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White faculty as racial justice allies at a predominantly White institution

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WHITE FACULTY
AS RACIAL JUSTICE ALLIES
AT A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION

A Dissertation

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Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
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by

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Abstract

Little is known about the experiences of White faculty in higher education as racial justice allies. Most literature describing faculty involvement in diversity issues tends to be proscriptive in nature with little examination of the developmental experiences of the faculty member (Brown, Davis, & McClendon, 1999; Gibbons, 1993; Jenkins, 1990). Knowledge in this area is further limited by the fact that much of the existing scholarship has focused solely on the role of racial minority faculty members, with no overt examination of the role that White faculty can play in diversity efforts.

Kobrak (1992) has also emphasized the significant role that socially concerned White faculty may play on our campuses, describing these faculty as the "missing link" in institutional efforts for diversity. However, little is known about the experiences of White faculty allies. While a growing body of literature has begun to examine White involvement in social justice activism, there is very little work based in activists' experiences (Eichstedt, 2001). This study is intended to address this void by asking the following research question:

- What are the experiences of White faculty at a predominantly White institution (PWI) who participate in the campus community as racial justice allies?

This broad question is investigated through the supporting questions outlined below:

- How do these White faculty come to be / identify as allies?

- How do the positions of White faculty as allies affect their scholarly work of teaching, research and service?

- How is their ally work influenced by the context of the predominantly White institution?

The findings from this study suggest that ally mentors and models and an understanding of race and racism are important influences in the development of racial justice allies among White faculty. Furthermore, they illuminate a variety of strategies through which these faculty integrate their ally identities and their professional responsibilities of teaching, research, and service. Finally, these allies suggest that the context of the predominantly White institution plays a significant role in their perception of the institution and the need to continue the work of racial justice.

Chapter One: Introduction

Throughout the history of higher education in the United States, faculty roles and responsibilities have reflected the priorities of the academy. When the first institutions were founded during the colonial era, faculty were primarily responsible for the production of a literate, college-educated clergy (Brubacher & Rudy, 2003). As the social and economic functions of higher education changed, so did the role of faculty. For example, the nation continued to develop and faculty began to educate for the secular professions such as lawyers and physicians in addition to clergy (Antonio, 2001). Later, as America industrialized and emerged as a global economic leader, faculty were also charged with the production and dissemination of the knowledge necessary to continue this advancement (Brubacher & Rudy, 2003).

The role of faculty changed yet again in the 20th century, as higher education in America experienced unprecedented growth and rapid change. As scholars began to examine these changes, faculty became not only the inquirers, but also the subject of inquiry (Finkelstein, 1997). Much of the scholarly interest in faculty examined their role in institutional management and organizational change. More recently, as scholars began to explore issues of student access, retention and success in higher education, faculty were identified as a critical part of the student success equation (Kuh & Hu, 2001; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). However, these examinations of faculty/student relationships focused primarily on student outcomes and contributed little to our understanding of how faculty are affected by these relationships.

Much of the literature that does speak explicitly to faculty experiences and student development does so in terms of practical suggestions for classroom innovation and

management – again, intended to further contribute to student success, but without much scholarly focus on the cognitive experiences of individual faculty members. Even less scholarship exists to describe the experiences of faculty involved specifically in diversity work in American higher education. Literature describing faculty involvement in diversity issues tends to be proscriptive in nature with little or no examination of the development experiences of the faculty member (Brown, et al., 1999; Gibbons, 1993; Jenkins, 1990). As Stassen (1995) has noted, "there is an emphasis on implementing interventions without providing a clear understanding of the underlying factors that influence faculty members' attitudes and behaviors on issues of race" (p. 363).

Our knowledge surrounding the faculty role in the success of students of color in higher education is further limited by the fact that most of the existing scholarship on this subject has focused on the role of racial minority faculty members. Scholarship in this area has documented the importance of academic models who share cultural backgrounds with racial minority students and has described the cultural taxation that these faculty members face because they are so often called upon to serve when issues related to diversity arise (Guidffrida, 2005). Not only are women and faculty of color continually underrepresented among the faculty (Ropers-Huilman & Shackelford, 2003), but they are also disproportionately located in the lower rungs of the academic hierarchy (Allen et al., 2002). While some suggest that "pipeline" issues are responsible for the low number of faculty of color, other scholars point out that an emphasis on supply issues may mask "some of the equally insidious racialized structures and practices that contribute to a cycle of exclusion for faculty of color" (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002, p. 247). Regardless of the cause, the fact remains that in 2009, only about 20 % of U. S. faculty in colleges and universities are racial

minorities (U.S. Department of Education, 2010); this number is significantly lower at research extensive, predominantly White institutions (Allen, et al., 2002; Ropers-Huilman & Shackelford, 2003).

In summary, evidence suggests that efforts to bring equity and diversity to our campuses have, in many cases, fallen far short of their goals. Brayboy (2003) suggests that this failure is due in part to diversity agendas at American colleges and universities that are often structured in ways that significantly impede the accomplishment of their goals. He posits that in many instances, White faculty consider diversity work to be the responsibility of faculty of color or central administrators. Operating under this assumption, White faculty prioritize their traditional faculty roles of research, teaching and service. Faculty of color, on the other hand, are faced with the challenge of meeting professional expectations while coping with the extra burden of working toward equity and diversity within the academy. This challenge has particular implications for junior faculty of color as they face the looming promotion and tenure evaluation (Allen, et al., 2002; Brayboy, 2003).

Another obstacle, as noted by Altbach, Lomotey and Rivers (2002), is that "academic administrators and the faculty, for the most part, see racial issues in isolation, as individual crises to be dealt with on an ad hoc basis, rather than as a nexus of issues requiring careful analysis" (p. 25). This practice obscures individual responsibility for confronting racism at institutional and societal levels (Lewis, 2004; Scheurich & Young, 2002; Thompson, 1997) and thus perpetuates the prejudices that are in place.

As noted previously, racial minorities remain underrepresented among college and university faculties. In 2003, Black, Hispanic, and Native American faculty each comprised less than five percent of the faculty at research universities in America (U.S. Department of

Education, 2010). Given this current state of the professoriate and the lack of university-wide commitment that generally characterize campus diversity initiatives (Rowley, Hurtado, & Ponjuan, 2002), it is evident that the small number of racial minority faculty and administrators could not carry out the work of diversity on their own, even if we assumed this to be their responsibility. If they are to find allies in this effort within the academic community, these allies will often be White.

Kobrak (1992) has emphasized the significant role that socially concerned White faculty may play, describing these faculty as the "missing link" in institutional efforts for diversity (p. 514). However, little is known about the experiences of White faculty allies or the development of their ally identities. While a growing body of literature has begun to examine White involvement in social justice activism, there is "virtually no work that is based in activists' experiences or narratives" (Eichstedt, 2001, p. 449).

My study is intended to address this void by asking the following research question:

- What are the experiences of White faculty at a predominantly White institution (PWI) who participate in the campus community as racial justice allies?

This broad question can be more effectively investigated through the supporting questions outlined below:

- How do these White faculty come to be / identify as allies?

- How do the positions of White faculty as allies affect their scholarly work of teaching, research and service?

- How is their ally work influenced by the context of the predominantly White institution?

Because relatively little scholarship has focused on the role of White faculty in implementing diversity, this project is exploratory in nature. Additionally, it should be noted that the features of faculty involvement and ally identity development are difficult to quantify and measure. Given these factors, I will utilize qualitative research methods to examine the experiences of White faculty at a PWI who participate in the community as racial justice allies. This study is informed by scholarship describing faculty work, ally identity development, and Whiteness, while critical race theory serves as the theoretical framework from which this investigation is developed.

This study utilizes Broido's (2000b) definition of social justice allies as "members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social-group membership" (p. 345). The concept of social justice refers to the distribution of advantages and disadvantages within a society (Tyler & Smith, 1998), while racial justice examines this distribution more specifically with regard to the "dominant racial ideology and culture that maintains social inequality (Reason, Scales, & Millar, 2005). In the context of this study, allies are defined broadly as White faculty who make efforts to contribute to a more equitable and just campus climate. These allies were identified through a nomination / sampling process in which students and faculty of color and university administrators suggested faculty participants on the basis of their contributions. Although this study specifically examines faculty efforts to promote racial justice, faculty participants frequently described their efforts as part of a more general ally orientation; as a result, the terms "social justice" and "racial justice" are used interchangeable throughout this study, however, analysis and discussion focuses particularly on the impact of race.

In order to understand the significance of this study, it is necessary to consider the context of the historical and current state of diversity in American higher education. Although Rudenstine (2004) posits that the ideals of diversity in higher education were present in the early writing of intellectuals such as Henry Adams and John Stuart Mill, access to higher education has in fact been restricted to a relatively homogenous group of individuals until fairly recently. Diversity as a reality in American higher education was achieved slowly and with great effort on the part of those groups who sought to participate in this system.

Throughout the 19th century, women struggled against the belief that higher education was unnecessary for females; some scholars of the day even suggested that women would be physically unable to cope with the stresses associated with postsecondary education (Brubacher & Rudy, 2003). Although women's colleges developed over time to provide some educational options, women continued for some time to experience societal resistance to coeducation.

Because of the history of slavery in America, Blacks faced even more severe obstacles as they sought entrance to institutions of higher learning. Just as women's colleges had provided the earliest options for female students, so did the first Black colleges provide options, although limited ones, for African Americans who sought to participate in higher education. However, legal segregation of Black and White institutions endured long after co-ed institutions had become the norm. Although the number of Black colleges in America continued to increase into the 20th century, and although higher education for Blacks had moved beyond merely vocational training to include liberal arts and professional education, vast inequalities still existed between educational opportunities for Black and White students

in the United States (Anderson, 1988; Brubacher & Rudy, 2003; Smith, Altbach, & Lomotey, 2002).

The ideals of equity began to garner much greater public attention in the latter part of the 20th century as the Civil Rights movements gained momentum and racial minority groups began to demand equitable treatment including access to colleges and universities. In response, "the nation's traditionally White institutions of higher education moved away from virtual exclusionary practices to special educational opportunities, designed to attract limited enrollments of students of color" (Anderson, 2002). Many institutions developed programs and policies designed to attract more students of color at all levels of higher education. In addition, national programs were created as a result of President Lyndon Johnson's Economic Opportunity act and provided additional support for students from historically underrepresented groups. The first of these, Upward Bound, was established in 1964; it was soon followed by the Talent Search program which was created by the Higher Education Act of 1965 (McElroy & Armesto, 1998). Some scholars have recently begun to critique such programs for a reliance on institutional structures that were often exclusive and which may have lacked cultural relevance for the students intended to benefit from these programs (White, Sakiestewa, & Shelley, 1998). It is clear, however, that larger numbers of racial minority students did achieve entrance into the academy and made steady increases in college enrollment as a result of such programs.

In spite of the gains made following the Civil Rights movement, the struggle for equity and diversity on college campuses in America continued. As enrollment numbers for Black students climbed, enthusiasm and funding for special programs to assist these students waned(Allen, 2005; Smith, et al., 2002). The national political environment of the 1980's

and early 90's, which stressed individual initiative and downplayed social responsibility, provided little support for educational programs in general, and higher education programs in particular. This climate, together with lax enforcement of civil rights legislation, made it possible for campus leaders to ignore the racial issues that continued to plague college and university campuses (Altbach, et al., 2002).

Legal Challenges to Racial Preferences in Higher Education Admissions Policies

The continued resistance to initiatives designed to achieve racial equity in higher education has perhaps been most clearly illustrated in recent decades by a number of challenges to racial considerations in college admissions practices. These policies, which became common in the years following the Civil Rights period, were initially justified by campus leaders as a means of redressing past discriminations against Black students while at the same time attracting a diverse student body that would enrich the educational experience of all students (Bowen & Bok, 1998). In 1978, a White student, Allan Bakke, challenged this practice, arguing that he had been discriminated against in his application to the University of California, Davis medical school.

The Supreme Court ultimately ruled in the *Bakke* case that while the use of racial quotas was in fact a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, admissions officers could continue to consider race in their efforts to increase the representation of students of color. This decision was based on the diversity rationale that that supports "affirmative action to ensure a diverse learning environment at historically White institutions" rather than a remedial rationale "intended to compensate for past and current racial discrimination against students of color" (Yosso, Parker, Solorzano, & Lynn, 2004, p. 8). While most admissions committees continued to consider race as part of a more holistic evaluation in their admissions

processes, the number of Black students enrolled in higher education actually declined, perhaps illustrating the tension between a desire to increase access for racial minority students and the fear of additional lawsuits (Teddlie & Freeman, 2002).

Other legal cases have continued to challenge the practices of racial consideration in college admissions. *Podberesky v. Maryland* in 1995 and *Hopwood v. Texas* in 1996 both ended specific affirmative action programs and returned the question of affirmative action to the center of national attention (Teddlie & Freeman, 2002). In other examples of such litigation, two cases were filed in 1997 against the University of Michigan for their use of race conscious admissions policies. In the case of *Grutter v. Bollinger,* a White female applicant asserted that race-conscious admissions policies at the University of Michigan Law School were discriminatory again White applicants. In this case, although the university defended its practices as a means of developing a more diverse student body, a group of "student intervenors" attached to the case further invoked the remedial rationale as "necessary to maintain the limited presence of students of color in higher education and to remedy past and current racial and gender discrimination at the University of Michigan" (Yosso, et al., 2004, p. 10). A case against such practices at the undergraduate level, *Gratz v. Bollinger*, made similar claims.

Decisions on the Michigan cases were rendered by the Supreme Court in 2003, finding the undergraduate admissions policies to be unlawful, but again allowing for the continued consideration of race as part of a more holistic, individualized consideration of applicants. However, the law school admissions practices were upheld based on the same rationale invoked in the *Bakke* decision, citing the compelling interest of more diverse student body for the sake of associated educational benefits for all students through the creation of a better

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learning environment. The position of the student intervenors was dismissed, along with their

argument that the remedial rationale for affirmative action in higher education remains

relevant in today's racial climate (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009). Allen (2005) notes that

in these Michigan cases,

> The battle lines were drawn for a struggle that engaged the nation's attention. At
> root were core sociocultural beliefs, values, and ideals about race, equity, and
> fairness in America. In this sense, the court cases symbolized a long national
> debate, joining Dred Scott; Plessy v. Ferguson; Brown v. Board Access and
> Equity in Higher Education 401 of Education of Topeka; Bakke v. Regents of the
> University of California [sic]; and a plethora of other court cases that wrestled
> with race, equity, and opportunity in America. (p.18)

These decisions brought some degree of resolution to the lengthy national debate over the use

of race in college admissions policies and served to further establish the notion that diverse

student populations help create beneficial learning environments as the dominant rationale in

support of affirmative action in higher education admissions. While the benefits to White

students are clear, this rationale implies that "students of color benefit from merely being

present at a predominantly White institution and attending college with White students. The

university 'adds' their presence so that students of color will in turn 'add' diversity to the

campus" (Yosso, et al., 2004, p. 8). Unfortunately, while this practice may contribute to

greater access to higher education for students of color, it fails to recognize or address the

continuing inequities they may encounter at American colleges and universities.

African American enrollment in higher education has, since 1985, recovered some of

the losses that occurred in the years following the *Bakke* case and African American students

now matriculate to colleges and universities in record numbers (Teddlie & Freeman, 2002).

However, their increasing representation among the student body does not guarantee an

equitable experience with that of White students, nor does it ensure that enrollment will

translate into persistence and graduation. Black students still earn less than ten percent of all degrees conferred in the United States, and less than five percent all doctoral degrees (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). This is particularly true for racial minority students at predominantly White institutions (Astin, 1990). While the long-term results of these legal decisions continue to emerge, they illustrate the fact that the issue of race on our college campuses remains significant and deserves our further attention.

Experiences of Students of Color at Predominantly White Institutions

A growing body of research has begun to describe the experiences of racial minority students at predominantly White institutions. Numerous studies have documented the cultural insensitivity that racial minority students perceive from White faculty members (Davis et al., 2004; Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002), as well as the sense of isolation and anxiety that these students often feel as a student at a PWI (Loo & Rolison, 1986; Perna et al., 2006; Rice & Alford, 1989). This literature has contributed to our understanding that to improve access to higher education does not guarantee that all students will enjoy an equal quality of experience once they arrive on campus. A brief overview of this literature is helpful in illustrating the challenges that racial minority students may face on a predominantly White campus.

Using a national sample of Black undergraduates from six predominantly White, state institutions, Allen (1985) examined aspects of successful Black student adaptations to college. By focusing on within-group differences, he sought to more fully describe the range of experiences of African American students. Allen found that better relationships with faculty, along with involvement in Black student organizations and positive views toward campus support services, were predictors of academic success among African American students.

In a similar study, Loo and Rolison (1986) examined the experiences of racial minority students at a predominantly White, elite university. They sought to discover the extent and nature of alienation of racial minority students, as well as to determine whether this alienation was significantly different among racial minority students and White students. The authors found that students of color did experience feelings of alienation that were significantly greater than those of their White peers. Two reasons that students repeated identified were "the cultural dominance of White, middle class values on campus, pressuring racial minority students to acquire White, middle-class values and to reject their own" and the "ethnic isolation resulting from being a small proportion of the student body" (Loo & Rolison, 1986, p. 64). Although White students and racial minority students reported thoughts of dropping out in relatively equal numbers, minority students were more likely to attribute their discouragement to socio-cultural alienation, while White students primarily attributed their discouragement to academic struggles.

Students of color and White students also reported differing perspectives on the level of the university's general support of minority students. Although the racial minority students acknowledged the benefit of specialized support programs, they felt the general campus climate was not supportive of minority students. On the other hand, White students were primarily concerned with what they viewed as ethnic clustering within certain colleges within the university. The authors noted the incongruities between White students' and racial minority students' perception of the same event; while White students perceived segregation, students of color perceived "a refuge from White cultural domination" (Loo & Rolison, 1986, p. 69).

Among the implications of their study, Loo and Rolison (1986) identified several

factors that promote academic success among racial minority students by alleviating their

sociocultural and academic alienation. Not surprisingly, these factors include a larger number

of students of color on campus as well as a community of cultural support. While the authors

also note that these students would benefit from larger numbers of minority faculty, they also

suggest a more general need for "supportive and accessible faculty who impart a sense of

academic and personal worth to students" (Loo & Rolison, 1986, p. 72). It is precisely this

kind of support that can be provided by engaged faculty of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.

White faculty engaged in racial justice work at predominantly White institutions would

certainly be counted among this number. My current study provides important knowledge

about the experiences of White faculty engaged in racial justice work, and aims to contribute

over time to more inclusive, welcoming campus environments that better address the

comprehensive needs of all persons within the academic community.

In another study, Schwitzer, Griffin, Ancis, and Thomas (1999) examined the social

adjustment experiences of African American college students at PWIs. In this qualitative

study, the authors identified four significant factors in the adjustment process of Black

students on a predominantly White campus. A sense of underrepresentedness and direct

perceptions of racism highlight the fact that, in spite of gains in enrollment for racial minority

students, the lack of structural diversity on our campuses still has very real consequences for

students of color.

The two remaining factors these authors identified in the social adjustment of African

American students at PWIs – the hurdle of approaching faculty and the effects of faculty

familiarity – directly relate to the current study of White faculty engaged in racial justice

work. Schwitzer, Griffin, Ancis, and Thomas (1999) found while Black students understood the need to initiate contact with faculty, they were sometimes intimidated by the prospect of doing so, and expressed concern that "being African American might negatively affect their relationships with faculty" (p. 192). Students also expressed the belief that many faculty members were unfamiliar with or inexperienced in relationships with Black students, and described "greater comfort when interacting with faculty who were perceived to be more similar or familiar to them" on the basis of race, sex, field of study, or extended interaction (Schwitzer, et al., 1999, p. 195). Thus an engaged White faculty member, with interest in the success of racial minority students and with the cultural competency to build strong faculty-student relationships, could do much to remove these impediments that African American students described as hindrances to their adjustment process on the campus of a predominantly White institution.

In a particularly powerful phenomenological study, Davis et. al (2004) investigated the experiences of high achieving Black students at a predominantly White institution in the southeastern United States. Based on the academic performance of the participants in this study, many would say that these students enjoyed successful college experiences. However, these students reported numerous, repeated incidents of racism, condescension, and sabotage. Their experiences were also characterized by feelings of isolation, a constant need to prove their intellectual abilities, and a sense of being somehow hyper-visible and invisible at the same time.

While these issues remain, allies will continue to provide critical support for racial minority students for whom the challenges of the collegiate experience are compounded by the environment of a predominantly White institution. Although scholars have called our

attention to the critical involvement of White faculty (Brown, et al., 1999; Kobrak, 1992), at present we know very little about the experiences of these allies as they carry out their responsibilities of teaching, research and service. Even less is known about the development of their ally identities. Thus the current study of White faculty racial justice allies has significant implications for the higher education community as we seek a greater understanding of faculty ally experiences.

In summary, research suggests that racial inequality is still a feature of many American institutions of higher education (Smith, et al., 2002). In order to make progress on this front, we must find ways to engage a broader spectrum of our campus population in the cause of social justice. In considering the available resources of time and energy, we can conclude that White faculty play a particularly important role in this process for students of color at predominantly White institutions. If, as Kobrak (1992) suggests, White faculty are the missing link in the success of institutional diversity efforts, this study is an important step toward achieving the goals of future efforts within our colleges and universities.

A Word of Caution

Scholars have suggested that the involvement of White faculty members may be critical to the success of campus diversity efforts (Kobrak, 1992). Others have pointed out that the lack of involvement on the part of White faculty frequently creates an undue burden of service for Black faculty (Brayboy, 2003), and yet little work has been done to examine the experiences of White faculty who are engaged in the work of racial justice on their campuses. If, as Scheurich (2002) suggests, the university environment is one of the few spaces in which explicit anti-racist work is possible, then my study of White faculty engaged as racial justice

allies is an important step toward addressing the existing gap in the literature of both social justice allies and faculty experiences in higher education.

While I approach this work with great enthusiasm and with a sincere desire to support the work of social justice and anti-racism, I also approach this study with a degree of trepidation. Chubbuck (2004) and Grimes (2002) describe the ways in which even sincere efforts to critique and dismantle Whiteness have been found instead to reify Whiteness as the cultural norm. In a similar vein, Titone (1998) posits that many Whites begin their journey toward anti-racist understanding, only to become sidetracked by a multi-cultural intellectualism that never achieves true ally status. As I strive to find my place as a scholar, I hope to avoid pitfalls such as these, and therefore conducted this study of White faculty racial justice allies always with an eye toward self-reflection and a willingness to embrace critique of this work.

More significant than my own development as a scholar, however, is the larger issue of the ways in which the study of Whiteness can serve to reify Whiteness as a normative force, becoming both "conceptually diversionary and intellectually deceptive" (Karenga, 1999). For example, Whiteness is frequently described in the literature as an invisible phenomenon, but scholars of color have pointed out that Whiteness is in fact only invisible to those who inhabit it (Ahmed, 2004, 2007; Karenga, 1999). Karenga (1999) also notes that early efforts to dismantle and critique Whiteness were undertaken by scholars in fields such as ethnic studies, but these efforts were received with less enthusiasm than similar works by White scholars as the field of Whiteness studies emerged and took shape. He points out that studies of Whiteness too frequently focus on "muddled and mistaken conceptions of self by

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White people" rather than on "White supremacy as a social problem, a problem of thought and practice" (Karenga, 1999).

As I conducted this study of White faculty as racial justice allies, I did so with concerted efforts to attend to the concerns of scholars such as Karenga and Ahmed. Although my study examines the experiences of individual faculty members who have been identified as allies, I do so in an effort to illuminate the possibility of a more widespread involvement in the work of social justice, not in an effort to demonstrate that such justice has been achieved, nor in an attempt to distract our attention from the pervasive inequities to continue to plague our campuses.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Little work has been done to explicitly investigate the experiences of White faculty engaged in racial justice work on their campuses. From within the higher education literature, I examine the responsibilities traditionally associated with the faculty role as well as the value typically assigned to their various responsibilities. From other areas of research, I incorporate the literature of ally identity development and Whiteness. These bodies of knowledge, together with the framework of critical race theory, form the conceptual framework for the current study of White faculty engaged in racial justice work at a predominantly White institution of higher education.

Faculty Roles and Rewards

Because the primary focus of the current study is the relationship between faculty work and status as a racial justice ally, the various elements of the faculty role form a critical piece of my conceptual framework. In order to more fully understand the significance of these faculty experiences, we must understand the traditional elements of the faculty role – teaching, research and service.

Boyer (1990) describes the shift that has taken place over time regarding expectations for faculty in American institutions of higher education. From an early emphasis on teaching, to a strong commitment to service during the land grant era, and to the now pervasive interest in research that emerged after World War I, we can observe the behavioral shifts that have taken place among the American professoriate. Boyer notes that as many more institutions adopted a research mission, regardless of institutional type, the standards by which scholarship was evaluated narrowed. As institutions shifted their priorities from

undergraduate teaching to graduate education and research, faculty behavior also changed to reflect these narrow criteria for evaluation and reward.

At the vast majority of American institutions of higher education, faculty appointments continue to reflect the traditional roles of teaching, research, and service. In most cases, however, the process of tenure and promotion focuses heavily on research. Teaching, when considered, is often poorly assessed while service receives only token recognition. One common rationale for the emphasis placed on research is that this element of faculty work is easily assessed while teaching and service are more difficult to evaluate.

Boyer (1990) suggests that with some effort, teaching and service can be integrated into an assessment of scholarship and faculty performance. Unfortunately, few leaders in higher education have taken the initiative to pursue this possibility and research continues to reign supreme in considerations of faculty reward. Given this common occurrence, "there is a recognition that the faculty reward system does not match the full range of academic functions and that professors are often caught between competing obligations" (p. 1). Thus any consideration of faculty work must consider the fact that in most departments, faculty who engage in extensive service or who prioritize their teaching role do so with little hope of reward or recognition for their efforts. This may be even more true when service takes the form of racial justice work in institutional contexts that are not supportive of such activities.

Our understanding of the faculty teaching role has been illuminated by a variety of scholarship examining this component of faculty work. McKeachie (1990) provides a historical overview of these investigations in his synthesis of research on college teaching. He notes that early research in the field attempted to answer basic questions such as the impact of class size or instructional methods on student learning, but failed to look beyond

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practical to theoretical considerations. Early attempts to evaluate teaching effectiveness

evolved from simple measures of teaching outcomes to include student ratings as a source of

data for both research and to inform instructional improvements. As the field developed,

focus shifted from investigations of behavior only to include examinations of the role of

cognitive function in college teaching. This summary of educational research related to

college teaching is significant not only for the body of knowledge that it represents, but also

for areas of study that are conspicuously absent. Most relevant to the current study is the

observation that this synthesis of research, although spanning the period from the 1920s

through the 1980s, describes no significant investigations of the role of race in college

teaching from the perspective of either students or instructors.

     A study by Cross (2005) illustrates the direction that research on college teaching has

taken in more recent years. In this quantitative study, Cross surveyed 2,800 college teachers

at 33 two- and four-year institutions in order to examine their perceptions of teaching goals

and roles. These faculty were asked to identify their primary teaching role from choices that

included the development of higher order thinking skills, dissemination of facts and

principles, assistance with jobs/careers, student development, basic learning skills, and role

modeling. Cross found that the most significant differences among faculty occurred across

fields of study. For example, "whereas 55 % of the science teachers said they were primarily

concerned about teaching students the facts and principles of their subject matter, only 17 %

of the English teachers saw mastery of subject matter as their primary role" (P. Cross, 2005,

p. 3).

