BLACK SCHOLARS SPEAK ABOUT DIVERSITY—OR THE LACK THEREOF—IN ACADEMIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

Experiences have told me that some of these systems of racism are permanent. I don’t think they’ll change in my lifetime, I really don’t. I think things may gradually get better. Gradually, but we always have to be working together aggressively in that direction. I mean one thing black folks have and other people of color, we got hope. That is probably the thing that’s maintained us over the years. Hope that we would be accepted or hope that we could now at least make a better society. I mean because of the alienation that we experience, people make us feel like we are un-American; like we never really wanted you anyway. You’re not American but [due] to the fact of all the things we have actually been through, the entire struggle. I mean who could be more American than the African Americans that were brought here or even Native Americans? We have experienced things on a daily basis and we are still here. For all practical purpose we probably aren’t going anywhere. We aren’t going anywhere because we serve as living reminders of what has always been done; the historic oppression. We serve as a reminder that eventually you’re going to have to deal with us. You have to find a way to live up to all this kind of rhetoric that you spout; fraternity, equality, liberty and justice for all.¹

The statement made above is from a participant in the study that inspired this Article but potentially reflects the sentiment of many black

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¹ Interview with Albert, professor, Univ. M. (May 2009) (interview on file with Author).
faculty in primarily white institutions ("PWIs") of higher learning. In her 1977 article, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," author and professor of business administration at Harvard Business School, Rosabeth M. Kanter, proposed a theory about proportional compositions, which, while dated, is still relevant.2 Kanter recognized that being a minority, quantitatively speaking, in an organization can cause minorities to be at a disadvantage by feeling isolated and excluded from peer networks.3 Scholars who study the workplace experiences of women and faculty of color make similar claims about the environments in some academic departments.4

In "Two Perspectives on Organizationally-Inspired Barriers to Innovation in Schools of Social Work: Short and Long Term Strategies to Promote National Minority Group Representation," authors McNeely and John Oliver reported that, in regard to retention, some reports have suggested that feeling isolated is significantly related to minority faculty turnover rates, even when pay is comparable.5 Belonging to a group that is represented in very small proportions within an organization results in fewer opportunities to be sponsored due to the rarity of minorities in powerful positions.6 Belonging to the majority group, on the other hand, makes it easier to gain credibility, thus being more likely to be sponsored by higher-status members and more likely to join


3 Id.


6 See Kanter, supra note 2.
important informal networks. While some institutions, like the military, certain government agencies, and businesses, have done well in achieving diversity within their workforce, others have not. One institution, in particular, that continues to have a problem with increasing and retaining its minority population—which includes both its student and faculty population—is traditional (white) research universities. The following case study provides significant insight into the workplace experiences of black scholars within this area of academia. The foundation that this study is situated on is the critical race theory ("CRT"), which questions academia's claims of meritocracy, objectivity, and neutrality.

II. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

American postsecondary education opportunities began for European American (white) men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the establishment of Harvard (1636) and Yale (1701) Universities. To put the timeline into perspective: when affluent white men began to obtain postsecondary education, both Mexico and Puerto Rico were under foreign rule (Spain), Africans were enslaved, and women were considered property. So it is not surprising, given this historical context, that the educational situation for latinos and blacks in the United States was rather different—and in sharp

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7 See Stanley, supra note 4, at 709, 711, 713-14.
8 See Kanter, supra note 2.
contrast—from whites. Past and current inequalities in the educational system (below-standard schools in predominantly minority neighborhoods, tracking, etc.) have hindered the educational development of minorities. Such inequalities are sure to account for the low amount of minority representation (three to nine percent) within the student bodies of prestigious undergraduate institutions and the low amount of minority faculty employed by elite colleges and universities.

In recent years, nearly all colleges and universities have acknowledged, and are beginning to address, the lack of diversity in both the student body and faculty by implementing diversity initiatives aimed at increasing minority representation on college campuses. Most of these diversity initiatives stem from legislation throughout the 1960s that recognized minorities were still subjugated in a variety of American institutions.

