. For instance, if a White male faculty member feels that the culture of the department is too focused on the "publish or perish" motto rather than student services; the

African American female faculty member who feels that she is being singled-out

because of her passion to serve students rather than publish, may not be a personal

attack. Rather, the conflict exists as a personality conflict for any faculty member

who is student-service oriented by nature, yet works within a department whose

history is that of research excellence above and beyond all other forms of

scholarship (teaching and service). In short, adding data from other groups would

have provided opportunity for data triangulation across sources.

4. My reliance on relatively brief interviews with the respondents limited me in certain

   aspects, because frequently additional member-checking or negative case analyses

   would have been helpful to add deeper and more meaningful interpretations.

5. The relatively few promotion and tenure documents given to each respondent made

   it impossible to assess comparatively whether or not the respondents benefited from

   certain knowledge or resources over others (i.e., norms and practices varied from

   department to department and from college to college regarding how research,

   teaching, and service were defined and acknowledged).

These limitations summarize my primary thoughts on how to improve subsequent

studies of this phenomenon. The final part of this section provides rationales for future

research as well as implications for practice.

Recommendations For Practice

After careful review of the data reported by the six respondents in this study and

reviewing the literature that provided the theoretical framework and historical context for this

study, I have outlined two major areas, individual and institutional, as components that need

to be addressed in practice that can help advance African American women to achieve promotion and tenure. Those recommendations include a primary focus on the individual characteristics that promote success, but institutional factors also may contribute to the overall advancement of African American women in the academy as well. Thus, the findings from this study have great implications for the academy, including college and departmental initiatives, department executive offices, senior and new faculty, and graduate students. Other staff and administrators who impact on faculty during the promotion and tenure process could learn from the recommendations in this section as well. The first section will discuss implications for individuals and institutions in terms of future practice.

Recommendations for Individuals Pursuing the Professorship

The findings from this study revealed a wealth of individual characteristics that enabled respondents to successfully achieve their promotion and tenure. Whether the respondents reported having a wonderful process with positive internal and external relationships, or reported that their experience was full of challenges or lacked support from the beginning through the end of their process, there were still unifying traits that each of the respondents possessed. Those attributes include having the following:

1. Faith in God, self, and overall belief that if they contributed their best, that the outcome would reflect their sacrifice and efforts. They also believed that what was for them was for them and that no one or no process could deny them what God said was theirs. Once the respondents surrendered their worries and concerns over to a power higher than themselves, they were actually empowered because they

were able to detach the outcome of their promotion and tenure review process to their worth as a person.

2. Tenacity and a "stick-to-it-ive-ness" when situations became difficult. By keeping their eyes on the prize, the respondents were able to stay the course regardless of the obstacles many of them encountered. This trait is particularly crucial when a faculty member of color is negotiating promotion and tenure at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. The negotiation of promotion and tenure for a faculty member of color can be an emotional, spiritual, and even physically (health-wise) threatening process (Hill Collins, 2000; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Radford-Hill, 2000; Rendon, 2000). If one does not have stamina and inner drive, one may give up (Boyd, 1993; Robinson & Tucker; 1997–1998, Shaw, 1996).

3. Possess the ability to seek and receive assistance when necessary (e.g., ask senior faculty to review drafts of manuscripts and grants proposals). The women in this study relied on a number of resources in order to assure their success. Half of the respondents reported having some form of support (particularly senior faculty in their department/college) throughout their promotion and tenure process, while the other half shared that they either had inconsistent, poor, little and/or no support from their department/college. Thus, they had to rely on either their own observations of their departmental/collegial colleagues, or seek support and guidance externally (either from another college or even outside the institution).

4. The power of saying "No" is often critical in terms of self-care and preservation. As women and people of color, it is believed that giving back to others, even at the cost of harm to self, is honorable, necessary, and unavoidable. The respondents in this

study reported that it was the very act of placing boundaries on their life and their personal and professional space that enabled them to earn tenure and now serve others more effectively. The key here was learning to protect oneself from situations that detracted from the goal. Improving management skills and taking time to plan one's personal and professional identity is vital for faculty members of color particularly at predominantly White institutions, especially where faculty members of color are few to none in number (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). For academics of color, being able to help people in more meaningful and diverse ways, meant keeping one's eyes on the ultimate goal; successfully negotiating promotion and tenure.

5. Optimism yet realism about the changes that one can make in a department and/or college, within a given time or context throughout one's promotion and tenure process. As reported by the respondents of this study, faculty of color often become distracted by internalizing every issue in the department, playing the "victim," or feeling as if they have to be the vigilante challenging every perceived act of discrimination or prejudice. This form of denial calls for being honest with oneself. By taking the time to research and understand the type of institution at which one feels one can thrive, one can be better equipped to negotiate promotion and tenure despite departmental or collegial norms that often conflict with the cultural beliefs and practices of faculty of color. However, if productivity cannot be achieved in such a place, not seeking a faculty appointment at an institution or leaving become options.

6. Establish support groups. Know areas of weakness and strength and build a coalition of friends, family, and colleagues around to guide and support as needed. For people of color, a sense of community is key, and tapping into the power of others has often refueled the souls of those who spoke on behalf of groups supporting them. In short, it can take a "village" to encourage a faculty member of color to stay the course and earn promotion and tenure.

7. Finally, it is imperative to acquire as much knowledge as one can to strengthen oneself professionally and personally. With regards to promotion and tenure, investigate the success as well as failure rates in the department and college. Study the promotion and tenure applications of faculty who came before (earned promotion and tenure) to identify any set patterns or special/unique attributes that can be identified and authenticated in specific areas. Take the time to talk with and listen to faculty, not just faculty of color, who have negotiated the process successfully and inquire about their trials as well as their triumphs. Information is key. Lack of it [information] can mean the difference between earning tenure and not. In short, faculty members could minimize and/or choose not to add unnecessary obstacles by implementing strategic planning, observation and conducting more research.

With all of the aforementioned recommendations, it still takes effort on the part of colleges and universities to support success in the areas of promotion and tenure. Thus, the following section speaks to recommended actions that institutions can take to support the successful negotiation of promotion and tenure among African American women.

Recommendations for Institutions and Their Faculty Development Programs

Extant literature discusses the challenges that African American faculty members face throughout their pursuit of tenure-track appointments, followed by their negotiation of promotion and tenure (Gregory, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000, hooks; 1981; Jones, 2001; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000). Due to cultural and gender barriers, many faculty members of color have decided not to purse tenure-track appointments or leave the academy altogether for corporate America and/or nonprofit agencies, where they feel their talents and years of education will be respected as well as rewarded financially (Garcia, 2000; Jones, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000). This being the case, the problem then is not only one that affects African Americans but one that impedes the growth and development of higher education as a whole in terms of increasing race and gender diversity on college campuses (Austin, 2002; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, Weibl, 2000; Jones, 2001; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000).

Colleges and universities need to take notice of the growing rate of students of color on their campuses. Along with the influx of students of color comes the need for them to have faculty that not only ethnically and culturally identify with them, but also those whose experiences reflect that of the students they are serving (Brown, 2000; Jones, 2001; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000). Extant literature discussed the importance and value of students of color having faculty members of color as role models and the positive impact of those relationships on students of color's academic achievement, aspiration and persistence rates and how those connections create effective tools to combat the high attrition and low retention rates (Anthony & Taylor, 1998, 2001; Austin, 2002;

Brown, 2000; DeSousa, 2001; Green, 2001; Jones, 2001a; Levine & Cureton, 1998).

Institutions need to better prepare students from undergraduate through postgraduate

levels to make the students aware of the need for faculty of color in higher education.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) contended that:

> The structure [tenure process] seems designed to filter candidates rather than to
>
> advance diverse concepts of inquiry. The cultural system of organizations offering
>
> tenure provide diverse ways of evaluating individuals, but it does not seem to socialize
>
> them to survive and thrive in a community based on difference. (p. 36)

Higher education needs to implement more effective plans of action regarding the

recruitment and retention of faculty members of color, and those programs and services need

to be readily available and accessible to increase the pool of faculty of color for promotion

and tenure (Brown, 1988; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Jones & Barcelo, 1998; Leik &

Goulding, 1998; Morgan & William, 2001; Myers, 1998; Turner & Myers, 2000). For

example, making sure that when a prospective faculty member of color visits a college or

university that they meet and spend time with faculty members of color at that institution.

That way, conversations that faculty members of color may not feel comfortable asking

White faculty members can be asked such as, "What are your perceptions on how African

American faculty members are generally treated in the department?" "What are the tenure

success rates for women of color in this department?" "What support systems are in place for

women and minority faculty members and how is involvement initiated in terms of those

outlets?" "Do you perceive any differences in terms of how women and faculty of color are

treated in terms of providing campus service outside of the department?" All of the

aforementioned questions may not come up in formal interviews and meetings that are

arranged for candidates of color, but that does not mean that prospective faculty members of color do not have these questions.

The nature and culture of faculty development programs across the country should also be evaluated and reevaluated to ensure that the current components of such programs address the changing and diverse needs of graduate students and junior faculty (Bullock, Hakim, Harles, Merchant, Moses, & Subrahmanyan, 1998; Fries-Britt, 2000; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Gelmon & Kippenhan, 2002). For example, graduate or postdoctoral students of color can shadow their major professors or other faculty in the department to learn the roles and responsibilities of faculty in addition to teaching (e.g., observe a meeting between a major professor and her advisee at various stages of the advisee's graduate process). By doing so, graduate and postdoctoral students of color can see firsthand what it is like to have graduate students inquire and/or select a major professor and also see how the professor responds from the inquiry through the actual acceptance of a student or department's request to chair or serve on a student's committee. Strategies such as this certainly require thinking outside of the box as well as challenging traditional taboos and myths related to the graduate school process (Bullock, Hakim, Merchant, Moses, & Subrahmanyan, 1998; Cooper, Temple, & Steven, 1998; Daloz, 1999; Jones & Barcelo, 1998). This way, "predominantly undergraduate institutions [can] offer faculty viewpoints and venues that inform and enrich the work of doctoral education" (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996, p. 18), thereby attracting diverse faculty to colleges and universities as well as increasing the likelihood of success for all undergraduate and graduate students in the academy, not just males and/or European American students (Alger, 1998; Garcia, 2000; Jackson, 2001; Myers, 1998; Turner & Myers, 2000, Zachary, 2000).

Institutional Strategies and Efforts that Aid Faculty of Color in Attainment of Tenure

In terms of my institutional recommendations, I echo the contention of scholars who speak towards the development and/or sustenance of effective mentor and faculty development programs (Austin, 2002; Brown, 2000; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, Weibl, 2000; Jones, 2001; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996, Turner & Myers, 2000). While it is important to have inner drive as well as the necessary competencies and talents to be successful in the faculty, it is equally important for the opportunities to be present for such individuals to fulfill their personal and professional goals. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) contended that:

> Thinking of tenure and junior faculty life in this manner [organizational socialization] is as important for protecting academic freedom as were the initial efforts to establish the tenure system at the turn of the century. Simply stated, a structure cannot ultimately be the arbiter and protector of an ideal; people define, interpret, and implement structures and policies. From a cultural perspective, comprehension of the ongoing processes of socialization is necessary if we wish to develop more inclusive communities that give individuals the freedom to challenge ideas. (p. 37)

Thus, I recommend the following institutional changes as the researcher of the study:

1. Creating and/or enhancing effective mentoring relationships between senior and junior faculty where the new faculty member has an opportunity in the selection process of that member. Even if it means the assistant professor has the opportunity to meet with each of the potential mentors and offer input regarding a preference out of the six senior faculty members in the department. This way, newly appointed

faculty members still have some sense of ownership and involvement in the selection process. Providing opportunities for junior faculty to have input as to who their mentor is or is not could have tremendous impacts on the promotion and tenure success rates for departments and colleges. This is due to the fact that mentors and mentees spend a significant portion of their professional lives together, or at least the next five to seven years of that mentee's negotiation process.

2. Preparing well-documented portfolios as well as brief biographies of senior faculty within the college and/or closely related areas and give junior faculty an opportunity to learn about as well as interact with these individuals to get a "feel" for an appropriate personality "fit" and research agenda fit. This way, the mentor may be better able to assist the mentee in maximizing her fullest potential as a faculty member.

3. Provide rewards for senior faculty that agree to participate in the mentor programs. These rewards could be monetary in nature as well as release time from courses to spend time on their own research agenda. Having recognition dinners or acknowledging the efforts of senior faculty at departmental meetings are also ways to demonstrate appreciation towards senior faculty and their investment in the future of junior faculty.