     In this study, Cross (2005) also utilized the Teaching Goals Inventory to gather

additional data. Through this instrument, college teachers were asked to rate the importance

of 52 goals with relevance to a particular course that they were currently teaching. Again, results showed most significant differences across disciplines. Faculty from fields such as math, science and engineering emphasized their role developing analytical and problem solving skills, while teachers of English prioritized the development of writing skills and the capacity to think for one's self along with analytical skills. Ultimately, Cross found that "most college teachers are teaching their disciplines, plus a core of academic values … which might be characterized as cool, rational, analytic thinking, fairly well divorced from emotion and personal involvement" (P. Cross, 2005, p. 6). As she considers the direction that future research may take, she suggests that emphasis should be maintained on understanding the cultural differences that characterize increasingly diverse student populations. Cross stops short of explicitly asserting that such differences require diverse teaching practices, or suggesting that some teachers might prioritize a role that aims to support the goals of social justice. However, she concludes that in order to "raise teaching to a more sophisticated level of development, classroom teachers are going to have to take more responsibility for generating knowledge about what and how well students are learning whatever it is that students are trying to teach" (P. Cross, 2005, p. 12).

While the studies above have investigated college teaching, Ward (2003) examines the history of faculty service in American institutions of higher education. She reiterates Boyer's (1990) concern surrounding the lack of value assigned to faculty service in evaluations of performance, and shares his assertion that faculty service must be more clearly defined and better understood if it is to become a more central component of the evaluation process. More explicitly, Ward (2003) calls for a scholarship of engagement in which "boundaries between campus and community, knowledge and dissemination, town and gown, research and

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application are blurred" (p. 13). A scholarship of this nature, she posits, will be more responsive to the needs of today's student body. Within this framework of engagement, faculty work for racial justice would be seen as valuable to individual students, departments, and the campus community at large. However, on campuses that have not yet embraced this broader concept of scholarship, racial justice ally work may fall outside the expectations more typically inscribed in the traditional faculty roles.

The issue of service as a part of faculty life remains current, as evidenced by a recent study by Neumann and Terosky (2007), who consider the experiences of service by recently tenured faculty at major research universities. Their work examines the widely held view that faculty service increases after tenure. The framework of their study describes faculty service as: broad-ranging and underdefined; prominent, but underappreciated and underresearched; outward-oriented without focus on what faculty gain developmentally through service; and a significant component of the work expected by faculty at mid career.

Among Neumann and Terosky's (2007) findings, most relevant to my current study of White faculty engaged in racial justice work is the idea that service has developmental implications for faculty. The authors identified gains in knowledge and understanding as a result of their involvement in service. These gains included increased knowledge about the academic field in which faculty studied and taught, opportunities related to improved job or career management, and organizational knowledge about the university. This concept of faculty learning that occurs through service has definite implications for faculty involved in service work with students in general, and particularly for those involved in racial justice work. An examination of faculty experiences in this capacity should consider learning and development associated with this service and the implications of this development over time

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for continued involvement in racial justice work and perceptions of expertise and effectiveness as allies.

Jaeger and Thornton (2006) examine more specifically the experiences of faculty in their public outreach roles. The concerns expressed by faculty involved in this type of service reiterate the general concerns associated with service as a whole. For example, they note that "rewards, both pay and tenure, are for those engaging in . . . academic capitalist behavior and typically not for those who emphasize public service and teaching" (p. 346). In their case study of a large land-grant institution, the authors noted that faculty encountered conflicting messages about the value of service. Although the institution's mission explicitly called for public service, this service was not practically supported by the institution. As a result, faculty who desired to engage in this service were most successful when they found outside sources of support. Because tenured faculty recognized that service activity was not rewarded, they encouraged junior faculty to delay service activity until post-tenure, in spite of junior faculty members' eagerness to engage in service activities immediately upon appointment. The findings of Jaeger and Thornton (2006) echo the concerns that have often been voiced regarding faculty service: few faculty are willing to invest their time and effort in this arena at risk of being deemed inadequate in other areas, particularly research and publication. In order to engender a real culture of service, institutions must develop policies that support service and incorporate it into the promotion and tenure evaluation processes.

In consideration of service as a faculty role, it must also be recognized that the service role does not affect all faculty equally. Expectations of faculty service certainly differ based on institutional type and faculty appointment type. For example, faculty members at a four-year institution might be expected to spend significantly more time in roles such as student

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advising than would faculty at research-intensive institutions (Ward, 2003). More

significantly, personal characteristics such as race and gender may also predict the level of

service in which a faculty member may be involved (Aguirre, 2000). Non-White faculty are

more likely to be involved in service related to equity and diversity and to be further

marginalized through this service (Antonio, Astin, & Cress, 2000). Through the current

examination of White faculty as racial justice allies, we may also come to understand how

these White faculty allies participate in service in ways that relieve part of the cultural

taxation that diversity related service may impose on faculty of color.

White Faculty and Ally Identity Development

This study seeks to examine the relationship between faculty work and status as a

racial justice ally, and attempts to build knowledge of the ways in which White faculty

engaged in racial justice work come to identify as allies. Although there is very little

literature that directly examines this subject, there are a number of studies to indirectly

illuminate this topic. For example, in an early study of faculty response to increasing racial

diversity on campus, Mingle (1978) identified several predictors of faculty response to the

increased enrollment of Black students. Faculty with strong meritocratic attitudes tended to

view the long-range impact of racial minority students in a negative light. These faculty

members minimized the university's responsibility regarding issues of race and believed that

Black students should be fully integrated into the existing culture and organization of the

institution. On the other hand, faculty with pluralistic viewpoints viewed long-range impact

of increased racial minority enrollment positively and held liberal views on the role of the

university in issues of racial injustice.

This early study of faculty response to racial minority student enrollment also provides an important historical context for my current study of faculty engaged in racial justice work. Mingle's (1978) study demonstrates that for more than 30 years, the enrollment of racial minority students at our colleges and universities has been an issue for scholarly inquiry. Even in this early scholarship, the question of faculty's relationship with racial minority students and resulting changes in faculty work is central. Unfortunately, this question remains largely unanswered to date and much remains unknown about the experiences of faculty engaged in work as racial justice allies.

The body of literature examining cross-cultural mentoring between racial minority students and White faculty also informs this study of ally identity development among White faculty. Much of this literature focuses on the student experience and is often prescriptive in nature rather than scholarly (Gibbons, 1993; Jenkins, 1990). However, this literature remains important to my consideration of White faculty as racial justice allies because a significant portion of their ally work may involve direct individual interaction with racial minority students.

In an example of the literature on cross-cultural relationships in academia, Jenkins (1990) provides a set of guidelines to facilitate communication between White faculty and students of color. These guidelines, which were developed based on a series of interviews with 77 racial minority students at a California university, describe effective faculty behavior in the contexts of classroom interaction, advising, and evaluation. The authors note that students felt, in each of these contexts, that cultural stereotypes held by the faculty member or by fellow students negatively influenced the students' experience. In response to this concern, the authors suggests that faculty should "encourage students to share culture-specific

knowledge and expertise" while taking care not "to ask students of color to speak as spokespersons for their races" (Jenkins, 1990, p. 11).

Perhaps most relevant to the current investigation of White faculty as racial justice allies, data from the student interviews in this study suggested that "students of color would welcome faculty mentors with whom they had an ongoing relationship" while at the same time, students voiced "frustration at the lack of faculty recognition of their personal struggles and achievements" (Jenkins, 1990, pp. 11-12). In a faculty workshop conducted in conjunction with the student interviews in this study, faculty recognized the need to provide advising and mentoring for students, but noted that these activities are time consuming and not rewarded in the tenure and promotions process. Although Jenkins' focus is primarily to provide behavioral guidelines for faculty as they engage with racial minority students, literature in this vein does point to concerns that might hinder the participation of White faculty as racial justice allies. The current qualitative investigation of White faculty engaged in racial justice work moves beyond studies such as this one described by Jenkins (1990) by explicitly examining the professional experiences of the faculty involved in this work as opposed to focusing on the benefits derived by students.

Barker (2007) also discusses cross-cultural relationships, specifically in the context of mentoring between White faculty members and Black students. While he does not address ally identity development, his model of the mentoring dyad identifies the level of racial identity, cultural ideology and perception, and personal experiences of each dyad member as internal factors that influence the mentoring relationship. Barker's model also includes institutional context as an external influence within which the faculty/student relationship is mediated (Barker, 2007). My current study of White faculty members engaged in racial

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justice ally work will provide additional data to consider in light of this model that Barker has proposed, with particular attention to the internal and external influences of the faculty member.

Stassen (1995) offers a more explicit theoretical framework describing faculty responses to racial diversity and the factors that influence those responses. This framework also highlights the role of institutional context and draws upon social-pyschological literature on White racial attitudes, secondary education literature on teacher-student relationships, and higher education literature on faculty behaviors. This framework addresses White faculty attitudes toward Black students, although Stassen proposes that it may also be adapted for other racial minority populations.

Based on her review of the literature, Stassen (1995) identifies four elements of faculty behavior as critical: (1) faculty expectations and resulting evaluations for Black students; (2) the amount and quality of formal and informal interaction between faculty and Black students; (3) faculty willingness to extend help to Black students; and (4) faculty support or non-support for institutional priorities and policies related to diversity. In conclusion, Stassen (1995) notes that her theory has particularly important implications for institutional diversity interventions because "the very initiatives and interventions implemented may activate negative attitudes by threatening the faculty status quo or by tapping strong in-group preferences" (p. 382). This could have particular consequences for any faculty members actively engaged in working for racial justice. Because of this concern, it is vitally important for institutional leaders to foster campus climates that value diversity as a complement to quality rather than an impediment. The current study contributes to this

conversation by discovering the ways in which institutional context can impact the professional experiences of White faculty engaged as racial justice allies.

The literature described to this point speaks specifically to faculty experiences, but only indirectly informs the issue of ally identity development. In contrast, there is a literature surrounding social justice ally identity development that does not directly address the experiences of White faculty. This body of literature, however, speaks directly to the question of how White faculty come to be / identify as allies and plays an obvious role in shaping the conceptual framework of this study. As previously noted, this subject has not been fully explored and much of the existing literature looks at ally identity development among students. However, I posit that the identity development component of these works is relevant to individuals outside of the student role and is therefore applicable to my examination of White faculty and their ally identity development.

In one such study, Reason, Scales, and Millar (2005) discuss ways that student affairs professionals can encourage students to become involved in racial justice work. The authors posit that racial justice allies develop this identity through three stages which include "understanding racism, power, and privilege both intellectually and affectively; developing a new White consciousness; and encouraging racial justice action" (Reason, et al., 2005, p. 56). While this article does not speak specifically to faculty as social justice allies, the authors note that student affairs practitioners should also engage in this process in order to more successfully influence the students with whom they interact. This conceptualization of ally identity development is relevant to both the interview protocol and data analysis for the current study.

In another study, Reason (2005, April) uses phenomenological methods to explore racial justice identity development among student allies. Students in this study were asked to describe what it means to them to be White and how Whiteness has influenced their racial justice actions. In his findings, Reason (2005) reports that "students recognized and demonstrated their Whiteness as a continuous process of rearticulating meaning based on new experiences, a process that is both personal and public" (p.28). He also notes that the phenomenological nature of this study provides an important step toward the discovery of language that allows racial justice allies to describe their White experiences outside of the usual framework, which positions Whites only as members of the dominant group with little possibility of crafting more positive White identities. The current study, which examines the White faculty ally experience using similar qualitative methods, may be useful in conjunction with Reason's findings in developing a more general understanding of the White ally experience.

In yet another phenomenological study, Broido (2000a) examined the processes through which students developed as social justice allies. She interviewed six students who were actively engaged in ally work but who had not begun to work as allies prior to college enrollment. In her findings, Broido describes three components which all of the participants identified as significant to their willingness and ability to act as allies: increased information on social justice issues, engagement in meaning-making processes, and self-confidence. The students encountered knowledge about systems of oppression both in the classroom and in informal settings. Discussion, self-reflection, and perspective-taking provided students with ways to further engage their new knowledge and begin to incorporate this knowledge into their individual worldviews. Finally, the students noted self-confidence as an important

component that enabled them to move beyond social justice attitudes into social justice actions. Significantly, the students also reported that their ally behavior was not self-initiated, but rather began through recruitment or being in positions of leadership where ally behaviors were expected of them (Broido, 2000a).

In my current review of the literature, only Scheurich and Young (2002) specifically describe the attitudes of White faculty in relation to antiracist activism. These authors describe a model in which racism exists in embedded layers, beginning with individual racism (both overt and covert) and progressing outward to institutional racism, societal racism, and civilizational racism. When individuals understand racism only in terms of personal behaviors, they can "sincerely believe that they as individuals are no longer supportive of racism, while the numerous effects, old and new, of racism continue unabated" (Scheurich & Young, 2002, p. 221).

Scheurich and Young (2002) further describe the manner in which each level of racism is manifest within colleges and universities. They note that while few faculty members would feel that they were individually implicated in racism, institutional, societal and civilizational racism are in fact still intertwined in academia. This theoretical piece suggests possibilities for investigating the ways in which racial justice faculty allies might frame their view of the world if these allies understand more clearly the hierarchy of racism that extends beyond the level of individual actions. However, there is no accompanying research to examine how White faculty allies might make meaning of the description of racism that Scheurich and Young (2002) present.

Whiteness

The societal and civilizational racism that Scheurich and Young (2002) describe lead us to a consideration of the hegemonic Whiteness that manifests as a "shifting configuration of practices and meanings that occupy the dominant position in a particular racial formation and that successfully manage to occupy the empty space of 'normality' in our culture" (Lewis, 2004). Scholars of Whiteness note that most Whites operate within this system with no real consciousness of the privileges they accrue or the disadvantages suffered by minorities (Chubbuck, 2004; Kendall, 2006; Reason & Davis, 2005). Rather, due to their "social location (as dominants), Whites have historically had the luxury of racializing others without necessarily, except strategically, developing or invoking a strong racial consciousness" (Lewis, 2004, p. 626).

Lewis (2004) describes this phenomenon more completely as she identifies some of the challenges that face scholars as they attempt to study Whiteness in an social environment in which many Whites do not recognize that they "have race" (p. 634). She notes that hegemonic Whiteness is not a quality inherent to individual Whites but is a collective social force that shapes their lives just as it shapes the lives of racial minorities. It is also a quality to which people may well have only partial access, and one that is regularly contested. Thus the significance of understanding the role of Whiteness within a specific organization such as a college or university is that it functions not merely as "an ideological or cultural artifact but carries material rewards" (p. 634). In other words, Whites will accrue certain benefits in organizations marked by Whiteness even if they have no conscious awareness of this phenomenon.

As an advocate for anti-racist education, Thompson (1997) also notes that "racism is not an aberration or tragic flaw [of individuals] but a systematic way of organizing social relations that privileges Whites and then naturalizes that privilege" (p.13). She notes that as a result of this naturalization of Whiteness, "African Americans are put on the defensive and required to establish their belongingness to the satisfaction of those in power" (p.14). Simple recognition of normative Whiteness, however, does not result in positive movement toward social justice and equality. Thompson posits that in order to avoid complicity in racism, one must "challenge naturalized presumptions of White privilege so that race relations can be problematized and reconstructed," and she notes that "anti-racist considerations apply wherever Whiteness has been assumed as a standard or Blackness treated as a foil—whether in moral relations, democratic relations, or standards of educational and intellectual achievement" (p. 15).

Although Whiteness as a normalizing construct is pervasive in many organizations such as predominantly White colleges and universities, Lewis (2004) points out that while "Whites are a social collective, this does not negate their heterogeneity. There are multiple ways of expressing or doing Whiteness. However, there is at any particular time a dominant form that shapes the lives of all those living within that particular racial formation" (p. 626). As an example, Lewis describes social groups that may be all-White in terms of membership, not through exclusionary practices but rather as "one of many outcomes from exclusive policies at a different level" or as "an outcome of long histories of racial exclusion, even if those discriminatory policies are not pursued actively or aggressively today" (p.627).

The connection between Whiteness and social justice ally development is illuminated by literature, both within and outside of higher education, which suggests that an awareness

and understanding of one's own Whiteness is a prerequisite for engagement as an ally (Lewis, 2004; Titone, 1998). In this context, the emphasis narrows from Whiteness as a socializing norm to an understanding of one's individual racial identity. In example, Kendall (2006) provides a personal exploration of the intersection of Whiteness and social justice work. She describes anecdotally many examples of how she and others came to understand their White racial identity and its accompanying White privilege. In her concluding chapter, Kendall deals explicitly with the role that allies play in the work for social justice and defines specific characteristics of the ally role, which include: to serve as a change agent at both the personal and institutional level; to develop an understanding of the personal and institutional experiences of the person or people with whom they are allied; and to ally themselves publicly and privately with members of target groups (Kendall, 2006). Although not situated within a traditional scholarly framework, Kendall's work is a compelling example of scholarship informed by personal experiences and motivated by desire for social change. Other scholars have noted the appropriateness of such scholarship and knowledge building, particularly in relation to issues of social change (Neumann & Peterson, 1997).

The relationship of White identity and social justice work is explored more formally by Eichstedt (2001) in a phenomenological study of White antiracist activists. She notes that Whites have sometimes claimed an ethnic identity (Polish, Irish, etc.) or an additionally disadvantaged status (such as economic status or sexual orientation) in order to distance themselves from homogenous Whiteness and its attending implications in racism. In contrast, all of the participants in Eichstedt's study acknowledged their Whiteness and the advantages that it incurs, defining their own identity as problematic and impossible to disentangle from the racial inequities in our society. Although many participants described negative attributes

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associated with their racial identities, they also note that their sense of identity grew over time to include both acceptance of Whiteness and identity based on their antiracism work. This need to balance a negative identity with a positive construction of self emerged in the responses of each participant (Eichstedt, 2001). Due to the small size and unique characteristics of the sample used in this study, we should be cautious when generalizing Eichstedt's finding. However, her work to describe the experiences of White antiracist workers gives us new ways of understanding how individuals make meaning of their work for social justice and how this meaning intersects with the ally's understandings of her own racial identity.

Bailey (1998) provides another way of thinking about this self-understanding, racial-awareness and Whiteness within the context of racial privilege and ally work. She suggests that normative behavioral scripts for Whites reinscribe "a racial order in which White lives, culture, and experiences are valued at the expense of the lives of persons of color" (Bailey, 1998, p.36). Bailey describes these normative scripts as privilege-evasive, but notes that individuals can choose to craft disruptive, privilege-cognizant scripts. She posits that "a key feature of privilege-cognizant standpoints is the choice to develop a critically reflective consciousness" (Bailey, 1998, p.36). However, Bailey carefully notes that this process of becoming privilege-cognizant has no endpoint, as individuals constantly enact identities that are shifting, multifaceted, and context dependent.

In a similar vein, Reason and Evans (2007) describe a "racially cognizant sense of self" that "seems to be a prerequisite to Whites engaging in the fight for racial justice;" in contrast to the Whiteness that is normative and unexamined on most college campuses , the authors describe a racially cognizant self "that encompasses an understanding of guilt, power,

and privilege yet avoids the paralysis and victim perspectives that some Whites assume" (p. 71). They posit that one who achieves this racially cognizant sense of self can then "balance the desire to view each person as an individual with recognition of the role that social group membership plays in shaping an individual's experiences" (p. 73).

In contrast to earlier models of racial identity development (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Helms, 1990) the type of racial identity awareness described by Reason and Evans (2007) does not focus on linear development from one identity status to another. Instead, they describe a racial identity that is not static, but rather allows an individual to recognize both her own complicity in the racism of societal structures and her engagement in the struggle against these norms – and the possibility that these facets of her identity may be more or less complex in a given situation.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) emerged during the mid 70s as an extension of critical legal studies, which critiqued the ability of the law to address the United State's continuing racial divide and challenged the ideals of meritocracy. Scholars of critical race theory sought to further this discussion by specifically examining the persistent influence of race and racism. Early proponents of CRT, such as Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, sought not only to understand the influence of Whiteness in maintaining the philosophies of meritocracy, but also to infuse their scholarship with an activist element that had not been present in critical legal studies (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). Unwilling to accept the slow pace of reform, they sought new ways to understand the racism that, although more subtle, continued to impact the lives of persons of color. A community of scholars began to converge around this interest, and while no single definition of CRT exists, a number of critical themes emerged as the basis

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of what we know today as critical race theory. Among these basic tenets are racism as "normal, not aberrant in American society," the use of storytelling or counter-narratives to "challenge racial oppression and the status quo," and the critique of liberalism, which challenges the notions of colorblindness and incremental change (Delgado, 1995). Harper, Patton and Wooden (2009) offer discussions of each of these central tenets and further describe other common tenets such as the significance of racial realists, a recognition of interest convergence, and the call for revisionist history. With regard to the permanence of racism, they note that the lens of CRT "unveils the various forms in which racism continually manifests itself, despite espoused institutional values regarding equity and social justice" (p. 390). The use of counter-narratives "gives voice to the unique perspectives and lived experiences of people of color" and facilitates efforts to "place racism in a realistic context and actively work to eliminate it" (p.391). Decuir and Dixson (2004) describe the tenet of critique of liberalism, which rejects "three basic notions that have been embraced by liberal legal ideology: the notion of colorblindness, the neutrality of the law, and incremental chance" (p. 29).

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) were among the first to demonstrate the applicability of critical race theory to educational research. In their seminal article, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," these authors identified the shortcomings of extant research methodologies to look beyond issues of class and gender in order to reveal the relationship between racism and educational inequity. They also called on educational researchers to center the experiences of people of color in order to challenge claims of neutrality, meritocracy, and colorblindness in American educational systems.

As other scholars accepted this challenge, critical race theory continued to develop and has become more widely used as a methodology that "advances a strategy to foreground and account for the role of race and racism in education and work towards the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of opposing or eliminating other forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexual orientation, language, and national origins"(Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, p. 63). A number of scholars have utilized CRT for the purpose of examining issues of race specifically within the realm of higher education. Their work illustrates the ways in which critical race theory can inform the current study of White faculty as racial justice allies in a predominantly White institution.

For example, Solórzano, Ceja and Yosso (2000) engaged critical race theory as a means of describing the encounters with and responses to racial microagressions, the unconscious and subtle racisms that African American students experience on a predominantly White campus; they also illustrate the negative impact of such microagressions on the campus climate as a whole. By drawing on tenets of CRT such as the permanence of racism and the use of counter-stories, the authors foreground the experiences of students of color as a source of rich knowledge that can be both liberatory and transformative.

Using a qualitative, focus-group design, Solórzano, Ceja and Yosso collected data to describe the experiences of a total of 34 African American students who were attending three PWI research institutions. Through a grounded theory analytical approach, the authors identified thematic patterns including Racial Microagressions within the Academic Spaces, Effects of Racial Microagressions, and Creating Counter-Spaces as a Response to Racial Microagressions. Together, these themes "demonstrate that even at high levels of accomplishment (i.e., at elite undergraduate universities), where educational conditions might

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on the surface appear to be equal, inequality and discrimination still exist—albeit in more

subtle and hidden forms" (Solorzano, et al., 2000, p. 71).

Critical race theory has also been used to look beyond the realm of student

experiences in higher education and to examination the policies and practices that inform

these experiences. For example, Yosso, Parker, Solorzano and Lynn (2004) used critical race

theory to examine rationales for affirmative action policies designed to improve access to

higher education. These scholars describe three rationales frequently used to support or

condemn affirmative action policies, including the color-blind rationale, the diversity

rationale, and the remedial and community service rationale. Through a CRT analysis of

these philosophies and the legal decisions in which they have been, Yosso et al. illustrate the

degree to which students of color remain marginalized. They assert that "critical race counter-

stories centered on the voices and knowledge of communities of color should be taken into

account in higher education policy and practice" and that such counter-stories are useful for

their ability to "expose, analyze, and challenge the traditional stories of racial privilege often

repeated in the halls of academia" (Yosso, et al., 2004, p. 10). Furthermore, the authors

demonstrate that while the diversity rationale is the most widely accepted means of support

for affirmative action in higher education, it fails to displace the notion of White students as

normative.

Recently, scholars have also begun to consider the ways in which Critical Race

Theory can be incorporated into daily practices within the academy. For example, Hughes

and Giles (2010) introduce the concept of "CRiT walking," a metaphoric walk through the

neighborhoods of an institution of higher education. The authors suggest the application of

CRT in this context as a mechanism through which to "increase the critical thinking skills and

awareness about the norms and seemingly invisibility of racism for students and instructors" (Hughes & Giles, 2010, p. 42). While Hughes and Giles recognize that CRT scholarship has historically been activist in nature, they propose through their concept of CRiT walking to encourage the development methodologies for classroom and community practice.

These examples of critical race theory as a framework for educational research illustrate the effectiveness of CRT as a lens through which to examine the experiences of White faculty as racial justice allies at a predominantly White institution. By invoking the tenets of CRT, such as the permanence of racism and the use of counter-narrative, we can more fully understand not only how these faculty participants began to develop their ally identities, but also the ways in which these identities intersect with the responsibilities of faculty work.

Summary

Although little work has been done to explicitly examine the experiences of White faculty engaged in racial justice work on their campuses, the literature described here provides a strong foundation from which to begin an exploration of those experiences. The current study of White faculty engaged in racial justice work on a predominantly White campus considers these experiences as they relate to the traditional components of academic work in a specific institutional context and ally identity development.

From the literature describing faculty roles and rewards, we learn that although service is an important component of faculty life, it is difficult to assess and rarely rewarded (Boyer, 1990; Neumann & Terosky, 2007; Ward, 2003). We also learn that expectations of service differ based on institution and appointment type (Ward, 2003) and frequently impose undue burdens on faculty of color (Antonio, 2001). The literature describing ally identity

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development, faculty and Whiteness further informs my examination of the ways in which White faculty engaged in racial justice work come to be / identify as allies. This literature cautions White faculty to be aware of cultural stereotypes that negatively influence the student experience (Jenkins, 1990) and describes the impact of both personal identity development and institutional context on a faculty member's ability to effectively provide mentoring and support to racial minority students (Barker, 2007; Stassen, 1995). Additional studies posit the ways in which racial justice allies might negotiate a more positive White identity that enables them to recognize their own Whiteness while working against its normalizing influence (Broido, 2000a; Reason & Davis, 2005; Reason & Evans, 2007). More explicitly, the literature of Whiteness describes the ways in which Whiteness operates as a normalizing cultural influence, often unnoticed by those with access to the privilege it confers (Chubbuck, 2004; Kendall, 2006; Lewis, 2004; Thompson, 1997). Finally, critical race theory provides a theoretical framework that illuminates these ally experiences and helps to build the connection between the literature of identity development, faculty roles and rewards, and Whiteness (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Harper, et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). While the primary data produced through this study is drawn from the experiences of White faculty participants, it ultimately has implications for fostering more equitable climates for communities of color as well as engaging a broader spectrum of the campus community in the cause of racial justice.

Chapter Three: Methodology

After reviewing the literature and theoretical frameworks that provide the foundation for this study, I return to the research question first presented in Chapter One:

- What are the experiences of White faculty at a predominantly White institution (PWI) who participate in the campus community as racial justice allies?

For the purpose of the current study, this broad question is investigated through the supporting questions outlined below:

- How do these White faculty come to be / identify as allies?

- How do the positions of White faculty as allies affect their scholarly work of teaching, research and service?

- How is their ally work influenced by the context of the predominantly White institution?

Because relatively little scholarship has focused on the role of White faculty in implementing diversity, this project is exploratory in nature. Additionally, the conceptual frameworks that underlie this study – faculty work and ally identity development – are difficult to quantify and measure. Given these factors, and given an intent not to produce data that can be generalized and replicated, but rather to provide a rich description of an experience that has not been previously explored, qualitative methods are appropriate for this study (Moustakas, 1994; Schutz, 1970; Shank, 2006).