At the center of, and paving the way for, the passage of these new rights was the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the

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15 Gasman & Vultaggio, supra note 9.
United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.¹⁹

President John F. Kennedy first applied the concept of affirmative action in 1961 through the issuance of Executive Order 10925, which established the President’s Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.²⁰ The Order provided that government contractors should “take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin.”²¹ Two years later—and following a series of protests by blacks demanding the end of racial segregation and discrimination—President Kennedy called for a bill “giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments,” in addition to “greater protection for the right to vote.”²²

The next year, and following President Kennedy’s assassination, Congress expounded upon President Kennedy’s initiative by enacting Public Law 88-352 (78 Stat. 241), better known as the Civil Rights Act of 1964.²³ The Act set out to ensure equal voting rights, cure discrimination in public places, desegregate public facilities, guarantee equal opportunities in employment, and establish other safeguards in order to “fulfill the purpose of the 14th Amendment.”²⁴

¹⁹ U.S. CONST. amend. XIV, § 1.
²¹ Id.
²⁴ Id.
One year after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, President Johnson furthered the promotion of civil rights with his commencement address at Howard University, entitled “To Fulfill These Rights.” President Johnson famously declared:

[F]reedom is not enough . . . You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, “you are free to compete with all the others,” and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Three months later, President Johnson signed Executive Order 11246 into effect, prohibiting discrimination in hiring and ordering the federal government of the United States, as well as its contracting agencies, to provide equal employment opportunities.

In spite of the progress made during the 1960s, affirmative action is still a hotly debated topic. In the words of one author:

For more than 200 years, white males benefited from their own program of affirmative action, through unjustified preferences in jobs and education resulting from old-boy networks and official laws that lessened the competition. Today’s affirmative action critics never characterize that scheme as affirmative action, which of course it was.

Examples of the continued existence of the “good-old-boy” (white) networks can be seen when elite colleges and universities give

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26 Id.
preference to children of alumni (legacies), who are more likely to be white because of racism in the laws and admission practices of the past.\textsuperscript{30} Whether affirmative action has a place in admission policies at colleges and universities continues to be debated and challenged in courts.\textsuperscript{31}

In the late 1990s, white students who were rejected for admission to University of Michigan’s College of Literature, Science, and the Arts filed a class action suit against the university’s board of regents, arguing that the use of racial preference in admissions violated the Equal Protection Clause, Title VI, and § 1981.\textsuperscript{32} In that case, the university’s admission guidelines provided that unrepresented minority students would automatically receive 20 of the 100 points needed to guarantee admission.\textsuperscript{33} The Supreme Court determined that the one-fifth distribution was “‘virtually’ [decisive for] . . . all minimally qualified minority transfer applicants” and was “not narrowly tailored to achieve . . . [educational] diversity.”\textsuperscript{34} The Court held the university’s admission policy violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and thus violated Title VI and § 1981.\textsuperscript{35}

At the same time, another group of white students who were denied admission to the University of Michigan Law School filed a similar suit challenging the university’s race-conscious admission policies.\textsuperscript{36} Again, the students argued the university violated their equal protection rights by using race and ethnicity as a factor for consideration in admissions determinations.\textsuperscript{37} The university acknowledged that, while it did consider race and ethnicity, they were “soft” variables and did not warrant automatic acceptance or rejection.\textsuperscript{38} The university argued its admissions program considered all factors that

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{See Affirmative Action: Overview, supra note} 28.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Id.} at 255.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Id.} at 266, 276.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Id.} at 276.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Id.} at 336-37.
might contribute to diversity, utilizing a "highly individualized, holistic review of each applicant's file." The Supreme Court upheld the university's admissions policy, stating it did not violate the Equal Protection Clause because race was only one factor among many that the university considered in selecting its students. While the Court acknowledged its preference for race-neutral admissions programs—and urged the university to reasonably limit the duration of such race-conscious admissions—it reasoned the university's admissions program satisfied strict scrutiny because it was narrowly tailored.

In June, 2016, the Supreme Court heard yet another lawsuit involving a race-conscious admissions policy. Petitioner Abigail Fisher sued the University of Texas at Austin after being denied admission. Fisher alleged the university’s “consideration of race as part of its holistic-review process disadvantaged her and other Caucasian applicants, in violation of the Equal Protection Clause.” In Fisher's case, the university's admissions program combined a percentage plan with a holistic review. The Top Ten Percent Plan awarded a spot to any high school graduate who graduated in the top ten percent of their high school—which accounted for more than seventy-five percent of the available spots for incoming freshman students. The remaining students were assessed through a holistic review, in which race was treated as a factor.