4. Build partnerships and relationships with other departments within the college as well as across campus, whose resources may be of benefit to all faculty members, particularly junior faculty. For example, seminars on public speaking and how to enhance one's confidence and expertise in that area could be a lecture or workshop provided by the Speech and Communication Department. Or, have assistance from

the English Department in providing writing workshops for faculty as well as graduate students, which could increase their chance for publication. Finally, by maintaining open communication with programs, such as the Study Abroad program on campus, faculty can offer their students opportunities to study and conduct research abroad, making graduate students more marketable at the time of their job search. Building coalitions maximizes the resources of one's department; thus increasing the resources for faculty members.

5. Acknowledging their strengths and talents could increase their confidence in their scholarship and expertise. In other words, it is important to view junior faculty as colleagues who have rich resources to share opposed to necessarily assuming that they are coming from a standpoint of deficiency. This level of appreciation could improve relationships between mentors and mentees. Having opportunities for newly appointed faculty members to educate senior faculty as to their research, alternative approaches to conducting research, updates on new technology or upgrades on research software, could help assistant professors feel more valued and validated within a system that they already may feel initially intimidated and/or isolated due to their being the new kid on the block surrounded by renowned scholars in their field.

All of the aforementioned recommendations for practice will need to be studied to identify which programs and initiatives exist, determine the effectiveness of such programs, and secure additional resources required to help ensure faculty success. Therefore, the need for additional research is present. The individual factors that were gathered outweighed all others factors including institutional in terms of the successful negotiation of promotion and

tenure among African American women at a selected predominantly White Doctoral institution; the secondary factor was effective mentoring. Particularly, it was either the identification of competent and consistent senior faculty, or the matching of a non-committed and unavailable mentor; the bottom line was one either learned what to do or what not to do in one's role as a faculty member. While there are over 1,000 types of mentor programs in the United States, that does not mean that each of them are effective and/or serve the unique needs of faculty in higher education. The respondents of this study reported the following traits of effective mentors:

1. Competent and well respected in his or her discipline.

2. Willing to invest their time and expertise towards one professional goal.

3. Available and consistent in terms of their guidance and level of support when and if one should need them.

4. Ability to know when to be brutally honest as well as empathetic when the situation calls for it.

5. Empower and possess the ability to help you help yourself through situations.

6. Well connected so that you have someone to introduce you to other faculty and people in the field of one's discipline; someone who understands the value of networking and how to make connections happen.

The aforementioned traits of effective mentoring that were reported by respondents reflect many of the characteristics (e.g., availability, constructive feedback, or encouragement) discussed in the existing literature on guidance and mentoring (Cook, Kaplan, & Wright, 2001; Fries-Britt, 2000; Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, & Weibl, 2000; Hutchings, 1993; Turner, 2000; Zachary, 2000). There are effective programs and attributes reported across the country.

Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) shared the traits of what a mentor is and is not from a program that they highlighted. I selected the traits that most reflected the suggestions from the respondents of this study.

What A Mentor Is:

- One who empowers, encourages, and supports his/her mentees.

- One who advocates for the mentee in the department, at professional meetings, etc.

- One who provides information about what an academic career in this field involves.

- One who can help point the mentee in an appropriate direction to find resources for better teaching, for finding employment, for professional development, etc.

- One who is reasonably available.

- One who encourages the mentee to reflect on his/her own experiences.

- One who can be trusted.

What a Mentor Is Not:

- One must guide the mentee in all aspects of the mentee's professional and personal development.

- One who is responsible for all aspects of the mentee's success or failure.

- One who takes sole responsibility for defining the mentoring relationship. (p. 27)

The connections between what the respondents reported and what Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl (2000) discussed as effective traits of mentoring are evident. For the mentor, those combined characteristics consist of accessibility, willingness to guide and offer encouragement, and being established well enough in one's department, college, and externally [to a degree] to the mentee with networking and creating relationships that would enable the mentee to navigate more successfully through the academy. For the mentee, the

combined traits of effective mentoring include taking primary responsibility for one's

professional development, seeking and being open to assistance, and one who possess some

idea and/or plan of action for success in one's area of interest. Although mentoring is an

intricate aspect of faculty development, there are other components that are equally as

important in terms of faculty preparation. As colleges and universities seek to improve the

quality of professional and personal experiences of their faculty, it is imperative that

institutions consider their recruitment and hiring practices of faculty, particularly faculty of

color who research has shown often calls for unique strategies and purposeful planning

(Cooper, Temple, & Stevens, 1998; Garcia, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000).

With respect to hiring faculty members of color, Turner (2002), in *Diversifying the*

Faculty: A Guidebook for Search Committees, emphasizes concentration on the following

five areas before the search begins to help institutions diversify their faculty:

1. Communicate the educational rationale: The educational missions of most colleges

   and universities recognize the value of diversity—in their student body, faculty, and

   staff—as vitally important to preparing students to live and work in a world marked

   by sweeping demographic changes. Is to also explicitly incorporate faculty diversity

   as a goal within an overall strategic plan for preparing graduates to be culturally

   competent citizens.

2. Aligning departmental and institutional commitments: Responsibility of

   diversifying the faculty lies with people at many different levels in an academic

   institution. For example, some institutions create strong incentives to promote

   faculty diversity through the overall faculty reward structure.

3. Create a welcoming environment: While the reasons faculty of color leave positions vary, a hostile campus environment would certainly be cause for a quick retreat. Thus, conducting culture audits to assess how welcoming one's campus environment is to faculty of color is key. In order to successfully recruit and retain faculty of color, colleges and universities must take proactive steps to create a welcoming environment.

4. Securing resources: Once an institution commits itself to diversifying its faculty, securing the necessary resources becomes essential to the ultimate success of a search committee. For example, rather than waiting for a vacancy to occur, some institutions create funding pools from which departments can draw to hire qualified minority scholars when an opportunity presents itself.

5. And countering segregated networks: Too often, people of color are overlooked because they are not a part of the primary networks of senior faculty and administrators. Since one of the most important tasks of the search committee is to expand the pool of qualified applicants, new and diverse networks must be developed to counter the persistence of segregated networks. (pp. 5–11)

Briefly, I provided summations of the respondents' thoughts that reflected either their individual or collective thoughts of the five areas that Turner (2000) suggest search committees consider and/or prepare for as they recruit faculty members of color to their institutions. Those summations included the following:

1. Communicating the educational rationale: Graduate school preparation was essential in each of the respondent's successful negotiation of promotion and tenure process. The majority of the respondents reported that they were able to maintain

steady levels of scholarship (teaching, research and service) because they had been exposed to faculty roles and responsibilities at some point during their graduate education. While only two of the respondents reported that they really did not have a clue what to expect, all of the respondents felt as if the prior knowledge that they gained from their previous educational experiences was generally in line of what they were used to. This way, especially the case for Jane and Lisa, who attended predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institutions from undergraduate through post-baccalaureate.

2. Aligning departmental and institutional commitment: Respondents such as Sally, Josephine, and Hilda discussed the importance of providing guidelines and expectations that are clear for newly appointed faculty to understand. While each of the respondents was given institutional guidelines regarding promotion and tenure, there were respondents such as Jane, Lisa, and Sally who were given supplemental materials from their departments that increased their level of understanding regarding the promotion and tenure process. Therefore, Jane, Lisa, and Sally had a better grasp as to the expectations of both their respective departments and GBSU.

3. Create a welcoming environment: Jane, Lisa, and Meg spoke adamantly about the need for colleges and universities to create an environment where women and faculty of color felt welcome and appreciated. The respondents also felt that prospective faculty members of color have certain levels of responsibilities in helping to make the campus ecology more comfortable for oneself by seeking out support systems within and outside of the campus academic community.

4. Securing resources: There were two respondents that were in unique situations in terms of GBSU securing resources to ensure their recruitment to the institution. Resources were secured for one respondent because GBSU was looking to hire a faculty member of color to direct a theatre for minority plays and musicals. A position was created for another respondent to accommodate spousal arrangements after her husband was offered a tenure-track position in another college and department. It was apparent that GBSU made attempts to create funding sources that allowed them to attract faculty members of color.

5. Countering segregated networks: Each of the respondents discussed the need for support mechanisms to be in place in order to purposively recruit faculty. For example, Lisa discussed how her mentors groomed her for a faculty appointment and when an appointment became available in her department, she was able to apply for it because she had the criteria that the department was looking for. Moreover, the respondents offered recommendations for prospective faculty members of color on how to increase one's chances of earning a faculty appointment. Those suggestions, such as working above and beyond (e.g., volunteering for departmental committees that students can serve on) the expectations of graduate students in one's department as well as taking advantage of teaching and research opportunities in graduate school, directly linked to literature on faculty development programs for graduate students (Kroenenfeld & Whicker, 1997; Leslie, 2002; Marincovich, Prostko, & Stout, 1998).

It is apparent that many of the respondents' experiences and suggestions mirrored a host of recommendations in the literature on African American women faculty members and

other underrepresented groups who are interested in not only obtaining a faculty appointment but also earning promotion and tenure. While this research provides a platform for the voices of the six respondents in this study to be heard, the issue of having small numbers of African American female faculty members in colleges and universities across the country will not be eradicated with my study. Therefore, there continues to be a need for future research in the area of African American women and their pursuit of promotion and tenure at predominantly White doctoral institutions.

Recommendations for Future Research

While the number of African American women faculty is promising in relation to that of their ethnic colleagues, it is still increasing but only steadily (Employees in Colleges and Universities, 2001). Moreover, if strategies and blueprints for success are not researched and dispersed among colleges and universities from where the pool of faculty is developed, there may continue to be problems with the pipeline of qualified faculty members of color (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Aflred, 2001; Brown, 1988; Cooper, Temple, & Stevens, 1998; Moore, 1998). Overall, the Black women in my study unequivocally believe promotion and tenure is attainable but that it is definitely more challenging for women and minorities. After further review of the literature for this study as well as consideration of the respondents' recommendations as to why they perceive the number of their peers is small in the academy and/or the faculty preparation pipeline, I formulated the following suggestions:

1. Conduct more qualitative studies.

2. Diversify research methodologies.

3. Adopt a critical theoretical perspective.

4. Frame studies using critical race perspectives.

5. Study the dynamics involved when internal and external motivations meet and/or conflict.

Conduct more qualitative studies

With regards to future research, I believe that more qualitative studies are needed in the areas of promotion and tenure, particularly as they relate to African American women and other faculty of color in the academy. There are countless quantitative studies on race, ethnicity, and gender that provide sound and rationale explanations on the phenomena of issues and situations, but those studies could be enhanced and more applicable if they were conducted, solely and/or in part, qualitatively (Behar, 1996; Berg, 1998; Merriam & Associates, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 1997). Obtaining the narratives behind the statistics is powerful and could provide meaning to wider audiences within and outside of the academy (Babbie, 2001; Reinharz, 1992; Wax, 1985).

Diversify research methodologies

While I believe that the research methodologies used for this study were instrumental in helping me explore a plethora of internal and external factors that the respondents attributed to their successful negotiation of promotion and tenure, I do believe that future studies on this topic could be improved by adding the following research methods and methodologies:

1. Broadening data collection sites.

2. Increasing the sample pool of respondents.

3. Utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods.

4. Diversity of data collection methods.

5. Spending more time with the respondents.

Broadening the geographic sites of data collection to include not only one site but other sites in the Midwest, East Coast, Northern, and Southern regions across the United States may increase the applicability and generalizeability of the data findings. Additionally, increasing geographic sites will diversify the audience of scholars that relate and benefit from the experiences of the African American women in this and future studies. It would be interesting to see whether graduate preparation, effective mentoring, and/or spirituality are factors unique to the Midwest or attributes that benefit African American female faculty members regardless of geographic location.

Increasing the sample pool of African American female faculty members, as with the number of research sites, could also provide richer data. It would be interesting to see if certain themes or phenomena occur in and/or across certain groups of women in specific regions. Although the respondents in this study represented a number of geographic regions in terms of their hometowns, I still was unable to assess the applicability and generalizeability of the data because they all negotiated promotion and tenure at a selected predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution (Merriam & Associates, 2002).Therefore, other than the respondents represented by three colleges and five different departments, I was unable to diversify institutional dynamics and characteristics to explore themes across colleges and universities to see if there were commonalties or unique traits specific to groups of African American women faculty members at institutions in certain regions opposed to others.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods and methodologies were utilized (Denzin, 1997). Finally, while I realize that the nature of qualitative research it is not necessarily for quantifying purposes, I do believe that in order for systematic change to occur, such as the need to implement effective mentoring and faculty development programs for women and faculty members of color, that unfortunately, it will take more than six out of the thousands of African American women faculty members stories to promote and justify a revolution of programs and services.

