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DEDICATION

**For Mommy,
For Zahra, my Chicki-Mama and my sugar dumpling,
For the women who shared their stories**

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ABSTRACT

Professional socialization is the process of learning and employing the cultural perspective of the workplace. Informed by Black Feminist Thought and Critical Race Feminism, this study examines the professional socialization experiences of tenured Black female faculty at four predominately White Research institutions (PWIs). In doing so, this research captures the trajectory from graduate school to associate professor and analyzes how tenured Black women define and enact their role in the academy.

Traditional views of professional socialization do not fully explain what happens when a socially subordinated group like Black women enters spaces defined by the experiences of a socially dominant group. Therefore, the theoretical framework for this study considers a) how socially marginalized groups access spaces where the prevailing norms and values disadvantage them, b) how structural and agential factors promote or hinder career advancement, and c) how individuals can alter institutions in ways that are more aligned with their values.

Agency, the ability to identify and implement choices to achieve a self-defined goal, allowed the participants to mediate the vestiges of institutional racism. The key agential factors were self-efficacy and self-advocacy (e.g. seeking mentoring). However, structural opportunities were vital to their career success. Key structural factors were (a)

recruitment initiatives (e.g. Affirmative Action), (b) critical mass of people of color on campus, and (c) intellectual support. These enabling aspects of structure made accessing PWIs possible and made finding a space for intellectual production less complicated.

The participants contributed to their institutions through a series of critical enactments. The term enactment is meant to capture how the participants manifest multiple ways of maneuvering through academe. These enactments are *critical* because they are concerned with naming and subverting social injustice. The participants embodied critical enactments by employing critical pedagogy, challenging epistemological paradigms and advocating on behalf of the most vulnerable groups in college settings. Essentially, for the participants, professional socialization means enacting norms that are aligned with their standpoint, discarding norms that conflict with their standpoint, and transforming norms to encourage agreement with their standpoint. With this knowledge, institutions can better address norms that undermine the professional development of underrepresented groups.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Women.

They were women then. My mama's generation. Husky of voice-Stout of step. With fists as well as hands. How they battered down doors. And ironed starched shirts. How they led armies headragged generals across mined fields, bobby-trapped kitchens. To discover books, desks, a place for us. How they knew what we *must* know. Without knowing a page of it themselves (Walker, 1982)

Until the end of the 20th century, African American women were barred from virtually all high status positions in American institutions (Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994; Reskin, 1993).¹ However, as a result of social movements and anti-discrimination legislation such as Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which outlawed race and gender employment discrimination, African American women, like their male counterparts, gained access to faculty positions within predominately White higher education institutions (W. Allen et al., 2002; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Trower, 2002). Nevertheless, these institutions, particularly four-year research universities, have yet to incorporate African American women fully. For instance, in 2003, African American women, the largest group of women of color faculty, represented just 2.7% of full-time instructional faculty (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2005).² Although the marginal

¹ African American and Black will be used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

² In 2003, Black women comprised 6.8% of full-time female instructional faculty and 41% of full-time women of color instructional faculty (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2005).

presence of Black women in academe is an important concern, the issue of inclusion extends beyond proportional representation to the *condition* of women and people of color within academe because institutional climate contributes to achievement, satisfaction and persistence (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Niemann & Dovidio, 1998). Literature on the experiences of Black female faculty indicates that they encounter barriers to promotion, tenure and other indicators of career success (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Gregory, 1999). Despite these obstacles, many Black female faculty succeed in predominately White (and well regarded) research institutions. As a means to unearth factors that contribute to their career success, I am interested in exploring their professional socialization experiences and examining how they define and enact their role in the academy.

The emphasis on professional socialization and individual agency emanates from longstanding tensions between Black women as a collective and US society based on the commoditization and sexual objectification of their bodies. However, historically Black females have challenged dominant practices and discourses designed to undermine their autonomy. As such, there is a legacy of Black women maintaining what I label an “oppositional position”, an awareness of being a member of a socially marginalized group combined with behavioral and attitudinal resistance to individual and collective marginalization. Simply stated, there is a legacy of Black female opposition to behaviors designed to 1) limit employment, education and housing opportunities, 2) mar and control black female sexuality and 3) restrict physical movement (Harley & The Black Women and Work Collective, 2002; Hine, 1994; Hunter, 1997; Springer, 1999). Oppositional positions created space for self-affirmation through counter narratives and served as form

of protest against the countless indignities that Black women collectively endured. Thus, Black women's engagement with the larger society is characterized by the dialectic of enforced subordination and counter-resistance (P. H. Collins, 2000).

The context from which African American women, as a collective, strategize to thwart indignities illuminates the rationale for this study. Hence, I will review some of the defining experiences of African American women as they relate to societal perceptions and practices that categorically placed them in a particular social position. These social perceptions and practices laid the groundwork for resistance and the use of education as an individual and collective empowerment tool.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Dominant Images of Black Female Bodies and Worthiness

US enslavement and subsequent discriminatory practices left an indelible impression about the worthiness of African American females. As a collective, Black female engagement with the dominant social structure is characterized by a history of economic exploitation and sexual violence (P. H. Collins, 2004a; A. Davis, 1981; Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994; Hine, Brown, Patterson, & Williams, 1990). However, despite the rampant use of institutionalized rape and abusive labor practices against Black women, there has never been widespread social recognition of such mistreatment. This lack of recognition results from deliberate attempts to malign Black females in order to deny or justify their exploitation. For instance, the proliferation of demeaning images of Black womanhood is a major way that U.S. hegemony operates to normalize the lack of regard for Black women. Most notably, dominant discourses created Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire (or Matriarch) caricatures as a means to define and control Black female labor

and sexuality (P. H. Collins, 2004a; Jewell, 1993). The obese, ever-smiling, selfless Mammy figure was employed to promote the ideal relationship between Black women and the larger society. According to the Mammy myth, Black women have an innate desire to serve Whites. In addition, their ample figures and pitch black skins rendered them unattractive to White male employers. Thus, the mammy figure supports the myth that sexual abuse was improbable. On the other hand, the Jezebel was a lascivious wench who sought the sexual attention of males. Hence, sexual encounters with Black women were justified because of their animalistic desires. Finally, the Sapphire served the dual purpose of explaining Black female participation in the labor force (especially when real women did not work outside of the home) and non-traditional Black family structures. Rather than trace these issues to a capitalist economy driven by racism, Black women were depicted as emasculating matriarchs unwilling to conform to traditional female roles. Therefore, they drive Black men away, prefer single parenthood and perpetuate Black poverty. The vestiges of stereotyped representations remain evident today. These images are attempts to justify the dominant social structure by managing Black female sexuality.

Stereotype Construction and Intersections of Identity

The stereotyped images of Black women serve as reminders that Black females occupy spaces that challenge either/or binaries of identity. Mammy-Jezebel-Sapphire stereotypes attach meaning to Black women as raced, gendered and classed beings occupying a social position far from the center of White male power and distinct from their White female and Black male counterparts. As noted by Wing (2003), women of color are not simply “White women plus color or men of color plus gender” (p. 7).

Intersectionality challenges either/or binaries that marginalize the experiences of women of color.³ Furthermore, it assumes that markers of identity are interrelated and help define experiences (P. H. Collins, 2004a; Crenshaw, 1991, 2003; Wing, 1997). Black women, then, may share some of the experiences of White females and Black males, but their race/ethnic, gender and class identities are intertwined and are uniquely positioned against White and male hegemony.

Dialectic of Enforced Subordination and Oppositional Positions: Redefining Womanhood

It is from an abyss of degradation and neglect that African American women created a self-affirming definition of womanhood (P. H. Collins, 2000; Giddings, 1984; Jewell, 1993). When Sojourner Truth declared that she was a woman after enduring years of grueling labor, seeing thirteen children sold off as slaves and receiving lashings, her claim both challenged the popular conception of womanhood and social injustice. Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, educator and author of *Voice from the South* (1892), the first text that used race and gender analysis to describe the experience of Black women, captures the African American female's inviolable will in the face of adversity. Here is an excerpt of a speech given in 1893 that was reminiscent of *Voice from the South*,

Yet all through the darkest period of the colored women's oppression in this country her yet unwritten history is full of heroic struggle, a struggle against fearful and overwhelming odds...to gain a fee simple title to the bodies of their daughters....It is enough for me to know that while in the eyes of the highest tribunal in America she was deemed no more than a chattel...the Afro-American woman maintained ideals of womanhood unshamed [*sic*] by any every conceived. (Cooper, 1998 p. 202)

³ Intersectionality is also termed interconnectivity, multiple consciousness and multiplicative identity (Wing, 1997).

Like Truth and Cooper, many nameless Black women asserted their humanity through oppositional positions as a way to challenge institutionalized subordination.⁴ As the ultimate antithesis of what was considered normal, right and true, African American women had to employ a multiplicity of survival skills. In this struggle for self-reclamation, formally educated Black women often served as the mouthpiece for the Black female collective.

Lifting as We Climb: Educational Attainment

Given the value placed on education by African Americans, it is no wonder that educational institutions would serve as an incubator for Black female leadership upon Emancipation and throughout the 20th century. After being systemically denied education, Blacks understood the relationship between education and one's ability to engage society and secure an improved standard of living (Anderson, 1988; Hine & Thompson, 1998; L. M. Perkins, 1990). Black women were instrumental in furthering education within the Black community (Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994; L. M. Perkins, 1990). For instance, in response to a teacher shortage in Black communities, Black women were heavily recruited to become educators well into the 20th century. Although teaching became the only major occupational choice for Black women beyond domestic service, many Black female educators understood how pivotal they were to Black empowerment (Giddings, 1984). Within this realm, Black women became highly visible leaders in education as school founders, principals and teachers (Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994; Hine et al., 1990; Hine & Thompson, 1998).

⁴ There are countless texts that describe how Black women engaged in passive and active resistance against the slavery (A. Davis, 1981; Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994; Hine et al., 1990). Black women participated in revolts, fought sexual advances, raised their children in a manner that would keep them as safe as possible, escaped from bondage, took birth control and participated in work stoppages.

Educated Black women, in particular, were vociferous challengers to social inequities. They used their status to dispute the race and gender caste system through education and social services. This is no more evident than with the establishment of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1896. Led by such luminaries as Mary Church Terrill and Mary McLeod Bethune, NACW was the first Black national organization to address the needs of African Americans. In addition to founding schools, NACW engaged in community development by sponsoring college scholarships, resettlement programs, day care programs and healthcare facilities among other activities. In addition, educated women actively defended the morality of Black women, advocated for suffrage and publicly challenged sexual violence (Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994). In essence, these women expressed their dissatisfaction with institutionalized discrimination by engaging in capacity building within the Black community. They were pivotal in defending the worthiness of Black womanhood because they had more resources and a broader platform than average Black women who struggled to survive as domestics or agricultural laborers. Fundamentally, history reveals that educated Black women were instrumental in the fight against social injustice (Giddings, 1984). Although during most of the 20th century, erudite Black women were anomalies who belied the image of breeder, whore, nurturer, emasculator and workhorse, many of these women challenged racism and sexism.

Black Female Faculty at Predominately White Institutions

The social justice work enacted by Black women during the dawn of the Black Nadir (Logan, 1954) continued throughout the 20th century.⁵ Education gave them the ability to better navigate social institutions in order to challenge oppression. Thus, Black female educators are an important topic of study because they have played a pivotal role in both challenging dominant discourses and engineering Black community development. Concomitantly, given that those who control knowledge production—the development, critique and implementation of ideas about humanity (Stanfield, 1990)—influence the course of social policy, a study on how Black women negotiate academe helps to determine how they access knowledge production in spaces where they may encounter resistance. If history is an indication of Black women’s contribution to community development, then Black female participation in research institutions may alter conceptions of Black womanhood and promote the development of the Black community. To illustrate why this study is important, I draw upon Lani Guinier’s and Gerald Torres’ (2002) linking of racial oppression with the miner’s canary. As with the canary in the mine, they assert that marginalized groups, because of their vulnerability, alert others to danger.

Those who are racially marginalized are like the miner’s canary: their distress is the first sign of a danger that threatens us all. It is easy enough to think that when we sacrifice this canary, the only harm is to communities of color. Yet others ignore problems that converge around racial minorities at their own peril, for these problems are symptoms warning us that we are all at risk. (p.11)

Thus, if the community at risk is responsive, then harm can be alleviated or eliminated (Guinier & Torres, 2002). Also, if Black women, as representations of much

⁵ The Black Nadir refers to the period in Black American experience in which Blacks were systemically denied political and legal rights. Arguably, the nadir began at the end of the Reconstruction period (1877) when the government abandoned Blacks to their former enslavers and ended in 1954 with *Brown vs. Board of Education*, a judicial ruling that dismantled racially segregated schools (Logan, 1954; Pinkney, 1987).

that is held in low esteem, are fully incorporated in higher education, U.S. higher education can truly claim to be beacons of inclusiveness and benefit from an environment that is responsive to divergent experiences.

Although Black women have been involved in higher education since the 1850s and the first Black woman received a Ph.D. in 1921 (Evans, 2007; Giddings, 1984), Black female academics were not employed at predominately White institutions (PWIs) until the advent of Civil Rights legislation in the 1960s. Despite the fact that there has been some progress, Black women's rank, retention and compensation within PWIs is still amongst the lowest (Gregory, 1999; Moses, 1997). Narratives from these women are replete with accounts of systemic marginalization (Benjamin, 1997; Gregory, 1999; Moses, 1997; Myers, 2002). Black women feel isolated from key social networks, undervalued by peers, unduly attacked by students, and used as representatives of diversity (Moses, 1997; Myers, 2002; C. S. Turner et al., 2002). Despite these challenges, many Black women remain in predominately White research institutions because of their genuine love for learning and desire to promote diversity. Additionally, they recognize that these institutions, as a collective, have valuable resources (Benjamin, 1997; Berry & Mizelle, 2006).

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

This study draws upon Patricia Hill Collins' (1998, 2000) treatise on Black Feminist Thought (BFT), Critical Race Feminist theorists such as Adrienne Wing (1997) and Kimberle Crenshaw (1991, 2003), and Margaret Archer's (2003) and Sharon Hays (1994) discussion of structure and agency. Black Feminist Thought is both an epistemological perspective and an empowerment tool. As an epistemological perspective

it asserts that there is a unique Black female knowledge that results from common challenges, particularly as they relate to race and gender subjugation. For instance, segregated labor and housing markets combined with struggle to sustain a family gave Black women a unique perspective on social issues. This knowledge, if unveiled, can enhance our understanding of social conditions by challenging normative assumptions. As an empowerment tool, BFT validates the experiences of the Black female collective. It also aspires to advance social justice by informing social practice (P. H. Collins, 2000).

Critical Race Feminism, like BFT, is a standpoint theory that asserts that women of color have a unique angle of vision based on their race and gender identity (Wing, 1997). CRF emphasizes intersectional identity and therefore advocates for analysis that considers both racism and sexism when studying women of color (Crenshaw, 2003). In addition, CRF arises from the belief that racism is endemic and permanent because it is needed to maintain the current social structure. Furthermore, it disagrees with the notion of meritocracy because opportunities are not colorblind. Race and gender operate to determine who has access to resources (Wing, 1997).

Archer and Hays discuss the interplay between structure and agency. They assert that social structure has enabling and constraining features. However, the degree to which social structure impinges upon the lives of individuals is influenced by agency. Agents, unlike social forms, have the ability to deliberate, strategize and emote (Archer, 2003). Therefore, they can act in ways that reproduce or transform the status quo (Hays, 1994). This view of the relationship between structure and agency allows for a discussion of how socially marginalized groups respond to hierarchal power relations. It also captures the reciprocal nature of professional socialization. Though individual change is central to

professional socialization, the ways in which individuals navigate their work environment so that it is more aligned with their values and needs is also subsumed in the professional socialization process (Porter, Lawler, & Hackman, 1975). Thus, this study focuses on agential properties alongside structural constraints and enablements.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is designed to examine professional socialization as a means to unveil factors related to how tenured Black female faculty members traverse terrains at PWIs. For this study, professional socialization is defined as the process by which individuals learn and adapt to the values and skills needed to participate effectively in organizations (Dunn, Rouse, & Seff, 1994). Essentially, I want to understand how Black female academics encounter *and* respond to professional socialization throughout their career trajectory? In other words, how do Black female faculty describe their pre-entry and encounter experiences in ways that illuminate structural constraints and enablements? What strategies do Black female faculty employ to navigate the academy? How do Black female faculty define career success, and how do they contribute to PWIs in ways reflective of critical feminisms? These questions assume that professional socialization is not a gender or race neutral process.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The condition of Black female faculty at PWI's is an important topic of study for four key reasons. First, there is a growing consensus in the academic community that race and gender diversity, among other forms of diversity, enhances the teaching and learning environment. Research suggests that cognitive development and intercultural engagement is enhanced when students are exposed to racial and ethnic diversity. An

important component of creating a climate of inclusion is having a diverse faculty (Birnbaum, 1983; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen & Allen; 1999) because they bring a variety of perspectives to curricula, pedagogies and methodologies that expand the boundaries of knowledge (Smith & Wolf-Wendel, 2005, p. 51). In addition, research has shown that Black faculty promote Black student retention because they serve as role models and mentors (W. R. Allen, Epps, Guillory, & Bonous-Hammarth, 2000). Additionally, given the demographic trends in which people of color are advancing toward the majority, higher education institutions must be accessible to talented people from diverse backgrounds if they wish to remain viable.

Second, the condition of Black female faculty at PWIs must be improved to advance social justice. According to Bell (1997), a socially just society is “one where the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure...” (p. 3). Access to leading knowledge production centers is a vital resource because it means that one has an opportunity to contribute to discourses that influence public opinion, public policy and social practices. Without the representation of Black women among thinkers and decision makers, then social practices and policies will continue to be enacted without regard to the perspectives of traditionally marginalized groups and, as history reveals, this has detrimental effects on the well-being of Black women.

Third, this study is significant because it looks at a group that has been historically overlooked within the empirical and theoretical literature. The literature on underrepresented faculty emphasizes the experiences of people of color or women yet rarely focuses on the experiences of women of color. Therefore, it neglects

intersectionality which is a concept acknowledging that racism and sexism are not mutually exclusive. Women of color may have experiences that reflect the intersection of being a member of a non-dominant race and gender group. In using the experiences of Black women as an example, Crenshaw (2003) states,

I argue that Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender....Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated. (p. 24)

Gender stereotypes, then, are intimately connected to stereotypes about race—creating a raced metalanguage (Higginbotham, 1992). For these reasons, an exploration into the experiences of female faculty of color is important because they may have unique perspectives and experiences that challenge paradigms of faculty inclusion and career success.

Fourth, this examination responds to the need to understand the experiences of underrepresented faculty during an era when diversity and Affirmative Action practices are under attack.⁶ As such, the experiences of underrepresented faculty members can serve as indicators of the condition of higher education particularly considering higher education's stated commitment to promoting race and gender diversity. In essence, this study will help determine to what extent race and gender matter in the professional socialization process for Black female faculty at predominately White research institutions.

⁶ In recent years, Affirmative Action programs have been abolished in several states, most notably in Florida, California, Texas and Michigan. The American Civil Rights Institute, the organization spearheading constitutional bans on Affirmative Action, has targeted several more states for ballot initiatives to overturn Affirmative Action.

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

In the next chapter, I synthesize the literature on key professional socialization models, faculty career success and faculty professional socialization. Within this chapter, I provide an analysis of traditional professional socialization frameworks and introduce theoretical concepts that underlie this study. I also introduce a professional socialization framework for women of color faculty based on the literature review.

In Chapter 3, I recap the theoretical foundation of this study to demonstrate how it informs the methodological approach. After presenting my research design, I provide an overview of the study participants. The remaining chapters focus on research findings. In Chapter 4, I review the findings and discuss how they correspond with my professional socialization framework. Lastly, in Chapter 5, I summarize the major findings as they relate to the constraining and enabling features of structure. Furthermore, I discuss the ways in which BFT and CRT are manifested. Next, I present an emergent theory of professional socialization for tenured Black female faculty. I also discuss how this study fits into the current diversity and Affirmative Action debates in higher education. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the theoretical and practical implications of the findings.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

INTRODUCTION

The following literature review is designed to explicate the ideas and concepts that influenced the direction of this study. The study is informed by literature in five areas. First, I begin by discussing traditional and non-traditional notions of career success. Second, I provide an overview of professional socialization frameworks most often referenced in higher education literature. Third, literature on faculty socialization issues is synthesized. Fourth, I talk specifically about factors that influence women of color engagement in higher education settings with an emphasis on structural issues. Fifth, I introduce theoretical concepts that enhance understanding of how Black female faculty access and persist within predominately White institutions.

CAREER SUCCESS

Traditional indicators of academic success

Academic career success is traditionally defined by activities that promote upward mobility within an institution (Finkelstein, 1984a). Wilson (1964) explains that career advancement at major universities is achieved through teaching and research. Clark (1986) states that the institutional career is advanced via research productivity, committee service, administrative responsibility and seniority. In any event, career success has been traditionally viewed as a rank order progression from assistant to full professor (Baldwin & Blackburn, 1981).

Although teaching, research and service comprise traditional faculty work (Bowen & Schuster, 1986), an increasingly important determinant of legitimacy at four year colleges and universities is research productivity (quantity of publications) (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; J. Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Dunn et al., 1994; Fairweather, 1995; Moore, 1992).⁷ Specifically, research productivity is a major criterion for tenure and promotion within research institutions (Trower, 2002; Wilson, 2005).⁸

Although the value of tenure has been questioned due to the increase in non-tenure track faculty, the ambiguous nature of the tenure process, and alternative methods of securing academic freedom, tenure and promotion are still considered important indicators of faculty career success (J. Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Perna, 2002; Wilson, 2004). From a faculty member's perspective, tenure and promotion are important features of career success because they signify job security, increased remuneration, elevated rank and access to decision-making positions (Amey, 1992; Chait, 2002; Perna, 2002). One institutional benefit of tenure and promotion is its potential to foster a climate of inclusion by retaining faculty from diverse backgrounds (Trower & Chait, 2002). However, women are less able to benefit from the fruits of tenure because they are less likely than men to be tenured and more likely than men to hold faculty positions off the

⁷ Research productivity is measured by some combination of the following: amount of research dollars generated, number of refereed publications, number of citations, and number of presentations (Amey, 1992).

⁸ The problem of differential tenure and promotion rates seems to be concentrated at the top fifty research universities because as the academic prestige of an institution rises, the presence of tenured female faculty and faculty of color decreases. For instance, in 2001, women represented 48% of the faculty at two year, 38% at baccalaureate-granting institutions and 28% at research universities (Wilson, 2004).

tenure track (NCES, 2002; Nettles, Perna, Bradburn, 2000).⁹

A final point about career success is that the literature suggests that faculty are motivated by intrinsic factors more so than extrinsic factors (Aguirre, 2000; J. Cole & Cole, 1973; Fox & Ferri, 1992; Thomas, 2004), most of the literature on the barriers that women face invariably addresses the salary disparity (Bradburn & Sikora, 2002; Christman, 2002; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Simeone, 1987). The underlying assumption is that remuneration signifies the institutional value for women and serves as an indicator of gender equity (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988).¹⁰ Hence, I include remuneration as a traditional career success variable.

Female Faculty Career Success

There is limited research that explicitly looks at how women define career success. However, two studies on the topic reveal that career success comprises both objective and subjective indicators of achievement (Thomas, 2004; Wenzel, 1996). For instance, Thomas (2004) found that the majority of women defined career success as having a positive impact on students. Other indicators of success were achieving a balance between work and family life, respect from colleagues, research productivity, effective teaching, and tenure and promotion. Tenure and promotion were the least likely indicators of success.

⁹ Although the emphasis of this dissertation is on female faculty of color on the tenure track, non-tenure track faculty warrant recognition because over half of all full-time appointments are off the tenure track compared to just 3.3% in 1969 (Bradley, 2004). Furthermore, women and people of color are more likely to be among non-tenure track faculty (E. Anderson, 2002; Harper, Baldwin, Gansneder, & Chronister, 2001). The increasing representation of non-tenure track faculty undoubtedly contributes to non-traditional indicators of faculty career success. However, what remains to be seen is whether institutional rewards will be based on traditional criteria for tenure and promotion.

¹⁰ Factors that are associated with salary disparity are institutional type (women are less likely to be in research universities) and discipline (Bellas, 1997; Bradburn & Sikora, 2002).

Similarly, based on a study of the career success of female engineering faculty, Wenzel (1996) explained that women distinguished between institutional and self-defined aspects of success. However, she warned against a clear-cut demarcation between institutional values and personal values because many of the women shared both values. Nevertheless, both tenured and junior faculty in her study defined success beyond tenure and promotion. They described the tenure process as unrewarding yet many worked to achieve tenure for job stability. Success was more likely to be defined as working with graduate students, teaching, advising students, serving on academic and professional committees, nurturing female students and work/family balance.

Some scholars have wondered if female faculty values contribute to the differential status of women and men in academe. A study to determine attitudes toward career success and professional recognition among tenure track medical school faculty found that female faculty were less likely to value national recognition, scholarship and leadership when compared to male faculty (Buckley, Sanders, Shih, Kallar, & Hampton, 2000). Similarly, a study on success factors for women in western society revealed that over 75 % of participants, including professional women, equated success with private achievements that did not require public validation (Markus, 1987). Aisenberg & Harrington's (1988) qualitative study of 62 White female tenured and non-tenured track college faculty revealed that most of the women upheld "countervalues." They explain:

The countervalues add up to a counter system of social order, one that opposes excessive hierarchy and exclusivity in the holding of authority, one that incorporates diversity, spreads authority through processes of corporation, resists centrality...in the defining of truth and value, and protects individuality through the legitimizing of a personal component in professional life.... (p. 136)

Counter-values reflect what some scholars identify as a woman's worldview or perspective resulting from the socialization and social position of girls and women (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Harding, 1991b; Park, 2000). For instance, Collins (2000) argues that African American women have adopted a distinctive worldview based on segregation and employment discrimination. Similarly, Park (1993) argues that women may value teaching and advising students because of their firsthand experiences with bias in academic settings. In any case, it appears that women's definitions of career success extend beyond tenure and promotion and may be influenced by marginalization (Thomas, 2004; Wenzel, 1996).

Framework for Female Academic Career Success

Based on the aforementioned definitions of career success, the determinants of career success fall within the three strands of the academic career: disciplinary, institutional and external activities (Finkelstein, 1984a; Light, Marsden, & Corl, 1985). Disciplinary career pertains to activities related to the goals of a discipline such as research, specialized training and participation in associations. The institutional career entails activities associated with employment at a university such as movement towards promotion or participation in committees. External activities comprise work that relies on professional expertise or status yet it is conducted outside of the university (S. M. Clark, 1986; Light et al., 1985). Based on the literature on female faculty, the model includes a fourth strand, family and community. Family and community denotes activities designed to empower traditionally disenfranchised people and the ability to balance family responsibilities with work responsibilities. However, success indicators that reside within a particular realm are not mutually exclusive in that "activities and positions ...in one

strand often have meaning and consequences in the other strands” (Light et al., 1985 p. 80).

Table 2.1 Determinants of Career Success for Female Faculty

<i>Disciplinary</i>	<i>Institutional</i>	<i>External</i>	<i>Family and Community</i>
Committee Service	Tenure	Consulting	Work/family balance
Professional Development	Promotion	Community Service	Social Change
Professional Recognition	Research Productivity		Mentoring female and racial/ethnic minority students
Professional Degree	Effective Teaching		Community Service
	Committee Service		
	Remuneration		

The model denotes success that is recognized by the institution, discipline and the individual. As described, institutional success is defined primarily by tenure and promotion along with its precursors: research, teaching and service. Family and community indicators of success focus on service to students and the ability to realize balance between work life and home life. Based on the literature, career success for female faculty comprises all of these factors. This expanded notion of career success may have implications for how women achieve job expectations and the value they bestow upon traditional success indicators. It also may have implications for how they alter faculty work.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION

Professional Socialization

Socialization is the process of acquiring and utilizing the beliefs, values and skills needed to effectively function in society (Merton, 1957, 1968). Early socialization frameworks addressed the socialization of children (Tannenbaum & McLeod, 1967) but

evolved to explore socialization throughout the life-cycle (Brim, 1964; Mortimer & Simmons, 1978). The expanded view of socialization ushered in abundant research on the experiences of individuals in work and academic environments (S. M. Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Edgar & Warren, 1969; Feldman, 1981; Lortie, 1975). Accordingly, the scholarship on the socialization of people within organizations reveals that institutions play a pivotal role in determining how workers can evolve professionally while contributing to organizational goals.

Professional socialization is essentially the process by which individuals learn and adapt to the beliefs, values and skills needed to participate effectively in organizations (Dunn et al., 1994). Brim (1966) emphasizes the need for social interaction. He states that professional socialization entails,

the manner in which an individual learns the behavior appropriate to his position in a group, through interactions with others who hold the normative beliefs about what his role should be and who reward or punish him for correct or incorrect actions.(p. 9)

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) assert that professional socialization involves learning and employing the cultural perspective of the workplace. Tierney and Rhoads (1993) expand upon the notion of cultural transference through their exploration of promotion and tenure of college faculty. They argue that socialization is a “ritualized process that involves the transmission of culture” (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993, p. 21). Adding to the definition, Tierney and Bensimon (1996) propose an “engendered” view of new faculty socialization by acknowledging that the academy is a patriarchal organization that supports socialization processes that disadvantage women. Ward and Bensimon (2002) state that academe promulgates cultural practices “that not only

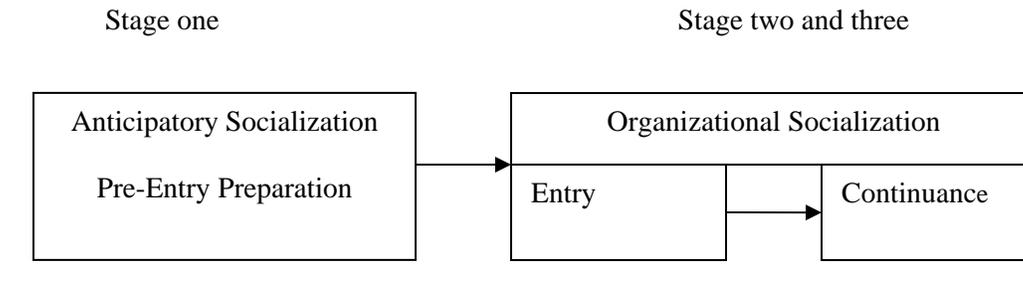
institutionalize gender inequities but also induce women to act out stereotypical female roles to gain acceptance by their predominately White male senior colleagues” (p. 431).

Scholarship on professional socialization comes from diverse disciplines and spans issues related to equity (Kwesiga & Bell, 2004), socialization tactics (Kim, Cable, & Kim, 2005) and worker vitality (Corcoran & Clark, 1984). In higher education, professional socialization is considered important because colleges and universities are “in a position to directly attack inequities within the academy itself” (Finkelstein, 1984b, p. 242). Specifically, professional socialization allows for an analysis of how social structure influences opportunities (Dannefer, 1984). These perspectives and definitions—the social process of cultural adaptation of newcomers to male-centered institutional norms—form the basis of how professional socialization will be considered in this dissertation.

Linear Models of Socialization: Stage Models

Socialization frameworks from Van Maanen (1976), Schein (1978) and Van Maanen and Schein (1979), are the most cited conceptualizations of professional socialization within the higher education literature (e.g. S. M. Clark and Corcoran, 1986; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993; Tierney and Bensimon, 1996, Whitt, 1991). According to their models, professional socialization occurs when individuals internalize workplace behaviors and viewpoints. They conceptualize socialization as a developmental process consisting of anticipatory socialization and organizational socialization (see Figure 1).

Figure 2.1 Linear Professional Socialization Model



The concept of anticipatory socialization can be traced to Merton’s (1957) work on social theory. It designates the degree of preparation (e.g. understanding values, training) for organizational careers. Alternatively, organizational socialization is comprised of two phases, entry and role continuance. Entry involves experiences that occur during recruitment and the early employment period. In earlier work, Van Maanen (1976) explains that newcomers may experience “reality shock” during this phase if their expectations are not congruent with reality. To alleviate this psychological discomfort, Schein (1978) identifies tasks that individuals must accomplish to become integrated into organizations. Key tasks in his model are: identifying the reward system, understanding organizational values, dealing with organizational resistance to ideas and personal values, and locating one-self within the organization. Lastly, role continuance represents the period when a worker reconciles problems encountered during the entry phase and adapts to organizational norms. This is a stage of mutual acceptance—a period when the newcomer becomes an insider through organizational cues such as promotion or a positive evaluation (Schein, 1978). In addition to Van Mannen and Schein models, other stage models contribute to our understanding of professional socialization by honing in

on unique aspects of the process. Thus, what follows is a summary of dominant (though not exhaustive) stage models.

Overview of Stage Models.

Stage models generally comprise three developmental phases (see Appendix A). First, anticipatory socialization (also termed breaking-in, pre-entry, pre-arrival) signifies the expectations that individuals have about particular vocations and organizations (Jablin, 1987). Although expectations are shaped by a myriad of experiences including identity, previous work experience, education and self-efficacy, they are greatly influenced by interactions with people who are important to the individual (Jablin, 1987; Van-Maanen, 1976). During this phase individuals must determine the level of congruence between the job requirements, the organization's resources and the individual's needs (Feldman, 1981).

Second, the encounter (also called accommodation and entry) stage begins upon starting a new job. Organizations attempt to relieve anxiety by providing formal and informal orientation (Wanous, 1992). The early part of socialization is characterized by establishing bonds with colleagues and managing conflicts. The newcomer begins to define his or her role in relation to peers (Feldman, 1981). Reinforcements aid newcomers with role definition and work performance. For instance, reinforcement-confirmation occurs when individual behaviors reflect organizational values. Non-reinforcement happens when newcomers are ignored because their behaviors and attitudes are not preferred, and negative reinforcement occurs when newcomers violate organizational norms (Porter et al., 1975). Finally, the encounter stage is important because it is designed to encourage the acceptance of norms in order to promote stability

and reduce monetary loss due to premature employee departure. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) elaborate,

The stability and productivity of any organization depends in large measure upon the ways newcomers...carry out their tasks. When the passing of positions from generation to generation of incumbents is accomplished smoothly....the continuity of the organization's mission is maintained, the predictability of the organization's performance is left intact (p.215).

The third stage, role continuance (also called change and acquisition, mutual acceptance and role management), involves resolving conflicts and adopting new values. It is also a time when mutual respect develops between senior and new members (Feldman, 1981; Porter et al., 1975). In essence, the worker accepts and enacts behaviors that signify commitment to the organization.

Some models include a stage that describes the results of socialization. For instance, successful socialization leads to satisfaction, organizational commitment, feelings of acceptance, involvement in communication networks and task mastery. On the other hand, *inefficacious socialization* is the failure to generate outcomes that promote an organization's best interests (Van-Maanen, 1976). Workers who are not successfully socialized may be disgruntled and rebellious. Unsuccessful socialization may also lead to voluntary or involuntary departure (Jablin, 1987; Wanous, 1992).

Non-Linear Conceptualizations

Scholars have deviated from the standard stage model of linear progression (Alfred, 2001a; Boice, 1993; Bullis & Bach, 1989; R. J. Menges, 1999; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). For instance, feeling that stage models neglect participants' interpretation of their socialization experiences, Bullis and Bach (1989) utilize turning point analysis to study organizational identification (sense of belonging) among first year graduate

students. Turning points are events that are associated with change in a relationship. They argue that “turning points” is a useful way to understand organizational socialization because: (a) the concept does not assume a linear pattern of growth, (b) the analysis allows for an examination of change identified by participants, and (c) the framework relies on self-reports.

The Model of Academic Life guided the work of the New Faculty Project—an initiative studying the socialization experiences of new faculty (Dinham, 1999). Menges (as cited in Dinham, 1999) created the model to illustrate interdependent aspects of faculty life. The model uses concentric circles to represent multiple layers of academic engagement. At the center are individual characteristics (e.g. experience, beliefs, and demographics). These characteristics are enclosed within a larger circle, the four domains of faculty work (i.e. teaching, service, research and professional growth). The model contributes to understanding professional socialization by emphasizing reciprocity between the newcomer and environment. In addition, it focuses on newcomer agency.

With the Bicultural Life Structure model (BLS), Alfred (2001) generates a career development framework based on the study of five tenured Black female professors. Her model is noteworthy because she examines the relationship between race, gender and professional development among non-dominant groups within a dominant culture. Emanating from the concept of *double consciousness*, BLS (the ongoing process of altering identity in order to negotiate boundaries) is how people of color acquire the ability to deal with their marginal positions in organizations.

BLS incorporates aspects of what Alfred calls the internal and external career. The internal career represents psychological elements and personal behavior. It is guided

by “the strategies, behaviors, and interactions designed to meet the expectations of the external career” (p. 123). Some aspects of the internal career are positive self-definition, bi-cultural competence and seeking places to affirm identity. The external career is comprised of the structural aspects of academic life like culture, work expectations and mentoring. Altogether, the bicultural life structure model informs us about professional socialization because it provides a basic framework for how membership in non-dominant groups might influence socialization.

Employing some of the same ideas as Alfred (2001), Weidman, Twale and Stein (2001) propose a developmental model of socialization that addresses identity development and role commitment among graduate and professional students. According to their model, the socialization process involves the following *interactive* stages: anticipatory, formal, informal and personal. Each stage is characterized by varying levels of knowledge acquisition, investment, involvement and commitment. Their model warrants mention because it moves away from the linear view of socialization to a fluid interlocking framework that considers institutional, professional and personal communities along with background characteristics. By far, it represents one of the most holistic conceptualizations of professional socialization in higher education.

Synthesis of Professional Socialization Conceptual Models

In addition to the focus on developmental stages, the literature conceptualizes professional socialization as: (a) newcomer oriented (b) social learning, (c) cultural learning, and (e) individual adaptation.

Professional Socialization Primarily Involves Newcomers

Although most of the scholars note that professional socialization is continuous, they focus on organizational entry. Three reasons are given for this phenomenon. First, it is generally agreed that new workers lack reference points and experience high levels of stress and uncertainty. Therefore, scholars focus on entry because it is a crucial period of adjustment (Van-Maanen, 1976). Second, new entrant turnover is costly. Thus, research is directed toward explaining and alleviating early departure (Wanous, 1992). Third, it is easier to capture organizational influence during entry period than during later periods (G. Jones, 1983).

Professional Socialization is Social Learning

Professional socialization relies upon interpersonal engagement. People entering social environments are looking for indicators of how to proceed (Van-Maanen, 1978). Newcomers use cues from colleagues, superiors, subordinates and clients to interpret their environment (Jablin, 1987). In work settings, individuals get a sense of their competence through engagement with colleagues (Feldman, 1981).

Professional Socialization is Cultural Learning

Scholars generally agree that professional socialization is about getting newcomers to internalize norms, values and behaviors. Schein (1974) explains that norms, values and behavior patterns are essentially the (a) the goals of the organization, (b) preferred means of achieving goals, (c) responsibilities of members, (d) behavior requirements, and (e) rules and principles pertaining to the maintenance of organizational identity. Essentially, performing in a manner that is appropriate within an organization requires the adoption of a particular cultural perspective. For academics, cultural learning

requires an understanding of four interdependent cultures: disciplinary, professional, institutional, national system (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993).¹¹

Professional Socialization as Transforming the Individual

Some models suggest that socialization is bi-directional where organizations are the target of change. For instance, Jablin (1987) argues that individualization occurs when individual workers modify their environment. It occurs when work behaviors are adjusted so that they are better aligned with the values and needs of individual workers. However, limited attention is given to individualization processes. Much of the professional socialization literature focuses on how organizations change people. The emphasize is on how organizations create “a series of events which serve the function of undoing old values so the person will be prepared to learn the new values” (Schein, 1974, p. 5).

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION AND NEW FACULTY

The New Faculty Member

Although scholarship on the socialization of new faculty is still emerging (Boice, 1992), the available research sheds light on the underlying assumptions of professional socialization within higher education. What follows is a summary of the research that gives some insight into the experiences of new faculty.

¹¹ Disciplinary culture includes assumptions about knowledge and is “the primary source of identity for faculty” (Kuh & Whitt, 1988, p. 77). The academic profession is the “normative context of the academic career” (Finkelstein, 1984, p. 73). The profession is defined by common interests and values such as professional autonomy, academic freedom, merit, creating knowledge and intellectual integrity (B. Clark, 1987; Finkelstein, 1984a). Institutional culture is determined by how an institution communicates meaning and the purpose of that meaning (e.g. rewards and punishments) (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993). The national culture influences dynamics of other cultures through public attitudes, legislation, judicial rulings and shared beliefs (B. Clark, 1987; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993).

One theme in the literature is that junior faculty have heavy workloads yet receive minimal support from senior faculty (Boice, 1992; Fink, 1984; R. J. Menges, 1999; Rice, Sorcinelli, & Austin, 2000; Whitt, 1991). As a result, many junior faculty members experience a great deal of stress. For instance, Whitt (1991) found that faculty members were expected to quickly establish themselves as scholars yet they were also expected to demonstrate competence in teaching and commitment to service activities. Another theme in the literature is that new professors often feel isolated from seasoned colleagues and confused about job expectations. In their study of over 350, junior faculty and graduate students, Rice, Sorcinelli and Austin (2000) identified three concerns: (a) lack of comprehensible tenure standards, (b) lack of balance between work and personal life, and (c) lack of community. Tierney and Bensimon (1996), in a study of 202 professors, including 45 people of color, found that they were overwhelmed by work, unsure about tenure guidelines and disappointed by the lack of collegiality and mentoring. In regards to women and people of color, they noted that aspects of organizational culture reflected subtle race and gender bias, creating an unwelcoming climate.

In an effort to address detrimental climate issues, Boice (1992) draws upon his theory of professorial success under the moniker, Involvement, Regimen, Self-management and Social Networks (IRSS). He recommends IRSS as a means to reduce challenges that accompany new faculty roles.¹² His theory stems from observations of what exemplary faculty do to “short-cut the socialization and mastery processes” (p. 12).

Other scholars have made recommendations to ease the socialization process for

¹² Supported by the research from other studies (Astin, 1985; Creswell, 1985; Flower, 1990), IRSS stands for the following: (a) Involvement, immersion in activities that will provide instruction and support; (b) Regimen, time management; (c) Self-management, maintaining clear sense of purpose and outcome; and (d) Social networks, engaging with faculty to enhance friendships and collaborative opportunities.

professors. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) focus on exploring the meaning and symbolism behind socialization as a way to promote changes that meet the needs of diverse faculty. Hence, they place a great deal of emphasis on organizational culture. Caplan (1993) and Cooper and Stevens (2002) make recommendations for women and faculty of color that cover the spectrum of the faculty career from doctoral studies to tenure. Although these scholars address organizational structure, they emphasize actions that marginalized individuals can use to navigate academe. What drives most of the scholarship is concern about the increased pressure on faculty to produce research while at the same time be effective teachers and community servants.

New Faculty Literature and Professional Socialization Concepts

Given the altered landscape of the academic workplace with changes related to productivity demands, diversity and types of appointments (Rice et al., 2000), this body of literature affirms the importance of addressing faculty socialization. By identifying variables related to new faculty development, the studies expand the conceptual linkages between professional socialization and career success. The body of literature falls into the entry (Van-Maanen & Schein, 1979), encounter (Feldman, 1981) or assimilation (Jablin, 1987) phases of professional socialization. Moreover, the studies highlight aspects of non-linear models such as identity (Alfred, 2001a) and environment (Weidman et al., 2001).

Findings from faculty literature reflect aforementioned aspects of socialization frameworks. For instance, Fink (1984) and Boice (1992) describe job entry as culture shock similar to the reality shock discussed by Van Maanen (1976). Also, faculty research affirm that social networks clarify performance expectations and reduce

isolation (Boice, 1992; R. Menges & Associates, 1999). However, what is missing from this literature is an exploration of female faculty of color experiences. What is known about those experiences primarily derive from literature on White female faculty and faculty of color.

SOCIALIZATION OF FEMALE FACULTY OF COLOR

This section of the dissertation clarifies how scholars discuss professional socialization as it pertains to female faculty of color. Overwhelmingly, the literature focuses on structural factors yet individual factors are considered. With this said, structural and individual factors are not mutually exclusive; structural issues both influence and result from individual attitudes and behaviors (Fox, 1991). Accordingly, this section of the review includes theories related to structural and individual factors that may affect professional socialization of Black female faculty.

Structural Factors

Structural factors pertain to organizational environment, policy and practices that determine work roles, access to resources and status (Alfred, 2001b; Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; DiNitto, Aguilar, Franklin, & Jordan, 1995). Theories and concepts employed in the literature can be divided into two categories: (a) institutional exclusion, including proportional representation, institutional racism, chilly climate, gendered division of labor and ghettoization; and (b) access to resources, namely, accumulative disadvantage. Literature on structural factors suggests that tokenism, mentoring, and work-family policies affect socialization and career success (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; Gregory, 1999; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993).

Proportional Representation: Tokensim

Proportional representation is the “difference for individuals and groups that stem from particular numerical distributions of categories of people” (Kanter, 1977, p. 208). Kanter states that a marked imbalance (less than 15% of the total group) in representation results in *tokenism*. Based on her study of women in a male dominated company, she deduced that tokenism produces three detrimental outcomes: high visibility, contrast and assimilation. High visibility means that tokens are subject to more critique than majority group members because they capture a “larger awareness share” (Kanter, 1977, p. 210). Thus, tokens have to work harder to have their achievements recognized. Contrast occurs when non-dominate group differences are exaggerated by dominant group members through isolation and other tactics. As a result, dominant group culture is further normalized. Alternatively, assimilation is the categorization of tokens based on stereotypes. Such categorization provides little room for individuality and forces tokens into enacting denigrating roles. In essence, her theory suggests that underrepresented groups are less integrated into organizations, experience heightened performance pressures and are expected to play caricatured roles.

Empirical evidence from corporate and academic settings lends some support to Kanter’s hypothesis. Based on their study of 120 White and Black female managers, Bell and Nkomo (2001) contend that Black women are “double tokens” within a corporate setting because they are often one of a handful of women of color in the mist of White male workers. They found that Black women feel alienated from their White peers because they perceive that there are distinct differences in life experiences, reference points, communication styles, and values. Borrowing from the work of Collins (2000),

Bell and Nkomo (2001) assert that Black women are *outsiders/within* organizations because they are located on the boundary between a dominant and marginal group. Thus, Black women's formal membership in a high-status group is offset by membership in a socially marginal group. In the same way, McKay (2002) states that "in White universities these women experience the workplace as one of society's exclusive clubs to which, even though they have as much right as everyone else to be there, they will never gain full membership" (p. 21).

Research in higher education found that female faculty of color also experienced tokenism (Holmes, 2001; Luna, 2000; Moses, 1997; Myers, 2002). For instance, Myers (2002) analyzed narratives from 62 Black female professors working at traditional White colleges and found that their treatment was based on stereotypes about Blacks and women. Her participants talked about having their qualifications repeatedly challenged or being treated as if they were crazy or ignorant. Likewise, Luna (2000) found that the Latina women in her study felt ostracized by their co-workers because they were labeled Affirmative Action hires despite their credentials. In all, the literature on female faculty is replete with claims of differential recognition and reward structures (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Holmes, 2001; Randall & Verdun, 2002).

Institutional Racism and Sexism

Institutional racism occurs when institutions act as vehicles for discriminatory practices despite intentionality (J. Jones, 1972). It is typically covert and results from organizational structures, policies and practices that favor one group and disadvantage another group (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000). Social psychologist, John Dovidio (2000)

notes that after initial laws and practices are established, institutional racism survives through ritual, therefore intent to discriminate is not required.

In higher education, job searches that require credentials that are not prevalent among people of color because of past discrimination is an example of institutional racism or sexism (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; Johnsrud, 1998). Culturally insensitive standards for research also qualify as institutional racism (Benjamin, 1997; R. Menges & Exum, 1983; R. V. Padilla & Chavez, 1995; C. V. Turner & Myers, 2000). For instance, Menges and Exum (1983) state that “women and minorities sometimes offer their own scholarship to compensate for what is missing and sometimes radically redefine issues, research paradigms and approaches to teaching” (p. 134). However, empirical studies and personal narratives reveal that research on women and minority issues is undervalued. For instance, Turner and Myers (2000) conducted a qualitative study of 64 faculty of color from seven mid-western colleges. They found that faculty of color who focused on race or ethnic issues felt that their work was discounted. Thomas and Hollenshead (2001) found that female faculty of color were the least likely to believe that their research was valued by colleagues, and most likely to feel pressure to change their research to fit into their departments. Texts from Padilla and Chavez (1993) and Benjamin (1997) include narratives with lengthy discussions about how traditional epistemologies negatively impact women and people of color. Essentially, faculty of color believe that intellectual validation is predicated upon adopting traditional research epistemologies—the very frameworks that undermine their legitimacy and pathologizes the experiences of people of color (P. H. Collins, 2000; Epstein, 1991; John, 1997; Moses, 1997; Stanfield, 1985). However, what is of most concern is that tenure and

promotion may be jeopardized by employing gender and race/ethnic based frameworks (e.g. Chicana Feminist Epistemology) (Benjamin, 1997; Curry, 2002; Epps, 1998).