Research Design

In particular, this study utilizes in-depth qualitative interviews to examine the experiences of White faculty as racial justice allies at a predominantly White institution. As described by Marshall and Rossman (2006), this qualitative research methodology is a

valuable means through which to conduct research that "elicits multiple constructed realities, studied holistically" and further "elicits tacit knowledge and subjective understandings and interpretations" (p. 53). Seidman (2006) has also noted that the essence of this methodology is "an interest in understanding the lived experiences of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 6). Through the use of in-depth, qualitative interviews, the researcher can obtain "information about a participant's thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, reasoning, motivations, and feelings about a topic" (Johnson & Christensen, 2004, p. 182). This is the design utilized in the current study as White faculty allies are asked to reflect on their experiences as faculty members engaged in the work of racial justice at a predominantly White institution.

Participant Selection

The participants selected for inclusion in this study are faculty members at a large research extensive university in the South, which will be referred to throughout this study as Capitol University. This institution was selected not only because its location provided an easily accessible campus from which data for the study could be conducted via in-person interviews, but also because of its regional context and status as the flagship institution within the state. Flagship institutions are often charged with special responsibility for producing future leaders in their states, and therefore deserve special scrutiny in terms of their efforts to achieve social justice (Perna, et al., 2006). Astin (1990) has also noted that flagship institutions occupy the top rung of the institutional hierarchy in their states and therefore receive the largest share of resources and opportunities, while at the same time typically serve the smallest proportion of poor and racial minority students among other institutions in the

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same state. Given these institutional characteristics, a flagship university is the ideal context in which to conduct the current study of White faculty as racial justice allies.

By selecting participants from a single institution with a history of segregation and within a specific regional context, I acknowledge the influence of institutional context in the experiences of the faculty who will participate in this study (Barker, 2007). In this instance, the institutional context is of particular significance. Capitol University is located among the group of Southern states that resisted the end of legal segregation, a resistance that was exhibited at all levels of education in the state. Taylor (1956) has described efforts by state legislators, even after the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, not only to appropriate funding for attorneys to lead the fight to maintain segregation, but also to impose higher admissions standards as a means to minimize the number of Black students who could gain entrance to the university. Such practices were common throughout the southern states; Capitol University was no exception (Taylor, 1956).

Today, higher education in the South still reflects this history of segregation. Through their study of data from the Postsecondary Education Data System, Perna et al (2006) highlight the degree of racial inequity that persists among flagship universities in this region. While they note that some institution have made gains in both enrollment and degree attainment among Black undergraduate students, "Blacks remain consistently below equity in first-time, full-time enrollments at public 4-year predominantly White institutions in the aggregate and at public flagship institutions in particular" (Perna, et al., 2006, p. 222). This evidence suggests that while espoused commitments to recruit and retain a more diverse student body have become commonplace among institutions of higher education (Rowley, et al., 2002), significant barriers still exist for students of color.

Other indicators also point to the climates of inequity that often characterizes predominantly White institutions. Many White students still arrive on campus with very little multicultural awareness and an inability to practice critical self-reflection with regard to their own histories of race (Asher, 2005), while the community surrounding the institution may bears the collective memory of exclusive policies and unwelcoming attitudes (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 2002) . In addition, racially divisive symbols and traditions continue to hold significant meaning on campuses in the South. Examples include display of the Confederate flag, often adapted to include the colors associated with a given university, and mascots that invoke reverence toward prior eras of legal segregation and racial oppression. Although some efforts have been made to address practices such as those described above (Fain, 2006), it remains to be seen to what degree these efforts mitigate unwelcoming institutional climates. It is within a campus context such as this that the faculty allies who participated in the current study at Capitol University conduct their work of teaching, research and service, and it is within this climate that the students they serve attend classes and engage with their peers.

During the Fall 2009 semester, Capitol University enrolled approximately 23,000 undergraduate students. Of those students, just over 18% identified as students of color. The undergraduate population during that semester included 8.7% Black students, 3.4% Hispanic students, and 3.3% Asian or Pacific Islander. Fall 2009 graduate enrollment included 8.5% Black students, 2% Asian or Pacific Islander students, and 2.3% Hispanic students. Although the student body of Capitol University now includes students from a wide variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, the institutional history of segregation continues to influence discussions of race on this campus so that issues of diversity are often still framed in terms of Black and White racial relations.

For the purpose of this study, I draw from Broido's (2000b) definition of social justice allies as "members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social-group membership" (p. 345). This is congruent with the definition of White allies offered by Titone (1998), in a discussion of her own development of a positive White identity as an educator, as she describes an ally as "someone who takes on the struggle against discrimination and racist practice and systems because of skin color, language difference, gender, etc. even if it is not his or her own personal struggle" (p. 174). In the context of this study, allies are White faculty who participate as racial justice allies within the community of Capitol University.

As the first step in the process of identifying faculty participants, I met with the chief diversity officer of Capitol University to describe my research and to solicit her support. This meeting accomplished the courtesy of informing this administrator of my study and also included a request for assistance in identifying faculty members who are known to work as allies on this campus. Because of the role of the chief diversity officer and the nature of this study, her familiarity with the campus community was very helpful in forming a preliminary pool of faculty from which to ultimately select participants for this study.

A secondary component of the participant identification process included email and personal communication with student groups who represent historically marginalized populations. These groups received a brief description of my research interest and an invitation to recommend faculty for inclusion in this study. Students were asked to include in these recommendations a brief description of how the nominated faculty member has contributed to the success of students of color on this campus. By including students in the

sample identification process, I increased the possibility of identifying White faculty who work as allies but who serve in no formal diversity-related capacity. This sampling method is similar to that utilized by Chubbuck (2004) as she developed case studies of effective, activist White secondary literacy teachers in order to describe both the enactment and disruption of Whiteness in their pedagogies. Additional faculty nominations were solicited from campus units which work closely with students of color in culturally and academically oriented programs.

The recommendations of the chief diversity officer and other campus administrators were combined with recommendations submitted by students. Individual faculty members nominated by both students and administrators were viewed as potentially rich sources of data and prioritized as potential participants. Faculty members identified as potential subjects were then contacted via an introductory email, telephone call or office visit and were asked to confirm their interest and willingness to participate in this study.

As previously noted, few scholars have examined the role of White faculty at predominantly White institutions. In one of the few existing studies, Brayboy (2003) suggests that many of these faculty members view issues of diversity as "someone else's problem" (p. 76). Other scholars have similarly noted that most faculty members have shown little interest in matters of diversity (Altbach, et al., 2002). Therefore, random sampling of White faculty members at a PWI might result in a sample that yielded very little data on the subject of White faculty as allies for members of historically marginalized groups. For this reason, the purposeful sampling strategy described above is an appropriate method for identifying White faculty at PWIs who are actively involved as allies in developing an inclusive campus

environment and who can thereby provide rich data on this subject (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

From faculty who indicated willingness to participate in this study, I initially intended to select a sample that included representatives of various colleges and departments, professional rank, age and gender in order to allow for discovery of differences and similarities that may emerge between specific groups during cross-case analysis. However, the sample identification process described above ultimately led to a relatively small pool of potential faculty participants. Therefore, while future studies may include a formal analysis of the influence of gender, age or tenure status, such analysis was not included in the current study.

Ultimately, a total of nine faculty participants were invited and agreed to participate in this study. In each case, both the topic of study and the sampling process were completely explained prior to confirmation of participation. Although not all faculty participants were familiar with the term "racial justice ally," they understood their invitation to participate was based on the nomination of university administrators and students of color who identified faculty nominees as members of the university community who contribute in some way to the development of a more equitable campus environment. It should also be noted that while the faculty selected for participation will sometimes be referred to as a group of White faculty allies, and while efforts will be made to describe commonalities among their experiences based on the data they provided, the fact remains that the experience of Whiteness is not homogenous. Rather, like other identities, Whiteness is complicated by gender, class, age, regional identity, and many other variables (Hartigan, 1997; Lewis, 2004). The faculty participants in this study do share some common characteristics. For example, all participants

are natives of the United States and many have lived in the South and served as faculty

members at Capitol University for many years. Although these shared characteristics do not

obscure differences among the group, this study primarily focuses on the significance of race

in order to examine the positions of these participants as White faculty in a predominantly

White institution.

The faculty participants represent eight academic units within Capitol University. In

order to protect the anonymity of these participants, each participant has been assigned a

pseudonym. As an additional measure of anonymity, the specific units represented are not

identified in this study. Participant pseudonyms are introduced below in association with the

general academic discipline with which they are associated.

Table 1

Faculty Participant Pseudonyms and Fields of Study

Pseudonym	Gender	Field of study
Professor Blanchard	Male	Humanities
Professor Claiborne	Female	Humanities
Professor Cole	Female	Science/Engineering
Professor Evans	Female	Social Science
Professor Franklin	Male	Science/Engineering
Professor Kleinert	Male	Social Science
Professor Moore	Male	Social Science
Professor Steele	Male	Science/Engineering
Professor Wiltz	Male	Humanities

Data Collection

Data collection was conducted to address the general research question and each of the

more specific sub-questions through the process of in-person interviews with each faculty

participant. Marshall and Rossman (2006) note that "qualitative, in-depth interviews typically

are much more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories"

(p. 101). Through this strategy, these interviews allow the participants' view to unfold rather than merely illuminating the perspective of the researcher.

For this study, I implemented the interview guide approach, in which "the interviewer enters the interview session with a plan to explore specific topics and to ask specific open-ended questions of the interviewee" (Johnson & Christensen, 2004, p. 182). This method ensures that the same general topics are addressed with each participant, but maintains flexibility in that the researcher may reword the question or address particular topics in an order that varies from one participant to another. Seidman (2006) also describes this relatively unstructured nature of qualitative interviews in which the researcher's task is to "build upon and explore their participants' responses" in order to "have the participant reconstruct his or her experience" (p. 15). These are the methods that were utilized in the current study of White faculty as racial justice allies at a predominantly White institution.

A pilot interview was conducted with one faculty member who received multiple nominations during the earliest phase of the sampling process. After the completion of this pilot interview, additional faculty participant identification and data collection were conducted concurrently. During the period of data collection, follow-up interviews were conducted with five participants in order to clarify questions that arose during transcription and analysis. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim prior to data analysis.

The interview protocol utilized in this study included the questions listed below. However, as noted previously, the use of the interview-guide approach allowed for wording to vary between individual interviews along with the order in which the questions were addressed.

- What are your experiences as a White faculty racial justice ally on this campus?

- How does the campus climate at your institution influence your involvement in diversity efforts? In your college? In your department?

- What is your relationship with students on your campus?

- More specifically, what is your relationship with students of color on your campus?

- How would you describe your relationship with other faculty members on campus?

- How did you come to be involved in working for racial justice?

- What is the relationship between your work as an ally and your scholarly responsibilities of teaching, research and service?

In most cases, faculty participants readily discussed their experiences as racial justice allies. Interviews ranged from 35 to 90 minutes, although most lasted approximately one hour. Follow up interviews ranged from 10 to 30 minutes.

Data Analysis

The process of participant selection and data collection spanned a period of several months. Rather than completing all interviews prior to beginning my analysis, I implemented the process of interim analysis described by Johnson and Christensen (2004) in which the researcher may alternate between data collection and analysis in a cyclical or recursive process. Through these cycles, the researcher develops a "successively deeper understanding of their research topic" which in turn can provide guidance for additional rounds of data collection (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). For example, I transcribed each interview as it was completed and was often able to engage in a close reading of the data prior to conducting the next faculty participant interview. As a result, as themes began to emerge among the set of transcripts, I was able to make connections between my existing data set and the successive

conversations with additional faculty participants, adapting my interview process as necessary.

As I moved through the iterative cycles of data collection and analysis, and as is common in qualitative research, my data analysis was reliant on inductive codes derived during the data analysis process. This project was also informed by the bodies of literature and conceptual frameworks described in Chapter Two. These include the literature of faculty roles and rewards, which identifies the components of and value associated with the responsibilities of teaching, research, and service; ally identity development, which describes the process through which individuals come to understand and respond to oppression; and Whiteness as a collective social force that shapes the lives of individuals, both racial majority and minority. The conceptual framework of critical race theory serves as a strategy to foreground and account for the influence of race and racism in education. While this literature was useful as a means of providing an organizational scheme for the presentation of my findings and for informing my analysis of these findings, *a priori* codes drawn from the literature were not a part of the data analysis process.

The process of data analysis followed the methods outlined by Johnson and Christensen (2004) and includes segmenting, coding, and developing category systems. During the process of segmenting, I conducted a complete reading of each transcript for the express purpose of identifying sections of the text that were relevant to this study of White faculty allies. For example, these might include stories of how their ally identities are manifest in the classroom environment or description of incidents that contributed to the development of an ally orientation. In successive readings, these segments of data were assigned codes that helped organize the data into themes built around shared meaning.

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Segmenting and coding were accomplished with the assistance of ATLAS.ti, a qualitative

research software that allows the researcher to upload data, transcripts in this case. As the

process continued, data that held similar meanings were organized into the themes that are

presented in the following manner: Chapter Four presents findings and discussion that

describe ally identity development among the faculty participants; Chapter Five presents

findings and discussion of the intersection of ally identity and faculty work; and Chapter Six

presents findings and discussions that describe the relationship between racial justice ally

identity and the context of the predominantly White institution.

Trustworthiness

Because of my personal commitment to social justice, the practice of reflexivity

(Johnson & Christensen, 2004) was critical to my attempts to identify and monitor biases that

might influence both the manner in which I collected and analyzed data. As a White female

who is supportive of the work of social justice allies, it is possible that I could overlook ways

in which these allies unconsciously reify Whiteness as normalcy through their work with

students of color on the campus of Capitol University. Although I made every effort not to

limit these White faculty identities to mere stereotypes such as the White savior, the

multicultural intellectualist or the race traitor (Chubbuck, 2004; Titone, 1998), I also

recognize that stereotypes such as these may accurately describe the experiences of individual

faculty members who participate in my study. Through the careful practice of reflexivity, I

have attempted to minimize the degree to which my personal biases could cloud my analysis

of the data collected through this study.

Member checks were also utilized as an additional effort to avoid errors or biases in

my analysis (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). Through this process, each faculty participant

was provided a verbatim transcript of the research interview in which they participated. They were asked to review the transcript and provide corrections or clarifications as they felt necessary. In addition, faculty participants were given examples of how data from their interview contributed to the overall analysis. These examples were typically comprised of a quotation from the research interview and the relevant discussion which appears in Chapters Four, Five, and Six of the current study. During the process of member checking, one faculty participant initially asked that a portion of his interview be excluded from this study. However, once he understood that individual faculty would be identified only through the use of pseudonyms and that departmental affiliations would also be obscured, this faculty participant then gave permission for his full transcript to be eligible for analysis. No other requests for corrections or challenges of the analysis were identified through the member checking process.

Peer debriefing also served an important role in establishing the trustworthiness of the current study. As Marshall and Rossman (2006) have noted, the natural subjectivity of the research can be mitigated by "a research partner or a person who plays the role of critical friend who thoughtfully and gently questions the researcher's analysis" (p. 203). One colleague in particular was uniquely qualified to assist in this manner due to his concurrent involvement in a study of cross-cultural advising. His study included a number of White faculty participants who were selected due to their relationship as major professor to a graduate student of color. However, this group of faculty was not identified as having any specific ally orientation. While no formal analysis was conducted to fully investigate differences between these two faculty groups, my colleague and I engaged in numerous conversations in which we compared and contrasted the data collected in these two studies.

This peer debriefing confirms my belief that the faculty participants selected for inclusion in this current study of White racial justice allies do, as a group, represent behaviors and attitudes that differ from those of other faculty at Capitol University.

I also employed negative case analysis, in which I attempted to find examples within the data that are contrary to my expectations and conclusions as another means of establishing validity within my study. I also maintained a research journal including process and field notes in order to maintain dependability within my study. The research journal was used as a tool in which to note ideas that occurred during the data collection interviews or during the transcription process which could then be explored more fully as I continued through cycles of data analysis. Through these process, I made every effort to conduct a study that is "plausible, credible, trustworthy, and therefore defensible" (Johnson & Christensen, 2004).

As long as racial inequality remains a significant feature of American institutions of higher education, we must find ways to engage a broader spectrum of our campus population in the cause of social justice. After considering the available resources of time and energy, we can conclude that White faculty can play an important role in this process for racial minority students at predominantly White institutions (Brown, et al., 1999; Kobrak, 1992). Epps (1989) argues that it is not only possible for White faculty to support the achievements of minority students, but that their participation in this process is illustrative of the institution's commitment to equality. The data collected through this current study enhances our understanding of the experiences of racial justice allies, and thus serve as an important step toward achieving success in future efforts toward equality within our colleges and universities.

**Chapter Four: Ally Identity Construction among Faculty Participants:
Findings and Discussion**

One of the questions addressed in this study is the manner in which the faculty

participants develop an identity as racial justice allies. As noted previously, much of the

literature describing support of minority students in higher education focuses on the student

experience, is often prescriptive in nature rather than scholarly, and does not attend to the

developmental implications of such work for faculty (Gibbons, 1993; Jenkins, 1990). While

literature describing ally identity development has not specifically examined faculty

experiences, scholars have pointed to the role of faculty experiences in shaping the

relationship between White faculty and students of color (Barker, 2007). In addition, the

literature of social justice ally identity development (Broido, 2000a; Reason, et al., 2005)

provides a framework through which we can begin to understand the influences that lead

faculty participants to invest their time and energy in working toward racial justice on their

campus.

From the data collected as part of the current study, a number of themes emerged that

illustrate the processes through which faculty participants developed an interest in issues of

social justice, as well as the influences that led them to engage in practices that contribute to a

more just racial campus climate. Through the theme of Show Me the Way, these allies

described the influence of mentors and models who exemplified ally behaviors, while the

theme of Hey, Now I Get It! reveals more specific understandings of race and racism.

Activism through Educating Others provides an illustration of the manner in which ally

identity development matures from perspective into practice, while the theme of The Work is

its Own Reward calls attention to the possibility of interest congruence. Finally, in the theme

of I Don't Do Anything – It's Just What I Do, faculty participants speak to the degree to which ally orientation is an integral part of the self.

Show Me the Way

The influence of an ally mentor or model is a significant theme that emerged in the conversation of faculty participants as they described the development a racial justice perspective. In some cases, these models were family members whose influence was felt in the childhood experiences of the faculty participants. In other cases, models and mentors were found among professors, classmates and colleagues. In all cases, the faculty participants describe these mentors and models as having significant influence in their own understanding of race and racism in our society.

Professor Claiborne, for example, described her mother's ally activity as an important component of family culture.

> My mother was a public school teacher and a public school administrator in [a historic Southern city]. She was right on the front lines during the time of integration and was very active in attempting to integrate the [city's] public school faculty. That was first, before the students. And so I come from a family that has, the public schools are *in* our bloodstream.

For Professor Claiborne, this family legacy of activism provides the framework for her own expression of a social justice orientation. Like her mother, Professor Claiborne finds ways to integrate her primary professional identity with her commitment to working toward social justice on her campus. Although her role as a professor does not demand such a commitment, she expresses her activist orientation through her responsibilities of teaching, research, and service.

Likewise, Professor Moore described a family culture that, although less activist in nature, played a significant role in his own awareness of race.

> I am, for whatever reason … in fact my whole family is very comfortable with
> Black people. My father, a repairman at [a local energy company] was the guy
> that they asked to … when [the company was first integrated] they asked Dad to
> work with the Black workers. So we've never been … I didn't grow up in a
> *liberal* family, but I grew up in a family that we knew we weren't *racist.* And so,
> even though *very* working class in [a southern city], we knew weren't racist and
> we never grew up that way.

For Professor Moore, his family culture provided an example of collaboration with people of color. Regardless of the attitudes that were prevalent in the community, the Moore's crafted a family narrative that included respect for others regardless of race. This childhood experience translates to a level of comfort in relationships with racial minority students that sets Professor Moore apart amongst his peers. As he noted, "I honestly think that my relationship with Black students has been one where there is just this personal comfort zone."

In both cases, these family backgrounds provided the foundation upon which Professor Moore and Professor Claiborne would develop their identities as racial justice allies. Neither faculty participant describes explicit parental instruction with regard to socially just behaviors, but they draw connections between behavior that was modeled in their homes and their own desires to contribute to a more just racial climate within their academic community.

In contrast to this transmission of social justice attitudes through family culture, Professor Evans described the influence of classmates who helped her to gain a greater awareness of issues of race.

> I think I made some good friends who were pretty conscious about those things,
> and who started to teach me around the same time about housing discrimination,
> and how sort of as a White student [at a private university] I could get cheaper
> rent because people would hear my accent over the phone and would label me as
> White. They were, of course illegally, maintaining certain pieces of real estate as
> White in [a majority Black southern city]. And so I could get cheaper rent
> because I would help them to do that. And I never agreed to that, but I was
> nonetheless benefitting from it. And I was learning about this from some friends
> who were themselves you could say racial allies within institutions where they

worked, and they had learned this by working closely with African Americans
and slowly becoming aware of that, how that works in a southern city.

Through her association with this group of allies, Professor Evans had opportunities not only to observe racially just behavior in practice but also to engage in conversations that centered on continuing incidents of racism within her community. Through these conversations, she understood more completely the material benefits that she accrued on the basis of her Whiteness. She also came to recognize the difficulty of attempting to refuse such benefits as long as other Whites sustained an interest in withholding similar benefits from persons for color. Significantly, Professor Evans traces her understanding of racism not only to the influence not of her White colleagues, but ultimately to the awareness of racism that her ally mentors had themselves gained through their association with communities of color. The counter-stories told by these African Americans bore witness to the persistence of housing discrimination in what was ostensibly one of the great American cities, and the White allies who joined the work against this discriminatory practice would become models of ally behavior for Professor Evans as she began to develop her own racial justice ally identity.

In a similar manner, Professor Kleinert described a relationship with a colleague of color in which her friendship provided a source of expertise as he began his work as an ally within the university. When called on to develop a diversity initiative within his academic unit, Professor Kleinert invited his friend and colleague to serve as a resource during this experience.

> So I quickly realized I was in over my head, and I'm good friends with Anna.
> We'd known each other by then seven or eight years. We worked together at a
> news organization. She is African American, a really good person, and we struck
> up a friendship. So when I got into trouble I called her and said so, have you been
> to [this southern state] lately? She told me she had family here, and I said they
> need you to come see them because I need you to come work. So she came in for

seven days, seven working days, and she taught 14 classes. And she and I birthed the diversity plan for the school. Which if you think about it, a brand new assistant professor who came from the north to the south. It just didn't make any sense at all.

In this instance, although Professor Kleinert already had a strong interest in pursuing a diversity agenda and had the support of his administration, he felt that he lacked the complete skill set necessary to accomplish this task in the most expedient manner. The expertise of his colleague proved to be an invaluable resource that jumpstarted the diversity agenda for his academic unit. As a person of color, Anna could not model for Professor Kleinert the ways of being a White racial justice ally. However, she could and did mentor him in terms of how his activist intentions could best be expressed within this particular context. Professor Kleinert recognized his own limitations and learned that in some cases, the best way of demonstrating one's ally identity is to actively seek a counter-narrative that will more accurately illuminate the work that needs to be done.

In each case described here, an ally mentor or model proved to be a significant resource for faculty participants in their development of a racial justice ally identity. In some cases, these role models were found within the family unit. In others, friends and colleagues shared their own experiences of learning about racism and provided information that contributed to ally identity development among the faculty participants. The significance that faculty participants ascribe to these mentors and models lends further weight to the theories posited by scholars of ally identity development who point to the importance of developing a positive White racial identity and a privilege cognizant White-consciousness (Reason, et al., 2005).

Hey, Now I Get It!

Another component common among the literature of social justice identity development is the idea that one must have an understanding of race and racism before one can begin to develop an ally identity (Broido, 2000b; Reason, et al., 2005). The faculty participants in this study demonstrated such understanding by reflecting on specific moments collected here under the theme of Hey, Now I Get It! The sub-themes of Critical Lived Experiences and Encountering the Counter-Narrative describe the ways in which these moments led the faculty participants to a new awareness of how race continues to function within American society. In addition to these reflections, faculty participants also revealed their understanding of race and racism through remarks organized through the additional sub-theme of Privilege.

Critical Lived Experiences. The primary method through which faculty participants demonstrated their understanding of race and racism was by describing specific incidents that illustrated the injustices that they observed in their lived experiences. Although faculty participants were not specifically asked to describe such incidents, they frequently shared multiple experiences that were especially meaningful in their development of a social justice perspective.

In one such example, Professor Kleinert shared the story of observing his mother, employed in a male dominated field, and noticing that she was treated differently on the basis of her sex in spite of her outstanding achievements in her field. He noted that his observation of this inequity and her "otherness" influenced his understanding of social justice.

> Growing up, my mother was an associate athletic director …, one of the first
> female football coaches, and I'd kind of seen how she'd been treated. She did
> very well, she's in their hall of fame …. But they treated her differently as a

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woman in an all man's world and I didn't like that. And she had lots of African American athletes around, and so I just didn't think anything of [our family's frequent interaction with African Americans]. Which was odd in our state to be quite honest as I think back on it.

Not only did his mother's employment in a male dominated field provide an opportunity for Professor Kleinert to reflect on the injustice of discrimination, but the nature of her work also provided opportunities for him to interact with members of a cultural group that he would not have otherwise encountered within the segregated norms of his community. The understanding that he gained through these observations provided the skills necessary to be more critical of other experiences that he would later encounter, such as social norms within his community that prohibited open association with people of color.

In a similar manner, Professor Moore described a life event that contributed to his own early understanding of racism within his community.

One that I remember very well is [the local high school] when it was first integrated. I was in the 10th grade and it was freedom of choice, which meant that only the brave, brightest Black students would come. There were four women that came to [my school] and they were the brightest in the class. And I was a nerdy 'A' student so we were the five or six brightest students. So I got to know them a little bit because we were the nerdy, smart people. And um, and it would stun me because all these people I thought were my friends, guys, you know …. "Bitch, whore," to their face, throwing spitballs at them and all that sort of stuff. And that blew my mind, and it still blows my mind.

In recollecting this incident, Professor Moore described an opportunity to engage with students of color and to identify common experiences that they shared as high achieving students in his school. In contrast, this experience also highlights his understanding of difference within his own racial group as he critiques the attitudes of White peers whose behavior demonstrated overt racial biases toward the women of color.

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The experiences described to this point occurred during the childhood and teen years of the faculty participants. Professor Evans, however, described an experience that occurred during her time as a graduate student at a private institution in the south. Having previously developed an intellectual understanding of racial privilege, a specific incident helped her achieve a more personal understanding of this phenomenon.

> And then I experienced it personally when a lot of the people who I had initially met through my research you know actually became friends. And I had an African American friend who was coming over to my house. I was living in [a historic neighborhood in a southern city.] And I had a neighbor threaten me with eviction … and she threatened to call my landlord and tell her that I was essentially having a Black house guest and that I would be out on the street. And it was like, well, Ok, so this is really the bargain for paying $150 a month rent or whatever, that I got this apartment because I was White and I'm finding that out. Because I could lose that. And I'd never been subjected to that kind of blackmail before, and it just made me think, if I were African American where would I be renting as a graduate student, an impoverished, long term graduate student. Where would I be able to afford rent? I would never have gotten this deal on sort of this little White block in [this neighborhood]. So this person was letting me know that I wasn't living up to the code.