Including 3–5 page position or personal writing papers that discuss certain aspects of the respondents' experiences would be useful, particularly for those who just do not have the time for follow-up meetings or to diversify data collection methods for respondents who prefer to share their thoughts in writing as opposed to solely conducting interviews. Providing written narratives would allow faculty members another opportunity to share their life encounters as Ellis and Bochner (2000) discussed:

> Narrative truth seeks to keep the past alive in the present. Stories show us that the meanings and significance of the past are incomplete, tentative, and revisable according to the contingencies of our present life circumstances, the present from which we narrate. (p. 745)

The personal narratives could center around the respondents' general feelings about their recruitment process for a faculty appointment or their perception about the promotion and tenure guidelines related to specific sections outlined by the researcher. There are a number of uses for personal narratives with respect to this research topic, and the publication possibilities (e.g., monographs) for the researcher and respondent are enormous, particularly if the topics are general causing no professional risk for the participants of the studies.

Increasing the amount of time that I spent with the respondents would provide excellent research opportunities in terms of being able to implement diverse methods and methodologies. Spending almost an academic year with the respondents did not appear to be ample time for the semi-structured interviews, member-checking, and follow-up interviews, and/or time for exchange of phone calls and electronic mails back and forth between myself and the respondents. I believe that a minimum of at least three to four academic semesters would be beneficial. That way, the aforementioned data collection techniques as well as other forms of research could be conducted including classroom and committee meeting observation as well as other forms of shadowing, such as observing certain times that the respondents spend with their student advisees. Additionally, talking with the respondents' departmental colleagues and even friends and family who are aware of the respondents' faculty roles and responsibilities could offer excellent sources for triangulation of data (Babbie, 2001; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Merriam & Associates, 2002). Having more time to conduct member checking and triangulation of data would have increased the authenticity and representation of respondents' voices and experiences (Merriam & Associates, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985a; Reinharz, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These approaches would allow more time for in-depth case studies and one-on-one interviews with the respondents (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Honan & Rule, 2002).

In addition to the five aforementioned recommendations on increasing and diversifying data collection methods for future studies, I also believe that research on African American women and promotion and tenure would be interesting to study from critical theoretical perspectives (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Nestor, 2001). Implementing critical theoretical perspectives from the onset of this study would have allowed me to place

issues of inequality as the center and platform of this research opposed to seeing if

respondents reported concerns of racism and sexism as the study evolved.

Adopt a critical theoretical perspective

Viewing this study from critical theorists' perspectives, such as the perspective

explained in the following passage by Tierney and Bensimon (1996) could add richer and

more meaningful interpretations and applicability of research on African American women

and their attainment of promotion and tenure. Tierney and Bensimon stated:

> Critical theory as an analytical tool in our effort to understand the oppressive acts of
>
> society; the intent is to develop culturally-based solutions to these problem . . . critical
>
> theorists seek to understand how ideology determines structure. Ideology is the set of
>
> doctrines through which those in an organization make sense of their own experiences.
>
> Culture is viewed as the manifold ways in which meaning is defined. We seek to
>
> understand how social groups make sense of their lives and circumstances. Culture is
>
> interpretive, the product of the social and ideological relations in which it is inscribed.
>
> Culture is neither passed down unproblematically from one generation to the next, nor
>
> is it static. Culture is changed as new individuals and groups enter into it, and it is
>
> transformed by present contexts and surrounding social life. (pp. 14–15)

By using the aforementioned approach to conducting research, one can better understand

how departmental, collegial, and institutional culture can be reviewed critically. Exploring

individual and institutional traits to assess the extent of matches and discords between

women and faculty members of color and the departmental, collegial, and institutional goals

they receive could offer a wealth of information regarding which traits of women and faculty

members of color indicate a person's ability to be successful or not at certain colleges and universities. Thus, these findings could impact the way in which women and faculty members of color choose or choose not to serve at certain institutions in the academy.

Frame studies using critical race perspectives

The academy continues to face the challenge of understanding and responding to the growing and changing needs of faculty, particularly women and faculty members of color in the 21st century (Boyer, 1990; Branch, 2001; Cohen, 1998; Cooper, Temple, & Stevens, 1998; Hu-Dehart, 2000). Therefore, it appears that more than ever, research that speaks to the unique issues of women and minority faculty is conducted (Radford-Hill, 2000; Rains, 1998). However, studies of women and faculty members of color should not only be explored from critical theoretical perspectives but also have race at the center of the research (Moore, 1998; Robinson & Tucker, 1997; Smith, 1998). The need for conducting research from critical race theoretical (CRT) perspectives is further echoed by Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw (1993), who stated that CRT:

- recognizes that racism is endemic to American life.

- expresses skepticism toward dominant claims of neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy.

- challenges a historicism and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of institutional policies.

- insists on recognizing the experiential knowledge of people of color and our communities of origin in analyzing society.

- is interdisciplinary and crosses epistemological and methodological boundaries.

- works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression. (p. 245)

Summarizing Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw's (1993) aforementioned points as they pertain to research on women and faculty members of color includes a number of factors. One, the acknowledgement that racism has and continues to exist within the academy regardless of the educational level, including collegial institutions, where women and people of color choose to serve as teachers or faculty members (Alfred, 2001; Clift, Anderson, & Hullfish, 1962; Collins, 2001; Cruse, 1984; Franklin, 2000; hooks, 2000b; Slater; 1994; Solomon, 1985). Two, not only should research acknowledge concerns of inequality and discrimination but explore these issues critically by looking into the root and historic cause and effects of these issues in order to help decrease and eradicate this negativity from the academy (hooks, 200b; Jones, 2001b; Lomotey, 1997; Thompson, 2000). Third, continue to research and implement the contributions of women and minorities within and across academic disciplines to improve the quality of education for all students and faculty members in the academy, particularly groups that have been traditionally oppressed and denied access (Bloom, 1998; Heggins, 2000; Huthings, 1993; Jones & Barcelo, 1008; Josselson, 1987; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Summer Research Opportunity, 2002; Villalpando & Bernal Delgado, 2002). Finally, there is a pressing need to continue the development, evaluation, and maintenance of mentor programs that educate students and faculty members, particularly women and people of color who plan to serve as and future scholars, as to the historic and current struggles for equality and access in order to have an informed academy (Ihlanfeldt, 2002; Jones, 2001a; Kroenenfeld & Whicker, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Morgan & William, 2001; Myers, 1998).

Study the dynamics involved when internal/external motivations meet and/or conflict

African American women have blazed the trail for women and other underrepresented groups throughout American history (Boyd, 1993; Cooper, 1988; Gregory, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Moore, 1998; Radford-Hill, 2000; Truth, 2000). Whether it was through the nonviolent but nevertheless courageous and passionate writings, entrepreneurs and/or educational pursuits of Phyllis Wheatley, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells, Coretta Scott King, Alice Walker, Maya Angelou, Madam C. J. Walker, or through life-threatening attempts to gain freedom, equality, and access to education for African Americans by way of women like Sojurner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Angela Davis, Septima Clark, Fannie Lou Hamer, Charlotte L. Forten, Rosa Parks, Betty Shabazz, or Daisy Bates, Black women have and will continue to meet and rise above the barriers placed before them (Lanker, 1989; Moore; 1998; Payne, 1993; Perkins, 1987). Therefore, it was feasible to include the need to study what happens when one's inner motivations and personal values conflict with external situations that counter one's beliefs.

For each of the respondents in this study, as with many of the African American women before them, each experienced some level of having to answer similar questions, "So, what do I do now, help this student tonight or complete this manuscript that is due first thing in the morning?" "Do I serve on yet another outside campus committee while my White colleagues only serve on committees in our department?" "Do I take this amazing job in Pullman, Washington where there are hardly any viable African American males to have as potential candidates for marriage?" "Will it appear cutthroat if I withhold information from the other African American in the department so that I can wait to see if I have been nominated for the new faculty member of color achievement award?" At one point or

another, the respondents had judgment calls to make, and they realized that they had to live with the consequences of those decisions. Replicating this study and including the standpoint of what actually happens internally when one meets a challenge would offer a rich perspective to this study, particularly understanding the conflict from how women come to know and make meaning of situations (Baxter-Magolda, 1992; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Josselson, 1996).

I believe, and history has illustrated, that at one point or another, in order for change to occur or for a system to change, there had to be forms of resistance (Clift, Anderson, & Hullfish, 1962; Cruse, 1984; Gitlin, 1993). This is true in terms of how college students are understood and the evolvement of student affairs, particularly its co-curricular connection to academics in American higher education (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Cohen, 1998; Gardner, 1985; Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Levine & Cureton, 1998; Rudolph, 1990; Solomon, 1985). Change and resistance is also evident in how the voices of women and the traditionally oppressed grew from nonexistent to platforms for scholarly research (Bloom, 1998; DeVault, 1999; Freire, 2000; Hill Collins, 2000, hooks, 2000b; Gilligan, 1982; Reinharz, 1992). Therefore, negotiating promotion and tenure should not be excluded from this notion.

In closing, this study revealed several layers in terms of how the six African American female faculty members of this study successfully negotiated promotion and tenure at a selected predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution. Their narratives discussed their successes and struggles as they sought and attained one of the highest honors in academia, promotion and tenure (AAUP, 1969). The respondents' experiences of how they negotiated access to as well as access within a stratified system at a large research institution speaks

volumes to their commitment, tenacity, sacrifice, and their willingness to accept a challenge. Each of the respondents ultimately accepted and lived with the consequences of her choice to pursue promotion and tenure at Global State University. Without a doubt, what each of the women in this study achieved both within and across their respective disciplines was remarkable and historic in that they helped pave the way for other African American women and faculty from underrepresented groups to follow.

There were many truths to be told about the respondents and their journey towards promotion and tenure, and every one of them were valid and should be commended. I leave you with humble and yet powerful words by Radford-Hill (2000) that I felt reflected the totality of experiences that were shared by the six African American female faculty members of this study, "Silence isn't golden when it comes to identifying and eliminating the crisis of Black Womanhood. [So,], as Radford-Hill (2000) urged, I [too] leave you with what I hope becomes a part of one's [your] personal commitment to a politically active life" (p. 103).

<div align="center">Suffer but Never Silently</div>

> Suffer sometimes, but never silently; forget social approbation.
> Say what you need; if you don't get it, move on to someone who can/will give it to you.
> Don't define yourself according to someone else's feelings/needs/wants/desires;
> Focus on your own emotions and motivations.
> Say what you can/can't do. Admit limits. Don't apologize.
> Minimize your angst, not yourself.
> Step into the light. Keep focused.
> Let all of your demands strengthen your resolve. (p. 103)

APPENDIX A. HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

<div align="right">
Human Subjects Research Office
2207 Pearson Hall, Room 15
Ames, IA 50011-2207
515/294-4566
FAX: 515/294-8000
</div>

DATE: November 12, 2001

TO: Lynette Danley Heggins

FROM: Janell Meldrem, IRB Administrator

RE: "Negotiating the Promotion and Tenure Process Among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution" IRB ID 02-173

TYPE OF APPLICATION: ☒ New Project   ☐ Continuing Review   ☐ Modification

The project, "Negotiating the Promotion and Tenure Process Among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution" has been approved for one year from its IRB approval date November 9, 2001. University policy and Federal regulations (45 CFR 46) require that all research involving human subjects be reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) on a continuing basis at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk, but at least once per year.

Any modification of this research project must be submitted to the IRB for prior review and approval. Modifications include but are not limited to: changing the protocol or study procedures, changing investigators or sponsors (funding sources), including additional key personnel, changing the Informed Consent Document, an increase in the total number of subjects anticipated, or adding new materials (e.g., letters, advertisements, questionnaires).

You must promptly report any of the following to the IRB: (1) all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) any other unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.

The PI must retain the signed consent documents for at least three years past completion of the research activity. If the principal investigator terminates association with the University before that time, the signed informed consent documents should go to the DEO to be maintained.

You are expected to make sure that additional key personnel who are involved in human subjects research complete training prior to their interactions with human subjects. Web based training is available from our web site.

Eleven months from the IRB approval, you will receive a letter notifying you that the expiration date is approaching. At that time, you will need to fill out a Continuing Review/and or Modification Form and return it to the Human Subjects Research Office. If the project is, or will be finished in one year, you will need to fill out a Project Closure Form to officially end the project.

Both of these forms are on the Human Subjects Research Office web site at:
http://grants-svr.admin.iastate.edu/VPR/humansubjects.html.

Iowa State University Human Subjects Review Form

PI Last Name Danley Heggins Title of Project Negotiating the Promotion and Tenure Process among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution

---

Checklist for Attachments

The following are attached (please check):

13. ☒ Letter or written statement to subjects indicating clearly:
    a) the purpose of the research
    b) the use of any identifier codes (names, #'s), how they will be used, and when they will be removed (see item 18)
    c) an estimate of time needed for participation in the research
    d) if applicable, the location of the research activity
    e) how you will ensure confidentiality
    f) in a longitudinal study, when and how you will contact subjects later
    g) that participation is voluntary; nonparticipation will not affect evaluations of the subject

14. ☒ A copy of the consent form (if applicable)

15. ☐ Letter of approval for research from cooperating organizations or institutions (if applicable)

16. ☒ Data-gathering instruments

---

17. Anticipated dates for contact with subjects:

First contact	Last contact
11-29-01	05-31-02
Month/Day/Year	Month/Day/Year

18. If applicable: anticipated date that identifiers will be removed from completed survey instruments and/or audio or visual tapes will be erased:

05-31-02
Month/Day/Year

19. Signature of Departmental Executive Officer   Date   Department or Administrative Unit

_____   11-4-1   ECPS

If the PI or co-PI is also the DEO, a Dean signature authority must sign here.