Chilly Climate

Emanating from cognitive and social psychology, the concept of *climate* designates the current yet malleable configuration of institutional life based on members' perceptions, expectations and attitudes (Bauer, 1998). Thus, climate refers to patterns of behavior, perception of how organizations function (i.e. goals, governance) and feelings about work (i.e. sense of belonging, satisfaction, morale) (Peterson & Spencer, 2000). Coined by Hall and Sandler (1982), *chilly climate* embodies the conceptualization of climate by focusing on perceptions of academic life. However, it emphasizes unfavorable dimensions of the academic milieu.

The initial description of a chilly climate relied heavily on antidotal evidence from female students (Hall & Sandler, 1982). The concept was later expanded to capture the experiences of female faculty and administrators with a particular emphasis on biased performance evaluations and differential reward structures (Sandler, 1991; Sandler & Hall, 1986). Their thesis states that sexism permeates the halls of academe in ways that make women feel discouraged, embarrassed and/or unappreciated.

The literature is replete with examples of the demoralization of women in the workplace (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Benjamin, 2002; Gregory, 2001; Johnsrud, 1998). Women, especially women of color, consistently score lower than men on measures of institutional climate (Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Studies also show that tenured and untenured faculty women resign because of perceived lack of institutional support (Gregory, 1999; Wenzel and Hollenshead, 1998). An

underlying assumption within the literature is that academe, because of its historical resistance to race and gender diversity, is not responsive to the needs of “raced or gendered” groups. Hence, a chilly climate describes “a pervasive and systematic institutional order and references a compounding of everyday practices which block the women’s full participation in the university” (Prentice, 2000; p. 196).

There are a number of factors that indicate a chilly climate. However, issues relating to the relationship between career advancement and work-life balance predominate. One concern is that the time frame for tenure and promotion often coincides with female childbearing years and thus serves as an impediment to career development (Rice et al., 2000; Trower, 2002). As a result, women may jeopardize career success by making childrearing a priority (Armenti, 2004; D. Davis & Astin, 1990; Finkel, Olswang, & She, 1994; Simeone, 1987). Furthermore, women may be reluctant to take advantage of stop-the-tenure-clock options for fear of being characterized as a slacker (Park, 2000; Wilson, 1995). What can be deduced from this literature is that the solution to work-life imbalance entails more than stopping the tenure clock. It requires addressing embedded assumptions that create an inhospitable climate for parenting women.

Despite the focus on rewards and work-life balance, the attributes of a chilly climate remain difficult to succinctly describe because they comprise an array of environmental and behavioral factors. Nevertheless, scholars have articulated climate features and hypothesized outcomes by categorizing discrete aspects of the female faculty work experiences such as peer attitudes, reward structure, peer relationships, and freedom of expression (Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998; Riger, Stokes, Raja, & Sullivan, 1997).

Most importantly, studies that consider race and gender dimensions of a chilly climate add to our understanding of female faculty of color socialization because they not only interrogate normative institutional structures but also provide a basis for promoting practices that are race and gender conscious (as opposed to race and gender neutral).

Gendered Division of Labor & Ghettoization

One explanation for the tenure and promotion differential between male and female faculty is the gendered division of labor. Park (2000) posits that a gendered division of labor derives from the institutionalization of gendered organizational roles. Therefore, careers are viewed as masculine or feminine which leads to steering males and females into gender-specific positions. Within this schema, men's work is depicted as more complex and prestigious while women's work is afforded less value. The end result is a "gender-role hierarchy in which jobs identified as (culturally) feminine...are undervalued and underpaid" (Park, 2000, p. 286).¹³

Park (2000) argues that institutional segregation and differences in rank are indicators of gendered or even racial division of labor. Similarly, Villalpando and Delgado (2002) state that faculty of color are racially stratified because they are concentrated in institutions with lower prestige and fewer resources. Scholars also contend that the overvaluing of research and the undervaluing of teaching and service are examples of how the gendered division of labor operates within academe because women and people of color devote more time to teaching and service (W. Allen et al., 2002; Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; Witt & Lovrich, 1988).

¹³ Virginia Valian (1998) argues that gender schemas provide the foundation for institutional sex segregation. Gender schemas stem from a woman's ability to bear a child. Childbearing became associated with psychological nurturance. Hence, women are defined by their relationship to children. Thus, women are perceived as emotional and nurturing and men are perceived as independent and intellectual. These basic assignments foster socially constructed gender differences.

Ideas about structural placement can also fall under the rubric of ghettoization (Reskin, 1993). Ghettoization refers to sex or race segregation in the workplace. Through a review of national data on employment, Reskin and Roos (1990) demonstrate that a fundamental feature of the U.S. occupational structure is segregation by race and by gender. Job level ghettoization, according to Reskin and Roos, is one way that employers maintain segregation in occupations where women and people of color have gained access. Research on desegregation of non-education fields reveals that employers accomplish this by tracking women and Blacks into the least desirable or low-prestige jobs or by requiring more from women and Blacks in order to qualify for promotion (Baldi & McBrier, 1997; S. M. Collins, 1989; Reskin & Roos, 1990).

Higher education scholars contend that overrepresentation of women and people of color in part-time, non-tenure track, less prominent departments and less prestigious institutions are examples of a dual employment track (Glazer-Raymo, 1999), de facto segregation (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002) and barrioization (Garza, 1993). Furthermore, the literature suggests that positioning faculty of color to carry the bulk of responsibility for institutional diversity via committee service, advising and course facilitation is an example of how ghettoization results in a hidden service requirement that is generally not valued by tenure and promotion committees (Brayboy, 2003; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). In essence, gendered division of labor and ghettoization are important concepts because they promote discussion of a reward system that may disadvantage Black women.

Accumulative Disadvantage

In 1968, Robert Merton set out to explain how psychosocial processes affect the allocation of rewards for scientists. As a means to explain the advantageous position of some scientists, he borrowed a phrase from the New Testament of the Bible as written in the Gospel according to Matthew 13:12, “For whomsoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but whomsoever hath not, from him shall be taken away that he hath.” The *Matthew Effect* describes how eminent researchers get more credit than a comparatively unknown researcher even when their work is similar or part of a joint venture. This phenomenon is attributed to accumulative advantage—the reaping of rewards as a result of previous reputations, positions in prestigious schools and networks with influential people (Merton, 1968).

A privileged position within academe and other fields generally begins with sponsorship (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Bode, 1999; J. Cole & Cole, 1973; Reskin, 1979; Zuckerman, 1977). Based on her study in a corporate setting, Kanter (1977) asserted that “sponsored mobility (controlled selection by elites) seems to determine who gets the most desirable jobs, rather than contest mobility (an open game)” (p. 181). In a study of five tenured Black female professors, Alfred (2001) found that the mentoring relationships developed during graduate school were important because they contributed to professional visibility as well as knowledge about academic culture and role expectations. However, much of the literature on the status of women in academe has demonstrated that female faculty, especially female faculty of color, do not receive sponsorship comparable to male faculty (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996).

The lack of support for women of color begins in graduate school which means they have fewer opportunities to conduct research, present at conferences and network with established scholars (Ellis, 2001; C. V. Turner & Thompson, 1993). Hence, many of their experiences are characterized as accumulative *disadvantage*. Accumulative disadvantage begins with an initial drawback such as lack of sponsorship or lack of early publication. Initial disadvantages become problematic when a professional weakness mushrooms and affects other aspects of an individual's career. Research on female faculty publication disadvantage (Allison & Stewart, 1974; S. M. Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Creamer & Mcguire, 1998; Long, Allison, & McGinnis, 1993) and promotion among female administrators (Johnsrud & Heck, 1994) lends support to gendered division of labor and accumulative disadvantage theories. However, there is a dearth of literature explicitly addressing the relationship between accumulative disadvantage and career success for female faculty of color.

Individual Factors

Individual factors are comprised of personal characteristics and life circumstances that help explain differences among academics (Alfred, 2001b; Creamer, 1998; DiNitto et al., 1995). Some conceptual factors attributed to the professional socialization of females relate to individual investment, values, self-efficacy and identity.

Individual Investment

Based on economic principles, human capital theory (HCT) purports that attainment results from individual investment as well as supply and demand of similarly skilled individuals. Human capital is conceptualized as ability, education and training. Therefore, differences in attainment are attributable to differences in how much people

invest in themselves. Individuals rather than jobs are believed to influence career opportunity (Becker, 1962, 1964; Rosenbaum, 1984). This theory suggests that differences in traditional measures of career success between White male faculty and female faculty of color are attributable to variation in investments (e.g. education) and differences in productivity.

Within higher education, there has been some exploration into the relationship between human capital variables and career success. For instance, Perna (2001) studied the relationship between gender, race and tenure status by controlling for research productivity, human capital (education and experience) and structural variables (institutional type). She found that human capital, structural and productivity variables explained most of the gender difference in tenure rates. However, at four-year schools female faculty were less likely than male faculty to hold the rank of full professor even after controlling for those variables. Similarly, Toutkoushian (1999) used the same data and method to investigate how race, gender and human capital variables (e.g. highest degree, experience) explain faculty rank among full-time faculty. He found that an unexplained gender differential in rank remains after controlling for research productivity, experience, institutional type and discipline.

Scholars have considered research productivity to explain female faculty career success. On the whole, women publish less than White males and are overrepresented among non-publishers (Creamer, 1998; Long, 1990; Toutkoushian, 1998).¹⁴ The literature also reveals that women are more likely than men to carry more responsibility for childrearing (Hochschild, 1989). Thus, one explanation for the lower rates in research

¹⁴ There is evidence that the gap between men and women's publishing rates have narrowed since the 1980s. Also, there are no longer significant differences among faculty within most disciplines when looking at short term (e.g. two years) publication rates (S. Cole & Singer, 1991; Creamer, 1998, 2002).

productivity (and subsequent promotion) among women is that childrearing curtails investment in work. However, literature shows that childrearing is not associated with decreased research productivity (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; J. Cole, 1979; J. Cole & Zuckerman, 1987; Creamer, 1998; Ferber & Huber, 1973; Hamovitch & Morgenstern, 1977; Reskin, 1978). For instance, Hamovitch and Morgenstern (1977) found that women generally publish 20% fewer articles than men regardless of parenting status. In a retrospective study on the relationship between childrearing and productivity, Cole and Zuckerman (1987) found no significant difference in publication rates between parenting women and childless women. Nevertheless, they found that parenting women devoted more discretionary time to work-related activities.

Other studies associate childrearing with detrimental effects on research productivity (Hargens, McCann, & Reskin, 1978), promotion, access to resources or work-family balance (Finkel & Olswang, 1994, 1996; Mason & Goulden, 2002).¹⁵ For instance, Mason and Goulden's (2002) study of family formation using longitudinal data (1973-1999) from the Survey of Doctorate Recipients (SDR) found that women who had babies early (within 5 years of earning PhD) were less likely than men who had babies early to achieve tenure. In addition, the tenure gap was uniform across institutional type and discipline. Furthermore, women who attain tenure are more likely than men to be childless (Mason & Goulden, 2002). Another study surveyed faculty from 24 medical schools and found that women with children published less, advanced more slowly and received less research funding from their jobs when compared to male parents (Carr et al., 1998). In all, the literature shows that motherhood presents a challenge to women by

¹⁵ Some of the variability in results for research productivity can be attributed to methods used (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004). Some studies failed to disaggregate the data by institution type or rank. Furthermore, many studies focused on specific disciplines (e.g. science).

making the balance between work and family difficult to maintain. Much of the literature attributes this outcome to the tenure and promotion process because it requires high levels of productivity during a woman's childbearing years. Hence, the emphasis has been on institutional adjustments (i.e. altering the tenure clock) to meet the needs of parenting faculty (Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Finkel et al., 1994; Hensel, 1991; Wilson, 1995).

Critics of HCT argue that focusing on individual deficiencies inadequately explains gendered division of labor and differential outcomes for similar investments (Baron & Bielby, 1980). Rather than accept that women choose low status positions, HCT critics propose that women and people of color are channeled into those positions through socialization, discrimination and institutional arrangements (e.g. mobility ladders). Hence, critics emphasize social control and structural forces as opposed to individual investment (England, 1982, 1984; Pratt & Hanson, 1991).

The Gendered Values Perspective

It has been suggested that differences in male and female success rates stem from gender differences in values, assessment of competence and perception of institutional expectations. For example, Park (2000) argues that women may choose to spend more time advising and teaching because those roles are more aligned with women's ethical orientation. Similarly, narratives from scholars of color reveal that they feel ethically obligated to devote time to activities that help students of color (Benjamin, 1997; Mabokela & Green, 2001). Also, Aisenberg & Harrington (1988) state that female faculty uphold "countervalues" because their values differ from the norm. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) believe that societal gender expectations reward women for stereotypical

behaviors. They call these non-threatening behaviors “smile work” and “mom’s work”. In short, these accounts purport that the values of women and minorities encourage them to focus on work that is unappreciated (Park, 2000; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). Furthermore, the discussions suggest that societal expectations inhibit women’s self-expression, thereby limiting their professional and personal choices.

Self-efficacy

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) may add to our understanding of the choices that women make. SCT has been proposed as a way to understand the experiences of Blacks and women (Hackett & Byars, 1996; Kerka, 1998; Lent et al., ; Weiler, 1997). Based on the work of Albert Bandura (1977, 1986), SCT states that behavior is a function of continuous reciprocal interaction between personal factors (cognitive and affective), environmental factors (social and physical) and behavioral influences. According to Bandura, response to events is influenced by past experiences with that event and cognitive appraisals (e.g. attributions of performance) that influence perception and retention of the event. Self-efficacy, a core component of SCT, is defined as “people’s judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances” (Bandura, 1986, p. 391). Bandura argues that people make choices based on personal efficacy. Unless people believe their efforts will produce desirable outcomes, they have little reason to persevere. Thus, repeated failures can lower self-efficacy assessments while success can raise them.

Scholars have considered the relationship between self-efficacy and women’s career success (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; Cobham, 2003; Hackett & Betz, 1980; Schoen & Winocur, 1988). For instance, using a national sample of science faculty,

Blackburn and Lawrence (1995) employed multiple regression analysis to see how well career (e.g. rank), self-knowledge (e.g. efficacy, competency), social knowledge (e.g. perceptions), environmental conditions and behavior (e.g. publication effort) predict two-year research productivity among female scientists. They found that research efficacy was a stronger predictor of research productivity for women than for men. However, a caveat of SCT is that perceived self-efficacy may not motivate individuals to act if disincentives (social and physical) constrain performance (Bandura, 1986). Hence, a woman's self efficacy may be undermined by race, gender and class discrimination because performance feedback is inaccurate, inconsistent or ambiguous (Cobham, 2003; Hackett & Byars, 1996; Kerka, 1998).

In all, theories pertaining to *women's way of knowing* and social learning imply that women's career success is influenced by person-in-environment experiences that are grounded in social location. Hence, scholarship on female faculty should consider how social learning is influenced by race, class and other factors that uniquely define women's experiences.

Creative Marginality and Resistance

The literature is replete with accounts of how Black female faculty experience marginalization within the academy (Benjamin, 1997; Gregory, 1999; Myers, 2002; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). For instance, McKay (1997) notes that "Black women professors in White colleges and universities are always aware that their presence represents a disruptive incursion into spaces never intended for them" (p. 19). Two key studies on the experiences of women of color faculty emphasize the marginal status that they hold due to inhospitable racial climates. Turner (2002) found that the women in her

study felt isolated from key networks, attacked by students, torn between work and family responsibilities and used in ways that were not valued. Myers (2002) had similar results in her study of 62 Black female faculty members from several institutions. She explains,

Misconceptions and stereotypes about race and sex lead to the treatment of and interaction with African American women as labels, thus mystifying the real persons behind the stigma and encouraging self-fulfilling prophecies by the sex and race that hold power. (p. 23)

In addition to the research that describes the challenges of being a female faculty of color, some studies suggest that marginality and invisibility promote resilience. In her study of five tenured female faculty, Alfred (2001) found that the women believed that their marginal status was an asset because it enhanced their ability to live beyond boundaries. The participants employed *creative marginalization*, the ability to view marginality from a perspective of difference rather than inferiority (Alfred, 2001a). In essence, their marginality required that they become culturally competent in different social arenas thus giving them the skills needed to work in various social contexts. Hence, creative marginalization is one way of surviving a hostile work environment.

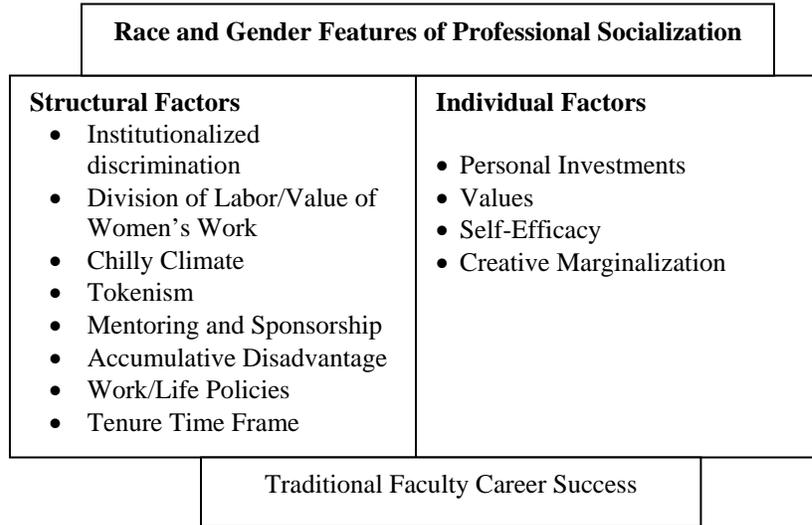
Similarly, Thomas and Hollenshead (2001) found that when compared to other faculty, women of color had the lowest institutional climate rating. However, they engaged in on-going resistance by seeking mentors and forming support groups. Both studies suggest that marginalization of women of color acts as an impetus for resistance. Marginality allows them to navigate various social environments armed with the knowledge that they must work harder to achieve success, seek a support network and directly challenge poor treatment. Furthermore, being on the margins reminds Black women that they must be vigilant in responding to oppression.

The notion that there is a dialectical relationship between marginality and activism is discussed by Collins (2000) in her treatise on Black Feminist Thought. She argues that Black women have historically defied institutional and interpersonal subjugation. Thus, their agential powers are employed to subvert social constraints.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION: CRITIQUE & NEW THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Professional socialization entails locating oneself within an organization while adapting to its norms. As a means to engender loyalty, cooperation and commitment, professional socialization seems fairly innocuous. However, as indicated by the literature, professional socialization for Black female faculty is mediated by race and gender based structural constraints. Instead of acting as a force of integration (full access to all aspects of academic life) or transformation (defying social norms of race and gender stratification), professional socialization in the academic workplace reproduces societal norms whereby women of color are at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Bennett & DeBarros, 2004; Giddings; 1984). Based on the literature review, Figure 2.2 illustrates factors that influence the professional socialization of Black female faculty.

Figure 2.2 Literature Review Model



Given the lack of attention paid to structural and individual factors, professional socialization models, though helpful in defining the purpose of socialization, gloss over the context in which socialization takes place. The models are incomplete because they ignore the role that social structure plays in determining one's social condition (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Specifically, they do not adequately address issues that arise when socially marginalized groups like women of color enter institutions that are characterized by a dominant group's norms and values. Chesler and Crowfoot (2000) contend that the structure of higher education reinforces White middle-class culture and negatively affects people of color and women. They suggest that institutional racism operates through the institutional mission, culture, hierarchy and processes by which organizations operate to meet their goals.

Equally important, the models do not provide sufficient insight into how newcomers differently negotiate institutions. As such, they do not consider the differential outcomes for similar inputs across race and gender lines. Though the non-

linear models (Alfred, 2001a; R. Menges & Associates, 1999; Weidman et al., 2001) attempt to conceptualize socialization as a nuanced process predicated upon life experiences, most do not take into consideration structural impediments to socialization. As a means to address the insufficient conceptualization of professional socialization, I introduce the key theoretical approaches of this dissertation: 1) Black Feminist Thought, 2) Critical Race Feminism and 3) structural constraints and enablements.

Black Feminist Thought

Feminist standpoint theory is a group based theory that asserts that women's everyday experiences are the basis for constructing knowledge that challenges dominant discourses (Harding, 1991b). It states that women's lives are different from the lives of men due to hierarchical power relations. As a result of shared social location, women own perspectives that challenge male-dominated norms. Thus, the theory asserts that the experiences of women, as a collective, can challenge universal truths.

To be clear, the bedrock of standpoint theory is lived experience. Therefore, it is not simply a decontextualized opinion. Standpoint theory derives from the struggle to bring subjugated knowledge to the forefront. Hartsock (2004) explains,

The vision available to the oppressed group must be struggled for and represents an achievement which requires both science to see beneath the surface of the social relations in which all are forced to participate, and the education which can only grow from struggle to change those relations...As an engaged vision, the understanding of the oppressed, the adoption of a standpoint exposes the real relations among human beings as inhuman, points beyond the present, and carries a historically liberatory role. (p. 37)

Hence, an underlying assumption of standpoint theory is that traditional epistemologies promote the interests of dominant groups (Harding, 2004), and operate to hide or distort

the perspectives of marginal groups. To address these distortions, the lives of women are privileged in order to bring

scientific observation and the perception of the need for explanation to bear on assumptions and practices that appear natural or unremarkable from the perspective of the lives of men in the dominant groups. Thinking from the perspective of women's lives makes strange what had appeared familiar, which is the beginning of any scientific inquiry (Harding, 1991 p. 150).

However, in response to the lack of race analysis in standpoint theory, Black Feminist Thought (BFT) claims that Black women have a distinct standpoint arising from the intersection of race and gender. Patricia Hill Collins (1998) argues that BFT disrupts feminist and racial solidarity ideologies by introducing the notion of intersecting identities. Therefore, BFT destabilizes conceptions of feminism that emphasize White women's issues and challenges the notion that racial solidarity requires women of color to be silent about experiences that are distinct from their male counterparts. King (1995) elaborates,

A Black feminist ideology, first and foremost, thus declares the visibility of Black women. It acknowledges the fact that two innate and inerasable traits, being both Black and female, constitute our special status in American society. Second, Black feminism asserts self-determination as essential. Black women are empowered with the right to interpret our reality and define our objectives. While drawing on a rich tradition of struggle as Blacks and as women, we continually establish and reestablish our own priorities. (p.312)

Therefore, BFT argues that the coupling of race and gender means that Black women occupy a distinct location because of how women and Blacks are positioned within the social hierarchy. This distinct location fosters common everyday experiences and responses to the social structure which forms the basis of Black female knowledge. In their groundbreaking book on Black women's studies, Gloria Hull and Barbara Smith (1982) discussed why Black female knowledge is not recognized in academic arenas.

As a major result of the historical realities which brought us enslaved to this continent, we have been kept separated in every way possible from recognized intellectual work...What our multilayered oppression does not explain are the ways in which we have created and maintained our own intellectual traditions as Black women, without either the recognition or the support of White male society. (p. xviii)

Thus, BFT is a framework that acknowledges the distinct placement of Black women and serves as a means to move their subjugated knowledge from the margins to the center of ontological discourses.

Another important aspect of BFT, as a standpoint theory, is that it privileges group experiences. Collins (1997) states,

It is common location within hierarchical power relations that creates groups, not the results of collective decision making of individuals within groups. Race, gender, social class, ethnicity, age and sexuality are not descriptive categories of identity applied to individuals. Instead, these elements of social structure emerge as fundamental devices that foster inequality resulting in groups. (p. 376)

Thus, BFT contends that shared social conditions create groups. However, the group perspective does not negate individuals within the group. Nor does it argue that individuals have the exact same experiences within socially created power structures. For instance, Black women share the same location, as a group, within the social hierarchy yet their individual responses to structural properties may differ (P. H. Collins, 1998). Nevertheless, standpoint theory asserts that individuals within a shared social location are likely to have similar interpretations and responses to social conditions. Collins (1997) explains,

Groups have a degree of permanence over time such that group realities transcend individual experiences. For example, African Americans as a stigmatized racial group existed long before I was born and will probably continue long after I die. While my individual experiences with institutionalized racism will be unique, the types of opportunities and constraints that I encounter on a daily basis will resemble those confronting African Americans as a group. (p. 375)

Recognizing a group as a unit of analysis is a means to analyze privileges and disadvantages accumulated through group membership. Thus, it is the amalgamation of experiences and responses to shared social location that informs a Black female standpoint.

In America, Black women are influenced by a history of racial discrimination that determines access to education, employment, healthcare, housing, protection, food and social spaces. Again, these common experiences do not imply lack of heterogeneity among Black women, Collins (2004) notes,

While living life as a Black woman may produce certain commonalities of outlook, the diversity of class, region, age, and sexual orientation, shaping individual Black women's lives has resulted in different expressions of ...common themes. Thus, universal themes included in the Black woman's standpoint may be experienced and expressed differently by distinct groups....(p.105)

This oppression affects individual Black women differently but this does not negate that an array of oppressive experiences exist and is part of group knowledge. Professional socialization models, lacking analysis of group placement within structural power relations, do not provide an optimal conceptualization of how Black women access and negotiate predominately White institutions. Without a group perspective, then issues such as sexism are not considered in Black female professional socialization processes.

Critical Race Feminism

Critical Race Feminism (CRF) is an ideology and practice emanating from Critical Race Theory (CRT). As such, CRF upholds the same insights of CRT. First, it states that racism is a normative structural feature in America because race is a primary social category used to delineate and uphold White privilege. Second, CRT rejects the

notion that racism can be abolished through popular equality concepts (e.g. neutrality, color blindness, meritocracy and hard work) because racism is necessary for the maintenance of the American socio-economic structure (Wing, 1997). Delgado and Stefancic (2001) explain,

Critical race theorists hold that color blindness will allow us to redress only extremely egregious racial harms....But if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures as deeply as many critics believe, then the “ordinary business” of society...will keep minorities in subordinate positions. (p. 22)

This belief in the entrenched nature of racism leads to interest convergence, a third principle of CRT. It states that racism is in the best interest of the dominant group. Hence, racial minorities are granted civil rights only when it is viewed to be in the best interests of elite Whites. Some argue that racial progress is homeostatic in that change happens at the right pace; rapid change would be too unsettling for Whites and too slow change encourages disenfranchised groups to rebel (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). Thus, racial equity, if it happens at all, is very slow and cyclical (Wing, 1997).

Finally, CRT asserts that people of color, as socially subordinated groups, have a different vantage point on social issues. This vantage point is experiential knowledge that can add new understanding to what is considered universal or normative. To capture experiential knowledge, storytelling is used to highlight divergent social realities and to protest against injustice.

CRF, as an offshoot of CRT, focuses on the intersection of race and gender (Wing, 1997). It recognizes that women of color have distinct gender and race experiences that are ignored in feminist and anti-racist frameworks. Within CRF, discourses about people of color and women are conceptualized to include aspects of

group identities that have been neglected. Much of the literature focuses on how legal frameworks do not recognize women of color (e.g. Black women) as a distinct group and how they are discriminated against differently than men of color and White females. Crenshaw (2003) offers an analogy of a street intersection to explain how single issue analysis is inadequate for Black women,

Discrimination...may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination. (p. 28)

Therefore, interventions based on the experiences of White women or men may only superficially address the needs of women of color.

As heuristic devices, CRF and BFT recognize that race and gender interact in ways that make Black women a distinct social group that exists within race or gender-only interpretative frameworks but also transcends those frameworks (P. H. Collins, 1998). Therefore, BFT and CRF are useful in shaping one's thinking about the ways that intersectional identities, particularly race and gender, operate in particular social contexts and processes. As interpretive tools, they elucidate themes that may have particular salience for the Black female experience.

Building on the notion of critical feminist standpoints as heuristics, CRF, when applied to the professional socialization processes of Black female faculty, asserts that racism is endemic and intersects with other forms of oppression. Additionally, it challenges views that claim success is colorblind and based on merit. CRF and BFT privilege group membership as a way to explain how socially constructed identities influence access to resources and worldviews. Therefore, professional socialization in

PWIs is in not merely transference of cultural norms. It is process of adopting the norms and navigating the terrain of the dominant group. Because group subordination is necessary to maintain dominance, Black women then must navigate institutions in which norms may hinder their professional development and cultivate an environment where micro-aggressions (subtle yet pervasive forms of oppression) abound (Ayres, 1991; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Structural Constraints and Enablements

As noted, most of the conceptualizations do not adequately address the notion of institutional transformation. If socialization is reciprocal, how do the norms and values of individuals alter or transform institutional practices and people within institutions? With few exceptions (e.g. Porter et al., 1975) most models do not explain the process of personalization or individualization—a factor that may be pertinent for marginalized groups. Commenting on the role of Black women in the academy, Rassool (1995) states that “people are not determined in a static way within the social structure—they are actively engaged in challenging and resisting the oppressive power relations which construct their reality” (p. 35).

In order to explore how Black female faculty members transform institutions, what is needed is a theoretical construct that allows for the discussion of human agency within socially constructed groups. Though BFT and CRT emphasize group identity, it is primarily for the purpose of discussing relationships to power (P. H. Collins, 1997). They do not negate the role of human agency. Furthermore, BFT and CRT draw upon individual experiences through dialogue and storytelling in order to “challenge, displace, or mock” (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001, p.43) dangerous narratives. These constructs

also argue that dialogue and storytelling are ways to express everyday experiences that affirm people of color (P. H. Collins, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Thus, alongside BFT and CRT, there is room for a discussion of the relationship between agency and structure.

I employ Margaret Archer's (2003) and Sharon Hays's (1994) perspectives on the reciprocal nature of structure and agency. Hays asserts that social structure is both the creation of human beings and the construct by which they must fit.¹⁶ In essence, social structures exist because of the conscious or unconscious participation of people. Thus, according to Archer (2003), the power of social structure to impinge on the lives of individuals is mediated by agency.

In short, constraints and enablements derive from structural and cultural emergent properties. They have the generative power to impede or facilitate projects of different kinds from groups of agents who are differently placed. However, the activation of their causal powers is contingent upon agents who conceive of and pursue projects upon which they would impinge. (p. 7)

Therefore, social structure both constrains and enables yet in order for constraints and enablements to go into effect, an agent must engage in some form of action.

Accordingly, agents have powers, distinct from social forms, such as the ability to deliberate, anticipate and strategize that allow them to act in various ways. Consistent

¹⁶ Hays (1994) defines social structure as “durable systems, patterned by more or less flexible inner logics that transcend individuals. Social structures are both the medium and the outcome of human social action; although they regularly operate above the heads of individual human actors, they would not exist without the willing or unwilling participation of those same actors” (p. 65). I subscribe to this definition as well as: organizational environment, policy and practices that determine work roles, access to resources and status (Alfred, 2001b; Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; DiNitto et al., 1995). In addition, I include individual behaviors of institutional actors (e.g. faculty, peers and administrators) that are overtly or covertly supported by the institution because human behavior is influenced by organizational norms that teach and condone certain types of behaviors, including racism and sexism (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; P. H. Collins, 2000).

with Archer, it is the reflexive process of humans that serves as the mediatory process between structure and agency. Similarly, Hays (1994) states,

Agency explains the creation, recreation, and transformation of social structure; agency is made possible by the enabling features of social structures at the same time as it is limited within the bounds of structural constraint; and the capacity of agents to affect social structures varies with the accessibility, power, and durability of the structure in question. (p. 62)

In looking at professional socialization, this study focuses on constraints and enablements. Also, among structurally provided possibilities (or enabling properties) of social structure, what choices do participants make and do those choices contribute to how they experience, define and enact their role in the academy? Regarding agency, Hays (1994) contends that it occurs on a continuum from actions that reproduce social structure and actions that transform it. Structurally reproductive agency entails choices that either reinforce the status quo or replicate prevailing social patterns. She notes that most people make choices that are aligned with norms. On the other hand, transformative agency is one that alters social patterns in “non-trivial” ways. Thus, this study will consider agential features that create or replicate professional norms while mindful of how structure constrains or enables choices.

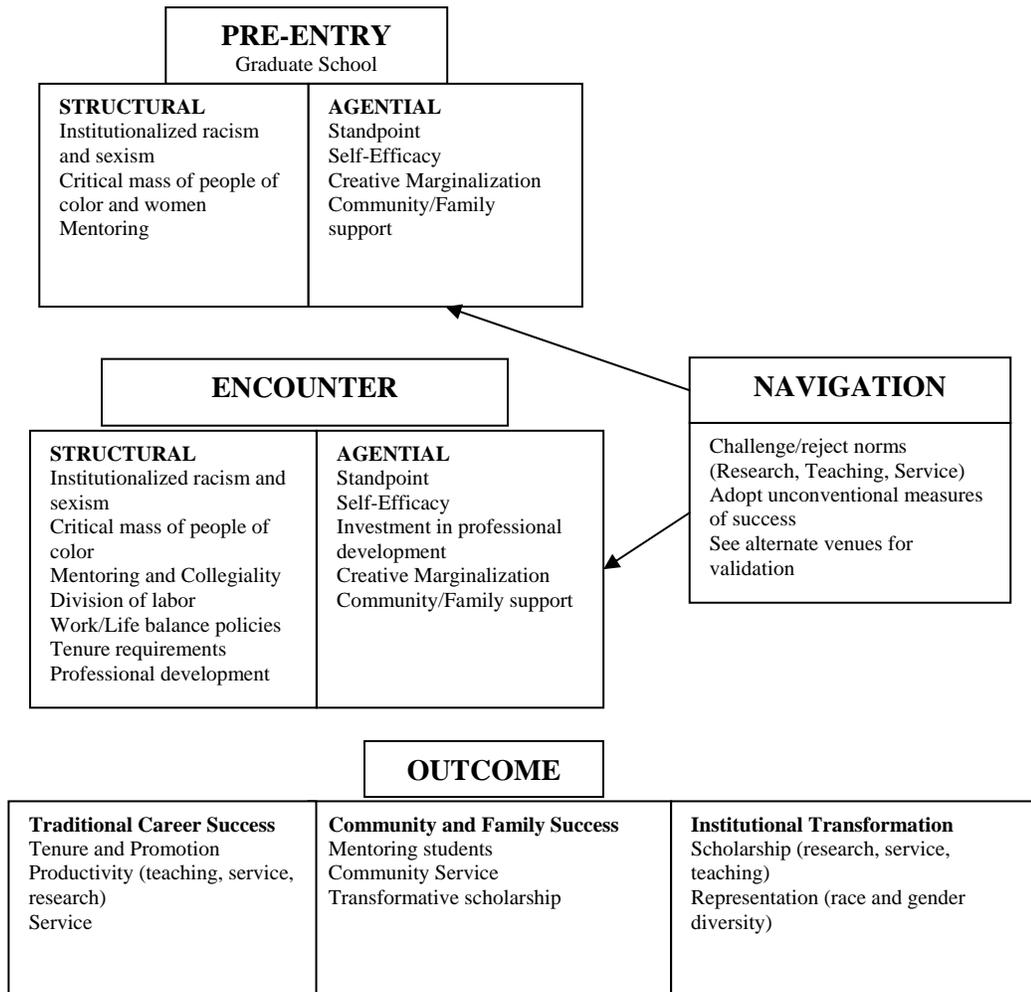
ALTERNATIVE PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION FRAMEWORK

Overview

Based on my review of the empirical and theoretical literature, I propose a framework of professional socialization that takes into consideration structural and agential factors. Thus, my model intends to capture how participants encounter and respond to their experiences in the academy. In addition to highlighting structural *impingements upon individuals*, my model draws from literature (Alfred, 2001a; Archer,

2003; Hays, 1994) that emphasizes agency. Therefore, it shows how navigational strategies alter institutions and promote career success.

Figure 2.3. Integrative Model of Professional Socialization



My model is comprised of the pre-entry and the encounter processes. However, it deviates from the traditional professional socialization models because it introduces agential processes that demonstrate how a socially marginalized group navigates institutions designed for socially dominant groups. In addition, the model reflects agential and institutional outcomes. What follows is an explanation of the framework.

Pre-Entry. Unlike traditional socialization models, this sector signifies individual and structural factors that must be considered during the transitional phase between doctoral student and assistant professor. Structural factors represent conditions and processes that female faculty might encounter during organizational entry. Structural variables influence how individuals access and experience institutions. At the same time, individuals bring experience, values and behaviors that initiate constraints and enablements.

Encounter. Like the pre-entry phase, both individual and structural properties are considered to be intrinsic components of professional socialization. Based on the literature, these components can hinder or encourage career success. Institutional racism and sexism represent longstanding practices that disadvantage women of color. Next, critical mass of people of color refers to the need to have people of color represented among the faculty in order to reduce tokenism. The next components, mentoring and collegiality, speak to how intellectual support fosters career success (Alfred, 2001a; Boice, 1992). Collegiality differs from mentoring in that it means cordiality and respect. While mentoring refers to specific forms of support such as providing research opportunities. Next, division of labor refers to the low regard for work deemed to be the domain of people of color and women. Work/life and tenure requirements entail factors the support or hinder the ability of women of color to meet career expectations and to fulfill family responsibilities (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Trower, 2002). Finally, professional development captures the institutional response to deficits in knowledge acquisition resulting from differential mentoring and inadequate teaching and research preparation.

Agential factors are what individuals bring to their work environment. They represent the choices that people make as a result of internal deliberation. To begin, Standpoint refers to socially constructed race and gender identities that locate people within a hierarchal power structure. As a result of social location and lived experiences, Black women, as a collective, have and endorse knowledge that may challenge dominant narratives about social issues. This standpoint may also influence how they measure career success and what they value in work settings. Self-efficacy is the degree to which people have faith in their ability to perform well. Investment in professional development reflects effort designed to advance professional skill and knowledge. Creative marginalization entails viewing one's marginal status as an opportunity to develop skills to operate within insider and outsider communities. Lastly, family and community represent empirical and philosophical literature that call attention to the importance of interpersonal relationships to faculty women (Alfred, 2001b; Myers, 2002).

Navigation. Based on the literature, this component of the model is an interpretation of how Black female faculty members negotiate structural constraints. It depicts how agential factors such as values, self-efficacy and creative marginalization are enacted. According to Tierney (1997), higher education “culture is up for grabs or contestable. To be sure, constraints exist by way of historical and social forces, but multiple possibilities exist to re-inscribe culture with alternative interpretations and possibilities”(p. 6). Hence, the navigational strategies represent the reconciliation of professional expectations and personal interests. Consequently, the strategies signify resistance to disaffirming aspects of the academy through self-affirming practices.

As noted in the introduction, Black female resistance to structural constraints is longstanding (A. Davis, 1981; Hine, 1994; Jewell, 1993; Springer, 1999). Also, according to the narratives of Black female and Latina academics, women of color resist by (a) viewing themselves as role models for their racial/ethnic group, and (b) relying upon culturally validating standards of success (Benjamin, 1997; Louque & Garcia, 2000; Myers, 2002; E. Taylor, 2000; Torres-Guzman, 1995). Again, narratives show that resistance is manifested in pedagogy, service and research (John, 1997; Lewis, 1997). However, resistance does not preclude acceptance of some norms and values within predominately White research institutions. It simply denotes strategies employed to engender success (Battle & Doswell, 2004; J. Cooper & Stevens, 2002).

Outcome. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the literature maintains that career success for female faculty fall within traditional (tenure) and non-traditional realms (community service) realms. However, in accordance with the view that individuals have the ability to transform institutions, the outcome includes transformational properties of agency. Hays (1994) explains that social structure can be manipulated in ways that have non-trivial consequences. She calls agency that inspires change structurally transformative agency because the emphasis is on the structural impact resulting from an array of agential enactments.

Based on the literature, I contend that one of the ways that Black female faculty alter their institutions is through traditional mechanisms-service, teaching and research. However, within these structurally provided possibilities they make choices that introduce different ways of serving, teaching and conducting research. In their choices, they broaden discourse on (a) How service should be conducted and who should be

served, (b) What courses should be taught and how they should be taught, and (c) What are valid epistemological approaches and research questions? Finally, I contend that the Black Female presence on historically White and prestigious universities transforms the institution by challenging people to think about institutional membership. In essence, who should have access to these institutions and how is a professor envisioned?

CONCLUSION

Professional socialization, as it has been traditionally practiced, is more of an explanation rather than a remedy for disparities in academic career success. For women of color, constraints appear to outweigh the enabling aspects of structure because many of the values and norms of PWIs are resistant to race and gender diversity. Nevertheless, many women of color have successfully navigated the socialization process in ways that produce reproductive and transformative success outcomes. It is the navigational process that demonstrates how Black female faculty challenge structural constraints.

The framework I propose is important for several reasons. First, it enhances understanding of factors that influence the career success of female faculty of color, particularly Black female faculty. Second, female faculty of color can use this model to (a) identify gaps in their workplace experiences, (b) advocate for necessary structural changes, and (c) initiate appropriate personal changes. Third, it provides a starting point for people creating programs and conducting research on ways to retain female graduate students and faculty of color. The model also serves as a counterpart to (a) programs created to reduce the consequences of negative stereotyping (E. Taylor & Antony, 2000), (b) guidelines for women-positive institutions (Caplan, 1993), and (c) strategies for women of color success (Battle & Doswell, 2004). Fourth, my model acknowledges non-

traditional success, recognizes women of color as a distinct yet diverse group, and considers societal and institutional forms of social constraints.

My conceptualization attempts to address the gaps in the socialization models by incorporating knowledge gleaned from the empirical and theoretical literature. The model contends that both structural and agential factors operate to create opportunities that enhance and constrict career success. Female faculty of color, as agents, can attempt to make their work environment conducive to their development. In turn, institutions generate barriers or conduits to career success.

In order for socialization processes to address disparities, they must be able to incorporate people from diverse backgrounds. Thus, rather than emphasizing the indoctrination of newcomers, the process should entail the cultivation of pre-entry skills and the transformation of institutional climate so that it reflects the priorities of a diverse workforce. In essence, professional socialization processes should recognize diversity and respond to social inequities, so that personal models of success are more attainable and traditional markers of success are more equitably distributed.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

What is impersonal writing but denial of self – Patricia Williams (1991, p.92)

As discussed in the literature review, the linear professional socialization process consisting of entry (anticipatory), encounter and continuance (acquisition) phases do not fully explain how Black women negotiate predominately White institutions. To better explain Black female faculty socialization, this study approaches the data through theories that acknowledge how identity, power, structure and agency influence human trajectories. These frameworks support discussion of how group-based power differentials produce alternative ways of knowing and transforming institutions to promote equity. As heuristic instruments, these constructs encourage the consideration of raced and gendered conditions within the professional socialization of Black women. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to recapitulate theoretical approaches (see Chapter 2) and to describe my methodological approach to the study of professional socialization and enactments of the faculty role in the academy. Moreover, as a transition between methodology and the findings, this chapter introduces the study participants.

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Black Feminist Thought

Black Feminist Thought (BFT) is a fundamental interpretive lens for this study. As a critical social theory, BFT rearticulates Black women's everyday experiences and

emphasizes social justice (P. H. Collins, 2000). It asserts that Black women's experience with subordination gives them a unique perspective on social conditions. This unique perspective includes knowledge about how to foster group survival and structural transformation. Employing BFT to analyze Black female engagement in higher education institutions validates Black women's interpretation of their experience. In essence, it provides an interpretive tool that draws upon marginalized identities as a means to understand person-in-environment experiences. This study, then, provides Black female faculty with a forum to discuss their professional lives as a means to determine how they are able to contribute in spaces where they have been historically barred.

Critical Race Feminism

Critical Race Feminism (CRF) states that racism and sexism are normative and necessary to maintain current power relations. Because of the permanence of discrimination, CRF rejects arguments that attribute success to merit. Accordingly, success is predicated upon the interaction between social position and access to resources such as education and employment opportunities. CRF recognizes that Black women, as a collective, are disadvantaged because of the stigma attached to being female and Black. Furthermore, Black women, as a collective, must negotiate similar types of structural constraints. For instance, Black women must deal with derogatory images of Black women as Jezebels, Sapphires or Mammies (P. H. Collins, 2000; Jewell, 1993). Thus, the emphasis is on structural constraints that create groups. Using CRF to explore professional socialization means that identity-based constraints are assumed to be present. Furthermore, collective marginalization gives Black women unique knowledge about how race influences opportunity.

Structure and Agency

Inherent in the principles of BFT and CRF is the notion that an oppressive social structure obstructs the ability of women of color to self-actualize and to make unfettered contributions to society. However, within the confines of social structure, women of color, drawing upon how society affects their experiences, have responded in ways that affirm their worthiness and challenge repressive structures. Hence, social structure affects how individuals experience the world yet within the confines of social structure, individuals are active participants—both influencing and being influenced by it. It is within this context, that this dissertation explores the experiences of Black female faculty at predominately White institutions.

As noted in the previous chapter, Archer (1994) asserts that social structure becomes efficacious through agential actions. She states,

Constraints and enablements do not possess an intrinsic capacity for constraining or enabling in abstraction. For anything to exert the power of a constraint or an enablement, it has to stand in a relationship such that it obstructs or aids the achievement of some specific agential enterprise. (p. 5)

The generative power of social structure is dependent upon the actions of agents. Furthermore, Archer (1994) asserts that agents engage in “internal conversations” as a means to diagnose situations and engage in actions they deem appropriate. Such actions combined with structural properties activate constraints or enablements. Thus, one can view professional socialization beyond how structure impinges upon agents to include how agents interpret and respond to structure. Accordingly, although race and gender may position people differently within predominately White research institutions, structural properties in combination with agential actions can impede or foster professional development. Thus, the outcome of any agential project is predicated upon

how it is mediated by structure and how agents uniquely respond to those structural conditions. In essence, Archer's theory of agential power broadens professional socialization paradigms by focusing on how individuals, through deliberation and action, influence their trajectory in organizations and thus have the ability to alter organizations.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Questions

Drawing upon BFT and CRF, this study seeks to discover how respondents interpret their experiences. This study looks at how participants experience professional socialization and how they define and enact their role in the academy. The following sub-questions informed the protocol.

1. How do Black female faculty describe their pre-entry and encounter experiences in ways that illuminate structural constraints and enablements?
2. What strategies do Black female faculty employ to navigate the academy?
3. How do Black female faculty define career success?
4. How do Black female faculty contribute to PWIs in ways reflective of BFT and CRF?

Strategy of Inquiry

Given the theoretical underpinnings of this study, this inquiry eschews the pretense of objectivity by explicitly subscribing to an ideological perspective rooted in critical research methods that name race and gender, among other identities, as influencing how people engage in the social environment and how researchers interrogate

experiences.¹⁷ Hence, this study is grounded in the principles of critical research which is concerned with power and justice and the ways that race, class, gender, economic status, religion, education and other social and cultural dynamics matter to form a social system. As such, critical research relies upon the elucidation of experiences to engender social critique and social change (Patton, 2001). In regard to critical research, Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) note that “research thus becomes a transformative endeavor unembarrassed by the label political and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness” (p. 291).

Critical research views humans as subjects engaging in social construction rather than neutral data for observation. Human experience is influenced by social structure and history. Additionally, humans are viewed as self-defining beings who create, interpret and make meaning from human behavior (Comstock, 1982). Thus, they offer a *point of view* in response to inquiries about human experiences. The goal of critically based research is to focus on the “dialectical tension between the historically created conditions of action and the actors’ understandings of these conditions” (Comstock, 1982, p. 383). Specifically, methodological assumptions and approaches in this study are based on principles within Black Feminist Thought and Critical Race Feminism focusing on *collective standpoint, lived experience and storytelling/dialogue and transformation*.

¹⁷ The notion of objectivity has been scrutinized within critical feminist literature (P. H. Collins, 1998; Harding, 1986, 1991a; Lather, 1991a). Collins (1998) asserts that the elevation of objectivity over emotion creates an objectivity that upholds the abstract and universal over special interests (e.g. black and female). This type of thinking creates a binary where Whiteness becomes associated with objectivity and impartiality—what supposedly makes a true scientist and Black women epitomize the devalued difference. Harding (1991) advocates “strong objectivity” as a means to extend research to include examination of overt and latent cultural assumptions. It advocates valuing the perspective of the historically objectified and the social conditions that foster it. Lather (1991) argues that “ways of knowing are inherently culture-bound and perspectival” (p. 2).

Collective Standpoint

Black women are recognized as having a collective standpoint based on shared experiences in education, employment, housing, religion and sexuality among other things (P. H. Collins, 2000). John (1997) states that “the ontology of African American females is a constellation of collective memories, race experiences and definitions of strength and integrity that stand counter in imagery to the roles we currently hold” (p. 61). Similarly, Dillard (2006) explains that Black female faculty members bring a specific standpoint to knowledge production “not as biological constructions but as historical, political and cultural constructions” (p. 14).

