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Your blues ain't like mine: exploring the promotion and tenure process of African American female professors at select Research I universities in the South

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YOUR BLUES AIN’T LIKE MINE:
EXPLORING THE PROMOTION AND TENURE PROCESS OF
AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALE PROFESSORS AT
SELECT RESEARCH I UNIVERSITIES IN THE SOUTH

A Dissertation

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by
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Abstract

This study utilizes Black feminism and its four core themes as a framework for understanding the impact of race and gender on promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process at predominantly white, Research I universities. The four core themes are (1) the legacy of struggle against racism, sexism and social class exploitation (2) the search for voice or the refusal of Black women to remain silenced (3) the interdependence of thought and action, the impossibility of separating intellectual inquiry from political activism and (4) the empowerment in the context of everyday life.

Interviews were conducted with 8 tenured, African American female professors at predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. Interviewees included two full professors and six associate professors. During open-ended semi-structured interviews, participants were asked to talk about their promotion and tenure experiences. Four themes emerged from the research data: struggle, oppression, change and freedom.

Evidence is presented of participants’ perspectives of how their promotion and tenure experiences relate to each of these four themes. The study highlights the experiences of the participants in order to educate higher education administrators, deans and department heads about the perceptions of African American women on their promotion and tenure process and specifically, the effect that departmental climate has on the process.
Chapter I

Introduction

“Without the contributions of minority individuals, no faculty or institution can be complete” (Green, 1989, p. 81).

“A diverse faculty brings us closer to a representation of the world we live in” (Cooper & Stevens, 2002, p. 9).

Although the proportion of minorities in the United States has grown considerably in recent years, the makeup of faculty in higher education does not reflect these changing demographics. According to Trautvetter (1999), “women makeup only 31% of full-time faculty in American higher education today, an increase of only 5% in the past 75 years” (p. 16). Nationwide, the tenure rate for women has remained under 50% while the rate for men is above 70%.

Minority faculty face similar challenges. The underrepresentation of African American female professors in the tenured faculty ranks at Research I universities remains a problem. In the fall of 1999, of the total 1,027,838 faculty at degree-granting institutions, Black women faculty accounted for only 7,887 or one percent (1%) (U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Table 225). This one percent includes Black women faculty employed at predominantly white institutions (PWIs) as well as at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The representation of African American female professors in the tenured faculty ranks at predominantly white, Research I institutions remains low in comparison to that of White men, White women, and Black men. The prevailing argument in higher education is that underrepresentation is due to the lack of qualified candidates; however, research by (Turner and Myers, 2000) shows that is not the true case. Instead, there are qualified
candidates to fill vacancies in higher education. They report African Americans compose 3.7% of the faculty, while African Americans in the general population number 9.5% (p. 65).

The purpose of the study was to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. This study extends research conducted by Aisenberg and Harrison (1988), Etter-Lewis (1993), Park (1996), and Tierney and Bensimon (1996) on the promotion and tenure process, but it focuses specifically on African American female faculty.

Previous research of women and minorities in the promotion and tenure process grouped women and minorities into one group with very little focus on the individual experiences of either group. In an effort to add to and enhance the existing body of literature on women and minorities in the promotion and tenure process, this study presents oral histories because they provide an invaluable means of generating new insights about women’s experiences of themselves in their worlds (Anderson & Jack, 1991, p. 11). Oral histories seek to examine and analyze the subjective experiences of individuals and their constructions of the social world while assuming a complex interaction between the individual’s understanding of his or her world and that world itself; therefore, oral histories are suited to depicting the socialization of a person into a cultural milieu and to make theoretical sense of it (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 121-22).

The stories presented are of African American women who were successful in the promotion and tenure process. By utilizing a qualitative methodology to present the
stories, my hope is to promote an understanding of their unique experiences. The thick
descriptions in these oral histories describe the perceived experiences of African
American female faculty from diverse educational, class and social backgrounds.
Through in-depth interviews, the women in this study reveal their experiences in
predominantly white environments as well as the factors in their promotion and tenure
success. These contemporary African American women tell stories of their life
experiences, struggles and successes. All of them were tenured and came from fields such
as education, engineering and social work. Most of them found the tenure process to be
isolating while others had more positive tenure experiences. In spite of the barriers faced,
their resilience, attitude and strength helped them to persevere and succeed. As Peterson
(1992) states, “the African American woman has struggled against innumerable odds
since slavery. With social and economic deprivation, sexism and racism providing
constant blocks, it is remarkable that history is so full of rich examples of Black women
who have defied the odds” (p. x).