20. Initial action by the Institutional Review Board (IRB):

☐ Project approved   ☒ Pending Further Review 11/8/01   ☐ Project not approved _____
                                                    Date   Date

☐ No action required _____
                        Date

21. Follow-up action by the IRB:

Project approved ☐ _____   Project not approved _____   Project not resubmitted _____
                    Date   Date   Date

Rick Sharp   _Rick Sharp_   11/9/01
Name of IRB Chairperson   Signature of IRB Chairperson   Date

7/01

APPENDIX B. HUMAN SUBJECTS CONTINUED
REVIEW APPROVAL FORM

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office of Research Compliance
Vice Provost for Research and
Advanced Studies
2810 Beardshear Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-2036
515 294-4566
FAX 515 294-7288

TO: Lynette Danley

FROM: Janell Meldrem, IRB Administrator

PROJECT TITLE: Negotiating the Promotion and Tenure Process Among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution

RE: IRB ID No.: 02-173

APPROVAL DATE: November 9, 2002   REVIEW DATE: November 9, 2002

LENGTH OF APPROVAL: 1 year   CONTINUING REVIEW DATE: November 8, 2003

TYPE OF APPLICATION: ☐ New Project ☒ Continuing Review

Your human subjects research project application, as indicated above, has been approved by the Iowa State University IRB #1 for recruitment of subjects not to exceed the number indicated on the application form. All research for this study must be conducted according to the proposal that was approved by the IRB. If written informed consent is required, the IRB-stamped and dated Informed Consent Document(s), approved by the IRB for this project only, are attached. Please make copies from the attached "masters" for subjects to sign upon agreeing to participate. The original signed Informed Consent Document should be placed in your study files. A copy of the Informed Consent Document should be given to the subject.

If this study is sponsored by an external funding source, the original Assurance Certification/Identification form has been forwarded to the Office of Sponsored Programs Administration.

The IRB must conduct continuing review of research at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk, but not less than once per year. Renewal is the PI's responsibility, but as a reminder, you will receive notices at least 60 days and 30 days prior to the next review. Please note the continuing review date for your study.

Any modification of this research project must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval, prior to implementation. Modifications include but are not limited to: changing the protocol or study procedures, changing investigators or sponsors (funding sources), including additional key personnel, changing the Informed Consent Document, an increase in the total number of subjects anticipated, or adding new materials (e.g., letters, advertisements, questionnaires). Any future correspondence should include the IRB identification number provided and the study title.

You must promptly report any of the following to the IRB: (1) all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) any other unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.

HSRO/ORC 8/02

Approval letter
Page 2
Danley

Your research records may be audited at any time during or after the implementation of your study. Federal and University policy require that all research records be maintained for a period of three (3) years following the close of the research protocol. If the principal investigator terminates association with the University before that time, the signed informed consent documents should be given to the Departmental Executive Officer to be maintained.

Research investigators are expected comply with the University's Federal Wide Assurance, the Belmont Report, 45 CFR 46 and other applicable regulations prior to conducting the research. These documents are on the Human Subjects Research Office website or are available by calling (515) 294-4566.

Upon completion of the project, a Project Closure Form will need to be submitted to the Human Subjects Research Office to officially close the project.

cc: Florence Hamrick

Iowa State University
Continuing Review and/or Modification of Research Involving Human Subjects
(Please type the information on this form)
One copy of this form and changed documents should be submitted to the
Human Subjects Research Office, 2810 Beardshea Hall
http://grants-svr.admin.iastate.edu/VPR/humansubjects.html

SECTION I: PI/Project Information

1. I agree to provide the proper surveillance of this project to insure that the rights and welfare of the human subjects are protected. I will report any adverse reactions to the committee. Additions to or changes in research procedures after the project has been approved will be submitted to the committee for review. I agree that all key personnel involved in conducting human subjects research will receive training in the protection of human subjects. I agree to request renewal of approval for any project continuing more than one year.

2. Type of Submission: ☒ Continuing Review (fill in sections I & II) (Continuing Review can only be approved up to 30 days prior to the project's original approval date)
   ☐ Modification (fill in sections I & III)
   ☐ Continuing Review & Modification (fill in sections I, II, & III)

3. Date of Last IRB Approval: 11/12/01

4. IRB ID #:02-173

5. Title of Project (if title has changed since original approval, please provide both titles): "Negotiating Promotion and Tenure Among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution" and has changed to "Truths about Sojourner: African American women and the professorship-Their Struggles and their Successes on Negotiating Promotion and Tenure"

6. _____ # No Additional funding or original funding was used. n/A

7. Funding Source: N/A

8. Have key personnel been added since last approval? ☒No   ☐ Yes If yes, please list. (see part III for signature requirements) _____

Lynette L. Danley
Typed name of principal investigator

11/08/02   Lynette L. Danley
Date   Signature of principal investigator

Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Department

1508 Lincolnshire Ave. Apt. 10 Champaign, IL 61821
Address for correspondence

217/244-0276 and ldanley@uiuc.edu
Phone number and email

If student project:

Typed name of major professor or supervisor
Florence A. Hamrick, Ph.D

12/18/02   Florence A. Hamrick
Date   Signature

2/02

SECTION II: Continuing Review

8. Have there been any serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences since the last review?

   ☐ Yes, please explain.   ☒ No

9. Previously approved procedures and measure will remain the same.

   ☒ Yes   ☐ If no, please fill out section III.

   <u>No changes have been made. I am just requesting an extension of time in case I need to analyze and/or clarify data that has already been collected.</u>

SECTION III: Modifications (A modification is required whenever a change is made to the approved project, whether it be a title change or change in investigators, resubmission of a grant proposal involving changes to the original proposal, or changes in the funding source, etc.)

10. The following modification(s) are being made (check all that apply):

   ☐ Change in type of subjects (i.e. minors 14-17 to minors under 14): changed from _____ to _____.

   ☐ Change in informed consent document; attach copy with changes highlighted.

   ☐ Change in principal investigator; requires signature of new PI and verification of human subjects training, and signature of DEO for new PI.

   New PI typed name _____   New PI signature _____

   DEO signature _____

   ☐ Change in co-principal investigator(s); requires signature of new co-PI and attach verification of human subjects training

   New co-PI typed name _____   New co-PI signature _____

   ☐ Change in total number of subjects; changed from _____ to _____

   ☐ Inclusion of additional key personnel; type names and attach human subjects training verification _____

   ☐ Change in project sponsor (attach complete grant application for new or additional sponsor)

   ☒ Other (e.g., change in project title, adding new materials)

   <u>The title of the dissertation was changed to better reflect the nature and content of the study.</u>

11. Describe the modification(s) indicated above in sufficient detail for evaluation independent of any other documents.

   <u>As stated above, the title was changed to more accurately reflect the nature and content of the study which was qualitative and thus emphasized the experiences and processes of the respondents in the study.</u>

IRB Chair   Review Date

Ruth Sharp   11/8/02

2/02

APPENDIX C. PARTICIPANT LETTER AND CONSENT FORM

Review of Research Involving Human Subjects Form
Global State University
PARTICIPANT LETTER

Dear GBSU Faculty Participant:

You have been invited to participate in the study, "Negotiating the Promotion and Tenure Process among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution". The purpose of this study is to examine the reported experiences of the African American women tenured faculty who have successfully negotiated the promotion and tenure process at a selected predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution.

For the purposes of data collection, you will be asked to participate in an interview scheduled at your convenience. This interview will be audiotaped. Each interview will last no longer than an hour and a half to two-hours. You will be asked to allow the researcher named below to facilitate the interview and document those interactions as stated above. Follow-up (member-checking) contact may be necessary to review transcripts and audiotapes for accuracy of interpretations.

Each participant (GBSU African American women faculty with tenure) will be assigned a unique number, and a pseudonym will be assigned to interview participants. This number will identify the transcripts. Names will be coded and will not appear on any of the documents gathered for research. All items pertaining to the study will be stored and locked in a secured location in the principal investigator's residence. By the indicated date, May 31, 2002, all identifiers will have been removed from the interview transcripts and will be erased.

The research activity will take place at Global State University or at a location agreed upon by participants and the researcher.

Participation in this research is voluntary. If you have questions or need additional information, please contact me at 233-4097, or by e-mail at dheggins@ameslab.gov
You can also contact my Major Professor, Dr. Florence A. Hamrick, at 294-9628 or via e-mail at fhamrick@iastate.edu

Thank you,

Lynette Danley Heggins, Doctoral Candidate
Principal Investigator
Global State University
Educational Leadership and Policy Studies

Review of Research Involving Human Subjects Form
Global State University
COPY OF CONSENT FORM

Dear GBSU Faculty Participant:

You have been invited to participate in the study, "Negotiating the Promotion and Tenure Process among African American Women at a Predominantly White Doctoral Extensive Institution". The purpose of this study is to examine the reported experiences of the African American women tenured faculty who have successfully negotiated the promotion and tenure process at a selected predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution.

For the purposes of data collection, you will be asked to participate in an interview scheduled at your convenience. This interview will be audiotaped. Each interview will last no longer than an hour and a half to two-hours. You will be asked to allow the researcher named below to facilitate the interview and document those interactions as stated above. Follow-up (member-checking) contact may be necessary to review transcripts and audiotapes for accuracy of interpretations.

Your participation is confidential, and confidentiality will be maintained through: storage of data notes in a secure location accessible only to the researcher; use of personal and organizational pseudonyms in written reports and oral presentations of this research; and purging of personally-identifiable information from interviews and research reports and documents submitted only to Program of Study, P.O.S., Committee.

There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to program participants (GBSU African American women faculty with tenure). While participants will be encouraged to answer interview questions or survey items honestly, they may refrain from an interview question(s) if they are uncomfortable (or have discomfort) without force or coercion.

If you have questions or need additional information about this research or your participation, you may contact me, Lynette Danley Heggins, at 720 Kellogg Ave. Apt. 103, Ames, IA, 50010, by phone at 233-4097, and/or by e-mail at dheggins@ameslab.gov You may also contact my Major Professor, Dr. Florence A. Hamrick at 294-9628 or via e-mail at fhamrick@iastate.edu

I consent to participate in the research study named and described above.

Participant Name: (printed) _____
Signature of Participant: _____   Date: _____

Researcher Signature: _____   Date: _____

APPENDIX D. PROTOCOL QUESTIONS
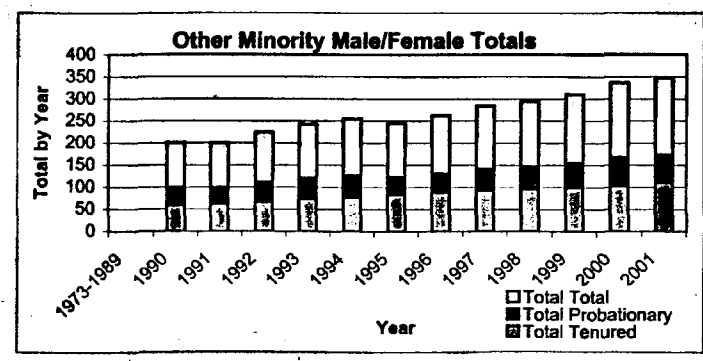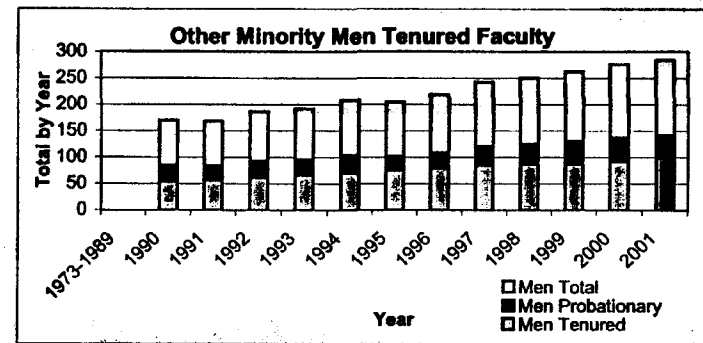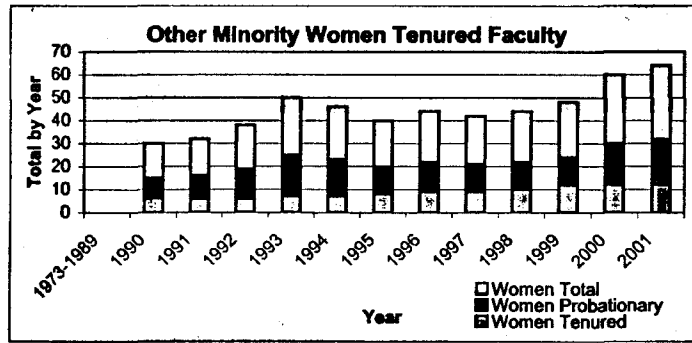
PROTOCOL QUESTIONS