Like Professor Moore and Professor Kleinert, Professor Evans described an experience that provided her a new level of understanding of how racism functions. Having previously learned through conversations with her ally mentors that housing discrimination was still pervasive in her city, Professor Evans was now confronted with incontrovertible evidence of these practices. Moreover, this situation underscored her complicity in this continuing system of discrimination even though she had been unaware of its processes. By virtue of her Whiteness, she was expected by others to participate in this discrimination, and violation of those expectations could carry a penalty.

Encountering the Counter-Narrative. In some cases, the critical lived experiences that led to the development of a new racial consciousness were not experienced directly by the

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faculty participants. Rather, they were the experiences of racial minorities which, when

shared with faculty participants, had a profound impact on the faculty members' awareness of

race and racism. This is significant in that in order for these counter-stories to be impactful,

the faculty participants must believe that racism is still present in our society and must also

value and trust the source of the experience, a voice of color. For example, Professor Cole

described the manner in which the experiences of her colleagues shape her current assessment

of the racial climate of the campus.

> There's a difference between what you sort of know, because of what you've
> learned historically and what you've actually experienced. And so, over the
> fourteen year history that I've been here, I'm not sure that I've noticed a big
> difference in that time. But… you know, I recently had the opportunity to listen
> to three or four Black faculty members here at Capitol University tell their
> integration stories and how the schools were integrated and [this city] fought the
> desegregation order, <u>Brown v. Board of Education</u>. What their experiences were
> like …. Their stories were just, they were absolutely incredible.

Professor Cole recognized that through their personal experiences, her colleagues of color had

acquired a perspective of the campus's racial climate that she could not understand as

completely if she relied solely on her own observations as a White professor. However,

through the knowledge that these colleagues were willing to share with her, Professor Cole

could gain a more complete view of the historical narratives that continue to influence the

university environment.

In a similar manner, Professor Steele came to understand the impact of racism on his

campus when his White graduate student introduced him to her friend Karen, the first Black

women to enroll as a graduate student in his department.

> That was my student. And she was White. And she told me things later, years
> later, about what Karen had been through. And I heard it from Karen and have
> since heard it several times. Absolutely appalling. Never made any sense to me.

> I guess I have a strong sense of injustice and it was just amazing to me. So anyway, that's kind of how the light bulb went off.

Both Professor Cole and Professor Steele gained insights through their relationships with people of color that changed the way they perceived their campus environment. For Professor Cole, this insight provided further impetus to a commitment to social justice that was already well established. In contrast, this new insight became the catalyst for Professor Steele to begin engaging in social justice activities, particularly recruiting and support services for minority graduate students.

Professor Steele further described the significance of learning about Karen's experiences with racism and of hearing of the experiences of his racial minority colleagues. He pointed out that because racism is frequently carried out in a covert manner, hearing these experiences helped reveal to him a perspective that he might not otherwise have come to understand. This realization is congruent with the layers of embedded racism that Scheurich and Young (2002) have described as characteristic of colleges and universities. These layers frequently remain unobserved by faculty members who believe lingering racism to be the result of unenlightened individuals rather than the symptom of systemically oppressive Whiteness. As he reflected on this developing awareness of racism, Professor Steele noted,

> That's how I become aware of it. Because it would be difficult for me to observe it in any other way. I'm treated very differently from minority people. And [my colleague of color] would tell you the same thing. He is treated very differently, at least he was early on.

As Professor Steele revealed through his comment, the nature of racial privilege is such that it allows those who accrue benefits through their own privilege to move through their environments without the need to critically engage with issues of race. Instead, they

experience hegemonic Whiteness as normative and fail to question or even notice its influence. In such cases, the perspective of a colleague or friend of color can be of vital importance in achieving an understanding of the continuing significance of race. The counter-stories provided by these colleagues and friends are an important component in the ally identity development of the faculty participants included in this study.

Privilege. The literature of social justice identity development posits that an understanding of the function of Whiteness is a critical component to developing an ally identity; however, faculty participants were not asked questions specifically intended to investigate their awareness of White privilege. However, a number of participants identified privilege as a state of being that influenced their professional lives on campus. These comments further reveal the faculty participants' understanding of race and racism, which scholars have described as one of the significant elements in the development of a racial justice ally identity.

For example, Professor Blanchard acknowledged his awareness that due to the predominantly White nature of the campus, he is not compelled to consider his Whiteness on a regular basis. When asked what it means to him to be White on his campus, he responded,

> I don't have to sit down and think about that a whole lot. I mean I do think I feel a bit of a moral responsibility to try to encourage a change in that environment. And so that's why I've done some of the things I've done and supported some of the things I've supported.

Although Professor Blanchard may engage in many of his professional responsibilities without conscious consideration of this privilege, he acknowledges this privilege and perceives it to be a motivating factor in some of the work that he carries out as a professor.

Through her comments, Professor Cole also demonstrated an awareness of the function of privilege within her institution, noting that while race is not often a specific focus of her course content, her class does frequently address "inequities in a number of different dimensions." She frames these in-class discussions of inequity in terms of privilege, stating that "to some extent, we all have privilege if we're sitting in a college classroom." The connection to a more specific White privilege was drawn when Professor Cole described differences she has observed between the way that racial majority and minority students engage in these conversations.

> I do think that, um, that minority students tend to … those arguments or discussions make sense. And they make sense to most White students, too, but there are some who … some who question it. And just starting to get, kind of, a little bit to the whole idea of privilege. And questioning what privilege you have.

As Professor Cole revealed through this comment, she understands that the concept of privilege is both unfamiliar and unremarkable to many White students.

Both Professor Blanchard and Professor Cole also described an awareness of how privilege impacts their work as faculty. By acknowledging this privilege, they also acknowledged the hegemonic Whiteness of their institution and the challenges that this Whiteness will pose for persons of color as part of the campus community.

The most thorough description of privilege was offered by Professor Steele. In a discussion of the campus climate as a whole, he noted that while some progress has been made toward achieving a more equitable campus for all community members, pockets of both overt and covert racism still exist. In response to this observation, I asked how he became aware these instances of racism. His response succinctly illustrated the ways in which White

faculty are able to navigate their professional lives without a consideration of the racial aspect of the campus climate.

> I think Whites are pretty oblivious to it. White privilege is accepted universally. And I wasn't aware of this until I started thinking about it and got into this whole business [of working with minority students]. White privilege is just something you have, everybody's got it, right? And the covert racism here, I think, is the same. Whites don't …. It's hard to recognize and believe when it's asserted. But that's not true with the Black folks. They know what's going on.

Professor Steele's comment exemplifies the way in which Whiteness is frequently unrecognized by those who benefit from its privilege (Chubbuck, 2004; Kendall, 2006; Reason & Davis, 2005). He further elaborated on this observation by describing the privilege that he possesses, in particular, as a White professor. He noted that his credentials and expertise have never been challenged on the basis of his race, unlike the experiences of one of his Black colleagues.

> Now you have to realize that this guy is one of the top notch in the nation. He has won awards, has been active in the professional societies, he has an enormous publication base. He's been on government committees and national academy committees. The guy is absolutely top notch [in his field]. And he says that some of his colleagues have told him that he only got here because he was a minority. That they were just making room for him. Which just flabbergasts me! The guy is just way superior to most of the folks who were saying that, I think.

Through his reflection on the experiences of his racial minority colleague, Professor Steele acknowledged not only the ways in which he accrues privilege through his own Whiteness, but also the ways in which the Whiteness of the institution works against his colleague and students of color and maintains the system of racial oppression that is a part of the institution's historical legacy.

In summary, the faculty participants in this study illustrated their awareness of the continuing impact of race within their institution through reflections on their critical lived

experiences and their comments on the function of White privilege. They also pointed out the valuable role of counter-stories in helping to reveal the continuing influence of race and racism within their institutions. Although existing literature has addressed the role of understanding racism in the process of ally identity development, there has not been any direct investigation of this development in the experiences of White faculty members. Thus the comments shared by the faculty participants in this study contribute not only to the current examination of racial justice experiences among White faculty, but also to the larger understanding of social justice identity development.

Educating Others as Activism

Among the ally identity development literature that informs this study, scholars describe not only the development of an understanding of race and racism, but also the development of an activist component to one's identity. As Reason and Davis (2005) have noted, "failure to take action that upsets the status quo therefore maintains the dominant ideology," and thus "the emphasis of social justice ally development is on encouraging positive actions" (p. 7). Faculty participants in this study demonstrated engagement in social justice activism in various ways through their responsibilities of teaching, research and service. These manifestations will be addressed more completely in Chapter 5, which deals specifically with the intersection of ally status and faculty work. For the purpose of illustrating activism as a component of ally identity development, selected comments of faculty participants are presented here that reveal a purposeful intent to educate others with regard to the continuing effects of race on their campus.

In the case of Professor Kleinert, his efforts to educate others include the development and management of workshops to help foster conversation on issues of diversity among the

faculty of his academic unit. In the comment below, he described not only the nature of those conversations, but also his level of commitment to this activity.

> And some of those conversations were strained. We brought in a diversity trainer who was just horrendous. We were doing that annually, we'd have somebody come in and do a diversity workshop with the faculty to try and move the conversation forward …. People are afraid of diversity because it can blow up on you, and I get that. Some people are more shy, some people are not big risk takers although helping students can't be a risk. So, um, maybe I was naïve. Probably really naïve. Because I latched onto it, was ready to do it, and was willing to fight for resources to do it.

Through this remark, Professor Kleinert illustrated the degree to which this activist identity was incorporated into his professional work as a faculty member and influenced his relationships with faculty within his unit. In an additional example of activism through education, Professor Kleinert later described his leadership role with a student organization. In this role, he went beyond the managerial functions frequently associated with service as a faculty advisor and instead tailored his efforts to educate this group on issues of diversity within their organization.

> They still complain down in [the student organization] that I'd take them on retreats into god forsaken parts of [a nearby state] so that the cell phones wouldn't work and we could sit and talk. And the diversification of, the most recent efforts to diversify [this student organization] came out of a retreat there where we did diversity training. And it was an all White staff, and a White director, talking about how important it was to do. And I don't think we had any minority [involvement in the group at that time]. Not that they hadn't, but I don't think we did on that trip. And they came back and particularly the [most prominent student leader] took it to heart …. And all of a sudden there are minority students around … bringing different ideas to the table. And it worked…. There is a focus on brining diversity to the table.

While the efforts described above take place outside the classroom environment, faculty participants also remarked on their efforts to education others about race and racism in

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the classroom. For example, Professor Wiltz described a moment in which a student made a

statement intended to mitigate the horrors of slavery in America.

> This one woman, in fact, said "Dr. Wiltz … you keep talking about how horrible
> slavery was, and if you talked to your colleagues in history you'd find that slaves
> were treated well. They were valuable property and they took good care of
> them." I just said, as I always do in a situation like that, "Well what do the rest of
> you think?" And she was taken down immediately. I never put students down for
> what they say, that's deadly in the classroom, but when they say something like
> that they have to be checked.

In this instance, when confronted with this student's comment, Professor Wiltz felt compelled

to challenge the students to critically engage with her comment. Through his own comment,

"They have to be checked," Professor Wiltz also revealed his activist intentions toward that

particular student. By involving other students in this process rather than simply providing

his own alternative viewpoint, he further provided an opportunity for students begin the

development of their own ally identities. In another example of this activist perspective,

Professor Wiltz describes his interaction with racial majority students who enroll in a course

in which most of the students are African American.

> I always require my students to come in for an interview with me. And one of
> them will come in and say, "Dr. Professor Wiltz, this class is really a strange
> experience for me." And I know what's coming. I say, "Oh really? Why?" "I've
> never been in a situation like this where I'm the minority. And every time I say
> anything I think that people are judging me for what I'm saying because I'm
> White." And I say, "Yeah, now you know how Black people feel."

Through conversations like the one described above, Professor Wiltz encourages

students to challenge their traditionally thinking on issues of race and racism. Rather than

attempt to assist the majority student in feeling more comfortable in an uncomfortable space,

he engages in conversation that helps to reveal the normative Whiteness of the campus and

encourages the student to consider an alternative perspective. Comments such as this, which

go beyond the discussion of course content, illustrate the activist identities of the faculty participants.

In a similar manner, Professor Blanchard revealed his own activist intentions while describing the ways that he might approach his course differently if he were teaching it in a different regional context.

> Well the difference here is our students …. It is a source of identity which I think you kind of need to challenge. And so, I don't think most White students of the current generation really understand African American reactions, in thought, in part because they don't know the history of what created that consciousness in the Black community. And so I'm sort of consciously trying to do that and so therefore I probably come down harder on some of that stuff and spend less time talking about the North is the same way. Whereas in the North I'd probably say, "Ok, look." There I think part of what you'd be trying to overcome is the perception that race is simply something that happens to the South and not to the rest of the nation.

Through this remark, Professor Blanchard revealed the intention not only to share the content proscribed by a particular set of course material, but also to challenge traditional ideas of race and racism held by specific students in a particular regional context.

As described by scholars of social justice ally identity development, activist behaviors are frequently manifest as one becomes aware, both intellectually and affectively, of the continuing impacts of race and racism, and as one develops the confidence to move from social justice attitudes to social justice actions (Chubbuck, 2004; Kendall, 2006; Reason & Davis, 2005). The faculty participants in this study demonstrated their activist perspectives through their intent to educate others with regard to the continuing significance of race on their campus and through other activities that are addressed more completely in Chapter Five.

The Work Is Its Own Reward

An unexpected theme that emerged from conversations with faculty participants is the notion that ally status may sometimes be associated with material benefits. For example, while contemplating the impact of the campus environment on the diversity work taking place in his academic unit, Professor Kleinert noted, "We tend to get rewarded by the administration more than chastised. We just won the first national diversity and equity award in our field this past year, the evidence is there." For their efforts to develop an inclusive academic unit, Professor Kleinert and his colleagues have received both local and national recognition.

The lens of critical race theory, particularly the tenet of interest convergence, is useful for a more careful investigation of this recognition and other instances of positive recognition for faculty allies as described below. Interest convergence is the phenomenon in which those in power, in this case Whites, are motivated to work toward or accept social change only to the extent that their interests are served as well. (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado, 1995; Harper, et al., 2009). Although faculty participants in this study observed the benefits that sometimes accompany ally behaviors and noted that these benefits may serve as motivation for initially resistant colleagues to join their ally efforts, the faculty participants themselves did not attribute their own activities to any conscious desire to access these benefits.

For example, Professor Cole expressed one of the most clearly articulated ally orientations among the faculty participants in this study and described her interest in justice as an identity that overshadows even her academic affiliation. The notion of ally status as beneficial arose initially as she described the recognition that she has received for prioritizing student outcomes. Professor Cole mentioned this recognition not as a source of personal

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gratification but rather as an indication that her ally activities posed no obstacles to her

professional advancement within the institution.

> I've been really successful in my career, and I feel like a lot of that success has
> been driven by the fact that I am recognized for, and rewarded to an extent, for
> doing those types of activities that I think would encourage students to persist in a
> major.

When asked more specifically about departmental and institutional support for her efforts,

Professor Cole clarified:

> While this dept may not be overtly supportive or state as a goal that we want
> justice for all students, we do tend to be a student centered department. So again,
> I feel very lucky, especially when I look at other [departments in our college], that
> I feel like at least what I do is recognized, and to an extent rewarded. Certainly at
> the university level it has been.

During a follow-up interview conducted to explore this issue more completely, Cole noted

that in the context of faculty work, research productivity and external funding are weighted so

heavily in processes of tenure and promotion that to pursue promotion and professional gain

via diversity work would be a fruitless task. While Professor Cole acknowledges that her own

research productivity could be higher if she invested less time in work that contributes to

equity on campus, she chooses instead to allocate her energy toward the components of her

faculty work that she finds more rewarding, further illustrating her commitment to the work of

social justice.

In a similar manner, Professor Steele described the mutually beneficial relationship

that developed between his department as a whole and industry recruiters as these recruiters

began to recognize this academic unit as a successful producer of graduate students of color.

Again illustrating the CRT tenet of interest convergence, he notes that these benefits seemed

to have been instrumental in bringing about change in the attitudes of faculty members who

were not initially supportive of the department's concerted efforts to develop diversity within

their student body.

> But [our diversity agenda] was out in the open, we dealt with it, and the faculty
> began to accept what was going on. And then they began to notice that there were
> some benefits accruing. You may or may not know that during the 80s and 90s,
> up to now, there's been a huge push for diversity in industry, particularly in [our
> industry]. And when they got word that we were educating high level
> [professionals], they started coming around and bringing money, and hiring our
> students …. The campus has a career center …. Before that time, all of the
> companies [in our industry] would come there, interview [a few students]. After
> we became known, they're recruiting in our department ever since, directly. And
> they recruit all students, not just minority students. They recruit White students,
> and Asian students, whoever. They've given us money for fellowships, for
> support of all students, and so on. It's been quite beneficial to us.

At another point during the conversation, Professor Steele reiterates the recognition his

department had received for their successful efforts to recruit and retain graduate students of

color.

> In fact, it's sort of put us on the map because we were able to - we are one of
> maybe two schools that turns out the majority of PhD [professionals in our field]
> in the US, Black students. That was really fun. And very impressive, and um,
> we've gotten a lot of strokes for that.

Again, it should be noted that Steele did not express any relationship between this attention

and his own motivation to engage in efforts to recruit and support students of color. In fact,

he was involved in these efforts in the earliest stages, prior to any recognition from outsiders

and during a period of overt resistance to such efforts within his academic unit. However, he

suggests that this positive attention from recruiters and the external funding that developed

due to the unit's reputation as a site where graduate students of color achieved success did

mitigate the resistance of other faculty to the department's diversity initiatives.

In each of the illustrations collected in this theme, faculty participants describe a degree of positive recognition that accompanies their ally activities. Through the lens of critical race theory, particularly with an eye toward recognizing the tenet of interest convergence, these illustrations demonstrate the applicability of CRT to the experiences of White faculty as racial justice allies and reveal the possibility that even allies may be implicated in the hegemonic Whiteness that characterizes the institution within which they carry out their faculty work. This realization has particular implications for efforts to engage a broader spectrum of the faculty in contributing toward a more equitable campus climate. Efforts to recruit faculty into this work should, as much as possible, to avoid reliance on strategies of interest convergence, which may serve to the purpose of attracting participants but ultimately reinscribe more than challenge the interests of Whiteness.

I Don't Do Anything – It's Just What I Do

Another feature that emerged during this analysis was the varying degree to which the faculty participants professed their ally status as a primary facet of their personal identities. As Jones and McEwen's (2000) model illustrates, multiple dimensions of identity such as race, culture, gender and class circulate around one's core identity, mediated by changing contexts and perceptions of self and others. In a similar manner, it is likely that one's ally orientation may be more or less integral to one's identity as circumstances vary. Familiarity with the discourse of social justice allies also seemed to be a factor in faculty participants' ability to articulate an ally identity. Although their personal identification with the term "ally" varied, the behaviors and experiences described by all faculty participants demonstrate an interest in and commitment to working toward a more equitable and just campus climate for students and faculty of color.

Professor Blanchard, for example, seemed initially reluctant to accept the label of racial justice ally, although he was frequently mentioned by students, administrators, and other faculty as a member of the university community who made significant impact with regard to achieving a more equitable and just campus. This reluctance seems to stem from his personal interpretation of what it means to be a racial justice ally rather than from any hesitancy to embrace the aims of social justice. Although Professor Blanchard did not provide greater detail with regard to those expectations, he stated referenced familiarity with others "who moved heaven and hell to change the racial environment on this city and campus in the 1960s, and I don't see myself in those terms." He further questioned whether people of color on campus may perceive his own activity as helpful or not, but finally asserted, "I've tried to do what I can do to change this situation and do what's right, but I don't see myself as an ally necessarily."

Similarly, Professor Moore expressed some hesitancy in labeling himself as an ally. At various times in the conversation, he questioned whether his actions in support of racial justice were enough to qualify him for identification with this group. Yet like Professor Blanchard, Moore is a faculty member who was mentioned by students and administrators numerous times during the sampling process. His ambivalence toward claiming an ally identity was illustrated in the following comment:

> Well, yeah, yes. I am a conflict averse person. I'm so proud of people like Professor Blanchard, when he like *does* stuff. I don't *do* that. And, you know, where I should be criticized is that I am, when it comes to standing up publicly for Black people on campus, and [when issues of racial conflict come up on campus]. I don't do any of that. I don't do *any* conflictual stuff because I'm so conflict averse. The small stuff, the interpersonal stuff, when it comes to Black faculty and Black students, I do.

In spite of critiquing himself as someone who doesn't "do" anything, he went on to list a number of activities in which he does participate. These activities include mentoring minority students through formal programs on campus, attending graduation to support his students of color, and serving as a guest speaker for African American student organizations.

In contrast, Professor Cole expressed a strong sense of herself as an ally. Through her comments, she unhesitatingly accepted an ally identity and affirmed a lifelong commitment to the work of social justice.

> So I felt really confident stepping into a classroom, but in terms of being an ally, I feel like I've always had a really strong sense of justice, and what's fair, and things that aren't. And I feel like I've made it where I have made it, as a minority in some ways, because I stand on the shoulders of a whole bunch of people who helped me, served me, mentored me, and I just feel really strongly that that is, I should do that, I enjoy doing that, and I will always do that.

The depth of Professor Cole's commitment is demonstrated through the value she assigns to her work with students, work that she sees as a critical outlet for her ally orientation, even when this value is not shared by the greater culture of the institution.

> You know, faculty always tend to count things in terms of research products. And so, if I dropped all of my student work, all the work I do with students, um, I probably could get, you know, one to two more refereed papers out per year. And I might have a higher raise, I might, for research. But I still get raises. And my work with students is so rewarding that I would never ever consider giving it up. It's not worth it to me, for you know, one or two extra papers.

In another example of a strong ally identity, Professor Kleinert reflected on the time in his career when, as a new assistant professor, he began to devote significant effort to developing a diversity plan for his academic unit. When asked about the earlier stages of that work before he assumed an administrative position, Professor Kleinert remarked that his level of commitment was not influenced by concerns about how these activities would be perceived

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within the department. Although he recognized that concern over these perceptions might

influence some faculty, he described his commitment to issues of racial justice as a part of his

individual identify that was not in question.

> You know, I just didn't think that way. I mean, there were times when I went,
> 'Wow this could blow up.' But if it was the right thing to do, I was going to do it.
> So I could see people being concerned about tenure and that sort of thing. But I
> always believed that if I was doing the right thing it wasn't going to be a problem.

As the range of these comments illustrate, the process of ally identity development is

not a singular path along which all who travel encounter similar experiences, nor is there a

point of arrival upon which one can comfortably claim membership as an ally. Rather, as

Professor Claiborne noted, "Different people on the faculty are at different places in that, and

that's fine, because this is a process, not an end, it's always going to be a process." Although

her remark was intended to describe faculty within her particular academic unit, it seems an

equally appropriate assessment of identity development among the White faculty ally

participants in this study.

In their discussion of the difficulties associated with developing a social justice ally

identity, Reason and Broido (2005) identify self-understanding as an important foundation

upon which to build a sustainable ally identity. While some faculty participants judged their

own ally activities as less than those of other faculty with whom they were familiar, Reason

and Broido suggest that there are in fact many avenues available through which one might

contribute to the work of social justice. They note:

> Some of us are gifted teachers but less comfortable in more politicized situations.
> Some of us excel at organizing large groups of people; some of us can
> communicate in ways that are heard well by those with formal power. Few of us
> are equally effective in all arenas; knowing our talents will maximize our ability
> to create social change. (p. 83)

This advice is useful not only to faculty participants in the current study as they evaluate their own ally identities within the context of Capitol University, but also to all who are interested in becoming more active in the work of social justice. Instead of assessing our personalities and talents as unsuited to this challenge, we should identify which of our unique gifts are most appropriate for this particular task. Likewise, colleges and universities who desire to foster more widespread commitment to equity and diversity should develop a range of opportunities for ally engagement that reflect the range of personalities and talents within the campus community.

Summary

Faculty participants described a variety of influences that contributed to the development of their interest in working toward racial justice on their campus. In their descriptions of ally mentors and models, illustrated through the theme of Show Me the Way, faculty participants pointed to the significance of family members, friends, and colleagues who provide examples of ally orientations and behaviors. In congruence with prior scholarship on ally identity development, Hey, Now I Get It! emerged as a theme in which faculty participants described the awareness of racism they acquired through the sub-themes of Critical Lived Experiences, Encountering the Counter-Narrative, and Privilege. The theme of The Work is Its Own Reward challenges us to consider implications of interest convergence for ally work, while through the theme of I Don't Do Anything / It's Just What I Do, we see that ally status, like other components of a multi-faceted identity, is mediated by the context of relationships with self, others, and environment. Each of these themes contributes in a meaningful way to our understanding of the process of ally identity development among the White faculty ally participants in this study.

Chapter Five: Racial Justice Behaviors and Faculty Roles:
Findings and Discussion

While Chapter Four described the experiences that shaped the development of social justice attitudes and ally identities among White faculty racial justice allies, the current chapter seeks to describe the intersection of these identities with the traditional faculty responsibilities of teaching, research, and service. This examination of the practices of faculty participants reveals that, in general, faculty allies expressed their commitment to racial justice through teaching practices and service activities regardless of their field of study. However, discipline differences became more apparent in faculty participants' discussion of racial justice and research.

Teaching

In the course of data analysis, a number of themes emerged that illustrate the methods through which White faculty allies enact their commitment to racial justice through the responsibility of teaching. These five themes are Creating an Inclusive Classroom Environment, Managing the Discussion of Race in the Classroom, Capitalizing on Contact with Students Outside the Classroom, Selecting Culturally Diverse Course Materials, and an Individualized, Non-Deficit View of Students.

Creating an Inclusive Classroom Environment. When ideas of race and racism comprise a portion of the course content, the decision must be made how centrally those ideas will figure in the course material and how the discussions of that material will be facilitated. In addition, faculty must decide what strategies – if any – they will employ to create a culturally responsive environment as these conversations take place. Many of the faculty participants, regardless of whether or not race is a topic of discussion in their courses,

described efforts to create a classroom environment in which all students felt comfortable and welcome. These actions go beyond a commitment to good pedagogy, however, as faculty participants also described a specific intent provide a supportive learning environment for students of color in particular. Faculty demonstrated an awareness of the differential experiences that racial majority and minority students might encounter as they navigate the campus environment. In response, they adopted teaching practices that contributed to an inclusive classroom environment.

For example, Professor Cole described specific strategies she employs in an attempt to diffuse some of the isolation that minority students may encounter.

> I do think, to an extent, connection making can be more difficult for minority students. Not in every case, but I do think that students tend to um, you know, stick with people they know or flock to other students with similar backgrounds. So again, it's one of the reasons we teach the classes, and introduce everybody, and get everybody working interactively, and we assign groups, we don't let students choose groups at that level.

The strategies identified in the comment above address a number of obstacles that students of color have described as characteristic of their experiences on a predominantly White campus, such as hyper-visibility/invisibility and difficulty in establishing connections with racial majority students (Davis, et al., 2004; Solorzano, et al., 2000). By incorporating practices such as pre-assigned groups and frequent in-class interactions, Professor Cole acknowledges the challenges that the racial climate of the campus may present to the success of students of color. In response, she develops a praxis designed to alleviate these challenges within the space of her classroom.

Professor Cole also aims to create an atmosphere in the classroom that makes it a comfortable space in which all students can engage in learning.

> I always try to stress, rated G. And respect in the classroom. So we don't interrupt each other when we're speaking. I do try to control the amount of airtime that students get so that everyone feels like they have the ability to speak up. And I do try to bring students into the conversation if they're quiet. I do try to make the classroom a respectful, um, equity-laden if you will, value-laden environment so that students feel safe, that they trust each other, and that they trust me.