Collective wisdom is based on a diversity of responses to the social structure (P. H. Collins, 2000). Therefore, the knowledge acquired from individual agential responses to conditional influences inform a grander narrative about how Black women view and respond to the enabling and constraining elements of social structure. BFT, as a manifestation of collectivity, challenges notions that subjugated groups have no independent interpretation of their experiences. Instead, standpoint theory provides a way of acknowledging that Black women’s worldview and actions are contextually situated in ways that challenge normative views of the social order.

Lived Experiences & Dialogue

The key knowledge validation principle within BFT is lived experience. Knowledge that comes from experience is afforded more credibility than theory. Concomitantly, dialogue is a method used to assess lived experiences. According to Collins (2000), dialogue is the cornerstone of Black women’s storehouse of collective wisdom because it is the primary means of altering consciousness and informing action.

Therefore, knowledge creation is a communal rather than isolated process. Also, within critical research, dialogue acts as a means to determine how subjects encounter and respond to phenomena.

CRF argues that lived experience is the primary way of altering the dominant narratives about social issues. Within CRF, narratives are used to “construct alternative social realities and protest against acquiescence to unfair arrangements designed for the benefits of others” (Wing, 1997; p.3). As a result, experience based storytelling is thought to illustrate the pervasiveness of social injustice and to validate the experiences of marginalized people.

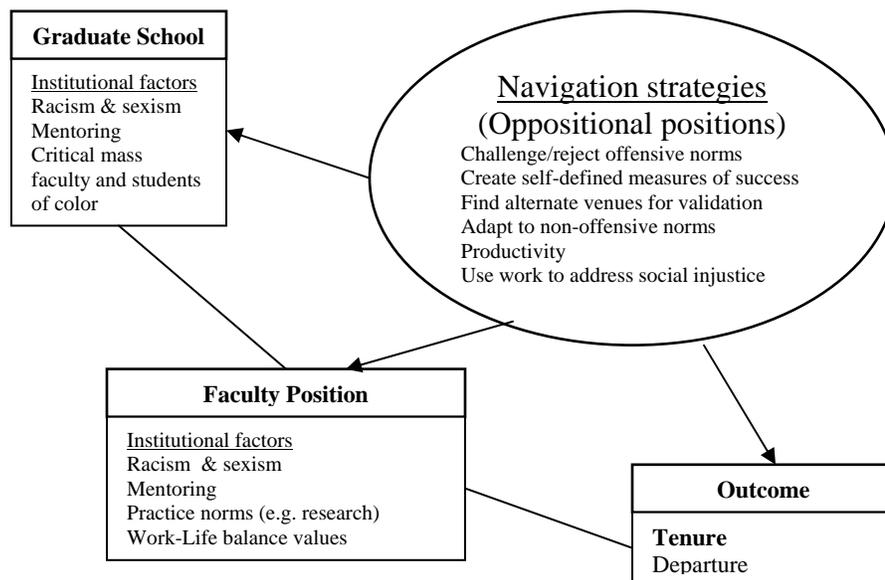
Transformation

Critical research is more concerned with challenging normative practices that reinforce power differentials than simply describing human behavior (Comstock, 1982). Research is expected to contribute to new awareness of marginalization as a way to advocate for equity. BFT and CRF reflect the transformative aim of critical research by raising awareness of subordinated experiences in order to challenge discourse and social practices rooted in the experiences of the dominant group. Hence, a goal of this study is to expand discussion about how race and gender operate within the professional socialization processes of academe. By critiquing professional socialization, the hope is that institutional practices will be more closely aligned with broader values and experiences. Additionally, a goal is to expand awareness about how underrepresented groups may act as catalysts for institutional transformation.

Conceptual Framework

Prior to initiating the data collection process, the study was focused and bound by a conceptual framework that delineated the presumed relationship between key constructs (see Figure 3.1). Although the framework was informed by literature on female faculty, it was constructed prior to an in-depth literature review, and it was influenced by my previous research on Black female graduate students. Lastly, the framework and the research questions evolved simultaneously as each guided the development of the other.

Figure 3.1 Original Conceptual Framework: Professional Socialization Factors



Methodology and Data Collection

Given that the study explores how Black females experience and respond to professional socialization, qualitative methods were employed. Qualitative methods were especially suited for this study because they are the best way to glean information about what experiences mean to people (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 2001). Furthermore, the philosophical assumptions of qualitative methods are uniquely aligned with BFT and CRF. For instance, the ontological assumption is that reality is subjective and the

multiple realities can exist. The axiological assumption is that research is steeped in values based on the researchers and participants lived experiences. Finally, there is the belief that meaning is discovered through interaction with participants (Creswell, 1998). For these reasons, qualitative methods appropriately support the overarching theoretical assumptions of this study.

To identify participants, criterion sampling was employed. Such sampling requires that those selected for the study are information-rich cases (Creswell, 1998). Hence, in alignment with my research question, I sought tenured Black female professors working at predominately White Carnegie Classified doctorate granting institutions. I recruited associate professors because I needed participants who could reflect upon how their graduate school and junior faculty experiences influenced their career trajectory (pre-entry and encounter experiences) and outcomes.

My target population was further defined by disciplinary background. I targeted faculty in social sciences and humanities to capture experiences within disciplines that have a relatively longer history of race and gender representation when compared to the STEM fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics. Hence, focusing on social sciences and humanities allowed for insight into the experiences of an underrepresented group in disciplines that have been historically, albeit limited, more accessible. Finally, social science and humanities were targeted because they have a stated purpose of studying human behavior and/or improving the social condition. For this reason, the study contributes to our understanding of how socially marginalized groups perceive the conditions within departments that theoretically should be more attuned to issues related to social equity. Lastly, participants were identified through

senior diversity officers, school websites and participant referrals. A letter of invite was sent to all potential participants via email (see Appendix B).

I chose interviews (audio-taped and transcribed) as the primary means of data collection because they allowed me to acquire in-depth information about how participants interpret their experiences. With interviews, the emphasis is on depth rather than on breadth because the goal is to explore experiences and the meanings applied to those experiences (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). In essence, interviews provide access to subjective meaning (Seidman, 1998). Therefore, they are useful for understanding the context of behavior because “a basic assumption in in-depth interviewing research is that the meaning people make of their experience affects the way they carry out that experience” (Seidman, 1998, p.4). Interviews are also appropriate for this study because they facilitate the accumulation of a great deal of information in a relatively short period of time.

Using open-ended questions, participants were interviewed in-person for approximately two hours. I tested my protocol by interviewing one associate professor and two assistant professors from predominately White institutions. This step allowed me to correct vague items on the questionnaire and interview schedule as well as identify probes that might be useful in subsequent interviews. In alignment with the conceptual framework, questions were constructed to elicit information about a) pre-entry experiences, b) encounter experiences and c) navigational strategies (see Appendix C). The interview protocol was semi-structured in order to provide opportunities to follow topical trajectories and to probe for further meaning. Once each interview was completed, I recorded my thoughts and observations of the participants in a journal. The

last phase of the interviewing process consisted of short (30 minutes to 1 hour) follow-up interviews to clarify information and to get feedback on emergent analysis. Hence, these interviews were conducted after initial coding and analysis was completed.

In addition to interviews, I collected demographic and academic career information through a short questionnaire (see Appendix D). Furthermore, for each participant, I reviewed (a) curriculum vitae and/or online biography, (b) at least 2 publications, and (c) course syllabi or course descriptions.

Data Analysis

Drawn primarily from the work of Miles and Huberman (1994), the data analysis process entailed data reduction, data displays, conclusion and verification (see Figure 3.2). Data reduction refers to simplifying the data collected, and it begins with the conceptual framework (bounds study) and ends with the conclusion. For this study, the first step after designing the conceptual framework entailed journaling after each interview. Through the journaling approach, I was able to identify key themes and record impressions of the participants. Also, this process helped me to recognize emergent patterns, promote awareness of assumptions, and consider how my identity may influence engagement with participants. Ultimately, journaling contributed to the formulation of a preliminary code list (see Table 3.1).¹⁸

¹⁸ The preliminary code list also came from the conceptual framework and theoretical assumptions.

Table 3.1 Excerpt of Preliminary Code List

ABBREVIATION	CODES
Graduate school	
GR: mentoryes GR: mentorno GR: race/gen CR: Critmasyes GR: resist GR: Supp GR: Initiative Gr: ProfSocyes	Had mentor No mentor Race/Gender issues Critical Mass in department Resistance from peers or colleagues Internal or external support Initiate or seek support Professional socialization-skill development (publish, teach, conferences)
Colleagues	
Coll: mentoryes Coll: mentorno Coll: critmassyes	Had mentor No mentor Critical mass
Work Approach	
Wapproach. efficacy Wapproach. initiative W.approach. resist	Self-efficacy Takes initiative Resist constraints
Career Success	
Succ.helpblacks Succ. trad	Helping blacks or SOC Tenure, publishing
Personalization	Altering work role to align with values, needs
Person.	Altering work role in various ways; Contributions

The next stage of analysis consisted of coding the transcripts. Using Atlas TI, a software program that allows code-based theory building, the next stage consisted of an iterative process of (a) expanding the code list based on emergent themes encountered during data collection and coding process, (b) summarizing interpretations of narratives or local integration (Weiss, 1994) and (c) revising of codes.

The revision process consisted of discarding codes that did not fit the data, altering previously coded materials and creating codes to match new insights. The initial codes were primarily descriptive (e.g. oppositional) as new insights emerged, codes became more interpretive (e.g. oppositional by advocating for students of color). In all, there were seven major iterations of the code list.

Next, I generated meta-codes in order to create smaller groupings of data. Essentially, meta-codes were created by summarizing code chunks within cases. The summaries consisted of *if-then* relationships (e.g. when no support is available, participant seeks alternative forms of support) or concepts (e.g. intellectual support or liberatory service) that encompassed the meaning of descriptive or interpretive codes. I then created matrices to determine patterns and distinctiveness of meta-codes across cases.¹⁹ In essence, matrices were used to categorize codes (and coded chunks) identified as elements of emergent themes within and across cases. If meta-codes were supported across cases, they were retained. If they weren't supported, alternative explanations were sought to determine under what conditions the pattern may or may not operate.

Testing Findings

A primary goal for qualitative research is to acquire a deep understanding of a particular phenomena, context and/or experience (Maxwell, 1992; Merriam, 1998). This understanding is facilitated by processes designed to ensure that the inferences made are grounded in the data. Maxwell (1992) writes that “qualitative research almost always involves...inference because it is impossible to observe everything, even in a small

¹⁹ This type of organization is called a case-ordered meta-matrix, an arrangement of cases according to variables of interest (Miles & Huberman, 1994). To see patterns across cases, I inserted (a) either yes or no to denote evidence of meta-code, and/or (b) summary of data related to the code (sometimes including initial descriptive or interpretive codes).

room” (p. 293). Therefore, testing or verifying steps taken in the interpretative process enhances credibility of the research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In regard to the transferability of a particular understanding, the qualitative researchers job is to “uncover the different layers of universality and particularity that are confronted in the specific case at hand –what is broadly universal, what generalizes to similar situations, what is unique to the given instance (Erickson, 1986, p. 185). Hence, aspects of an understanding (or theory) may be applicable to similar contexts. Therefore, Merriam (1998) suggests that it is the responsibility of the researcher to “provide enough detailed description of the study’s context to enable readers to compare the ‘fit’ with their situations” (p. 211).

There are various ways to increase confidence in qualitative findings. However, it is generally agreed that qualitative research should be credible (trustworthy) (Creswell, 1998; Erickson, 1986; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2001).²⁰ Also, drawing from critical approaches, credibility can also be determined by whether the study (a) identifies power inequities and (b) represents the perspective of the less powerful within a particular social context (P. H. Collins, 2000; Lather, 1991a; Patton, 2001). With these criteria in mind, I tested my emergent understanding by conducting follow-up interviews, examining other data sources, being transparent about the research design and employing self-reflexivity.

To begin, follow-up interviews allowed me to clarify data and determine the credibility of my interpretations. I devised questions based on aspects of the transcript that were unclear. I also shared my analysis with the participants and requested their input. Many of these discussions fostered contemplation about how structure and agency

²⁰ Credibility is essentially the soundness of research. Are the results believable from the perspective of the participants? Are the readers confident about what was found? Do the results make sense given the data?

combine to influence one's career trajectory. These interviews also served as a form of triangulation (utilizing diverse ways to corroborate findings) by providing another source of data verification (Patton, 2001).

To further triangulate, I reviewed the following documents per participant: Course syllabi, curriculum vitae (or online-biography), and at least two publications. These data enhanced my understanding of how participants define career success and their role in the academy. Therefore, I was particularly interested in their research agenda, service work, teaching philosophy and course offerings. The codes applied to the documents were drawn from the same code list used for the interviews.

I also enhanced credibility through transparency because it stipulates that information about all phases of the research design from theoretical approach to the interview protocol must be shared with the reader (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Therefore, transparency fosters trustworthiness and it assists other researchers with conducting similar types of research.

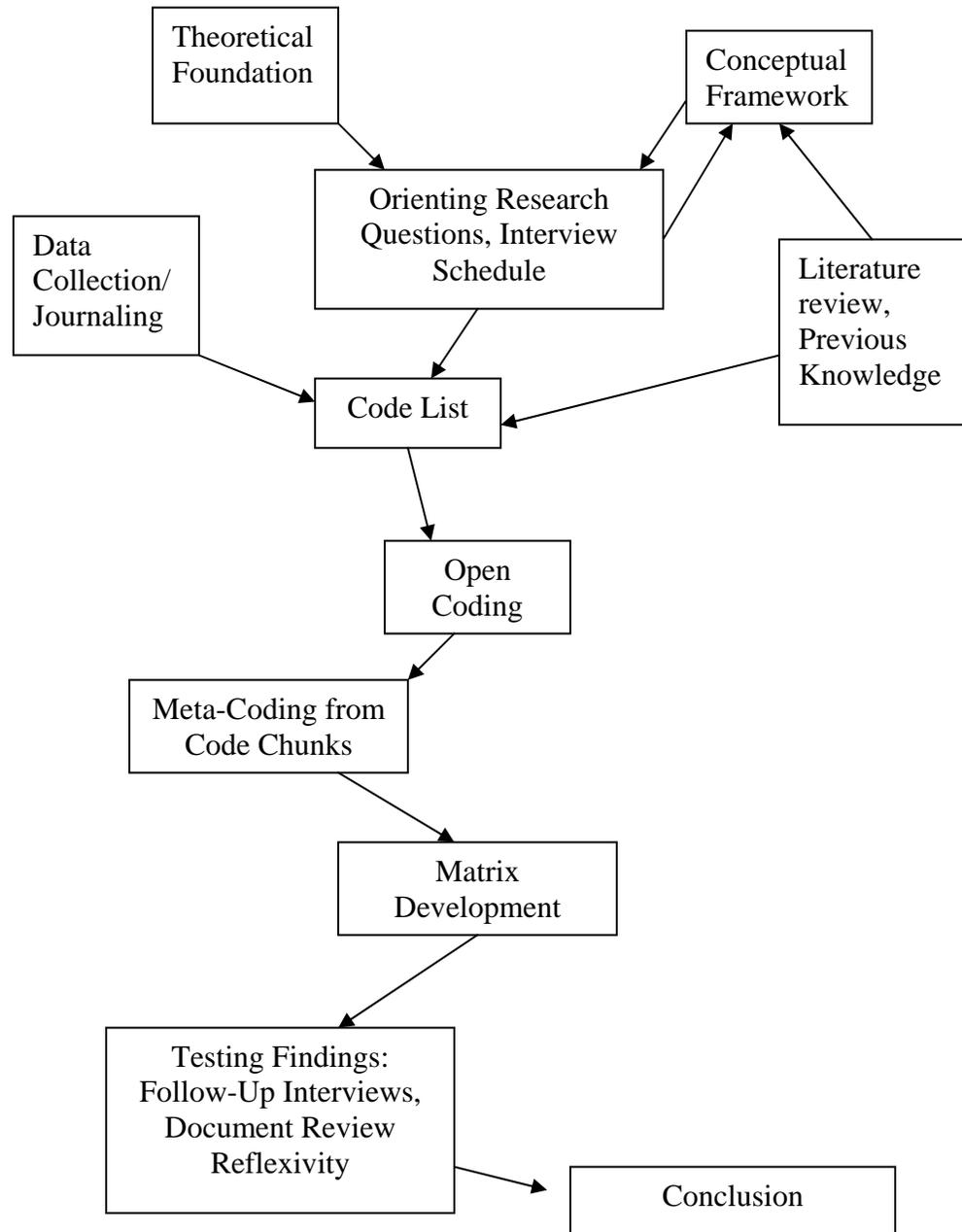
Finally, the analysis subscribes to the belief that meaning is co-constructed, co-authoring of meaning through human interaction (Heyl, 2001; S. Taylor, 2001). The notion of co-construction is assumed within the idea of reflexivity which asserts that it is impossible for researchers to be objective and separate from the research.²¹ Everything from the selection of research topic to the way in which the researcher analyzes data is a product of the researcher's experiences (S. Taylor, 2001). Hence, being self-reflexive

²¹ Here reflexivity is defined as "the regular exercise of the mental ability...to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa" (Archer, 2007 p. 4). Reflexivity in the context of research is the state of being aware of assumptions about the participants and how power dynamics between the researcher and participant may influence engagement. Thus, reflexivity is another way to acknowledge the subjective components of research endeavors by making assumptions, feelings and power dynamics transparent (Fine, Weiss, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Merriam, 2002).

helps researchers avoid making unsupported assumptions (Heyl, 2001). For this reason, I engaged in self-reflection by journaling during the data collection and analysis phases. This activity helped me to identify biases and to think about how the data provides new understandings of professional socialization.

Although reflexivity is useful for identifying biases, this study does not assume that bias (unlike unexamined assumptions) is detrimental. What is important is that readers understand the theoretical orientation (Creswell, 1998). Additionally, according to BFT, the perspectives that I, as a Black female graduate student at a predominately White institution, bring to the research may be an asset. To clarify, BFT is designed to concretize the standpoints and reflect the interests of Black women. Hence, Black female scholars are encouraged to rearticulate the taken for granted knowledge of Black women as a means to challenge hegemony and nurture critical consciousness (Collins, 2000). Accordingly, Black female scholars who use BFT as a theoretical framework are furthering the empowerment of Black women for the following reasons: (1) Black women have critical insights based on personal experiences; (2) Black female scholars are not as likely to abandon BFT research when it is not expedient; (3) Black female scholars are needed to articulate Black female self-definition because empowerment is derived from self-authorship; and (4) Black female scholars are needed to help forge coalitions among Black women and other groups as a means to enhance consciousness about subjugated experiences (Collins, 2000). Therefore, my identity and my bias can serve as useful resources for data collection and analysis in this study.

Figure 3.2 Data Analysis Process



Limitations

This study is not intended to be used for generalization across the population of Black female professors. However, it is intended to be useful for scholars looking at similar questions and employing similar theoretical approaches. Therefore, I provided contextual information to foster transferability, the ability to replicate the study in a similar context (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Hence, details about the theoretical framework, research questions and methods were shared (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Another possible limitation is that respondents are self-selected and may reflect a particular type of Black female experience in the academy. It may be that women with similar research interests and approaches were more likely to respond to my inquiry. If this is the case, the study may not capture the aggregate of Black female professional socialization processes. Therefore, the interpretation of the data may not reflect nuances such as epistemological approach, disciplinary background and social identity factors such as ethnicity, skin complexion, sexual orientation and religion.

PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW

This section is designed to introduce the participants while maintaining their anonymity. The overview includes demographic information as well as highlights of participant experiences. Some of these experiences may be discussed in a more substantial manner in subsequent chapters.

To begin, the study is comprised of fourteen participants from four predominately White universities. They ranged in age from thirty-five to fifty-six years old. The median age was 41 years old. All of the participants self-identified as Black or African American.

However, three participants also described themselves as bi-racial or bi-cultural either during the interview or on the questionnaire. The participants received their doctorate degrees between 1986 and 2001, but most of the participants (11 out of 14) received their doctorates between 1990 and 1998. The participants were tenured between 1 and 13 years. However, the median number of years tenured was 5.5 years. Two participants were denied tenure on their first try. However, after a second review, they were granted tenure. Lastly, ten participants were in the social sciences and four were in humanities (see Appendix E for participant demographic table).

Although this study is not focused on marital/partner status, I found this aspect of the participants' lives striking because 12 out of 14 were partnered or married and two participants were divorced. I did not expect this finding for two key reasons. First, in *Shattering the Silences* (Nelson & Pellett, 1997), a film about faculty of color in predominately White institutions, the women talked about the great likelihood of never marrying or having children. Second, the census data show that Black women are disproportionately unmarried when compared to other women. For instance, in 2000 Black women were the lowest proportion of women who were married at just 31 percent and between 1970 and 2005, the percentage of Black women never married increased from 17% to 40% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003, 2006). However, in this study, 86% of the participants were married or partnered, and one can presume that marriage or partnerships influenced their negotiation of the academy.

Participant Introductions

What follows is a brief introduction of each participant. Again, the introductions are primarily taken from my journal notes, so they are mere snapshots of how I

interpreted participant experiences. In each summary, I review three topic areas: 1) graduate school experiences, 2) faculty experiences, and 3) indicators of career success and/or faculty role.

Layla

Layla participated in college enrichment programs targeting underrepresented students. She felt guilty about participating in those programs because her parents were middle income professionals, and she believed that others had a greater need for those programs. However, she dealt with those feelings by giving back to the Black community through student advocacy and research on Black issues. She said, “So the way I think I resolved that [the feeling that she was undeservingly benefiting from Affirmative Action] in my mind was just like what I said ...it was my responsibility to try to open up the academy to people that might not otherwise have opportunities.”

During graduate school, she received support from Black students in her program. Furthermore, she benefited from a great deal of mentoring from her Black advisor and other Black faculty. In fact, she attributes her current job to the advocacy of her advisor. Lastly, as an assistant professor, Layla refused to let work consume her by rarely working weekends or evenings. Her plan was to “work smarter, not harder.” Given that the tenure preparation has been described as an arduous process, I was surprised by this revelation.

Tameka

During graduate school, Tameka’s support network consisted of students of color who met regularly for social gatherings. Along with her friends, she believed that academe was about enlightenment and reaching “higher ground”. However, her friends grew disenchanted with academe once they realized that an academic career was not

about social transformation. Thus, she is the only one among them to remain in the academy.

Tameka's relationship with faculty was "strained". She attributed this to the lack of faculty of color in her department and her inability to adapt to the culture. In essence, she had difficulty figuring out the rules. In addition, she felt that the faculty doubted her ability to succeed and did little to make her feel welcome. For instance, she did not get invited to the social activities like her White peers.

As an assistant professor, Tamika learned that she was hired through an Affirmative Action initiative. Although she understands that the program helped to diversify the institution, she believes that it contributed to her colleagues' standoffishness. Furthermore, she does not feel appreciated by colleagues in her department even though she has garnered national respect. Nevertheless, out of four colleagues hired through the same Affirmative Action initiative, she is the only one to get tenure. She believes her success is due to self-promotion and tireless work. Another element of her resilience is her commitment to students of color. For instance, she spent a great deal of time talking about how students of color inspire her to persevere.

Halima

In graduate school, Halima did not apologize for her Blackness. She was very vocal about her interest in race issues and determined to create a support network. Her first advisor was a White male who did diversity research. However, she decided to replace him because he was "paternalistic" and unable to deal with a strong-willed Black woman. She also established professional and social networks in the Black Studies

Department. Furthermore, she co-founded a support group for women of color to deal with living in a predominately White community.

As an assistant professor, Halima was mentored by a senior White faculty member. She attributes part of her success to his mentoring. Although she worked hard to achieve tenure, she tried to maintain a balance between home and work life. The most rewarding part of her job is mentoring students of color.

Tracee

Tracee had a very good graduate school experience. She had a Black advisor who was committed to her success, and under his tutelage she learned the requirements of the professoriate. In fact, it was during this interview that I made the distinction between being supported and being mentored. Support occurs when faculty members express confidence in a student's ability but put in minimal effort to make sure a student is prepared for the job market. On the other hand, Tracee's advisor mentored her by providing research opportunities, introducing her to influential scholars, reviewing her manuscripts and assisting her with job applications. Tracee also attributed her success to seeking support in departments that satisfied her broad intellectual interests.

Although Tracee self-identified as a Black woman, class was also a salient identity. As a member of the upper-middle class, she is concerned about how Black people outside of academe view her because she does not want to be estranged from the community that she studies. She shared a story about spending hours in a Black beauty salon. When the workers realized she was a professor, they were surprised. Rather than take this as an insult, she was pleased. She explained, "You can spend your time only here...without connecting to the communities and the populations that you are saying you

care about. So it was just more of a self check, making sure...that I'm not feeling disconnected”

Tracee was denied tenure when she first presented her tenure package. However, as a result of a galvanization of support, she was granted tenure. She pays it forward by extending the same type of support to her graduate students. She feels that it is her responsibility to groom scholars, particularly scholars of color, in the manner that she was prepared.

Nia.

Nia had a difficult time adjusting to the culture of her graduate school. At the beginning of her graduate career, all of the professors were middle aged White men. As the only Black person in the department, she felt very isolated. Also, the department was so conservative that she resorted to wearing her “Seventh Day Adventist” attire.

Like Tracee, Nia was denied tenure. She was later granted tenure in a different department. Although she wishes she had closer ties with colleagues in her discipline, she is pleased to be in her adopted department.

Nia is committed to improving the climate of people of color on campus. One of her priorities is keeping issues of equity on the table in various university-wide committees on which she serves. She also demonstrates her commitment to equity by volunteering to teach women in an underserved community.

Mesi

Graduate school was a “transforming experience” for Mesi because she faced adversity from faculty who did not understand the value of studying women of color. She

dealt with this by seeking refuge with Black scholars and administrators who appreciated her work. She also sought support from student of color groups.

Mesi was deeply moved by some of the questions. She was one of two participants brought to tears. For me, her tears were emblematic of how she talked about her pedagogy and research. She wants love to be reflected in how she engages the academy. She said that what gets her up in the morning is teaching what she cares about and not being afraid to be vulnerable. For instance, she does not disconnect herself from what she studies. When moved, she does not divorce herself from emotion.

Carmen

While in graduate school, Carmen worked full-time. However, her advisor secured funding for her so that she could focus on her dissertation. Also, her advisor was instrumental in providing her with research, publishing and teaching opportunities. As a result of her advisor's mentoring, she was very competitive on the job market.

After graduate school, she worked for one year at a comprehensive institution steeped in institutional racism. For instance, the institution accommodated students who did not want a Black instructor by reassigning them to new courses. However, Carmen is happy at her current institution even though she expressed disappointment with the lack of attention her colleagues give to issues of equity.

Carmen never felt unsuccessful because she did not come into the academy with the need for "outside validation." She stated, "I think that my outlook on life... is about the order in the universe, and the ways in which you just cannot allow that negative stuff to get in there." .

Jaha

Jaha was reserved. However, once the recorder was turned off at the end of the interview, she was more expressive about her experiences in the academy. In graduate school, she socialized with a small group of Black students and attended events sponsored by faculty. However, she did not socialize much because of family responsibilities. In addition, she made sure to maintain clear boundaries with faculty.

Jaha stated that her identity as a Black woman was beneficial because it gave her access to minority fellowships. However, she noted that her identity came with added pressures, “Being a Black woman can work for you or against you...in... terms of success ...which should be expected of everybody. You do stand out a little bit....When you’re not successful, you stand out, because you fit the other stereotype.”

Jaha worked for a few years at a comprehensive school. She left because the heavy teaching load prevented her from doing research. Even so, she defines success as the ability to teach well, and she spends a lot of time perfecting her teaching.

Chimwala

Chimwala attributes her success to God. She believes that God has orchestrated her career path. For instance, she moved to the state of her graduate institution prior to being accepted because she felt divinely directed. Her decision proved fruitful because she was accepted and awarded full funding after her first year. She also had a good working relationship with the faculty. She explained, “I never felt lost when it came time to who to talk [among] faculty.”

Her advisors encouraged her to get a job at a research institution because she was one of the few Black women with a PhD in her field. However, she was conflicted

because she wanted a career at a teaching institution. Nevertheless, she followed the advice of her advisors and soon regretted the decision. The climate in the department was so hostile that she requested a transfer to a different department. Because of this transfer and the support of the larger institution, she was able to unapologetically undertake research in urban communities and cultivate her teaching skills.

Chimwala believes in indirectly challenging racism and other injustices. She believes that her success opens doors for other Black people. She explained, “I guess I’m an idealist...I know that racism and classism and all the isms exist...I choose to operate from the perspective that if I make you deal with me as a person then you can’t say I’m special.”

Jamila

While pursuing a masters degree, faculty encouraged Jamila to get a PhD. One professor even escorted her to the PhD application office. This type of direct support continued throughout her doctoral career.

As a faculty member and administrator, Jamila has been a strong advocate for diversity, particularly for underrepresented racial groups. Her advocacy has won her both admirers and adversaries. She was particularly vocal after tenure. She said, “I think I lost diplomacy 101 the moment I got that letter in my hand (laughs).”

Jamila met most of the requirements for tenure at the last minute. She explained, “just say God himself intervened.” One thing that she values most is her teaching and relationship with students. She won consecutive teaching awards for several years. She said students either love her or hate her because she has high standards and she talks about uncomfortable issues such as racism. In any case, she loves her students, and she

keeps mementoes of them as a reminder that her work is not in vain. Jamila was able devote time to teaching, research and service while mothering several small children.

Rashida

Rashida really loved her graduate school experience. The faculty members were leading scholars yet they were committed to their students. For instance, they facilitated several social activities for students. Also, the larger institution demonstrated their commitment to student diversity by providing full funding. She attributed this school-wide support to her ability to finish in three years.

What stands out most about our discussion is her declaration of Blackness. She is proud to be Black and she studies Black people as a way to address racial injustice. Although she has not encountered major challenges at her current institution, she is concerned about the high proportion of faculty of color accessing universities through joint appointments. She asserted “we’re cheaper that way.” She believes that dual appointments increase the workload and disadvantage faculty of color.

Rashida does not have a prescription for success. She stated, “I’m flying by the seat of my pants everyday...I’m never sure if I’m going to come on campus and fuck up and say the wrong thing, and people are like, ‘You are out of here!’”

Dziko

Dziko chose a discipline with very few Black people, and she succeeded in her field despite her graduate advisor’s discouragement. In fact, her advisor’s disregard inspired her to work harder. Part of her will to succeed came from growing up during segregation because she was inspired by Black people working collectively to challenge racism.

Dziko engages in community service both in and outside of the United States. She defines success as the ability to empower Black youth, and she believes that one of the reasons she is in academe is to help students. However, her service hinders her ability to be successful in ways that the university rewards. In addition to working with disadvantaged youth in her community, she is also committed to teaching. She stated, “I think success for me has to be in terms of teaching and impacting other people’s lives and...reaching back to the community.”

Sekai

What I recall most from our interview is that her goal is to help people do their best work. She stated that although race and gender mattered throughout her career, she never focused on it. She focused on what being a Black woman meant to her. She is committed to social justice and is culturally aligned with Black people throughout the Diaspora.

Although achieving tenure required a lot of work, she actually liked the process because it gave her an opportunity to review the spectrum of her research. She attributed her success to pursuing her passions. Most of her research focuses on race and gender issues. She refuses to let the academy confine her. She declared, “So it’s not that I ignore the academy. I live here. But its rewards are not fore-grounded for me. Its rewards are back-grounded for me. My day-to-day life, and my relationships with my students, especially my students, but with colleagues and others, that’s in the foreground for me.”

Ayo

She had a good graduate school experience. All of the faculty members were White males and she was the only Black person in her small cohort. However, she did

not feel out of place because she attended predominately White schools all of her life. Not one to back down from a challenge, she selected one of the most feared professors to be her dissertation chair. He turned out to be very helpful and they remain close. After finishing her degree she worked for a few years. She was later recruited by her current institution during a period when they wanted to diversify the department.

For years, Ayo has had a heavy administrative load preventing her from completing research and applying for full professorship. However, her engagement with students has flourished, and she finds that students of all backgrounds flock to her even when she is not their assigned advisor. She goes out of her way to advise students, write letters of support and provide enrichment opportunities in order to foster career success.

Parenting slowed down Ayo's tenure process. At the time, parenting and dependent care policies were just being developed. She believes that the tenure process hindered her ability to have more children because it was difficult juggling the demands of parenting and research. Not having more kids is one of her regrets.

Despite the challenges of administrative work and parenting, Ayo believes she is lucky. She uses the word repeatedly to describe good things that happened to her such as securing competitive grants.

SUMMARY

On the whole, the participants benefited from mentoring and support networks throughout their graduate and junior faculty years. Whether it was the support of a graduate advisor, non-departmental faculty or peers, the participants, generally, were not allowed to languish in their departments. Indeed, faculty advisors and mentors represented enabling mechanisms within their departments. These advisors, many of

whom were people of color, ensured that the participants had the skills and knowledge needed to navigate research institutions. At the same time, the participants also took ownership of their success by taking advantage of opportunities and proactively seeking out networks to bolster their professional goals. They understood that their survival was dependent upon establishing a broad support base.

Another theme in the narratives is a strong commitment to advance social equity through mentoring, research and/or teaching. With the exception of Chimwala, the participants talked about actively engaging in efforts to increase the representation of people at the institutions. For instance, many mentor and advocate for students of color. In addition, several used service, research and teaching to challenge convention within their disciplines and to increase knowledge of race and gender inequities. The participants reflect the principles of Black Feminist Thought and Critical Race Feminism in that they indicate an awareness of being part of a socially marginalized group and this awareness fuels practice that resists marginalization.

The following chapters provide further insight into professional socialization experiences and role enactment among participants. In accordance with my conceptual framework, I begin with graduate school (pre-entry or anticipatory socialization phase) because it is a pivotal period of learning departmental norms.

CHAPTER 4 PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION AND ENACTMENTS

INTRODUCTION

As a means to illuminate factors that may have contributed to the career success of tenured Black female faculty working at predominately White research institutions, I designed this study to explore their professional socialization experiences and to describe how they enact their role in the academy. Professional socialization involves getting an individual to learn and adapt to the norms of an institution. Hence, the individual is the target of transformation. However, professional socialization also requires a human agent to interpret and respond to structural properties. It is in this interpretation and response that people manifest agency. In essence, individuals operate to align their work behaviors with their needs and values (Archer, 2003; Jablin, 1987; Porter et al., 1975). In this way, the institution is a target of transformation. Thus, an analysis of the professional socialization of tenured Black female faculty requires consideration of how they embody both targets and agents of change.

As discussed in Chapter two, this study incorporates a holistic view of professional socialization because traditional professional socialization models do not consider issues that arise when members of a socially marginalized group enter spaces meant for members of a socially dominant group. Specifically, if institutional practices are based on the needs of White males, how do Black women negotiate those institutions? The theories that inform this study, Black Feminist Thought (BFT) and

Critical Race Feminism (CRT), assert that Black women have a unique view on social conditions because of their marginalized status. Thus, in examining their professional socialization experiences, I consider how systemic discrimination oppresses Black women and encourages Black women to be oppositional.

MAJOR FINDINGS, THEMES AND DEFINITIONS

There are two major findings. First, despite structural constraints such as limited representation of people of color and racism, overall, the participants benefited from guidance and institutional directives (e.g. efforts to diversity institutions) that gave them access to opportunities. Second, the participants responded to professional socialization in ways that both affirmed and challenged the institutional order. Ultimately, challenges to the institutional order characterize how the participants enacted their role in the academy, realized success and transformed their institutions. These findings emanate from analysis that spans the pre-entry, encounter and outcome components of the women of color socialization model discussed in Chapter two. Thus, a schematic representation of the findings is nested within the pre-entry, encounter and outcome parts of the model. What follows is a table that summarizes the findings.

Table 4.1 Socialization Themes and Summaries

Socialization Framework	Theme	Definition/Summary
Pre-entry: Graduate School		Designates the degree of preparation (e.g. understanding values, skill acquisition) for a career. Hence, this section focuses on graduate school experiences.
	Critical mass of people of color	Several participants matriculated in departments that were racially diverse. This diversity enriched intellectual and social experiences.
	Lack of Critical Mass	The remaining participants were in departments with limited race and/or gender diversity. Among this group, those who were unfazed by this benefited from mentoring and/or an external support network of Black people.
	Mentoring	Mentoring is defined as sustained intellectual support; Most participants benefited from faculty mentoring by getting research opportunities, publishing assistance, presentation assistance, grant writing experience and general faculty commitment to their success. Among participants, faculty members of color were particularly pivotal mentoring figures. However, those who were successfully mentored by White faculty expressed that their interest in race and diversity was well received.
	Peer Support	Intellectual and social supports from peers were important navigation resources.
	Absence of Support as Motivation	Lack of intellectual support did not cause participants to doubt their ability to succeed. Rather it inspired them to work harder or seek affirmation beyond departmental faculty. Self-efficacy did not falter.
Pre-entry: Job Search		Designates the degree of preparation (e.g. understanding values, skill acquisition) for a career. The job search is important because it entails formal presentation of expertise. As such, it is an extension of the graduate school experience. Prospective faculty members rely on the guidance and recommendation of faculty to gain access to the professoriate.
	Faculty Support	Faculty members were instrumental to job acquisition by helping participants network and by actively recommending them to colleagues.
	Active Recruitment	Participants were actively recruited in part because institutions were trying to diversify their departments.
	Diversity Hires	Some of the participants recognized that their employment opportunities were a result of Affirmative Action initiatives.

Socialization Framework	Theme	Definition/Summary
	Job Search as an easy Process	The narratives reveal that the participants had little difficulty with acquiring a job.
Encounter: Colleagues		Designates when participants developed working relationships with colleagues and learned what was valued by their institutions through various forms of reinforcement and non-reinforcement. It is a period when participants were expected to accept and enact institutional norms.
	Collegiality	Collegiality is a fellowship of scholars promoting mutual aid and friendship to advance the goals of academe. Generally, the participants described cordial relationships with colleagues. Some talked about not feeling connected to their White colleagues. Overall, the closest bonds were with other faculty of color.
	Lack of Critical Mass of People of Color	Only two participants were in departments that had more than token representation of people of color. The women in racially diverse departments talked about feeling comfortable because of intellectual and social support from peers. The other participants talked about the need to diversify their departments.
	Peer Intellectual and Social Support	Peer intellectual support refers to the degree to which colleagues were willing to share information and resources as well as collaborate with participants. Social support refers to non-work related interaction that may foster camaraderie. There was no cross case pattern regarding peer support. However, race was a factor. Black faculty were named as key support resources, and support for diversity and Affirmative Action were thought to influence peer support.
	Peer Response to Scholarship	This theme captures narratives that focus on how colleagues responded to participants' research and to a lesser extent their service. Several participants felt their work which primarily focuses on Black and/or female experience was not valued by colleagues. A few mentioned that journals and conferences were biased against people of color who did diversity research.
	Macro-level Support	Macro level support is the degree to which departmental and institutional resources are accessible to participants. On the whole, the participants state that macro-level support has been available. Such support consisted of research funding, time off and partner employment support. Two participants noted that administrative support for diversity has been an important way to improve the climate.

Socialization Framework	Theme	Definition/Summary
Encounter: Career Success		
	Tenure and Promotion-- the Gig I signed up for	Tenure is a traditional indicator of career success. Most of the participants viewed the tenure process as just another hoop to jump over to acquire job security. However, the participants understood and accepted this form of success.
	Tenure Process--I would not change a thing	Several had no major issues with the tenure process because of graduate school preparation, peer support, early completion of tenure requirements, the love of research, or the refusal to be stressed out.
	Tenure Process--It's just relentless	Others discussed the difficulties of the tenure process--long hours, unclear expectations, peer scrutiny.
	Success Beyond Tenure--Lifting as we Climb	The participants had non-traditional definitions of success. Overwhelmingly, they believed that success was giving back to the community that nurtured them. This commitment to giving back was rooted in their understanding of social inequity.
	Success Beyond Tenure--Infusing Diversity	Another definition of success entailed promoting diversity by altering curricula, expanding research and raising awareness about social injustice
How Race and Gender Matter: Pre-entry and Encounter		Participants discussed how and if race and gender mattered in their pre-entry and encounter experiences.
	Black Female Standpoint	Black and female was how most participants self-identified. Among other things, this identity influenced their worldview, research interests, service work and professional alignments. Their narratives were rooted in experiences of discrimination and community solidarity.
	Service and Advocacy as a Black Female Standpoint	Awareness of social injustice fostered a commitment to helping Black People.
	The over-determinacy race	Generally, the participants viewed their race as a greater obstacle to acceptance within academe. However, there are reasons why race may be perceived as more salient.
	Academic Interlopers	Racism manifested itself around issues of legitimacy. Participants were not perceived to be legitimate scholars and this affected their engagement with students and peers.

Socialization Framework	Theme	Definition/Summary
Outcome: Enactments as Transformative Work		This section focuses on structurally transformative agency which emphasizes how participants affect institutional practices. Enactments capture how participants perform their role in the academy in ways that allow them to negotiate constraints and realize career success.
	Enactment I: Bringing Race and Gender Issues to the Forefront	Enactment I highlights how the participants took the lead in raising awareness about race and gender inequities on campus. Several believed that without their voices, these issues would rarely be raised.
	Enactment II: Teaching through Reciprocity and Empowerment	Enactment II shows how the participants engaged and critical pedagogical techniques and taught non-traditional courses
	Enactment III: Service that Empowers Community	Enactment III focuses on the prevailing theme of this study: service designed to enrich the lives of people of color, particularly Black people.
	Enactment IV: Upsetting Orthodoxy through Research	Enactment IV: The women were able to create a niche that allowed them to behave in ways that challenged norms and affirmed their worldview.
	Enactment V: Letting Go/Loving Self/Faith	Enactment V is about self-preservation by letting go of things beyond one's control, self-efficacy, self-advocacy and finding spaces for nourishment.

The following sections provide an in-depth review of the findings. The review will elucidate career preparation, navigational strategies, professional values and enactments.

PRE-ENTRY

Graduate School

As a way to understand pre-entry experiences, I asked participants about their graduate school experiences. The questions were designed to elicit information about their relationship with faculty and peers. I wanted to get a sense of how their experiences influenced their negotiation of the doctoral terrain. I discovered two overarching themes.

The first theme focuses on the significance of having a critical mass of people of color in a graduate community. The second theme pertains to the role that mentoring plays in fostering a sense of belonging and preparing students for the professoriate.

Critical Mass of People of Color

Based on the literature, I expected most of the women to report feeling isolated due to a lack of racial diversity in their departments. However, six of the fourteen participants resided in departments with a critical mass of people of color and/or had a support network comprised of students of color. Comments from Halima, Layla, Tracee and Jamila typify reports made by participants in racially diverse graduate communities,

So, there might have been six people that entered the year I came, maybe a little bit more, three of us entered with a Masters and two of us were African American women...the third woman was Korean American. Then, maybe three or four entered at the Bachelors level, a White Gay Male, a Latino Male...and then two White women, maybe. Yeah, so it's really diverse. I think the curriculum while I was there was diverse where we had a number of scholars there that focused on race and multicultural stuff....

I think I was there during a glory period because the year before I got there, there were three Black graduate students in the department. The year we left we had gotten the number up to nineteen. Yeah and then it went down (chuckle). I don't know what it is now, probably three. I think during the time I was there it was very supportive.

My graduate school experience was great. When I see more and more faculty and students of color, I realize it was a rare.... At that point Black students were about 25% of the graduates in the...department...I was there during a period of time where the chair of the department had a commitment to recruiting students of color and creating a critical mass....so I really benefited from that. So, down the hall, I had friends and colleagues...who looked like me, and who had similar types of experiences. From a mentoring perspective [I had] a number of really good mentors who were concerned with your overall... well-being in terms of...being a good scholar, but also...making sure that you didn't kind of lose yourself in the craziness of things, good modeling for being a professional as well as being a researcher.

Jamila: We were in a very unique cohort the year that they admitted my cohort. There were 12 of us and nine of us were minorities, unheard of. Nine minorities in

one cohort, nine in one decade is unheard of, let alone one cohort. So we were very, very close. There were three African Americans, two Puerto Ricans, one Indian, and two Asians. Then I think three Whites....So it was a very, very close-knit cohort, we really depended on each other. In fact, nine of us finished in the same year. Unbelievable.

V: Wow! Dissertation?

Jamila: Everything, out the door. Out the door in the same year....Unbelievable. No one could believe it, finished in less than four years. Amazing.

Not only did the women talk about being a part of a community amply represented by students of color, they suggested that this occurrence positively influenced their intellectual and social experiences. The isolation reported in the literature about students and faculty of color was circumvented by the existence of people “who look like me” in their departments. In addition, the narratives revealed that many of the participants were in departments where there was 1) support from faculty of color, 2) commitment to recruiting students of color, and/or 3) scholarly interest in diversity issues. All of these factors contributed to a sense of belonging.

Lack of Critical Mass of People of Color

Although a significant portion of participants received their doctoral training in racially diverse departments, several of the participants discussed marginal representation of people of color. Dziko was one of two Black graduate students in her program and she was the only one from the United States.

Graduate school for the Ph.D. experience was very, it was pretty much...making my own way and working pretty much individualistically....There were not any other Blacks from the U.S. in that program.

Mesi mentioned race and age as possible reasons why she did not easily mesh with her cohort.

I didn't fit in particularly well with my cohort. I was older, I didn't really want to drink beer on Friday nights in the local, you know, I just didn't. They were much

younger, and, in many ways, many of them turned out to be terrific allies and friends, and I am still very close with some of them today. But in a general sense it wasn't a place I fit in terribly well. There was one other Black student in my cohort. I was in a cohort of 30.

Nia described her graduate department the following way.

When I was there, they were older, meaning fifties-plus German men. Even being an American was a big deal...they would talk German to each other in the hall so you, just feeling connected in there, it wasn't really working with me. (*laughs*) I mean and there were no people of color. At that point there were no women on the faculty.

Although her cohort consisted of four White women, she felt a lack of connection with her peers,

And I just felt, all my colleagues there, I'm like, who is there to hang out with? Nobody...You know they were conservative, and I felt, boring. There was one woman from North Dakota...and did all these things with pig racing and I'm like, who are you?

Nia described her first three years of graduate school as "really hellish and terrible" mainly because she felt ignored by faculty and disconnected from her peers. She was also disturbed by the racism within the local community. She stated, "I wasn't used to having people following me around in the stores like I was going to steal something. It was such a...it felt so segregated." She said what kept her going was her love of the discipline.

Unlike some of the other participants, Ayo's and Carmen's experiences with being the sole or one of the few Black people in their programs were less traumatic. Ayo said that attending a predominately White high school prepared her for a predominately White doctoral department. She did not have a difficult time adjusting to the environment and did not experience discrimination. Race factored into her experience because of the kind of research she wanted to do but her department supported her research goals. In reference to race, she stated, "it had more to do with deciding to do diversity

issues...because I am Black. I didn't so much experience discrimination. It was more of a conscious perspective about what I was choosing to do my research in." Thus, it seems that Ayo's pre-doctoral experience in predominately White educational settings, lack of discrimination in her doctoral program and support for her diversity research combined to make the lack of people of color in her department a non-issue.

Carmen's ability to be unaffected by being one of few people of color appears to be due to having a helpful Black advisor and a support system outside of the institution.

Fortunately for me, I got my support from the community and my advisor and she's also really part of the community. So, I didn't leave class feeling like, oh, poor, woe is me. I had my church, I had my stuff I did in the community, so I was with other people of color all the time, other Black folks, so, if I was the only person in the class, it'd be like, OK, class is over at 6:48, I'll be good. A couple hours is not an issue. But I think it did factor in for other people in different ways because they were discouraged to follow their research.

Carmen revealed that her reference point for support was outside of her graduate program. Furthermore, she suggested that as long as her advisor supported her research agenda, her status as one of the few people of color in her program was inconsequential. In both cases, the advisor played an instrumental role in fostering a sense of belonging.

Mentoring

One of the major requirements for the professoriate is demonstrating expertise in a particular area of study. Hence, the formal requirements of graduate school such as taking courses and exams are supposed to impart information about the history, significance and direction of a chosen discipline. Within this framework, students are expected to articulate an area of study and engage in research that contributes to a body of knowledge. How well students are able to negotiate these expectations may influence their success in their respective programs. A major component of this success is

dependent upon mentoring from faculty. By mentoring, I mean the provision of intellectual support or helping students articulate and develop a research agenda. This type of support extends beyond mere verbalizations of support. It is the kind of support that emanates from faculty who demonstrate their commitment to student success through hands-on work such as providing feedback on drafts, offering research opportunities, facilitating research relationships with established scholars and being available to brainstorm intellectual ideas. Based on the literature, students who are not mentored may find it more difficult than students with solid mentoring relationships to meet student and career expectations.