1. At what point in your academic and/or professional career did you know that you wanted to be a professor, particularly at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution?
2. What experiences do you feel helped toward the preparation of the faculty, particularly those, which prepared you for the professoriate at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution? Formal and informal experiences.
3. Did you research the institution you are currently at now? Your interview process, what was it like?
4. What impact, if any, did race and gender have on your pursuit of post-secondary education, advanced degrees, professoriate, and faculty-probationary period?
5. In what way did your graduate school experience prepare you for the faculty, particularly at a predominantly White Doctoral Extensive institution?
6. In what ways did your understanding of the promotion and tenure guidelines match the expectations articulated throughout your faculty probationary period as well as at the actual P/T review process?
7. What would have been helpful to know during your faculty probationary period that you know now? What would be an example of that?
8. A. What do you feel your department (chair, colleagues, and students) would say is your greatest attribute/contribution to this department?
   B. What signals and/or feed back did you receive throughout your promotion and tenure process that indicated that you were either working in the right direction regarding promotion and tenure or that you there were areas in which you needed to improve upon?
9. What does a typical week involve for you in terms of your academic experiences? Do you feel those responsibilities emulate the general norm of the faculty in your department?
10. To what extent do you experience a match or discord with the level of responsibilities you had in obtaining promotion and tenure? In terms of expectations/responsibilities. Was it what you anticipated?
11. What is your understanding of Black feminism and feminist methodology? Did those beliefs, in any way, inform the way in which you teach, conduct research or participate in community service?
12. In what ways have you received departmental support in terms of your promotion and tenure process? How could that experience/support been improved?
13. What differences, if any, have your perceived in the way you have been supported throughout your P/T process and how males and non-African American women have been supported throughout their process?
14. If you could have changed one thing (or several things) about your promotion and tenure process what would it/they be?
15. How do you define "success" in terms of the promotion and tenure process?
16. If you had to do it all over again, what would you do differently regarding your preparation for the faculty, the faculty probationary period and negotiating the promotion and tenure process?
17. Are there any items related to promotion and tenure that I did not ask? If so, please share those at this time?
18. A. Do you have any final thoughts concerns and/or questions?
    B. What advice would you give/offer to another Black woman interested in the professorship?
19. What outside of teaching, research and service helped to sustain you through your promotion and tenure process?

Follow-up Protocol Questions Gathered from the Six Respondents

1. In terms of percentages, how would describe the distribution of your actual/real time in terms of research, teaching, service and other (define other) For example, 70% research, 20% teaching, 5% service and %5 other (advising)

2. In terms of percentages, how do/did you PERCEIVE the distribution of your colleagues (particularly White people/men) actual/real time in terms of research, teaching, service and other (define other). For example 65%, 15%, 3% service and 17% other (conferences)

3. Provide an age range for me (30-40, 45-55, etc)

4. List your hobbies and what you do in your spare time

5. How would you describe yourself? What characteristics/traits would you say are your strongest and weakest and how do/did those play a part in your negotiation of promotion and tenure?

6. Exactly what year did you come to ISU, what was your status when you came? What year were you promoted/tenured? How long have you been at ISU total number of years?

7. What were the political issues on campus at that time? Were you involved in any way in them? How do/did you perceive your involvement in those political issues in relation to promotion/tenure-did your involvement impact your negotiations in any way?

8. Reflection time. What did you think of our interview? What did you enjoy the most? What could have been improved upon? What suggestions would you offer for my future research in terms of methodology (interviewing)? Did any part of the interview STAND out to you.

9. In terms of geographic area, what part of the country are you from (Mid-west, West, East, South), what types of neighborhoods did you live in (predominantly Black, White, integrated) and what was the socio-economic status of the communities?

10. Do you have dual appointments in terms of colleges? Just need yes or no as well as what colleges if applicable?

11. Are you married-have children? If you do not have a spouse and/or children, was that decision NOT to start a family at this time impacted in any way by promotion and tenure?

12. Who is your most significant mentor/role model and why?

13. Did you have any examples of strong Black women throughout your life? Who were they, how did they influence you and did their involvement, in any way, serve you in your negotiation of promotion and tenure?

14. Is there ANYTHING else that you want to share in relation to promotion and tenure that we did not cover?

15. When you first received your promotion and tenure guidelines how did you perceive the breakdown percentage of your time, research, teaching, service and other (for example, 60%, 30%, 10%)

16. How many African American women that you know of have received tenure in your department/college? Are you the first?

17. Did you receive a senior faculty mentor to assist you in your negotiation of promotion and tenure process? If so, what role did she/he play in your negotiation of promotion and tenure?

APPENDIX E. GRAPHS

	Women			Men			Total		
	Tenured	Probationary	Total	Tenured	Probationary	Total	Tenured	Probationary	Total
1973-1989									
1990	6	9	15	53	32	85	59	41	100
1991	6	10	16	56	28	84	62	38	100
1992	6	13	19	61	32	93	67	45	112
1993	7	18	25	66	30	96	73	48	121
1994	7	16	23	70	34	104	77	50	127
1995	8	12	20	75	27	102	83	39	122
1996	9	13	22	79	30	109	88	43	131
1997	9	12	21	84	37	121	93	49	142
1998	10	12	22	87	38	125	97	50	147
1999	12	12	24	87	44	131	99	56	155
2000	12	18	30	92	46	138	104	64	168
2001	12	20	32	98	44	142	110	64	174

Other Minority Women Tenured Faculty

Other Minority Men Tenured Faculty

Other Minority Male/Female Totals

	Total			Men				Women		
	Tenured	Probationary	Total	Tenured	Probationary	Total		Tenured	Probationa	Total
1973										
1974										
1975										
1976	1158			1026				132		
1977	1145	441	1586	1008	298	1306		137	141	278
1978	1191	419	1610	1031	296	1327		160	123	283
1979	1206	376	1582	1056	253	1309		150	123	273
1980	1201	396	1597	1055	266	1320		146	130	276
1981	1241	358	1599	1070	250	1321		171	108	279
1982	1253	317	1570	1082	215	1297		171	102	273
1983	1262	328	1590	1081	225	1306		181	103	284
1984	1275	313	1588	1078	222	1300		197	91	288
1985	1284	313	1597	1086	228	1314		198	85	283
1986	1283	292	1575	1085	204	1289		198	88	286
1987	1275	272	1547	1078	182	1260		196	91	287
1988	1266	256	1522	1067	178	1245		199	78	277
1989	1231	253	1484	1034	171	1205		197	82	279
1990	1216	272	1488	1024	172	1196		192	100	292
1991	1203	261	1464	1008	161	1169		195	100	295
1992	1188	266	1454	997	166	1163		191	100	291
1993	1205	260	1465	1000	157	1157		205	103	308
1994	1210	254	1464	997	149	1146		213	105	318
1995	1225	241	1466	1007	140	1147		218	101	319
1996	1219	255	1474	994	145	1139		225	110	335
1997	1170	264	1434	956	154	1110		214	110	324
1998	1170	276	1446	944	164	1108		226	112	338
1999	1121	309	1430	899	187	1086		222	122	344
2000	1082	348	1430	860	209	1069		222	139	361
2001	1065	337	1402	836	205	1041		229	132	361

Total Women Tenured Faculty

Total Men Tenured Faculty

Total Men/Women Tenured Faculty
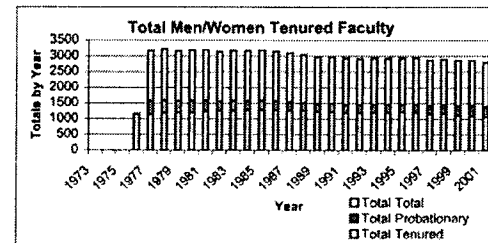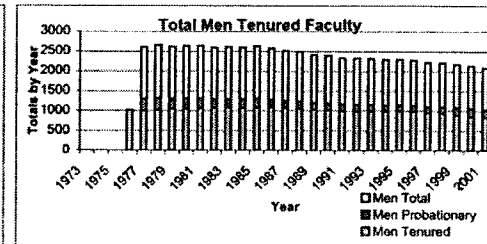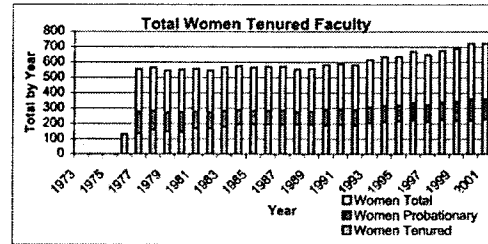
	Women			Men				Total		
	Tenured	Tenure-Track	Total	Tenured	Tenure-track	Total		Tenured	Tenure-track	Total
1973-1981							1973-1981			
1982							1982	1206	287	1493
1983							1983	1209	299	1508
1984							1984	1217	283	1500
1985							1985	1230	285	1515
1986							1986	1227	267	1494
1987							1987	1216	247	1463
1988							1988	1207	226	1433
1973-1989							1989	1167	212	1379
1990	185	84	269	967	133	1100	1990	1152	217	1369
1991	189	82	271	948	124	1072	1991	1137	206	1343
1992	184	81	265	932	124	1056	1992	1116	205	1321
1993	196	81	277	930	118	1048	1993	1126	199	1325
1994	204	84	288	922	110	1032	1994	1126	194	1320
1995	206	83	291	924	112	1036	1995	1132	195	1327
1996	214	90	304	907	114	1021	1996	1121	204	1325
1997	203	89	292	864	116	980	1997	1067	205	1272
1998	213	90	303	849	122	971	1998	1062	212	1274
1999	207	99	306	804	138	942	1999	1011	237	1248
2000	204	111	315	760	159	919	2000	964	270	1234
2001	208	107	315	728	154	882	2001	936	261	1197

Institutional Total White & Other Tenured Faculty

Totals by Year / Year — Total Tenure-track, Total Tenured

White & Other Women Tenured Faculty

Totals by Year / Year — Women Total, Women Tenure-Track, Women Tenured

Institutional Total White & Other Tenured Faculty

Totals by Year / Year — Total Total, Total Tenure-track, Total Tenured

White & Other Male Tenured Faculty

Totals by Year / Year — Men Total, Men Tenure-track, Men Tenured

Colleagues
Hilda

Colleagues
Sally

■ Colleagues
■ Josephine

(Chart: Research, Teaching, Service — values 45, 45)

	Jane	Colleagues
Research	40	65
Teaching	40	25
Service	20	10

■ Colleagues
■ Jane

Departmental Differences for Jane

(Chart: Research 65/40, Teaching 25/40, Service 20)

Lisa
Research 65
Teaching 20
Service 10
Other 5

What Lisa Perceived Colleagues to Experience

Research 65%
Teaching 20%
Other 5%
Service 10%

Sally
Research 70
Teaching 25
Service 5

Sally's Departmental Perceptions

Teaching 25%
Research 70%
Service 5%

Jane
Research 65
Teaching 25
Service 10

What Jane Perceived Colleagues to Experience

Research 65%
Teaching 25%
Service 10%

Hilda
Research 20
Teaching 80

Hilda's Departmental Perceptions

Research 20%
Teaching 80%

Meg
Research 30
Teaching 50
Service 20

What Meg Perceived Colleagues to Experience

Service 20%
Research 30%
Teaching 50%

Josephine
Research 45
Teaching 45
Service 10

What Josephine Perceived Colleagues to Experience

Teaching 45%
Service 10%
Research 45%

Lisa
Research 25
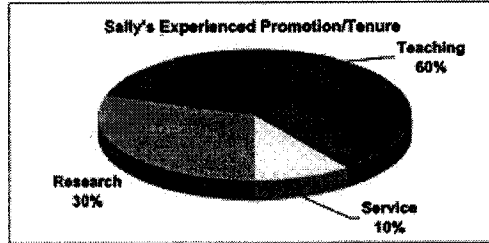Teaching 25
Service 50

Lisa's Experienced Promotion/Tenure

Service
50%

Research
25%
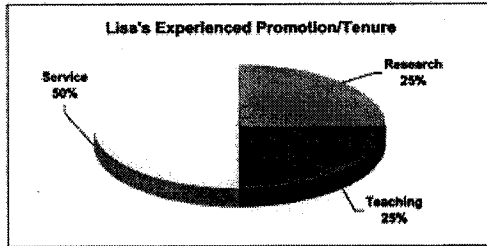
Teaching
25%

Sally
Research 30
Teaching 60
Service 10

Sally's Experienced Promotion/Tenure

Teaching
60%

Research
30%

Service
10%

Jane
Research 40
Teaching 40
Service 20

Jane's Experienced Promotion/Tenure

Service
20%

Research
40%
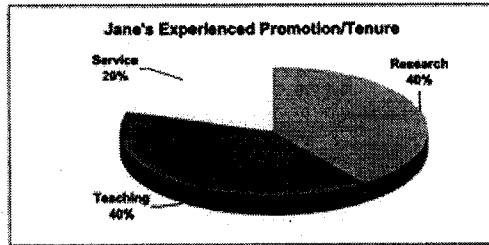
Teaching
40%

Hilda
Research 20
Teaching 60
Service 15
Other 5

Hilda's Experienced Promotion/Tenure

Other
5%

Service
15%

Research
20%

Teaching
60%

Meg
Research 30
Teaching 50
Service 20

Meg's Experienced Promotion/Tenure
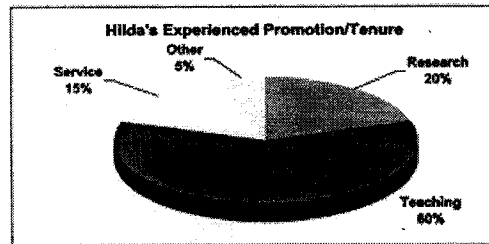
Teaching
50%