In this instance, Professor Cole did not identify a specific intent to address the needs of students of color. However, by expressing the desire to create a "respectful" and "equity-laden" classroom, she highlighted the inequities and injustices that characterize the campus as a whole and which differentially impact racial minority students.

Professor Wiltz expressed a similar philosophy of creating a classroom culture in which it is "understood from the beginning you're going to have a discussion where issues and ideas are going to be tossed around and people can feel free to say what they want." He also makes a point of establishing a personal connection with his students and encouraging their active participation in class discussions. He offered the following comment:

> I have them come in here for these interviews . . . that's really how I learn their names. I'm not good with names. And I tell them when they come in here, if they're not talking, you're too quiet in class. Why aren't you talking? You have good ideas.

Although this comment may seem to reflect little more than good classroom management techniques, it was preceded by a discussion of the frequency with which culturally insensitive comments are made in classrooms populated largely by White students. Within this context, the efforts of Professor Wiltz to foster an inclusive classroom environment are especially beneficial to students of color who may be further marginalized by such comments.

Each of the faculty participants above demonstrated an awareness that race matters, that "because race and racism exist in society, they also are present and prevalent in education

and in the research and practice of education" (Milner, 2007, p. 391). This fundamental principle of critical race theory points out that each day, covert racism goes unnoticed within our society. These faculty members, in contrast, are not only aware that race carries material benefits or obstacles, but they also try to work against this covert, imbedded racism through their praxis.

Managing the Discussion of Race in the Classroom. More specifically, some faculty participants address creating this inclusive classroom environment as it relates to discussions of race. For example, Professor Moore described his motivations for actively managing course discussions that center on race.

> I'm a very controlling discussion leader. I don't let things just go. I'm a very direct discussion leader…. And since there are more White people in the class, if a White person says something, then, I'll say but as a Black person would say. Of course now that I have more Black people in class it's an easier thing to do…. And it's like, you know, so it is as a Black person would say, or now even as a woman would say. So yeah. But I will say that I won't allow just free flowing discussion. I try to get all the points of view. And even sort of the White resentment point of view out. Because we discuss all of that stuff. And yeah. I don't let just sort of the racial discussion just flow. Because [those discussions] tend not to be that smart. They tend to just be emotional. So I'm a very directed discussion leader when it comes to that.

Professor Moore's strategy of actively managing the discussion of race can be critiqued for its reification of the power dynamics that frequently define the faculty-student relationship. However, his intent to create a classroom space in which multiple perspectives are valued reveals an awareness that some perspectives, such as those of persons of color, are frequently obscured by the dominant discourse. Through his practices of actively managing discussions of race, Professor Moore creates a classroom environment in which counter-narratives provide a significant part of the conversation.

In addition to directing the flow of class discussion in an effort to make sure that multiple viewpoints are presented, Professor Moore also noted that he frequently shares his own experiences of confronting emotions that spring from the racialized nature of society. The candid quality of his comments provides an example for students to follow when opportunities arise in class to share or reflect upon their own experiences.

> I will use examples of racism in my own family when we talk about that. And even, a perfect example is when the [local] swimming pool was first integrated, and I remember that. And I remember being scared that Black people would swim in the swimming pool, and I *say* that.

Through this remark, Professor Moore demonstrates a willingness to acknowledge his own complicity as a White man in the endurance of racism. This acknowledgement provides an example after which White students might pattern an examination of the assumptions that underlie their own racial attitudes. This strategy, although less directive in nature, further illustrates Professor Moore's commitment to managing the discussion of race in the classroom in efforts to ensure a more complete conversation.

Professor Evans also describes her pedagogical methods for facilitating classroom discussions of race. She notes that students enter these conversations from various standpoints and that these conversations may be difficult and uncomfortable for individual students for a variety of reasons.

> I think I try, I do a couple of things. I think I try to acknowledge the discomfort, so I try to bring that into the conversation so that we can all talk about how this is uncomfortable. Or how this material is challenging.

By addressing the discomfort that can be associated with discussions of race, she asks her students to move beyond the dominant discourse which asserts that race is no longer an issue in our society. Although scholars of critical race theory frequently challenge this assertion

and note instead the permanence of racism, this philosophy may be unfamiliar to racial

majority students who are more accustomed to the familiar discourses of meritocracy and

color-blindness. Professor Evans also described more explicitly the strategy that she employs

to assist White students come to a more complete understanding of social injustices.

> I try to … either in the readings or in lectures or in discussion format, I try to give examples of people who didn't understand something, and then came to understand it. So those transformation narratives … and there are some ethnographers who do a really good job of that, of the way that things that were taken for granted became visible to them. So I try to, I guess, for the often White students who don't see racism in their own society, I try to create a framework for it that get's them away from being defensive. Because of course, that's not a really productive approach. And I think a lot of them tend to think, and I think probably I see this in some of my colleagues as well. That if you're talking about racism, and if you have any conversation about how it's sort of now, and not just in the past, or it's here as opposed to being far away that they ought to feel guilty, that that is the only reaction that is available to them. So that's another way that things sometimes get stuck.

In this case, Professor Evans's culturally responsive pedagogy aims to create a space in which

all students can comfortably enter the discussion. However, she makes it clear that her aim is

not to create a space in which the comfort of White students is maintained through the

continued ability to overlook the persistence of racism. Rather, through the use of

transformation narratives, she attempts to help these students recognize racism and move

toward a more positive White identity which recognized that guilt is not the only available

response to acknowledging racism.

Reason and Evans (2007) have proposed that such development of a more positive,

racially cognizant White identify is an important step in the development of an ally

orientation. Thus through her particular strategies for managing discussions of race in the

classroom, Professor Evans not only creates a more inclusive classroom environment for

students of color, but also contributes to the possible development of other racial justices allies, and ultimately positive change to the racial climate of the university.

In each of the comments above, faculty participants reflected more specifically on their attempts to create an inclusive classroom environment by managing discussions of race in particular ways. Faculty allies may implement strategies that are directive in nature. They may also choose to influence discussions of race by sharing personal stories of through the transformation narratives of others. In each case, however, these White faculty allies expressed the position that their role as teacher includes the responsibility to ensure that discussions of race in the classroom are meaningful and represent a range of perspectives.

Capitalizing on Contact with Students Outside the Classroom. Faculty participants also noted that time spent with student outside the classroom provides additional opportunities in which to promote the achievement of a more just campus environment. For example, Professor Cole noted that she frequently teaches first-year undergraduates. She not only understands the challenges these students may face during this first year of their collegiate careers, but she also makes an effort to assist them in overcoming these challenges through the utilization of available campus resources. When she encounters these students again in her upper-level courses, the support she provides is particularly suited to their status as upperclassmen.

> And I love teaching freshmen. It's my favorite group of students. It's a time when you can really get lost, and so I try to be an advocate for all the students in my freshman class, not just to teach them the material, but to make sure they know about resources on campus, support services, and then I try to be a support to them. And you know, for seniors the same kind of thing, except the support is more like OK, you know in the next year you're going to be going to grad school, or going out into the workforce, or going to med school, and how do you prepare to do those kinds of things.

Through this remark, Professor Cole expressed the value that she assigns to her teaching

responsibilities as well as the range of activities that she includes in that role. As in the case

of creating an inclusive classroom environment, these activities contribute the success of all

students, not only students of color. Later in the conversation, however, Professor Cole

clarified her awareness of the differential experiences of Black students and the ways in

which she intends her actions to support this specific group.

> And so, I do not draw the conclusion that African American students are
> unprepared for college. At all. It's more that there's a private/public school
> divide. And so, I think that students from public schools struggle, initially,
> because they haven't had the access to the same opportunities, educationally.
> And so any student that is coming from a public school system, I am going to
> make an extra effort to make sure that they are aware of all the services available
> to them at the university.

In a similar manner, Professor Steele described his relationship with students outside of the

classroom. He speaks particularly to the support that he can provide to students of color

simply by making himself available should students choose to seek additional interaction.

> And sometimes just having somebody to talk to …. That's a lot of what students
> say. Just having somebody to talk to. Minority students will go to [Black faculty
> members]. They'll come to me, and talk. And that's sometimes just very
> valuable. Without that . . . . I mean, that's the kind of atmosphere you find in a lot
> of places.

With this comment, Professor Steele recognizes the important role that faculty-student

interactions can play for students of color and the extra burden that this may frequently place

on racial minority faculty (Brayboy, 2003). By developing relationships with his students of

color so that they can comfortably approach him outside the classroom, he simultaneously

provides support to these students, helps to reduce the cultural taxation of minority

colleagues, and accepts his own responsibility for participating in efforts to achieve a more inclusive and equitable environment for diverse members of the university community.

This comment also reveals an understanding that racial minority students in his academic unit encounter feelings of isolation and other obstacles within this specific campus environment. He validates this perspective by making himself available for students and suggests an openness to interactions in which the focus may be guided not only by his ability to share institutional knowledge, but also by a student's particular concerns, such as those described below.

> Nobody to talk to, I'm all alone, I can't get into study groups 'cause … you know, Black students sort of hang back. They don't get into study groups, they don't know that the exams that they're going to be taking in a couple of months or years … well, the White students know where to find old exams, Black students don't. There are all kinds of networking issues that they just need to be informed of. So, having a group available to you when you come in as a new student who can nurture you and help you and talk to you, and give you the clues on how to succeed, that's very valuable. The programs that we've put in place, that I help with… a lot of them are designed to mentor the students. Give them help and assistance. Just basic mentoring.

In this remark, Professor Steele recognizes some of the challenges that students of color frequently describe, particularly those associated with forging connections with racial majority students. For example, Solórzano, Ceja and Yosso (2000) note that African American students encounter racial micro-aggressions throughout the campus. In classroom settings, students report that these frequently manifest through racially segregated study groups and the reluctance of White students to select students of color as lab partners or group members. Because Professor Steele acknowledges that these challenges are legitimate concerns for racial minority students, he is better able to assist them through the time he spends in interacting with these students outside of the classroom.

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Like Professor Cole and Professor Steele, Professor Wiltz also assigns value to the

time he spends with minority students outside the classroom. He described a variety of

strategies that contribute to the relationships that he builds with these students in particular.

> I think another way that I succeed with the African American students is when
> they come in to see me, I really spend time with them. I mean, I ask about …. I
> have a form that I make [all my students] fill out and I ask about issues that their
> responses raise, try to really get to know them.

He also capitalizes on university- and community-sponsored events as opportunities to spend

additional time with students of color and to demonstrate his support for cultural diversity

among the campus community.

> I try to support all the kinds of things that are important to the African American
> students. If there is a speaker here, I always go to that, and tell my students to go
> and things like that. And I've taken students up to [a nearby HBCU] before to see
> a play up there ….

Like Professor Steele, Professor Wiltz described teaching practices that reveal his

commitment to participating in efforts that sustain a more diverse campus community. In this

case, these efforts not only contribute to a more supportive environment for students of color,

but they also challenge the normative Whiteness that characterizes the institution. By

encouraging all students – not only racial minority students – to participate in culturally

diverse campus events, he asserts the value of diversity for the university as a whole.

> Professor Claiborne employs a similar strategy by crafting an assignment that initiates

outside contact with her students in addition to the time spent in class.

> I've taken in the last few years to insisting that all of my students have a
> conference with me. I'm fortunate enough that in [this department] we have small
> enough classes, for the most part, that I can do that. I set up some assignment
> where they *must* come talk to me. With email, students don't do that very much
> anymore and you actually have to schedule it to get them across the threshold of
> your office. And it was worse when I was [in an administrative position], because

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it was like they had to run a gauntlet through all those secretaries to get to me. And I just made a joke of it, told them it was going to be intimidating, but to just walk right through there because my students come first.

In addition to using these individual student conferences to discuss course-related material, Professor Claiborne also uses this time to discuss topics more generally related to her students' success. Like Professor Cole and Professor Steele, she considers this a part of the value that she can add to her students' collegiate experience. Again, though this support is provided to all students who study with Professor Claiborne, she described this behavior in the specific context of strategies she uses in her interactions with students of color.

> What's the next step in your life? What are you going to do next? I would try to help them find resources in the university, for, let's say they were going to go to law school or graduate school…. The thing I thought I could give them, because I've been here so long, is a kind of knowledge of where to go. And of course the career planning and placement center is the best kept secret on campus, and I keep trying to send them there. And so, in those conversations about what you're gonna do next, that's where my antennae are often really, really up, to see how I could get resources for those students.

While Professor Claiborne sees her institutional knowledge as a resource that could benefit her students, she is also explicit about her intent to let students of color define the nature of their meetings with her. She goes on to describe the manner in which relationship-building with these students outside of class can change the dynamics in the classroom as the semester progresses.

> Very often, these are the students, if there are just one of two [racial minority] students in a class of twenty, they're very quiet. Now they will, if I get them into my office early enough, they'll talk to me. If I'm just present to them. And then after that experience they'll often be more likely to speak out in class. And I often, very often, organize the class…they have to write every day on a question…and very often I'll break the class into smaller groups. And the Black kids will talk in those groups very often much more than they will to the whole group. And once they've done that, they're much more likely to speak in the whole group. That's one of the reasons I try to get them in my office early.

Professor Kleinert also commented on the importance of spending time with students outside the classroom as an indicator of commitment to racial justice. As an example of this, he mentions "faculty who take students to [national conference for people of color], national convention every year. That, taking time away from here to go there and be with them and do those things is a way that demonstrates the commitment." For Professor Kleinert, these types of activities are not just the kinds of things that good faculty do; instead, they are actions that carry additional significance for their ability help build relationships with students of color, and ultimately to provide support for those students as they navigate the environment of a predominantly White institution.

Furthermore, Professor Kleinert described his efforts to employ students of color in the administrative offices of his academic unit in order to create an extra layer of supportive faculty contact for these students. These efforts are motivated by his understanding that the institutional climate may present obstacles for students of color and that providing opportunities for additional faculty-student interactions is one means of supporting students as they encounter these challenges. Professor Kleinert capitalizes on his administrative role within the academic unit in order to create such opportunities.

> If you're [a student in this department] and you're in the [summer bridge program for minority students], I'm fighting to have you work for us. Because it's important for those students to get to know the faculty and staff around here. There's no better way than working in this office. And they know that I ask about grades, what they're doing. I'm not the parent, but I want them to know that somebody cares about how they're performing. And if things go south you can come in here and I'll help fix it. I think I've got that reputation out there, that I'll help.

Professor Kleinert further clarified this commitment to hire students of color, motivated by an interest in racial justice.

I have two undergraduate student workers and invariably they'll both be minorities. Not that I have anything against the White students, but I'm more likely to farm out the White students to other faculty for those experiences. I want particularly first generation minority students to be connected so there's a bigger safety net. And it's done consciously, although I don't tell them that. And when they walk in this afternoon, I'll say "How'd the quiz go? What kind of grade do you think you have in the class? Oh really? You're struggling? Then you're over to the center for academic success, or you need to go see the counselor." Just constantly paying attention to that.

Without additional knowledge of Professor Kleinert's professional practices, the strategies described above could be interpreted as a reinforcement of the power dynamics that frequently define faculty-student relationships and as an enactment of the paternalism that has often characterized White efforts to provide support for people of color; that risk exists in all interactions in which power inequities exist. In this case, however, these strategies are embedded within an organizational culture that expresses a commitment to diversity not only in rhetoric but also in practice. The academic unit has an active diversity advisory board, a high percentage of faculty and students of color as compared to institution as a whole, and attempts to address issues of diversity throughout the curriculum rather than within a single course or group of courses. Professor Kleinert has played an integral role in the process of developing these practices. He demonstrates a high level of both the awareness of the Whiteness that characterizes the institution as a whole and of the challenges that this racial climate presents for students of color. In fact, it is this understanding that motivates his efforts to provide additional support structures for students of color whenever possible. While an understanding of this context may mitigate the critique of Professor Kleinert's particular strategy for capitalizing on contact with students of color outside of the classroom, it also highlights the degree to which even the best intentions of White faculty allies are circumscribed by the system racism that characterizes their predominantly White institution.

In each of the cases described here, the significance is not merely that faculty participants spend time with students outside the classroom. This may be the case with many faculty who seek to develop more effective pedagogies as a part of their own professional development. Rather, the significant feature of the behaviors described by the faculty participants in this study is the degree of intentionality that accompanies these behaviors as the faculty "make an extra effort" to support their racial minority students. This intentionality is driven by an awareness that issues of race continue to influence the institutional culture and, by extension, the experiences of students of color.

As scholars of critical race theory have noted, the dominant rationale used to support diversity initiatives in higher education relies on the belief that diverse student populations contribute to a more complete learning environment that benefits an institution as a whole as well as improving the experiences of individual students. However, this rationale fails to address the persistent inequities that are too frequently characteristic of higher education for students of color (Yosso, et al., 2004). The efforts made by these White faculty allies reveals their dissatisfaction with this rationale alone and an understanding that, indeed, remedial efforts must be taken to challenge the inequitable campus climate and to foster instead opportunities to address the specific needs of students of color.

For Professor Cole and Professor Claiborne, faculty-student interactions outside the classroom provide an opportunity to become more familiar with the needs of individual students and to make students aware of available institutional resources and support structures. While Professor Wiltz and Professor Claiborne both implement faculty-student conferences to build relationships with racial minority students, Professor Steele accomplishes this more informally by making himself available as "someone to talk to." Professor Kleinert

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not only engages with students of color through participation in student activities, but also takes advantage of his administrative role, "fighting" for opportunities to employ minority students and thereby became a part of the "safety net" that meaningful, culturally responsive faculty-student interactions can provide. These actions exemplify a philosophy of teaching that, through capitalizing on contact with students outside the classroom, serves as yet another vehicle through which White faculty allies can express their commitment to contributing to the aims of racial justice on their campus.

Selecting Culturally Diverse Course Materials. When designing their courses, faculty have a great degree of latitude in selecting course materials. Whether or not the course deals with race explicitly, faculty can use this latitude as an opportunity to purposefully select course materials that represent a diverse set of scholars. Although Professor Blanchard's teaching does frequently deal with issues of race, he also described the purposeful selection of materials by authors of color as another method of signaling his interest in contributing to a more equitable campus environment.

> It sends a signal. . .at least one of the outside readings I do in the survey every year, not every semester, is explicitly an African American text. . .I remember one semester a while back because I didn't do the same in [another of my courses] and that bothered an African American student. So I think you do that sort of thing.

Although Professor Claiborne's course in the humanities covers a content area that does not include many Black authors, she described her efforts to incorporate more diverse readings whenever possible. As she notes, "It's always a struggle to try to find ways to insert relevant literature that deals with race into that, into these courses. Obviously if I'm teaching a [course that focuses only on the texts of a specific author], it's almost impossible." Professor Claiborne goes on to discuss the rare opportunities she does find to implement more

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diversity in her course content. "So this was my one chance to insert the discourse of race into that course, and so I always enjoyed doing that." However, Claiborne also acknowleges that, in some instances, she makes choices regarding the syllabus for a particulate semester that she understands will further minimize her ability to introduce issues of race into her course.

> And then there were times when I would configure the course in ways that I would, I just wanted to teach poetry because these students have such a hard time reading poetry, they're just terrified of poetry. And when I did that it was much less possible to deal with issues of race.

As this comment illustrates, while Claiborne recognizes the pedagogical benefit of selecting culturally diverse course materials, she chooses in some instances to prioritize her academic interests within the field. This further illustrates the reality, introduced in Chapter Four, that ally identity is only one facet of identification for these White faculty allies.

Although some faculty participants found it difficult to introduce culturally diverse course materials due to the nature of the course, those who did were purposeful in this regard. They recognized the value of introducing materials that bring diverse perspectives to their courses and honor the contributions of persons of color.

Individualized, Non-Deficit View of Students. During the period of data collection, the faculty participants frequently spoke of their interactions with students. They sometimes referenced their students as a corporate body, while at other times they described specific kinds of interactions with individual students or with smaller segments of the student population. One of the themes that emerged from these conversations was the faculty participants' awareness that individual students and groups of students experience the process of higher education in distinct ways, sometimes as a result of differences such as race.

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In an example of these conversations, Professor Claiborne commented on the manner in which her personal experiences with race influences her interactions with students. Her awareness of the legacy of segregation means that, when dealing with racial minority students, she recognizes that racial identity makes a difference in how one experiences the world.

> I grew up in a totally segregated world. I remember water fountains that said "colored" and "for colored only." There's no way, having grown up in that racist world, I could not see interactions with African Americans as tinged with that long, long, long history. There's no way I could possibly be colorblind. My children had an ease with the fact that they were in school with African American students who were their friends. That would be impossible for me growing up where I went. So my interactions with Black students can't possibly be colorblind.

Scholars of critical race theory note that the ideal of colorblindness is frequently invoked in ways that serve to maintain policies and practices that have inequitable impacts on persons of color (Delgado, 1995; Harper, et al., 2009). In rejecting this discourse, Professor Claiborne, sets herself apart from the dominant ideology and aligns herself with students and colleagues of color who understand, at a personal level, that race still impacts our daily lived experiences.

The concept of colorblindness appears several times in the comments of other faculty participants. At first glance, it appears that these faculty may ascribe to the ideal of colorblindness, as when Professor Wiltz states, "I treat all my students the same really." This sentiment is echoed by other faculty participants including Professor Cole and Professor Franklin. However, these faculty go on to express an understanding that students navigate the campus as racialized individuals and that students of color encounter specific challenges that

accompany their position as racial minorities in the context of a predominantly White

institution.

For example, Professor Cole articulates a teaching philosophy that aims to serve the

needs of each student. After stating that she tried to be supportive to all students, she clarifies

that this does not mean providing identical support to all students.

> I think my relationship with, essentially every student, is different because every
> student is different, and I try to get to know my students well enough that I can do
> what I can to ensure that they succeed.

Within this context, the statements above do not indicate a belief in colorblind pedagogy, but

rather a culturally aware praxis that recognizes each student as an individual and responds to

her or his unique needs. For students of color, these needs may include knowledge of

institutional resources, support structures, and assistance in coping with the cultural pressures

that attend their position as racial minorities in the context of the predominantly White

institution. In contrast, a colorblind pedagogy would assert the desire to treat all students

"equally" in the interest of fairness. As Delgado (1995) has noted, formal equality achieved

through law and policy may "remedy only the more extreme and shocking sorts of injustices"

but lacks the sophistication to do address "the business-as-usual forms of racism that people

of color confront every day and that account for much misery, alienation, and despair" (p.

xiv). In the context of higher education, adherence to a philosophy of colorblindness

frequently serves to maintain an institutional climate that fails to adequately respond to the

needs of students of color. Through their rejection of this philosophy, White faculty allies

recognize and respond to the specific needs of racial minority students.

In addition to recognizing students as individuals with unique needs, faculty

participants also described students of color in ways that demonstrated a non-deficit

characterization of these students. For example, after commenting on the ways in which the

experiences of racial majority and minority students may differ, Professor Cole quickly

clarified her remarks in an effort not to assign negative stereotypes to Black students. Rather

than ascribing deficit characteristics to students of color, she acknowledged the impact of

economic disparity within the community and the resulting differences in access to

educational opportunities.

> And so, I do not draw the conclusion that African American students are
> unprepared for college. At all. It's more that there's a private/public school
> divide. And so, I think that students from public schools struggle, initially,
> because they haven't had the access to the same opportunities, educationally.
> And so any student that is coming from a public school system, I am going to
> make an extra effort to make sure that they are aware of all the services available
> to them at the university.

Through this observation, Professor Cole highlighted an inequitable system that often results

in disparate educational outcomes for communities of color, choosing to focus on the

systemic problem rather than interpret these outcomes as evidence of shortcoming among

students of color as a group.

As the conversation continued, Professor Cole was careful not only to avoid deficit-

characterization of students of color, but to convey the valuable contributions that these

students add as members of her research team.

> I have a group of students who work for me year round in a research and design
> team. And so, essentially what I do is, I am always looking at the students in my
> class…. And so, I choose who I would consider to be the best student in the class.
> And the best student doesn't have the highest 'A' all the time. They may, but
> they may not. It's the student who really knows how to listen, and how to interact
> with various community groups in an effective way. And I have found that a
> number of the students who have worked with me are minority students. And I
> think it is, again, that they've got a real sense of that servant leader piece, and
> they are very interested in serving community, and they're interested in [my
> research]. So it's been wonderful for me. I would say that I have a higher than

average, in my classroom, percentage of women and minorities that work for me in that capacity.

Through this remark, Professor Cole illustrated her practice of honoring the skills and strengths of individual students.

In a similar manner, Professor Kleinert values the participation of students of color in student activities and organizations. As an example, he described his effort to involve Black students in the national conference for a student-level professional organization.

> I consciously look for African American students to take on that trip. I mean, they had to be prepared to go, I wasn't going to just take someone because they happened to be Black, but I was going to look for someone, just like I did with White students . . . . I was looking for someone who was interesting and would contribute something to the trip. And I'm not suggesting that skin color is the contribution. I'm thinking background and perspective, all sorts of things fit into that.

In his discussion of critical race theory and educational research, Milner (2007) points out that deficit discourses "surface from the belief systems and thinking of researchers, teachers, practitioners, and policy makers," and thus reveal racial biases and prejudices that are otherwise unspoken. Through such discourses, students of color are frequently characterized as at-risk, under-prepared, otherwise less-than the racial majority students who serve as the unchallenged standard student within their institutions. This discourse is compounded by the other elements of an inequitable campus environment and serves to further marginalize students who already feel that their voices are frequently dismissed and unvalued. Thus it is significant that this discourse is absent from the conversations with faculty participants in this study. In its place are expressions of the value that each student brings to his or her educational experiences and the enrichment that accrues as a result to the university environment as a whole.

Summary. Through their comments, the faculty participants in this study revealed the

practices through which they enact their commitment to racial justice in conjunction with their

teaching responsibilities. As Cross (2005) has noted, "teaching goals are heavily associated

with academic disciplines, but they also vary with personal perceptions of the teaching role"

(p. 2). These White faculty allies demonstrate an ability to interweave the goals of high

quality instruction in their content area and the goals of contributing to a more socially just

campus environment. In the case of Creating an Inclusive Classroom Environment, this

commitment is manifest in efforts to develop "equity-laden, … value-laden" learning

environments and to establish relationships that demonstrate to students of color that their

perspectives are welcome and desired contributions to classroom conversations. In a similar

manner, faculty allies described practices of Selecting Culturally Diverse Course Materials

and Managing the Discussion of Race in the Classroom in order to ensure that diverse

perspectives are represented. In addition to these pedagogical practices that shape the

learning experience within the classroom, faculty participants also utilize the strategy of

Capitalizing on Contact with Students Outside the Classroom. These faculty-student

interactions provide opportunities to further develop relationships with students of color and

to share additional information regarding university resources and support structures that may

address an individual student's needs. In other cases, participation in cultural events

demonstrated a value for diverse experiences and served to challenge the normative

Whiteness that characterizes this predominantly White institution. The practices described

above are illustrated by the theme of an Individualized, Non-Deficit View of Students in

which White faculty acknowledge not only that their interactions with racial minority students

"can't possibly be colorblind," but also that the institutional culture itself represents an additional challenge that will impact the educational experiences of students of color.

Research

As described in Chapter Three, data were collected with the cooperation of faculty participants at Capitol University, a large, research extensive university in the south. In keeping with this institutional status and with the university's role as the flagship institution of higher education in the state, research is a major component of faculty work. Due to the specific fields represented by the faculty participants, however, the nature of this research varies widely as does the degree to which the faculty members' ally identities are manifest through their research.