In this study, Black feminism is introduced as the theoretical framework to
provoke thought along less traditional lines about the impact of race and gender in higher
education. What is Black feminism? Black feminism is defined by Patricia Hill-Collins
(1990) as “a process of self-conscious struggle that empowers women and men to
actualize a humanistic vision of community” (p. 39). Conceptualized by Patricia Hill
Collins (1990) and presented in research by Black feminist scholars like bell hooks
(1989) and Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis (1993), this social theory has four core themes, (1)
the legacy of struggle against racism, sexism and social class exploitation (2) the search
for voice or the refusal of Black women to remain silenced (3) the interdependence of
thought and action, the impossibility of separating intellectual inquiry from political activism and (4) the empowerment in the context of everyday life. These four themes shaped the organization of the literature review, the data analysis and the presentation of the findings.

When discussing promotion and tenure experiences, it is also important to acknowledge that the process is stressful and challenging for all junior faculty members; however, research suggests that minority faculty experience the academy differently than their White counterparts (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998, p. 324).

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study was to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. I intended to explore how the day-to-day interactions of African American female professors with their colleagues, department heads, deans and students impact their promotion and tenure success. Research indicates that African American female professors who choose careers in higher education and particularly at predominantly white institutions are aware that they may face racism and sexism as well as isolation and alienation in these environments.

The focus of this study is on African American women who have successfully achieved tenure. With Black feminism as the theoretical framework, my goal is to explore how their individual experiences as Black females defined and shaped their realities and how those realities impacted their promotion and tenure success. African American women as well as other women of color experience the double burden of racism and sexism and are underrepresented in the research literature. According to
Johnsrud and Sadao (1998), “the experiences of minority women are quite different from their White female counterparts, and African American women have different experiences from Asian, Latino and Native American women” (p. 324).

The problem with recent research on women and minorities is that it addresses either race or gender-related issues often categorizing minority women as one group or entity (Johnsrud, 1998). This categorization of data on minority women often negated the experiences of each minority group independently; therefore, research focusing on African American female professors as a separate group or entity is warranted. This research seeks to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American associate and full professors to the extent of promoting recruitment and retention as well as aiding in the amending and changing of policies. Recent studies by Turner and Myers (2000), Garcia (2000) and Cooper and Stevens (2002), address the experiences of faculty of color in the promotion and tenure process but do not examine African American female faculty exclusively.

**Problem Statement**

In 2003, although more women and people of color enter careers in academia, the tenured faculty ranks at Research I universities remain white male dominated. Although women and people of color are being employed in higher education, many progress through the promotion and tenure process. In order to raise the awareness of higher education administrators, deans and department heads about the challenging promotion and tenure experiences of women and minorities as well as to increase their knowledge and understanding, a study that documents these experiences is warranted. My decision to research African American female professors’ promotion and tenure experiences utilizing
a qualitative approach was based on the need for additional research exclusively on African American female professors at predominantly white institutions. In researching literature on promotion and tenure, I discovered that the majority of the research either focused on the ongoing tenure debate or on women and minorities in the promotion and tenure process, rather than specifically on African American female professors. Therefore, I decided to conduct this research focusing exclusively on tenured African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process.

**Research Questions**

The research questions that guided the study were:

- What were the experiences of tenured, African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process at select, predominantly white, Research I universities?
- What factors contributed to their success in the promotion and tenure process?