Research
30%

Service
20%

Josephine
Research 45
Teaching 45
Service 10

Josephine's Experienced Promotion/Tenure
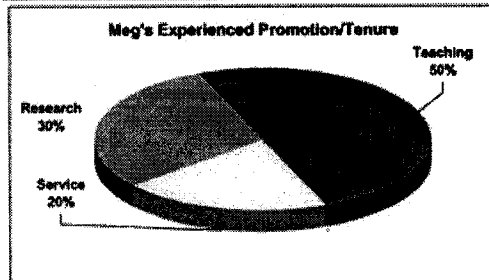
Teaching
45%

Research
45%

Service
10%
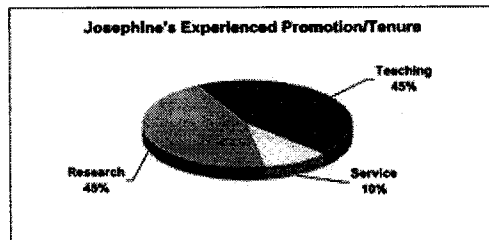
APPENDIX F. RESPONDENT CHECK LIST

Respondent Checklist
Interview:

Participant Letter   _____

Consent Form   _____

Pseudonym   _____

Protocol Questions   _____

P/T Packet/Documents   _____

Follow-up Interview   _____

Questions/Feedback:

APPENDIX G. CODING SCHEME FOR TRANSCRIPTS

Coding Scheme for Transcripts

Themes that Emerged from the Coding of Data Gathered from
the Five Research Questions

Experiences that affected promotion/tenure Informal/External Factors	Orange
Readiness for the professorship as well as preparation for the pursuit of the professorship	Pink
Impact of race, gender, and self-identity	Yellow
Black Feminist Thought/Feminism	Blue
Perceived criteria/perceptions of promotion and tenure process initially, experienced, as well as perceptions of colleagues' experiences	Green
Other (spirituality, family, community, graduate education, mentoring, White privilege, and male dominance)	Red

REFERENCES

Alexander-Snow, M., & Johnson, B. (1998, October). *Strategies for faculty of color and role performance*. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Alfred, M. V. (2001). Success in the Ivory tower: Lessons from Black tenured female faculty at a major research university. In R. O. Mabokela & A. L. Green (Eds.), *Sisters of the academy: Emergent Black women scholars in higher education* (pp. 57–79). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Alger, J. R. (1998, October). *Minority faculty and measuring merit: start by playing fair*. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

American Association of University Professors. (1969). *Academic freedom and tenure*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Anthony, J. S., & Taylor, E. (1998, October). *Graduate student socialization and its implications for the recruitment of African American Education faculty*. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education), pp. 1-

39. Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Anthony, J. S., & Taylor, E. (2001). Graduate student socialization and its implications for the recruitment of African American education faculty. In W. G. Tierney (Ed.), *Faculty work in schools of education: Rethinking roles and rewards for the twenty-first century* (pp. 189–209). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Austin, A. E. (2002). Preparing the next generation of faculty: Graduate school as socialization to the academic career. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73,* 94–122.

Babbie, E. (2001). *The practice of social research.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomas Learning.

Balderston, F. E. (1995). *Managing today's university.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Banks, J. (1997). *Teaching strategies for ethnic studies* (6th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Baxter Magolda, M. B. (1992). *Knowing and reasoning in college.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Behar, R. (1996). *The vulnerable observer: Anthropology that breaks your heart.* Boston: Beacon.

Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1986). *Women's way of knowing.* New York: Basic Books.

Berg, B. L. (1998). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bloom, L. R. (1998). *Under the sign of hope: Feminist methodology and narrative interpretation.* Albany: University of New York Press.

Blue, D. A. (2001). Breaking the silence. In R. O. Mabokela & A. L. Green (Eds.), *Sisters of the academy: Emergent Black women scholars in higher education* (pp. 116–137). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Bolton, M. K. (2000). *The third shift: Managing hard choices in our careers, homes, and lives as women.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bowen, W.G., & Bok, D. (1998) *The shape of the river: Long-term consequences of considering race in college and university admissions.* Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton Press.

Boyd, J. A. (1993). *In the company of my sisters: Black women and self-esteem.* New York: Penguin Group.

Boyer, E. L. (1990). *Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate.* New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Branch, A. J. (2001). How to retain African-American faculty during times of challenge for higher education. In. L. Jones (Eds.). *Retaining African Americans in higher education: Challenging paradigms for retaining students, faculty, & administrators* (pp. 175–191). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Braskamp, L. A., & Ory, J. C. (1994). *Assessing faculty work: Enhancing individual and institutional performance.* New York: Jossey-Bass.

Brown, C. M., II. (2000). Involvement with students: How much can I give? In. M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 71–88). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Brown, S. V. (1988). *Increasing minority faculty: An elusive goal.* A research report of the Minority Graduate Education, MGE, Project, jointly sponsored by the Graduate Record

Examinations Board and Educational Testing Service. San Diego, CA: Educational

Testing Services.

Bullock, S., Hakim, S., Harles, N., Merchant, N., Moses, S., & Subrahmanyan, L. (1998,

October). *Overloaded and underpaid: The irony of barriers faced in conducting a study*

on retention of faculty of color. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary

Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of

faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice

President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Carnegie Classifications. (2000). *Carnegie classification of institutions of higher education.*

Menlo Park, CA: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Retrieved November 17, 2002, from http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/

Classification/index.htm

Carnegie groupings of doctorate-granting institutions. (2001, August 31, Almanac Issue).

Chronicle of Higher Education, 68(1), 35.

Clift, V. A., Anderson, A. W., & Hullfish, G. H. (Eds). (1962). *Negro education in America:*

Its adequacy, problems, and needs (1st ed.). New York: Harper & Brothers.

Clinchy, B. M. (1989). The development of thoughtfulness in college women: Integrating

reason and care. *American Behavioral Scientist, 32,* 647–657.

Cohen, A. M. (1998). *The shaping of American higher education: Emergence and growth of*

the contemporary system. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cohen, R., & Kennedy, P. (2000). *Global sociology.* London: MacMillan.

Colleges and universities by racial and ethnic group. (2001, August 31, Almanac Issue).

   Chronicle of Higher Education, 68(1), 28.

Collins, A. C. (2001). Black women in the academy: An historical overview. In R. O.

   Mabokela & A. L. Green (Eds.), *Sisters of the academy: Emergent Black women*

   scholars in higher education (pp. 28–41). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Collison, M. N. K. (2000, July 6). Studied indifference. *Black Issues in Higher Education,*

   32–37.

Cook, E. C., Kaplan, J. N., & Wright, M. C. (2001). Preparing future faculty faster: A crash

   course guides students to the professoriate. *American Association of Higher Education*

   Bulletin, 54(3), 3–7.

Cooper, A. J. (H. L. Gates, Ed.). (1988). *A voice from the south.* New York: Oxford

   University Press.

Cooper, J. E., Temple, J. B., & Stevens, D. D. (1998, October). *Designing and redesigning*

   faculty development programs for women and faculty of color: A comparative study of

   two programs at different stages of development. Paper presented at Symposium

   Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the

   recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN:

   Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/

   University of Minnesota.

Covington Clarkson, L. M. (2001). Sufficiently challenged: A family's pursuit of a Ph.D. In

   R. O. Mabokela & A. L. Green (Eds.), *Sisters of the academy: Emergent Black women*

   scholars in higher education (pp. 161–173). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Cruse, H. (1984). *The crisis of the Negro intellectual: A historical analysis of the failure of Black leadership*. New York: Quill.

Daloz, L. A. (Ed.). (1999). *Mentor: Guiding the journey of adult learners*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

DeSousa, J. (2001). Reexamining the educational pipeline for African-American students. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Retaining African Americans in higher education: Challenging paradigms for retaining students, faculty, and administrators* (pp. 21–44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

DeVault, M. L. (1999). *Liberating method: Feminism and social research*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

DuBois, W. E. B. (Ed.). (1990). *The souls of Black folks*. New York: Vintage Books/The Library of America.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 733–768). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Employees in Colleges and Universities. (2001, August 31, Almanac Issue). *Chronicle of Higher Education, 68*(1), 28.

Evans, N., Forney, D., & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1998). *Student development in college: Theory, research and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Feagan, J. R., Vera, H., & Imani, N. (1996). *The agony of education: African American students at White colleges and universities*. New York: Routledge.

Fontana, & Frey, J. H. (1994). Interviewing: The art of science. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 47–48). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Franklin, J. H., & Moss, A. A. (2000). *From slavery to freedom: A history of African Americans*. New York: Knopf.

Freire, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Fries-Britt, S. (2000). Developing support networks and seeking answers to questions. In M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 39–56). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Gaff, J. G., Pruitt-Logan, A. S., & Weibl, R. A. (2000). *Building the faculty we need*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities and the Council of Graduate Students.

Gappa, J. M., & MacDermid, S. M. (1997). *Work, family, and the faculty career: New pathways: Faculty careers and employment for the 21st century* (Forum on Faculty Roles and Rewards). Washington, DC: American Association for Higher Education.

Garcia, M. (2000). Weighing the options: Where do I want to work? In M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 1–26). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Gardner, H. (Ed.). (1985). *The mind's new science.* New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays.* New York: Basic Books.

Gelmon, S., & Kippenhan, S. A. (2002). Promotion, tenure, and the engaged scholar: Keeping the scholarship of engagement in the review process. *American Association of Higher Education Bulletin, 54*(5), 7–11.

Gilligan, C. (1977). In a different voice: Women's conceptions of self and morality. *Harvard Educational Review, 47,* 481–517.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gitlin, T. (1993). *The sixties: Years of hope, days of rage.* New York: Bantum Book.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers.* White Plains, NY: Longman.

Golde, C. (1999). After the offer, before the deal: Negotiating a first academic job. *Academe, 85,* 44–49.

Green, P. E. (2001). The policies and politics of retention and access of African-American students in public White institutions. In. L. Jones (Ed.), *Retaining African Americans in higher education: Challenging paradigms for retaining students, faculty, and administrators* (pp. 45–57). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gregory, S. T. (1995). *Black women in the academy: The secrets to success and achievement.* New York: University Press of America.

Hamrick, F. A., Evans, N. J., & Schuh, J. H. (2002). *Foundations of student affairs practice: How philosophy, theory, and research strengthen outcomes.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Heggins, W. J. (2000). Examining the experiences of minorities preparing for the professoriate. Ames, IA: Educational Leadership and Policy Studies.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* New York: Routledge.

Honan, J. P., & Rule, C. S. (2002). *Using cases in higher education: A guide for faculty and administrators.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I a woman: Black women and feminism.* Boston: South End.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom.* New York: Routledge.

hooks, b. (2000a). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

hooks, b. (2000b). Feminism: A movement to end sexist oppression. In. M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfield, R. Casteaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice* (pp. 238–240). New York: Routledge.

Hu-Dehart, E. (2000). Office politics and departmental culture. In M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 27–38). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Hutcheson, P. A. (2000). *A professional professoriate: Unionization, bureaucratization, and the AAUP.* Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Hutchings, P. (Ed.) (1993). *Preparing the professoriate: Next steps and what we need to do to take them.* New York: Syracuse University Press.

Ihlandfeldt, W. (2002). "Buying in" to graduate school recruitment: How cultivating self-interests and financial incentives can stimulate enrollment. *American Association of Higher Education Bulletin, 54*(9), 6–8.