I found that all except four participants benefited from sustained (throughout their doctoral career) intellectual support from faculty in their programs. For instance, Jamilia discussed how most of the faculty in her program articulated their belief in her ability to excel. One faculty member, in particular, criticized her writing skills yet assisted her in developing as a writer.

The one who ended up being my mentor actually bought me lots of books on how to write. He was one of the people in my life who always told me I cannot write (laughs). And so that kind of like, Oh, I can't write? Oh, I'll show you I can write then. And so he bought me lots of books, ended up being on my dissertation committee, ended up being my mentor actually, and really took me to another level of writing. So, he ended up being the most pivotal individual in my career in terms of publishing and being in a research institution.

Jaha also encountered faculty who took an interest in her professional development. For instance, the Chair of her department directed her to an advisor who could provide the most support for her research interests.

The head of [my department] was supportive. Because he would talk to me honestly, he said, well, this is not...a personal area of research interest for him. And he encouraged my relationship with my actual advisor....He's [*her advisor*]

always been really nice. You know, supportive at least, in that regard. He would give me feedback on papers and so forth. That was helpful.

Furthermore, what most prepared her for an academic career was “doing research with my mentor, not just the dissertation ...but personal projects with him. It showed me how to do it.” Similarly, Tracee’s advisor encouraged skill development.

My mentoring experience was also really good because my mentor exposed us to a lot of the academic process that we actually discovered that other students in the department weren’t getting exposed to, so we were presenting from our first year, we were practicing, we were in the [department], like, ten, eleven o’clock at night, practicing our presentation, and he was going over our fonts on our PowerPoint... We were involved in the grant writing process immediately...we had a sense of different types of things. We didn’t realize it at the time until we started talking to other students, and they were like, oh, you know this? And I was like, you all don’t know that? So, I feel like my group, and myself...was just very fortunate to have a specific type of mentoring in an institution that wasn’t known for being supportive to Black students at all.

Also, Black faculty who studied Black people became role models for Tracee.

I think another advantage to my mentoring was the way that they carried themselves professionally and modeled it to us...prior to those mentors being there...students would get some flack for wanting to study populations of color...I don’t take a comparative approach, I study only African-Americans...and so, I have felt very comfortable... not comparing African-Americans to others because of what was modeled to me by my mentors. So that was, I was very lucky to be trained in a way that I didn’t have to question certain things....is this a topic that’s worthy? I just feel very blessed in that way.

Similarly, Chimwala viewed her advisors as role models but not because they embodied Black achievement in academe. Rather, her White advisors provided good examples of how to effectively collaborate with peers to realize a research agenda.

I think the model that my advisors had, how closely they worked as a research team served me well. I have one person that I’ve done research with for 12 years. And they’re [her advisors] my model, you know, because I watched them and how they worked together and even when they had their little disputes it just resonated with me.

White professors were also instrumental in Ayo's professional development. One faculty member, for instance, was a White male feared by most of her peers because of his asocial demeanor and "demanding" assignments, yet she forged a lifelong friendship with him by seeking his advice and sharing her research interests. Her determination to break through his austere personality proved fruitful because he invited her to work with him on a diversity initiative and later became her dissertation chair.

He encouraged me to explore the diversity piece....So unlike other people, I wasn't discouraged from doing diversity stuff. I met with him every Monday... I would meet and talk about [her job/internship] and then we would do our dissertation afterwards. So, he was great. So, when I had to defend my dissertation. I was done in 45 minutes I hate to tell people that....he was just a stickler for all of the writing stuff and so when I went to go defend. They didn't have any questions. It wasn't stressful or anything.

Ayo's experience demonstrates that being White and/or male does not preclude healthy mentoring relationships with Black graduate students. Like Ayo, Sekai had a White male advisor who was committed to her success. She explained, "my advisor was a White male, everybody around me was White and male, but very supportive of this Black kid trying to do whatever it was that I was doing." She then described the moment when she realized that her advisor believed in her ability to be a scholar even when she was unsure.

I was studying Black women... At that moment, there was not a lot of work out there about Black women in the academy and particularly those who are in leadership.... I found a piece in *Essence*....about story telling, and the role of story telling in the African American family.... I thought this is exactly it. This is what this woman does, you know, in her work but it was in *Essence*. And I had learned all along that *Essence* wasn't a scholarly journal....So I remember walking into my advisor's office with this *Essence* magazine article. And I started my conversation something like this: I've been studying these women...I know that we aren't supposed to use magazines...And then finally, he said, "Are you finished?"....He said "at some point, you're going to have to quit coming to me to ask for permission...and have your own academic authority."

She left his office in tears but explained that it was at this point that she realized that she did not have to justify her research agenda. She realized that Black women were just as worthy research subjects as anyone else. She said to me,

Girl, I left the office. I barely got out of the office and started bawling....For me, it felt like oh my God, he said I'm not smart! I mean that I hadn't any academic authority. But it was also a really important turning point for me where I realized, goddamn, Black women have voices that matter and the work that we do matters. And it doesn't take him to authorize that for me. I have to do that.

So, Sekai's advisor helped her to recognize her ability and right to pursue non-traditional scholarship. However, in reflecting upon his words, she realized that as a Black woman, she had every right to study issues pertaining to her experiences. In essence, her research was just as legitimate as the color and gender blind research that dominated her field.

As in the case of Sekai, good mentoring can affirm one's intellectual interests. However, mentoring is particularly important because it helps individuals build skills and networks needed to be successful professors. Rashida provided an example of how mentoring fostered future opportunities.

Like I said, I think it [relationships with faculty] was pretty good, because well, interestingly enough, and I think that this would have never been imagined, [Professor] was someone I took a class with. And he had offered leadership with my dissertation. And so it's over ten years later.... then he emailed me and said, "Do you want to be on this project?" And so [Professor] and I have come full circle, a decade later, and we are writing a book.... He trained me and we sort of started together. And that's an incredible experience.

Rashida's experience is reflective of accumulative advantage. Accumulative advantage occurs when a mentoring relationship (in this case providing leadership on dissertation) during the early part of one's career leads to cumulative professional advantages throughout one's career. Carmen's narrative is another example of how mentoring

facilitates professional advantages by fostering a seamless transition into a faculty position.

There really wasn't a stark move from my graduate experience to becoming an assistant professor....I was engaged in quite a few things....that really prepared me to just move on. Once I became a professor, it was like I know I need to be on some committees. I got busy right away working on my grants, turning my dissertation into publications, because I was already working on some of those things that last year.... I had opportunities with my advisor and in the college that actually allowed me to be engaged in some teaching, working with my advisor on a research project which let me get a real sense of what it takes to be involved in rigorous research...She also introduced me to people in the field that also helped me later on in terms of the networking....

So, the majority of the participants talked about how central mentoring was to success in graduate school and beyond. However, four of the participants did not receive sustained intellectual support yet they were not entirely without support. Instead, they described intermittent forms support either from departmental faculty, peers or faculty and staff from other units on campus. For instance, Halima talked about getting intellectual support from her advisor but also reaching out to the Black Studies department to fortify her intellectual ideas.

Early on I guess there was intellectual support from my initial advisor. He introduced us to research and allowed us to develop ideas that we thought were interesting. He was very good that way. He really allowed me to participate in his other research programs. I thought he was very supportive that way. So, that would be developing kind of intellectual interest, and he allowed me to do research that I found interesting and was connected to. When I think about intellectual interest though, I really think about Black Studies and going to Black Studies events and colloquia...I took advantage of those.

Halima's relationship with her first advisor ended early because she described him as a "White liberal" who was "paternalistic." She felt that he had a problem with independent thinkers. She selected a new advisor but received minimal intellectual support from him and the rest of the faculty.

Dziko did not get support from the majority of the faculty. Here she described her relationship with her advisor.

Dziko: Ah, that [relationship with her advisor] was not very good—a person that didn't have a lot of faith or trust in my capabilities and placed other graduate students in front of me. Nonetheless, I knew that I had to persevere and I thank God that he gave me the qualities to continue.

V: Okay. So how did you know he didn't have faith or trust in you?

Dziko: Oh comments, oral comments, my goodness, it was very clear. The relationship, in terms of office visits and the kind of verbal and nonverbal feedback. And the treatment in terms of the evaluation given to other... students, it was very clear.

Despite the lack of affirmation from her advisor, Dziko was resilient. She did not let his lack of faith deter her. What may be another factor in her ability to persevere was support offered by a different faculty member in her department.

There was one person in the department that saw the value of my work in a paper that I wrote in her class and she and I co-published itSo that was really, really helpful that she saw the kind of niche area that one could contribute and she mentored me in terms of the first publication and how to submit and so, that's something I fall back on still today.

Similarly, Nia described feeling “ignored” by the faculty in her department. “It just was so frustrating, and just not knowing...nobody took me aside and mentored me in those first two years.” It was not until she finished her qualifying exams that she felt supported by faculty.

So, I soared through to everybody's shock. I mean, I knew my stuff....They all came out to me, and this was an all male faculty, and they all just had to touch me. They were like, they couldn't hug me because they were like to stilted to do that. It was shaking my hand and touching my arm, congratulations. It was the freakiest, weirdest....

Afterwards, she was assigned to a dissertation advisor who she described as “wonderful to work with”.

After I finished my General Exams...my dissertation advisor was on my side and finally acted as though I could complete the dissertation. I wrote most of the dissertation not in residence...he was very good about responding to my writing very quickly and giving me excellent feedback. He gave me just enough feedback to keep me working and not too much that it would have been discouraging...It was wonderful that he was encouraging and responded quickly to my dissertation chapters.

Tameka's account was similar to Nia's experience. During her graduate career, she received little support, "No one mentored me at all in graduate school. I didn't know the whole system because no one I knew had ever been in it. So, I was a very late bloomer." Most of the advice she received came from her peers.

[My friend] helped me a lot because her parents were professors. She knew that it was important to go to the office hours of professors and talk to them and not try to do it all yourself. It was okay to show that you didn't understand. I had the belief that I couldn't ask for help or show that I didn't understand because they had low expectations for people of color....And so all those little things that people who are already in the system understand or whose parents are in academe that they understand that you should do. It took me a while to catch on to all of those things.

Like Nia, after defending her dissertation, Tamika felt more accepted by her advisor, "It's almost as if I had to prove myself.... Even though I got good grades, I don't really think they thought I would go into academia. I don't think they thought I would be at [this] University."

So, sustained mentoring or intellectual support served to acclimatize participants to traditional academic lifestyles as well as introduce them to non-traditional ways of being. With guidance from their advisors and other faculty, they learned that writing, research and publishing are valued commodities within the professoriate. Even participants with sporadic instances of support figured out what was legitimated in academe. Additionally, some of the participants came to understand that intellectual

divergence was acceptable. Therefore, they felt free to carve out an intellectual niche, particularly one that reflected their interest in Black people.

Peer Support

Departmental faculty are indeed key sources of support and often essential in ushering graduate students through the faculty pipeline by facilitating opportunities like financial support and teaching experience. However, some participants shared that they received valuable support from people other than faculty. For instance, while Halima received minimal support within her department, her peers filled a gap by providing intellectual and social support.

My connections with peers were positive definitely as I reflect on it, one of the most positive things about my doctoral experience...was...my cohort and then also the other students of color that I met. And we even started a...woman of color organization on campus where we met monthly and it was for graduate students.... a sense of social support was one of the main things, but also we...did educational kinds of activities. So, for example, I remember one time the Women Center or Black Studies, I can't remember who brought her out but they brought out Barbara Smith and we sponsored a reception for her, and then she also...had a lesbian women of color writers symposium, and we were involved, you know, many of us came to that and helped with the reception. So we would do things like that.

Hence, Halima recognized her need for support and took the initiative to create a support network. Similarly, Mesi found solace in a student organization.

There was an active group...The Association of Black and Latino Graduates Students or something like that...and I was very active in, and we did conferences and seminars and just generally sort of kept one another propelled, and that was my way of creating community at [University], which is not a particularly friendly place for anyone...I was mature enough to know what I needed to do to survive, right? You can sit around and say, "Okay, now how am I going to survive this?"

Peer groups also played a pivotal role in Tracee's graduate school career. Her rather large cohort of Black students provided ample social networking opportunities. In addition, her advisor facilitated a professional working relationship with her peers.

But my primary advisor...had [research projects] full of Black students, which was really nice and he really took individual time with us. We also had a lot of group meetings where...he really encouraged a kind of collective level of responsibility. There's a group that we were responsible to, in terms of the project that we were working on, in terms of helping one another develop, you know, thinking about each other's ideas, sharing each other's ideas, but then also, individual, one to one, kind of, you know, helping you develop your individual ideas, too.

Even Nia, who had a difficult graduate school experience, recalled how her peers contributed to her academic development.

Because the...professors couldn't be bothered to make a course pack, so they'd say there's an article in early....And then we would have to find it. (*laughs*) It was terrible! And you know even though I didn't like my colleagues, we were pretty good about sharing that type of information. One of my cohort...was sort of the mom, in that she was...always baking yummy things. She also had spent summers in [a foreign country]. And so she was great in helping me translate.

These testimonies emphasize the importance of peer relationships in encouraging a sense of belonging to a campus community. Again, the presence of students of color played a critical role in fostering peer networks among participants. Mesi's narrative typifies the significance of support networks for the participants. According to her, a broad-based network consisting of people who understand and value your work is necessary to ensure longevity in academe.

Mesi: And then there are just the lasting relationships. I mean, I have an extraordinary group of, I once went to a talk when I was in graduate school,... her thing was, and I think it was actually wise. She said, "In order to succeed in academia, you need a gang." So, if you don't have a gang, you better get a gang....Get a gang. Get a gang.

Venice: Wow.

Mesi: Get a gang. That's graduate school. Get a gang.

Venice: You do need a gang.

Mesi: Sometimes the gang is just you get an invitation to something really exciting and important, and there's someone who knows you, knows your work, respects your work, but is looking out, right?

To give an example, she discussed how her gang factored into her professional life.

Mesi: I don't want to go a conference and be alone. I want my people there...I do not go places alone. I don't think it's safe, and I want somebody sitting in the audience telling me how it went, and how it looked, and what they saw, and what so-and-so said,

V: And what does that do for you?

Mesi: Makes me better at what I do...It helps me improve what I do

Absence of Support as a Source of Motivation

Although Mesi sung the praises of fellowship and intellectual reciprocity, sometimes lack of support served as a form of motivation. This was the sentiment expressed by the women who received limited mentoring and/or peer support. Nia, Dzikó and Tamika shared,

It was not a touchy-feely, warm, supportive environment, by any means. So looking on the positive side that really helped me work without getting lots of affirmation or validation, I just knew to work and work on my own. When things did turn around after my generals...there was that one day after I took them when they all wanted to congratulate me, and there was a good vibe, but things didn't change in terms of them inviting me over to dinner, or being friendly and supportive, or interested in my personal life. It was still a very business like relationship, so teaching me to be formal in my academic connections, I think has been a helpful thing and not to look to people to be my friends.

I wouldn't change anything. It definitely made me stronger. In fact, there was one comment that one person on my committee made that helped me to publish, well it must have been a second article but it was my first article on my own...and so it pushed me work on a particular article to show him that he was wrong... there's certain kinds of experiences that we go through that mold and shape us. And so it was something that helped push me to go to certain kinds of levels and heights [as] a faculty member at a research-oriented university.

Just the whole experience of getting shot down--people having low expectations. You definitely have to take the initiative in this line of work no one is going to come up to you and say oh please, we want to hear about your dissertation. You definitely have to market yourself. It's definitely a game just like people who want to be in show business You have get out there. Go to conferences.

Hence, the chilly climate encountered by these women either prepared them for future relationships as faculty, inspired them to pursue research that fed their passion and/or pushed them to contribute to their respective fields. Though the women felt unwelcome, they did not doubt their ability to succeed. Rather, faculty indifference and intolerance motivated them to work harder. Ultimately they felt efficacious, and they looked inward for affirmation.

Academic Job Search

Securing a faculty position is tied to the graduate school experience because the process is often facilitated by departmental faculty. These professors are instrumental to job acquisition because their commendations and reference letters are often the conduit to job placement. Furthermore, they are often the point of contact for colleagues at other institutions who are looking for newly minted PhDs. For instance, Rashida's first faculty position was a result of her advisor's intervention. When she applied for the position, she "got a rejection letter quick, fast, and in a hurry." A few weeks later, her advisor contacted a colleague at the same institution and recommended her for the position, unaware that she already received a rejection letter. She was then recruited and offered the job. Hence, faculty opinions of a candidate can both facilitate and hinder the job search process.

To get a better understanding of pre-entry faculty experiences, I asked participants to describe how they secured faculty positions. With the exception of Halima, all of the participants stated that their job talks went well. Also, all indicated that they did not have a problem getting a job. However, they noted that Affirmative Action and diversity initiatives opened doors for them.

Faculty Support

Faculty guidance and referrals were instrumental in the job search process. In Mesi's case, her advisor and her larger support network facilitated her job search.

I had a great advisor, a woman, who said to me, "You know, fish or cut bait. You want a job, or you want a post doc?"....And so she said, "If you want a job, let's go on the job market." And I did. It was good year for African Americans [in this field]. We have an annual convention where...they do cattle calls, and I must have had twelve interviews, which is a lot of interviews, and from that I probably had seven invitations for campus visits..... I was lucky to have encountered faculty both in [my graduate school] and in other places in my research so that I was in a position to kind of really nurture that and that really helped me. I did well in the job market.... And I came [here].

Sometimes faculty advisors were intimately involved in the recruitment process.

A few participants received their jobs through referrals from faculty mentors. Layla and Nia shared their stories,

Layla: [A graduate school mentor] was here...and they didn't have a job...but he gave my vita to the man that just walked by because he was the area chair. So that job was kind of a referral deal.

V: So do you think that's the reason why you got the

Layla: There's no doubt (chuckle). I wouldn't be here if it wasn't for [him]. Yeah, there is no doubt, if [he] hadn't given my vita to him that first time, I wouldn't be here. No doubt in my mind.

V. Really.

Layla: No doubt

V. Why is that?

Layla: Because they didn't have a job. It was just him giving my vita.

It's like, you have no idea who is going to be on your committee. So they put [Nancy]...on my committee....So [Nancy] was wonderful. She got all her degrees from [here]. One of her former professors said, 'we're looking for somebody'.... So [Nancy] recommended me as someone, and I thought since I had just begun writing, I thought, wow, this is great experience. I have to pull together a CV and write a cover letter, I mean, I got invited here; I gave a job talk and taught a class. I got an offer. I'm like woo hoo! Thanks! And I mean, my big negotiating was, I'm still writing... I was so honest on the job market, because I really didn't think I had a shot. So, (laughs) and I was kind of saying, like, oh, well, no, I hadn't finished writing, no. (laughs) I'm not going to pretend. So when I was negotiating, I asked for the fall off, because I haven't finished the dissertation.

Active Recruitment

Participants were heavily recruited by schools seeking Black faculty. Although Layla eventually took a different position, she discussed being courted by an institution.

There was a faculty member at [a University] who was kind of recruiting me pretty hard. I don't know how he got my name but he was calling. I think they were really trying to diversify because I heard a year before they were trying to recruit [a faculty of color]....I was pretty sure I didn't want to live in [that city] but I applied there anyway (chuckle).

In a similar way, Jaha recalled that efforts to diversify institutions as well as input from her advisor were important factors in her job search.

Jaha: It was pretty easy to tell the truth....It's my advisor who took me to research conferences, in addition to our national stuff and introduced me to people along the way. And those connections have just been wonderful. I didn't have hard time finding a job. I graduated in [the early 1990s]. So late eighties, people were kind of looking for African-Americans in my field because there really aren't that many of us...So I'd kind of get calls, would you apply?

V: Okay. So you didn't necessarily have to go through the Chronicle, or go through your professional organization?

Jaha: I looked but you know it wasn't hard.

Like Jaha, Chimwala found that conferences and her faculty advisors served as conduits for employment.

I actually refused to interview until after I defended because I had a request to interview prior to my defense and I wasn't willing to. So I went on my first interview...And these requests came from people at conferences.... and of course, if your committee is doing their job they're putting your name out there. So I went to conferences just to meet people, do some small presentations, and a couple people approached me about their job openings.

Carmen provides an example of being recruited away from an institution where she worked briefly. After a few months at her first institution, she was recruited by her current employer.

And one of my former professors called me, and said, "We have this position ...and we really would like you to apply." I was like, "Don't have me come to just diversify your pool. Are you really interested?...I know most universities

don't like to hire their own, so what is this really about?" and I got a call from the interim dean at that time. He said, "Yeah, we really do want you to apply"

Diversity Hires and Race

As alluded to in the previous section, some of the participants understood that employment was facilitated by Affirmative Action and/or deliberate attempts to increase representation of faculty of color. In essence, their race always mattered. It mattered in three ways. First, White students assumed that Blacks had an edge in the employment market. Second, institutions sought people of color in order to comply with diversity mandates. Third, when hired, their colleagues assumed that Blacks were not qualified because of recruitment programs that consider race. Thus, the transitional period between student and professor was interlaced with race matters.

In regard to fellow students assuming that Blacks have it easy, Mesi noted that her White peers used race as a way to discount her achievements.

It was the first time I really began to experience a kind of backlash. So, the discussion goes something like, the job market is really tight, which it is, academic jobs across the board. It's tough. It's competitive. People are extremely anxious. Um, but you know...you're going to get a job. And the deep subtext is that one of the ways that my peers made sense of their own anxieties...and their disappointments about their job prospects, was to imagine that people of color get all the jobs. That's what, that's what's really going on. That's why the White guys aren't getting the jobs, because people of color are getting all the jobs. And it just couldn't be more untrue, I mean, you know, because once you look at how our faculties are, I mean, it just doesn't bear out.

Even when institutions use race to promote diversity, their history of racial exclusion seeps through. Tracee shared that while potential employers expected her to diversify the curricula and research opportunities, they had low performance expectations.

My job interviews went well. All of them went well in terms of meeting people, and people taking an interest in my work...which was shocking to me because I

was very scared. You hear horror stories about people getting torn down in their talks, and people saying this is not important... I study issues specifically related to race....And so that's the primary emphasis of my work... it was really clear in some cases that people were looking to diversify their department, and I was the one who, what I call the insulting surprise, like, wow, she's great, like, in a surprised type way, like, oh, my God, you have structural equation modeling! And ...people think, shocking, that you're so confident. So I got some of that, which, fine, give me the job.

Tracee used the phrase "insulting surprise" as way to explain how some people have such low expectations of Blacks that they are surprised when they reflect even the most modest level of intelligence. When Black candidates exhibit skills that are expected of White candidates, they are met with exaggerated overtures and compliments. The subtext of such behavior is that Blacks are expected to be substandard. This notion of insulting surprise also applies to the way Mesi's peers responded to her job search (see narrative above). Rather than focus on her knowledge and contributions to the field, her peers assumed that she would be successful solely because of her race. The implication is that she could not possibly have competitive skills.

Tamika gave another example of insulting surprise when recounting how people responded to her presentations.

I think there is a racial component. I think you must have heard this yourself. When people say, oh you are so articulate. So, in a way, people were surprised. They shouldn't have been but they were. That's their own issue.

Despite receiving backhanded compliments, she described her job search as "beautiful. She said," At the time I felt competent and my interviews were pretty smooth. My campus visits seemed to go very well. Every place offered me a job." However, once hired, Tamika realized that race factored into her hiring more than she anticipated. Although the institution was concerned about her not having any publications, she was hired on the tenure track. She explained,

It was definitely a racial factor because when I came to [University] they didn't tell me in my department but later I found out that there was an [Affirmative Action Program]. So, they were really trying to get more minority scholars on board. And I don't know why no one ever told me that that was how they were going to hire me. I thought I was competing like everyone else but it turned out that I wasn't. When I found out that I wasn't competing, I was pretty resentful. But I didn't find out until I came up for tenure.

When asked why she was resentful. She shared,

Because I never put my race or anything on the application. In my application, I never talk about my race because I don't want to play that card where people say oh, you know we have funding if you're a minority. You are not judged within this core of your counterparts right [but] you go through the same process. The funds just come from a different place. But the people who know that you are in this ...judge you differently because they don't think that you had to go through the same hoops as everyone else. So that's why I don't want people to think that oh I'm a special case. I didn't have to fight through with the other pool of people.

Layla was also hired through an Affirmative Action initiative but she was not resentful. Furthermore, she noted that Affirmative Action programs may open the door for underrepresented groups but it still took the recommendation of her aforementioned graduate advisor to get her the position.

I think they did it through [an Affirmative Action Program] I mean this department is so big, ten people were hired the year that I was hired...I think there was at least two other [Affirmative Action] people. But still I wouldn't be here if it hadn't been for [a mentor].

Job Search as an Easy Process

Although being recruited and referred indicates that the respondents encountered minimal, if any, barriers to acquiring a job, the following narratives exemplify the sense of ease expressed by the participants. Ease is not meant to suggest that the participants were not stressed or anxious while looking for employment. It simply means that they made the short list of national applicant pools and/or were offered jobs early in the

season. For instance, Sekai was hired by the school where she received her doctorate. She described her experience.

It wasn't hard. It wasn't easy. It was just what it was. I was already there. And so, in that sense, it made it easy. I didn't have to get on a plane, and go somewhere, and meet new people. These were all people I knew....It was sort of like, we've got a person who's coming out of doctoral studies who would fit this position perfectly. Partly because, I think there was some movement afoot to create something that many of us had been hollering about for a long time.

Moreover, Dziko, Jamila and Chimwala recalled coming off the job market early because job offers came in at the beginning of the process.

I just, you know, put my hat out there in the arena and went to different job interviews. I was invited to make presentations at different campuses...and eventually wound up in [a place] even though I know another university was interested in my coming, but I wanted to be ethical. So it went pretty well for me.

I applied [several schools]. And I had five other interviews also scheduled. After doing five interviews I said, that's it, I'm done. One of them is going to have to choose me. I cancelled the last five, so stressful.

So it was like, once I had my defense date about...December, I started sending out inquiry letters. And then I started having interviews in January and February and had interviews scheduled for the spring, but I had three offers by early February, and so I came off the market.

SUMMARY

Upon entering historically and predominately White research institutions, the participants were in spaces where Black female bodies were marginalized, if considered at all. Anderson (2002) remarked that, "the transformation of American higher education from a private, elite system to a more public, democratic one paralleled the triumph of White supremacy in the southern states and the emergence of institutionalized racism in the northern states" (p. 5). It was not until the advent of the Civil Rights movement that Blacks were given some, albeit, minimal opportunities to pursue higher education at highly resourced institutions. Having entered graduate school in the late 1980s and the

early 1990's, the participants were still among an embryonic post-civil rights generation of Blacks pursuing doctorates. Thus, the participants had to negotiate institutions and departments that were unused to difference. Their entrance into bastions of White male hegemony meant that they crossed into cultural terrain imbued with attitudes, values and practices that at best did not reflect their experiences and at worst rejected them.

On the whole, the narratives indicate the participants found their departments and schools manageable. Although lack of critical mass and sustained mentoring were constraining to some participants, they benefited from different forms of affirmation and guidance such as peer support. Nevertheless, critical mass and mentoring were particularly important socialization factors. For instance, students who entered departments where they saw themselves represented among the faculty and students recalled feeling comfortable. This sense of comfort emanated from affirmation—having people who understood and validated their experiences. Although peers played a critical role in the affirmation process, particularly by being part of their social support network, faculty of color also played an important role. The narratives reveal that faculty of color invested a lot of time in the participants to ensure that they understood and followed paths to success. Professors of color were also important because they showed participants how to succeed within the academy while broadening assumptions of scholarship.

Though faculty of color played a pivotal role in the lives of several participants, good mentoring relationships were not dependent upon them. Some participants were successfully mentored by White faculty. What mattered most was that White professors conveyed faith in their student's abilities and provided sustained intellectual support,

particularly in relation to diversity research. Hence, the ability to provide good mentoring was not inherently linked to a particular identity group.

Through intellectual support, the participants learned that a successful professor is one who engages in the production and dissemination of knowledge through publication and professional conferences. Thus, they learned that knowledge claims were validated by an exclusive group of peers and legitimacy as a scholar was dependent upon peer approval. However, they did not rely on their department or discipline. They demonstrated agency by seeking support in other departments, through friends and community members. Thus, their navigational strategy included seeking validation and guidance from multiple sources. Even when intellectual support was not readily available, the participants understood that having some type of support network was imperative.

For most of the participants, the job search process was rather uncomplicated. With support from department faculty, they were able to secure jobs without much difficulty. Although they did not doubt their ability to contribute to departments, some participants understood that their ability to access competitive institutions was due to Affirmative Action programs. Essentially, their employment was due in part to diversity mandates. This factor does not take away from the skills that the participants brought with them. It simply emphasizes how employment was facilitated by diversity initiatives. So, the structural conditions that made access to the professoriate easy were 1) the small number of Blacks with doctorates interested in academe, 2) faculty referrals and guidance and 3) Affirmative Action initiatives.

In all, structural properties that fostered participant success were critical mass of people of color and sustained mentoring. Additionally, peer groups supplemented support for participants with and without sustained mentoring relationships. Departments (e.g. Black Studies) and organizations (support groups) focusing on people of color also mitigated social and intellectual isolation. Concurrently, agential factor facilitated navigation. For instance, the willingness and forethought of participants to establish support networks with peers, organizations and faculty proved to be an effective socialization strategy. Furthermore, the value that participants placed on race, gender and diversity influenced how they approached their research and who they sought for support. Finally, the ability of participants to remain undeterred by challenges is an indication of their self-efficacy. Despite lack of mentoring or negative perceptions of aptitude, the participants operated as if they knew they belonged in the academy.

ENCOUNTER: COLLEAGUES

Collegiality

The professoriate prides itself on creating new knowledge and addressing social concerns through service, teaching and research. Such endeavors are supported and possible through a collegial working environment. With roots in the American colonial colleges and the 19th century German research universities, collegial culture or ‘community of scholars’ upholds principles of intellectual development, mutual support, autonomy and peer evaluation (Rice, 1986; Rice & Finkelstein, 2002). Additionally, collegiality signifies “membership of faculty persons in a congenial and sympathetic company of scholars in which friendships, good conversation, and mutual aid can flourish” (Bowen & Schuster, 1986, p. 54). Olsen and Sorcinelli (1992) assert that “few

areas of academic life are more central than collegiality and working in a community of scholars” (p. 21). Similarly, professional socialization necessitates social interaction. As noted in the literature review, personal engagement with others is how individuals learn the formal and informal rules of an organization. Furthermore, such engagement signifies how one is viewed and whether one is able to replicate and/or alter norms and attitudes. Thus, collegiality and professional socialization are part and parcel of faculty nurturance. Collegiality denotes the terms by which professional socialization occurs. Therefore, this inquiry focused on participant relationships with colleagues.

The participants shared feelings and experiences that suggest that most have, at best, cordial relationships with colleagues. Jaha, Dziko, Sekai offered the following:

I think it’s pretty decent, for the most part. There are nine of us. And I have pretty good support. There are one or two that I have to watch my back on (*laughs*) but the others, they seem to be pretty supportive of what I’ve done...as the head of the area. There are two in particular, who, when I arrived here, who were very supportive.

My colleagues? Very, very liberal, very, very collegial. They know that I’m an easy-going person. Yeah. I get along well with people.

Sekai: It’s good.

V: What does that mean?

Sekai: It means that I can come here and not feel uncomfortable. It means that I get along with them well, most of them. We have a huge department, though... scope and scale, for me, is important to understand, because I really only interact with...this little group right here...good colleagues. And I mean folks who are respectful, and smart, and open and who have integrity. Now, I’m not describing everybody in our department but I’m describing enough people that I don’t feel like I’m working in a place with a whole bunch of tarantulas or something.

Some participants gave rather tepid descriptions of cordial relationships. I label these interactions *conditional cordiality*—cordial relationships with conditions and/or relationships built on mutual tolerance. Tameka’s narrative exemplifies the idea of conditional cordiality.

That they don't bother me. They let me do what I want. Because if I have to say something....They are mostly, Europeans. They have this whole attitude about people of color anyway. I have to tell you this. You can use it if you want. We also have quite a few gay males in my department. At first they were just intrigued by me and so they are taken aback because I tell them 'you guys just want to be big Black women.' They always want me to say things so they can repeat it in English, you know. And so now I figured out that I just have to say what's on my mind. Don't try to be polite about it. It's the best way to get along with them. Otherwise, they have this mentality that Europeans are somehow better. So, it's kind of interesting that whole dynamic of dealing with different groups of people in my department. So, now I just tell them, I'm going to snap (chuckle).

In essence, sometimes she has to invoke the Black Sapphire stereotype—a loud, sassy, domineering, neck-rolling mama—in order to garner respect from her colleagues. Once satisfied, her colleagues cower and leave her be. However, in popularized images of the Sapphire, her victories were short-lived. Rather than being applauded for her strength and high moral standards, the Sapphire was “viewed as comedic and never taken seriously” (Jewell, 1993, p. 45). Additionally, she was berated for her brassy, emasculating nature. Ultimately, the Sapphire's willful personality incited mockery rather than respect. Though Tamika's narrative does not indicate ridicule from her co-workers, one still has to interrogate how Sapphire may operate among her peers. What function does the finger-snapping, eyeball rolling sistah who is about to “snap” serve among her peers? Tamika later shared that her colleagues do not value her scholarly and service contributions to the department even though her work is innovative and highly respected within her discipline. She explained that the mentality is “I am not going to bother you, don't bother me. It's kind of segregated.”

Similarly, Mesi explained that sometimes the nature of academic work requires a close working relationship. However, closeness does not translate into friendship.

What I think now and I didn't always know this is that colleagues are colleagues. And in academe that means a lot of things. You work together, share research, you share teaching, certainly you work together in all sorts of service...in an institution like [this], in part because we're relatively isolated, your colleagues are also people who you socialize with, and the line between socializing and professional life is very blurry. I have a lot of very good colleagues. I have people who I travel with, who I do all kinds of things with, share meals with, whatever [but] I don't think I have any friends.

Rashida shared a comparable view of colleagues.

It's definitely work. We're not a family. I don't go over to their homes and eat, and I, but I do think some of the people in that department have that kind of relationship. That is not the relationship that I have or seek to have with those...colleagues.

For several participants, race is a major factor in building collegial relationships.

Halima's engagement with faculty in Black studies, a department where she has a secondary appointment, is entirely different than her interaction with faculty in her primary department. She stated, "The Black studies side....I feel that I have a lot of connections. That's where I have much more social connections to folks there."

However, as the only Black person in her home department, she has a different relationship with colleagues.

I don't feel connected to some of my colleagues...I don't think anything's going to make me feel connected to them. I feel like we've got different interests...I've never seen it before, that's all I got to say.... Maybe it's a cultural thing. Maybe they see the world differently....I don't feel connected to them. I don't think there'll ever be anything that would make me feel connected to them....There's no sense of community.

Likewise, Tracee and Carmen point to diversity or the presence of Black faculty, as a factor in collegiality.

I have positive collegial relationship with my colleagues generally. And I also feel like there are other kinds of, subsets of colleagues that I have more close relationships with. One thing that is valuable to me is there being other Black folks here.

I think we get along fine. There's mutual respect. Everyone, I mean, there is a cadre of people that deal with multicultural issues and social justice and so we are a lot closer. I have two Black female colleagues, and we work really closely together on lots of ...issues, so I can't think of anyone, I mean, I could give you a list of people that I wouldn't invite to my house, but I can't think of anyone, if I were asked to work with them on a committee, or to go talk with them about something that I would have a problem with.

Lack of a Critical Mass of People of Color

As discussed in the pre-entry section, having a critical mass of people of color may eliminate experiences related to tokenism (such as hyper-scrutiny) and may contribute to a sense of belonging. However, only two participants, Layla and Tracee, indicated that they worked in departments with more than a nominal representation of Black people. Layla talked about why she selected her current position.

When I was interviewing...most departments I would have been the only person of color or the only Black woman or the only person working on race and ethnicity. I think the time that I came there was 11 Black faculty...and of those 11, a good 7 to 9 are secondarily or primarily focused on race and ethnicity. It was the only place where I didn't have to justify what I was doing but I would actually have colleagues to collaborate with.

Comparably, Tracee is comforted by having Black colleagues.

I have friends who are also colleagues. Not all of them, but a critical number of Black faculty colleagues who I feel more closely connected with that I socialize with...having that kind of social connection here, someone that you can just hop, go to lunch with, and not talk about business at all....So, ...a positive, and also, some tight knit relationships with scholars of color....before tenure, I think... having other colleagues of color made me comfortable...just the presence ...said something about, that you weren't always the only one in the department... you weren't the only one that people could point to, you weren't the only one that people were going to talk to about race stuff or being asked to be on the committee only [because] we need a black person on the committee, you're the one. So that made me feel comfortable.

The remaining participants shared their experiences and feelings about being in a department where people of color were underrepresented. Tamika elaborated on her relationship with her colleagues.

Just cordial but not deep. I don't socialize with any of them. We never go out to dinner or anything. [A Black female in the department] and I talk a lot and we have been out for coffee but she's usually out of the country. She tries to stay out of that department, she says. So she's not around as much as I would like. Again, people of color kind of cluster together....We only have two and both are women. So, [there is] no representative of a man of color for my male undergraduates to see. I hate that.

Thus, not only has she expressed a desire to engage with faculty of color but also she believes there are negative ramifications for students due to lack of men of color in her department. Similarly, if Carmen had the opportunity, she would diversify her department.

I would like to have more people of color, and that means across all experiences. Native American, Latina/Latino, I mean, it's just so many experiences that are not represented on our faculty. The people of color, we have one Latina, and two Black American female professors....I would really like for the diversity, in terms of experience to represent the nation more.

Likewise, Dziko believes that racial diversity is lacking in her institution.

I think there could be some changes for the institution...we don't have enough faculty of color here. I think we can do more....They need to increase and I think our president is very much interested in that. But the president can't do everything in terms of increasing the numbers of faculty of color, Black faculty. It comes down to, you know people skirt these issues and get around things when it comes to departmental, to a local level.

In regard to skirting diversity issues, Jamila believes that her department's stance on diversity is shortsighted because it fails to consider how race intersects with other forms of identity. Here, she recounted how her department considers sexual orientation in lieu of race.

So we hired...about four or five [gay faculty] in the last three or four years, which is good cause it does increase the pool. But I was saying to the committee this is good, and I'm glad that we're paying a piece to diversity but can you hire some Black folks who are lesbian....And so what they're saying to me is '[Jamila] keeps on screaming diversity over hiring gays and lesbians. I say yeah, but they're all White'....All the new hires are very nice people....and they deserve to be here. I'm just saying to the college you want your commitment, you need to show me

ethnic minorities. I was the last one you hired in '98. That's just ridiculous; it's ridiculous.

Peer Intellectual and Social Support

Peer intellectual support occurs when colleagues offer assistance that facilitates research productivity. Assistance can range from providing feedback on manuscripts to offering to collaborate on projects. On the other hand, social support occurs when workers feel invested in their relationships with peers because they are made to feel that their presence matters. Therefore, people who feel socially supported believe that others are concerned about their well-being. Also, they may feel supported if they bond with people who share common experiences.

Although many of the women do not reside in racially diverse departments several indicated that colleagues provided some degree of intellectual support. While discussing her new line of research Mesi stated,

I have some really fine colleagues, which is to say, I have, despite everything I said, I have a lot of...not a lot. I have some extraordinary colleagues who have taught me a great deal...helped me retrain and expand my training....You don't get to go to graduate seminars when you're a professor. So you have to invent your own and I've just had lots of really generous colleagues in that way, who've helped me stretch and grow.

Jamila's colleagues helped her during her pre-tenure years.

Colleagues just trying to...let's write an article together or give me an idea about an article, more often than not and encouraging me to get the research going. And then there's an ongoing message around here, publish or perish, publish or perish. You hear it all of the time.

Not only did her colleagues tell her that she must publish to be successful, they also facilitated her productivity by inviting her to collaborate on research projects or helping her identify article topics.

A few of the participants felt that their colleagues supported their social justice interests. Carmen proclaimed, "I'm able to do my work. They know that I care about issues of multiculturalism, like I said, diversity, and social justice is the big umbrella there....Nobody bothers me." Rather than an explicit show of encouragement, Carmen's social justice work was supported through non-interference. In essence, her colleagues showed their support by not trying to impede her scholarship. Contrastingly, Layla had explicit support for her race work.

We have the most diverse...program in the country. So there are several people working on issues of race, ethnicity, culture...so at some point we all sort of got together and tried to coalesce around research on race and ethnicity. Even colleagues that weren't doing that work were very supportive and interested.

Similarly, Nia's affiliation with a predominately female program made her professional life a little less complicated because her gender was not viewed with suspicion.

Being here...has been very good in some ways, because there's not that difficult friction of being who I was. I mean, people accept me and allow me to have, they don't question my knowledge in a way that I was constantly...having to prove [myself]. Now, the other side of that is when I finally would prove it, it was rewarding. You know, to show them that I knew what I was talking about.

For some of the reasons that Nia cited, Black people, particularly Black women, were named as major sources of intellectual and social support. For instance, Jaha described the director of her program as her friend, "We have a new director, a Black woman, who is very supportive and encouraging as well. The prior director was also supportive, but it's kind of nice to have her here." Dziko talked about the mentoring she received during her pre-tenure years, "I don't think that there's anything that I would change about it...I had good support from other Black faculty here...And well we got mentorship". She went on to talk specifically about Black women.

Dziko: I would give the Black women the kudos above, you know, anybody else in terms of the networking and support, hands down.

Venice: Really?

Dziko: Hands down

Venice: Really?

Dziko: Oh absolutely, absolutely. Yeah, there are three Black women I can think of right now that I can go, whenever there's something I have a question about and I email them or something like that to get their perspective and get direction. Yeah, that's, my highest base of support.

While Black women were vital to Dziko's career development, Sekai learned that White and Black faculty were important sources of support. Her assumptions about the mentoring capabilities of Black and White faculty were shortsighted.

Now what I will say is that, often, mentoring didn't come from the people that I thought it would come from....I think my assumption was, when I first came [here], that the people who would be sort of running to mentor me would be folks who looked like me. What I learned very quickly was that folks who look like me were often swimming as fast they can, just to stay in this game as well. And that the kind of mentoring that I really needed was the opportunity to publish, and understand that whole process better. And typically the folks at this institution who knew that were White folks. And so I had already developed some relationships with folks long before I came [here], Black and White. So I was able to sort of pull on those when I got here.

Some participants stated that they felt unsupported in their departments because of a hostile climate. For instance, Tamika attributed her poor treatment to being hired through a diversity initiative.

They treated the regular applicants, socializing more with them, treating them like they were real colleagues and none of my colleagues wanted to co-author papers with me, write grants with me. It's like you guys are those brown people that got special help. Again, the whole hassle of having to prove myself—always having to prove myself.

During her formative years as a professor, Chimwala also felt unwelcome in her department. Her experience was so negative that she requested and was granted a transfer to a different department. The social isolation in her first department was unbearable.

The whole camaraderie, I mean people would walk by my door going to lunch, and not invite me. I'd hear them going down the hall inviting each other and they'd literally walk by my door and not invite me, including the one senior person of color.

Halima experienced the gamut of support and non-support. She felt most supported among colleagues with an expressed commitment to diversity. Also, being in a predominately White department mattered less if equity and diversity work was respected. For instance, in her first position, her mentor greatly contributed to her professional development.

He just was a White male... [he] did a great job. I felt like he really opened a lot of doors for me. And the faculty, we together, co-founded that center I was talking about and we published together....he served a real instrumental role, he's fabulous, he's wonderful....

In regard to her colleagues she stated, "I collaborated with a lot of the colleagues....They also had a multicultural focus, I would just have lunch with people all the time, connect with folks...." On the other hand, her current department is not dedicated to diversity nor does it promote collegiality.

I was the only Black person in the department of 30 and that was very different. They did not value diversity at all. Ah, so that's been a little bit different. So I don't have, like nobody really invited me out to lunch....

However, she feels accepted and comforted in Black studies, her secondary department.

Halima: I feel very comfortable. It's like home.

Venice: And why is that?

Halima: Cause folks are folks.

Venice: (laughs)

Halima: That's all I can say. Where there's laughing, it's growing, it's developing, you know you can have some knock down drag out fights where people can be talking afterwards. There's a sense of trust there, people can be themselves, you don't have to prove that you're smart, you're automatically assumed to be intelligent, able to contribute something and you don't have to deal with the racism there.

Peer Response to Scholarship

Several of the participants stated that their work was not valued by colleagues. Notably, some of these participants also said that they felt intellectually supported. Thus, a few of the women felt simultaneously underappreciated (in regard to scholarship) and intellectually supported. One explanation for this seeming contradiction is that these women equate the devaluation of their work with institutional racism and/or sexism. Therefore, they are referencing a tradition of exclusion in their departments or disciplines. Another explanation is that their colleagues provide support without being interested or knowledgeable about their work. A final consideration is that these women are referring to the discipline as a whole rather than their departments.

Mesi's narrative provides an example of perceived race and gender bias. She explained that research addressing Black concerns is the "ghetto" of her discipline.

Mesi: Nobody gives a good God damn about my field, about my women. Shit!

Venice: When you say nobody...do you mean your colleagues?

Mesi: Yeah! I am so frustrated with... the fundamental problem of the marginal place, or the marginal regard for thinking about women and gender....and I'm very infuriated by the disregard for African Americans, Black people generally.... we've been at this too long to be so disregarded.

She later addressed the way that males within her discipline deal with Black women's experiences,

And I can tell you, the men....could write tomes and write little paragraphs that say, "Well, women, you know, there really were no women. They were..." And it's like, my God, they really, it's so, that's the battle, unfortunately, I mean, if you want to call it that.

Although Tracee feels supported by her department, she notes that there are still people who question the validity of research on race.

Just going back to the other thing that made me feel uncomfortable, is that you hear...things about, the other scholars, they're not directly, not unsupportive, but

they, I know among some sub-groups in my department that people don't view that as real scholarship....they don't realize that because your model actually doesn't work the same way with Black kids that means that there's something wrong with the model, versus, like, here's how it works with humans. And that's how it works with Black kids. So I think there's a resistance... because that causes them to have to re-shift their thinking.

Halima's challenges are within her discipline. She discussed her experience with peer reviewed conferences and journals.

The kinds of topics I would be interested in, even stuff getting published, what I see now is White folks are doing all kinds of stuff on racism, and they get their stuff acknowledged, and get grants for it, do all these other kinds of things that it, this is new, innovative blah, blah, blah. So in terms of getting respect or they can be interested in some of the most micro kind of topic that is de-contextualized and that's valued, but people who do work that's contextualizing people's lived experiences is somehow devalued and looked as not relevant or important and not addressing the big questions.

Nia, who focuses on gender issues, also discussed lack of discipline-based acceptance.

But in terms of hey, we have a panel on something, can you do, nothing like that. They always reject my work. When I submit if for... so I had a hard time. (*sighs*) Yeah, I'm working on publications and getting things out there, it's like I somehow made it in being tenured, and the book is out, but it has almost been despite everybody's benign neglect is the kindest way to say it. And cliquish whatever, hostility....

Nia also experienced difficulty in her first department. She was denied tenure despite having a book contract and her department did not advocate for her. Also, she did not receive any guidance as an assistant professor.

The department wrote separate letters, each member of the department who was tenured. There was nobody who said, let me present to you this scholar. This is what she does. These are the issues in her department. This is how we can summarize the external letters. This is the teaching, the scholarship, the research...you know, nothing like that. The executive committee just got all the materials and had to figure out what to do with them. There were three of us...who were coming up for tenure. The two guys got through. They didn't want to put me through.... It made me look at my junior years as an assistant professor differently. I had no mentoring, and there were a lot things that I didn't do, like I taught a lot of new classes, and had, would let people into my classes, when that was a lot more work for me. I had a lot of service which I didn't mind doing. I

actually found it interesting. And it was more rewarding in some ways than where I was at my research at that point.

However, an affiliated department was monitoring the review and took action upon realizing that the decision would be unfavorable. She was eventually given tenure in the new department. As a way to illustrate the futility of the tenure process, she mentioned that, unlike her, one of her male peers who received tenure did not have a book contract or manuscript. Additionally, both of the men left the university shortly after they were tenured.

Ayo also felt let down during her tenure evaluation. She is part of a small unit within a large school. Nevertheless, the size of her unit did not encourage collegiality. In fact, for a long time, it was difficult for her to be in the department because a senior colleague disapproved of her appointment and subsequently treated her poorly. Also, when she was going up for 4th year review, her Chair informed her that she had “nothing to worry about”. However, the Chair failed to support her during a caustic evaluation meeting in which she was scolded by her disapproving colleague.