**Description of the Study**

Chapter One includes the introduction, the purpose of the study, the problem statement, the research questions, and the description and significance of the study. In Chapter Two, I provide an overview of tenure, tenure policies, and faculty socialization of women and minorities, and the four core themes of Black feminism are introduced and used as a template to organize the literature review. In Chapter Three, I present the rationale for using qualitative research methods and for integrating Black feminism with oral history research design. An explanation of the data collection and analysis procedures follows and, later in the chapter, a discussion of qualitative research, its ethical dilemmas and the techniques used to ensure trustworthiness are identified. The
rich stories and reflections of the participants are presented in Chapter Four. The chapter highlights their unique experiences and the key factors in their promotion and tenure success as they describe in their own words their day-to-day experiences in predominantly white environments. In Chapter Five, the emerging themes are represented by data analyzed using a Black Feminist approach. Finally, in Chapter Six, I summarize the findings and key points in the study and list recommendations for further research.

**Limitations of the Study**

Although this study had several limitations, it is my hope that the findings will promote a better understanding of how the promotion and tenure process is viewed not only by African American women but other minority women nationwide. The first limitation is having selected only public, Research I universities in the South. This presented a geographical limitation for two significant reasons. The first reason is because Jim Crow prohibited Blacks and Whites from attending school together in the South and higher education was segregated, the attitudes of the people may vary from other parts of the country. The second reason is because the study focused on Research I universities in the South, it omitted the views and experiences of tenured, African American female professors from other public and private Research I universities nationwide.

The second limitation in the study was the sampling technique. Due to the severe underrepresentation of tenured, African American female associate and full professors at the Research I universities selected for this study, purposeful criterion sampling was used instead of purposeful random sampling. This is a limitation because the participants were
selected because they were knowledgeable about the topic, yet, their views cannot be
generalized and do not represent all African American women in academia. The third
limitation was the sample size. Because the sample was so small, a cross-section of
disciplines is not represented in the sampling process. Representation from a cross-
section of disciplines would have provided discipline-specific perspectives deemed
valuable since research suggests that promotion and tenure experiences can differ by
discipline (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994, p. 46).

Significance of the Study

Rarely has a theoretical framework such as Black feminism been used to study the
impact of racism and sexism on Black women in academe. This is significant because
historically studies on women and minorities were presented utilizing theories that used
male norms and that did not account for the sexism, racism and classism in the research.
As Etter-Lewis (1993) states, “when applied to scholarly research, the large group norm
which created a singular reality can be observed by the conspicuous absence of African
American women from major studies in most disciplines” (p. x).

In this study, I examine tenured, African American female professors as separate
entities in research giving equal attention to the issues of race and gender in the
promotion and tenure process through a Black feminist lens. The study’s focus is on
deepening academia’s understanding of the impact of the institution’s climate and the
day-to-day interactions with colleagues, department heads and deans on the promotion
and tenure success of African American female professors. My goal in this study is not
to prove that the promotion and tenure is unfair or biased, but to provide a different
perspective of the process from an outsider’s viewpoint. My hope is that this study
informs and raises the consciousness of colleagues, department heads and deans on how the promotion and tenure process is viewed by African American female professors and that it will promote dialogue among this same group on how to make departmental climates warmer leading to more positive promotion and tenure experiences.

This study serves to enhance the existing body of knowledge on the promotion and tenure process for African American female professors while exploring a theoretical framework that illuminates the experiences of its African American female participants. It is important because it focuses specifically on African American female professors in differentiating and acknowledging their experiences and their perceptions of promotion and tenure. Acknowledging these differences is important because previous research has labeled promotion and tenure as an institutional and systematic way of preventing women and especially minorities from having careers in academia. Etter-Lewis (1993) states, “black women’s experiences, because of race, gender and class, are different and distinct in fundamental ways from those of black men and white women and deserve to be studied in their own right” (p. 23). This study also adds to the debate of what is right and wrong about promotion and tenure in terms of the subjectivity of the criteria and how teaching is weighed in the process.

Research shows that African American female professors suffer race and gender discrimination in the promotion and tenure process (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). Etter-Lewis (1993) states, “membership in two oppressed groups alone sets African American women apart because they experience double discrimination as a result of their dual status. So what is true for African American men and white women is not invariably true for African American women” (p. xvi). Andersen (1998) asserts, “several groups of
women of color are rendered invisible by the studies that concentrate only on the experiences and perspectives of dominant groups. This denial of these alternate realities/experiences further exacerbates the problems of African American women and excludes knowledge essential to the well-being of society as a whole” (p. xvi-xvii).