The Court determined the university had not violated Fisher's rights to equal protection. The Court reasoned first that the Top Ten Percent Plan, which was mandated by the state and which the university had no authority to alter, did not accomplish the diversity goals set forth

39 Id.
40 Id. at 341.
41 Id.
43 Id. at 2207.
44 Id.
45 Id. at 2208.
46 Id. at 2209.
47 Id.
48 Id. at 2210.
Second, the Court explained that the university's holistic review was as narrowly tailored as possible and satisfied strict scrutiny. The Court held that consideration of race in admissions is a compelling interest because it is "a means of obtaining 'the educational benefits that flow from student body diversity'" and such diversity "promotes cross-racial understanding, helps to break down racial stereotypes, and enables students to better understand persons of different races." 

While some white students scream of "reverse discrimination" due to affirmative action policies adopted by universities, students of color—now represented in greater numbers than in the past at traditional colleges and universities—discuss issues of isolation, typecasting, and describe racial microaggressions (subtle insults directed toward people of color, often automatically or unconsciously) happening in classrooms and social spaces on college campuses. Recently, backlash against students of color have occurred on PWIs where students have questioned the status quo—incidents such as those at University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, Yale University, and University of Missouri. Whatever the case (whether for or against affirmative action), most literature examining diversity and affirmative action programs in education examines the experiences of minority students and the traditional or prestigious universities they attend with little literature examining how minority scholars, who may have benefited from such initiatives, are faring in academia.

This Article contains excerpts from interviews obtained over a three-year period (2005-08) as part of a larger research project that

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49 Id. at 2211.
50 Id. at 2210.
51 Id. (internal quotations omitted).
53 Id. at 65, 67-68.
examines the climate and culture of a predominantly white urban research institution in the Midwest through the eyes of minority scholars (primarily blacks and Latinos).\textsuperscript{56} Using CRT as the foundation, open-ended interview questions were formulated and asked of thirty black (African-American, African, and Caribbean) and latino faculty members.\textsuperscript{57} This Article focuses on the narratives of several of the black scholars who took part in the study to highlight microaggressions in the workplace and to illustrate why diversity in postsecondary education is imperative in creating a work environment that is acceptable to all members.\textsuperscript{58}

The interview guide covered several areas (tenure process, type of graduate school faculty attended, educational level of parents, etc.), but the focus of this Article is on the following areas and the possible impact they may have on how black scholars experience in the academic workplace (i.e., the climate) at the university under study: number of other minority faculty in the department and experiences with peers and administrators.\textsuperscript{59} The findings reflect the continued racialized world that we live in—issues of race, a sometimes unfriendly academic climate, and what some subjects perceive as a white hegemonic culture within the urban research university under study.\textsuperscript{60} This Article has two purposes: (1) to give black scholars an outlet to discuss diversity in academia with anonymity and (2) the hope that university administrators will gain insight to assist them in the hiring and retention process of black scholar in PWIs—\textit{if} that is truly their goal.

\textbf{III. METHODOLOGY}

This study is part of a larger mixed method study that examined the climate and culture (workplace) of a PWI urban university through

\textsuperscript{56} Ryan Evely Gildersleeve, Natasha N. Croom, & Philip L. Vasquez, "\textit{Am I going crazy?!}"; \textit{A Critical Race Analysis of Doctoral Education}, 44(1) EQUITY & EXCELLENCE EDUC. 93, 97-98 (2011).
\textsuperscript{57} TAMMY L. HODO, \textit{A Critical Analysis of an Urban Research University: Climate, Culture, and Minority Faculty} 25, 32-33 (2009).
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Id.} at 38, 42.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Id.} at 25, 32-33.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Id.} at 25, 30.
the eyes of minority scholars using CRT.\textsuperscript{61} The data contained in this Article was obtained by using a sixteen-question, open-ended interview guide asked of a purposively sample of black faculty at the university under study.\textsuperscript{62} Fifteen subjects were tenured and the remaining nine subjects were tenure-tracked faculty. More men took part in the study than women, which is representative of their numbers at the university under study. The name of the university is not disclosed, just as the names used for subjects in the study are fictitious. For the purpose of this Article, the university will be called “University M.”