I go in and...I remember him [the disapproving colleague] saying well you know you can't all of a sudden start writing stuff and think you are going to get tenure. And I had just written an article with....We did a multicultural....We wrote it up and they would get requests for this article at least once a week. And I never forget there was a White man sitting there. He said this article has no meaning or relevance to the literature.... [The chair] sat there....and said not one word. She didn't come to my defense, nothing. I remember walking out of there...and this is where I turned my life... and I said you are on your own. You don't have anybody to help you. God I feel like I am almost about ready to cry (near tears). I remember it was like a revelation to me and I just dug in and said this will not beat me. I will get tenure here.

Ayo then recalled that a Black mentor from graduate school advised her to combine her diversity research with more widely accepted topics because of institutional racism. Accordingly, she expanded her research to include a mainstream issue even

though her diversity work was in demand among practitioners. Ayo described how the Chair (and also the person who recruited her) responded when she expressed dismay about what happened at the review, “I’ll never forget her words. She said ‘next year we’ll know if you can stay here or if you need to go to a teaching university’. Those were her words.” Ayo reasoned that the Chair was indifferent because her value had gone down. As a diversity hire, she served her purpose, and the Chair did not care whether she was granted tenure. In essence, she felt that the Chair was superficially committed to diversity, “It was I have this Black faculty for six years and this will make me look good.”

Chimwala also believed that her research was not valued. She felt that the low regard for her work contributed to a chilly environment.

The...department here...had a really big push towards...certain types of journals that no matter what...those aren’t where my work would go. It’s just not the community that I talk to and I felt a hostile environment around gender and race issues. And it was not the place for me. I found hostility around my research, I felt like my research wasn’t respected, I felt, as a woman of color, I felt isolated.

Tamika stated that her colleagues “don’t seem to make an effort to understand” her work and that this makes her feel unsuccessful. She referenced her financial compensation as an indication of the low value placed on her work.

Before tenure we were going up the pay ladder evenly. Then after tenure, I haven’t gotten the raises that my male counterparts have, and I am doing a lot of service. I hate when people say, well you got time off for maternity. That’s not vacation. I am not sitting at home eating bon bons. Yes, you are less productive after you have a baby but I don’t know why that should be an issue.

In regard to merit raises she said,

Your department decides this, your chair along with a group called the executive committee. So I know my colleagues don’t value my work. That’s how I know because I don’t get the merit.

Tamika raises issues pertaining to work-life balance and perception of faculty with childrearing responsibilities. Additionally, she suggests that service work is not rewarded and notes that men are receiving more compensation yet are contributing less service. Her comments reflect the literature on the valuation of so-called women's work—meaning that work that is considered the domain of the female (i.e. service) is not valued as much as so-called men's work (Park, 2000; Valian, 2000).

Although several of the women expressed feeling undervalued, some reported that they were respected and appreciated by colleagues. Again, for Halima, the Black studies department was more receptive than her home department, "I think in Black Studies [they see me as] someone who's levelheaded, who contributes to the unit, you know, [who] has some level of success in her chosen area." Additionally, Chimwala noted that colleagues in her new department were not familiar with her work but understood that it had value.

They don't understand it...I don't mean it in a bad way...so, you know, they're like oh okay, that's great (laughs). I mean but they respect it, if that makes sense. They appreciate that I'm doing the work and that I'm there at the table.

On the other hand, Carmen's colleagues not only value her work but also use it in their classes.

It's respected. It's used in courses. People are often asking me for other things that I use in my work but I think the promotion to tenure process is the validation that your scholarship is respected by your colleagues, because that's when they do the evaluation of it so each of those junctures, my advisor, my director now is asking me to go up for full next year.

As stated, some of participants who indicated that their work was not valued also talked about being intellectually supported. There are some further explanations for these disjointed accounts. To begin, Halima felt intellectually supported in the Black studies department not her home department. Also, she talked about intellectual support in a

former institution where diversity and multicultural issues were welcomed. Similarly, when talking about the devaluation of scholarship, Nia referred to her discipline as a whole. She also focused on the department that did not support her tenure case. I believe that Mesi's and Tracee's narrative reflect intellectual imperialism in which the culture of a dominant group is normalized. Deviation from the intellectual norm is pathologized. Hence, methodologies that do not adhere to scientific method or topics that do not address accepted themes are invalidated or relegated to what Mesi calls "the ghetto." I will revisit the implications of Mesi's and Tracee's narrative at the end of this section.

Macro Level Support

Social and intellectual support along with a critical mass of people of color may factor into how participants were able to interpret and negotiate job expectations. Another crucial, although nuanced, aspect of support was access to resources needed to be productive in research intensive institutions. On the whole, the women reported having access to macro level (departmental and/or institutional) resources to accomplish their work. Even participants who received little encouragement and assistance from departmental colleagues stated that they were granted the resources and time to complete their research. For instance, Tamika stated that her colleagues provided little intellectual and social support. However, she noted that there has been some effort to ensure that her scholarship develops. Her department gave her funding and facilitated collaboration with another unit.

Because I don't have a network of colleagues that I can interact with my work. The chair has been really good about recognizing this and about helping me to go to more conferences or get more funding so that I can do more work....The chair has been really good about making sure that I get contacts with [another program] and I get money to get students.

Mesi is another participant who did not describe her colleagues as wholly supportive. Nevertheless, she talked about institutional level support, “this is a very, very supportive institution for scholarship, which means I can count on having time and having resources by and large, to do that.” What makes her feel comfortable in her department is that resources are plentiful. Furthermore, there is institutional support for families, particularly trailing (accompanying academic) partners.

My department, by and large, have just been very supportive of me which is to say...I've had the leave that I've needed, that I've deserved...I have resources. I have a new partner, who I think will have a job here....[This institution] will create a spot for him which is the mobilization of a lot of dollars and a lot of resources.

Jamila's institution also provided resources to engender career success. Her hiring package gave her a good start.

Well, the first year here the dean did give me, for start up money \$15,000 I think it was to buy any kind of software I needed, a computer for my house....he gave me some start-up money to just use for a variety of ways, to go conferences, to buy books, dictionary, software. So that was really very, very helpful. And he helped me to get a small grant for about \$15,000. I hired a G.A.

Rashida, who has a joint appointment, shared that both department chairs have been supportive of her efforts to get research fellowships,

Everything that I have asked to do, that is, that's possible given the number of faculty you have, they've supported. So I just came off of a sabbatical, and we got a flyer circulated saying that there was a Melon fellowship that will buy out for a year. Well both units are desperately in need of bodies in the classroom, and still they said, “We'll support you.” And so those things...I do remember. There are two things I remember. People who are kind and people who piss me off.

Carmen discussed the importance of faculty taking responsibility for their success by taking the initiative and asking for what they need.

There are strong supports for it, because the university, being a Research I institution, that's what they care about. So whatever you need, if I were to go in my director's office and say, “I need a course release because I need to get some

writing done, she would sit down and figure out how we [can] do that.... It's a matter of being able to articulate what you need...then you have people down the hall that will say, "But I can't get support." What you have to be able to say what you need. You can't say, "I need support." without really clearly articulating what you need. And I would say before you do that, even researching to find out, is that kind of support available? I knew not to go in there and ask for an extra ten thousand dollars on my salary, because that, she can't do. I knew to go in there and say, "I need a new computer.".... the support is there for scholarship, because that's what the institution is about. I can't be ambiguous about it.

Given the comments about diversity and social justice, another type of macro level support deserves to be mentioned. Comments by Layla and Dzikos suggest that leaders who articulate support for racial diversity facilitate a hospitable climate and diversity research.

Well pre-tenure, the number one thing was that we had this super supportive chair.... So, in terms of like diversity, gender, you know, you knew where she stood and she didn't care if you disagreed. When she retired, we had another chair that's a lot less vocal. I think he's supportive but it's not like he's going to tell people what to do. So, I do perceive a little bit of a backlash...Like people who felt silenced for a long time trying to be like 'we need to uphold the tradition' which to them means hiring all White males kind of thing. So it's been a bit of a backlash...It's such a big department. It's not like a personal thing.

The chairperson...he's been a very political person in terms of support because he understands my research....when I had the Fulbright, he was the person to suggest that I get the support from the university and so that I still received part of my pay, as well as funding through Fulbright. He understands the courses...but sometimes it's unfortunate that some of the students in class as undergraduates think because I'm talking about race they have problems with it. And you know, it's for real that women of color, and people of color at predominantly White universities...students just don't tell the truth, and it's very, very unfortunate. And so he understands the dynamics of that and he can... help ameliorate such situations....

SUMMARY

The narratives reveal the complexity of the participants' engagement with colleagues. There is no singular way of defining their relationship with their co-workers. They present a mosaic of experiences that sometimes seem contradictory. However, when considering that these women work in institutions where Blackness and

womanhood were historically contested, the incongruous nature of their stories demonstrates that navigating their environs requires the ability to wade through conflicting messages about competence. Their experiences are a testament to the convergence of multiple realities.

To begin, race played a major role in facilitating collegial relationships. Black colleagues were instrumental in providing intellectual and social support. Also, Black faculty were typically mentioned when participants talked about friendships or collaborative working experiences. There are several reasons that explain why Blacks and other people of color influenced collegiality. First, they may act as buffers against the increased scrutiny that is associated with tokenism (such as the expectation to enact stereotypes). Participants may not be as closely scrutinized with other Black people around. In essence, a critical mass of people of color may thwart tendencies to judge individuals based on stereotypes because in-group heterogeneity is more evident.

Second, camaraderie among non-dominant group members may evolve from shared social location. Collins (1998) calls this location outsider-within or “border spaces occupied by groups of unequal power” (p. 5). The spaces occupied by Blacks, more specifically Black females, are shaped by dialectic of group-based discrimination and resistance. In addition, there are shared cultural traditions and behaviors that foster bonds. The social knowledge derived from these experiences is what can draw Black people together, particularly in places where they are greatly outnumbered. According to Halima, it is in these spaces that one does not have to prove her value because “you’re automatically assumed to be intelligent.” In these spaces there is an assumption of symmetry between Blackness and excellence.

A third reason why the presence of Black colleagues promotes community is that there may be greater potential for alignment of scholarly interests. If the participants are an indication of the research interests of Black academics, then it is likely that Black colleagues may have mutual interests in race, equity and culture. Some of the participants noted that they worked with colleagues who had similar research interests.

Another important aspect of participant relationships with colleagues is that some indicated that their work was marginalized or consigned to the realm of the “ghetto”. As noted, the participants’ research focuses on race and/or gender issues. Their research reclaims and retells the stories of people who have been misrepresented and/or ignored as a result of “epistemological racism” (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). Essentially, the social knowledge emanating from the dominate group defines the scholarship that is valued. Forms of scholarship that challenge the normative model are trivialized. Stanfield (1985) explains that ethnocentrism, interpreting the world through one’s own culture, is perilous when coupled with control over resources.

To maintain its superior position, the dominant group must destroy the out-group’s competitive spirit by undermining its collective pride and consciousness, or so modifying them that they fit the collective interests of the dominant group. We see this, for instance, in the White historians’ former claim that Blacks had no history. Denying an out-group’s history denies its humanity. At their best, such dominant group assumptions justify paternalism; at their worst, genocide. (p 395)

Thus, hiring that emanates from diversity mandates, as in the case of Ayo, only superficially addresses institutional racism because values have not been addressed, and affronts to the dominant paradigm (of what is considered research and who is considered a scholar) may highlight participants’ out-group status. As will be illustrated in later sections, they are employing knowledge based on their experiences as Black women. For instance, Ladner (1972) explained her approach for her treatise on Black womanhood.

I am sure that the twenty years I spent being socialized by my family and the broader Black community prior to entering graduate school shaped my perception of life, defined my emotive responses to the world and enhanced my ability to survive in a society that has not made survival for Blacks easy....I brought with me these attitudes, values, beliefs and in effect, a Black perspective. (p. 1)

However, the social history that inspires some Black female paradigms, though allowed in elite institutions, may still be disapprovingly viewed as a deviation from tradition. Thus, the participants, as occupants in institutions defined by Eurocentric scholarship, may be walking a tightrope of scholarly respect.

In all, the narratives demonstrate the significance of collegiality in meeting the demands of academe. Whether through the provision of intellectual or social support, collegiality encouraged involvement in faculty life. Specifically, participants were able to establish support that facilitated their research—an essential aspect of their tenure requirements.

ENCOUNTER: CAREER SUCCESS

Tenure and promotion—The Gig I Signed Up For

A part of understanding professional socialization is determining what is considered career success by participants and their institutions because it clarifies work related expectations and values. As noted in the literature review, the pinnacle of traditional success at research institutions is tenure. Thus, one would expect that doctoral students and junior faculty would be formally and informally groomed to meet criteria for tenure. Therefore, one may find that these groups adopt and personify traditional definitions of career success. However, given that the traditional paradigm for academic career success emanates from the social knowledge of White males, one may also find that Black females deviate from conventional indicators of success, thereby affecting

their perceptions of professional socialization. Nevertheless, I found that participants, on the whole, subscribed to standard markers of success. For instance, Nia commented on what makes her successful, “I think a successful thing has been, you know, I’ve got great credentials, so people can’t, you know, having a [an Ivy League PhD] and being a tenured professor [University]”.

Additionally, Jamila, Carmen and Dziko expressed their understanding and acceptance of requirements for success at research institutions.

I think it’s very individual. As long as you are, in my opinion, good at what you do that’s successful. But I do believe it does include tenure...at minimum at the university level. You have to, in my opinion, you’re not successful if you’re not successful at obtaining tenure promotion if you’re in a tenure promotion track.

One, the institution makes a list of the things that you need to do to be successful, in terms of tenure and promotion and those kinds of things...it’s the gig I signed on for. There are a lot of people, some of them are folks who are real confused...they say well, it’s a Black thing or...it’s racist, it’s sexist...And it’s like, it’s the gig you signed on for. If you don’t want to play full court tennis, then don’t sign up to do that. So, I never was upset with that as part of my criteria.

For me being at a research-driven university, I think success has to be and our university can try and claim otherwise, but we know that research is primary and actually producing articles and publishing.

With the exception of one participant, they all indicated that their departments measured success based on grants and publications in respected journals. Tracee’s comments exemplify what others had to say.

I think my department’s definition of success...is more focused on...where do you publish, and the grant money that you get. So, I think that being well known, that’s how you’re evaluated for tenure... among the people who are evaluating you...not necessarily that your work is impacting the community, but your work is impacting the academic, ivory tower kind of domain. I don’t think that’s unique to here. I think a lot of departments, the bottom line is where are you publishing...and how much grant money are you bringing in for the department or institution. So, I think that’s success.

Tenure Process- I Would Not Change a Thing

Understanding the requirements for tenure does not necessarily mean that one has an appreciation for the tenure process. Feelings about the tenure process ranged from trepidation to fulfillment. About half of the participants recall the tenure process as simply another opportunity to exhibit their unique contributions to academe. Others described it as yet another procedural task or rite of passage that would provide job security and/or enhance legitimacy. Sekai represents the extreme side of the spectrum that appreciates the tenure process. Unlike the rest of the participants, she recalled her tenure process with fondness. She said that she would not change a thing about it.

Sekai: I loved my tenure process.

Venice: Oh, you did? What did you love about it?

Sekai: I loved my doctoral work, too!

Venice: What did you love about your tenure process?

Sekai: Um, I loved, several things. I loved being able to look back on a body of work. It was one of the few times when you're really, you had to stop. Even though it was a little crazy, you had to stop, and look back over this body of work. And I looked at it, and I could say to myself, well done.

What made Sekai's efforts to achieve promotion more remarkable is that she administered a diversity office during her pre-tenure years. To ensure that she would meet tenure requirements, she requested time off. Here is how she explained her arrangement,

I've got to write, I've got to have time, I've got to have some funding, I've got to have these things in order to be able to do that... so those things were there, and I was never here on Tuesdays, and sometimes not here on Fridays...and I had a quarter time off to be able to go and continue to pursue my work. We worked out a set of conditions under which I could be an administrator and also be an assistant professor.

Alternatively, Rashida's reason for not minding the tenure process was that she met tenure requirements while in a post-doctoral position. Therefore, she was not anxious or stressed out as junior faculty person. She exclaimed, "I was chillin." In fact, her

publication record enabled her to negotiate tenure as a condition of employment in her second position. Comparably, Carmen met tenure requirements with minimal difficulty. Because her record was exemplary, she applied for tenure early realizing that if her peers were not satisfied with her accomplishments, they would never be satisfied.

Carmen: I went up early...because...I had...based on the criteria for tenure...what I needed,

Venice: You decided to go up early, or someone encouraged you?

Carmen: I did. I just decided, because I figured, at that point, I had support from my director, and I had decided at that point that if they needed more than what I was already doing for tenure, then I needed to go someplace else, because I wasn't doing any more. (*laughs*) I mean, I was dancing as fast as I could... I knew that if what I had at that point was not enough, then I needed to move on, because they weren't going to tenure me.

As noted in the pre-entry section, Carmen received a lot of intellectual support from her graduate advisor. Her advisor gave her opportunities to engage in research, fund development and teaching. According to Carmen, her advisor's nurturance led to a smooth transition into a position at a research institution.

Jaha also went through the tenure process in an encouraging environment, "I had supportive people here. I was encouraged a lot. This is a nice nurturing environment." During the rest of our exchange, she discussed having a clear understanding of tenure expectations.

V: Okay, so you knew what you had to do.

Jaha: I knew what I had to do.

V: How did you know what you had to do?

Jaha: I mean, I knew I had to have so many pieces of research.

VS: Someone told you that?

Jaha: I talked to people here, that I knew, and just asked of the expectations. And we had to have decent teaching. I did the service, you know, I got to know other faculty, so that they know who I was when they looked at my dossier.

Jaha's understanding of the tenure process can be attributed, in part, to her initiative. She sought information about requirements and she was strategic about engaging faculty in her department.

Interpersonal relationships also contributed to the transparency of Dziko's tenure process. She received a lot of mentoring from Black faculty, particularly Black female faculty. In explaining why she would not change anything about the process, she focused on her relationship with a Black female mentor.

Dziko: I don't think that there's anything that I would change about it...I had good support from other Black faculty ...it showed me how to structure whatever the documents that I needed to submit and so I would ask her.

V: Now was it a formal mentorship or was it informal?

Dziko: Informal. Yeah, Yeah. [A Black female faculty member] was one of those key persons--yeah, people that take time, that you're not assigned, you know particular individuals ...she was one of the persons that I could bounce my ideas off, you know? And she would give me feedback and then encourage me to publish. So, having that kind of mentorship yeah....

Like the aforementioned participants, Layla did not feel overburdened or confused by tenure expectations. However, her clarity was due to her resolve to live a balanced life rather than supportive peers. She claimed that as an assistant professor, she did not work hard. Thus, she attributed her tenure status to divine intervention and a supportive committee.

Layla: Well, if you want me to be honest, Venice. I'll be honest. I don't think I really worked that hard and I am actually surprised that I got tenure. I think it is because God is good for one, I had a great committee and I followed my heart and did the kind of research that I was interested in so I guess they could kind of frame it as cutting edge or whatever. Truth be told I have never been the kind of person to work

V: one hundred hours per week?

Layla: No. And you can't say that here...you know. I never really worked the weekends unless I had some major deadline. I never worked the evening, again, unless I had some major thing. I usually waited until the last minute.

She explained the inspiration behind her working style,

I kinda took the attitude when I took this job, I'm going to throw my hat into this ring and I'm going to try to do it my way and if it doesn't work then I'll just go somewhere else. I said that the first year, if it's so crazy that I'm feeling stressed then I'll leave.... I didn't go into this job with the idea that I'm going to make myself crazy. I mean if I was going to do that I would go into corporate and I would be making six figures.

Tenure Process-It's Just Relentless

Other participants focused on the difficulties of the tenure process as it relates to effort, time and interpersonal relationships. Mesi and Halima talked about the amount of work they put into the process.

Hard work. Just hard...All the demands of teaching. All the responsibility for being on your feet, and being up front all week... Yeah, getting your research done, I mean, pre-tenure years are about like...a good day is 17 hours long and highly regimented, and it's a tragedy but that's a good day. And when you don't do that, you haven't had a good day. And it's relentless...I'm sorry, and it's relentless. It's just relentless....

Hmm, sleepless nights, that's when self doubt, that sort of stuff, self doubt, sleepless nights, it was just awful, it is, I mean the first couple years were horrible, they were the hardest years, it was just awful....And when you're in grad school. The buck didn't stop there, when you are a professional, the buck stops here and so ...nobody else is going to assume responsibility, trying to critically teach for the first time in courses that you have never even taught before, trying to get a research agenda, supervising students....All of that was so difficult....I didn't feel like I had any efficacy in any of that. So, I think it was just really tough, it was exhausting and very challenging.

Chimwala also talked about the hardships of pre-tenure. Her biggest concern was ambiguous tenure requirements.

The stress (laughs)...the uncertainty, I mean you just never know if you're doing the right things or if you're doing enough. I mean I guess if you're the star you know, right? If you're pulling down four publications a year and you're not making any enemies, there's no way you're not going to get tenure, right? But just the 'am I doing the right thing, and am I doing enough of the right thing? When is this going to be over'? I mean that was the hardest thing for me. I didn't like jumping through the hoops, I didn't like having to prove myself.

Moreover, Chimwala discussed the peer review process and ever-present scrutiny of one's scholarship.

I just didn't like the scrutiny, the peer review process is so artificial, you know, and some people are unnecessarily cruel. You know, it's not constructive criticism, you know, it's like they just got a chance to say whatever they wanted to say. You know, I think that was the hardest part. Now you know, I don't get those same types of reviews as often...but every now and then....you're whole career is riding on it, it's like, oh they think I'm a horrible person, like I'm stupid.

Although Tracee agrees that the peer review process can cause self-doubt, she also believes that it taught her about letting go of things that are beyond the realm of influence. Essentially, she learned not to internalize rejection.

So, you can write a good paper, but once you submit it, it's out of your control...most papers don't get accepted on the first time, most grants don't. A "revise and resubmit" is a good outcome....I didn't know that before. And so, if you really didn't know it, it really takes a while to deal with the fact that, because you personalize it...we put ourselves into our writing. We are writing about topics that mean something to us and so for people to reject your ideas... I think learning how to kind of deal with that for someone who is not used to it.

Contrastingly, Ayo's views on the tenure process were based on her relationship with colleagues. As discussed in the previous section, a senior faculty member treated her dismissively, and she went through a harsh 4th year review. In the mist of these experiences, she lacked mentoring.

I really had no mentors. I really was figuring out the ropes by myself. I came in with ten other women. We met for a while and I later realized that we all got different kinds of mentoring. I probably got the least amount of mentoring.

Though Ayo was not mentored, she had one thing working in favor—a very large grant. She knew that the grant improved her chances of getting tenure. Nevertheless, she realized that the composition of the tenure committee was crucial. Therefore, she was alarmed when the very faculty member who disapproved of her appointment and treated her disrespectfully volunteered to be on her tenure committee.

The one who didn't talk and didn't interact with me at conferences [and] acted liked he didn't know me volunteered to be on my committee. So, I went downstairs and I talked to the Associate Dean. He said OK you do have grounds but you would have to file a formal complaint. I said no, I'm not going to do that. I'll take my chances....So I had a very good promotion and tenure committee. 'Cause the other thing ...is that they saw me as a good citizen...I was overwhelmingly supported and I told people, I said it doesn't erase the five years of hell that I went through. People will say well why do you stay? I say because I was determined that I was going to make it. That was not going to be put out of here. The promotion and tenure committee was four to one. I know he was the one.

Ayo also shared that two supportive senior faculty volunteered to be on the committee because they understood the politics of the tenure process. Her narrative shows that tenure is not solely about merit. It is also about whether one is liked by colleagues. Arguably, tenure is a measurement of one's social capital or network of supportive associates.

Mesi was the only participant to advocate undoing or revamping the tenure process. Like Tracee and Chimwala, she focused on how the tenure process makes one feel vulnerable because it entails opening oneself up for scrutiny. In other words, the invasion into the crevices of one's intellect has the power to create emotional wounds.

In the last two years, I've had two very dear friends who did not get tenure here. And I know that tenure is not a measure of who they are. And yet, when you get to the crunch, I don't know who could resist the power of that process, to reduce you to the notion that this is all you are. And it is designed in that way. And so it's cruel.

In addition to asserting that the tenure process is designed to strip people of their self-worth, Mesi argues that it produces people who recreate an equally dehumanizing rite of passage. Her goal is not to become a voiceless minion of the tenure process.

I'll tell you, I survived, but the challenge now is to come back and not be bitter, and not to turn into one of these people that abuse their power when they finally get the chance. And that's what people do. They are treated badly and they treat other people badly. My partner said to me, "You know, the only thing you have to

really do is not, is to remember that you will not let them turn you into one of them.” Because that’s what this is about.

Mesi recognizes that she is a part of an institution that may have a debilitating affect on individuals. However, she believes that she can be a catalyst for institutional transformation by not replicating practices that she considers harmful. In other words, she accepts the customary process of faculty validation (research, publishing, fund development....) but attempts to make the validation process more humane. Thus, for Mesi, the academy represents a site of transformative work.

Success Beyond Tenure: Lifting as We Climb

Traditional definitions of success were often paired with philanthropic notions of success. Almost universally, the women discussed giving back to communities that supported them. Carmen recounted why she gives back.

Lifting as I climb. I feel like much has been given to me, so much is being asked....so I’m on committees where I know they need a representative to think like I do, so I volunteer for those things. I’m very interested in university and faculty governance and so I’ve been on those councils and those committees....And then there are lots of community boards that I’m also on.

Interestingly, “lifting as I climb” is a Black American idiom. The saying comes from “lifting as we climb”, the motto of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). NACW was formed in 1896 and became one of the most powerful Black organizations in the first half of the 20th century and the primary venue for leadership on racial issues (Giddings, 1984; White, 1999). According to Deborah Gray White (1999),

Its members saw a set of interlocking problems involving race, gender, and poverty, not one of which could be dealt with independently. They believed that if they worked for the poor, they worked for black women, and if they worked for black women they worked for the race (p. 24)

Their motto was based on the belief that the fate of Black individuals was tied to the condition of the Black people (especially Black women) as a whole. This notion was reflected in the narratives of the participants. For instance, Dziko described her definition of success.

I think success for me ...has to be in terms of teaching and impacting other people's lives and success has to be reaching back to the community...I don't know, location, whatever, so we have research, teaching and outreach in terms of community. But you know as a Black woman scholar, I do have to continue to go back and give to the community. I have to. I'm committed to that...I have to be able to reach, especially students of color, especially Black students, in my teaching. And my teaching cannot be just vacuous; I have to help them understand. I want them to reach you know, new levels of cognizance and whatever. So that they can excel...and we continue ...going higher and higher in our accomplishments....I am so happy that my research focuses on Black women...So I think that's success for me.

In essence, she made sure that her teaching, research and service responsibilities were enacted to reinforce her commitment to helping Black people. Tracee also talked about helping Blacks.

Success to me is being in a position where you can bring in others, so I'd go, I've said it many times already, that I feel very fortunate in the support that I was given both as a graduate student and as a young scholar before tenure. So being in a position where I can affect those same things and bring more people into the field—bring more Black folks.

Similarly, Tamika spoke about her commitment to helping students of color. She declared, "I feel so obligated to mentor students of color so that someone shows them in a way that people didn't show me...." She explained that her definition of success changed from conventional standards to investing in students.

Before it was X number of publications, number of grants, respect from your peers. [It's] none of that. It maybe changes when you get tenure because you realize it's a lot of superficial stuff. It has changed a lot. I am really much more interested in starting a legacy in making sure students who come after me will do the same with their students.

As reflected in Tamika's comments, another aspect of giving back is preparing others to be effective community servants and equipping others with the skills to promote self-actualization. Jaha, Jamila and Carmen exemplify these ideas in their work with students of all backgrounds.

It's always probably been my goal that my research at least effects others in the way that they're [doing their job], yeah, with at least consideration for students of color where as there was basically none prior to that.

I want my research to help somebody at some point in terms of day-to-day helping someone logistically do something different...I do want it to be practical for students going out into the field. I want it to be helpful.

If I can't prove that you've learned, then how can I say I've taught? And so for me, success in my career, if it's about social justice and social activism then that has to show up someplace outside of what I do. And because I can see those things, I feel like I've been successful.

In addition, Jaha discussed the work she does in her local community that is imbued with the spirit of giving back.

I try and do things that make a difference. I've done things outside of the university that I feel pretty good about as well. I play for a church and encouraged them to purchase a piano lab, to give piano lessons to Black kids in the community, and adults...

The practice of *lifting as we climb* is not limited to the United States. The term also applies to the African Diaspora beyond the States. In particular, Dziko and Sekai consider their service in other countries a facet of career success and a reflection of their commitment to Black empowerment. Dziko described her work with Black graduate students in a foreign country,

I coached the MA students in terms of theory, in terms of research, conducting research, how to set it up, what questions you want to address, particularly located in qualitative methodology. So, boy, they got it! They got it! So that's one way that I measure success.

Sekai, too, provides service to Blacks outside of the U.S. She is passionate about the provision of education for children.

All children deserve access to education. I believe that about children here. I believe that particularly about Black children here. I believe that about children no matter where I find them, so when I find those situations, and I might be able to help, then that's also service for me.

Success Beyond Tenure: Infusing Diversity

Perceptions of career success can also be captured in the legacy that people hope to leave behind. Understanding what people want to ultimately contribute to their career provides insight into what people uphold and how their values translate into practice. Again, the participants are almost exclusively interested in ensuring that their departments and/or their disciplines are more receptive to scholarship about people of color, particularly Black people. Additionally, they express a desire to foster more exploration into the experiences and contributions of people of color. Layla reported contributing to the diversification of the academy through research and advocacy.

If I can do high quality research that really just gets at the truth about issues related to race....I think the truth is not as Black and White as a lot of people seem to think. I don't think it's that....I think there are some things that are very adaptive and there are some things that are maladaptive about how we interact....But if I can get that out there, I feel that would be a huge contribution—that and sort of opening up the academy to a diversity of perspectives, ideas, scholarship and just the spots too.

Tracee spoke about challenging the prevailing epistemological framework and keeping her integrity intact.

I'm studying things, with integrity, so that I'm true to my self in the way that I negotiate academia in terms of what I study and the approaches that I take, whether I take stands, so in the area that I work in, the predominate paradigm about African-Americans is deficits, you know, which is probably the case in a lot of different areas, and so I could probably be a lot more successful in getting into certain venues if I wrote from that perspective. I often write and criticize that perspective. But that's the thing that helps me look in the mirror, at night, or

when I go home...I didn't take the easy way. I actively take a stand around those issues in my professional writing and scholarly work but also at the level of the institution too, and seeing things that could be or calling out things. Success to me is being in a position where you can bring in others. I've said it many times already, that I feel very fortunate in the support that I was given.

Similarly, Dziko talked about leaving behind a framework that embodies the experiences of a marginalized group. She also shared that she wanted her work to be utilized by up-and-coming scholars.

I do want to present this different theoretical perspective and base for I think there have been various dealings with Black women and Black women's contributions ...that have been omitted or overlooked or not sufficiently researched. And I do want to interject that into a research stream. Cause I think that there are explored ways that Black women have contributed to.... I think that there are ways that Black women live and that Black women exist and ways of being that are not being critically examined and I want some of those unexplored ways to enter into the theoretical paradigm because I think that we'll see more important ways that Black women have helped to construct what we callI want to contribute by having an impact on students and graduate students who I am working with that there's some aspect of my research, my ideology, my feelings that they can grab a hold on and continue it in their research. So I think that's what, yeah, I think that's what I want to do.

Sekai, who has directed a diversity office and has engaged in scholarship focused on multicultural, women of color and feminist issues, wants her work to inspire and enrich those who encounter it.

Long after I stop doing this work, what I would hope people would say about my work or about me would be that the work mattered. That because I read this piece or I saw this presentation that she did, or I was in a class with her, or I engaged with her on a personnel committee, or whatever it happens to be, because of that I somehow am a different person. I'm bigger as a result of that.

Along the same lines, Carmen would like her social justice work to be taken up by others so that her efforts are not in vain.

I don't like being the N of one person, that if I'm not there, it's not going to be an issue. I think that's been problematic of us across the civil rights movement...it didn't happen in the women's movement....Because if they had assassinated Gloria Steinem, the women were still moving forward. I mean now, there are

people who are engaged in gender studies and feminists studies, and issues around sexism and the government and gender, and education. These people's names don't even come up. So, I think that's part of my goal now, to see how we could do more of that so that it's not dependent on the individual.

Carmen's vision of diversity work in higher education is reminiscent of the philosophy of Ella Baker, a lifetime activist with the National Association of Colored People (NAACP), The Southern Christian Leaders Coalition (SCLC) and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) among several other community based organizations. Baker criticized the leadership of NAACP and SCLC for their hierarchal bureaucratic structure and/or dependence on legalistic strategies for social change. She believed that the longevity of the civil rights movement required a grassroots leadership and skills development program so that the movement was not dependent on a figurehead (Ransby, 2003).

SUMMARY

John (1997) calls Black women the Queens of Multiple Juxtaposition. She asserts that they simultaneously perform divergent roles as a means of survival. In these roles, Black women navigate hostile territory by employing strategies of resistance and compliance. She states,

We have known that we had to pick and choose battles that we have had to confront and defer and that none of these ploys defined our essence. They were merely the crazy rules of an unfair game, and if we wanted to play—that is, work and support our families—then we had to temporarily be *down with the madness* (p. 60).

Enactments of simultaneity were apparent among the participants. They understood that the tenure process was just one more rite of passage that they had to complete to attain legitimacy. Furthermore, many of the participants did not express

discontent with the process. Rather they talked about a) learning from the experience, b) receiving support from colleagues, c) understanding tenure requirements, and d) meeting requirements early. Though some participants voiced concerns about the heavy workload, callous peer review process and lack of mentoring, they still worked to meet the requirements of tenure. In other words, by going through the required motions of the tenure process, they were in effect accepting the rules of the game. However, their acceptance was not without conditions. Herein is the juxtaposition.

Although tenure is a pinnacle of scholarly validation, among participants, it was not weighted heavily as a marker of career success. Rather they measured career success by the level of service. Their jobs served as vehicles to empower others, particularly people of color. This emphasis on service is not unusual because Black female educators have always “assumed that education should be fundamentally intertwined with moral responsibility and social justice” (Evans, 2007, p. 6). Their service focused on making their institutions more accessible for students and other faculty.

The participants’ commitment to service may stem from collective remembrance of struggle and collective awareness of inequities. Further, Black women may be in a better position to recognize interconnections of oppression because they comprise a group that is adversely affected by multiple oppressions (P. H. Collins, 2000). Thus, they may feel more compelled to challenge practices that hinder inclusiveness in the academy.

In all, success was about their ability to interrogate normative practices in academe. Whether it was through a desire to abrogate the tenure process or to de-center traditional epistemological frameworks, the women expressed a desire to act as change agents. It is their passion for discussing the complexity of the Black experience and/or for

facilitating access to higher education that fuels their work—their service. Despite the rigors of the tenure process, participants indicated that they held strong to their passion. Thus, their efforts to acquire tenure were means to an end. Tenure ensured longevity so that they can engage in transformative work.

HOW RACE AND GENDER MATTER: PRE-ENTRY AND ENCOUNTER EXPERIENCES

Given that the theoretical underbelly of this study is that race and gender matter in all contexts of our lives, it means something that the participants are working in institutions that historically barred Black people. It means something about how Blacks were viewed, how opportunity was awarded and how scholarship was defined. The values that dictated the culture of these institutions were mere reflections of what was going on in the larger society—a society in which race and gender determined how, when and where people were educated and how, when and where people were employed. With this understanding, I asked the participants how race and gender mattered in their lives as academics. However, as illustrated in previous sections, my explicit question was not needed to elicit feedback about racial intolerance, stereotypes or discrimination. These experiences were frequently intertwined in the stories about graduate school, colleagues and career success. Nevertheless, since race and/or gender came up as an aspect of their identity that influenced how they navigated the professoriate, this section further examines those narratives.

Black Female Standpoint

Most of the participants felt that race as well as gender mattered in academe. When naming their identity, Black and female were common identifiers. Their identity

was linked to how they navigated their institutions. For instance, their identity factored into what they chose to research, with whom they collaborated, the courses they taught, their commitment to students and the service they provided. Here, Halima talked about collective experiences of Black women and also her feelings about being Black.

It just means...somebody who's connected to their racial identity and that has been critical in informing how I see myself, how I see the world, how I interact and the fact that my understanding of being Black is predicated on being a woman. How I'm treated as a Black woman is very different than how Black men are treated ...so part of my identity is based on my experiences of how other people treat me as a Black woman in this world and that obviously has to do with discrimination. But another piece of my identity has to do with the pride and connections with people...who I see as very similar to myself, and so it's not just based on an identity of oppression, it's also based on an identity of connection and pride, and shared vision.

Identity also plays a role in her professional life.

It's played a huge role, all the way from the research topics that I was interested in and why I was interested in those particular research topics. I think it played a role in how I connected or did not connect with my research advisor. I think he had a hard time interacting with me because not only was I a Black woman, that's my social identity but...I'm also an African American woman and I'm very connected to my cultural identity. I think that strong, independent, all those things that you can kind of see as how Black woman are kind of identified... I think...that didn't go over too well with him. So, I think... it shaped every aspect of how my peers saw me....

Similarly, Dziko attributed her pride about being a Black female to her upbringing in the segregated South. She described her childhood as a period when she was “entrenched in Blackness.” Her identity was shaped by memories of Blacks working collectively to improve their life outcomes.

It's something that I'm very proud of. I'm glad that I was able to experience that because I think unfortunately there are a number of Black people, especially my students, even my children are not ...clear on their history and some of the situations that we had to go through because they don't understand this idea of a community sticking together and standing up to particular principles. You know? Particularly, the idea of Black women and not denigrating Black women...all of that historical kind of context means and experience means a lot to me because of

even though race is socially constructed... what I'm trying to say is that the exigency at that particular time forced particular ideas upon me and I'm really happy that happened because...it gives me a frame to locate my work and something to pass onto others so they can see the importance and richness of it.

Mesi also described herself as a Black woman. Her social identity means that she is purposeful about her engagement with others. It influences some of her most intimate relationships.

It means everything from who I trust, to who I hold the door for, to who I regard and who regards me in professional life. For me, race and gender sort of mark a really intimate circle, right, from which I do all sorts of things with many kinds of people in the world....

Close to tears, she discussed the moment when she had an epiphany about her connectedness to other Black women. It was the controversy surrounding Lani Guinier's nomination for the Attorney General for Civil Rights in 1993 that brought her new understanding about how Black women are collectively oppressed. Guinier, the first Black woman to receive tenure at Harvard's Law School, encountered an onslaught of criticism because of her views (many of them misconstrued) on representative democracy (Guinier, 1994). Mesi recalled,

We moved to a predominately White suburb, and we were the targets of bomb threats.... We were, I was ostracized... there was no question about what I was....Um and I remember... when Bill Clinton was president, he nominated Lani Guinier to be the Attorney General of United States.... And when Lani was nominated a firestorm broke out. And she was branded a radical, the Senate just locked arms against her confirmation, and she was humiliated very publicly...But it was the first time I had seen a Black woman sort of that close to power and sort of in those circles. And I can remember being home, in front of my TV, and sitting down on the floor, and finally being like this [makes gesture as if close to the TV screen] in front of the TV. Do you know what I mean? Like, she was on TV speaking, and I realized she was me. Seems like a silly thing, but it was powerful.

Mesi connected with Guinier because she understood her isolation and what it meant to confront a dogmatic, if not hateful, brigade of detractors. She continued,

It was the first time where I guess I was old enough, I was mature enough in my own life, to realize that nobody else's nomination...was ever going to move me or compel me in the way that the nomination of a Black woman would and I was in the TV. I would have jumped into the TV. I think, intellectually, I was just in a place where I understood. I could understand all the meanings of that, and not just experience it emotionally, but then have an intellectual place to say, "Right, because that's me, right?"

According to Tracee, Black womanhood conflicts with the perception of womanhood in the academy. Hence, she does not feel that the academy recognizes her as a woman.

It's always Black women which I think is qualitatively different than some other womanhood...because I think the White women, my students and I talk about it all the time. We've all had these, "Ain't I a woman" experiences...how many of these moments do we have to have? So that, in terms of how we are perceived, I think definitely not as women. Woman in the academy is White woman. In terms of how people view you and treat you. And I also think from an interpersonal perspective, even though I had friends of different groups...White women and Black women have not co-aligned themselves on causes and things in that particular way. So, I think that the experiences of White women, at least in my own life...just different from the ways that Black women I know and grew up with...there's just some differences in terms of perspectives, in terms of experiences, in terms of causes, so both from how I'm perceived as well as how I kind of think about the world, I've felt a distinction between being a Black woman and other women, mostly White women...I think being a Black woman, to me, is a distinct social identity.

In referring to Sojourner Truth's declarative question, "Ain't I a woman?", Tracee alluded to how Black women have always fallen outside of the perimeter of acceptable standards of womanhood. During the 19th century, the construction of womanhood as a pious, sexually reserved and domesticated mother was something only White women could aspire to achieve (Giddings, 1984; Welter, 1976). Consequently, only White women, because of the genteel nature, needed to be protected. Black women, on the other hand, functioned as an illustration of womanhood gone awry. As physical laborers and breeders they were far from true womanhood and their dark skin was a sign that they

were inherently beastly and sexualized.²² Though these myths about Black women were designed to justify sexual and labor exploitation throughout the enslavement and Jim Crow era, they left an indelible image of Black women in the consciousness of Americans as evidenced by how Black women are engaged in social institutions (e.g. media and labor markets).

The dominant group maintains its power over Black women through the preservation of ideas that support their dominion (Collins, 2000). These ideas are imbedded within social institutions that function to reinforce dominant ideas. Thus, Tracee's "aint I a woman" experiences are in response to longstanding beliefs that relegate Black women outside of the realm of respectability.

What these accounts reflect is that these women define themselves through a lens of history, social structure and intersectional identity. Sekai exemplifies this perspective. She sees herself as a member of the African Diaspora with "a real strong, some call it womanist, some call it feminist, I tend to call it feminist identity as well." Her identity is emblematic of her social connections.

Sekai: It signifies both the relationship that I have with myself, but also connects me, in terms of others similar to me. So, it gives me a way to be able to know more clearly my connections with others in the world. So that's probably the biggest meaning for me. So, if I say...I'm a woman then that statement somehow connects me with everyone else who also says, or states, a space as a woman. And if I say I'm an African-American that links me up with some other folks who also suggest that they are African-Americans.

Venice: So if you say you are a Black feminist that is just a way of connecting you to people who have a similar way of positioning themselves?

Sekai: Both positioning themselves, but also gives us a way to describe a particular reality. I mean, I think when we say something like Black feminist, I don't tend to walk around saying I'm a Black feminist. I do write from that

²² Popularized in 19th century, True Womanhood was an attempt by White males to maintain the religious values of their forebears. The attributes of True Womanhood were whiteness, piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity (Giddings, 1984; L. Perkins, 1997; Welter, 1976).

perspective, so it gives me a way to be able to say, I should be able to articulate a particular way of being in the world. That's what Black feminism does for me.

Service and Advocacy as a Black Female Standpoint

The Black female standpoint discussion goes beyond emphasizing the link between identity and alliances to one that focuses on the relationship between identity and social responsibility. Essentially, the women associate their awareness of racialized injustice to an obligation to advocate and serve on behalf of Blacks. For instance, Layla believes that her identity as a "professional Black woman" comes with an obligation to provide service to those with the same identity. In this case, service is through the academy.

As far as being a professional woman, I think that, I don't know maybe I attribute this to [attending an HBCU] and maybe to some extent my parents. I just feel like there was a huge emphasis that I don't see here on giving back. You have these opportunities so you have an obligation to give back. In particular one of my professors, before a lecture, I don't know why he was talking about this, but he was just saying that he really felt he knew he wasn't the kind the person who when the revolution came, he wasn't going to be on the front lines with the machine gun or doing a hunger strike...He felt like his ability to give back was through the kind of research that he did and even though scholarly research doesn't immediately impact a family down the street. He felt that policy was shaped by research. So, maybe not right now but ten years from now ...the truth about Black families would trickle down into policies that would affect people eventually. That made a huge impact on me....So it was a way to frame the type of work you do as an academic with the social responsibility that they kind of kept hammering at you.

Chimwala takes a more subtle approach to advocacy.

You know, someone's got to beat down the door for change and someone else has to simply be quiet and walk in the room and because they're in the room there's going to be change, and I'm that person. You know, I'm bringing something to the table that you have to deal with me, and now once I'm at the table, you don't know what else is there because I haven't had it on my shoulder. You know, you don't see it and comment, and that's always been my style. There's been others who think you've got to be in people's faces all the time with all your demands and because that wasn't me, I wasn't Black enough.... I just always saw myself just as this person that I know what the issues are, and I know that I'm going to give a voice to them. I don't have to be in your face.

Later, she elaborated on her style of advocacy.

I guess I'm an idealist. You know, I come from the perspective I know that racism and classism and all the isms exist, and I can't get away from that. I choose to operate from the perspective that if I make you deal with me as a person that you can't say I'm special. And if you can't say that I'm special then you can't separate me out from other women, and you can't separate me out from other people of color, which people have tried to do and say, oh well that's just you, you're special. No, if I can do this, another person of color can do this, another woman can do this. Just doors were opened for me that maybe weren't opened for someone else.

Chimwala was clear about her awareness of discrimination. However, she believes that her presence in spaces where people like her were denied challenges discrimination. She makes it clear that she does not want to be a token. She views her infiltration into the halls of academe as a precursor to greater representation of women and people of color.

Unlike Chimwala, Jamila is more direct about her feelings about race. She explained how her self-knowledge influenced her social interests and interaction with colleagues.

I'm definitely a decedent of one of those Africans on the west coast of Africa that was picked up, swapped around, put in a few slave dungeons for a few months at a time, dragged over the Atlantic Ocean and finally dropped off here in North America....I'm still mad (laughs).... ask my colleagues how they'd describe me the first thing they'll probably say is very assertive, very confident, and opinionated. And it's probably true. And...they'd say that I would probably bring up the issue about race and injustice and racism probably pretty often

Similarly, Rashida said that to know her is to undeniably know that she views the world through a lens of race or Blackness. She said that she is "really Black." When asked what that meant she said,

Really, really, Black. And I have these yardsticks about...whether people are Black enough for me....I write about Black subjects, and I believe in justice. The thing that hurts me most...is injustice directed toward Black people...I don't play that. I think that my colleagues know that I will get along and go along in just about anything, but I think that they always have to be careful about those kinds of things, because that sets me off....everything that I write about is about Black

people...mostly about ...systemic racism and discrimination that are directed toward Black people.

When probed further she connected real Blackness with scholarship that focuses on Black people,

Well I mean, I think that there are people who can say, "I'm really Black", and be conservative in their thinking, right? I mean, ...I think what I'm saying is that I have a particular political orientation as it pertains to race, and what I think is happening within my race, ...much of my work focuses on people who look like me. Right? And so it's not, I don't reject races, but I don't write about all races. I write about Black people.

Dziko's comments about Black people encapsulate the sentiments shared by the participants on race. Her narrative is about survival. She believes that Black people must know their history because it teaches them about how they survived in the mist of atrocities.

I definitely don't want the younger generation to lose track of the idea that there's much to be learned from this particular identity, especially when you think about our survival...I want them to understand that there's a foundation, it can be a source...to different kinds...of success. Even though we know this idea of humanness is what is the bottom line, I think particular social constructs, the way that men have established it, race does have particular value, race does have meaning, and until we get to...the utopia, cause we're not there, until we get there we have to acknowledge that there's certain kinds of confines, but there's also certain kinds of traditions, values, practices that we can relish in as Black people. I don't know, to maintain who we are and, so that we can see this connectiveness, so that we can understand our place, so that we can understand the origins of people, of humans in the beginning, and to understand our contributions, and to understand who we are, bottom line. I think that it will help again to promulgate these different levels of success for Black students if they understand this identity of Blackness.

The Over-Determinacy Race

As noted, a common theme in the narratives was awareness of identity-based structural inequities. Although many of the participants recognized that there are attitudes and practices in place to disadvantage women, their narratives about gender awareness were frequently cloaked within a discussion of race. When womanhood was discussed, it

was usually through the lens of Black womanhood. Moreover, Blackness was the most prominent feature of their commentaries on intolerance, discrimination and neglect.

Therefore, race more than gender gave meaning to their experiences in academe.

Tracee provides an example of the predominance of race. She self-defines as a Black woman and said, “those are not just identities that I feel hyper-visible about, but that I actually want people to know they are relevant identities to me.” However, she explained that race was more salient for her in graduate school because the majority of the Black students were women. Thus, the Black norm was a Black female norm.