The information provided in this study is invaluable and can be used to creatively recruit, retain, promote and tenure African American female professors in greater numbers. Examining the experiences of African American female professors in promotion and tenure will provide university officials and other administrators with information to improve the climate in the departments and colleges where they work, and as Cooper and Stevens (2002) wrote, “help them to understand the perspectives of others and have the opportunity to understand themselves better by walking in their shoes” (p. 69).
Chapter II

Review of Related Literature

The purpose of the study was to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. To become familiar with the existing research on tenure, I examined books, paper presentations, monographs, briefs, articles, tenure policies and other relevant publications. I examined in detail qualitative studies that focused on the promotion and tenure process for women and minorities. In my examination of the literature, I identified gaps in the research on African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process. I intend to fill the gap in the research by highlighting the perspectives of African American female professors in discussing their promotion and tenure experiences.

The literature review is organized into two sections. In section one, I provide an overview of tenure, promotion and tenure policies and faculty socialization. In section two, I present a critical analysis of the qualitative studies reviewed for the study using the four core themes of Black feminism as a template.

Overview of Tenure

The tenure debate is an ongoing discussion about the benefits of permanent jobs for faculty in higher education. The discussion centers on whether to abolish tenure or revamp it or leave it as it is. The process is subjective and is influenced by internal factors in the department such as a relationship with colleagues, department heads, and deans, as well as the departmental climate, resources, teaching, research and publishing, and service. External factors such as participation in national and professional
organizations, relationships with colleagues outside the department and college, grants and other outside funding are factored into the equation as well. In this chapter, I synthesize what I learned from the existing body of literature regarding promotion and tenure on women and minorities in higher education.

**Tenure**

Tenure, established in 1940 by the Association of University Professors (AAUP), was designed to protect academic freedom and to prevent professors from being dismissed without just cause. No other profession guarantees a position for life except for the judicial system in the appointment of Supreme Court judges. According to Burgess (1997), “tenure brings power, privilege, and prestige” (p. 227). Aguirre (2000) states, “tenure not only endows the recipient with institutional permanency in academia but it also serves as a signal to other faculty that the recipient’s academic work is meritorious” (p. 67). The promotion and tenure process is evaluated by three components; teaching, research and service and Nora (2000) believes that each component must complement each other at all times.

**Teaching, Research and Service**

African American female professors spend a lot of time teaching, advising and mentoring minority students and with most of their time and energy expended in these areas, they are often distracted from producing scholarly research (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998, p. 316). Although excellence in teaching is measured by fellow colleagues and student evaluations, it is not equally rewarded in the promotion and tenure process.

At research universities like the ones studied, scholarly research, measured by publications, is more valued and rewarded in the promotion and tenure process (Tierney
& Bensimon, 1996). According to Park (1996), “research is deemed ‘men’s work’ and is explicitly valued, whereas teaching and service are identified as ‘women’s work’ and are explicitly devalued” (p. 47). Park states further that “we must examine the ways in which sexism is embedded in the structure, norms, and policies of the university itself” (p. 36). This examination of the university is significant in that women of color face the double burden of institutional racism and sexism, both deeply rooted in the academy. Creamer (1998) found that women are significantly less likely than men to be among the top producers of publications in their fields (p. iv). She states, “the relative absence of the voices of women and minorities in widely cited literature is explained by the fact that few women and minorities are among prolific authors” (p. 8). Their underrepresentation among the prolific and over-representation among non-publishers is the major reason for the characterization of women faculty being less productive than men faculty.

African American women are stifled in scholarly research by limited access to research funding and lack of sponsorship. Without the internal support of their departments and mentors, they seek collegial relationships with faculty members outside of their universities. They are more likely to have race and/or gender related research agendas making it difficult to publish in mainstream journals. This is problematic because journal editors fear that their readers have little or no interest in gender and race-related topics. Routledge, a well-known publisher of feminist and race-related scholarship, has provided an avenue for women and minority faculty to publish. Without publishers like Routledge to support scholarship on women and minorities, literature on less-traditional topics and research agendas would not be available to a growing audience.
Mainstream researchers view research on women and minorities as marginal and insignificant research, so the debate as to what is scholarly research continues. Because African American female faculty focus heavily on race and gender-related issues in research, their vitas suffer in the area of scholarly research when evaluated in the promotion and tenure process (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998, p. 316).