Most faculty participants were interviewed one time. Follow-up interviews were scheduled when necessary for clarification of answers. Most interviews were audio taped, transcribed, and coded to maintain confidentiality due to the sensitive nature of the study. All conversations that were recorded were transcribed and then organized by reoccurring themes. Some participants did not want a tape recorder used during the interview, so notes were taken and analyzed. Gentle probing was used when needed for elaboration on questions and responses. Interviewing study participants was a conversation with a purpose and instrumental in understanding the meanings that people hold for their everyday activities.\textsuperscript{63}

Open-ended questions and conversational interviews are a form of naturalistic inquiry—a sharp contrast to questionnaires that have predetermined response categories.\textsuperscript{64} The interview guide covered questions such as: how their workplace experience has been within their department, how many other black faculty members are in the subjects’ respective department, relationships with peers, and their perception of diversity at University M.\textsuperscript{65} Conducting personal

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Id}.

\textsuperscript{63} CATHERINE MARSHALL & GRETCHE B. ROSSMAN, DESIGNING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH (3d ed. 1998).

\textsuperscript{64} MICHAEL Q. PATTON, QUALITATIVE RESEARCH & EVALUATION METHODS 54-56 (3d ed. 2002).

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Voices from Within, supra} note 61, at 32-33, 40.
interviews with black scholars by using a structured, open-ended interview guide allowed for the narratives (data) to be sorted by reoccurring themes and categories allowed black scholars to tell their own stories about their workplace experiences at University M.  

By previously reviewing literature, the author was aware of the current dialogue among black scholars who study the academic culture and climate, especially with respect to the low representation of black scholars and students. Questions were purposely chosen that dealt with workplace experiences—experiences dealing directly with climate, diversity, and the academic culture. The interview questions remained the same for all subjects.

IV. Theory

This study was situated in CRT, focusing on how injustice and subjugation shape people's experiences and understanding of the world. Studying a social phenomenon requires the researcher to draw on multiple methods of inquiry and is naturalistic and interpretive. The naturalistic approach is based on telling the subjects’ stories the way they “really are,” not the way the research sees “them.”

Gathering qualitative data from subjects is an inductive inquiry into their experiences and/or perspectives. CRT is a qualitative method that uses the data collected and organizes it into readable narrative descriptions with major themes. CRT recognizes that racism is a part of American history and continues to plague groups deemed inferior or subordinate. CRT studies this phenomenon by putting race and ethnicity at the center of the inquiry

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66 Id.
67 Id. at 25.
68 Id.
69 Id. at 25, 32.
70 Marshall & Rossman, supra note 63, at 25-32.
72 Id. at 280-82.
74 Id. at 9-10.
and works towards giving voice to those minorities.\textsuperscript{75} CRT recognizes that minority voices in America have been marginalized; thus, CRT focuses on including the "other" perspective on American history and current issues.\textsuperscript{76} CRT challenges institutional elites and demands that they recognize the experiential knowledge of people of color and their communities of origin, in analyzing society and work toward ending racial oppression.\textsuperscript{77}

\section{Narratives and Data Analysis}

Minorities are still seen as "different" from the norm in academia due to their relatively small numbers.\textsuperscript{78} Albert, a tenure-track faculty member and the only black person in his area of study, described his experience at University M:

My department has two program areas and in my particular program area I'm the only African American. In that regard sometimes you tend to feel a little bit isolated. In my field I'm pretty much the only one so you kind of always have that feeling that you represent all black folks. Where (white faculty) go to get the black opinion and all that kind of stuff. You always feel like they view your opinion with skepticism. Sometimes I feel like I am being challenged when my other colleagues are not challenged. These are just some of my general feelings.\textsuperscript{79}

When asked if he feels accepted by his peers, Albert stated:

Yeah, pretty much. More or less sometimes, I feel tolerated. Pretty much tolerated. The way it works

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Id.} at 43.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Id.} at 70.
\textsuperscript{77} Octavio Villalpando & Dolores D. Bernall, \textit{A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Barriers that Impede the Success of Faculty of Color, in The Racial Crisis in Higher Education} 243, 245 (William A. Smith, Philip G. Altbach & Kofi Lomotey eds., 2002).
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Voices from Within}, supra note 61, at 23, 25, 26.
\textsuperscript{79} Interview with Albert, professor, Univ. M. (May 2009) (interview on file with Author).
in my view, the way I feel it works is that people you know they’re not overtly standing in your way, but they are not rushing to lift a finger either. You know they kind of leave you alone and let you do your work. Or better yet, they leave you alone and see if you can figure out how to do your work and be productive. And now in year one it was more problematic because I didn’t know what to do. So I sat there for a year and really I don’t feel like I was really that productive. The following years I got it. I started to figure it out, okay this is how you do it. This is how you get your research done and get multiple manuscripts out and now if I had that year back again, I could probably double some of the stuff that I had done.  