Additionally, she believed that the faculty viewed her as a Black person rather than a woman. She explained that the Chair of the department was very supportive of Black students and took time to address their concerns. However, she was surprised to learn that her White female peers had a different experience. She described a student meeting convened by the White female students,

Me and my friend, another Black woman, said let’s go to this meeting....And it was White women, except for us, and they were just blasting the Chair about how sexist he was, and how he was unsupportive, and wasn’t providing them with resources...we just had a totally different experience. And part of it was that, it was like with the anti-woman thing. He was really treating us like Black students...which was related to his cause, but if any of the incidences the women were talking about were true, then he was pretty sexist in the way that he dealt with... the White women. So, I thought, that was actually a shifting moment for me in terms of thinking about, like our gender is just as important. Are there things that I need to be thinking about in terms of...making sure that race and gender are issues that we deal with. So, race has always been absorbed into my graduate experience...but it was in an environment where that was supported.

Ayo was the only participant to talk about gender as *more* problematic than race because of an institutional culture that was not receptive to women with children. When her university eventually instituted a dependent care leave plan, there were very few

women with children. Nevertheless, she talked about the importance of being able stop the tenure clock.

I think the university was doing this because they were losing the women faculty who were opting to have children. So...you can exclude up to two years...There is no way I would have made tenure without that....And I was the only woman in my department to get pregnant and have children, the only one. And there were only two other women in the school who started to have children. We didn't find each other until later. They went half-time, I didn't...So either they were not married or they were married with no children. So, I had no role model, nobody to talk to. So for me being a female became more of an issue than the racial issues. There were some race things but that was huge.

Prior to getting tenure, she was advised not to discuss her parental status with the tenure committee, "because they will see that as an excuse". Therefore, motherhood became a liability and altered how she negotiated institutional structures. It also changed how gender figured into her socialization experiences. Similarly, Tamika talked about why she does not advertise her motherhood status,

I never talk about my family because I am one of the few women [in my field] and that puts you in the category of people thinking that you... are not dedicated....men don't seem to understand that a lot of times they also have families but they are able to dedicate all of this time because they have a wife who put her career on the backburner or decided to stay home with the kids.... I know a lot of women are in my place. You want to have a family. You want to be a scholar....I don't necessarily think my colleagues value the fact that I am a mother and I am a scholar.

Likewise, Layla stated that on the surface her department seems family friendly but her Chair really does not fully understand what it means to fulfill home, work and dependent care responsibilities while still trying to preserve time for self-care.

The chair meets with all of the faculty after our annual review...So, I say okay I have childcare on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons....I think his secretary wrote back and said I can watch the baby if it's not a Tuesday, Thursday or Friday....So, on the surface that sounds great....So the chair he writes back and says 'yeah bring the baby with you because that will free up Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoon for you to do research....This is a guy that has two young kids I was like yeah, okay. It's not like the Tuesday, Thursday and Friday

afternoon, I'm sitting here cramming the research. I'm running my errands, trying to go to the gym, whatever.

These narratives demonstrate that dependent care policies are vital because they facilitate meeting job expectations by giving parents the time to carry out new responsibilities. However, these policies are not enough to counter a culture that values high volume research productivity. Even with tenure, Tamika realized that being transparent about her parenting responsibilities would not protect her from scrutiny. As discussed earlier, she suggested that her colleagues devalued her service and scholarly contributions because she had children and took maternity leave. Therefore, her research productivity dropped. Like Layla, she exclaimed, "That's not vacation. I am not sitting at home eating bon bons." Hence, there exists a perception that taking time off for childcare is similar to taking a research sabbatical. Consequently, some women may be caught in a bind. If they do not take leave, they may be unable to fulfill job requirements because they are overextended. However, if they do take leave, they are expected to be conducting research between diaper changes. It may take a while before values catch up with structural directives.

As academic other, women who disrupt old norms do so at great risk to their careers....after the baby is born, the stakes remain high. The pattern of day to day responsibilities for women is reinforced by decade by decade expectations of men (Collay, 2002, p. 93).

Beyond the discussion of parenting and maternity leave, most of the participants did not emphasize gender. For instance, Rashida explained that gender was always a latent part of her self-identity. However, it became salient when older male faculty treated her in a sexual manner.

Rashida: Well I was a little slow on the gender thing. I always saw race first. It always surprised me when, as a graduate student, there would be some random dirty old man who was not Black, or graduate student who would (snaps) at me, and I'd think, "What the hell are you doing?" And I was just, I was always taken aback by that, that there was also that sort of part of me that was sexual to them. And I was like, "Oh, yeah, right."

Venice: This is faculty?

Rashida: Yeah The sort of kind of Jezebel thing, everybody sees Black women as, or some people see Black women as hot mamas. And I always forgot that part of it.

This is not to say that the womanhood part of being a Black woman was not viewed as relevant. It simply did not take precedence in how they made meaning of their experiences. There are three key reasons why this might occur: (a) the over-determinacy of race, (b) the dominant narrative of Black liberation focuses on race to the exclusion of other identities, and (c) the actions of Black women are better indicators of their gender awareness than their pronouncements.

The first explanation for gender not being as salient as race identity is that race alters the meaning of womanhood in ways that make it a key determinant in how many Black women interpret their experiences. Race is such a powerful concept that it changes the meaning of the mundane and obscures other identities.

By continually expressing overt and covert analogic relationships, race impregnates the simplest meanings we take for granted. It makes hair "good" or "bad," speech patterns "correct" or "incorrect." It is in fact, the apparent overdeterminacy of race in Western culture, and particularly in the United States, that has permitted it to function as a metalanguage in its discursive representation and construction of social relations (Higgenbotham, 1992, p. 255).

Therefore, the entrenched system of racial hierarchies in the United States precludes the consideration of gender without a discussion of race. Thus, Black women may view their racial identity as more salient than their gender identity because race determines how gender is experienced. In addition, gender oppression is a bit more

difficult to comprehend because gender relations are organized to promote bonding within familial and community networks and women are socialized to “develop a communality of interest with men, despite the gender hierarchy operating within the category of belonging” (P. H. Collins, 1998, p. 210). As such, the gendered spaces that women are expected to occupy within their home and external communities are nested within a broader configuration of normalized gender relationships. On the other hand, race oppression is defined by separation and surveillance techniques that distinctly mark and disadvantage Black people (P. H. Collins, 1998; Marable, 2002). Furthermore, because Blacks are oppressed as a group, racial solidarity trumps other forms of collective arrangements because it facilitates group survival.

Related to the notion of racial solidarity, is the lack of attention that the Black collective has given to the interconnections of oppression. Therefore, the language that interrogates the Black struggle is often about race to the exclusion of gender.²³ Specifically, there is a belief that Black women are so central to the survival of the Black community, that anything that diverts their attention away from race oppression is tantamount to betrayal. Therefore, “many blacks regard the role of uniting all blacks to be the primary duty of Black women, one that should supersede all other roles that she might want to perform and certainly one that is essentially incompatible with her own individual liberation” (Terrelonge, 1995, p. 490). As a result, Black women may not have the critical awareness, community support or willingness to address intersectional

²³ I draw upon the work of Hazel Carby (1987) to illustrate this point, “the institutionalized rape of black women has never been as powerful a symbol of black oppression as the spectacle of lynching. Rape has always involved patriarchal notions of women being, at best, not entirely unwilling accomplices, if not outwardly inviting sexual attack. The links between black women and illicit sexuality consolidated during the antebellum years had powerful ideological consequences for the next hundred and fifty years” (p. 39).

identities. For instance, Cole (1995) believes that many Black women are resistant to defining themselves as feminist because of the false notion that liberation politics is a zero-sum game. Hence, feminist gains are viewed as losses for racial liberation.

Why is it that among so many contemporary African American women there is a dread of being called feminist....fueled by media misrepresentations....black women, and indeed many women of color assume that in order to be a feminist, one must put the struggle against racism after the struggle against sexism....But given the multiple ways in which racism and sexism are “cut from the same cloth,” we cannot afford to fight the oppressions to which we are subjected on only one front. (p. 550)

Thus, misunderstanding about the mutual construction of race and gender politics deters many Black women from identifying with anti-sexist discourses. However, Collins (1998) reminds us that “race and class and gender may all be present in all social settings...yet groups will experience and see them differently (p. 208). Therefore, one’s reluctance or inability to recognize the salience of one or more of those identities does not mean that those identities lack potency.

Though the aforementioned explanations for the lack of explicit gender discussions among the participants are worth noting, it must be emphasized that failure to articulate an awareness of sexism or intersectional identity does not mean that that awareness is not present. Awareness is also evidenced in the behavior of Black women. For instance, among the fourteen participants, ten were involved in research and/or service that explicitly focused on women. Also, the longstanding resistance of Black women on behalf of issues (e.g. education, suffrage, healthcare, childcare and employment and rape) that affect the well being of women is an indication their awareness of how power inequities affect women (P. H. Collins, 2000; A. Davis, 1995; M. S. Jones, 2007; White, 1999). In advancing social justice (often within established

institutions such as churches and service organizations), Black women work to undermine race-based power inequities that inherently address other anti-humanist concerns. The Combahee River Collective's Black feminist statement, is indicative of the way that Black female activism reflects their multiple social locations.²⁴

The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. (The Combahee River Collective, 1982, p. 13)

Academic Interlopers

The accounts of racism centered on perceptions of merit. The participants talked about people being taken aback by Black bodies in academe. Here are accounts by Sekai and Jaha.

But the Dean in the graduate school...I had never met him until I was just about ready to graduate. And there was some reception or something, for outstanding graduate students And so I was calling to RSVP. The secretary...said, I think [Dr. Ben] ...wants to speak with you. He got on the phone, he says, Sekai, I've been meaning to meet with you all these years, outstanding work...would you be able to meet with me beforehand...I said, sure. He didn't know who I was. I showed up in the office...and I, maybe you've had this experience. The expression on this man's face was like...why are you? He says Sekai? I mean, it was just this...Sekai? And I said, yes, I'm Sekai. And he said, oh, so nice to.... I mean...it was one of those moments where, again, I spent my time thinking about how do I respond to this White man who has clearly not even put it in his imagination anywhere that I could possibly be the person that he thought I was.

Jaha: As a professor, sometimes people don't know, well, if you've never met me, and you've only read my name, you know, the students walk into the class, oh, (*laughs*) you know, because the name is just neutral. You sense it.

Venice: There's a visible reaction?

Jaha: Yeah, yeah, sometimes there is. I've had verbal reactions at presentations and conferences, which are different, though. Like, oh, you are...taller than I thought (*laughs*), or something, you know what they're thinking,

²⁴ The Combahee River Collective is a group of Black feminists that began meeting in 1974. Their full statement can be found in the seminal text, *But Some of Us Are Brave* edited by Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith.

Sometimes acts of resistance by colleagues and students were not subtle. During her one year of employment at her first institution, Carmen noted that students did not even have the courtesy to lie about why they were dropping her as an advisor. Some were bold enough to say it was due to her race. She said this experience taught her a lesson.

I would have never recognized the power that institutions have to respond to racist situations if I hadn't been there. Because if a student will bring you a form to change advisors, and on the bottom of it write, 'because I don't want a Black advisor', and the dean and the director of the department have signed off on it before the student brings it to you, that's institutional racism.

Also, she said that she taught a required course for graduation. When several students complained to the Dean about having to take a course taught by a Black woman, the Dean opened up a new section and blamed Carmen for the disruption, "He said to me, you are the one that's different, and I understand, but you've got to figure out how to make the students feel comfortable with you."

In addition to revealing racial hierarchies in academe, Carmen's narrative provides insight into the way the race over-determines Black female social categorization. Her racial difference marked her as unsuitable. However, though her gendered self was not explicitly named as problematic, there are distinct beliefs about Black women that classify them as non-intellectual, worthless and shady. For instance, the Sapphire image is one of many disparaging myths about black female sexuality that is indelibly etched in U.S. psyche.

As Sapphires, black women were depicted as evil, treacherous, bitchy, stubborn, and hateful...The Sapphire image had as its base one of the oldest negative stereotypes of woman—the image of the female as inherently evil...racist-sexist mythology simply designated black women the epitome of female evil and sinfulness. White men could justify their de-humanization and sexual exploitation of black women by arguing that they possessed inherent evil demonic qualities. Black men could claim that they could not get along with black women because

they were so evil and white women could use the image of the evil, sinful black women to emphasize their own innocence and purity (hooks, 1981, p. 85).

The Sapphire, along with other popular myths about black women such as Jezebel, Mammy, Welfare Queen, Matriarch and Hoochie served the dual purpose of controlling Black female sexuality and access to resources (P. H. Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Jewell, 1993).²⁵ Though these images have their history in the exploitation of Black female bodies during slavery, they are reproduced because they maintain race and gender power hierarchies (Jewell, 1993). Black female stereotypes reveal that the notion of black, female and scholar is so far removed from the ingrained beliefs of Black womanhood that it can be openly rejected. Thus, Carmen's experience can be contextualized through an intersectional lens thereby providing a more multifaceted analysis of why Black women are greeted with hostility within PWIs. bell hooks (1996) writes that black female intellectuals are "seen as 'sexual sign' Black female bodies are placed in a category that...is deemed far removed from the life of the mind. Within the sex/race/class hierarchies of the United States, Black women have always resided at the bottom" (p. 1996, p. 362). Accordingly, negative reactions toward Black female academics are by-products of longstanding ploys to control Black women.

Other accounts were more directly about the perceived incongruence between Blackness and scholarly pursuits. The participants talked about how Black people were perceived as lacking the cognitive ability to succeed in their institutions. Chimwala

²⁵ See the introduction for an explanation of jezebel and mammy stereotypes. Matriarchs are hard working black women who emasculate Black men and abandon their children. the dysfunction (e.g. children out of wed-lock, poverty) in the Black community is due to the Matriarchs inability to be a proper wife and mother. Welfare Queens are lazy, sexually available black women who refuse to work yet expect the government to support their children. A hoochie is an updated version of the Jezebel (P. H. Collins, 2000; Jewell, 1993). All of these images serve to deflect attention away from structural constraints

provided an example of how her contributions were ignored or belittled by classmates.

She attributed this to both race and gender discrimination.

I did notice that there were times in a classroom where some of my...pretty typical male domestic classmates didn't always value what I had to say, and it would only be valued if the male instructor then came behind and said what I said....It was infuriating, but at the same time I guess I expected it. You know, I wanted it to be different, but it was what it was....so I think some of that was some subtle racism going on in there. Some subtle gender issues were going on in there.

Furthermore, as a prospective student, Nia described a meeting she had with graduate students at an Ivy League school. Her decision not to attend that school was influenced by what transpired at that meeting.

I thought...we'd go out to coffee or something. They were all too busy to go to coffee. We sat around the seminar room and they just grilled me....And, it was horrible. Then she decided to tell me, oh, well they only admitted you because you're Black....And she said the graduate school just admitted you.

Moreover, as a faculty member, Tracee had similar encounters with colleagues about the qualifications of Black students.

In admissions every year... I always have to gear myself up to get ready for the fight because I have to be the one who deals with the test scores discussion that will come up. People who have never heard of an HBCU, are saying, oh that's not a good institution, that person coming from that school, that's not a good school. Well, you don't know about the school, so this person has done research with this person who is a good scholar. You just don't know that scholar because they don't do work in your area. The way that we talk, that diversity is dealt with in that way. We're admitting students kind of out of the goodness of our hearts, versus like, it's the right thing to do, versus like, they're actually bringing in something unique.

What this narrative shows is that racial diversity, rather than being perceived as a component of merit, is viewed as a force that subverts merit. Furthermore, Tracee's expansive definition of diversity combined with her commitment to Black educational

development puts her at odds with longstanding institutional values. The recourse she chooses is to voice her opposition.

So, to try to get people to see how the words that can say, even if they want to hire both people, and maybe get minority monies for the minority person, that's a strategic goal financially, but we should not be talking about people as if this is the scholar and this is the minority....And like I said, it comes up at admissions, too, when we talked about Black students or students of color, and the schools they're coming from, and what the difference in test scores means. Probably the main source of challenge is kind of trying to change the culture of thinking around those things with colleagues and most of them are well-intended colleagues.

Layla also had an experience where she found herself defending the worthiness of the Black experience. Like Tracee, she had to be prepared to advocate for Black people and/or defend the work of those who do research on Black people.

Actually it came up when I was chairing the search committee and I was going to hire this Black woman who does research on Black people. Ooh imagine that, and ...I got several comments...in a faculty meeting. One was 'isn't it limiting that she doesn't do comparative'. Can you believe that that is coming up in 2007?...I said some people find that thinking quite racist, there is so much heterogeneity within groups. There were like three or four comments that come up...I just shouted back my response and didn't let it grow into one of these academic things where everyone starts to blah, blah, blah and the next thing you know your candidate is shot down.

These stories are also about legitimacy. Blackness is viewed with suspicion and participants experience situations where they have to take a defensive position. However, in anticipation of attack, the participants also take offensive positions. For instance, some women noted that it was in their best interest to work harder than their peers because it reduced the likelihood that they would be perceived as incompetent. Jaha, for example, does not give her colleagues an excuse to question her abilities.

I feel that where you almost feel the spotlights on you. You know, you do your job, but you don't just do it. I have to do it well, because you're in the spot light. You know, I'm of that generation well. You do it exceptionally well. So that people know that you're doing it well.

Similarly, Rashida shared a story about another Black woman to illustrate why Blacks have to work twice as hard to get the same recognition as Whites. However, she expressed that sometimes that hard work is in vain.

A recent tenure case...that I was on...there was a file from a woman of color, and a file from a White man. And her file's unbelievable. It is absolutely unbelievable. Um, four books....she did everything. She killed herself. I mean, I think she really is suffering, sort of health wise, and in her family, to try to do this, to get tenure. And he, it's okay, it's what people expect, if they say, "Well, you should have a book and about six articles, he has a book and six articles." I think the difference with her, and it's interesting, is that she actually didn't get tenure right away. They said, "Well you worked so hard that we really didn't get to know you as a colleague. And we're going to ask you to wait another year, and we're going to see how you get along with students, and how you interact with us." Have you ever heard such a thing at a research institution? He, on the other hand, not a problem, they both deserved it. They both did, and she did the super woman thing, and it still was sometimes never enough.

The notion of meritocracy that predominates in these women's institutions is one that is resistant to the inclusion of raced people. The narratives affirm that being Black is a liability in the academy. Therefore, having the proper pedigree (e.g. credentials, respected advisor) is not enough to secure approval from those invested in maintaining the current model of merit. McKay (1997) argues that even when tenure is granted, Black women are not welcome into the inner sanctums of legitimacy, "We soon realized that although our status vis-à-vis such things as job security had altered appreciably, we were still excluded from the centers of power vested in the premises of White maleness" (p 16). This breeds an environment in which White supremacy reigns and a Black identity undermines perceptions of achievement.

The participants provided insight into their feelings and experiences as they moved through spaces tinged with racial hostility. To start, Nia indicated that her

graduate school experience made her hypersensitive about being a member of an underrepresented racial group on a campus with a history of exclusion.

In terms of being Black, this is the metaphor I came up with when I was there. And it still feels like the best one. (*sighs*) It was like I had a huge, horrible, scar on my face, that I walked around with, that everybody could see. And yet, it was polite. Nobody would mention it. We wouldn't talk about the scar on my face. Though, it was disfiguring.

This feeling of being disfigured continued during her years as a junior professor. To illustrate, she described an encounter with a White male colleague in the stairwell of an office building.

I was asking him about teaching...or something like that...And he said that he loved teaching minstrelsy. And he was sort of leaning over me, you know, like from the top stairs...I hardly knew this guy at all, just trying to have friendly conversation. And he said what he likes to do is ...take a cork and to get a flame and burn it. And then he was pantomiming as he said how he puts it on his face in class. And I was terrified. I was absolutely shocked. I'm thinking, you can't do this, and you certainly can't do this in class, and you can't do it to me, but I'm like, who are, like, who are you, you big racist, terrible man? And he was pantomiming it, and there was this sort of glee in his face, and it was so horrifying, and I just was looking at him with big eyes. And I said, well, I bet that really has an effect on your students, or something, and he says, yeah, it really does. And it was almost as though there was an assault because I didn't tell anyone about it, thinking nobody would believe me, and maybe these are the norms here. Maybe you can Black up in class as a White man, and nobody thinks anything of it. And oh my God, what does this say about me and my position here?

Nia then stated that she believed he was one of the people who did not support her tenure application. "I think there was just some blatant racism there," she asserted. Nia's account reveals how race and gender are interlocked within power hierarchies. She described a big, White man gleefully performing Blackness in ways that simultaneously appease White fear and validate stereotypes.²⁶ In addition, her colleague hovered over

²⁶ In the 19th century, the most popular form of entertainment was the minstrel show. The show featured White folks who blackened their skin to portray stereotypical characters like the happy

her in an isolated area. Hence, spatial dynamics accentuated the power differential. Given these factors, it is no wonder that she felt assaulted.

Contextualizing this encounter by reflecting upon the long tradition of White male assault on Black female bodies, one can see the engagement as an exercise in White male privilege and Black female subordination. This pattern of engagement began during the enslavement period and continued until the 1960s. The stereotypes that legitimated the sexual exploitation of Black females during slavery justified their continued mistreatment upon emancipation. Although all Black females were subject to sexual violence without legal protection, those who worked as domestics were particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Black female domestics dealt with the ever-present threat of rape as they engaged White male employers who believed it was their birthright to have unbridled access to Black female bodies. Rape and the threat of rape were used to maintain the marginal social location of Black females and uphold White male power. Other measures used to ensure that Black woman understood their subordinate position included calling them “girls”, requiring them to formally address their employers, questioning them about personal matters and confining them to one area of the house (P. H. Collins, 2000). Ultimately, these behaviors functioned to remind Black women that they would always remain outside of the realm of significance and that they were always being scrutinized. Similarly, as Black women entered professional institutions, they were subject to surveillance tactics (P. H. Collins, 1998) that ensured that the dominant group always had the upper hand in determining how they were defined and how they should behave.

slave and the mammy. Black entertainers who were a part of minstrel shows were also required to blacken their skin to make it appear more realistic (Dodson, 2002).

The history of Black female exploitation in the labor market suggests that Nia's encounter with her colleague in the stairwell is about the surveillance tactics that Black women encounter in the work place. His behavior reminded Nia that her difference was something to be mocked. As a consequence, she wondered if she would ever be accepted by her peers. Also, her silence about such a distressful encounter was an indication of her vulnerable status within the department. In effect, her colleague's performance was a reminder of her place—her subordinated location as assistant professor, young, female and Black.

Acts of intolerance mark the lives of women in the academy and it contributes to their sense of unease. Mesi shared what makes her feel uncomfortable in her department.

The deep, deep racism (*laughs*)... You know it's true. I mean the liberal, kind of liberal ...that we have...great White mothers and fathers who are going to save us as individuals and our fields as professionals and...I find nauseating... I have watched my colleagues take the first train to no more affirmative action.

She later talked about her department's lack of commitment to diversity.

I just don't think people care, and ...I am now the senior woman of color....And that is really sad. It's really very sad for our department...we pay a lot of lip service to it, and my experience is that when it comes to recruitment, we treat women of color...horribly.

Mesi emphasized that women of color were especially treated disrespectfully because they did not receive the standard courtesies given to competitive job candidates.

Comparatively, Sekai responded to a question about whether race or gender mattered by stating that she really did not know how to answer the question because race and gender always mattered. Like the proponents of critical race feminism, she asserted, "Race always plays a role. Gender always plays a role." Sekai's account of how she dealt

with race in graduate school captures the way that the participants addressed and learned from challenges. For her, living in a White community

was to remind us that we were not something else, but we were who we were. And that we spent most of that time trying to understand, what does it mean to be Black in the world, and to do something with that? How does it mean to be in these bodies, and actually use them as tools for social progress or for moving an agenda forward? That's what we spent our time thinking about...But I know that every step I took, race mattered. Every moment I was there, race mattered. What I was concerned about was...my way of responding to how it mattered.

SUMMARY

For the participants, self-defining as a Black woman means that they understand the spectrum of Black female experiences from the deep-seated wounds to the causes for exaltation. It is this knowledge that dictates how they approach the academic enterprise in historically White institutions. Their testimonials show that they aspire to use their positions in highly regarded institutions to make discussions about social issues reflective of the experiences and contributions of silenced groups, namely Black people.

The participants' concern for Black people is based on their engagement with injustice. It is also rooted in their fascination with the complexity of Black people. For them, Black communities are sites of homogeneity and heterogeneity. Therefore, they reject the notion that Black people are only worth studying in relation to White people. They also reject the belief that Black people are devoid of a history that should be celebrated. They express pride in the achievements of Blacks against seemingly insurmountable odds. This brew of historical and sociological awareness fostered a sense of social responsibility that they actualized through teaching, research and service.

Concern about social inequities was also spurred by the racism participants encountered throughout their career trajectory—from graduate school to associate

professor. Most of their experiences with intolerance were subtle or covert. However, contemporary forms of racism can be the most insidious type of oppression because it is typically cloaked within discussions of fairness, merit, individualism and cultural norms (J. Dovidio, 1997; J. F. Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Eberhardt & Fiske, 1998). Therefore, those on the receiving end of racism are often blamed for their inability to conform or not given opportunities to excel because of perceived deficits.

Although participants indicated that they were disturbed by racism they did not express that they were surprised that it would appear in their institutions. They presented it as just a challenge or occupational hazard in their work settings. Their manner of dealing with it was typically to confront it directly or remove themselves from toxic environments. In either case, race served both as a reminder of exclusionary practices and a vector for transformative work.

All of the participants stated that their race and gender were salient components of their identity. However, they recognized that it was their racial identity that altered the meaning of their gender. Viewing gender experiences through an intersectional lens explains why Black female experiences are more complex than their White female counterpart. In order not to violate ideology that claims that women are the weaker sex in need of male protection, Black women, an essential part of the slave economy, were rendered genderless or “annulled as woman” (Davis, 1995, p. 205). Davis explains how Black women fell outside of the realm of womanhood.

She was not sheltered or protected; she would not remain oblivious to the desperate struggle for existence unfolding outside the ‘home’. She was also there in the fields, alongside the man, toiling under the lash from sun-up to sun down. (p. 205)

Black women were given the designation as female only when it furthered their exploitation as in the case of breeding and rape (A. Davis, 1995). However, female as a biological category was not equated with being a respectable lady. As Jezebel, Mammy, Matriarch, Sapphire, Welfare Queen and Hoochie, Black women continue to fall outside of the realm of a true woman, much less a scholar. Thus, Black women's gendered experiences are not divorced from their race experiences. Although the participants did not often name gender as a challenge in their negotiation process, it does not mean that gender was not operating alongside race. As noted, the over-determinacy of race may mask the unique experiences of Black women. Most notably, a key indication of the participants' awareness of equity issues for females was their research and service work.

OUTCOME: CRITICAL ENACTMENTS AS TRANSFORMATIVE WORK

Although all of the participants were granted tenure, the traditional marker of success in academe, their narratives revealed that their success came in spite of rather than because of some of their professional socialization experiences. Although most of the participants stated that they received intellectual support or mentoring throughout their graduate and professional career, that support was often counterbalanced with vestiges of racism, sexism and benign neglect. As indicated in previous sections, the participants were aware of the ubiquity of intolerance. Nonetheless, though they were not immune to structural constraints and hurtful behaviors, the participants were able to wade through hostile terrain to find both traditional and non-traditional forms of career success.

This section focuses on the behaviors and attitudes of the participants that reflect their resilience and agency. To determine how the participants define and enact their role

in the academy, I focus on narratives that address how they navigate through their institutions and how they measure career success. Additionally, the analysis is informed by how participants explain their scholarship (teaching, research and service). I employ the term critical enactment to emphasize agency that advances social equity. These enactments are *critical* because they are concerned with naming and subverting social injustice (P. H. Collins, 2000; Lather, 1991b). The term enactment is used to capture a sense of movement or creation in the way that the participants function within their institutions. As with the notion of multiple juxtapositions, enactments signify the ability to intentionally move through academe while critiquing it for its hegemonic qualities. According to Collins (1998), the notion of movement captures the way that Black women challenge injustices because it is by moving through spaces of unequal power *and* being moved by social inequities that people acquire the ability to critically assess their experiences. Furthermore, enactments indicate generative properties as there is an assumption of change occurring when one is moved to take action and when one is moving through multiple spaces. In this way, the emphasis remains on participant agency and intentionality. Hence, critical enactments highlight the complexities of Black women negotiating predominately White institutions through transformative endeavors.

This study highlights five key critical enactments: 1) Utilizing support networks and mentors, 2) Bringing race and gender issues to the forefront, 3) Teaching through reciprocity and empowerment, 4) Lifting as we climb, service that empowers community, and 5) Upsetting orthodoxy through research. These sections are malleable and interdependent because the ways in which the participants negotiate academe (so that it is

more aligned with their values) can also be interpreted as unique contributions to the academy and vice versa.

Enactment I: Bringing Race and Gender Issues to the Forefront

What underlies how the women define and enact their role in the academy is that they are cognizant of ever-present identity based inequities, particularly those rooted in racism and sexism. This knowledge fosters a commitment to bringing race and gender into various conversations. They use their ability to access diverse communities within and outside of their institutions to spread the word about diversity and social justice. In this way, they serve as mechanisms or conduits for raising awareness about these issues. For instance, Tracee discussed how she deals with colleagues who advocate hiring people of color out of guilt rather than a commitment to educational diversity.

The biggest challenges....are making it clear that we should be thinking about race and diversity in particular types of ways. And so sometimes I have very well-intended colleagues, you know, the well-intended liberal type, who will say something that might be kind of offensive, kind of like, oh, hiring a minority person is the right thing to do, kind of thing. Talking about the White candidate in terms of the rigor of their scholarship, saying things like, if we're concerned with quality, we should hire this person. If we're concerned about diversity, then we should hire this person, saying that straight out. So, and then of course, I have to address it. So that's been the type of challenges.

In the same way, Jamila and Carmen reported how they act as mouthpieces for equity issues. In short, Jamila's actions sometimes make her disfavored by colleagues.

So it was a little bit of adjustment having to go on and then you know, the truth is if you fuss about African minority and racism and justice issues you're not going to be that popular. You know, people don't want to hear that, and you know what, that's who I am....I'm going to talk about it till I'm tired of talking about it.

Comparatively, Carmen believes that her presence encourages her colleagues to think critically about diversity issues. However, she is dismayed by their lack of forethought about diversity.

I think that I'm always pushing them. I'm the diversity coordinator now and I've been for a few years, so I think that it's one of those situations where if I'm not in the room, certain things may not come up. People may not think about it because diversity isn't the number one issue on their mind. When I say diversity, I mean across all the isms and diversity of thought as well.... I was on the Scholarship Committee ...and people were talking about issues of diversity in terms of the students and they were all White, and it was for this particular pot of money. I said, "But this woman here is a single parent that is not a protected class, but it comes with a particular set of real issues that I think are diverse.... So it bothers me that nobody else in the room even thinks about it.

Nia talked about the sexism in her first department and how she had to advocate for female students.

They weren't given candidacy. Or very occasionally were they advanced. It was very subtle and complicated. It was, well, she's just not a go-getter in my class. She's not assertive enough. She's not a leader in the class...She doesn't have what it takes... they'd use this vague terminology. And meanwhile, here they are, these old intimidating...they can't intimidate me, but they would intimidate these young students coming in. And the men would be seen as being more competent than the women even though I would get these same students in my classes, and I'd say, well, she's doing really well in my class.

Later, she talked about using her membership on various university committees to introduce equity issues.

I try not just to sit there, but to try to articulate something, a viewpoint that other people might not see, or other people aren't talking about and to say, you know, this is really a dire issue, when we have people of color at [the University] who are getting weeded out of the university, whether it's at the third year review, the tenure review, or whether they're unhappy here...they feel their research...isn't being taken seriously, or there are problems with the people in their department....

Similarly, the participants stated that they attempted to alter the assumption held by their colleges that diversity weakens academic excellence. As an illustration, Tracee talked about defending students who attended historically Black institutions.

In admissions every year...I always have to gear myself up to get ready for the fight because I have to be the one who deals with the test scores discussion that will come up. People who have never heard of an HBCU, are saying, oh that's

not a good institution....The way that we talk, that diversity is dealt with in that way. We are like...we're admitting students kind of out of the goodness of our hearts versus...they're actually bringing in something unique.

Layla also defended the Black experience. Like Tracee, she felt compelled to advocate for Black people and/or defend the work of those who do research on Black people. As noted in the discussion on racism, she has to be prepared to squelch resistance to Black candidates who do research on Black people.

Dziko also talked about challenging biased standards for student and faculty recruitment.

I was on a graduate committee, and there were three of us...I had to fight for GRE scores as not indicative of a person's capabilities. And it's something else that I was resistant to giving in to, particularly searches, you know documenting your information for persons and speaking out and standing up for those particular individuals....I think that there are just different struggles...ideologies that I'm not willing to give up that I want to continue to represent... [the] stance of Black people. And so that enters into different kinds of ways of being a faculty member...And so those are things that I'm not willing to change because of raw social political dynamics.

These experiences are also about legitimacy. Because Blackness is viewed with suspicion, participants take a defensive position in order to challenge logic that implies that Blackness undermines excellence. In essence, the narratives show that participants often take the lead in advocating for a broader view of scholarship and merit. In doing so, they act as an element of the institution's social conscience. In essence, they help transform institutional ethos to one that is more aligned with social justice.

Enactment II: Teaching Through Reciprocity and Empowerment

Through teaching, the participants are altering their institutions by enacting critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is a form of instruction that promotes social justice through the structure of a class. Specifically, classes are structured to promote critical

thinking by creating safe spaces through small groups, building relationships through dialogue, respecting students as decision makers, promoting participant accountability, utilizing student experiences to start dialogue, encouraging students to challenge assumptions, and facilitating experiential exercises (Adams et al., 2000; S. D. Brookfield, 1987; Vella, 2002). Tamika said that her teaching philosophy is based on “guided discovery.” She elaborated,

I don't have a teacher centered classroom. I really don't like if I have to talk to much or lecture. So I like to throw out questions and get small groups of students to discussing, they get to practice...and hopefully they read the material, so they can manipulate ideas. That's really my style and I love to bring in examples from the real world...I try to bring in examples they can relate to, not just boring examples that have nothing to do with anything.

Similarly, Carmen indicated that reciprocity was part of her teaching.

It's one that's rooted in social justice. It's rooted in the lift as you, as we climb. I think that it's about giving back. It's about, you have to make sure that if you're teaching, someone has learned. And I think it's a reciprocal process. There's an African proverb I always use in my classes that when the student is ready, the teacher appears. And so I always tell my students that I'm coming into the process, waiting to see what they're also going to teach me. Because I expect that they're coming with knowledge capital, about stuff that I don't have. And so I see it as a reciprocal thing, and more community based piece.

Jaha mentioned that one of her objectives was to ensure that the curriculum in her department improves student performance in racially diverse settings.

So that our curriculum is a little more culturally competent if nothing else, you know ...we consider them. And since I've been here I would say that there are some colleagues who try to address that as much as they know how in their teaching... but I know that's more for me, that's more of my personal interest than their own.

Rashida stated that the philosophy behind her research approach is the same philosophy that informs her teaching. She explained, “I'm a constructivist...The way I view the world is the way I pursue my research. My research is dialogic. It's about

meaning making, shared understanding...I believe things are emergent. I don't believe that there is a final answer." Her teaching philosophy embodies the key elements of critical pedagogy.

I have a teaching philosophy....It's all about, all about justice, and empowerment....We make meaning together, even as I lecture,...I don't think the students really feel like it's a lecture experience. I think that I can make a room of seventy five or five hundred seventy five feel really small....I don't learn names, but I do hear students, and they get to talk and participate...it's all about dialogue, and sort of empowering... it's about respect, because I am all about equity. That's a theme... I think everybody should have an opportunity to have their say and be heard, period. And those ideas will be respected.

Tracee's approach with her graduate students is based on her belief that professors must give students space to consider new ideas. She believes that graduate students deserve mentorship and it is the advisor's responsibility to offer guidance.

There are some people here who think that it's kind of an entrepreneur model. Like for graduate education, for instance. So, that students are their own independent entrepreneurs, and they go and get what they want. I'm like, no....I meet with my students weekly. I meet with them individually, as well as like a lab setting. I'm giving them feedback constantly on their papers, and the like...So, I don't like the entrepreneur model...I mean, if students knew exactly what they wanted, then they shouldn't come to graduate school. I mean, graduate school is the time when you should be learning and thinking and re-thinking.

She described the "apprentice model", her preferred model of instruction,

The student is responsible to me, in terms of connecting to my work, but I'm also responsible to the student, in providing them with training, their support...And even if my work is not where they want to go, I'm also responsible for helping them connect to the resources that are right for them. So, I think that's different from some of the people here....because it's big, and very interdisciplinary, and students have a lot of autonomy, that they like that entrepreneur model, which doesn't involve meeting with students regularly.

The narratives illustrate that the women do not view teaching as an opportunity to engage in totalitarian instruction, where the goal is to control the students. In contrast, students are viewed as subjects actively participating in learning. Dialogue and social

justice heavily influence their teaching philosophies. They aspire to promote thinking about social inequities and to create a teaching space where everyone can be heard.

Critical pedagogy is also manifested through course topics that de-center normative paradigms through race and/or gender analysis. Many of the courses that the participants teach reflect their investment in addressing social problems. Again, much of the emphasis is on exploring equity, race relations and diversity of experiences within their discipline. Using narratives from Jamila and Sekai what follows are examples of how the participants interrogate race within the framework of teaching. Sekai talked about the structure of a new course.

And our goal is to talk about race from a spiritual perspective, and to try to think about what that would mean to reframing this idea of race...What is race? What is spirit?...The second quarter, ...is about folks going off and doing their own projects. So, how are you going to engage this thing called race? You can't just talk about it....We're going to write about race and dialogue about this process and what it means.

Jamila, who stated that she has “strong views on racism” said that she is very transparent about her stance in the classroom.

It really is, it's to challenge you, any views that you may have always held based on where you grew up, where your family raised you, my agenda really is to challenge you...to sensitize you to some of the other ways that people live. And that involve racism and classism....Yeah, I am up front with them. I say you're going to hear it over and over throughout the quarter. And you know...I do say to students that I don't mean to offend people. When I talk, sometimes I need to put that out--race, class, sex, sexual orientation--that you know, people can get a little offended by that. So that can be a challenge and I just want the students to know right from the jump start it's not my intent to make them feel uncomfortable or to hurt them but to just bring the realities to life in the...course.

Enactment III: Service that Empowers Community

The participants' personal definitions of career success entail the provision of service to students, particularly students of color. They also talked about serving

communities of color outside of their institutions. Almost universally, the women discussed giving back to communities that supported them. Their attitudes about service are reflected in Dziko's comment.

I think a number of people in terms of research or at the university don't necessarily see themselves giving of their time without being compensated...And I know that's part of the territory for me. We know it's an unwritten rule within the African American community....that we're supposed to give back....It's a given for me. It's an unwritten rule for me that I have to go back and to disseminate information and to help somebody else because I'm standing on others' shoulders. But that's a whole particular cultural ideological stance that I would say that a number of my colleagues don't have.

In essence, she makes sure that her teaching, research and service responsibilities reinforce her commitment to helping Black people. Likewise, Tracee discussed using her position on the faculty search committee to help Black people.

You do have a stronger voice in terms of leadership, so right after I became tenured, I became co-chair of my area which wouldn't have happened as a junior person and even that leadership role gives me some different kinds of forums in terms of talking to people, or bringing in faculty of color, so, this year, we hired a Black faculty person and I don't think that's an accident that there were two tenured Black people on the committee who were willing to, who had some insights into certain areas of work, but also who were willing to fight certain types of perceptions about what's valuable research.

Similarly, Tamika spoke about her commitment to helping students of color.

I feel so obligated to mentor students of color so that someone shows them in a way that people didn't show me....I really try to reach out to students of color in my classes... and if someone shows an interest, I am very happy to take them to lunch and talk about what grad school would be like for them. And until this day, I've been here for ten years, all of my students of color that have graduated and gone on to grad school continue to write me and thank me. So at that level I feel like I am doing something I've always wanted in terms of teaching. That's the main reason why I am still in this game because of those kinds of students.

Expanding opportunities for Black people was not limited to the boundaries of the university. The participants also engaged in work that brought external communities to their institutions. For instance, Jaha facilitated collaborative relationships with

historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) that increased the pool of potential applicants and broadened educational possibilities for students of color. She explained,

I assist in bringing in choirs, HBCU choirs, once a year to do concerts.... I established a connection with our office of minority affairs so that they can come here on campus while they're in town. And maybe some of them will consider [University] for graduate school. So you know, those little things where I see that someone else benefits.

Although service was a value upheld by the participants, they also indicated that their service load made them vulnerable. In other words, their services were in demand yet their work was not rewarded by their institutions. For instance, Layla talked about feeling conflicted because service may hinder the career advancement of women of color.

On the other hand, they will pile service on you. It seems like the same people do all of the service. The same five percent do like 50% of the service and the other 50% are publishing (chuckle) you know. So it's hard not to get caught up in that, 'Oh I need to lend my voice here and there and then you end up on 50,000 committees lending my voice and not getting any work done. I think I feel that especially now, pre-tenure I don't know if I felt that....How can you now that you have tenure still be a voice for women of color on this campus but yet not get so slammed that you get kind of stuck there and don't ever make it to full. I mean it's ridiculous. It's a teeny, tiny percentage of women of color who are full professors.

Tamika described how her race and gender status made her a walking advertisement for service.

Well, as you are going to find out (chuckle), every committee will want you either because you offer them a person of color perspective that they need or you are representing Black women. So my service work within the department is pretty heavy. Students think they are doing you a favor. I have a lot of students who have worked with me and recommend me. So it's like 'you are not doing me a favor.' But they don't understand. At the university level, I have a lot of obligations because they want a reasonable voice that represents people of color, women, whatever.

Ayo discussed the inordinate amount of time that she devotes to students, not just because she is committed to students but because they flock to her. She suggested that gender may also play a role in her popularity with students.

Ayo: I've really been extremely busy but I give my all to students. Students can come anytime and they know it. That can also be a detriment because I've found that students would ask me stuff, and I think this had more to do with being a female, they would never ask him [colleague] to do.

Venice: Like?

Ayo: I knew you were going to say that. Like when they couldn't get their [credentials] they would call me and ask me to call the...department. They would never ask him to do that and I would do it. I would go around and try to figure out what happened. I would take 20 minutes out of my time.

Jamila explained that she had a difficult time meeting her pre-tenure research requirements because of her commitment to Black students.

One thing that I found as a minority faculty person, you do have that burden of mentoring every face that comes and looks like yours. So I spent a lot of time in my opinion mentoring and advising, spending time with minority students. In fact, I guess... this was done in the spirit of kindness...but the advisors routinely assign all Black students to me whenever they're admitted... I automatically get them all. And so that does mean, and sometimes those come from...out of state, they're lonely, they're sick, you know I may spend more time talking with them, eating with them or even if I had to take them shopping, cause they didn't have clothing, not enough clothing that is, or couldn't buy the books for the course. So I spent an inordinate amount of time, I would have to say, up until about last year, ...doing lots of advising.

Even though there is a commitment to service work, Layla, Tamika and Jamila's comments demonstrate that the workload can be overwhelming. Also, the women imply that their institutions expect them to represent diversity issues and act as a form of support for students of color. This practice has been called cultural taxation (A. Padilla, 1994). It occurs when faculty of color are expected to implement diversity work through service, teaching and research. However, the extra work (i.e. cultural tax) they are expected to contribute is not rewarded by their institutions. On the other hand, majority faculty can claim to support diversity yet not be expected to do the work (Brayboy, 2003; A. Padilla, 1994).

In spite of the service pressures, the participants affirmed their commitment to enacting service. For example, Halima described how her heavy service load was counterbalanced by the fulfillment she derived from it.

It's been, it was a lot of work...I think part of it, I just assumed so much responsibility. It's like chairing, division chair, doing that, associate editor, then editorial board for five things, and then on five search committees, and then having your students, and teaching two new course preps, and it just kept on and on, it was like a lot. But then there's some service things that I really, really like. So for example, this past year the President has this committee called the Diversity..., and so he appointed me and another person as co-chairs....we were involved in there to make a...strategic plan for the campus to implement diversity. And that was a ton of work...on average, 10 plus hours a week, it was a lot of work. But it was a really, I found it was rewarding, I felt it was something important to do.

She shared that she no longer wants to participate in generic service appointments. She stated, "I'll just lend all my stuff to primarily focus on ways that I can help improve the educational experiences of students of color." Sekai shares Halima's commitment to service that fosters diversity.

Because I do believe I have to serve in the institution for example, I've got to serve on tenure and promotion....I have to. Otherwise, some people might not be in that game very long, because folks can't understand their academic credentials, or understand the work that they've done. I have to be on things that have to do with diversity. So, there's just some stuff I have to be on, but other stuff I ignore. And then I have my own sort of projects.

In all, regardless of the value that institutions place on service, the participants view it as part of their role and an aspect of their job that they value. In spite of the demands on them to publish, they have been able to create a space that allows them to address the needs of communities they care about.

Enactment IV: Upsetting Orthodoxy through Research

Although the women had to follow some protocols in order to achieve traditional forms of success, they also indicated that they were able to carve out a niche that allowed

them to function in ways that reinforced non-traditional values. In essence, they were able to simultaneously work within and expand conventional parameters. For instance, the women accept research and fund development as markers of career success. by 1) mentoring students of color, 2) including social justice issues in various discourses, and 3) expanding knowledge about the lives of people of color and/or women. This section is designed to show how non-normative attitudes and behaviors contribute to the teaching and learning environment. In going against the grain, the participants create alternative models of success and divergent ways of being in the academy.

All the participants do research on communities where people of color and/or women predominate. Most of the participants only study race and/or gender issues. The narratives that follow are indicative of the scholarship of the participants. To begin, Mesi's body of work reflects her interest in African American civic engagement and Black female empowerment. She talked about how she challenged her discipline through her research, "I'm trying to upset orthodoxy. I'm deeply committed to insisting on the central relevance of the people I study to grander narratives, right? It's that Black people matter."

Dziko, too, has introduced race and gender perspectives to her discipline. In doing so, she adopted an alternative epistemology.

I believe as Patricia Hill-Collins and others, particularly her, she has written about this idea of getting away from Eurocentric masculinist validation tradition....I've also been asking other community members, what I call insiders and outsiders... to assess this idea of...practices. To include community member's voices, their contributions in that whole research and not just based on my perspective and my analysis of it.

By viewing her participants as active contributors to the research process, she challenges paradigms that do not consider research subjects, particularly Black women,

capable of analyzing their realities. Dziko also resists convention through her methodology. She was adamant about not following the traditional path.

You know...there's a lot of people that believe in quantitative... I'm not there, sorry. I'm not going to do that kind of work. I don't think that that's the most valid or the most important kind of work. And so there are some changes that I've been resistant to.

Jamila has done a lot of research on various vulnerable populations which is not unusual for her field. Her new line of research, however, focuses on conceptual and empirical analysis of a very marginal community of women, most of whom are women of color. She stressed the significance of her scholarship, "I'm the only one doing it. I think...it's filling a very needed gap in terms of what we have to offer here." She also gave an example of how her mode of scholarship complimented her interest in social justice.

I do...face-to-face interviews, surveys, and I do a lot of conceptual work as well...because in my opinion, we don't do a lot of conceptual stuff...but I think there's a place for that too. Like for example, I'm talking to you about the need to always think about racism, sexism, and classism, and I can sit down in a minute and write a paper about how we can do this theoretically and how I have done it. I mean so that's very conceptual in nature but it's practical. So I think that I do a variety of methods of data collection or writing in general—conceptual, theoretical, and empirical.

Rather than stay within the methodological confines of her field, she chooses to employ multiple ways of knowledge production. Correspondingly, Tracee challenges convention by not upholding Black cultural deficit models popularized in her discipline. Additionally, she defies orthodoxy by looking at within group experiences of Blacks. She does not believe that interracial comparisons (i.e. Whites compared to non-Whites) are necessary to advance knowledge about social issues. Most of her publications deal with African Americans.

Most of my work, I don't take a comparative approach, I study only African-American adolescents and young adults and so I have felt very comfortable not comparing, African-Americans to others, because of what was modeled to me by my mentors. To my department, I want to contribute a personally valuable area of scholarship. So an area of scholarship that can help inform what we know about African-American students....And there are lots of things that we can learn about from studying African-Americans that could be useful to other people as well. In fact, one example of that ismore and more scholars are saying....thinking about yourself in relation to others that's kind of useful. White scholars are discovering this. Whereas people have been studying cultural processes among African-Americans for a long time, we've been saying that having a non-individualistic orientation can actually be quite useful....So, contributing scholarship that can be helpful to Black folks...is what I hope to contribute to the discipline.

Layla also takes a different approach to studying Blacks. Most of Layla's publications focus entirely on the condition of Blacks and other people of color. Several of these publications deal with Black women. Here, she explained what she wants to contribute as a scholar.