“Service is the least valued activity in the promotion and tenure process” (Kawewe, 1997, p. 267). African American women spend enormous amounts of time serving on university-wide committees and also participating heavily in church groups, youth programs, sororities and other organizations geared toward the health and well being of women. The time spent in service is rewarding personally, but not given much credence in the promotion and tenure process.

As one African American female professor noted:

Service contributions are not weighed heavily in merit and promotion decisions at my university since it is regarded as a research institution. As a consequence, the multiple roles that Black female professors like myself are forced to maintain and the university/ethnic/gender service obligations that we are required to fulfill erode sacred research time (Phelps, 1995, p. 259).

**Tenure Policies**

In reviewing the tenure policies at the universities studied, I discovered that the guidelines were comparable across institutions, varying most at the department level. According to Cooper and Stevens (2002), department guidelines provide more directions for dossier compilation while university guidelines offer procedural information.

Scholars such as Astin (1982) believe that the promotion and tenure criteria should be revised to credit a wider variety of accomplishments and types of services than are traditionally recognized. Similarly, Johnsrud and Des Jarlais (1994) recommend that
departments be required to update and clarify the tenure and promotion criteria. The AAUP recommends that the criteria for promotion and tenure be made clear to faculty and reviewed on a regular basis. Even with these recommendations, rarely does this happen. Bensimon, Ward and Tierney (1994) found that because the criteria are rarely reviewed, junior faculty do not have a clear understanding of the promotion and tenure requirements.

**Faculty Socialization and the Promotion and Tenure Process**

Although efforts are made to recruit African American females, the socialization process requires examination. In *Enhancing Promotion, Tenure and Beyond*, Tierney and Rhoads (1994), examine the socialization process of junior faculty and how it affects the success of faculty and their commitment and involvement with the institution (p. xiv). Anticipatory socialization is the process through which individuals acquire the values, attitudes, norms, knowledge and skills needed to exist in a given society (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994, p. 6). Research suggests that minority women faculty experience more barriers to their professional socialization in the workplace than white women faculty (Aguirre, 2000, p. 42). African American women less familiar with the politics and unwritten rules of promotion and tenure are often left to navigate the promotion and tenure process alone, yet it is noted that a major contributor to success in the professoriate is association with senior colleagues. Turner and Myers (2000) wrote, “without this affiliation, African American female professors are isolated and struggle through the socialization process” (p. 24). The social isolation they experience in predominantly white environments affects their professional socialization excluding them from collegial interaction and other support networks that would provide valuable information on
resources. These isolating experiences inhibit their professional development, mentoring relationships and other activities that could aid in their promotion and tenure success.

Although research on socialization documents that academe has not made socializing individuals from diverse groups a priority, nor has academe made adjustments in adapting the organization to the social group, there are ways to foster socialization (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Jensen (1982) argues that women experience more of an acculturation process than a socialization process since they must alter their individual identity. She argues that socialization should be a process amenable to cultural differences, not an action where majority members try to equip minority members with the skills necessary to survive. Socialization then becomes not an experience where everyone must be homogenized, but a process that honors difference (Aguirre, 2000, p. 71).

A Critical Analysis of the Research Literature Woven within the Four Core Themes of Black Feminism

Legacy of Struggle

Struggle. Even though white women do not experience racism, they do experience sexism. I reviewed Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove, a study conducted in the Boston area by Aisenberg and Harrington (1988). The study revealed that both women who had left the academy and those that had remained shared a generalized experience. Similar patterns were found in the stories of women they interviewed even though they were from different geographical locations. As noted, the similarities ran across disciplines, age groups, marital status and class origins. Although there were no minority women participants in the study, research by Park (1996; Antonio,
1998; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996) substantiates similar experiences for women and people of color (p. 3).