Albert’s statement indicates that he was not “sponsored” by a senior faculty member.  When probed about why he felt the way he did about his colleagues, he discussed aspects of social capital that, when used in this setting, makes possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be obtainable. Albert explained:

You can find numerous instances in which another faculty member (white) comes on board and everybody is running up to him giving him opportunities. Asking him to be on various projects, you know, broader social networks; all this kind of stuff, access to information, all these kind of things. Information that if I would have had I could have been even more successful, but for some odd reason I didn’t get that information or I didn’t get that invitation. But I’m not surprised. If you don’t realize that racism is a permanent part of this society and you have to learn to adjust or perish. If you don’t know that by now then you got a problem.

80 Id.
81 Id.
82 Coleman, J.S., Social capital in the creation of human capital, 94 AM. J. SOC. 95, 95-120 (1998).
83 Interview with Albert, professor, Univ. M (May 2009) (on file with Author).
Jody, another black faculty member, responded similarly when asked how she would describe her experiences as an African-American professor, demonstrating that Albert’s experiences are not isolated. It is important to note that Jody and Albert are not in the same department. Jody stated:

I would say that they’ve been good (colleagues). In terms of the interaction and all that, on the surface they’ve been good (ON THE SURFACE). But in my department there are lots of indications when I observe relations amongst other people of color and the individuals in my department there’s a lot of issues of racism. I haven’t personally, experienced it, but I’ve been able to observe just a lot of negative dynamics around people of color. And people don’t come out and say that they are racist, but it’s just the propensity of negative things to be going on with people of color is just disproportionate. So it just got to be some racism going on.

When asked if she felt accepted by her peers, Jody brought up some of the same concerns that Albert mentioned and explained:

I guess so, I’m really not sure. You know it is like a superficial thing, like people, their language indicates I’m doing well, but when it comes down to it will they, when it comes down to tenure decision will that be the case? I’m not necessarily confident that will be the case. Just because of the historical and the current issues I see around people of color. Not necessarily faculty people of color but other people of color, staff members, students you know and it just can’t be chance that lots of these people are having issues. You know it just can’t be chance. Whether or not they’re going to give me problems I don’t think, I mean I’m not going to give them a reason to give me problems. But I don’t

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84 Interview with Jody, professor, Univ. M (May 2009) (on file with Author).
85 Id.
86 Voices from Within, supra note 61, at 25, 41.
know if they’re going to just make things difficult? I’m coming up for my contract renewal and it’s not as clear of a process. When I try to get answers I kind of get the run-around a little bit but I’m a forward thinker so I’m not going to do this stuff at the last minute. I know that whether or not it takes me a long time to get the information I need, I’m still going to get what I need to get when I need to get it. But you would think people would be trying to support you and come to you and say let’s meet, let’s talk through some things, you got to make sure you have this, that and the other. So while they’re saying you’re doing a great job they’re not actually giving you real feedback you know it’s kind of like that pat on the back sense that I get.\textsuperscript{87}

Eric, another young black scholar, described his experiences in his department:

Bittersweet. In some instances I say sweet because one while there is support the support seems to be conditional, it’s basically support received when you proven yourself creditable at least among some. There are some that questioned my capability initially until they saw the results then their attitudes changed.\textsuperscript{88}

When probed about whether he thought race played a role in his treatment by colleagues, Eric stated, “It is hard to say but knowing what I know about stereotyping I would say it is probably stereotyping. I would assume it is an assumption that we (blacks) come in (the academy) with some inadequacy.”\textsuperscript{89} Eric went on to state that he felt accepted by his peers.\textsuperscript{90} “Yes, I actually do and for the most part by the majority of them even the people who doubted me initially. Most of them accept me now and I have been supported.”\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{87} Interview with Jody, professor, Univ. M (May 2009) (on file with Author).
\textsuperscript{88} Interview with Eric, professor, Univ. M (May 2009) (on file with Author).
\textsuperscript{89} Id.
\textsuperscript{90} Id.
\textsuperscript{91} Id.
Albert, Jody, and Eric are all young, black scholars working in departments where minority faculty representation is low. All three scholars were in tenure-tracked positions, but only Eric went up for—and subsequently obtained—tenure during this study. Due to the low amount of minority scholars within their departments, Albert, Jody, and Eric’s statements document some of the disadvantages still associated with being a minority in American institutions. “Subjects in very diverse departments such as ethnic, gender, or racial studies made it . . . clear that their department[s] [were not] characteristic of others on the campus” and stated that their experiences have been largely positive.