I guess I think for a long time researchers that were interested in race and ethnicity were getting a lot of mileage out of "woe is me" research because you know things are bleak. There are health disparities....and just ways in which we are trying to show how disadvantaged we are. So, I think what is different about my work is that I'm trying to highlight the way in which we actually have a strength that other people can benefit from if we can figure out what it is.

Most of Halima's publications are about race relations and Black perceptions of race. Some of her most recent work is on the development of theory to explain race awareness. She spoke about her interest in race.

I've always been interested in racism and in different times looking at racial identity...And now I've been focused much more on this notion of racial color blind ideology and how people deny, distort, and minimize the existence of structural racism....And what does it mean for Blacks, and other people of color.....

Comparatively, Sekai's research challenges traditional data collection and validation processes. She asserted, "I write about Black women. I care about Black women.... does

the academy reward it? Not to the degree they would reward something that was much more mainstream.” Her areas of interest include multicultural issues, Black feminism, pedagogy and spirituality. She does not try to perfectly fit into her department. Her resolve is rooted in her commitment to her service work and research.

I’m incredibly consistent. I mean, it really is about helping other people learn how to do their work, so if you look at my research, it has been about troubling the academy. About troubling the notion of methodology, about troubling the ideas of teaching, and what teaching is for.... and if we’re trying to get to a research that doesn’t hurt people, and that doesn’t villainize particular communities, and that doesn’t pathologize particular groups of people, then you might need to rethink what methodology is.

She elaborated on the relationship between her role and institutional rewards.

But if you look at my work...if you look at the actual titles of the work, and you look at the vita, you would see that what I’ve spent all my time doing. It’s like I am really not trying to fit. Those rewards will come...because none of this is about us, anyway. And it’s not about us running stuff, anyway. So, I guess I would say, in the traditional sense of rewarding, no. But I think we, particularly as Black folks, have got to revise our notion of rewards. This idea that rewards are only when we get to, you know, I’ll do this kind of mainstream work until I get tenure, and then I’ll bust out. Well, no, you gotta do your work. And then tenure will come.

Enactment V: Letting go/Loving Self/Faith

Letting go/ loving self/faith is about simplicity. These words imperfectly capture how the participants exhaled, refrained from struggling and attempted to shield themselves from the various assaults to their spirit. Iyanla Vanzant (1992) states that spirituality is “reliance on your internal universe as a vehicle to carry you through the journey of life” (p.19). It means that there is an awareness of self as special and connected to everybody and everything. Therefore, there is nothing inherently wrong with you and that is just it. Throughout the data collection and analysis of the narratives, I realized that there was something about these women that sustained them through the

hazing processes that accompany being a graduate student and junior faculty member.

With the help of the narratives and dialogue with the participants, I define that something as the embodiment of letting go/loving self/faith (LLF).

The participants learned to let go of things that are beyond their control. For instance, rather than continually agonizing over feedback from journals, Tracee learned to avoid personalizing rejection. She came to terms with the fact that the profession is grounded in external evaluation and that rejection is a “normal part of the process.” She realized that a rejection letter or poor review was not an indication of her value. Thus, she also let go of a superficial way to define success. On this issue, Sekai believes that what is valued in academe leads many scholars down the path to despair and frustration.

I run into a lot of brothers and sisters and a lot of White people for that matter who are not happy with their work...They believe that somebody else is constantly judging them....the work is too stressful to be fun, and that hasn't been my experience. And I think part of it has to do with the way you come to the work. If you come to the work thinking that the work is going to somehow fill you up, going to make you okay, because you get 900, 000 publications...then that's a problem. Because you find people who have those 900, 000 publications who trying to get 900,010....So somehow coming to the work believing that whatever I've got to contribute is all that I've got and I'll do it the best I can, and that sort of belief about how life works, is what I've always had. I feel like this job is what I do to contribute to life but it's not my life.

Thus, faith is the core of Sekai's contentment. Faith is “knowledge that all we need and want will be provided for us in the perfect time in the perfect way as we move through learning experiences” (Vanzant, 1992, p. 20). Sometimes that faith emanates from a belief in God. For instance, Chimwala attributes her career path to God's direction. In regard to graduate school, she stated, “I didn't decide to get my doctorate. It was a God given invitation.” Also, when she moved to another job, she explained, “I wasn't looking for it....I was just prayerful for God to bring change.... This isn't

something that I went after. This is something that God put before me.” S. L. Taylor (1993) states that “having faith means being active, not sitting back bemoaning life and waiting for a change to come. It means loving ourselves, believing in ourselves and using the transforming power of God to move our lives forward” (p. xviii). Thus, Chimwala’s faith should not be viewed as passiveness or lack of preparation. On the contrary, faith requires the believer to play her part by doing the work. In agreement, Carmen stated, “people talk about God, but God also believes in hard work. You have to do the work, and you reap the benefits from that.”

Part of doing the work is seeking help when it is needed. There is an Ashanti proverb that states, “If you are on the road to nowhere, find another road” (Vanzant, 1992). The participants exemplified this by creating support networks. As shown in the Race Matters section, the participants were aware of inequity and under-representation in the academy. For instance, Nia discussed the attrition of tenured and non-tenured female faculty of color.

If [the institution] were a more accepting place of research, then maybe they wouldn’t leave.....So, I’ve seen a bunch of people I know in my cohort, who I got to know at the university as an assistant professor, and watched them not get tenure, or get tenure and then leave. It’s just heartbreaking. I mean, this year, we have an African-American woman who didn’t get tenure. And it’s horrible. She should have been nurtured more.

Similarly, Tamika discussed the need for more people of color in her discipline.

I just want to make sure that someone like me is here. I wish in a way it wouldn’t have to be me but I didn’t see anyone else. I just want to make sure that in this field ...that people see that there is someone like me especially for students who are like me....You are not the only one. That’s now my main goal. You don’t have to like me. My colleagues don’t have to like me. They have to see that I am here. My father used to say this because we always lived in all White neighborhoods. My father would say, ‘damn right I’m going to stay.’ That’s how I feel now. You don’t have to like me. You don’t have to agree but I’m going to be here so.

In addition to believing that they are worthy of being at a top tier institution, the women engage in behaviors that affirm their ability to succeed and provide them with resources needed to be productive. For instance, Tamika participates in a formal female faculty of color support group and Mesi has an informal support network that she calls her “gang”. As an example of the significance of support networks, Mesi described how her gang was instrumental during her job search. She said, “I started to turn inward in a very concerted way, and really began to draw on the loose networks of other Black women faculty that I had begun to develop.” She added in regard to racial identity,

I realized that only my Black women peers...understood me, and understood a lot of what I was going to confront on the job market. And so I was lucky to have encountered faculty....so that I was in a position to kind of really nurture that.

Halima, too, believes that support groups are useful. She described why she formed a group with other women of color during graduate school,

You know being in a predominantly White environment that can do a whole host of things, that’s obviously what prompted me to begin to try to connect with other people...one of the things I was interested in early on was just racism and anti-racism and what are some of the stressors that Black students experience. So, I’m sure that was fueled by my own kind of encounters.

Support groups and mentors were also vital to Jamilia’s career development. She explained how these entities operate in her life.

Mentors...continue to help today in many different ways. And also here ...we have, not a lot but some African Americans on faculty as well, particularly this network of African American faculty women, we meet once a quarter...to just eat, talk, complain, whatever it’s going to be. And so that is very helpful. So when you go somewhere and you come into a room of 100 people, there may be one of us outside of you and it’s nice to go right to that person, hey so-and-so. So, that’s...very supportive. And I have good friends in other departments as well through a variety of different arenas...that encourage me, motivate, and give me opportunities.

Likewise, Sekai talked about how Black faculty were a source of support and an instrument of advocacy.

And then we have a pretty strong, well, there are a few of us, who get together regularly just to chew the fat....The Black faculty also have a Black faculty group here in the college. We meet regularly...about issues pertaining particularly to Black faculty, staff and students, and bring those to the...table of the Dean and others who might be able to address some of those issues.....

Layla started a group with other Black women in her department as a source of encouragement through the tenure process. She stated, "It was good because not only would we meet and set our goals....we would trade all of this stuff even just stuff like, 'Do your students call you by your first name'? It was so good." Moreover, Tracee talked about how mentors were a crucial source of guidance because they explained how she could fulfill her job duties while keeping her priorities intact.

I cannot emphasize enough that if I were trying to this, if I tried to do this on my own, even at this point, in my life, after [being a] tenured faculty, if I did not seek out mentoring, both professionally, in terms of the scholarly goals, as well as in leadership roles, you know, how do you do this thing? People who also have experiences there, as well as kind of, mentally, I have a really good friend, who just is very good for helping me keep things in perspective, in terms of buying into the system...not buying into it, but letting myself, like, get really worked up over things in academia...like how do you keep your sanity kind of thing, so seeking out mentoring in various types of ways is something that has helped me immensely.

Seeking support was a mechanism for creating a sense of belonging and self-affirmation. Rather than being an indication of inadequacy, seeking support shows that they believed in their ability to succeed. Reminiscent of the knowledge validation practices of Black feminist thought, the participants did not define the path to success as a solitary endeavor. Rather success was something that required community because it was through dialogue that experiences were affirmed, consciousness was raised and action was planned.

Despite the challenges of an academic career, the overall tenor of the narratives was hopeful. Though the participants were very blunt about what was wrong with the academy, they did not stay in a place of pain and anger. Nor did they seem to want to maintain a fighting posture for any longer than necessary. Sekai remarked, “There is this issue of faith or surrender. If I say I am okay in this process. If I say that I am okay in the academy and I really believe that to be true then I don’t have any reason to fight.” In other words, they did not use all of their energy in non-stop battles. They reserved some energy to get their work done—work that essentially is transformative. For instance, Dziko and Carmen avoid office politics.

I don’t like politics. How can you get around politics at a university? But I try to avoid it as much as I possibly can... you’re over here and another one over here and there’s this political fight for territory, and I don’t like that. I try to be a for real person and if I’m going to get elected on a committee, just vote for me because of my qualifications, not because I’m connected to a particular group of people. Don’t like it. I don’t like it.

I think that my outlook on life, which is about spirituality and not about religion, is about the order in the universe, and the ways in which you just cannot allow that negative stuff to get in there. That doesn’t mean that it doesn’t come at you. It’s just what you do with it. And I just work real hard at not letting it in. And I do pretty well especially at the university because I just leave stuff there. I’ll tell people in a minute, ‘Well, that really sounds like it’s a personal thing, and you have to work that out...let’s get back together later on the stuff that’s our work.’ Because...I got my own personal stuff...I don’t need yours. So, that seems to work.

Dziko and Carmen are talking about divorcing themselves from conflict that takes them away from their purpose and leaves them open for further scrutiny. Therefore, their distancing behaviors are a form of self-preservation. Vanzant (1993) writes that, “many of us believe that unless we are struggling, we are not doing right....Struggle goes against the flow. It creates exhaustion in the mind and body” (p. 40). To avoid becoming mentally and physically tired, the participants have to choose their battles. Also, they

have to decide how they are going to deal with stress. Through LLF, they avoid being engulfed by it.

Love is at the heart of critical enactments. According to Dillard (2006), love is the “capacity and intention to offer joy and happiness” (p. 84). Therefore, finding spaces of nurturance, advocating on behalf of people of color and engaging in knowledge production that affirms the experiences of the marginalized requires openness. Openness is needed because “you have to make contact with life, take risks, know that there will be bitter and sweet experiences” (Taylor, 1992, p. 9). Therefore, being open fosters love for self, community and work.

Although the women collectively embodied love through their agency, Mesi was one of two participants to explicitly talk about love. Through love, she intends to “upset orthodoxy”. She believes that love is the key to creating nurturing learning environments for students and faculty. The following narrative shows both her frustration and optimism about instilling love in the academy.

The disappointment of academia, of course, is that I have not found a way to mobilize the power of love with my colleagues, right? Which is to say, I came in here believing not only that I could teach with love, but that love could be the ethic for everything I did. And I have been so disabused of that. And it's very hurtful. Can I find my way back to that? I don't know? Perhaps. Can I learn more sophisticated ways to manifest love? Perhaps. Would I like to be a full professor, so that I can insist on love? Absolutely. Will anybody go along with me? No. But it's really what I believe. I really believe in the communion of human beings and the capacity of that communion, that universities are just full of opportunities to experience in ways that so many others aren't. So, these days I love my students.

Mesi's efforts to infuse love into the academy are reminiscent of the tenets of critical pedagogy. Pedagogy that incorporates love means that students are valued and the whole person is validated (hooks, 2003). In practicing love, teachers reject the

notion that they must disconnect from the lives of their students. Since most of the participants worked on behalf of Black people, love can also be interpreted as a form of resistance because it “transforms our ways of looking and being, and thus creates the conditions necessary for us to move against the forces of domination and death and reclaim black life” (hooks, 1992, p.20). Mesi’s desire for love to be practiced in all facets of the academy interrogates the discourse about institutional access and engagement. It is a call for institutional actors to interface in ways that consider emotional and physical well-being.

SUMMARY

The “work” for the participants is transformative. They are concerned about transforming their institutions and larger communities so that they are responsive to need, reflective of diversity and embodiments of reciprocity. According to the participants, these goals are not always celebrated within their institutions. Nevertheless, they remain steadfast in their enactment of transformative values.

The women realize that they do not perfectly fit into academe because of their identity and their values. However, they are not apologetic. For them, the *work* is not a job at a particular institution. The *work* is about one’s passion. The job itself is a springboard for larger work such as improving the lives of poor children, unearthing Black female theories, studying communication patterns of people of color, analyzing gender in the arts, demystifying the academy or exploring racial identity. They have been able to negotiate the academy on their own terms. They have stayed true to their passion and their passion has helped to make the challenges surmountable. So, going against the norm is about self-affirmation.

The participants are upsetting traditional paradigms through service and research. They have asserted that women and people of color are worthy topics of study. Their interest in marginalized groups has broadened the intellectual boundaries within their fields. By doing the work, they have validated other standpoints thereby invalidating claims of universal truths that are devoid of diversity considerations.

The participants' research challenges orthodoxy not only through their choice of subject but also in their epistemological claims. For instance, they do not approach communities of color with an assumption of deficiency or ignorance. They believe that their subjects have ways of being, knowing and validating truth that can advance knowledge. Furthermore, racism, classism, sexism and other inequities are considered in their work. Hence, the questions they ask and the frameworks they consider to answer questions further interrogate dominant paradigms.

If I had to pick one word that encapsulates how they women talked about their role in the academy, it would be service. Not the kind of service associated with selflessness and suffering. Not the service on the behalf one's discipline or institution. It is service rooted in the idea of liberation. bell hooks (2003) asserts,

Service as a form of political resistance is vital because it is the practice of giving the eschews the notion of reward. Satisfaction is in the act of giving itself, of creating a context where students can learn freely. When as teachers we commit to service we are able to resist participation in forms of domination that reinforce autocratic rule.

Whether it is through research, teaching, mentoring or volunteering—the underlying theme is that their work is enacted to advance intercultural competence, empowerment and social equity. The participants serve by making their institutions more

accessible to students and other faculty. Their work compliments their institutions' stated missions of creating an inclusive environment.

Thus, career success means the ability to interrogate normative practices in academe. Whether it is through challenging hiring processes or de-centering traditional epistemological frameworks, the women act as change agents. Their passion for revealing the complexity of the Black experience and/or facilitating access to higher education fuels their work—their service. Despite the rigors of the tenure process, the participants did not lose sight of their passion. In short, their efforts to acquire tenure were a means to an end because tenure ensured the longevity needed to engage in transformative work.

CHAPTER 5 THEORETICAL AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

REVIEW OF CONSTRAINTS, ENABLEMENTS & AGENCY

The participants demonstrate that it is indeed possible to create a space for insurgency within research institutions. Also, they serve to remind colleagues and students that higher education is a means to advance the public good through commitment to social equity. All of their institutions have a stated commitment to diversity, yet the narratives show that there is still a lot of work to be done. It is these insurgent academics that not only remind institutions of their stated goals but also they have taken the lead to help their institutions meet those goals.

This study was designed to examine how Black female faculty experience professional socialization and to determine how they define and enact their role in elite predominately White research institutions (PWIs). After a review of professional socialization models and socialization of professors, I created a professional socialization framework for female faculty of color. The framework went beyond traditional models by considering a) how socially marginalized groups access spaces where the prevailing norms and values can disadvantage them, b) how structural and agential factors promote or hinder career advancement, and c) how individuals can alter institutions in ways that are more aligned with their values.

This study was also informed by theories on race, gender and agency. Black Feminist Thought (BFT) and Critical Race Feminism (CRF) state that women of color have a distinct standpoint because their race and gender signifies a particular social location. This standpoint is liberatory because it is a result of a struggle to ensure that the voices of marginalized groups are heard and it also inspires or provides the theoretical basis for social equity movements (P. H. Collins, 2004b; Hartsock, 2004; Wing, 1997). In essence, BFT and CRT legitimize the experiences of women of color thereby disarming frameworks that perpetuate ignorance about dominated people as well as the dominators.

Part of my question focuses on how Black females define and enact their role in the academy. Hence, there is recognition that within the professional socialization process, self-reflexivity and human agency are operative. Margaret Archer (2003) and Sharon Hays (1994) assert that the enabling and constraining features of social structure are mediated by human agents. Archer emphasizes the ability of an agent to be reflexive or to consider oneself in relation to one's social context. In turn, behaviors are influenced by internal deliberation and structurally provided possibilities. Therefore, the generative power of social structure is linked to human agency. Similarly, Hays states that agency can be structurally reproductive or transformative. In other words, individuals can function in ways that reinforce the prevailing social structure (and most do) or they can function in ways that challenge the social structure. These ideas provided the basis for framing the behaviors of participants as choices and discussing how those choices represent definitions and enactments of their role in the academy.

Given the theoretical assumptions of this study, what follows is a review of prominent structural and agential components of the professional socialization process for the participants. To start, I will show how these key components are nested within the women of color professional socialization model (see Chapter 2). In doing this, I will focus on the enabling aspects of structure. Therefore, unless otherwise noted, constraining features should be interpreted as the opposite of enabling features (see Table 5.1). Then, I will discuss how the agency exhibited by the participants is reflective of BFT and CRT. Next, I will amend the aforementioned professional socialization model based on the findings in this study. The model will be specific to Black female faculty. I will conclude with a discussion on the implications of the study for PWIs and faculty, particularly Black female faculty.

Pre-entry: Structural Enablements

Structure is defined as a durable system that transcends individuals yet encompasses behavior of individual actors that are sanctioned by institutions. Accordingly, structures have the ability to enable and constrain. As an enablement, structures generate opportunities and allow for the advancement of human projects. This study unveiled several features of institutional structure that enabled participants to successfully navigate PWIs during the pre-entry period (graduate school) of their professional socialization: critical mass of people of color, mentoring, peer support, and institutional support for diversity. What follows is a review of how these structural features facilitated negotiation of the academy.

The first structural feature is critical representation of people of color. Participants in graduate departments that had more than token representation of people of

color described feeling comfortable. Particularly, in the company of other Black students, they felt that there was tacit understanding of social challenges and cultural references. Also, Black faculty were important to their professional development because they imparted knowledge about how to challenge dominant discourses through research that went beyond (and contested) deficiency approaches to studying Black people. Furthermore, Black faculty seemed to take a vested interest in the success of the participants. On the whole, these faculty members expressed their commitment through sustained intellectual support (mentoring). In essence, critical mass enhanced the participants' sense of belonging and validated their interest in critical research.

As noted, several participants benefited from productive mentoring relationships. As graduate students they learned how to publish in professional journals, present their research at conferences and write grants. Again, many of the mentors took a keen interest in their success by taking the time to critique their work and introduce them to people in the field. In addition to contributing to the participants' marketability in the job market, mentors actively participated in the job search by reviewing applications, providing feedback on job talks and recommending participants to people in their professional network.

Race played a role in the mentoring process. Black mentors, for instance, tended to study issues pertaining to Black people and they were deliberate in their attempt to challenge epistemological racism. This served as a model for some of the participants who now critically assess the role of race in their research. However, White faculty who demonstrated (e.g. advising, reviewing papers, encouraging) support for participants'

interest in race and/or gender research also contributed to successful navigation experiences.

Black students and other students of color within and outside of the department contributed to a sense of belonging. These students were important because they empathized with feelings that accompany being an outsider within a White institution. Also, students of color provided opportunities for social networking. For example, they coordinated social events aligned with their group interests. Peer support was particularly important for participants with limited mentoring.

In the final analysis, the aforementioned structural enablements were made possible by institutional efforts to engender diverse learning environments. Prior to the 1970s a study on the professional socialization of Black female graduate students and faculty at PWIs would have been nearly impossible because of policies that excluded Black people. Spurred by social unrest and federal intervention, PWIs began to correct some of their most blatant forms of discrimination. In brief, four key interventions laid the groundwork for the inclusion of women and people of color in PWIs: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, The Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, and the 1967 Executive Order 11375.

Title VII, as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunities Act, prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion and sex. Most importantly, it allows one to show that seemingly neutral practices have a differential impact on certain groups. Comparably, the Equal Pay Act was the first legislation mandating equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. However, Title IX specifically addresses practices in education. Spearheaded by the Women's Equity Action League

(WEAL) and the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Title IX amendment prohibits sex discrimination in public and private federally assisted education programs. Furthermore, unlike Title VII, it allows direct access to the court system without going through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Baez, 2002; Glazer, 2000). Finally, the 1967 Executive Order 11375 (amended from the 1965 Executive Order 11246 to include gender) bans discrimination within organizations receiving federal support and requires employers with over 50 staff members and more than \$50,000 in federal contracts to initiate *affirmative action* in hiring underrepresented groups (Chang, Witt, Jones, & Hakuta, 2003; Glazer-Raymo, Townsend, & Ropers-Huilman, 2000; Somers, 2002). Subsequent affirmative action guidelines helped to formalize hiring practices that gave Black PhDs an opportunity to work in highly resourced and influential institutions. In all, these federal directives “gave sweeping powers to the federal government in monitoring the progress of all colleges and universities in achieving ‘nondiscrimination’ ...” (J.Glazer, 2000, p. 173). Without federal intervention and subsequent localized initiatives at PWIs, most of the structural enablements named by the participants would not have been in place.

Pre-entry: Agential Factors

Agential factors pertain to the power that individuals have to make choices that influence the course of their lives. As agents, people have the ability to manipulate and maintain social structures. However, their ability to do so is affected by their access to power and the durability of the structure. Nevertheless, agency “implies that an array of alternative forms of behavior are possible, and that people make (conscious and unconscious) choices among those alternatives” (Hays, 1994, p. 62). Through internal

deliberation or reflexivity, agents make choices that ultimately activate structural constraints or enablements and influence subsequent courses of action. Choices can be structurally reproductive or transformative. Specifically, structurally reproductive agency recreates or maintains established social patterns. Conversely, transformative agency reworks social patterns in substantial ways. There are two major agential factors: seeking alternative forms of validation and self-efficacy.

Though the enabling features of the pre-entry required the cooperation of participants in order to be activated, agential features focus on how participants went beyond cooperation. Seeking alternative forms of validation is a prime example of how participants thought outside of the box. bell hooks (1996) states that Black women often cannot “look to traditional places for recognition of our value; we bear the responsibility for seeking out and even creating different locations” (p. 366). Several women in this study mirrored hooks’ declaration. Once they recognized that the support and/or resources they needed were not going to be fulfilled within their departments, they sought alternative venues. Sometimes their support manifested as the Black Studies Department, the local Black community and/or church, Black female scholars, a student service office or a student organization. In any case, the participants recognized their social and intellectual needs and they ensured that they were met.

Among the participants, self-efficacy was evident. Their determination to seek alternative forms of support indicates that they believed that success was achievable. The participants felt that they had the ability to be successful. Even those who had the most difficulty in their graduate and faculty careers did not indicate that those difficulties caused them to doubt their capabilities. In fact, the participants who encountered the

most resistance from faculty were inspired to work harder because they wanted to prove that they could be successful.

Encounter Structural Enablements

In the encounter phase of professional socialization, participants are operating as faculty in PWIs. During this time they are establishing bonds with colleagues and determining where they fit in relation to their peers. Their ability to comprehend the rules, meet job expectations and manage relationships influences their satisfaction and determines how well they are able to navigate their work settings. Five structurally enabling features were identified within the encounter phase: collegiality, peer intellectual support, positive peer response to research, critical mass of people of color and macro level support.

In higher education, collegiality (mutually respectful working relationships) defines the departmental climate and sets the tone for interpersonal engagement. Several participants benefited from being in departments where colleagues were generally friendly and supportive of their contributions. Though this support was sometimes described as “they don’t mess with me, so I don’t mess with them”, it still gave the participants an opportunity to work in settings devoid of rampant hostility.

Peer intellectual support extends beyond collegiality. It refers to concrete ways that peers provide assistance to bolster scholarship. Several participants stated that their colleagues were willing to share information and resources. Such sharing was beneficial because it facilitated the development of research. In addition to the exchange of resources, support was defined as *not questioning one’s intellectual ability*. In other

words, the women appreciated environments where it was taken for granted that they belonged and that their scholarship was important.

Since the participants reside in institutions where research reigns, perception of their research influences access to monetary resources, collaborative opportunities and promotion. Some participants felt intellectually supported by peers yet they believed that their peers devalued their research. As discussed, this duality may result from epistemological bias. This form of bias argues that research addressing populations thought unworthy of scientific inquiry or using interpretive frameworks that challenge convention may not be well-received by colleagues. Hence, even though their colleagues were willing to offer advice and provide resources; it did not necessarily mean that they valued their scholarship. Nevertheless, as tenured faculty, the participants were able to garner enough support to satisfy their colleagues.

An important component of peer support was the critical representation of people of color. Again, critical mass of people of color was enabling because it fostered a sense of belonging. The participants named faculty of color as primary sources of intellectual and social support. Similar research interests and a shared social location are some of the reasons why the participants sought relationships with Black faculty. However, critical mass was also important to participants because it demonstrated institutional commitment to social justice.

Above all, success at a research institution requires that one has the resources to advance scholarship. This form of macro level support pertains to tangible resources that alleviate barriers to achievement. In addition to financial support for research, the participants did not have any difficulties getting time off and resources to conduct

research. Also, a couple of participants noted that administrative support for diversity initiatives was important because it lessened overt resistance to difference and it gave them an administrative office to appeal to when challenges arose.

Encounter: Structural Constraint

Just as an enabling feature of structure fosters opportunities, a constraining feature impedes opportunities. Overall, racism was named as the primary structural constraint. Though racism was experienced during the pre-entry period, it was most often discussed as a factor in encounter phase. Rather than overt forms of discrimination, participants discussed subtle yet ever-present incidents of micro-aggression, a subtle verbal or non-verbal act of disregard that emanates from beliefs about the inferiority of targeted groups (Solorzano & Ceja, 2000). It is not a singular micro-aggressive act that is debilitating. What makes micro-aggressions insidious is that they are pervasive and difficult to define individually, yet collectively they amass a significant negative weight. For instance, the racism described by the participants was often hidden within discussions of merit. Thus, hiring practices, promotion criteria and admission requirements functioned in ways that disadvantaged people of color and were markers of institutional racism. All told, the participants regularly received messages that questioned their legitimacy as scholars and attributed their presence to special treatment.

Encounter: Agential Factors

There are four agential factors that serve as a response to institutional racism. The factors are self-efficacy, value for service, Black female standpoint and creative marginalization. First, self-efficacy played a role in the participants' success, and it was especially evident during the tenure process. Several participants were confident about

meeting tenure requirements, and they felt that if tenure was not granted, it was not a reflection of their capabilities. Also, among the participants who talked about the difficulties of the tenure process, the inability to meet requirements was not paramount. What was emphasized was lack of time, lack of intellectual support or ambiguous tenure requirements.

The next agential factor is value for service. Values are defined as standards or principles that people bring to their work environment. These values influence how individuals approach their work. Above all, the narratives show that service was important to participants. As explained, service was enacted to foster empowerment and to promote social equity, particularly among Black people. Service was what made the negotiation process worthwhile because it inspired the participants to persist. The service—empowering people of color—was the work that they were engaged in. This work transcended their institutions and it was manifested in all aspects of their scholarship. For instance, research about Black people was not an end in itself. They expected it to change social practices and attitudes. Teaching was an opportunity to encourage critical thinking about social issues and normative practices that undermine social equity. Committee service provided opportunities to voice concerns about the perception and treatment of Black people. Hence, service was the motivating force for scholarly activities.

Black Female Standpoint, the next agential factor, is found in both pre-entry and encounter experiences. Black and female was how most of the participants self-identified. According to the narratives, this identity fostered a particular sensibility about the Black female experience in the US and in the Diaspora. The participants understood that their

race was a social construction designed to rationalize hegemony. They also understood the history of struggle and valued the contributions made by Black people. This knowledge influenced how they operated within predominately White institutions as graduate students and as faculty members. Their angle of vision determined how they approached research, teaching and service.

The Black female standpoint inspired participants to seek alternative forms of success and unconventional venues for validation. It also gave them the necessary tools to exist within a socially dominant institution without fully subscribing to values that harm Black people and other socially marginalized groups. This behavior embodies the last agential feature, creative marginalization or the ability to use one's marginal status as a resource.

Creative marginalization allows Black women to simultaneously occupy contrary or "both/and spaces" and it is central to the Black female experience (P. H. Collins, 2000). For instance, community survival necessitated that Black women understood and passed down the values of dominant group because it provided access to employment and protected their children from harm. However, knowing those values did not necessarily mean that they internalized and adopted them. There is ample evidence that Black women enacted and passed down values that countered oppressive values (P. H. Collins, 2000; A. Davis, 1995; Hine, 1994, 1995; Hine & Thompson, 1998; Lerner, 1972). Similarly, the participants mastered the art of enacting both/and spaces. Indeed, they subscribed to some of the values and practices within academe, yet they actively challenged values and practices thought to be detrimental to Black people. In addition, they operated by a

different set of values as manifested in their scholarship. This agential factor falls within the realm of pre-entry and encounter experiences.

Table 5.1 Structural and Agential Themes

	PRE-ENTRY	ENCOUNTER
STRUCTURAL ENABLEMENTS		
	Critical Mass	Collegiality
	Mentoring	Critical Mass
	Peer Support	Peer Intellectual Support
	Support for Diversity and Affirmative Action	Positive Peer Response to Research
		Macro Level Support
STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINT		
	Lack of Critical Mass	Lack of Collegiality
	Lack of Mentoring	Lack of Critical Mass
	Lack of Peer Support	Lack of Peer Intellectual Support
	Lack of Support for Diversity and Affirmative Action	Negative Peer Response to Research
	Racism	Lack of Macro Level Support
		Racism
AGENTIAL FACTORS		
	Seeking alternative forms of validation	Seeking alternative forms of validation
	Self Efficacy	Self-Efficacy
	Black Female Standpoint	Black Female Standpoint
	Creative Marginalization	Creative Marginalization
		Value for Service

PARTICIPANT AGENCY AS A MANIFESTATION OF BFT AND CRF

Black Feminist Thought (BFT), as a standpoint theory, is a construct that looks at the relationship between group membership and access to resources. It asserts that Black women share a common social location because of race and gender subordination. The mainstay of such subordination is raced and gendered themes around issues of personal safety, access to social spaces, housing, employment, healthcare, education and cultural imagery about Black female sexuality. For instance, “Blacks and Whites live in racially segregated neighborhoods, and this basic feature generates distinctive experiences.... moreover middleclass Blacks have not been exempt from the effects of diminished opportunities that accompany racial segregation and group discrimination” (Collins, 1997, p. 376).

The aggregate of *responses to, experiences with, and dialogues about* the common themes results in a particular standpoint. BFT recognizes that African American women confront similar types of enablements and constraints because of the durability of racism and sexism. For example, the participants encountered similar types of opportunities (diversity recruitment and hiring programs) and constraints (lack of intellectual support) within the academy. These commonalities, along with an awareness of institutional discrimination, made the participants engagement with predominately White institutions more similar than different. Hence, BFT allows for the re-articulation of those experiences in ways that illuminate similarities in Black female consciousness and social location. What follows is an elaboration of common ways that the participants engaged the academy.

This section highlights aspects of the women's experiences and scholarship that embody Black Feminist Thought (BFT) and Critical Race Feminism (CRF). This summary was created by identifying key negotiation strategies among the participants. In addition, scholarship by and about Black women (Busby, 1994; P. H. Collins, 1998; A. Davis, 1995; Dillard, 2006; Evans, 2007; Giddings, 1984; Hine, 1994; hooks, 1989; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982; Springer, 1999) was reviewed to capture collective ways that Black women handle structural constraints. These collective responses to constraints were applied to the data to determine if and how they were manifested among the participants. Together, these strategies identified similar ways that the participants maneuvered through the academy in common ways. The BFT and CRF themes found in the data are described in below.

Recognition of Social Injustice

BFT and CRF emanate from the recognition of race and gender based differences in power and access to resources. Collins (2000) contends that Black women, as one of the few groups negatively affected by intersectional identities, may be better positioned to see how oppression is interconnected. Black women have a long history of naming intersecting oppressions. In 1892 scholar-activist, Anna Julia Cooper asserted,

The colored woman of to-day occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country...her status seems one of the least ascertainable and definitive of all the forces which make for our civilization. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, and is yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both (Cooper, 1988 p. 134)

The participants were also keenly aware of social oppression and how that oppression manifested in higher education. Their commitment to recruiting, mentoring,

studying and collaborating with people of color and women is based on their expressed understanding of injustice.

Resistance as Activism

Activism defined by identifiers such public, direct, large scale, and formal does not fully encompass the way Black women have traditionally resisted oppression. According to Collins (2000), “many women superficially adhere to prevailing rules and thus appear to be endorsing them” (p. 204). This superficial adherence was in response to interlocking forms of oppression that made it difficult for them to overtly challenge social constraints; to do so could place them in a more precarious position. Thus, Black women have engaged in forms of activism that at first glance may not look like resistance. For instance, Hine (1995) states that Black female domestics enacted a culture of dissemblance—“the appearance of openness and disclosure, but actually shielded the truth of their inner lives and selves from their oppressors” (p. 380). The culture emanated from the constant threat of sexual exploitation and a key characteristic of this culture is the maintenance of emotional distance as a self-protective measure. Also, because Black women have historically had influence within the private sphere, their efforts to preserve cultural traditions and to transmit self-affirming values to children are forms of resistance (P. H. Collins, 2000). Thus, Black female activism is broadly defined as public and private actions that attempt to subvert dominance.

The women found a way to reside in the academy while at the same time resist norms that constrain them and other marginalized groups. They accomplished this through the series of critical enactments discussed in the previous chapter: a) Bringing race and gender issues to the forefront, b) Teaching through reciprocity and

empowerment, c) Service that empowers the community, d) Upsetting orthodoxy through research, and e) Letting go/Loving self/Faith. Above all, these critical enactments challenged institutionalized race and gender privilege.

Challenging Orthodoxy

To be an intellectual requires one to challenge constraints that impede critical thinking. bell hooks (1996) argues that a Black woman cannot be an intellectual without decolonizing her mind. Otherwise, she simply reproduces patriarchal and racist perspectives. Similarly, Cornell West (1993) describes the dominant intellectual model found in predominately White institutions as debilitating because it puts Blacks on the defensive and it is steeped in racist ideas of merit and individualism,

The bourgeois model sets intellectual limits, in that one is prone to adopt uncritically prevailing paradigms predominant in the bourgeois academy because of the pressures of practical tasks and deferential emulation. Every intellectual passes through some kind of apprenticeship stage in which she/he learns the language and style of the authorities, but when she/he is already viewed as marginally talented she/he may be either excessively encouraged or misleadingly discouraged to examine critically paradigms deemed marginal by the authorities. This hostile environment results in suppression of one's critical analysis and in the limited use of ones skills in a manner considered legitimate and practical. (p. 63)

Therefore, one can be a successful academic without being an intellectual but according to hooks (1996) this does not advance the intellectual process. As a collective, the participants attempted to advance the intellectual process by questioning so-called truths about Black people, the process by which those truths materialized, and/or the intent behind those truths. This was most evident in the research and the course syllabi of the participants but it was also demonstrated when the participants discussed defending Black students and faculty judged by limited notions of merit.

Service: Giving Back

Although the participants were expected to provide service, the type of service they chose to engage in may distinguish them from majority faculty. Their commitment to Black empowerment and social justice was tied to their service work on behalf of people of color. As members of institutional committees they felt that they had to be the voice of the marginalized to ensure that their issues were put on the table. Also, their service extended beyond the institution to local and international communities. Notably, Black women have had a long history of integrating work and social justice values. In an analysis of the contributions of Maggie Lena Walker, business woman and community organizer, Elsa Barkley Brown (1989) wrote,

Her theory and her action are not distinct and separable parts of some whole; they are often synonymous, and it is only through her actions that we clearly hear her theory. The same is true for the lives of many Black women who had limited time and resources and maintained a holistic view of life and struggle (p. 631).

Thus, the service choices that the participants made were viewed as their theory in action. Additionally, service was a major way that the participants attempted to subvert oppression and it was infused in all aspects of their scholarship. Angela Davis (1990) wrote, “We must strive to ‘lift as we climb’...we must climb in such a way as to guarantee that all of our sisters...and indeed our brothers climb with us” (p.5). Thus, their job was not simply to provide research, teaching and service to institutions but also to transform them.

Multiple Juxtapositions

This is probably the most complicated manifestation of Black Feminist Thought. Embodying multiple juxtapositions means that one is both playing the game while at the same time challenging the rules of the game. In essence it is the ability to feign

endorsement of institutional norms while working to transform some of those very norms. Such multiplicity is a matter of survival and it can be traced to the way Black women have engaged U.S. hegemony. Simply stated, survival required that Black women adopt seemingly contradictory postures in order to ensure the survival of their family and community. The poem *Skin-Teeth* by Grace Nichols (1992) embodies multiple juxtapositions,

Not every skin-teeth
is a smile “massa”
if you see me smiling
when you pass
if you see me bending
when you ask
know that I smile
know that I bend
only the better
to rise and strike
again. (p. 797)

Thus, conciliatory behaviors can be viewed as a key component of rebellious activities. They are useful for three reasons. First, they disarm those who would subvert any obvious attempts to dismantle a system that works in their favor. Second, they give one an opportunity to make incremental changes by altering discourses and practices that disadvantage certain groups. Third, they allow one to be unapologetic about personal values (e.g. academic excellence) that may align with an oppressive structure because the ultimate goal is to make the structure more inclusive.

The participants employed juxtapositions as they went through the required steps to acquire traditional forms of success. At the same time, they remained committed to transforming the same system. For instance, as scholars they value inquiry and accept research as a factor in their career success. However, they are committed to upsetting

orthodoxy within their discipline by challenging epistemological and methodological norms. The same is true for service; they are committed to contributing to their institutions. However, they actively seek service that will secure the presence of underrepresented groups and/or they actively introduce issues of social equity into campus discourses. Though it may be true that one cannot use the masters tools to dismantle the master's house (Lorde, 1984), the participants demonstrate that you can reconfigure those tools to restructure that house.

The participant's ability to occupy multiple positions was facilitated by their outsider/within status—membership in a high status group that is offset by membership in a socially marginal group. Thereby, they reside on border spaces. However, rather than being a position of weakness, the participants, like generations of Black women, used those spaces as markers of insurgency. Existing on the border of privileged institutions provides an angle of vision that allows one to critique them. This critique draws from experiences on both sides of the border, giving the participants a hidden resource.

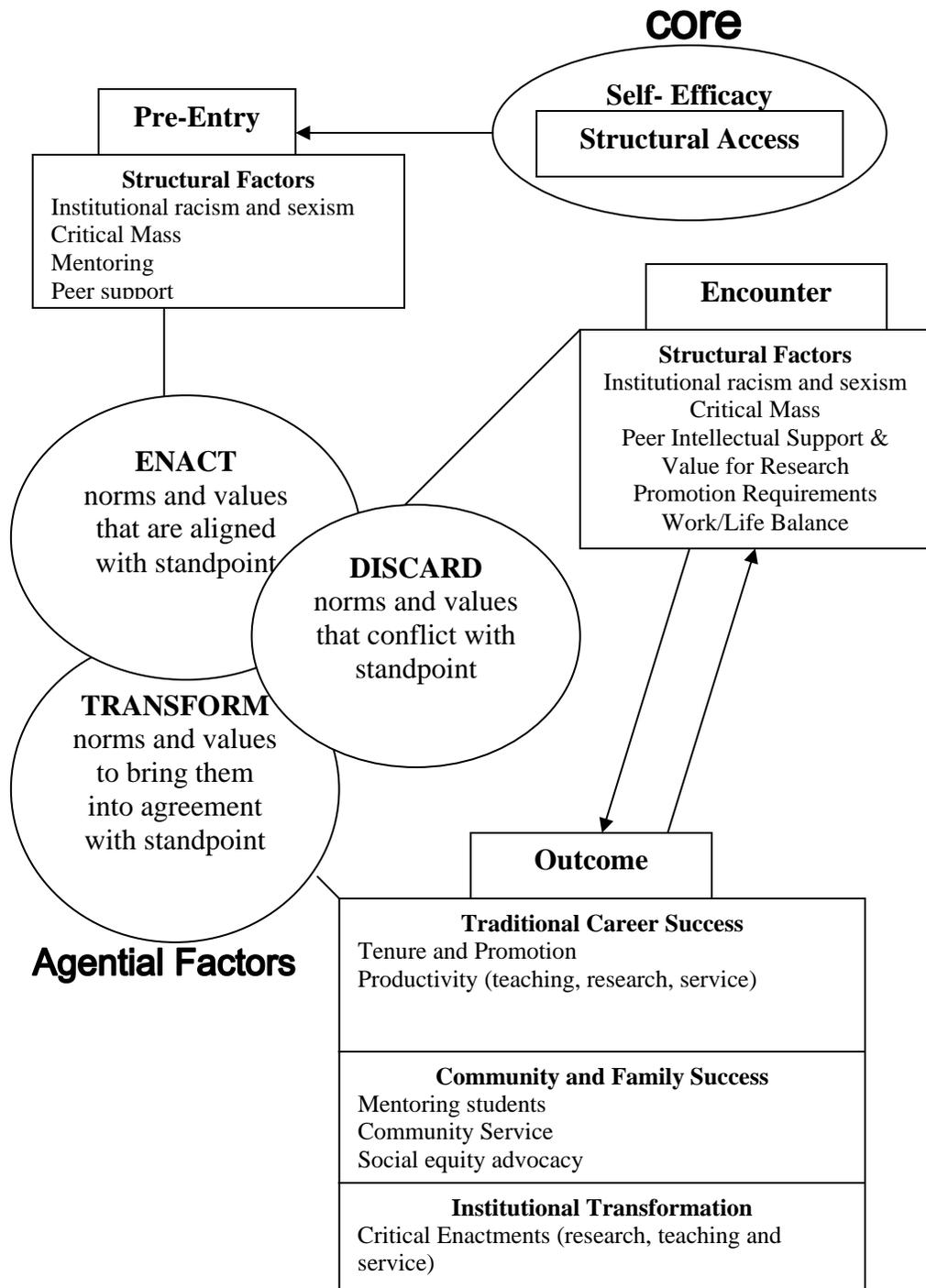
EMERGENT THEORY OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION

Professional socialization entails locating oneself within an organization while adapting to its norms. It appears that the process of adapting and positioning may be difficult for Black women because the norms and values of academe are based upon the needs of White males (Caplan, 1993; Finkelstein, 1984b). However, the participants were able to creatively position themselves so that they acquired what they needed in order to succeed while subscribing to non-traditional values and validation processes. Thus, professional socialization, as it is popularly defined, does not capture how Black female faculty members (particularly those who are committed to social justice) successfully

negotiate predominately White research institutions. What is apparent is that these women found a way to balance structurally reproductive and structurally transformative agency to maintain their integrity. Therefore, for them professional socialization means *enacting norms that are aligned with their standpoint, discarding norms that conflict with their standpoint, and transforming norms to encourage agreement with their standpoint.*

The following emergent theory of professional socialization includes key structural, agential and critical race feminism variables associated with the navigational trajectory of the women in this study (figure 5.1). Unlike prevailing professional socialization models that focus simply on career progression through stages, this model takes a more holistic approach by delineating aspects of structure that enable and constrain career success. Furthermore, it acknowledges that agency plays a central role in professional socialization. For this reason, structural constraints and enablements do not exist in a vacuum; there is constant interplay between agential and structural features.

Figure 5.1.
Emergent Theory of Professional Socialization



The proposed framework of professional socialization attempts to capture complex interrelationships between structure and agency. It is comprised of four intersecting factors: *Core, Structural Factors, Outcome and Agential Factors*. The core consists of self-efficacy and structural access and it represents the essential criteria necessary for successful negotiation of predominately White Institutions. Self-efficacy pertains to belief in one's ability to implement choices that will have desired outcomes. It was because of self-efficacy that the participants were able to move through structural constraints, yet self-efficacy was not the sole criteria for such movement. As history reveals, there were many talented and efficacious scholars who were denied access to this country's premier educational institutions (J. Anderson, 2002). The history of race and gender exclusion prevented Black women from gaining access as students and faculty within predominately White and historically Black institutions (Evans, 2007). Therefore, self-efficacy devoid of structural access means that the scholarly potential of Black women may not be fully realized. The contributions of women like Zora Neale Hurston, Anna Julia Cooper (4th Black woman to receive a PhD) and Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander (2nd Black woman to receive a PhD) occurred primarily outside of the legitimacy of the academy. Although the notion of academic legitimacy is contestable because of race and gender politics, legitimacy is worth mentioning because it is associated with resources (such as time and money) needed to do intellectual work. For instance, after receiving her PhD in economics from the University of Pennsylvania, Sadie T.M. Mossell was unable to find employment in economics. Given her groundbreaking dissertation of the economic conditions of Black migrants, Malveaux

(1991) argues that her exclusion from academe was a loss for the discipline and a loss for America.

In thinking of the missed opportunity revealed by Alexander's dissertation, I think about the work that Abram Harris did on black business development, Oliver Cox's work on class, the W.E.B. DuBois Atlanta University Studies...Given her interest and ability, Alexander might have followed in any of those directions, or indeed, continued to look at black family and migration patterns....Because Alexander discussed so many possible areas for further research in her dissertation, one can posit that, given the opportunity, she would have had a productive and significant research career. (p. 310)

Therefore, although self-efficacy is an important resource, devoid of intervention to engender structural access for Black women, it does not fully explain how Black female scholars come to engage PWIs. As discussed in Chapter 4, the women recognized that their entry into their graduate programs and faculty positions came as a result of concerted institutional efforts to foster a diverse community. For Black women, self-efficacy alone was never enough to undermine an institution invested in their exclusion.

Next, the framework retains the pre-entry and encounter phases of professional socialization. Given the history of discrimination in higher education and this study's employment of critical race feminism, institutional racism and sexism are conceptualized as entrenched, if not permanent, fixtures of PWIs. Therefore, institutional discrimination is viewed as existing within the pre-entry and encounter sectors. However, institutionally legitimated practices that disadvantage women of color are mere reflections of the race and gender politics that exist outside of academe. They reach back to the founding of this country as Constitutional "compromises set a precedent under which black rights have been sacrificed throughout the nation's history to further white interests" (Bell, 1997, p. 596). In regard to racism, Chesler and Crowfoot (2000) write

For our society to maintain the illusion that it is democratic and just, the young must perceive the oppressed position of people of color as their own due as the deserved result of their own inadequacies. In an uncertain world, these lessons have great psychic and social import, protecting us from our own insecurities as well as from the intrusion of others and discomfoting ideas. Thus, the workings of institutional racism are deeply embedded in the psyches of White people, as well as in the structure of social, political and economic relationships. They also impact on these psychic and social structures in ways that maintain and reproduce inequality over generations (p. 439).

Thus, the placement of institutional racism and sexism in prescribed phases of professional socialization does not negate the larger role of raced and gendered hierarchal power relations that characterize U.S. social institutions.

In addition to institutional racism and sexism, the pre-entry and encounter phases include structural factors that operate as either constraints or enablements (see Table 5.1). For instance, lack of critical mass, peer support and mentoring can act as hindrances to career progression and therefore function as constraints. Successful navigation of constraints and implementation of opportunities are facilitated by agential factors that lead to three types of outcomes: Traditional Career Success, Community and Family Career Success and Institutional Transformation. Traditional career success embodies longstanding institutional markers of career progression such as tenure and promotion. Community and family career success represents self-defined forms of success that tend to involve the promotion of social equity through service within and outside of the academy (See Chapters 2 and 4 for discussion of traditional and non-traditional forms of career success). Institutional transformation captures how agency manifests within the academy. Therefore, this model moves beyond a limited conception of professional socialization that focuses on how institutions change individuals to how individuals create better alignment between their needs and institutional norms. As discussed in

Chapter 4, critical enactments (agency that advances social equity) reflect the simultaneous negotiation of and contribution to the academy and represents a key way that the participants are making non-trivial offerings to their institutions. The participants accomplished this by reframing the goals of research, service and teaching through the integration of work that advances social equity.