Extending the research of Aisenberg and Harrington, Cooper and Stevens (2002) in *Tenure in the Sacred Grove*, address the experiences of women and minorities in the promotion and tenure process. Exploring the absence and undervaluing of women and minorities in the academy, the study presents multiple perspectives across ethnicities, faculty ranks, and institutional types. The authors interviewed a diverse group; junior and senior faculty, women, faculty of color, department chairs, promotion and tenure chairs, and university presidents to share their expertise on the promotion and tenure experience. In the study, Cooper and Stevens highlight five key themes for women and minorities to consider. They are: (1) understand the nature of your institution and its tenure process, (2) acknowledge that personal, professional and political are interwoven in the academy, (3) be proactive in pursuit of your goals (4) clarify expectations and manage your time and finally, (5) maintain identity and integrity. With the key theme understanding the nature of your institution and its tenure process, Cooper and Stevens (2002) discuss the similarities and differences on campuses and encourage new faculty to be mindful of the expectations and the environment at the universities chosen. If faculty members are interested in teaching, chose a teaching institution. If faculty members are interested in research, chose a research institution. Braxton and Berger (1999) found that faculty who chose institutions appropriately adjust better to the environment. Women and minority faculty are advised to understand what is required at the universities chosen and be conscious of their own preferences. In the second key theme, Cooper and Stevens (2002) recommend journaling as a way to reflect and dump unproductive feelings while in the
process. Finding allies at the institution, whether in other departments or at other universities is the key theme in pursuing your goals. Women and minority faculty are encouraged to seek the assistance and guidance of others, make their work visible, and to know their departments; establish collegiality.

The authors note other challenges such as managing time and clarifying expectations as an issue for women and minorities. Women and minority faculty are advised to manage their time by not overextending themselves teaching or being distracted from establishing research agendas while attempting to balance work and family demands. The experiences of women and faculty of color is underscored by the marginalization in the academy because they are unaware of the tenure policies and processes at their university (Cooper & Temple, 2002. p. 26). Cooper and Stevens (2002) suggest that “a diverse faculty brings us closer to a representation of the world we live in” (p. 9). They believe that the presence of women and minority faculty in higher education makes a difference by promoting new kinds of research, new ways of knowing and new topics not yet explored (p. 4). According to Cooper and Temple (2002), “the presence of women and faculty of color enriches the experiences of all faculty and students” (p. 26).

Using a critical feminist perspective in Shattering the Myths: Women in Academe, Glazer-Raymo (1999), investigates the experiences of women faculty and administrators as they reflect on the social, economic, political and ideological contexts where they work and the impact of these contexts on their personal and professional lives. In this research, with all women participants, she sought to shatter the myths in regards to the social and political structures that confront women. She found that the patterns that emerged from the study represented the diversity of all women, even women
of color, and she encouraged women to become more politically active at their universities.

While white women experience sexism in the academy, Black women experience a different plight. They suffer the legacy or double burden of racism and sexism. In *Double Burden: Black Women and Everyday Racism*, a qualitative study involving individual and focus group interviews, St. Jean and Feagin (1998) examine the burden of racism and sexism on the everyday lives of African American women. They discovered through focus group interviews that social isolation is commonly experienced by Black women, a problem that stems from no or few other African Americans in the workplace. Another issue in the workplace identified by the participants was being expected by white colleagues to be representatives for the race. As noted, the presence of racial and gender bias in the workplace compounds the problems for African American women. As Mary Church Terrell, an advocate for race and gender equity stated, “a White woman has only one handicap to overcome--a great one true, her sex; A colored woman faces two--her sex and her race; A colored man has only one, that of race” (Jones, 1993, p. 1157). In spite of the barriers of race and gender, African American women manage to survive and succeed. They cope by developing strategies in surviving academia and by adopting other ways of dealing with adversity.

In a study that Etter-Lewis states, “broke with “custom” by focusing exclusively on women of color,” *Unrelated Kin: Race and Gender in Women’s Personal Narratives* is a compilation of essays by female scholars from diverse backgrounds, Native American, African American, Asian American and Latina. In the study, the authors tell their stories of struggles and victories using life histories. The purpose was to highlight and describe
the experiences of women of color. Like my study, the significance of race and/or gender as factors that impact women’s lives is explored in the personal narratives. Etter-Lewis and Foster (1996) capture the essence of life histories from minority women from various cultural backgrounds by presenting the women’s own words, allowing for first-person perspectives. The use of oral life histories was important to the authors as they criticized other texts for not concentrating on women’s own words.