Jackson, J. F. L. (1998, October). *Scholars of color: Are universities derailing their scholarship?* Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Jackson, J. F. L. (2001). A new test for diversity: Retaining African American administrators at predominantly White institutions. In. L. Jones (Ed.), *Retaining African Americans in higher education: Challenging paradigms for retaining students, faculty, and administrators* (pp. 93–109). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jacobson, D. (1991). *Reading ethnography.* Albany: University of New York Press.

Jarmon, B. (2001). *Unwritten rules of the game.* In R. O. Mabokela & A. L. Green (Eds.), *Sisters of the academy: Emergent Black women scholars in higher education* (pp. 175–181). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Johnson, E. H. (1998). *Brothers on the mend: Understanding and healing anger for African-American men and women.* New York: Pocket Books.

Jones, L. (2001a). Creating an affirming culture to retain African American students during the PostAffirmative Action Era in higher education. In. L. Jones (Ed.), *Retaining*

African Americans in higher education: Challenging paradigms for retaining students, faculty, and administrators (pp. 3–20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jones, L. (Ed.). (2001b). *Retaining African Americans in higher education: Challenging paradigms for retaining students, faculty, & administrators*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Jones, R. J., & Barcelo, N. R. (1998, October). *Strategies for the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in a large research university—Minnesota's approach*. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Josselson, R. (1987). *Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Josselson, R. (1996). *Revising herself: The story of women's identity from college to midlife*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kroenenfeld, J. J., & Whicker, M. L. (1997). Getting an academic job: Strategies for success. *Survival Skills for Scholars Series*, 17, 1–113.

Kuh, G. D., Schuh, J. H., Whitt, E. J., Andreas, R. E., Lyons, J. W., Strange, C. C., Krehbiel, L. E., & MacKay, K. A. (1991). *Involving colleges: Successful approaches to fostering student learning and development outside the classroom*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 257–277). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lanker, B. (1989). *I dream a world: Portraits of Black women who changed America.* New York: Stewart, Tabori, and Chang.

Leik, R. K., & Goulding, A. R. (1998, October). *Threats to academic identity and commitment for faculty of color.* Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education), pp. 1–19. Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Leslie, D. W. (2002). Resolving the dispute: Teaching is academe's core value. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73,* 49–73.

Levine. A. R., & Cureton, J. S. (1998). *When hope and fear collide: A portrait of today's college student.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985a). But is it rigorous?: Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. In. J. S. Stark & A. Thomas (Eds.), *Assessment program evaluation* (pp. 651–658). Boston: Simon and Schuster.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985b). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lomotey, K. (1997). *Sailing against the wind.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lubiano, W. (1992). Black ladies, welfare queens, and state minstrels: Ideological war by narrative means. In T. Morrison (Ed.), *Race-ing justice, en-gendering justice* (pp. 323–363). New York: Pantheon.

Marincovich, M., Prostko, J., & Stout, F. (1998). *The professional development of graduate teaching assistants.* Bolton, MA: Anker.

McEwen, M. K., Roper, L. D., Bryant, D. R., & Langa, M. J. (1990). Incorporating the

development of African-American students into psychosocial theories of student

development. *Journal of College Student Development, 31*, 429–436.

Menges, R. J., & Associates. (1999). *Faculty in new jobs: A guide to settling in, becoming

established, and building institutional support.* New York: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B., & Associates. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for

discussion and analysis.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (Eds.). (1994). *Qualitative analysis: An expanded

workbook.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Moore, E. L. (1998, October). *Administrative mobility: Historical perspectives and current

implications for women of color.* Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary

Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of

faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice

President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Morgan, B. L., & William, C. (2001). You've got mentoring: Enhancing new faculty

development with timely email bulletins. *American Association for Higher Education

Bulletin, 54*(3), 8–10.

Myers, S. L., Jr. (1998, October). *Diversity seen from the top and bottom.* Paper presented at

Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing

the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education), pp. 1–5.

Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and

Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

National Center for Education Statistics. (1998a). *Background characteristics, work activities, and compensation of faculty and instructional staff in postsecondary institutions*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved July 25, 2002, from http://www.nces.ed.gov/quicktables/Detail.asp?Key=552

National Center for Education Statistics. (1998b). *National study of postsecondary faculty* (NSOPF:99). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved July 25, 2002, from http://www.nces.ed.gov/quicktables/Detail.asp?Key=552

National Center for Education Statistics. (1998c). *National study of postsecondary faculty, "Institution survey"* (NSOPF:99). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved July 25, 2002, from http://www.nces.ed.gov/quicktables/Detail.asp?Key=675

National Research Council. (1999). *Transforming undergraduate education in science, mathematics, engineering, and technology*. Washington, DC: National Research Council.

Nestor, R. P. (2001). *Critical research and evaluation*. New York: University Press of America.

Nettles, M. T. (1997). *The African American education data book (Vol. 1: Higher and adult education)*. Fairfax, VA: Frederick D. Patterson Research Institute of the College Fund/UNCF.

Nora, A. (2000). Balancing teaching, research, and service: A mentoring perspective. In. M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 57–69). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Payne, C. (1993). Men led, but women organized: Movement participation of women in the Mississippi Delta. In V. Crawford, J. A. Rouse, & B. Woods (Eds.), *Women in the Civil*

Rights Movement: Trailblazers & torchbearers 1941–1965 (pp. 1–11). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Perkins, L. M. (1987). *Fanny Jackson Coppin and the Institute for Colored Youth, 1865–1902*. New York: Garland.

Perkins, L. M. (1997). For the good of the race: Married African-American academics—A historical perspective. In M. A. Ferber & V. J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and promises* (pp. 80–105). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Petrovich, J. (2000). Finding resources for my academic interests: Obtaining grants. In M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 89–97). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Pigford, A. B. (1988). Being a Black faculty member on a White campus: My reality. *Black Issues in Higher Education, 5*(18), 76.

Pigford, A. B., & Tonnsen, S. (1993). *Women in school leadership: Survival and advancement guidebook*. Lancaster, PA: Technomic.

Radford-Hill, S. (2000). *Further to fly: Black women and the politics of empowerment*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Rains, F. V. (1998, October). *Is the price worth the cost of survival in academic apartheid? Women faculty of color in a [White] research university*. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research.* New York: Oxford University

Press.

Rendon, L. I. (2000). Academics of the heart: Maintaining body, soul, and spirit. In M.

Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 141–

155). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Robinson, K. R., & Tucker, A. D. (1997–1998). Factors contributing to the success of

African American women in higher education. *McNair Scholar Journal, 2,* 63–66.

Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Post-modernism and the social sciences: Insights, inroad, and*

intrusions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rudolph, R. (1990). *The American college and university: A history* (2nd ed.). Athens: The

University of Georgia Press.

Sandler, B. R. (1996). *The chilly classroom climate: A guide to improve the education of*

women. Washington, DC: National Association for Women in Education.

Shaw, S. J. (1996). *What a woman ought to be and to do: Black professional women workers*

during the Jim Crow Era. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Silverman, D. (1997*). Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice.* Thousand Oaks,

CA: Sage.

Slater, R. (1994). The Blacks who first entered the world of White higher education. *The*

Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 4, 47–56.

Smith, D. G. (1998, October). *Achieving faculty diversity: Debunking myths and other*

strategies. Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers

(Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in

higher education), pp. 1–28. Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President

for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Solomon, B. M. (1985). *In the company of educated women*. New Haven, CT: Yale

University Press.

Summer Research Opportunity Project (SROP). (2002). *Underrepresented minorities in the*

academy: Understanding the career attainment process (Report submitted by the

Department of Educational Policy Studies). Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-

Champaign.

Strange, C. C. (2001). Spiritual dimensions of graduate preparation in student affairs

[Monograph]. *New directions for student affairs, 95,* 57–67.

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory*

procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Thomson, C. (2000). White men and the denial of racism. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfield,

R. Casteaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for*

diversity and social justice (pp. 104–109). New York: Routledge.

Tierney, W. G. (1998, October). *Reconstructing the faculty reward system*. Paper presented

at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing

the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis,

MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/

University of Minnesota.

Tierney, W. G., & Bensimon, E. M. (1996). *Promotion and tenure: Community and*

socialization in academe. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Tierney, W. G., & Rhoades, R. A. (1994). *Faculty socialization as cultural processes: A mirror of institutional commitment* (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 93-6). Washington, DC: The George Washington University, School of Education and Human Development.

Truth, S. (2000). Ain't I a woman? In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfield, R. Casteaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice* (p. 241). New York: Routledge.

Turner, C. S. (1998, October). *Promoting and tenure for faculty of color: Promoting business as usual.* Paper presented at Symposium Proceedings, Plenary Session Papers (Keeping our faculties: Addressing the recruitment and retention of faculty of color in higher education). Minneapolis, MN: Office of the Associate Vice President for Multicultural and Academic Affairs/University of Minnesota.

Turner, C. S. (2000). Defining success: Promotion and tenure: Planning for each career stage and beyond. In M. Garcia (Ed.), *Succeeding in an academic career: A guide for faculty of color* (pp. 111–140). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Turner, C. S. (2002). Women of color in academe: Living with multiple marginality. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73,* 74–93.

Turner, C. S., & Myers, S. L. (2000). *Faculty of color in academe: Bittersweet success.* Needham, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Villalpando, O., & Bernal Delgado, D. (2002). A critical race theory analysis of barriers that impede the success of faculty of color. In W. A. Smith, P. G. Altbach, & K. Lomotey (Eds.), *The racial crisis in American higher education: Continuing challenges for the 21st century* (pp. 243–269). Albany: State University of New York.

Wax, R. (Eds). (1985). *Doing fieldwork: Warnings and advice.* Chicago: Midway Reprint.

Weidman, J. C., Twale, D. J., & Stein, E. L. (2001). *Socialization of graduate and professional students in higher education: A perilous passage?* (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, Vol. 28, No. 3). Washington, DC: The George Washington University, School of Education and Human Development.

Wenniger, M. D., & Conroy, M. H. (2001). *Gender equity or bust: On the road to campus leadership with women in higher education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

West, C. (1990). The new cultural politics of difference. *October, 53,* 93–109.

Wheeler, S. (1966). The structure of formally organized socialization settings. In O. G. Brim, Jr., & S. Wheeler (Eds.), *Socialization after childhood: Two essays* (pp. 51–116). New York: Wiley.

Wilson, R. (2001). A higher bar earning tenure. *Chronicle of Higher Education, 47*(17), A12-14.

Wisker, G. (1996). *Empowering women in higher education.* London: Kogan Page Limited.

Wolf, D. (1996). *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork.* Boulder, CO: Westview.

Wolf, M. (1992). *A thrice told tale: Feminism, postmodernism, and ethnographic responsibility.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Zachary, L. J. (2000). *The mentor's guide: Facilitating effective learning relationships.* New York: Jossey-Bass.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I give all honor, glory and the highest praise to God for the completion of my dissertation. If it was not for His love, grace, and mercy I honestly do not know where I would be. Little did I know that my quest towards the doctorate began over 30 years ago when I entered into my first classroom. From that point, every experience, whether good or bad, has been a stepping stone towards this major milestone in my life.

A public and sincere thanks to my dissertation committee, Drs. Florence Hamrick, Valerie Sheares Ashby (my honorary co-chair), George Jackson, John Schuh, and Carlie Tartakov for their time, dedication, constructive criticism, patience, flexibility, and the expectation and ultimate belief that I would complete this dissertation. A special thanks to Dr. Hamrick who proved that there are numerous ways to nurture a student and that often, when even the student least expects it, what appears to be tough lessons were in actuality a professor's love, respect, and best wishes for her student. Thank you.

I extend my sincere appreciation to the Sista' Soldiers (respondents) of my dissertation-our study, who without their courage, unselfish spirits, and willingness to assist me as well as serve as change agents to improve the diversity within the Ivory Towers of the academy, this dissertation would not have been possible. My plans are to continue carrying the torch of access, equality, and voice for the traditionally underrepresented and underserved. May God continue to richly bless and keep you for all eternity.

To my editors, Bonnie Trede (Ames), Anita Rollins (Ames), and Joyce Hipskind (Urbana-Champaign), your help brought life and clarity to my words. Without you, my thoughts would be just that, mine. As a result of your commitment to ensuring that I present

the best form of scholarship, I have completed one of my major goals in life. I will forever be thankful to God for your many talents and your willingness to share them.

Humble thanks to the teachers, administrators, and best friend since elementary school (Anissa Harris) of Howe Elementary School, Dorothy Petak, Mr. Greenburg, Ms. Hill, Ms. Miller, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Carlton, especially Ms. Gore and Mr. Wilson for taking the time to find the academic and creative talents that lay deep within me.

To my family at Curie Metropolitan High School, especially Mr. Ron McCowan, thank you for helping me to take the first step towards actualizing my untapped goal to attend college. I had many dreams while at Curie but I wasn't sure how to make them come true. Thank you for helping me find the path towards myself.