In some cases, faculty participants express little or no connection between their academic research and their efforts to contribute to a more racially just campus environment. However, this lack of connection reflects primarily on the discourses of particular fields of study rather than on an individual professor's commitment to equity and justice. For example, Professor Steele and Professor Franklin both express explicit opinions that race has no role in their research activity. Professor Steele summarizes this philosophy as he states, "[My field] is science, and science is neutral . . . . [My discipline is what it is], and people equally love it and hate it, so it doesn't matter." Although scholars of the philosophy of science have challenged such assertions of objectivity and neutrality (K. Cross, 2001; Harding, 2004; Kuhn, 1960), the faculty participant scientists in this study did not acknowledge any ways in which their interest in social justice might be expressed through their research efforts.

Among faculty participants in the fields of the humanities and social sciences, while individual faculty members may not conduct research in which race is a central focus, they may be part of a larger intellectual community in which issues of race are frequently discussed. Such is the case of Professor Claiborne, who noted, "I don't read race theory; it's not an issue I work in." However, she goes on to describe the degree to which issues of race are frequently a focus of research in her field at large, noting that "[our discipline] is hyper conscious of that." Although Professor Claiborne expresses a strong ally perspective at other times, her identity as an academic is more aligned with her particular interest within her field.

In contrast, Professor Wiltz's research frequently focuses on issues of race, the products of Black scholars and artists, and regions of the world populated primarily by individuals of African descent. Although he did not assign a social justice purpose to his research interest, his enthusiasm for and sustained study of these materials demonstrate the value that he finds in this community of persons of color.

Not only does Professor Wiltz conduct research that recognizes the work of many African American scholars and artists, but he has also been involved in fostering the growth of a research community that expands our knowledge of a variety of African influences on Southern cultures. The local body of this research group meets frequently on campus and has hosted an international conference on multiple occasions. The cultural knowledge that Professor Wiltz accrues through these research activities plays a critical role in his understanding of race and racism. This understanding, in turn, informs the ally aspect of his interactions with students and faculty of color.

In contrast, Professor Evans does conduct research in which race is a central component. However, she finds herself a part of a larger research community that is only

beginning to examine the ways in which race, as a socially constructed characteristic, has

meaning in today's world. Thus Professor Evans's well-establish research agenda with an

explicit focus on racial inequality provides a counterpoint to the general departmental culture.

> I would venture a guess that just sticking to [my] program, that quite a few of my colleagues have an intellectual and personal kind of anti-racist position, but they're more familiar with what I was mentioning as an earlier model [of research in our field] . . . . Of course, when racial inequality is part of your research, then you have to speak to that and that's really important. The way that it's come back around as a topic of research in and of itself, I think, for a lot of people, I would say that's pretty unusual in this department.

Professor Evans also reflected on the ways in which her academic research has created

opportunities for growth in her own personal understanding of race and racism. For example,

she describes a research project in which the data collection process involved extensive

interactions with various African American organization and individuals. The relationships

that Professor Evans formed during this process with persons of color and the lived

experiences she shared with them helped reveal to her the hegemonic nature of Whiteness.

> And I'm sure that was also my first experience of being a minority, of being a White woman in a crowd that was affirmatively African American that was celebrating a Black tradition. And that it was fine [for me] to be the minority. . . . And I think that even though I didn't have a way to put it into words, that kind of deeper discovery, I think, at the time I knew that I was undergoing something pretty profound. And I think I've carried that with me, that sense that the conventional things that I was taught about where you can be and where you can go and who you can talk to – I think I always carry with me this idea that that could turn out to be completely false. And there are these whole other areas of life that that could turn out to be false about, too. So I don't think I've figured it all out, but I think that I carry that knowledge with me, that we're often … that the way we're taught to see the world is often very, very limiting.

Like Professor Evans, Professor Cole is part of a department that does not frequently

examine race as a general focus of research. However, she expresses a strong ally orientation

that informs all aspects of her faculty work. While she conducts research within her field on a

variety of topics, for the purposes of this study she focuses on one research area in terms of its ability to further her interest in promoting social justice.

> I think that there is a paradigm in our society that you are going to be driven by an interest in an area. I am not like that. I am driven by an interest in justice. And that is my passion, that whole equal access thing …. I buy into democracy completely. And I've been like that as long as I can remember. And so, it's not that I was ever enamored with [my current field] as a passion. It was more what I could do with it to serve society. And so the research itself essentially was an accident. Just started doing something and realized as I learned more that it was an issue. And I feel like it is an issue with a strong justice component.

This statement by Professor Cole illustrates the most explicit manifestation of ally work through faculty research among the participants of this study

As noted previously, faculty participants' research efforts span a wide range of activities, as is to be expected based on the various fields of study represented by this group. Although each of the faculty participants demonstrated some level of ally activity in teaching and service, ally activity was not as easily identified in their research work. In some cases, faculty participants viewed research as a value-neutral activity which only aims to produce new knowledge. Most faculty participants did not assign ally motivations to their research work, but for those whose work examines issues of race, the research contributes to the creation of an intellectual space in which discussions of race and racism inhabit a more central space in the discourse of the institution. As Gasman (2010) has noted, the open discussion of issues of race plays an important role in the creation of an institutional climate in which diversity is valued. In only one case, research has become the platform from which the faculty member purposefully engages in the work of social justice. For this faculty member, research is not only a part of her professional identity, but also a vehicle through which she expresses a vital part of her personal commitment to work toward equity and justice.

Service

Although service is not highly rewarded, particularly at research intensive institutions, it endures as one of the traditional components of faculty work (Boyer, 1990; Ward, 2003). In keeping with this expectation, faculty participants described a wide variety of service activities through which they fulfilled this obligation while also expressing their interest in promoting racial justice on their campus. Many of the faculty participants carried out their responsibility of service in a departmental or university-level administrative position. Through these positions, they encounter a number of opportunities to act in the interest of racial justice on their campus. While some of these situations support students of color directly, in other cases the service supports racial minority faculty members or responds to incidents that affect the campus climate as a whole. Through the data analysis process, a number of themes emerged to describe this service work of White faculty allies, including Recruiting Minority Students, Involvement in Student Support Programs, Service to Increase Minority Faculty Representation, and Contributing to a More Equitable Campus Climate.

Recruiting Minority Students. Among the faculty participants in this study, the most frequently reported service related to the work of racial justice was a significant level of concern for and involvement in the recruitment of students of color at both the undergraduate and graduate level. Faculty involvement in this arena is indicative of both their awareness of the current state of minority representation on their campus, the value they place on a achieving a more diverse student body, and a desire to create opportunities for students of color. In many cases, when they achieve administrative roles, the faculty participants use the power of these positions to initiate more active minority recruiting programs.

In an example of ally work in recruiting, Professor Steele described his involvement in a departmental effort, supported by the Graduate School, to recruit more minority graduate students.

> I became director of graduate studies [in my department], the graduate advisor. And one of the things that I wanted to do was recruit at HBCUs because I'd had some friends at the nearby HBCU, and knew what the kids were like there. The bright ones were bright. And so I set out to try and recruit kids from [other HBCU's in the region]. I didn't have much luck, as you might imagine. [This institution] actually had a bad rep in that area.

With this statement, Professor Steele demonstrated not only a desire to recruit a more diverse student body, but also respect for the intellectual achievements of minority students. In addition, he recognized the historical Whiteness of his own institution and the impact of this Whiteness on the relationship between the institution and the community in which it is situated. He went on to describe the network of colleagues involved in these recruitment efforts.

> And I was also working with [a senior-level administrator]… he was really good at getting support for minority students, took full advantage of that. And he and I spent many hours talking and working on this stuff. And [a Black friend and colleague] was in there pitching, and between the three of us we managed to recruit and retain 30 students from around the country. And that number has held pretty steady since then. So for the last 15 years, we've had a huge population of minority students, African American students, who feel very comfortable here …. And I've just continued doing that even though I've retired from the administrative job five years ago, thank goodness. I've tried to continue those activities. And make sure there is support for minority students, and for minority participation.

Significantly, Steele's interest in minority recruiting is not motivated only by the rationale that asserts a diverse student body contributes to a better learning environment. While his involvement in recruiting does address issues of access for students of color, these efforts are

made more meaningful because he also acknowledges the need to support minority students once access to higher education is achieved.

Of the faculty included in this study, Professor Kleinert is the mostly actively involved in recruiting racial minority students at the undergraduate level. Serving as an administrator in his department, he leads the efforts to implement the unit's diversity plan. In his opinion, he best serves the University's diversity efforts by concentrating his energies within his own academic unit. As he states, "I see advancing [Capitol University] as a by-product of me advancing this [department]. I don't have enough energy [to work on diversity at the institutional level], it's not my job." In example of the types of programming he has implemented, Professor Kleinert described one of the major components of his department's recruiting efforts.

> There is a high performing, minority high school, open enrollment private high school in [a major city in the neighboring state]. They'll eventually graduate 10,000 minority students a year. They're 97% minority. They do bus trips with their students, and one of our former students who is a recruiter in [a large Southern city] connected me with them. And they now bring that bus tour here every year, which is hundreds of students who would never have been exposed to [Capitol University] in any other way.

Professor Kleinert also observed that the priority he and his department place on recruiting minority students is not typical of other faculty and departments on campus. While Professor Kleinert describes a personal passion and departmental commitment to developing a more diverse study body, other departments demonstrate a *laissez faire* attitude toward ensuring faculty representation at recruiting events. As a result of this attitude, service work such as minority recruiting continues to be constructed as something extra to be done at one's convenience rather than as service that is vital to the function of the university.

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I find that we have trouble getting faculty from other units on campus to come. It's a bad time of year. They come at the end of the spring, it's a bad time, I get that. But while everyone else, while other people are saying "I can't come," I say, "We'd like to have it in our building." Knowing that high school students don't know what they want to do, I want everybody on that bus in my building . . . . I've had [the dean of another college on campus] ask me, "Why do you do this? You've got more students than you can take." Because I want more minority students, I want more out of state students, I want more [students in our department], and I want higher performing students. And if I don't go out there to find them, I'm not willing to take the chance.

This remark by Professor Kleinert also illustrates the urgency with which he views the need to recruit students of color. While others may be willing to "take the chance" that a more diverse student body will develop over time, he remains unsatisfied with incremental changes. Scholars of critical race theory critique this notion of incremental change as one in which "gains for marginalized groups must come at a slow pace that is palatable for those in power" (Decuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 29). Professor Kleinert also recognizes that diversity within the student body enhances both individual student experiences and the academic unit as a whole. Therefore, while other members of the campus community may imagine an abstract level of minority representation at which diversity has been achieved, Professor Kleinert understands the pursuits of racial justice and academic excellence to be intersecting, long-term projects in which a definite endpoint is neither fixed nor desired.

As the graduate director for her department, Professor Evans has opportunities not only to participate in graduate recruiting but also to attempt to shape the conversations that surround this activity within her department and at the institutional level. Based on her experiences in this role, she identified an instance in which issues of race emerge and described her own interest in affecting change in this area.

Sure, it definitely comes up in conversations about, for example, whether the GRE is representative of people's potential in graduate school, and for which

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populations is the GRE a better predictor or a lessor predictor . . . . I remember trying to put some things on the agenda for a faculty meeting related to that, both a [college level] meeting and a conversation I'd had with the dean of the graduate school. And it just didn't seem to make it onto the agenda for the faculty meeting . . . . You never know for sure, if that is something that is intentional, or we just had a really busy meeting today so it's not a priority. But I felt like, my enthusiasm I had for this when I came into the job, and when we had this new grad school dean, who was not . . . not universally reflected, even though there were plenty of people who wouldn't stand in the way . . . they weren't going to make that a priority. Or they didn't see it as pressing an issue as I did.

Unlike Professor Kleinert, whose academic unit fully supports his interest in minority student recruiting, Professor Evans operates in an organizational climate that she perceives to be, at best, ambivalent toward her interest in racial justice. Through her proactive stance, like that of Professor Kleinert, she also works against a culture of incremental change. While others won't "stand in the way," she demonstrates purpose and intention in her efforts to bring issues of race from conservational margins to the center.

In another example, Professor Evans described a conversation within her department that illustrates the resistance that is sometimes expressed against the allocation of resources and financial support specifically for the purpose of promoting a more diverse student body.

Well, there's the [university fellowship to support minority graduate students]. And then within this department there is a fund that we use to recruit women [to study in our field . . . . And we were having this discussion about, there's this idea of taking turns when recruiting grad students. If you have a student funded on a departmental assistantship, you might not get first dibs on recruiting another student using a departmental assistantship. Of course you want the most qualified students, but there is this idea of *turn taking* that is kind of loosely applied.

Through this remark, Evans illustrates the manner in which the dominant discourse of the university frames resources such as graduate assistantships more in terms of the value they add to university productivity rather than as vehicles through which to promote educational opportunity for individual students. While the particular financial awards under discussion

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are attached to specific recruiting goals designed to increase participation of underrepresented students, in practice these goals may be subsumed by a greater concern at the departmental level of which faculty has yet to take at turn as the recipient of a graduate assistant. Professor Evans provided further details to describe this process.

> And in order to take that into consideration, the grad director produces a list of who has students that are on a departmental assistantship currently. So we were having this discussion of whether this gender endowed position should count, right? And then whether the [university fellowship] should count. And I made the case that neither should count since the whole point is to increase the number of students of color and the number of women . . . but you should have the ability to recruit more students since it's meant to be *expanding* our student body. And not everybody agreed with that on either count.

The nature of this conversation provides further evidence of the wide range of positions associated with affirmative action policies in higher education. In this case, an informal practice illustrates that while faculty may be willing to accept the specific recruitment goals of particular assistantships, they resist implementing these awards in a manner that would highlight their function as different from the function of other more general financial awards. Professor Evans understood this resistance not only as a response to the issue of how assistantships would be administered, but also as a subtle expression of ideology through which some faculty members assign value or lack thereof to diversity efforts.

> It was really interesting, and I think that showed really different views about where our society is at. I mean, generally reflecting I think the Republican backlash against affirmative action, and the ideal of the colorblind society, that we should act as if we have a colorblind society, even though we don't.

As she reflected on this experience, Professor Evans assessed the impact that she was able to bring about through her role as graduate director; "I think I was able to make the case that the [university fellowship] shouldn't count because it doesn't come from department

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funds anyway, so I won on that one but I didn't win on the gender one. So . . . I was able to influence our policy in a limited way." Although she was unable to achieve consensus on both issues, Professor Evans played an important role in developing an agenda that included discussions of diversity recruiting and in articulating a position in support of these efforts that called attention to the continuing need for such efforts.

In each of these examples, faculty participants demonstrate their commitment to social justice through participation in recruitment strategies that actively seek students of color. While the specific recruiting activities span a broad range of behaviors, from recruiting at HBCU's to advocating for financial support for graduate students of color, they share a common feature in that these White faculty move beyond an expressed interest in diversity to a position in which they take action to achieve this goal. They reject the notion of incremental change, choosing rather to invest significant time and energy in service that leads to the more rapid advancement of students of color within the campus community.

Service to Increase Minority Faculty Representation. Participation on faculty recruitment and search committees provides yet another avenue through which White faculty allies contribute to the work of racial justice on their campus. In this capacity, they prioritize the diversification of the faculty within their departments. They also work to educate their colleagues who may lack a similar commitment to this goal.

For example, Professor Claiborne served for several years as chair of a large department on campus. She identified increasing the racial diversity of her faculty as one of her goals during this time in her career, noting:

> We're so eager to hire African American faculty members. In order to diversify our faculty and in order to really provide the kind of diversity that our African American students need . . . . That was a very big part of my chairmanship . . . .

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That's very good. So in working with the faculty, both African American faculty and trying to hire . . . we have had some success. I have hired at least three African American colleagues.

Through this remark, Claiborne expressed not only her commitment to faculty diversification, but also an understanding of the significant role that minority faculty can play in the educational experiences of students of color.

In a similar manner, Professor Blanchard also leveraged his position in departmental administration in efforts to achieve increased racial diversity within the faculty of his department.

There are a few people in the dept, of various views, that come at it different ways who get upset. My argument was always, when we hired in [a particular course dealing primarily with issues of race in American], I was not going hire anybody who wasn't Black. And I think everybody knew that. I think I [chaired the committee to hire faculty to teach this course] three times. And I mean, anybody who knew me pretty much knew that. There were a few who disagreed with me, and philosophically you can make a very good case that White people should be [able to teach this particular course]. My argument was that when you hire an African American to teach [other courses within the department], then we could talk . . . . It did come up one time that I can remember, and that is, you know, when you hire African American faculty it's a separate market and you pay them more. And there are faculty members who understandably resent that, but to me that's just the cost of doing business.

With this remark, Blanchard recognizes the imperative of developing a diverse faculty within his academic unit and demonstrates a strong commitment to pursuing this objective. Through his leadership role on the search committee and in efforts to address what he sees as a critical lack of diversity among the faculty, he defends the stance that this vacant faculty position will not be compromised as a point of entry for faculty of color in the department. In later conversations, Blanchard clarified this remark and reaffirmed his belief that White faculty can and should teach courses that focus on African American issues and experiences. He

reiterated, however, the opinion that it was vitally important to hire an African American for this particular vacancy given the context of this university, the departmental record of failure to hire faculty of color, and the racial demographics of the state and community. In short, he sought not only to access a particular

Blanchard's orientation as a racial justice ally is further illuminated when we consider his remark in relation to the diversity rationales frequently invoked with regard to affirmative action in higher education (Yosso, et al., 2004). While a color-blind rationale would insist on equal rewards for all faculty hires regardless of race, Blanchard accepts higher salaries for African American faculty as "the cost of doing business" in his field. By connecting his commitment to hire faculty of color to the institutional legacy of segregation and the lack of diversity that continues to characterize Capitol University, he invokes a remedial and community service rationale. This rationale, which accepts race-based affirmative action as "a remedy to compensate for past and current racial discrimination," has not been the basis of majority opinions in legal decisions such as *Bakke v. Regents* and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (Yosso, et al., 2004, p. 8). However, scholars suggest that this remedial rationale is still relevant for higher education today and must be a part of our community discourse as we attempt to move toward more equitable and just campus climates (Allen, 2005; Harper, et al., 2009; Yosso, et al., 2004).

Professor Wiltz also described his participation in recruiting faculty of color and noted the efforts that he makes to help newly hired faculty overcome any obstacles they may encounter as they become familiar with the culture of their new academic community. In addition, he also spends time getting to know his new colleagues as individuals outside of the confines of the department.

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I try to be a mentor to the African American faculty. To help them get published, and navigate through the department and all that kind of stuff. Acquaint them with the different courses that we teach here and what our students are like. You know, I have them over for dinner, take them to [visit nearby towns] or whatever. But also, I have to serve on committees constantly, too, hiring committees, and that means going to our big convention every year.

In this comment, Wiltz reveals that the strategies he implements with students of color are useful in his role as a racial justice ally for faculty colleagues. He directs his efforts toward developing an inclusive environment within his academic unit and capitalizes on time with colleagues outside the physical confines of the institution.

Professor Evans also reflected on the assistance that she can provide in her efforts to contribute to an environment of racial justice within her academic community.

And I think reviewing, doing things like reviewing promotional materials or CVs or grant proposals for women of color who are part of my network, you know, is something that I haven't gotten to do that much because I'm not that senior. But when I try to decide whether or not I have time to do it, I try to think about my role in the University and my ability to help mentor people who are coming through the system. So I see that as definitely being connected.

In contrast, Professor Moore offered a commentary on the issue of minority faculty recruiting which illustrates that commitment to this effort is not universally prioritized on campus.

Yeah. For several years we did want to hire someone in Black politics and we finally did. And, but it was like OK, now we have a Black president, we don't have a race problem . . . now we have a Black faculty member, we don't have a race problem. And so I think it was kind of easy when we kept saying we wanted to hire a Black faculty person. And we tried, and we got this and that. During the time there was a time when I was in the dean's office and couldn't make decisions here [in the department]. There was a Black faculty hire that I thought we should have made but the department voted against it but the next year we hired someone . . . . But [further diversifying the faculty] is nowhere on our agenda right now, nowhere *near* our agenda right now, to hire another Black faculty member or anyone else who does Black studies. I think everyone would be happy if our hire

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in [other ethnic studies], a Black person showed up on the list. But it does not
seem to be as high up on people's agendas as it is on mine.

This comment illustrates the manner in which incremental change in the campus racial

climate is generally viewed as an indication of positive growth. Moore draws the connection

between the election of a Black president and the hiring of a minority faculty member.

Having accomplished this milestone, members of the community point to this achievement as

a symbol that race no longer matters; therefore, energies once spent on efforts to promote

diversity among the faculty can now be directed toward other goals. This attitude is similar to

that described in the earlier discussion of minority student recruiting. While most faculty are

content to hire faculty of color if they happen to show up in the applicant pool, Professor

Moore demonstrates his ally identity by prioritizing the goal of a more diverse faculty within

his department.

In each of these cases, faculty participants play a critical leadership role within their

departments to advance the purpose of achieving a more diverse faculty. Professors

Claiborne and Blanchard do so by leveraging their leaderships positions within the

department, while Professor Wiltz implements strategies to support colleagues of color that

mirror the strategies through which he supports racial minority students. Through these

efforts, these faculty participants further integrate their ally identities and faculty service

responsibilities.

Involvement in Student Support Programs. Many of the faculty participants also

provide service to the university by participating in various campus programs designed to

promote the success of underrepresented student populations. Some of these programs are

short term summer institutes while others involve more formal mentoring relationships or

supervision of student research. The faculty participants indicated that they found this kind of activity to be rewarding and enjoyed the opportunity to work with students of color in this capacity.

For example, although Professor Claiborne noted that her role as department chair comprised the major part of her university service for several years, she also stated that when students asked her to serve as a research mentor, "I made myself available to that. I've certainly done a number of those kinds of volunteer things." No longer involved in departmental administration, Professor Steele also devotes more of his time to this type of service. He states, "I'm involved in the minority support, minority participation programs. These are sponsored mostly by the National Science Foundation, designed to recruit minority students into science, tech, engineering, mathematics …. The STEM disciplines. And I'm involved in several of those programs."

Professor Cole also values her opportunities to work with racial minority students through a variety of support programs on campus. More than any of the other faculty participants, she articulated the degree to which this service fulfills her explicit desire to support students who otherwise may face a more challenging university experience.

> I feel like have been really lucky to have been approached by some of the [student support] programs on campus, to work with students, minority students. And so, that's been a fantastic opportunity, again because I think the research is important, but working with students to accomplish research goals, and learning about discovery, is something that I really enjoy and value…. I also work with the summer bridge program. I teach every summer …. It is essentially a bunch of students who are recruited nationally. Everyone is recruited, but they really try to bring in students from underrepresented groups in the [specific] disciplines. And I have the opportunity to teach about 30 students who start their [college] careers a semester early, every summer. And again, that's really, it's a very meaningful program to me. I think the whole idea, again, that I do think the road is harder when you are under-represented in a field. And so, it's, you know, activities that

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you serve in some small way to level the playing field. And that's really
important to me.

Just as Professor Cole earlier described her research interest as a vehicle through which to

express her commitment to social justice, so she sees student support programs as a similar

vehicle through which she can express this commitment within her responsibilities to carry

out service to the university. Her desire to "level the playing field" underscores an awareness

of the deleterious effects that an inequitable institutional climate still brings to bear for

students of color and other underrepresented groups.

In each instance described above, faculty participants recognize the role that student

support programs can play in assisting students of color as they navigate the environment of

the predominantly White institution. They make themselves available for service of this type,

even though it is likely to be time consuming while being held in no greater value than other

service that could be accomplished more conveniently. Service of this nature is particularly

important because it provides additional opportunities for meaning faculty-student

interactions which can contribute to better educational experiences for students of color (Loo

& Rolison, 1986; Schwitzer, et al., 1999)

Contributing to a More Equitable Campus Climate. Another aspect of service

mentioned several times by faculty participants is taking part in public conversations that

contribute to a more racially just campus environment. This involves activities such as

participating in institutional programs that foster discussions of race and providing public

statements when incidents of racial discord take place on campus. Professor Blanchard

described his participation in service of this type:

In terms of the race stuff, one of the places where I found it really pretty
interesting is for a very long time . . . I was on the selection committee for [a

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university sponsored program to develop leadership among the study body]. And for about maybe 10 or 12 years was the moderator for the week we did race relations [in that program]. So that was part of it. And the other thing I've done over time is I've gotten caught up in the [public discussion of the use of racially charged symbols on campus], a fair amount, given talks on that.

In a specific example of this service, Blanchard provided public commentary throughout an extended period of time in which members of the campus community engaged in heated debate over the frequent use of a historic, racially charged symbol as an expression of school pride and allegiance. When asked what impact this service had on his interaction with other faculty members on campus, Professor Blanchard noted that it seemed to be of little consequence to most members of the campus community.

I'm not sure I got any reaction one way or the other, if they even knew. The [leadership program participation], I did that for years and I doubt anybody noticed. The [more public issues], I can't remember. Every once in a while that would end up in the [student newspaper]. I don't know that I've had anybody on campus mention that to me.

The lack of attention garnered by service of this type may speak primarily to the marginal role of service in general. However, it also illuminates the possibility that service which contributes to the work of racial justice on our campuses may be more prevalent that we know. Perhaps faculty work of this nature is often unacknowledged because issues of diversity also remain at the edge of the dominant discourse of the university.

In some instances, however, participation in this type of service is more visible, carried out not as the work of one individual faculty member but as the effort of a cooperative group of faculty members working together to contribute to social justice on their campus. For example, Professor Wiltz was one of the founding members of an interdisciplinary studies division, and both he and Professor Moore have served as committee members for the campus

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Martin Luther King celebration. Professor Evans, as part of another interdisciplinary group on campus, worked with other faculty members to develop a new course on the topics of gender, race, and nation. She described the experience and the significance that this area of service holds in terms of her personal commitment to social justice.

> One of the great things about [this interdisciplinary group] on campus is this network of faculty across the disciplines and across different departmental units. And I think through that program I've gotten to know people in other areas and created kind of ally networks and relationships across campus that have been really important to me . . . . But the process of developing [that course] that was really interesting. So I would say that was both teaching, and service, and definitely some ally work involved in that in terms of the way the class was conceptualized so that people could teach it from their own perspective. Also, I think that when you're . . . when you get little to no credit for service . . . my job is 50 % teaching and 50 % research. And the service is expected but not really counted. I think any service that you do for organizations like that is a labor of love to some extent. It's kind of all ally work.

Participation in cooperative programs with other institutions is another avenue of service through which White faculty can contribute to a more equitable campus environment. As previously noted, the institution at which this study was conducted is located in proximity to an HBCU. Many of the faculty participants mentioned this neighboring institution a number of times during the data collection process. Not only were they aware of the institution and its significance to the community, but one faculty participant had also been more closely involved in joint programming offered by the two institutions. Professor Blanchard commented on this experience:

> One of the things that I did that was kind of fun when [our college was under a specific leader], he decided to create a joint [collaboratively sponsored course that dealt with issues of race]. So for three or four years I taught that off load in addition to my usual teaching. And I did that because I thought it was something important to do.

Through participation in this cooperative program, Professor Blanchard contributed to the discussion of race within the academic community and helped to dissolve the borders between the Whiteness of the flagship institution and it's neighboring HBCU. Although this instance of faculty work could also be considered as part of the teaching role, it was taught as an overload course and held meaning for the faculty participant beyond that normally assigned to the work of teaching, thus providing an additional illustration of the many avenues through which racial justice may be manifest in the faculty work of teaching, research, and service.

Whether leading discussions of race as part of a campus leadership development program or working with an interdisciplinary group to develop a new course that deals with race, each of these instances of service brings to the forefront issues of race and racism that might otherwise remain at the margins of the campus discourse. Thus service of this type helps reveal the hegemonic, normative Whiteness that frequently characterizes this institution. Through this revelation, the university can begin to acknowledge the role that such an institutional culture can play in maintaining inequitable and unjust experiences for some members of its community.