Similar to other universities trying to diversify their faculty and student bodies, University M recognizes that the climate is interrelated to the racial makeup of the community, which affects the experiences of minorities on campus. While there is a high percentage of minorities in the city (37.3% blacks and 12% hispanic), minorities are not represented in a similar manner within University M’s student body, causing the low percentage of students of color at the university to be more obvious and disturbing.

In order to diversify the student body and faculty, some universities incorporate diversity initiatives aimed at increasing minority representation. But doing so can place additional strain onto the benefactors. In his article, “The Implementation of Diversity in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities,” author Bryan McKinney Jones Brayboy contends that some white postsecondary institutions assume that by hiring a few minority faculty, they are

92 Voices from Within, supra note 61, at 25, 39-40, 48.
93 See id. at 40, 45 (explaining that several subjects “did go through the tenure process during the course of this study”).
94 HODO, supra note 57.
95 See generally Voices from Within, supra note 61 (providing survey results of the effects the university climate has on the experiences of minorities on the university campus).
96 Id. at 26.
97 Id. at 26, 48.
98 Id. at 28.
99 Id. at 37.
implementing and displaying diversity.\textsuperscript{100} Yet, the structure of the institution has not changed.\textsuperscript{101} Bringing in minority faculty and offering a few new courses on diversity does not necessarily change the climate and culture of an institution, and a review of this Article’s research findings documents that fact.\textsuperscript{102}

Another issue with incorporating minority faculty into a university under diversity initiatives is that those faculty members are treated or assumed to be role models for people of color.\textsuperscript{103} Richard Delgado asserts in “Critical Race Theory: the Cutting Edge” that when hired under an affirmative action initiative, minority scholars are expected to represent and uplift their entire race.\textsuperscript{104} Suddenly they are subject matter experts on all issues of race.\textsuperscript{105} “If you are a role model, are you expected to do the same things your white counterpart does, in addition to counseling and helping out the community of color whenever something comes up?”\textsuperscript{106}

An example of the strain this puts on faculty members can be found in responses from subjects who took part in this study.\textsuperscript{107} Josh, who earned the title of professor, came in under a university diversity initiative over a decade ago aimed at increasing the percentage of both minority faculty and students.\textsuperscript{108} Josh stated:

I think the challenge that I face would be being different. So do we treat this person with kid gloves or do we have resentment because this person came in under an initiative? You get mixed emotions. I think people wanted to see success but different groups have different definitions of success. That’s what could make

\textsuperscript{100} B.M.J. Brayboy, The Implementation of Diversity in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities, 34 J. BLACK STUD., no. 1, 2003, at 72, 74.
\textsuperscript{101} Id. at 85-86.
\textsuperscript{102} See generally Voices from Within, supra note 61 (discussing the issue of diversity courses).
\textsuperscript{103} STEFANCIC, supra note 73.
\textsuperscript{104} Id.
\textsuperscript{105} Id.
\textsuperscript{106} Id.
\textsuperscript{107} Id.
\textsuperscript{108} Id.
it more confusing if you didn't know what you want.

I found there to be two issues (in regards to coming to the university under a diversity initiative). One, the research expectations do not match the research demand. So in other words, the demand is for high output (publications) but I do not believe that when I came to the university that the administration on down thought that a person with my ethnicity would meet that challenge. I really do not believe it. My sense is that maybe in the past when people from my ethnicity went up for tenure promotion they did not have the goods (publications and service) because they were not on those committees. I just felt that there was always the discussion and communication that you have to have high output but I never believed they expected someone such as myself to ever have the output.