The last part of the model, agential factors, represents the actions, negotiations or navigational strategies employed by the participants. These actions activate and respond to structural constraints and enablements. They also represent the nucleus of the pre-entry, encounter and outcome phases. Therefore, they are operating within each phase representing an on-going interplay between structure and agency. Using elements of Black cultural traditions-quilting, jazz and dance-as a metaphor for how the women operate in the academy, the agential factors embody the following concepts: polyrhythm, improvisation, curvilinear movements and memory (K. Asante, 1985; Brown, 1989a; Hurston, 1981). Polyrhythm is an intricate weaving of at least two contrasting rhythmic layers. It reflects the idea of multiple juxtapositions, the ability to occupy two seemingly contrasting spaces by appearing to wholeheartedly support organizational norms while working to subvert inequitable practices. Stated differently, the polyrhythmic quality of agency allows the participants to follow the rules of the game (e.g. publishing in the respected journals and presenting at revered conferences) while creating new rules (e.g. publishing in non-traditional journals and presenting at community based organizations). In regard to the polyrhythmic qualities of dance, Asante (1985) observes,

African dance requires a musical sophistication in order to adequately participate within the rhythmic framework of a particular movement. Requirement for participation in such a context is the ability to stand back from the rhythms of the

scene and find an additional rhythm which complements and mediates those other rhythms (Asante, 1985, p.74)

Thus, creativeness is a feature of *polyrhythmic practice*. This is observed in how the women used multiple forums of resistance: pedagogy, research, volunteering and mentoring. The second concept that defines the agential process is improvisation. It denotes the ability to operate beyond a script. Therefore, it embodies the element of surprise because it is the insertion of something new into an established pattern. For instance, through institutional service, the participants were intentional about altering the conversation about merit as it pertained to recruiting and retaining people of color.

The third concept is curvilinear movements. The conceptualization of agency as curved or round is meant to suggest that it is repetitive and asymmetrical. The on-going engagement with the institution requires an on-going series of choices. The choices selected are based on an assessment of the institutional context. For instance, a few of the women stated that they tempered their advocacy when they were assistant professors. However, upon gaining tenure they were more vocal. Thus, similar issues may be met with different choices based on issues like security and status.

Beyond describing difference in the employment of agency, curvilinear is meant to reflect the ongoing interchange between agency, the encounter phase and outcomes. For instance, dependent care policies influence one's ability to meet tenure requirements. Conversely, upon achieving tenure, one can play a bigger role in advocating work/life balance concerns. Another example is that lack of critical mass of people of color can foster a commitment to advocating for racial diversity. One's advocacy work may affect on-campus representation of people of color and the availability of intellectual support. Consequently, there is constant movement between agency and structure.

The last concept that contextualizes agency is memory and it is based on the notion that agency is informed by remembrances stemming from shared social location. Hence, memory is what allows Black people to make sense of their present and to retain traditions from of their African ancestors. Reminiscent of Mills' (2000) sociological imagination, memory fosters an understanding of individual problems through an awareness of social history. It also privileges an analysis of Black experiences from a Black centered perspective analogous to Asante's (1987) afrocentricity. Thus, the polyrhythmic, curvilinear and improvisational characteristics of Black expression are all echoes from the past.

The agential factors entail *enacting, discarding and transforming* (see figure 5.2). Since a full discussion of the processes occurring within each agential factor (enact, discard and enable) can be found in previous sections, what follows is a summary explanation of each process. The first factor, enacting norms and values that are aligned with their standpoint is a reflection of structurally reproductive agency. Partly as a result of grooming and insights acquired during graduate school, the participants understood and even valued the terms of their employment. For instance, Nia expressed, "career success means... it's good to have books and articles. It's also important to have people respect you." In addition, Carmen's assertion that she was not frustrated by the tenure and promotion process because it was "the gig I signed up for" is how many of the participants approached their jobs. From the start, they understood that there would be challenges but that did not prevent them from meeting job expectations. For instance, though most of the participants are just as (or even more) passionate about teaching and service as they are research, they realized that research was the key to their longevity.

Next, discarding norms that conflict with their standpoint is about how the participants sift through structural elements retaining gems and casting off debris. Fundamentally, it is about not relying on traditional ways of being and knowing in the academy. Elsa Barkley Brown (1989) asks,

How do we come to understand, not just intellectually but consciously as well, that African American women have indeed created their own lives, shaped their own meaning, and are the voices of authority in their own experience? We do this by learning that we can be our own voices of authority. (p. 927)

Thus, when the models in the academy are not adequate for Black female development, they must seek or create new models. So when Sekai exclaimed, “It doesn’t take him to authorize that for me. I have to do that.” She realized that her success in the academy was intricately tied to her self-definition, not the standards set by White male faculty. Given her research agenda, her social identity and her community development interests, she had to create a template for her professorial role. *Seeking alternative models* for success and *alternative forms of validation* were a part of that process. For instance, Chimwala was determined to combine her passion for teaching with the requirement to produce research even though that path was “dangerous.”

I think that I took a rather unusual path. Teaching was important to me, very early on when it was probably dangerous, when people said don’t put so much time into teaching and I went out with a portfolio that showed a solid record of teaching and research. I combined the two. It probably made me have fewer publications than someone who would have kind of went straight towards being the star. But teaching was important to me...I had a fellowship for teaching and I had the publications...I showed that you can challenge the system, you can decide who you want to be....

Creating a new way of being in the academy also includes placing a high premium on *service*. Though service is not valued as much as research, the participants viewed service as a way to advocate for social equity and contribute to the larger

community. As noted, the participants engaged in service as a liberatory practice rooted in the principles of self-affirmation and community development. Therefore, I contend that commitment to service is related to memory and marginality. For instance, marginality is a reminder of what is still needed to advance equity. Drawing upon collective remembrances of group subjugation and the current disparities in access to resources (such as healthcare, education and employment) provides an impetus for action. Dziko's remembrances of her experience growing up in a segregated community gave her a social identity that is rooted in the Black community. It determined the lens from which she views race relations. "I grew up in [a southern state], now it [was] segregated...we could not set our foot on the beach....So we had to drive 15 miles south, in order to go to the beach. So, my identity is entrenched in Blackness." Dziko engages in service work with Black girls in her local community and with Black post-secondary students outside of the United States. As with the Black Clubwomen of the mid-19th century (Giddings, 1984; White, 1999), Dziko and the other women were motivated to engage in service because of an understanding of racism and sexism.

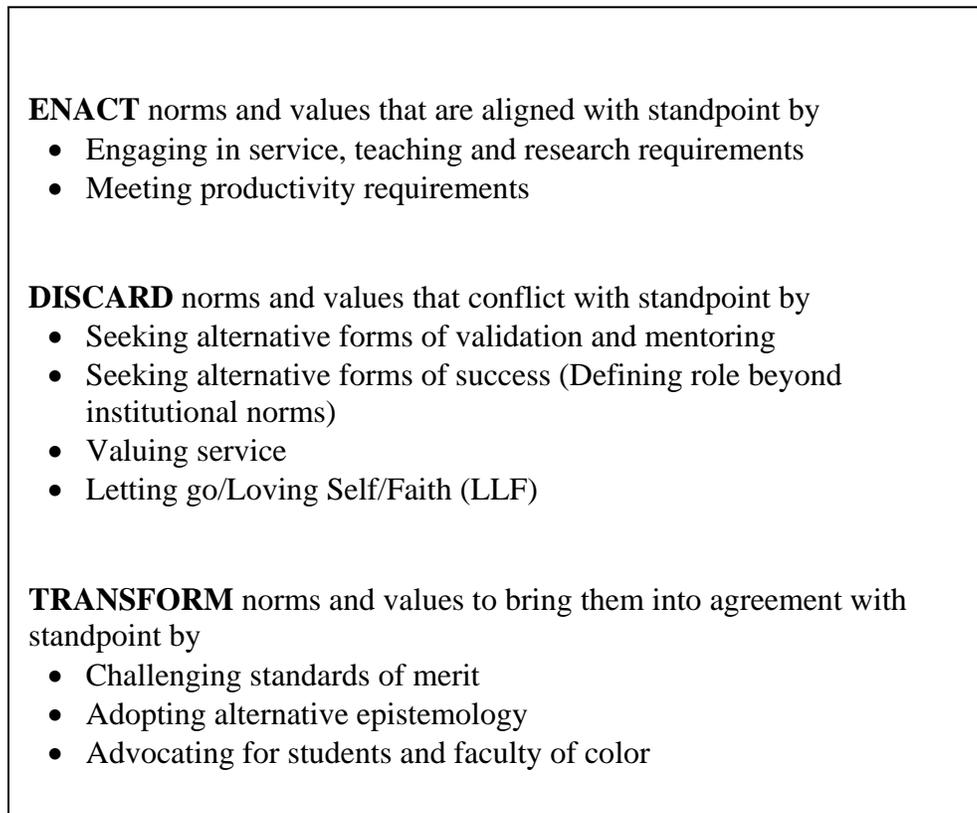
As discussed in the section on critical enactments, Letting go/Loving Self/Faith (LLF), is about self-preservation. LLF is about knowing that social justice begins with self-love and that self-love means that one does not have to fight incessantly. When one embodies LLF, one knows that struggling does not necessarily mean one is working or growing. Therefore, LLF is about discarding the notion that the academy always has to be a struggle. On the whole, the participants realize that it is acceptable to sit down and be savvy about the causes they champion. In this way, they maintain the energy to do their work. Thus, LLF is also about conserving, pacing and believing that a full life

encompasses but does not end with the academy. The essential elements of LLF are exemplified in the words of Sekai.

Our work is get right with ourselves, to heal ourselves then go out and do this radical work. It's the whole idea of love being radical work; this idea of caring for myself as being radical work, especially for Black women. I'm not being selfish when I take care of me. I've got more energy for this community than I've ever had but most of us are running on empty and then trying to go find stuff to fill us up.

Transformation is the last agential factor in the multi-positional model of engagement, and it refers to the process of change and actual change occurrences. Furthermore, it is an outgrowth of establishing a new way of being in the academy because self-affirmation fostered non-traditional forms of scholarship, racially diverse academic communities and holistic definitions of merit. By adopting these values and practices, the participants embody institutional transformation. However, the women are fully aware that they cannot take their status for granted because “coming to voice in the public sphere without simultaneously coming to power in the social institutions that constitute it does little to challenge the injustices confronting African American women as a collectivity (Collins, 1998, p. 76). Therefore, they use their positions to improve the fit between their values and institutional norms as a way to create a more diverse institution.

Figure 5.2 Agential Factors: Multi-positional Ways of Negotiating the Academy



In all, the emergent understanding of how the participants function within PWIs (see figure 5.1 for full model) contributes to the field of higher education because it describes professional socialization processes for an underrepresented group. Moreover, it delineates some of the significant ways that an underrepresented group contributes to the teaching and learning environment. Armed with this knowledge, institutions would be in a better position to institute policies that address some of the most entrenched and obscure barriers to career success. Additionally, institutions could respond to anti-diversity critics by broadcasting ways that diverse faculty members enhance higher education settings. Finally, underrepresented groups could use the model as a guide for promoting their success within the academy.

Since this study focuses on tenured faculty members who belong to a group that has been systematically marginalized inside and outside of academe, the model also contributes to our understanding of how they were able to transcend limitations. This does not mean that every variable within each phase of the model was experienced by all of the participants. Furthermore, the model does not claim to exhaust all of the factors that may have contributed to their career progression. What it does is present variables that may influence the career success of Black women (and possibly other socially marginalized groups) as a collective.

The emergent theory of professional socialization of Black female faculty members combines critical race feminisms and the empirical findings to state the following:

1. For Black women, race is inherently linked to gender. Because of the way that gender is often subsumed within race experiences, exploring race and gendered experiences may require looking at the actions of Black women and thinking about how universal gendered experiences (e.g. definitions of womanhood, experiences within violence, sexuality, labor arrangements) manifest within a Black context.
2. Black women share a social location defined by their race and gender. That social location fosters a standpoint that challenges dominant narratives about the way that Black women interface with institutions.
3. Traditional models of professional socialization are problematic because they do not adequately address issues that arise when socially marginalized groups like Black women enter institutions that are characterized by dominant group norms and values.
4. Since dominance requires preservation of norms, Black women must negotiate structural constraints rooted in race and gender exclusion.
5. As a collective, Black women have traditionally resisted oppression. Resistance begins with awareness of social injustice and recognition of one's value. Resistance is polyrhythmic, improvisational, curvilinear and rooted in memory of struggle. The condition of being marginal, is a condition of resistance because one is reminded of resource differentials.

6. Structural constraints are mediated by structural enablements and agency. Multiple juxtapositions characterize agency and represent the occupation of contrasting positions as a survival/resistance tactic.

7. Seeking alternative ways of being and alternative validation outlets inspires personal and institutional transformation. When PWIs are more aligned with the needs and values of Black women, they are more receptive to diverse people and scholarship. Also, it is easier for Black women create a niche that allows them achieve traditional and non-traditional forms of success.

8. Black women use PWIs as vehicles for transformative work—work that de-centers paradigms that ignore and marginalize the experiences of Black people.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DIVERSITY DEBATE

At its core, this study responds to the question of what happens when a socially marginalized group, like Black women, enters a space that was defined by their absence and the stigmatization of their difference. In essence, it is their presence that “creates issues where their absence has long been the norm” (Collins, 1998, p. 105). Black scholar, female scholar, Black female scholar debunks empiricism steeped in notions of Black and female inferiority because of their difference. In effect, the perversion of difference serves as a rationale to maintain homogeneity among power brokers within and outside of academe. However, this study demonstrates that difference, Black female difference, stimulates movement within the academic enterprise.

By movement, I mean the dislodging of longstanding assumptions about scholarship. By enacting their difference, the participants moved their institutions to reconsider the ideology behind practices that exclude and hinder certain groups. Also, movement infers that the mere presence and work of the participants theoretically created such discontinuity that it activated thinking about the purpose of higher education. It is within the realm of difference and movement that this study has implications for policy

and practice regarding how marginalized groups access top tier predominately White institutions (PWIs).

This study informs the debate about the implementation of diversity through race conscious practices. The essence of the debate is about whether difference impedes or enriches the teaching and learning environment. The contested difference rests in the notion of merit. Those against Affirmative Action, for instance, assert that merit can be reduced to test scores. While the most popular argument for the consideration of race in college settings is that it enhances learning outcomes, particularly for White students. The interpolation of the professional socialization experiences of Black female faculty into the debate demonstrates how they function to both expose diversity falsehoods and anchor diversity initiatives. What follows is a framework for understanding the role that Black female professors (and possibly other people of color) play in support of race conscious recruitment and diversity practices. Drawn from an array of literature on diversity in higher education (Chang et al., 2003; Gurin, 1999; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; D. Smith & L. Wolf-Wendel, 2005), the framework addresses the following issues: (a) Structural Access and Climate, (b) Learning Outcomes and Scholarship, and (c) Conceptual Elaboration of Merit.

Structural Access and Climate

In accordance with increasing race and gender diversity in higher education settings, structural access refers to the proportional representation of underrepresented groups (Gurin, 2004). The concept is important because it signifies the first step in addressing inequitable access to education. In essence, it counters historical practices of racial exclusion that made PWIs virtually impenetrable to all but a few underrepresented

students and faculty. Hence, inclusion as a value ran counter to what most PWIs actually practiced or even espoused. For example, Fred G. Wale's 1945 campaign to promote the hiring of Black scholars in White institutions revealed that aversion to Black intellectualism and Black bodies ran so deep that most White administrators did not take advantage of highly qualified Black candidates.²⁷ Administrators rationalized the exclusion of Blacks by affirming their commitment to color-blind meritocracy. Basically, they claimed that race was not the issue. They simply were not able to find the "right" qualified Black scholar (J. D. Anderson, 2002). Accordingly, Anderson (2002) argues that the discriminatory practices employed by college presidents effectively made meritocracy the perfect surrogate for racism. He elaborates,

Usually meritocracy is viewed as the antithesis of racism...and related forms of exclusion and discrimination. The beliefs and behavior of the overwhelming majority of northern White college and university presidents, however, tell a radically different story....the practice of proclaiming one's devotion to meritocratic principles, while actually perpetuating exclusion, transformed theoretical enemies...into pragmatic friends (p. 16)

The findings from this campaign foreshadowed how merit would be used to maintain and legitimize Whiteness within most higher education institutions. Over 60 years later, access to competitive predominately White schools is still contested. However, now there is broader discourse in support of structural access for underrepresented students of color.

On the macro level, institutional credibility is trumpeted as an essential reason for encouraging structural diversity. Given the technological sophistication and intercultural competence required for professional careers, higher education institutions must address those needs in order to remain competitive and viable. Also, if institutions do not find a way to integrate historically underrepresented groups into the educational sector, they

²⁷ Wale was representing the Julius Rosenwald Fund (J. D. Anderson, 2002).

will continue to fall short in their commitment to knowledge production and dissemination, because knowledge produced to the exclusion of certain groups is not reflective of the talents and perspectives of the very people that it claims to represent. As such, students will not be adequately equipped to navigate the diversity of thought and experiences they are bound to encounter as global citizens. Fortunately, there is increasing recognition of the role that college plays in socializing students to engage in heterogeneous communities.

Universities understand that to remain competitive, their most important obligation is to determine- and then deliver- what future graduates will need to know about their world...In reordering our sense of the earth's interdependence, that global reality also cries out for a new age of exploration, with students displaying the daring, curiosity, and mettle to discover and learn entirely new areas of knowledge. The experience of arriving on a campus to live and study with classmates from a diverse range of backgrounds is essential to students' training for this new world...We know that connecting with people very-or even slightly- different from ourselves stimulates the imagination and when we learn to see the world through a multiplicity of eyes, we only make ourselves more nimble in mastering-and integrating-the diverse fields of knowledge awaiting us. (Bollinger, 1997, p.1)

Along with socializing students, structural access is also important because it reduces tokenism and isolation experienced by people of color. As discussed in Chapter 2, the lack of a critical mass (at least 15%) can lead to tokenism, the process of discounting and disparaging the "difference" that individuals bring to an organization. Tokens are highly scrutinized, judged by a higher standard and expected to enact negative stereotypes (Kanter, 1977). For instance, Black students in predominately White institutions report feeling isolated yet very appreciative of encounters with other Black students and faculty. Their physical isolation is exasperated by feeling as if they have to prove their worthiness to Whites (M. Davis et al., 2004). Also, Gurin (1999) found that

learning outcomes for African American students were positively influenced by interaction with diverse peers *and* same race peers

indicating that peer interaction must be considered in more complex ways for African American students. These findings suggest the supportive function of group identity for African American students, and the potentially positive effects of having sufficient numbers of same-race peers, as well as opportunities for interracial interactions on diverse campuses (p.3).

Hence, higher education institutions must not only invite a few diverse students, faculty and staff into academe, they must also promote retention of these groups. To accomplish this, they must employ a more expansive conception of diversity so that it addresses the condition of students once they arrive on campus.

Structural Access and Climate: Black Female Faculty

Structural Access and Climate proved to be very important aspects of the professional socialization process for the Black women in this study. Many of the participants shared that access to graduate school and faculty positions was facilitated by campaigns to increase institutional diversity. History shows that without such efforts, it is difficult for Black candidates to overcome entrenched ideological barriers in PWIs, particularly prestigious schools. In the end, initiatives designed to promote structural access helped schools meet their diversity goals and gave the participants an opportunity to reap the benefits of highly resourced institutions. However, the findings reveal that the benefits accrued from participation in these institutions were sometimes tempered by intolerance. For instance, while in graduate school, participants in predominately white (and often male) departments expressed feeling socially isolated and intellectually unsupported. Among faculty, many participants in predominately White departments expressed the same concerns. Their determination to seek alternative forms of validation

and to develop alternative definitions of success helped them overcome those barriers. Conversely, the participants (as graduate students and faculty) in racially diverse departments attributed feeling socially connected and intellectually supported to the representation of Blacks and other faculty of color. They felt that their institutions were committed to their success because of mentoring, financial assistance, support groups and/or recruitment of people of color.

In short, structural access programs work best when they are accompanied by efforts to create a diverse community of learners and an institutional commitment to promoting diverse experiences through curricula and co-curricula offerings. In this way, underrepresented groups are less likely to become tokens and more likely to feel affirmed.

Learning Outcomes and Scholarship

The findings of this study also inform the literature on learning outcomes in diverse college settings. This literature evolved alongside the growing debate about the consideration of race in college admissions. At issue were newly instituted remedial efforts designed to assist Blacks with acquiring the citizenship rights that they were denied for centuries. With the Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and President Johnson's defense of Affirmative Action as a way to address centuries of discrimination, an almost immediate counter-movement began to retrench those rights.

Judicial and legislative campaigns have been successful in nullifying initiatives designed to promote equality of opportunity in education. Most recently, ballot initiatives have already ended race conscious admissions practices in three states and threaten to end

such practices in several more states.²⁸ In response, scholars speak to the benefits of encouraging racial diversity in education. Not only do these diversity advocates emphasize the importance of structural access but also they discuss the conditions necessary to promote cognitive development among youth and young adults. They stress the importance of classroom and informal interaction in facilitating learning outcomes (Gurin, 2004).

Drawing upon the literature on psychosocial and cognitive development, Gurin (1999) argues that college facilitates identity construction because early adulthood is a crucial time for identity formation. Principally, the work of Erickson (1946) and Piaget (1985) inform the theoretical basis of her treatise. In Erickson's work, she employs the notion that identity develops best when young people are given time to experiment with different social roles. This experimentation is facilitated by diversity because it challenges perceptions of truth and reality. Similarly, she employs Piaget's ideas on disequilibrium or dissonance to explain cognitive growth. As such, she asserts that racial diversity is a critical resource in encouraging experimentation with new ideas and relationships. It is the history behind the social construction of race that makes race such a vital tool in critical thinking and social awareness. Also, with increasing rates of national heterogeneity, she contends that it "is clear that ethnic hierarchy or one-way assimilation...is much less likely to prevail in the future than in the past (p. 6)" Therefore, it is imperative that students are equipped with the skills necessary to cross multiple cultural terrains.

²⁸ The American Civil Rights Institute successfully won ballot initiatives that ended Affirmative Action in California, Washington State and Michigan. With initiatives in Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Nebraska and Oklahoma, the Institute hopes to ban Affirmative Action nationally (American Civil Rights Institute, 2008).

The research of Gurin (1999, 2004) and others demonstrate that diversity enriches learning. For instance, research shows that students with high levels of contact with diversity have growth in learning outcomes such as an active thinking process, intellectual self confidence and drive to achieve. These growth outcomes are particularly significant for White students (Gurin, 1999). Campuses that are the most structurally diverse have the most interracial interaction and peer interactions are associated with retention, college satisfaction and intellectual self concept (Chang, 1999). Also, cross-racial social interaction is positively associated with intellectual and civic development (Chang, Astin, & Dongbin, 2004). In all, the research on diverse interaction supports the assertion that encounters with diversity enhance the depth of learning and self-analysis.

In addition to learning outcomes, there is literature to support the role that faculty of color and women play in the lives of students. Faculty diversity is so important because it “is likely to contribute to what is taught, how it is taught, and what is important to learn, contributions that are vital to the institution” (D. Smith & L. E. Wolf-Wendel, 2005 p. 51). Women and people of color have been found to be more likely than White male faculty to employ pedagogical strategies that support diversity (Milem, 2003). For instance, engagement with diverse ideas through dialogue, readings and experiential exercises provided opportunities for students to flex their critical thinking skills (Milem & Hakuta, 2002). Therefore, professors are instrumental because they facilitate intellectual engagement with ideas through course requirements and course structure.

Learning Outcomes and Scholarship: Black Female Faculty

Based on the findings of this study, Black female professors play a critical role in promoting the discontinuity necessary for cognitive development. To begin, their race and gender belie popular beliefs about the characteristics and life experiences of a scholar. Therefore, they invite students to make a conceptual shift in how they think about professors and the abilities of women of color. Also, their research and courses provide students with opportunities to address diversity and social justice issues. Furthermore, their pedagogical approaches emphasize dialogue, small group discussion and accountability—all factors associated with promoting critical thinking (S. Brookfield, 1987; Vella, 2002). Lastly, studies on students of color overwhelmingly highlight experiences with racism, chilly climate and difficulty identifying with dominant values (D. Smith & L. E. Wolf-Wendel, 2005). The findings from this study show that non-traditional professors provide students with opportunities to see themselves reflected in the curriculum. A review of the participants' course syllabi shows that they required readings by and about women and men of color. These movements toward a more representative educational experience may offset the constraints of a hostile climate.

Conceptual Elaboration of Merit

Arguably, the most contentious aspect of the Affirmative Action debate pertains to merit. Rooted in American ideology alongside individualism and hard work, merit, in the context of applying to competitive schools, is fundamentally about maintaining privilege. As noted, merit is typically defined by performance on standardized tests such as the SAT. However, these tests are not definitive measurements of the capacity for high academic achievement. Furthermore, these tests are skewed towards people with more financial resources (W. Bowen & D. Bok, 1998; Lemann, 1999). Nevertheless, opponents

of Affirmative Action employ test scores to demonstrate that race conscious admission practices discriminate against Whites (even though many Whites are admitted to competitive schools with SAT scores equal to or lower than Black applicants). Also, opponents argue that low scoring Black students who are admitted to prestigious schools will be academically frustrated and socially stigmatized. However, the work of Bowen and Bok (1998) not only refutes those claims but also shows how opportunities to attend prestigious institutions advances civic engagement.

In a study of two cohorts of students at 28 selective schools in the College and Beyond (C & B) database, Bowen and Bok (1998) show how Black students thrive in these institutions.²⁹ For instance, Black students at C & B schools had an overall graduation rate of 79%. In comparison, Black students at Division I schools had a graduation rate of 40% and White students had a graduation rate of 59%.³⁰ Also, a slightly larger percentage of C & B Black students than C & B White students earned a professional or doctoral degree, and C & B Black students were five times more likely than Black students nationwide to receive an advanced degree.³¹

Among the most notable outcomes outside of academic achievement is the civic participation of C & B Black graduates. For instance, C& B Black graduates were more civically involved than their White peers. Also, Black participants with advanced degrees were more likely than similarly credentialed White peers to provide community service

²⁹ The data base includes records from more than eighty thousand students who matriculated in selective schools in the fall of 1951, the fall of 1976 and the fall of 1989 (W. G. Bowen & D. C. Bok, 1998)

³⁰ At C & B Schools, White students had a graduation rate of 94%.Blacks students were less likely than Whites to graduate from C & B and Division I schools (W. G. Bowen & D. C. Bok, 1998).

³¹C & B White students were three times as likely as White students nationally to receive advanced degrees.

and participate in political organizations. Rather than retreating from community service “many of the most advantaged Black men and women are giving back and maintaining ties to their communities, while also forging links with the broader American society (Bowen & Bok, 1998, p. 171). Therefore, the study refutes assertions that Blacks who score less than Whites are not competitive and feel demoralized. Rather, they have improved life outcomes and make significant contributions to society through their service and civic participation.

Conceptual Elaboration of Merit: Black female faculty

The call to infuse diversity (or difference) into the definition of merit is not new. However, in looking at the experiences and intellectual traditions of Black women in this study, the concept of intersectionality may more aptly reflect a new approach to merit. An intersectional framework reflects the notion that oppressions and identities are co-constructed and therefore do not act independently. Applied to the idea of merit, intersectionality allows merit to be defined by an interlocking set of experiences. This contextualized evaluation permits the consideration of how access to resources and group membership are related. Furthermore, it encourages thought about how the larger cultural context influences individuals. In addition, an intersectional conception of merit fosters admissions decisions based on which students “will take fullest advantage of what the college has to offer, contribute most to the educational process in college, and be most successful in using what they have learned for the benefit of the larger society” (Bowen & Bok, 1998 p. 277).

The participants are prime examples of the enactment of intersectional merit. First of all, they are advocates for looking at faculty and student candidates holistically. They

talked about having to regularly debate their peers about the qualifications of students of color. Also, Nia spoke specifically about having to advocate for White female graduate students who were being weeded out of her department because they were perceived to be timid and quiet.

The participants also embodied merit as an intersectional concept in their service, teaching and research. In their practice, they linked their social equity concerns. In other words, their teaching, research and service were not fragmented. For the most part, the courses they taught, the research they conducted, and the service they performed met the larger goal of structural transformation.

One of the key findings in *Shape of the River* was that Black C & B graduates not only engaged in community service but also took leadership roles. If a key goal of higher education is to prepare students for civic engagement and service (Checkoway, 2001; Gurin, 2004), the participants in this study manifested those goals. Their investment in students of color inside and outside of the community advances the democratic goal of creating an educated citizenry. By volunteering in their local (and in a few cases international) churches, community centers, and schools, they are reflecting the principle of reciprocity by investing in the very institutions that nurtured their development. They are also reflecting a rich tradition of Black female service designed to engender empowerment.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Attending to Climate to Enhance the Opportunity Structure

As observed in the narratives, an institutional climate that facilitates the development of graduate students and junior faculty fosters effective employment of

agential factors to achieve multiple forms of career success and institutional transformation. Hence, an enabling climate is needed to support the presence and work of Black women because, unlike culture, climate is a composite of malleable behaviors.³² Therefore, a primary way to alter the climate of an institution to reflect a commitment to Black women is through the implementation of policies and programs. However, such changes require critical leadership, the ability to foreground the needs of the most vulnerable and encourage input from diverse members of the community. In this way, the climate reflects an investment in social equity and collective participation.

Critical leadership undergirds the key implication of this study: Higher education institutions are enhanced by scholars who challenge the status quo to promote equity. The participants enriched their teaching and learning environments by engaging in innovative research, mentoring students of color, advocating for equity and promoting critical thinking through pedagogy. Although agency was important to their success, structural opportunities were vital. Of particular importance to the career success of the participants were 1) a critical mass of people of color on campus, and 2) intellectual support. These enabling aspects of structure made finding a space for intellectual production less complicated. With this knowledge, higher educational administrators can foster the career success of Black female faculty by instituting policies that support and cultivate the aforementioned agential factors (See Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

³² Culture represents the longstanding dominant values of an organization. Unlike climate it is embedded and enduring. The culture of an organization can change over a long period of time (Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Table 5.2 Policy and Practices to Facilitate Agential Factors

POLICY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Promote critical mass of diverse people of color through recruitment and retention practices (structural access) -Provide intellectual support to women of color
*INSTITUTIONAL/ INDIVIDUAL BENEFITS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reduces tokenism -Fosters social networks & a sense of belonging -Encourages collaborative research -Fosters an environment where non-traditional research is supported -Provides mentors and role models for students of color -Increases the likelihood of student centered pedagogy -Increases the likelihood of having courses that interrogate social identity and power -Promotes learning outcomes -Advances civic engagement and service outcomes -Increases advocacy on behalf of women and students of color -Creates an environment where individuals can find validation and alternative ways of succeeding in the academy
SUGGESTED INITIATIVES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Make concerted efforts to attract diverse candidates for faculty positions -Develop a university-wide post-doctoral program invested in recruiting new faculty -Hire faculty who are knowledgeable of and committed to diverse learning environments as evidenced by their previous practice -Expand definition of merit and academic excellence to include race and gender diversity -Provide funding for research particularly on issues pertaining to race and gender diversity as well as intercultural competence -Create a center(s) for diversity and outreach -Encourage departments to look at graduate applicants holistically (beyond standardized test scores) -Provide graduate student funding for research, conferences and professional development -Provide resources and information on how to negotiate graduate school

*These benefits are also what Black female professors contribute to predominately White institutions. See Chapter 4 and Implications for the Diversity Debate in Chapter 5

The policy recommendations are twofold: promote critical mass of diverse people of color and provide intellectual support. These recommendations recognize that professors of color were instrumental in preparing the participants for an academic career by giving them hands-on attention and by modeling ways to challenge convention. Also, White professors who were committed to diversity and the development of graduate students facilitated the career success of the participants. Furthermore, as professors, the participants named other faculty of color, particularly Black faculty, as vital sources of intellectual and social support. In essence, people of color and people committed to diversity provide pivotal mentorship and networking opportunities.

There are several ways to promote critical mass of people of color. In regard to faculty, administrators should make concerted efforts to ensure that the candidate pool for employment is diverse. Furthermore, academic leaders should encourage the hiring of professors who have demonstrated commitment to social justice and diversity. Therefore, every potential community member will be evaluated on the basis of their contribution and commitment to diversity. Additionally, to reduce attrition of faculty of color, retention practices should be instituted. These practices could range from interviews that assess career progression of junior faculty to the provision of resources that facilitate professional development and advance research, teaching and service agendas.

To ensure that there is a steady stream of candidates available for hire, institutional structures must support the recruitment and retention of graduation students. For instance, employment pools can be enriched by establishing summer undergraduate pipeline programs, actively recruiting underrepresented students of color through those programs and providing underrepresented students of color with support upon

matriculation. To facilitate professional development of graduate students (e.g. creating discipline-based conference proposals & presentations, explaining the publishing process, developing a teaching philosophy & course syllabi, creating a curriculum vitae, formulating a research agenda), training and scholarship programs should be implemented. Another recommendation is to develop a comprehensive university-wide post-doctoral program as a recruitment and professional development strategy. All of these strategies are based on a definition of merit that considers the ways in which race, gender and other social identities influence access to resources. Again, when intersectionality is associated with merit (see earlier discussion on merit), it encourages institutions to think about communal benefits.

These recommendations emphasize the importance of structural changes to promote agency. Essentially, change requires institutions to invest in initiatives that will foster an environment where Black women have an opportunity to thrive. Therefore, the target of change is the institution not the individual because regardless of how efficacious Black women are, institutions must be accessible physically and intellectually in order for them to realize multiple facets of career success.

The notion of intellectual support can be broadened to encompass institutional climate because it is the climate that people are interpreting as hostile or welcoming. Hence, critical leadership engenders a climate that disrupts constrictive ways that people respond to race and gender. Such a climate asserts that race and gender matter because it subverts practices that disadvantage Black women. However, even when efforts have been made to acknowledge that race and gender influence access to resources, the elimination of discriminatory practices requires tapping into the self-interests of

community members who benefit from racism and sexism (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; Ramirez, 2000). Attending to self-interests is not necessarily about altering personal values but about encouraging people to recognize that social justice ultimately helps them. Chesler and Crowfoot (2000) observe that

efforts to reduce racism in organizations often are motivated primarily by guilt of white administrators and faculty members, and the desire to ameliorate public protests...while such factors may contribute to initial efforts to reduce racism they are insufficient bases for pursuing long-term and lasting change. (p. 466)

Consequently, critical leaders understand that climate change requires buy-in because people are more likely to respond when they are invested in change. To encourage people to make a conceptual shift in how they define institutional access requires leadership that penetrates

the beliefs and assumptions maintaining that the mission of the institution can only be achieved when things remain as they have always been. The leader for diversity must bring to the institution her or his own vision...one that demands complete and accurate picture of our history, contemporary condition, and future. (Ramirez, 2000, p. 412)

Therefore, whether it is appealing to people by discussing the financial ramifications of not responding to the US demographic shift or by promoting universal availability of new support services, climate change is sustained when people feel like they benefit from it. Finally, critical leadership positively associates race and gender diversity with intellectual excellence. This intersectional view of diversity allows for a discussion of the relationship between group membership and access to resources. It also fosters discourse on the ways that non-quantitative aspects of life promote development that fosters an appreciation of how whole persons benefit from and contribute to learning communities. Therefore, institutional climate, as the target of change, makes predominately White institutions more accessible to socially marginalized groups.

Though critical mass and intellectual support make a difference in the lives of Black female faculty, they also benefit the entire campus community. Again, they promote learning outcomes by enhancing inter-group engagement, civic engagement and cognitive development among undergraduates (Gurin, Lehman, & Lewis, 2004; Milem & Hakuta, 2002; D. Smith & L. E. Wolf-Wendel, 2005). In addition, they allow institutions to provide a broader array of courses and pedagogical formats. Furthermore, they enhance mentoring opportunities for students of color. Finally, they provide services that may be beneficial to other groups. In all, fostering a space where Black women (and other vulnerable groups) can thrive ultimately enriches the entire campus community.

Gateway to Success and Diverse Campus Environments

The aforementioned professional socialization model for Black female faculty (see figure 5.1) outlines ways in which successful academics negotiate and contribute to PWIs. The model considers what happens to a marginalized group entering a space embodying vestiges of racism and sexism. The model is also predicated upon the assertion that Black women have a long history of resisting multifaceted forms of oppression. The institutions where the women work represent one of many historically oppressive sites. In addition to disallowing the admission and hiring of Black women, these institutions supported intellectual traditions that maligned and disregarded Black women. Thus, Black women are oppositional in those spaces because of their physicality and their activism. In fact, the women in this study reflect oppositional position, an awareness of being a member of a socially marginalized group combined with behavioral and attitudinal resistance to individual and collective marginalization. Thus, the agential

components (enact, discard and transform) of the professional socialization model are manifestations of Black female resistance.

One might ask how this study pertains to Black women who may not exemplify oppositional position. What contributions do these women make and what benefits can they derive from this study? In response, I contend that Black women are inherently oppositional within PWIs because they represent the antithesis of a legitimate scholar. Their mere presence contributes to PWIs because it de-centers the idea that only White males can occupy that realm. Nevertheless, being oppositional does not mean that all Black women maintain an oppositional position. In other words, though Black women encounter common racialized and gendered themes, the degree of dissonance created by these themes may differ. Consequently, their agency may reflect different choices—such as choices that only reproduce rather than reform or work outside of dominant paradigms. Nevertheless, choosing not to enact and define one’s professional role in a way that conveys awareness of oppression does not negate that oppression exists. Black women who chose not to address power hierarchies still benefit from transformative work because it is that work that broadens the discourse around Black female legitimacy within PWIs.

Most importantly, this study is instructive for Black women and other members of the academy who are committed to critiquing and transforming dominant social structures. This study shows how one can thrive within an institution while working to transform it. Multiple juxtapositions foster the ability to employ critical enactments. By operating within normative structures of academe, the participants maintained a position of conformity while agitating for change within and outside of the boundaries of their

institutions. With access to legitimized knowledge centers, social networks and resources, internal agitation at once allowed the participants to comply with established patterns of discourse and expand the discourse on educational access and merit. However, participants took their cues for agitation from the racialized and gendered imbalance of power that transcended their institutions. Thus, the efficacy of their work derived from their ability to understand and rearticulate concerns of their communities of interest. Therefore, their enactments were informed by intellectual and physical movement between internal and external contexts. Again, this mode of operation is useful for anyone (Black, White, male or female) interested in challenging norms that foster inequitable distribution of resources. For instance, the concept of Political Race (Guinier & Torres, 2002) discussed in the introduction tells us that Black women, like other oppressed groups, are most vulnerable to structural constraints. Therefore, they both warn us of dangers in the environment and they can offer resistance strategies. In this case, eliminating environmental hazards for Black women benefits the entire community. Nevertheless, despite its broad applicability, the findings in this study are particularly valuable to those who may raise suspicion because of socially inscribed beliefs about their inherent value and legitimacy in resource rich institutions.

There are three agential factors in the model that should prove helpful for graduate students and professors. To review, students and faculty should seek mentoring. If mentoring is not occurring in one's home department, look for alternative sites for mentors. Second, if needed, individuals should seek alternative venues for validation, particularly if projects challenge disciplinary norms. This may reduce feelings of isolation. Lastly, people engaging in non-traditional work should consider expanding

their definition of career success to reflect their body of work and interests. Above all, these agential factors (as well as the enabling structural factors) speak to the fact that success in academe requires a broad social network and diverse forms of support.

With the erosion of Affirmative Action programs and the lower rates of tenure for women and people of color (Aguirre, 2000; W. Allen et al., 2002; J. Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Trower, 2002; Trower & Chait, 2002), this study responds to the need to pay attention to institutional climate. It is important for institutions to provide a space for people within the faculty pipeline (graduate school to full professor) to enact scholarship that challenges institutions to live up to and broaden their missions. Hence, the culture and practices of higher education institutions must be accessible to diverse students, faculty and staff. This study is important because it captures the way that faculty members from a socially marginalized group are able to fit into and manipulate spaces where they were historically barred from entering. Also, it contributes to the field of higher education because it introduces a model of professional socialization for Black female faculty. Aspects of this model may be applicable to all graduate students and faculty, particularly those who are socially marginalized and those who challenge convention as a way to promote social equity. With this knowledge, institutions can better identify norms that undermine or support the professional development of underrepresented groups.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Professional Organizational Stage Models

Table 3 Professional Organizational Stage Models

	Porter, Lawler, Hackman (1975) Three Stage Model	Van Maanen (1976) Three Stage Model	Feldman (1979, 1981) Contingency model	Jablin (1987) Communication Tactics	Wanous (1992) Organizational Entry
Stage 1	<i>Pre-arrival</i> Individual seeks to match expectations and values; People enter with values	<i>Pre-entry</i> Entails preparatory learning	<i>Anticipatory Socialization</i> Determining fit; Setting realistic expectations	<i>Anticipatory Socialization</i> lifetime gathering of information; preliminary interfacing with organization	<i>Recruitment (Entry)</i> Person learns about job; Organization finds sources for job candidates
Stage 2	<i>Encounter</i> Discrepancies between expectations and reality are addressed through organizational reinforcements or punishment	<i>Encounter</i> Breaking in period; Reality shock	<i>Encounter</i> Initiation to task and group; Addressing conflicts	<i>Encounter</i> Part of <i>assimilation</i> ; Involves sense-making, learning expectations	<i>Selection (Entry)</i> Person decides where to apply and interviews; Organization assesses candidates
Stage 3	<i>Change and Acquisition(Outcome)</i> Newcomer acquires new self-image, Relationships formed, New values and behaviors are adopted	<i>Continuance</i> Represents adaptation via reconciliation of conflicts	<i>Change and Acquisition</i> Mastering job; Adjusting to norms; Management of conflict	<i>Metamorphosis</i> Also part of <i>assimilation</i> ; Role negotiation; Conflict management	<i>Orientation (Entry)</i> Person copes with stress of entry; Organization manages emotional and informational needs
Stage 4					<i>Socialization (Entry)</i> Person moves through stages; Detects progress; Organization influences newcomers with various tactics
Outcome			Cooperation, satisfaction, persistence, dependability	Communication satisfaction; Understanding communication culture; Becoming part of the network	

Appendix B Letter of Invite

Greetings ,

My name is Venice Thandi Sule and I am a doctoral candidate at the Center for the Study of Higher and Post-secondary Education at the University of Michigan. I am currently working on my dissertation research on professional socialization and career success of Black female faculty at predominately White research institutions. I am contacting you to request your participation in this study. I am seeking to interview tenure track professors in the humanities and social sciences. The goal of this study is to look at the relationship between professional socialization and career success, specifically focusing on navigational strategies.

The study may require up to two interviews. The initial interview will take approximately 1.5 hours and a follow up interview may take up to one hour. The interviews will be audio-recorded. Also, participants are asked to complete a short questionnaire that will enrich my analysis. Please be assured that any information you share with me will be held in the strictest confidence. I will take the following steps:

- For the questionnaire, I will assign an ID number which will be entered into the data file. The ID number will be linked to a pseudonym created for you to maintain confidentiality.
- Interview data that identifies your connection to a specific department will not be reported. Other identifying information will be excluded from the interview transcripts. Also, all participants will have an opportunity to review their transcripts for any changes they would like to make. No one but I and a typist will see a copy of the transcript.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please let me know a good time and place for us to schedule an interview. To notify me of your assent to participate, I can be reached by email at xxxxxumich.edu or by phone at xxx-xxx-xxxx. Also, feel free to forward questions. As soon as we have made our arrangements, I will send you a formal letter of consent which you can return prior to our first interview.

I would like to thank you for considering this request. Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Venice Thandi Sule, MSW
PhD. Candidate
Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

Pre-Entry:

Graduate School (Agential and Structural factors)

- How did you decide to get your doctorate?
- Tell me about your graduate school experience?
- Tell me about your relationship with professors?
- Tell me about your relationship with peers?
- If you could change anything about your graduate school experience, what would it be?
- Did you have to change anything about yourself to fit into graduate school?
- Describe your academic job search process.

Background & Individual factors

- How would you describe your socio-economic status growing up?
- How would you describe your social identity? (race, gender, class)
- What does your social identity mean to you?
- What role, if any has race and/or gender factored in your experiences as a graduate student?

Encounter:

Career Success (Agential and Structural factors)

- How do you define career success in academe?
- Has your definition of career success changed over time?
- How would you describe how your department defines academic career success?
- What have you done to be successful?
- What makes you feel unsuccessful?
- What aspects of your graduate school education prepared you for career success?
- What stands out most about your pre-tenure years in academe?

Colleagues, Institution (Agential and Structural Factors)

- Can you describe your relationship with your colleagues in your department?
- What makes you comfortable in your department?
- What makes you uncomfortable in your department?
- Can you describe your sources and types of career support?
- How is your scholarship supported?
- How have colleagues within your department responded to your work?
- What factors help and hinder your career development?
- If you could change anything about your work environment, what would it be?
- How do you think you are viewed by your colleagues? Students?

Navigational Strategies and Outcome:

- How did you decide to become a professor?
- How would you describe your teaching practice?
- How would you describe your research?
- How would you describe your service work?
- Did you have to change anything about yourself to fit into your department?
- How does your work fit into your department? How is it perceived by your colleagues?
- What are challenges, if any, do you encounter with students? Faculty?
- What do you ultimately want to contribute to your department? Discipline?

Appendix D
Questionnaire

Professional Socialization of Black Female Faculty

The questionnaire is designed to gather information about your background and employment history. Please take a few minutes to fill in your answers. If needed, feel free to make comments in the margins.

Graduate Degree

Doctoral degree institution _____ Year of doctoral degree _____

Current Position

Current Position _____

Name the department in which you are employed _____

If you have a joint appointment, what is your primary appointment _____

And secondary appointment _____

What is your title? _____

How long have you been at this university? _____

When did you receive tenure? _____

What other positions have you held at your current university?

_____ from ____ to _____

_____ from ____ to _____

Past Positions

What positions have you had at other universities?

_____ from ____ to _____

_____ from ____ to _____

Work Responsibilities

During an *average* work week how much time would you say that you devote to teaching, research, service and advising students (**totaling 100%**)

Teaching _____ **Research** _____

Discipline or Institutional Service _____ **Advising** _____

Colleagues

Using your best estimate, describe your department and colleagues.

How many faculty are in your department? _____
How many women are in your department? _____
How many people of color (Black, Latino, Native American) are in your department? _____
How many Black people are in your department? _____
How many women of color (Black, Latino, Native American) in your department? _____

Have you received formal or informal mentoring in your department? _____
Have you received formal or informal mentoring at your institution outside of your department? _____
If you have mentors in your department/institution, how many _____
If you have not received mentoring at your current institution, have you received it from someone at a different institution? Yes No

Background

Age _____

Marital Status

- a. Single
- b. Separated
- c. Divorced
- d. Married/Partnered
- e. Other _____

How many children do you have? _____

If you have children, what are their ages? _____

Describe your race and ethnic background? _____

Were you born in the United States? _____

Were you raised (did you spend most of your childhood) in the United States? _____

If not, where were you raised? _____

Appendix E Participant Overview

Participants	Kids	Partner status	Grad School mentor	Doc Degree	Tenure Period	SS or Hum	Joint Appoint	Explicit Commitment to POC and/or Women
Layla	yes	partnered	yes	mid 1990s	1-5 years	SS	no	TRS
Tameka	yes	partnered	no	mid 1990s	1-5 years	Hum	no	TRS
Halima	yes	partnered	no	early 1990s	6-10 years	SS	yes	TRS
Tracee	no	partnered	yes	mid 1990s	1-5 years	SS	yes	TRS
Nia	no	divorced; single	no	mid 1990s	1-5 years	Hum	no	TRS
Mesi	no	partnered	yes	early 2000s	1-5 years	Hum	yes	Teaching, Research
Carmen	no	partnered	yes	mid 1990s	1-5 years	SS	no	TRS
Jaha	yes	partnered	yes	early 1990s	6-10 years	SS	no	TRS
Chimwala	yes	partnered	yes	early 1990s	1-5 years	SS	yes	none stated
Jamila	yes	partnered	yes	mid 1990s	1-5 years	SS	no	TRS
Rashida	no	partnered	yes	mid 1990s	1-5 years	SS	yes	TRS
Dziko	yes	divorced	no	mid 1980s	6-10 years	Hum	yes	TRS
Sekai	no	partnered	yes	early 1990s	6-10 years	SS	no	TRS
Ayo	yes	partnered	yes	mid 1980s	12 years	SS	no	TRS

Grad School Mentor= indicates whether participant received on-going mentoring within graduate department

Doc Degree mid 1980s= 1986-1989; early 1990s=1990-1994; mid 1990s=1995-1999; early 2000s=2000-2004

TRS= teaching, research, service

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