Summary. Through their comments, the faculty participants in this study revealed the practices through which they enact their commitment to racial justice in conjunction with their responsibilities of service to the University community. As Ward (2003) has noted, service remains an integral part of the faculty role despite the lack of value typically assigned to this component of faculty work. These White faculty allies demonstrate an ability to interweave the expectation of service to the university community and the goals of contributing to a more socially just campus environment.

In the case of *Recruiting Minority Students*, faculty participants demonstrate their commitment to social justice through participation in recruitment strategies that actively seek students of color. Through recruiting activities that range from recruiting at HBCU's to advocating for financial support for graduate students of color, these White faculty allies move beyond an expressed interest in diversity to a position in which they take action to achieve this goal. *Involvement in Student Support Programs* acknowledges the role that such programs can play in assisting students of color as they navigate the environment of the predominantly White institution, while *Service to Increase Minority Faculty Representation* is demonstrated through both mentoring and hiring practices. Finally, faculty participants are involved in *Contributing to a More Equitable Campus Climate* as they lead campus discussions of race and participate in other activities that foreground issues of race and racism that might otherwise remain at the margins of the campus discourse. In each of these cases, faculty participants select opportunities that fulfill the general obligation of academic service while also contributing to the development of a more equitable and just campus environment.

Summary

Through this investigation of White faculty as racial justice allies in a predominantly White institution, we gain a greater understanding of the intersection of this identity with the traditional faculty responsibilities of teaching, research, and service. This examination of the practices of faculty participants reveals that, in general, faculty allies expressed their commitment to racial justice through teaching practices and service activities regardless of their field of study. However, discipline differences became more apparent in faculty participants' discussion of racial justice and research. The range of strategies they implement

in their pursuit of racial justice within the academy further illustrates the various avenues

through which one may contribute to a more equitable and just campus climate.

Chapter Six: Ally Work at a Predominantly White Institution:
Findings and Discussion

As described in Chapters Four and Five, this study examines the experiences of White

faculty as racial justice allies through an investigation of the ways in which these faculty

come to identify as allies and how this identity influences their faculty work. In addition, the

current study seeks to understand how the faculty work of these allies is impacted by the

context of the predominantly White institution. Scholars of higher education have noted that

institutional context directly impacts both the outcomes of social justice efforts and the degree

to which a commitment to diversity is integrated into the university (Rowley, et al., 2002;

Terenzini, Springer, Pascarella, & Nora, 1995; Whitt, Edison, Pascarella, Terenzini, & Nora,

2001). However, the existing literature does not specifically address the effects of the

institutional climate with regard to faculty participation in social justice activities. Through

the process of data analysis, a number of themes emerged that illustrate the influence of

institutional context on the work of the White faculty allies who participated in this study.

These themes include Climate Matters, Whiteness of the Educational Space, and The Ivory

Tower.

Climate Matters

Throughout the data collection process, faculty participants frequently mentioned the

manner in which the institutional context influenced their faculty work, and more particularly

their efforts related to the work of racial justice. In some cases, these remarks addressed the

relationship between the institution and the community in which it is embedded, while at

other times faculty participants described the support and/or resistance that they encounter

within both their academic units and the university at large. Taken as a whole and organized

through the major theme of Climate Matters, these remarks illustrate the faculty participants'

understanding that the institutional climate plays a significant role in their faculty work.

These illustrations are organized below in the sub-themes of Community Context,

Departmental Culture, and Campus Climate.

Community Context. Several faculty participants commented on the relationship

between the community's large minority population and this predominantly White institution.

For example Professor Kleinert acknowledged that the university's legacy of segregation

continues to hold a prominent place in the community's memory. He asserted, "I think I

actually fight perceptions more than I fight actually policies." He explored this continuing

impact further, commenting on the need to involve each segment of the campus in the

development of a more inclusive reputation within the surrounding community.

> So that's an example of how you work with faculty, staff and students to you
> know . . . . It's kind of corporate, to bring greater diversity, to try to fight the
> public perception of the institution. It's hard to do that here. The past haunts you.

This remark highlights the importance of an institutional climate in which diversity is valued

as a communal norm rather than as an exceptional attitude held by only a few. For example,

within the community surrounding Capitol University, a number of legends continue to

circulate as explanations for the location of the nearby HBCU. One of these legends asserts

that physical features of the community, including a number of small lakes, were developed

as measures to ensure that the campus of the HBCU did not encroach on the geographic space

of the flagship, predominantly White institution. Because past practices of exclusion and

instances of overt racism have continued salience within the memory of the surrounding

community (Feagin, et al., 2002), individual efforts to work against this reputation will be less

effective than efforts that demonstrate more widespread commitments to diversity throughout the community.

In a related comment, Professor Claiborne also remarked on the university's responsibility to the specific neighborhood in which it is embedded. This predominantly Black neighborhood sits literally outside the gates of the campus, yet the campus community as a whole has made very little effort to foster a relationship. Recently, this failure has become a part of the campus discourse on achieving a more equitable campus environment. However, a sustained commitment to this neighborhood has not yet been developed in practice. Professor Claiborne notes,

> And the other thing, I really agree with the Chancellor that we have not been good neighbors to [our immediate neighboring community] . . . . And I really would like to see that happen. That's a longstanding issue. Often, what I would do when I would take faculty around when I would be trying to recruit faculty, I wanted to show them the community in which we live and we're embedded. And I often would take them on a tour of [the neighborhood]. They need to know where we are, where we're embedded. So I think that's a great challenge that we need to keep working on in the future, we need to keep working on it.

Faculty participants also described the unique situation of having both the predominately White flagship institution of the state and a well recognized HBCU located in relative proximity to one another. For example, Professor Claiborne commented on the significance of the HBCU as part of the city's cultural fabric and on her efforts to share this information with prospective faculty at the flagship institution, noting, "And when I'd go recruit, to try to recruit faculty members, what I'd tell them was that [our neighboring HBCU] is as important culturally in this city as [our campus]."

For these White faculty allies, the relationship between the institution and the surrounding community provides a reminder of the persistence of racism and inequity. It also

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provides a counter-narrative to the traditional discourse that defines the flagship institution as one that serves to the state as a whole (Perna, et al., 2006). Instead, the citizens in closest physical proximity to the university highlight the discrepancy between the demographics of the state and those of the institution. As faculty participants carry out their responsibilities of teaching, research, and service, the community context thus serves as a constant reminder of the work that remains to be done in the interest of racial justice.

Departmental Culture. Throughout the data collection process, faculty participants also frequently mentioned their academic unit as an important factor in relationship to their own work as racial justice allies. In some instances, the department provides an important source of support for and validation of this work. In other cases, the department's culture serves as a less positive backdrop against which allies measure their own level of ally engagement.

In a comment representative of the remarks of many of the faculty participants, Professor Blanchard noted the significance of the department as a site in which commitment to social justice is contested. He provided examples of specific topics that most frequently bring issues of race to the foreground in departmental conversations.

> The place where it comes up the most, there are two places where it's most explicit . . . graduate education, how much you're going to work at recruiting African American students and how well you're going to do it. We talk about that a good bit. And hiring, particularly, for us in [areas of study that center on African American issues] and other fields, and how much you're willing to push on that . . . . We worry some in [this department] depart that we had fewer African American undergraduates than other departments, and why that is.

Many faculty participants made similar comments, demonstrating the fact that conversations that deal with race do occur in departments frequently. These conversations center on opportunities to bring greater diversity to the campus through hiring practices and student

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recruitment. In all but one case, the faculty also noted that although such conversations take place, departmental units have not participated in any formally facilitated discussions of diversity within the department or at the campus level. These observations illuminate the degree to which university efforts to promote diversity, although supported in principle by central administrators, often fail to become significantly diffused throughout the larger institutional culture. As a result, these initiatives take on no real meaning for many of the faculty who involvement is critical for change to be effected (Kobrak, 1992; Rowley, et al., 2002). Rather, faculty continue to operate under the norms of their departmental units and field-specific academic communities.

In example, Professor Claiborne described a departmental culture which, as a result of the field of study, has a heightened awareness of issues of race. As she states, "[Our department] is hyper conscious of that. Because [so much of what we teach] is about race. So we're hyper conscious." When questioned whether this awareness has resulted in formal discussions about race with relation to departmental policies and practices, she clarified:

> No . . . I don't think we do [have any formal discussions of race]. It's so much a part of our discipline, that we just assume it. Now I have . . . I think in my time here, there have been issues where I've felt that there were sensitivities that some faculty members needed to be trained about. But that's much more in the past, older faculty members who aren't here anymore. But it's not . . . some training could have been helpful at some point.

Even in this department, which may be more aware of issues of race than many others on campus, the department has not sponsored any formal workshops or faculty development seminars to focus on issues of race. Rather, their awareness emerges only from the norms of the field, further illustrating the possibility that even when departmental culture values an awareness of issues diversity, this value is not necessarily translated into development of

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policies or more importantly professional practices that contribute to a more equitable and just

campus environment.

Of all the faculty participants, only Professor Kleinert is affiliated with a departmental

culture that expresses a desire, not only articulated but also fully developed in practice, to

increase racial diversity among both the student body and the faculty. Rather than working as

an individual within the institutional context, his work as a racial justice ally is carried out as

part of a cooperative body assigned the specific task of developing and implementing

diversity initiatives for their unit. He describes the explicit nature of this commitment as he

notes,

> It's in our planning document for the school. That we're going to increase
> diversity. We're going to do it in teaching, in faculty, in service. We are going to
> be a leader in diversity nationally. And the faculty have bought into that. Not
> that we don't argue about it, not that we don't disagree, but as a goal the faculty I
> think would say that they're supportive of that.

Professor Kleinert further describes this faculty collaboration and the impetus it lends to the

unit's efforts.

> This kind of all coalesced into the development of a diverse group that is faculty
> and staff that manages and innovates, reflects on where we are and where we're
> going . . . . And that's been really good because it's put legs on this. Lots of
> places put together a plan and you know every few years they dust it off. We
> actually *do* things on the plan and if someone has a good idea it's not a "we
> oughta," it's "how can we get that done." So out of that has come greater
> emphasis on staking a place in the academic area of [examining diversity within
> our field]. And so we have the forum on [diversity in our field] that we run here
> and we provide a bibliography nationally for people interested in that area, and we
> do seminars in that area, and we have graduate assistants who work in that area,
> and faculty doing research in the area . . . . And that all kind of bubbled up out of
> that diversity committee in the early days, kind of figuring out what we are.

In Kleinert's opinion, his academic unit has addressed issues of diversity in a comprehensive

manner that sets them apart from most other units on campus. The climate he describes

reflects a common failing of diversity efforts at colleges a universities across the country in which "institutional rhetoric on diversity is so common as to be rendered meaningless when weighted against the context of actual practice" (Rowley, et al., 2002, p. 2).

To further illustrate the maturity of the diversity efforts within his academic unit, Kleinert described the departmental efforts that were made to collaborate not only as a faculty but also with professionals of color within the field.

> The other thing we did . . . is we have lots and lots of diverse people come. People from around the area, alumni, professionals [in the field] who bring a unique perspective to it, and we consciously look to bring minority people in to be in classes, to be around students and to meet with them. That may be getting harder with the budget stuff that we're doing, but there was money to bring them in. And that makes a huge difference because . . . it's one thing to talk about it, and act appropriately about it, and it's another thing to have the outside visuals that demonstrate that something is happening.

With this remark, Kleinert underscored the need to move from abstract goals of achieving a more diverse learning environment toward concrete practices that contribute to the realization of this goal. Furthermore, he connected this abstract goal to specific impacts on the educational experiences of students of color.

> I no longer have students who come to my office, minority students, and say "I'm the only Black student in my class." Or "I want to take a class from that professor because before I leave [this university] I'm going to have a class from an African American professor." There isn't *one* African American professor any more, there are multiple.

Together, these comments illuminate the role of the departmental culture as it impacts the work of White faculty as racial justice allies. Although institutional goals for improving diversity will be set by central administrators, departmental units are the primary sites within which these goals will be carried out through initiatives to develop more diverse student bodies, faculties, and curricula. Thus while faculty participants may engage in ally behaviors

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without the full support of their department, significant gains are unlikely to be accomplished until a value for diversity becomes integrated into the cultural fabric of the unit.

Campus Climate. Through their comments, faculty participants also demonstrate an awareness of the greater campus community as a cultural context in which faculty and student experiences alike are mediated. In some instances, they identify examples of progress toward a more equitable and just campus. In others instances, however, faculty participants offer a critique of the institution's racial climate. This critique provides further evidence of the faculty participants' recognition of the persistence of racism and its impact on all members of the campus community.

Many faculty participants point to institutional expressions of commitment to diversity and structures that support diversity among the student body, such as an African American cultural center, office of multicultural affairs, and cultural events held throughout the year to bring more diverse perspectives to the campus environment. While they credit the university administration for some level of support, they also critique a lack of institutional accountability and practice to demonstrate a real desire for change.

For example, Professor Kleinert remarked that there seems to be a very low level of accountability on the part of the central administration to ensure that real efforts in this direction are carried out at the department level. Although he notes that individual administrators leading the institutional efforts to improve diversity have been "helpful" and "supportive," he also comments,

> And I think a lot, it's just whatever . . . . But there is no institutional directive that you need to grow [diversity among your student body]. If I grow or don't grow my minority enrollment, it doesn't change a single thing. It does for accreditation for us, but in terms of the university, they're not going to do anything to us.

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Significantly, the influence that Professor Kleinert identified as most meaningful with regard to accountability for achieving diversity goals is exerted by accrediting bodies outside the organizational structure of the institution. While scholars have suggested that the process of accreditation can be leveraged in order to overcome resistance to diversity initiatives, Kleinert expands on this idea, noting that to some degree within his academic unit, the influence of the accreditors operates in place of rather than in addition to influence from the University's administration (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Kezar, 2008).

Later in the conversation, Professor Kleinert offered his opinion that the institution as a whole has not yet developed a culture in which the value of a diverse community is widely recognized. As a result, efforts to achieve a more equitable environment and to support community members of color are perceived to be concentrated at upper levels of administration rather than diffused throughout the campus. Professor Kleinert stated, "I think my perception of [our campus] is that it is too institutionalized, it's not just part of what we do. It's segmented. You have [specific cultural programs], you know . . . but it's not just kind of universal."

Professor Cole offered a similar critique of the campus. Although she recognizes the value of the institutional structures in place to support community members of color, she pointed to low levels of financial support as an indication of the university's lack of real commitment to these units.

> And so, I think things can be a lot . . . I know things can be a lot better. And I
> feel like we need to *do* a lot better. I would like to see the [office of diversity]
> funded – you know, it's easy to talk the talk; it's a lot more difficult to walk the
> walk – I would like to see them funded at a level where they can really do some
> dynamic, awesome supportive things for students.

Professor Cole recognizes that institutional structures may be in place, but that without

adequate funding, they lack the resources necessary to fully realize their mission. Thus these

structures may be most useful as symbolic representations of an avowed commitment to

diversity on the part of university administrators (Rowley, et al., 2002). With this comment,

Professor Cole provides further evidence of her unwillingness to engage in the discourse of

colorblindness, acknowledging that "awesome supportive things for students" could be an

important part of providing a more equitable educational experience for students of color.

Professor Cole goes on to assert that the institution's responsibility in this charge is

even greater given its status as the flagship university within the state.

> I feel like we keep raising our admissions standards and shuffling students who
> come out of public high schools to community colleges. Or not onto college at
> all. And I would really like to see us . . . . You know, there are some issues with
> public education. But I think a lot of those issues stem from *Brown v. Board of
> Education* . . . . And I'd like to see [this institution] take some strong steps instead
> of pushing off the problem. Embrace it, address it. It's our state, and if you're
> the flagship institution, you should be tackling this head on. You shouldn't be
> pretending you're a private institution and just taking the best students.

With this comment, Professor Cole recognizes the ways in which policies such as admissions

standards often employ the ideology of meritocracy in ways that reinforce existing inequities.

She also connects the current campus environment to the *Brown* decision, thereby challenging

the ahistoric perspective from which many assessments of campus climate are conducted, and

asks campus administrators to reevaluate policies that are incongruent with the university's

role as a state institution.

Professor Evans is also critical of the pace at which progress toward social justice has

been made on her campus.

I've rarely come across, since I've been here, explicit discriminatory practices that were intentionally so. But I think . . . I think it's true, in terms of the institution, the faculty that I've interacted with and the staff . . . I've rarely come across explicit prejudice. But we know that it's rarely explicit in this country at this point in our history anyway, except among really close friends and family. But I think in terms of the institutional inertia that sort of keeps things very unequal, I think we have a lot of that.

The inertia she described results when instances of incremental change, such as small increases in minority student and faculty populations, provide sufficient evidence to support institutional claims of commitment to diversity efforts. As she points out, however, infrequent incidents of overt racism should not be interpreted as proof of an equitable campus climate. Evans went on to suggest the degree of cooperative effort required to overcome this institutional inertia and the need to set specific goals, such as achieving structural diversity that is reflective of the demographics of the state.

So I really think that without a more . . . without a coalition of people who are really willing to make it a priority, I think things are changing so slowly that it's imperceptible if they're changing at all. Since I'm speaking as grad director, in terms of things like significantly increasing the number of students who are African American, who look like the state that we're in . . . or who are Latinas.

Professor Evans also critiqued more specifically the commitment that high level administrators demonstrate toward achieving more diversity among the student body. As an example of this, she pointed to a funding opportunity that was originally established to increase the representation of African American students in graduate programs at the university. According to Professor Evans, the criteria for this fellowship were recently broadened in such as way that the focus on recruiting African American students was significantly diminished.

The way it got redefined . . . it is a high level document, that the wording doesn't come from people like you and me. And the wording, the way that the

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[fellowship] funding is interpreted has changed radically, and I think that really reflects the kind of directives we get from above on equity, and issues of diversifying our graduate student body. I think that at one point it was changed to include intellectual diversity as well as diversities of ethnicity and ancestry. And so, to the point that you could say we don't have any Republicans in our program, we need to admit some more White men in order to equalize the environment. It went to that point.

Professor Evans recognizes that policies such as that described above send strong messages to the university community regarding the level of commitment to an espoused interest in achieving a more equitable campus environment. While the rhetoric of diversity may hold a prominent place in mission statements and recruiting materials, concrete practices carried out on a daily basis may be more significant in terms of their impact on the racial climate of the campus (Rowley, et al., 2002).

In spite of the critical position taken by many of the faculty participants with regard to the university's commitment to the pursuit of racial justice, one faculty participant also identified the current campus climate as a positive factor in their work as racial justice allies. Professor Cole, who offered one of the strongest critiques of the campus racial climate, also remarked on the opportunity the current climate presents to fully engage with issues of race and racism.

I'm going to come at you with the other angle, and it's kind of interesting. And it is that, you know, before I moved here . . . I came from [another region of the US]. And [that region] considers itself as a whole fairly enlightened when it comes to issues regarding race. And I had the same prejudices and stereotypical images of the South as many people that I still stay in touch with in [that region] still have. So on the one hand I just finished telling you why I think [this institution] could do a whole lot better, and *must* do better. At the same time, it is really easy to intellectualize about race . . . when, say in [other regions], when African Americans are about 10 % of the population and are still segregated in terms of living, dwelling. And so you could think that you're really enlightened, but you probably don't have a person of color in your life – anywhere. So it's easy to sort of characterize the South as being behind, but I'm not sure it's true in some ways. It's something that you deal with every day. And what I mean by

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that is racial tension, and . . . the good thing about it is that you're actually working on it. You're not intellectualizing, you're not on the sidelines, you are actively engaged. And so . . . you know, I just finished telling you all the ways that [this institution] could do better. But [this institution] is also actively engaging, where I think many other universities don't have to address it as overtly.

In this case, the faculty participant sees the campus climate not as a deficit but as an opportunity, a stimulus that forces her to confront the issues of inequity and injustice rather than being content to maintain an understanding of racism that operates only at the intellectual level. She continued this vein of the conversation,

And it's a way to move things forward in a . . . in a real way. In other words, you're not having a theoretical discussion. You can have the theoretical discussion, but it's not only a theoretical discussion. It's also an actual, living, breathing, roiling set of issues that are complex . . . . And I, again, have decided that I would rather live in this state and work actively on these issues than sit on the side and intellectualize like anybody might do in other parts of the country.

Through this comment, Professor Cole connects the impact of the campus to her identity as an ally for racial justice, illustrating the theories of ally identity development which suggest that the development of a more positive White racial identity will ultimately lead to the articulation of a more explicitly activist position (Reason, et al., 2005).

As illustrated through the remarks included here, faculty participants demonstrated an awareness of the greater campus community as a context in which faculty and student experiences alike are mediated and in which race still maintains a significant role. In some instances, they identified instances of progress toward a more equitable and just campus. In others instances, however, faculty participants offered a critique of the institution's racial climate and expressed the challenges inherent in such a climate. This critique provides further

evidence that these White faculty allies recognize the persistence of racism and its impact on all members of the campus community.

Whiteness of the Educational Space

Scholars who describe the nature of hegemonic Whiteness point out that**,** in most cases, it is normalized in such a way that those who accrue privilege through it fail to recognize its influence (Ahmed, 2007; Lewis, 2004; Reason & Evans, 2007). In contrast to this common failure, all of the faculty participants in this study recognized to some degree the existence of Whiteness as a normative force on their campus.

For example, Professor Claiborne noted that the Whiteness of the institution is a constant factor in her interactions with students of color, based on her understanding of the ways in which the campus environment impacts these students' experiences.

> If a Black student walks into my office, my first assumption is that they are a Black student on a predominantly White campus, and there are issues that are going to make them feel uncomfortable in this office. I've got to do something to make them feel more comfortable. I'm always aware that my Black students are in the minority on this campus, and they experience this place in ways that are different from my White students. I'm sort of hyper-aware of that.

Based on this awareness, she implements strategies designed to meet the needs of this particular group of students. As described earlier in Chapter Five, these strategies include developing an inclusive classroom environment and capitalizing on contact with students outside the classroom.

Faculty participants also referenced the literal Whiteness that serves to perpetuate its cultural normativity. Frequently, the examples used to illustrate this point describe classrooms in which there is no critical mass of minority students. As an example, Professor Moore reflected on the ways in which the racial composition of a particular classroom can

encourage White students to express cultural biases and prejudices that might otherwise go

unspoken.

> I do, I think it makes a huge difference . . . . There were a couple of times when I
> first started teaching that I've had no Black people in [a course that includes
> discussions of race] and it makes a huge difference. People will say things that
> I'm stunned that they say. Because they feel comfortable doing that in a class of
> no Black people.

Incidents such as this reveal that, although prevailing social norms have led to decreasing

manifestations of overt racism, the attitudes that once fueled overtly racist actions are often

still present. Although these attitudes are more likely to be revealed in the context of a

predominantly White space such as the classroom described above, they influence the campus

environment even when they are not expressed.

Professor Moore also noted that even when students of color are present in the

classroom, without critical mass, normative Whiteness continues to define the cultural norms

of the space.

> And I'm even stunned sometimes [that racist comments] still take place where
> there are like two Black students in class. Now [in one particular course] this
> semester, ten out of fifty people, the conversation is *much* different than it was
> when there were only one or two [Black students]. *Much* different. And I think
> it's more complete. It's a much more complete [conversation]. And White
> students, because they're in the majority, will say things that you know, oh you
> get it because you're Black kind of thing. And Black students will say things as
> well. But it's a *huge* difference when I have . . . . You know, there were a couple
> times when I had none or *one* Black student and at least once a week or so I
> would be kind of amazed at something a student would say because it seemed so
> overtly racist. You know. So yeah, it makes a difference, it makes a difference
> where the discussions go.

Professor Wiltz makes a similar observation about the Whiteness of the campus and

the impact that this has on the educational experiences of Black students. He notes, "Most

African Americans here are regularly in predominantly White classes. And it really takes a

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strong person to come to this institution." He then describes the ways that Whiteness asserts itself in the classroom space.

> But, it really makes a big difference when you're teaching [course material] that involves race, to have even one Black person in the room. I taught a [specific] course once and it was all White students, and a lot of the people who take that course think it's going to be moonlight and magnolias. Then I teach issues of slavery, and oppression and all that, and they freak out . . . . It's really an eye opener to the White students, too, when, for instance, I had five or six White students in the large class that I just taught [that was mostly students of color].

The discomfort that occurs for White students in the rare instances in which the predominant Whiteness of the institution is challenged further illuminates the degree to which Whiteness functions as an often unnoticed, yet highly influential characteristic of the university.

Of the faculty participants, Professor Evans drew the most explicit connection between the nature of this university as a PWI and its legacy of segregation. While other faculty participants note the ways in which Whiteness continues to function in the institution, she calls attention to the legacy of racist policies through which this Whiteness developed.

> And in a historically White college . . . I always call Capitol University historically White. Because people always talk about HBCU's as like these weird anomalies and holdovers from Jim Crow. And I'm like, well, Capitol University is a weird anomaly and a holdover from Jim Crow, too, just as much.

With this observation, Evans further highlights the fact that institutions are historic entities whose characteristics were formed over time through the use of specific policies and practices. Her consistent use of the terminology "historically White" to describe the university counters the dominant discourse that avoids recognition of this institutional history and it continued impact on the current racial climate.

In a related vein, Professor Wiltz commented on the ways that some institutional structures serve to maintain Whiteness within the department. For example, he noted that one

of his courses in the coming term will examine the products of Black scholars, and he

observed that this course would ordinarily attract a number of racial minority students. In this

instance, however, the department has restricted enrollment in the course to upper level

students within the major – a move that will significantly reduce the number of students of

color who are eligible to enroll in the course. Professor Wiltz noted:

> I'm teaching [this particular course] as a senior capstone course this coming term, which I'm not happy about. I wanted to teach it just as a regular course. And I'm sure most of the students, probably all of them will be White, you know, which is not ideal.

This comment illustrates the manner in which policy decisions may have unanticipated

consequences which serve to reify the Whiteness of the educational space and thereby sustain

an inequitable campus environment for students of color. Because White faculty allies may

be more attentive to such inequities than other faculty members, they can play an important

role in addressing the unintended consequences of such policies as they arise.

In contrast to the comments of Moore, Wiltz and Evans, Professor Kleinert described

the degree to which his academic unit has made inroads into both the literal and hegemonic

Whiteness of the institution through their concentrated efforts to achieve a more diverse

student body and faculty.

> Do we have classes that only have one Black student in it? Yeah, that still happens. It's just not the norm anymore. If you walked into any class, you probably would have two or three or four African American students. We just had a summer institute, a summer camp. There were 50 students here and 20 of them were African American and another eight were Hispanic. More than half the camp was minority, and I didn't go recruit for it. It's just happening now. I did initially, but now those schools know about it and when the forms come in they just do it.

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As a result of the culture that has developed in this academic unit – a culture in which

diversity is expressly valued and prioritized – the hegemonic Whiteness of the campus is

mitigated to some degree, at least within the confines of the department. Professor Kleinert

described the impact of this climate on the educational experiences of students of color,

noting, "I think that they see this school as a safer place than the larger campus."

Through their remarks, faculty participants illustrate an awareness of both the

hegemonic and literal Whiteness that characterizes their campus. They note not the "huge

difference" that marks discussions of race in a predominantly White classroom and express a

value for classroom conversations in which diverse perspectives are represented. This

awareness motivates professional practices which aim to develop a more equitable and

inclusive campus environment.

The Ivory Tower

Most faculty participants also demonstrated an awareness of the racial demographics

of the campus and its context as part of the city or state. When the faculty mentioned these

demographics, they did so in order to point out the degree to which the campus fails to mirror

the makeup of those city and state populations. To these faculty members, this discrepancy

signals a failure on the part of the university and a continuing need to foster a more diverse

campus community. For example, after mentioning the institutional legacy of segregation,

Professor Blanchard noted that the campus is still more a reflection of that history than of the

state's current demographic makeup.