Secondly, I was not prepared for the scrutiny. It was intense and it was a long duration. It cut across ethnic groups and it could almost be as debilitating and extremely personal. While most of the people had good intentions they had an array of agendas. I think it might have to do with the time frame in which I came into the university. I was pushed to do race oriented research but my background is not race. People (blacks and whites) thought I would do activist work but I didn’t accept that role that is not where my interest lay. I had more people suggest what I should be doing for them and their groups. I rarely have had people come to me and say how can we help you? I never expected the resentment that I received for simply doing my job.109

Delgado stated that a lot of times minorities are hired in academia not because of their personal accomplishments but because of what others think they will do for them.110 This idea can be seen in

109 Id.
110 Id.
Josh’s response. 111 The “hidden curriculum” is the additional requirement for faculty or scholars of color that is not required of their white peers—things such as mentoring students of color and serving on diversity committees. 112 “White faculty are not responsible for diversity. White faculty are simply expected to be good teachers and scholars whereas faculty (or scholars) of color are expected to be good scholars and teachers and, in the process, to implement diversity.” 113

Stan, another faculty member at the university who came in under a diversity initiative, discussed how the university did not retain most of his cohort, which consisted of other minority faculty. 114 He stated:

The initiative was done at a very critical time because a lot of universities were bringing in a number of black scholars but unfortunately at this university most didn’t stay. We had a cohort of about fourteen minority scholars when I came in and only two of us stayed and got tenure. Retention is a problem here because you have to deal with the environment (both the university and the city). The environment can be a very tough kind of place. What I try to do is publish well and work to get my stuff out there nationally so people are familiar with my work. What I find interesting and also disturbing is I can go around the country and I find people in Los Angeles, Boston, etc. that have read my work but around here they don’t know about my work. Now that is interesting. I mean some of my colleagues they know it is out there, whether it is a matter of they don’t take time to read it or they feel they don’t need to read it, I don’t know. 115

When asked if he feels accepted by his peers, Stan stated, “Yes, I think I’m pretty accepted. I feel pretty much a part of the program.

111 Id.
112 Id.
113 Brayboy, supra note 100, at 72-86.
114 Id.
115 Interview with Stan, professor, Univ. M (May 2009) (on file with Author).
I’m a good team player. I think you know one of the things that happens however is when you exceed what people expect; they don’t know how to quite deal with it."¹¹⁶

Stan’s comments resemble Josh’s statements about being underestimated by colleagues.¹¹⁷ It appears as if expectations are low for some of the minority faculty who took part in this study.¹¹⁸ No one who took part in this study displayed behavior or indicated that they were victims of a vicious racial cycle; in contrast, subjects recognize they are working within a system they did not create.¹¹⁹ Black scholars appear resilient and ready for the challenge they face in academia.¹²⁰ The responses from subjects document that the academy is not necessarily based on meritocracy and neutrality for all.¹²¹ Minority scholars are still seen as an oddity within the academy, but they are challenging the status quo and the white hegemonic culture that is still dominant.¹²² “The combination of existing domination with transparency enables ‘whiteness’ to be cast but not named as the larger society, the cultural mainstream and the nation.”¹²³

VI. CONCLUSION

The environment within postsecondary educational institutions should be one of mutual respect. Academics speak of this ideal work environment in academia where different ideologies are respected, new theories are encouraged, and autonomy is granted. But how can people feel welcome in an environment that speaks of greatness, yet is failing to make everyone feel included? Why should anyone feel like an outsider in a position or title they have worked hard to gain admittance to?¹²⁴ When minority faculty continually teach students who have

¹¹⁶ Id.
¹¹⁷ Id.
¹¹⁸ Id.
¹¹⁹ Id.
¹²⁰ Id.
¹²¹ Id.
¹²² Interview with Stan, professor, Univ. M (May 2009) (on file with Author).
¹²⁴ Id.
never interacted with a black faculty member and may be in awe that we are present in academia, there is an obvious problem.\textsuperscript{125}

Minorities cannot be the only people held responsible for implementing and displaying the importance of diversity.\textsuperscript{126} Social justice dictates that we all work towards equality—socially, economically, and politically for all citizens.\textsuperscript{127} Studies show that younger faculty judge potential hiring institutions on issues of campus culture and supportive employment policies.\textsuperscript{128} If or when traditional universities recruit minority faculty, retaining them will continue to be an issue if the climate within the university system is not addressed.\textsuperscript{129} Young black scholars were not at a loss when making recommendations to university officials about how to achieve diversity and retain minority faculty and students already on board.\textsuperscript{130} To retain faculty, Reba stated:

People need to feel that they are really wanted. It boils down to support for me. Being a person of color over here you just feel like you are doing everything all on your own and knowing that you have tenure right at your door and you have mentors but you haven’t really seen where there is an urgency to make sure that you don’t leave. It just seems to me that you should rally around the troops and say hey you are going to make it because we are going to put these supports in place to make sure that you make it. I don’t really see that happening when you see that there are only two minorities in the department it would just seem to me that there would be more support to make sure we keep our two (minority faculty members), but most days I feel it doesn’t matter whether I make it or not to them (colleagues). More support is needed, more

\textsuperscript{125} Id.
\textsuperscript{126} HODO, supra note 57.
\textsuperscript{129} HODO, supra note 57.
\textsuperscript{130} Id. at 40, 50.
opportunities for writing and collaboration.\textsuperscript{131}

Sarah discussed the need for the university to raise money to be able to compete with other universities for minority scholars:\textsuperscript{132}

Well, it is really simply you want to get graduate students who are still going through the pipeline early; there are ways to do it in terms of creating post-doctoral fellowships for students of color. It seems really simple but for some reason, we are not doing it. A lot of times when people get out of graduate school they are looking for a place to come and get their thoughts together and launch their research agenda, it only cost about $45,000 to pay them a salary and of course you have to pay other fringe benefits and things of that nature. Why not host a couple of those spots across various departments and units in order to at least get the conversation going out there they hey why don't you go over to X university, they have a postdoc for you where you can teach or do other things. That is how names get out about other universities because those postdocs are available and that is what students really value.\textsuperscript{133}

Owen, who is older and has been at the university for more than a decade, recommended bringing in new administrators who are committed to diversity.\textsuperscript{134} As it currently stands, he does not trust the hiring process.\textsuperscript{135} When asked what the university can do to better diversify faculty and staff, Owen stated:

First of all, they have to bring some people, whether they are people of color or not who are really committed to diversity in a real sense. They have to be able to put in place mechanism that can facilitate that process, institutional committees, advisory or community

\textsuperscript{131} Interview with Reba, Univ. of Wis-Milwaukee (2009) (on file with Author).
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Id.} at 41.
\textsuperscript{133} Interview with Sarah, Univ. of Wis-Milwaukee (2009) (on file with Author).
\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Id.} at 44.
\textsuperscript{135} \textit{HODO, supra} note 57, at 44.
advisory boards drawing straight from the minority community that also serves as an oversight function that goes on during an everyday basis right here. Quite often there (white faculty) function like a secret society or something but their decisions are made in the most convoluting ways, jobs are advertised and yet already the person who is going to be selected is already predetermined.\textsuperscript{136}

A multicultural institution should reflect the diversity within the population it serves. Do not misunderstand us. Minorities are aware that it is not an easy task or one that may be obtainable within our lives, but minorities should have more representation in both the student body and faculty populations, period. They should not be seen as an anomaly. The negative stereotypes of blacks in American media outlets appear to affect the perception of some majority (white) faculty members who continue to display micro-aggressions towards black faculty.\textsuperscript{137} They view black faculty as different and, maybe, not deserving to be in the academic positions they currently hold at the university.\textsuperscript{138}

Incidents such as Arizona State University Professor Ersula Ore being forcefully thrown onto the ground by campus police officers for jay walking,\textsuperscript{139} Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates being arrested while trying to enter his home,\textsuperscript{140} or State University of New York College at Oneonta Professor Leigh-Anne Francis’s experience with state troopers\textsuperscript{141} remind us that diversity does not come easy—especially for the minority faculty who have the responsibility of implementing diversity policies at colleges and universities thrust upon

\textsuperscript{136} Interview with Owen, Univ. of Wis-Milwaukee (2009) (on file with Author).
\textsuperscript{137} See supra Part IV.
\textsuperscript{138} See supra Part IV.
them. If true diversity is a goal, then university administrators, faculty, and staff must actively work to ensure they have a diverse pool of applicants for faculty positions.\footnote{See supra Part IV.} This requires advertising open faculty positions in journals that minority scholars subscribe to and publish in, while also creating a climate that is conducive to multiculturalism.\footnote{See supra Part IV.}