A special thanks to the faculty and administrators of Western Illinois University, particularly Drs. Essie Rutledge and Earl Bracey and Mrs. Jacquline Owens who provided academic, personal, and financial guidance for me throughout my tenure at WIU. I want you to know that each of you has made an impact on my life.

I personally thank the faculty, staff, and administrators who hired, taught, guided, and on many occasions challenged me to always put forth my best effort, Drs. Robinson, Schuh, Ron Jackson, Thomas Hill, Judy Dolphin, Anita Rollins, Kathleen Trahanovsky, Mr. Al Campbell, Theresa McCormick, Karen Donaldson, Sherry St. John, and Lenola Allen-Sommerville.

Special thanks to Thelma Harding, Judy Weiliand, Marjorie Smith, Beverly Cartstensen, and Richard Manatt, for going above and beyond your roles and responsibilities at ISU to make sure that I completed my academic, professional, and personal goals. Thelma, thank you for assisting me over a year prior to helping recruit me to Iowa State and then for

never forgetting me once I was there. Judy, for everything, but mostly for not giving up on me. To Marjorie, for listening and for helping me to navigate through these tough years, thank you. Bev, even though you were new on the scene, you helped me as if we had known each other for years. Thank you for your prayers and all of your help. Each of you, enjoy your children/grandchildren. You certainly spend enough time taking care of us in ELPS. To Dr. Manatt, you were there, without hesitation from the moment that I needed you until you left and I thank you. Best wishes on your retirement. You have made a difference in the lives of many including mine.

To Wanda Everage, Don Adams, Karl Brooks, Amy Street, and Alina Bokde, thank you for making Drake a special place for me. I learned so much from each of you and I will always cherish the memories that I had at Drake University.

To Mary Lynne Jones, Mary Chapman, especially Debra Carr and Vadie Brock Reese, who helped me figuratively and literally survive living in Des Moines, thank you for helping me recognize and accept that I am of worth. The lesson continues. . . .

A special thanks to my Ames family, Anita and Derrick Rollins, Valerie and George Ashby and family, Tonya and Charles Colen and family, Josette and Ernest Faison and family, Katherine and Lawrence Hill and family, Angela and Dominick Fazarro and family, Evie and Deland Myers and family, Carlie and Gary Tartakov, Angela and Joe Bradley, and Pastor Terrance and First Lady Delores Shane and the Friendship Baptist Church family for helping me to reconnect with Christ. You will always be a part of my family and I look forward to us visiting one another throughout the years to come. Ms. Rollins and Valerie, my mother and big sister in Ames, you know how far we have come. I thank each of you for

seeing something special inside of me, especially at times when I did not see anything good in myself.

My heartfelt thanks to my sisterfriends who have been by my side regardless of circumstance and distance either from kindergarten at Howe School, through plays and musicals at Curie, to "kicking and achieving" it at Western, to trying to get it right at Drake University, to holding it down despite the obstacles at ISU, and to recently walking the halls of UICU, I sincerely thank Anissa Harris, Sarita Smith, Keeby McMillon, Vicki Dodd, Eboni Zamani, Ayanna Price, Andrea Washington, Alina Bokde, Vadie Brock Reese, Annissa Page, Helen Eubanks, Linda Williams, Nicole Gale, Nicole Dorrell, Sharon Holmes, Sheila Rowe, Jennifer Dawson, Valerie Holmes, LaTonya Washington, Jacqueline Murry and RoSusan Bartee. Without your friendship, belief in my ability, brutal honesty, exchange of "manly stories," good food, and above all countless prayers, I would not be half the woman I am or all that I will ever become. I thank the Most High for each of you.

To my little sisters, Rochelle Johnson, Tynesia Hill, Erica Smith, Mechelle Glover, Meisha Colbert, P'Angela Haynes, Michelle Talbot, Jasmyn Dyer, and Sarai Arnold, I am always here for you. You are the prize of the future and my son's future rest in the bosom of the generation that you help create, so go forth fiercely in Christ.

To my brotherfriends who I have known since I understood that men and women could be "real" friends, I humbly thank you for the life lessons that you shared from a male's perspective. Each of you challenged me to be a better woman and person in this world. Much love goes out to Eric Lumpkin, Matthew Jackson, Calvin Washington, Corey Chambers, Louis Pillow, Kelvin Briggs, Larry Gilmore, Rodney (Zakee) Jones, Marvin DeJear, Donnell

Bivens, Curtis Tarver, Aliem Muhammad (Troy Harper), Jaye Ballard, Jerlando F. L. Jackson, and Walter DaWit Washington.

To my brothers in-love, Melvin, David, Lamont, Antwon, Jaye, Nuke, you will forever be connected to me and I appreciate the love that you have for my family, especially the love that you had and will always have for my brother who is peacefully resting with God.

To one of my dearest friends, the late Kyla Hampton Small, your light will forever shine in eyes of your beautiful daughter Alexis and in the hearts of all who knew you, including me. I miss you so much but I know that you are at eternal rest.

To Titus Lamont Cotharn, thank you for sharing a portion of your life with me. I hope that you learned as much from me as I did from you. Rest in peace, sweetheart.

To my family who have passed on to "glory" and have left me legacies of Aunt Terecia Brookins, Uncle Harry Walker, Jr., Grandparents R. C. and Lura Danley, Sr., Uncle Huro "Butch" Sturgis, Aunt Ludora Sturgis, Aunt Katie Sturgis, Great-Grandmother Beatrice Thomas, Great-Great Aunt Elizabeth McGirt, and my Great-Grandmother Bobbie Blackman, I will forever remember you.

To my grandparents, Earnestine and Alfonso Young, Harry and Patsy Walker, and the late Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Danley, Sr., you laid the foundation for me and it is because of your vision and sacrifice that I am where I am today.

To my Uncles R. M., Patrick, Lonnie, Lee Locket, and especially Donald, R. C., Jr., and R. D. for your love, support, kindness, strength, finances, and most of all the heart-to-heart talks that continue to sustain me, I adore each of you.

To my Aunts Mable, Tenner, Eleanor, Bobbye, Laura, Carmen, Danyelle (Moochie), Bobbye Jean, Elaine, Claudette (Tiny), Carolyn, Lisa, and Carol, you have been role models,

friends, prayer mentors, prayer partners, confidants, and in some cases, the sisters that I never had. I love and admire each of you for all of your inner beauty, talents, and strength.

To my cousins, Adrienne, Antionette, Andre, Antione, Ludora (Chanel), R. C. III. (LaRel), R. M., Jr, R. D., R. D., Jr., Terry, James, Danyelle (Dan-Dan), Donzelle, Katie (and Imari), Keith, Monique, Shawn, James, TaKeisha, Lynette (my namesake), Jerimiah, Joi, Najah, Daijah, Tiffany, LaQuitha, Keonia, Andrea, Latonia, Laura, and Alexis. Tiant & Eric, thanks for sharing your home and your hearts.

To my Honorary Moms, Carmen Walker, Geraldine Carson, Marvel Thompson, Juanita Johnson, and Ms. Harris for providing me with shelter as well as food for my mind, body, and soul. I will never be able to repay you for all that you have done for me. I sincerely love each of you.

God provides extra fathers for those who need extra love, and for that I thank Him for Donald Walker, Ronald McCowan, Fred Gilbert, George Jackson, Herman Blake, and now William Trent. Loving a child who is not your own requires special love and patience. I thank each of you for having big enough hearts to embrace me.

To Robert Perkins and Connie Hargrave, my final oral defense was NOT happening without you. Also, the tough-love conversations, unconditional love, and prayers will always be remembered. Thanks for pushing me towards excellence.

To Anissa, only you and I know how hard I've worked since kindergarten to get here. To Keeby, you had the intellect but pushed me to go far in life. Now it is my turn to push you back. Law school is waiting. To Linda, the "walking scripture, Bible-toting lady," so many nights you helped me see that joy cometh in the morning. To Helen, through thick and then in Ames, to sho' nuff' broke but at peace in Chicago, we are connected forever.To Nicole

who hung in there 19 hours to help bring my most precious gift, Julian, into the world. There is no replacing you in my life—ever.

A special thanks to Curtis who hung out in the lobby and to Tori for hanging out with him (over the phone); your time is coming soon. Also, my sincere gratitude to Tori and Curtis Cain for being Julian's Godparents. There really are no words to express my eternal gratitude to God for blessing my family and me with your friendship, unwavering support, and unconditional love. We are family forever.

To Willie, what can I say. Oftentimes, pain is love. There will always be a special bond of love and respect between us. Our son is precious and more than mere words can express. He represents the best of both of us and I thank God that he is here. I thank you for sharing the best parts of yourself with me. I also thank you for loving me enough to let me go. Much success as a friend and colleague to you. Billy, may your heart find and keep what it is searching for.

To Roderic, my heart is at rest. Thank you for sharing your family, your knowledge, your never-ending support, your friendship, your patience, your guidance, your ability to connect and care for all people, and most of all, your love. You are my Adam. God has wonderful plans for your life and it is a blessing that Julian and I are a part of that plan. One down, one to go, and then happily ever after—at last.

To R'che, my niece and the only daughter that I truly know. You are your own person, beautiful, smart, complete, creative, and full of promise and possibilities. You have experienced a tremendous loss and I know that no one can or will ever replace my brother in your life. Please know that you have and continue to be one of the few reasons why I get up every day. I am so proud of you and I am here for you as long as there is breath in my body.

Do your best because Mya and Julian are watching. I thank God and your parents, Shawana Redwood and the late R. L. Danley, Jr. for you. Remember, "Never, ever settle." You don't have to. You are R'che LaTae Feon Danley!

To W. Julian Heggins, IV, my "stinka-wonk-wonk," "stinka-what-what," my joy, my peace, my lifeline, thank you for coming into the world when you did. I was so lost and unhappy, but then God sent you. You reminded me that there is so much more than academics in life. There is laughter, chocolate chip cookies, videos, bedtime stories, snuggling, and most of all that "The Lord is My Shepherd, I Shall Not Want." You are love and I appreciate every second that you breathe. Your life is destined for greatness. So, "When things get tough, don't give up." "Reach for the stars!" You are the promise of a brighter tomorrow. You are a blessed, strong, beautiful, intelligent, and powerful young Black warrior. The war of life has begun, but you will be ready. God be with you.

To "Pops," I will always be daddy's little girl. No pain or disappointment can ever separate us. I am you and you are me. We are one. You have given me your courage, your work ethic, your humor, your spunk, and most of all your love for family. I know that you have given me and continue to give all that you know how to give and I accept everything with love and humility. I would not be here if it was not for you. You are the apple of my eye and I pray that God helps you see your true worth. You are a gift waiting to happen. I have not given up on you.

To my "Hey Love," my rock, my ace-koom-boom, and if the truth be told, my dearest and truest friend, we did it! No weapons formed against prospered. God made sure of that. We may have had tears, sweat, sacrifice, pain, disappointment, tragic, tragic loss, despair, disloyalty, and a host of other terrible, terrible things, but hey girlfriend, "We's still here!"

To God be the glory. Since R. L.'s death, we have both been afraid to say the phrase, "What would I do without you?" But, I am going to step out on a limb and say it now, "I don't know what I would do without you." I imagine that I would go on and live my life because Dad, Che, and Julian would need me. But there would be a difference in me. My laughter would not be as hearty and unpredictable, my smile would not be as sincere and full, my drive, though strong, would require refueling more regularly, and my watching movies and eating good food would be more so for necessity than for joy, like it is for us now. You have made THE difference in my life up until you helped me see that without God, nothing or no one matters. Only God knows the depth of my love and respect for you. I cherish everything about you, and I would not change you as my mother if I were asked to do so a million times one million times. With all the power that I have, I bestow unto you, my very own Honorary Doctorate. So, to you, Dr. Betty Jean Walker Danley, job well done. So, what's next on our agenda? Oh yeah, "It's your turn to finish school now."

Finally, to my brother, R. L. Danley, Jr., to whom I dedicate my dissertation. I still see you . . .

Letting me be the teacher—ALWAYS!

Playing dress up with me—you looked good in whatever I put on you.

Hollering and jumping for joy when I won homecoming queen at Curie.

Waving as the car drove off leaving me to pursue my dreams at Western.

Chilling with pride as I walked across the stage at Drake's graduation.

Running after Willie's car yelling, "Take care of my sister, man!" "Nette, I will always love you!" "Thanks for the money!" "Nette, I will always love you!"

Even though I was robbed of being able to say goodbye to you, I know that you knew that neither life nor death could ever separate us. We are brother and sister forever. You are my one in a million. So, this one's for you, man. You called it all along. I'll see you again.

To all of my family and friends whose names I forgot to mention and/or spelled incorrectly, please forgive me. You are important to me and I sincerely thank each of you for being there throughout this long journey.

God is definitely real. I am living proof of it!