> That history is then made worse by the demographic reality of the state, that 30 %
> of the state is African American, and that also gives us a kind of moral imperative
> . . . . So I think both the history and demographics of the state means that the
> university needs to be proactive and go even further in trying to reach out to

African American students, train African American graduate students, hire
African American faculty . . . and we don't have a very good record of doing that.

Professor Cole echoed the concern that enrollment at the state's flagship university does not reflect the racial makeup of the state's general population. Although the university had received some recognition from an external entity for achieving a specific percentage of African American students at the undergraduate level, she did not see this as cause for celebration. Her concern extended not only to the level of diversity at the student level but also to that among the faculty and staff.

We had 12 % African American enrollment at the undergraduate level and [a national group said] isn't that fantastic because African Americans are 12% of the [national population], and putting that in the context of let's see, African Americans are a third of the state population and shouldn't our university look like our state population? And to me, we are far short of being at parity if 33% of our students approximately should be African American and we have 12%. ….
We are not represented at parity for students, but that problem is exacerbated at the faculty level.

Professor Moore and Professor Wiltz made similar comments, noting that any gains in diversity among the campus community should also be measured with regard to the diversity of the state population. They reject the ideals of meritocracy, which would attribute this discrepancy to a lack of qualifications on the part of students of color, and point instead toward a lack of commitment to support the University's espoused desire to develop a more diverse institutional population.

Summary

Through their comments, faculty participants illuminate the various ways in which their behavior as White faculty allies is influenced by the context of a predominantly White institution. The major theme of Climate Matters illustrates some instances in which this

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awareness is derived from observing the relationship between the university as a PWI and the racially diverse community within which it is embedded. In other cases, faculty participants describe an understanding of the academic unit as site in which they as allies encounter both support for and resistance to their efforts. At a more global level, faculty participants critique a lack of institutional accountability and practice to demonstrate a real desire for change. Through their comments reflected in the themes of the Whiteness of the Educational Space and The Ivory Tower, participants further point to the need for continuing, sustained efforts to promote a more equitable and just campus environment. Thus these White faculty allies reveal the significant impact of the institutional context and the need to understand its influence more fully as it relates to faculty participation in racial justice activities.

Chapter Seven: Summary, Implications, and Directions for Future Research

This study began with the observation that faculty roles and responsibilities have traditionally reflected the priorities of the academy. From higher education's charge during the colonial period to produce a literate, college-educated clergy to the modern university's imperative to generate research for the advancement of knowledge and the stimulation of a global economy, the expectation of faculty work is a reflection of the values embedded within the institution (Austin, 2002; Brubacher & Rudy, 2003). Given this observation, an examination of faculty work can be a useful mechanism through which to understand more fully the current climate of a college or university.

Chapter One introduced the observation that efforts to achieve equity and diversity in American higher education have, in many cases, fallen far short of their goals. Students and faculty of color are underrepresented in our institutions and continue to struggle in light of the significant impacts of racial discrimination and prejudice (Brayboy, 2003; Butner, Burley, & Marbley, 2000; Kobrak, 1992; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Smith, et al., 2002). In order to make progress on this front, we must find ways to engage a broader spectrum of our campus population in the cause of social justice. While these issues remain, racial justice allies can make critical contributions to the development of a more equitable campus climate. In considering the available resources of time and energy, we must conclude that White faculty can play an important role as allies in implementing the diversity efforts of colleges and universities. Although scholars have called to our attention the critical involvement of White faculty in such efforts (Brown, et al., 1999; Kobrak, 1992), the experiences of these allies as they carry out their faculty work of teaching, research and service remains an area deserving of examination.

The findings that emerge from this investigation fill particular voids in the literature by illuminating the role of White faculty in fostering the development of an inclusive campus climate at a predominantly White institution and by furthering the more general literature of social justice ally identity development. These findings also have significant implications for the higher education community as we seek to understand the ways in which these faculty participants integrate their ally identities with their professional responsibilities within the academy. If, as Kobrack (1992) suggests, White faculty are the missing link in the success of institutional diversity efforts, this study is an important step toward achieving success in future efforts to foster climates of equity and diversity within our colleges and universities.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter Four, faculty participants described a variety of influences that contributed to the development of their interest in working toward racial justice on their campus. Through the first major theme, Show Me the Way, faculty participants point to the significance of family members, friends, and colleagues who provide examples of ally orientations and behaviors. Through these relationships, faculty participants describe an understanding that activism was "in our bloodstream" and recall learning to recognize persistent, systemic discrimination from "friends who were themselves … racial justice allies." In another major theme, Hey, Now I Get It!, these White faculty allies describe various ways in which they developed powerful understandings of the influence of racism. This awareness is discussed in the sub-themes of Critical Lived Experiences and Encountering the Counter-Narrative. Together, these themes illustrate moments in which "the light bulb went off," in some cases through personal experiences and in other cases by listening to voices of color as they reveal inequities previously unrecognized by the faculty

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participants. Through additional comments collected in the sub-theme of Privilege, these White faculty allies further demonstrated an awareness of the continuing significance of race, particularly as manifest within the campus community. In other major themes, Educating Others as Activism reflects a more mature phase of ally identity development, while in I Don't Do Anything / It's Just What I Do, we see that ally status, like other components of a multi-faceted identity, is mediated by the context of relationships with self, others, and environment. As one faculty participant noted, developing an ally identity is "is a process, not an end; it's always going to be a process."

Chapter Five presented the themes through which faculty participants in this study revealed the practices through which they enact their commitment to racial justice in conjunction with their responsibilities of teaching, research and service. As Cross (2005) has noted, "teaching goals are heavily associated with academic disciplines, but they also vary with personal perceptions of the teaching role" (p. 2.). These White faculty allies demonstrate an ability to interweave the goals of high quality instruction in their content area and the goals of contributing to a more socially just campus environment. As illustrated in the theme of Creating an Inclusive Classroom Environment, this commitment is manifest in efforts to develop "equity-laden, … value-laden" learning environments and to establish relationships that demonstrate to students of color that their perspectives are welcome and desired contributions to classroom conversations. In a similar manner, faculty allies described practices of Selecting Culturally Diverse Course Materials and Managing the Discussion of Race in the Classroom in order to ensure that diverse perspectives are represented. In addition to these pedagogical practices that shape the learning experience within the classroom, faculty participants also utilize the strategy of Capitalizing on Contact with

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Students outside the Classroom. They "make the extra effort," to develop meaningful faculty-student interactions, sometimes through formally arranged interactions and at other times simply by being "someone to talk to" for students of color. The practices described above are illustrated in the theme of an Individualized, Non-Deficit View of Students in which White faculty acknowledge not only that their interactions with racial minority students "can't possibly be colorblind," but also that the institutional culture itself represents an additional challenge that will impact the educational experiences of students of color.

Service to the university also proved to be a vehicle through which White faculty allies enacted their commitment to racial justice in conjunction. In the case of Recruiting Minority Students, faculty participants demonstrate this commitment through recruiting efforts to attract students of color to the university. Unlike other faculty who may be "willing to take the chance" that a diverse student body will develop over time, these faculty allies not only participate in but also initiate recruiting efforts to attract an inclusive, diverse group of students to their academic units. Through Involvement in Student Support Programs, faculty participants also acknowledged the role that such programs play in assisting students of color as they navigate the environment of the predominantly White institution, noting that through these activities "you serve in some small way to level the playing field." Service to Increase Minority Faculty Representation involved efforts "to help mentor people who are coming through the system" and hiring practices "to diversify our faculty and in order to really provide the kind of diversity that our African American students need." Finally, faculty participants demonstrated Contributing to a More Equitable Campus Climate as they lead campus discussions of race and participate in other activities that bring to the forefront issues of race and racism. In each of these cases, faculty participants selected opportunities that

fulfilled the general obligation of academic service while also contributing to the development of a more equitable and just campus environment.

In some cases, the traditional faculty role of research also served as a vehicle through which to express a commitment to social justice, however, faculty experiences in this arena were more widely varied than in regard to teaching and service. Some faculty in the fields of science and engineering claimed that the objective nature of science precluded connections between their research and issues of race. Other faculty conducted research in issues of race, which bring these issues from the margins toward a more prominent location within the discourse of the university community. In only one case, a faculty participant expressly viewed her research activity as "an issue with a strong justice component" and therefore a means through which she could work toward the goals of equity and inclusiveness. Finally, Chapter Six presented evidence of the various ways in which the participants' positions as White faculty allies are influenced by the context of a predominantly White institution. In particular, they expressed an awareness that Climate Matters. In some instances, this awareness developed through observation of the relationship between the university as a PWI and the racially diverse community within which it is embedded. For example, one faculty noted that because of the enduring legacy of segregation at Capitol University, his efforts to develop diversity within the campus must recognize not only obstacles within the university, but also "the public perception of the institution" among the community of color. In other cases, faculty participants described an understanding of the academic unit as a cultural location in which they as allies encounter both support for and resistance to their efforts. At a more global level, faculty participants critique a lack of institutional accountability and practice to demonstrate a real desire for change. As one faculty member stated, "in terms of

the institutional inertia that sort of keeps things very unequal, I think we have a lot of that."

The themes of the Whiteness of the Educational Space and The Ivory Tower reveal the need for continuing, sustained efforts to promote a more equitable and just campus environment. Thus these White faculty allies illustrate the significant impact of the institutional context and the need to understand its influence more fully as it relates to the faculty participation in social justice activities.

Throughout Chapters Four, Five, and Six, the lens of critical race theory illuminates the significant role of race at Capitol University. With respect to the CRT tenet of the permanence of racism, faculty participants recognize the ways in which race continues to differentially impact the experiences of persons of color. They refute ahistoric assessments of the current state of the university, and assert instead that "the past haunts you" in ways that demand specific responses such as targeted student recruiting and extra efforts to develop a "safer space" for racial minority students.

Another tenet of critical race theory is the critique of liberalism. One component of this critique is the rejection of the ideal of colorblindness on the basis that "arguing that society should be colorblind ignores the fact that inequity, inopportunity, and oppression are historical artifacts not easily remedied by ignoring race in contemporary society" (Decuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 29). In stark opposition to a colorblind perspective, one faculty participant noted, she is "hyper-aware" that students of color "experience this place in ways that are different from my White students." Others among these White faculty allies observe the ways in which their own Whiteness conveys a racial privilege that further challenges the possibility of colorblindness within the context of this institution.

Through this critique of liberalism, CRT also asserts an unwillingness to accept

incremental change as a measure of success in achieving a more inclusive academic

community. This unwillingness is shared by the faculty participants in this study. While they

acknowledge some gains that have been made in terms of developing diversity within the

institution, they critique this flagship university for its failure to reflect the population of the

community and state which it serves. In the words of one faculty participant, "the history and

demographics of the state means that the university needs to be proactive and go even further

in trying to reach out." The involvement of these allies in recruiting efforts to attract students

and faculty of color addresses this need, while their efforts to foster an inclusive campus

environment further support those students and faculty of color who participate in the

university. As illuminated through critical race theory, these allies recognize that some

positive changes have occurred over time, yet they remain committed to the work of racial

justice that is necessary to achieve and sustain more significant gains toward the ultimate goal

of a more equitable and just campus climate.

This study of White faculty as racial justice allies further illustrates the significance of

counter-narrative, another tenet of critical race theory, as a source of knowledge originating

from the lived experiences of individuals and communities of color. As Harper, Patton and

Wooden (2009) have noted, "acknowledging the validity of these lived experiences" not only

contributes to our understanding of "racism in a realistic context" but also makes it possible

"to actively work to eliminate it" (p. 391). For faculty participants in this study, counter-

narratives highlight evidence of inequity and persistent oppression that they might not

otherwise be revealed to them because of their position of dominance within the context of the

predominantly White institution. Because these allies listen to and learn from the experiences

of students, friends, and colleagues of color, they can more easily challenge the dominant

discourses that normalize stereotypes and perpetuate discriminatory policies and practices

within the institution (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). For example, through the counter-narrative of

a Black graduate student in his department, Professor Steele, came to recognize the obstacles

presented to students of color by the inherent nature of the institution. In a similar manner,

through the counter-narrative constructed by a racial minority colleague, he acquired an

understanding of White privilege. As Steele noted, "It's hard to recognize and believe when

it's asserted. But that's not true with the Black folks. They know what's going on." These

narratives, which challenge the conception of Capitol University as a level playing field in

which race is a non-issue, not only provided the stimulus for the development of Professor

Steele's ally identity, but they serve as motivation for his continuing efforts to enact change

within the campus environment.

In summary, this study of White faculty as racial justice allies at a predominantly

White institution reveals not only the influences that led to the development of their ally

identities, but also the avenues through which they express this ally orientation through their

academic responsibilities of teaching, research, and service. Scheurich and Young (2002)

have described the manner in which many White faculty believe that "he or she is not a racist,

that is end of the issue for that person and the end of her of his responsibility" (p. 221). In

contrast, these faculty allies articulate an individual responsibility for addressing racism

within the bounds of their academic community. It remains impossible to reject the privileges

that accompany their positions of Whiteness within this institution, nor can these faculty

participants wholly avoid responsibility for sometimes reinscribing the historical racial

dynamic of Capitol University. Through their teaching, research and service, however, these

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faculty participants accept responsibility to challenge this legacy and to work against racism not only at the individual level, but also against the normative Whiteness that characterizes the university as a whole. They respond to the inequitable racial climate of their campus with professional practices intended to foster the development of a more just campus environment.

Implications

The findings that emerged through this investigation of White faculty as racial justice allies have implications at many levels within academic communities. On one level, the findings of this study building upon previous scholarship describing ally identity development. At another level, this investigation implies the need for examining and expanding our expectations of faculty work. Finally, it highlights the significant influence of institutional context in the design and implementation of diversity agendas and suggests the need to develop these agendas in ways that speak to the specific institution within which they originate.

Implications for Ally Identity Development. As faculty participants share the influences that led them to work toward social justice, we gain additional knowledge of the ways in which ally identity development may be fostered. This knowledge expands the work done by previous scholars of ally identity development (Broido, 2000b; Reason & Broido, 2005; Reason, et al., 2005) to examine more specifically this process among White faculty. It also illuminates the possibilities of what colleges and universities can do to nurture the development of White allies among their faculty.

For example, given the significant role of ally models and mentors, universities should consider formal or informal programs through which faculty allies could share their experiences with other faculty who express a desire to contribute to an inclusive, equitable

campus climate. Gasman (2010) highlights the positive impact that can be made through such programs by bringing issues of race into the open in order to create "an environment in which people (eventually) feel comfortable asking for help, admitting fault, and expressing a desire to change" (p. 253). Likewise, Titone (1998) suggests that one of the most significant actions allies can take is to "untie our own tongues about the racist socialization we have undergone and explain our process of redefinition" (p. 164). In the absence of such programs, these mentoring relationships can be cultivated by individual faculty members who seek additional outlets through which to express their commitment to social justice.

In a similar manner, universities should make certain that opportunities are in place through which members of the academic community can gain greater understanding of the role racism plays in sustaining inequities within the institution. Again, scholars of social justice have identified such understanding as an important part of ally identity development (Broido, 2000b; Reason & Broido, 2005; Reason, et al., 2005). Within the campus community, this understanding may be engendered not only through conversation and study with the classroom context, but also through public discourses such as speaker series, colloquia, and other events designed for the purpose of stimulating conversation that addresses the persistent impact of racism. Through efforts such as these, institutions can foster the development of social justice allies not only among the faculty but throughout the academic community.

Implications for Faculty Work. The White faculty allies who participated in this study demonstrate the myriad possibilities through which social justice minded faculty may interweave this orientation within their traditional roles of teaching, research and service. In each of these roles, faculty participants illustrate a variety of strategies which may be useful to

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other faculty who desire to contribute to a more equitable campus climate. Their efforts support the recruitment and retention of both students and faculty of color and exemplify the daily activities that are necessary in order to build and sustain diversity within the institution. Scholars have suggested that our definition of faculty work must evolve to meet the changing demands of higher education (Boyer, 1990; Ward, 2003). Among these demands is the need to address the needs of the full range of constituents who participate in the process of higher education. Thus any attempt to re-conceive faculty work, its roles and rewards, would be incomplete without further consideration of how this work might address the cause of social justice within our colleges and universities.

Implications for Predominantly White Institutions. The efforts of these faculty allies not only provide examples that other faculty can follow, but they also illuminate the ways in which institutional efforts to achieve diversity might become more integrated into the fabric of the university at large. As administrators develop initiatives to move beyond rhetoric toward a campus culture of genuine inclusiveness, they should consider the work already being done within their organization and find ways to build on these efforts. As Brayboy (2003) suggests, "institutions that truly value diversity must move toward considering wholesale changes in their underlying structures and day-to-day activities, especially if they are truly committed to refocusing the historical legacies of institutional, epistemological, and societal racisms that pervade colleges and universities" (p. 74). Thus faculty participants in this study exemplify the contributions that White faculty can make in redefining institutional commitments to diversity.

Furthermore, this examination of White faculty allies points the way for the work of racial justice yet to be done. Faculty participants noted that in spite of institutional

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expressions of commitment to diversity, instances of racism and systemic oppression still occur within the campus community. The literal and normative Whiteness of the institution itself perpetuates an environment that presents additional obstacles for racial minorities while White students, faculty and staff navigate the campus with little consideration of their own racial identities. This study, conducted in the context of a predominantly White institution, illuminates this reality and suggests that institutional context plays an important role in shaping the work of racial justice allies in higher education. Thus initiatives to promote diversity and inclusiveness should be developed with thoughtful consideration of the particular campus culture within which they will be implemented.

Directions for Future Research

As noted previously, this study addresses a void in the literature by specifically examining the role of White faculty as racial justice allies at a predominantly White institution. While the exploratory nature of this study yields rich data that describes the experiences of these White faculty allies, it also points toward further study necessary to understand these experiences more completely.

For example, although the small number of faculty participants is appropriate for the exploratory nature of this study of White faculty allies, it did not allow for cross-case analysis on the basis of field of academic field, age, gender and tenure-rank. Further studies that expand on this investigation utilizing a larger number of participants will make it possible examine potential differences based on these criteria. As a particular example of this potential research, future studies of White faculty allies may more fully investigate differences in the integration of social justice work and faculty research activities, an area of difference which was suggested by the experiences participants in the current study.

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In addition, it should be noted that this study of White faculty allies relies only on data describing the perspectives of individual faculty participants. However, most campus diversity initiatives are managed centrally through the articulation of specific, university-level goals (Brayboy, 2003; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999; Rowley, et al., 2002). Future study should also investigate the relationship between institutional efforts to promote diversity and these White faculty allies. Scholarship in this area could build knowledge not only of the influence exerted from central administration toward faculty participants, but might also illuminate the perspectives of administrators and the degree to which they consider the role of faculty and other constituents in the development and implementation of these efforts.

Finally, future studies should examine more specifically the relationship between White faculty allies and individuals and communities of color within the university environment. Only through the voices of racial minority students, faculty, and staff can we understand the degree to which the efforts of White faculty allies effectively foster a more equitable and just campus climate. The solicitation of counter-narratives will play a critical role in building this body of knowledge and may reveal aspects of White ally behavior that are unlikely to be critiqued through the ally perspective alone.

Conclusion

As long as racial inequality remains a significant feature of American institutions of higher education, we must find ways to engage a broader spectrum of our campus population in the cause of social justice. After considering the available resources of time and energy, we can conclude that White faculty must play an important role in this process for racial minority students at predominantly White institutions (Brown, et al., 1999; Kobrak, 1992).

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Epps (1989) argues that it is not only possible for White faculty to support the achievements of minority students, but that their participation in this process is "an indication of an institution's commitment to equality" (p.23). The data collected through this study of White faculty enhance our understanding of the experiences of racial justice allies and thus serve as an important step toward achieving success in future efforts toward equity within our colleges and universities. Each faculty participant contributed uniquely to this study, describing his or her efforts to promote an inclusive academic community and to work against racism and inequity within this particular institution. While the perspective of each faculty participant is distinctive, they share a common belief which Professor Cole expressed as the conviction that "even one person at a time, you can make a difference." This belief, and the behaviors through which it is manifest, provides the impetus that challenges these White faculty allies to continue their work in conjunction with individuals and communities of color toward achieving a more equitable and just environment within which to foster the process and pursuit of higher education.

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Appendix A: IRB Approval

Application for Exemption from Institutional Oversight

Unless qualified as meeting the specific criteria for exemption from Institutional Review Board (IRB) oversight, ALL LSU research/projects using living humans as subjects, or samples or data obtained from humans, directly or indirectly, with or without their consent, must be approved or exempted in advance by the LSU IRB. This Form helps the PI determine if a project may be exempted, and is used to request an exemption.

Institutional Review Board
Dr. Robert Mathews, Chair
203 B-1 David Boyd Hall
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
P: 225.578.8692
F: 225.578.6792
irb@lsu.edu | lsu.edu/irb

➤ Applicant, Please fill out the application in its entirety and include the completed application as well as parts A-E, listed below, when submitting to the IRB. Once the application is completed, please submit two copies of the completed application to the IRB Office or to a member of the Human Subjects Screening Committee. Members of this committee can be found at http://www.lsu.edu/irb/screeningmembers.shtml

➤ A Complete Application Includes All of the Following:
   (A) Two copies of this completed form and two copies of parts B thru E.
   (B) A brief project description (adequate to evaluate risks to subjects and to explain your responses to Parts 1 & 2)
   (C) Copies of all instruments to be used.
       • If this proposal is part of a grant proposal, include a copy of the proposal and all recruitment material.
   (D) The consent form that you will use in the study (see part 3 for more information.)
   (E) Certificate of Completion of Human Subjects Protection Training for all personnel involved in the project, including students who are involved with testing or handling data, unless already on file with the IRB.
       Training link: (http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php.)

1) Principal Investigator: Jennifer K. Loftin   Rank: Student? Y/N

   Dept.:ETTP   Ph:578-2775   E-mail:jloftin@lsu.edu

2) Co Investigator(s): please include department, rank, phone and e-mail for each
   ⁴ If student, please identify and name supervising professor in this space
   Dr. Roland Mitchell
   221 Peabody Hall
   Baton Rouge, LA 70803

3) Project Title: White Faculty as Racial Justice Allies at a Predominantly White Institution

4) LSU Proposal?(yes or no) No   If Yes, LSU Proposal Number
   Also, if YES, either   ○ This application completely matches the scope of work in the grant
                OR
                          ○ More IRB Applications will be filed later

5) Subject pool (e.g. Psychology Students) White faculty members   at Capitol University
   • Circle any "vulnerable populations" to be used: (children <18; the mentally impaired,
     pregnant women, the aged, other). Projects with incarcerated persons cannot be exempted.

6) PI Signature _Jennif K. Loft_ ** Date 3/26/10 (no per signatures)
   **I certify my responses are accurate and complete. If the project scope or design is later changed I will resubmit for review. I will obtain written approval from the Authorized Representative of all non-LSU institutions in which the study is conducted. I also understand that it is my responsibility to maintain copies of all consent forms at LSU for three years after completion of the study. If I leave LSU before that time the consent forms should be preserved in the Departmental Office.

Screening Committee Action: Exempted _X_   Not Exempted ___   Category/Paragraph 2

Reviewer PAUL MOONEY   Signature _Paul Mooney_   Date 3-29-10

(Stamp, right margin:) Study Exempted By: Dr. Robert C. Mathews, Chairman / Institutional Review Board / Louisiana State University / 203 B-1 David Boyd Hall / 225-578-8692 | www.lsu.edu/irb / Exemption Expires: 3-08-2013 / IRB# / ☒ Complete Application / ☒ Human Subjects Training / LSU Proposal #

Appendix B: Faculty Sample Letter of Intent

Dear Faculty Member:

I am a doctoral candidate at Louisiana State University and am conducting a research project to explore the experience of White faculty members at a Predominantly White Institution engaged in racial justice work.

In order to examine this phenomenon, I would like to speak with you. You have been identified by students or administrators on your campus as someone who has contributed to his or her success. I would like to meet with you to discuss the ways in which your work as a racial justice ally has influenced your faculty work of teaching, research and service. In addition, I would like to explore your status as an ally and the life experiences that led you to this work.

Your participation would include completing a 60-90 minute interview and a possible follow-up interview. Each interview will be taped and participants will be provided a transcript for review.

I hope that you are willing to share your experiences through participation in this research project. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 225-578-8545 or jloftin@lsu.edu. I look forward to your response.

Jennifer Loftin, Doctoral Candidate
Educational Theory, Policy & Practice

Appendix C: Consent Form

Study Title: White Faculty as Racial Justice Allies at a Predominantly White Institution

Performance Site: Capitol University

Investigators: The following investigator is available for questions about this study, Monday-Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.: J. Loftin, (225) 578-2775

Purpose of Study: I examine the experiences of White faculty members engaged as racial justice allies at a predominantly White institution in order to describe the influence of the ally status on the faculty roles of teaching, research and service, as well as to investigate the experiences that led to the development of this ally status.

Subject Inclusion: White faculty members at a PWI

Number of Subjects: 10 faculty members

Study Procedures: Each individual will be interviewed about his or her experiences as a racial justice ally at a PWI. Each interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes. Interviews will be recorded for further analysis, but will be destroyed upon completion of the project.

Benefits: The study will contribute to a greater understanding of the faculty role in achieving equity and diversity on our campus.

Risks: Every effort will be made to maintain the confidentiality of my study records. Files will be kept in secure storage to which only the investigator has access. Because of the nature of ally work, some participants may describe activities with which they could be identified. In order to minimize this risk, each participant will be assigned a pseudonym.

Right to Refuse: Subjects may choose not to participate or may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of any benefit to which they might otherwise be entitled.

Privacy: Results of the study may be published, but no names or identifying information will be included in the publication. Subject identity will remain confidential unless disclosure is required by law.

Signatures: The study has been discussed with me and all my questions have been answered. I may direct additional questions regarding study specifics to the investigators. If I have questions about subjects' rights or other concerns, I can contact Robert C. Mathews, Institutional Review Board, (225) 578-8692. I agree to participate in the study described above and acknowledge the investigator's obligation to provide me with a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature   Date

Appendix D: Interview Protocol

What are your experiences as a White faculty racial justice ally on this campus?

How does the campus climate at your institution influence your involvement in diversity efforts? In your college? In your department?

What is your relationship with students on your campus?

More specifically, what is your relationship with students of color on your campus?

How would you describe your relationship with other faculty members on campus?

How did you come to be involved in working for racial justice?

What is the relationship between your work as an ally and your scholarly responsibilities of teaching, research and service?

Vita

Jennifer Kristine Loftin is a native of Martin, Louisiana, and is the daughter of Richard and Sue Bamburg Loftin. She attended Martin High school before graduating from the Louisiana School for Math, Science and the Arts in Natchitoches, Louisiana, in 1992. Jennifer earned a Bachelor of Arts in English with a concentration in creative writing at Louisiana State University in 1996. As an undergraduate, she was a member of the LSU Ambassadors and served on the editorial staff of *The Delta* student literary journal. She later attended Purdue University where she completed a Master of Arts in American Studies in 1999.

After returning to her home state, Jennifer joined the professional staff of the E.J. Ourso College of Business at Louisiana State University. After serving as Program Coordinator of Executive Education for a number of years, she transitioned to the staff of the Flores MBA Program as Associate Director for Strategic Initiatives. Jennifer left the Ourso College of Business in 2009 to join The Gordon A. Cain Center for STEM Literacy where she serves as Evaluation Project Manager.