Slevin and Wingrove’s (1998) From Stumbling Blocks to Stepping Stones revealed how race and gender impacted the lives of the fifty professional African American women participants. The women told stories of what it was like to be educated and to work in both segregated and integrated worlds. Their stories provided a legacy of survival and resistance to future generations of all women who will eventually leave the workforce after years of employment. The lives of these Black women in this study also dispelled the monolithic image that older African American women are poor and uneducated. Guided by life course and feminist perspectives, the authors found that the individual lives taken collectively demanded an acknowledgement of the diversity that exists among older Black women and that the richness, complexity and depth of their experiences be recognized. A life course perspective is described as “the ways in which people’s social location, the historical period in which they live and their personal biography shape their experiences” (Slevin & Wingrove, 1998, p. 7). Slevin and Wingrove note that the feminist perspective blends well with life course in that it forced them to consider the importance of race, social class and gender and their intersections with the impact of historical events and individual biographies (p. 8).
Black female professors with little opportunity for collaborative research with their white colleagues have developed relationships with colleagues outside their institutions to collaborate and conduct scholarly research. *Spirit, Space and Survival*, another collection of essays written by eleven African American women teachers, administrators and artists-in-residence, highlights the challenges and experiences of African American women in comparison to the African American male and white female counterparts (James & Farmer, 1993). The study, focusing on discriminatory hiring, promotion and tenure practices, challenges the racist and sexist practices in academia while also weaving together spiritual and intellectual aspirations of the participants as a remedy to hostile and indifferent academic environments.

In 1998, Johnsrud and Sadao, in The Common Experience of “Otherness”: Ethnic and Racial Minority Faculty, introduced theories of race and ethnic relations in an effort to understand the experiences of minority faculty members at a predominantly white, research institution. Through focus groups and individual interviews, they found that minorities face a number of barriers in the promotion and tenure process. For one, they hold more split or joint appointments, two, they often spent more time on teaching and service, and three, they are often less familiar with departmental politics, lack mentors and receive tenure at a lower rate (p. 316). They found that minority faculty experience the academy differently than their white counterparts (p. 324). They also note the lack of collegiality and working relationships with fellow colleagues and department chairs as an impediment to promotion and tenure success.

Peterson (1992) in *African American Women: A Study of Will and Success*, identifies the struggles of African American women noting with social and economic
deprivation and racism providing obstacles, it is remarkable that history is so full of examples of Black women who have defied the odds (p. 1). In this study, Peterson interviewed 30 Black women, ages 25 to 95, but only included 15 interviews in this study. She eliminated the interviews of the women under 30 because as she stated, “these women could not verbalize the events that led up to their present success, except that they were good at following directions and worked very hard” (p. 3). The women under 30 were still very uncertain about themselves and their goals. The 15 women included in the study came from varied backgrounds. The women varied in age, educational attainment and socioeconomic status. Two had obtained a GED, six had completed high school and had a few years of college, three were college graduates and four had completed advanced degrees. The women also had varied occupations. One was a housewife, one was currently employed as a domestic and one was a retired domestic. Another was a computer analyst and four women had supervisory responsibilities at the United States Post Office. Two of the women were employed as social workers, another was a community organizer, one was an elementary school teacher, one was an attorney, one was an artist and entrepreneur and the last one was a nun who was an assistant professor at the Catholic seminary.

Along with the interviews, she also analyzed the writings of four prominent African American authors, Zora Neale Hurston, Alice Walker, Toni Morrison and Maya Angelou to illuminate the picture of the development of a resilient will and its importance to success. Four themes emerged from the study, (1) mothers and daughters, (2) Black women as sisters, (3) heightened spirituality and, (4) the Black community.
The Search for Voice

Oppression. Patricia Hill Collins’ (1990), Black Feminist Thought, was the inspiration for using Black feminism as the theoretical framework for this study. In her book, Collins introduces and dissects the four core themes of Black feminism and states, “this book reflects one stage in my ongoing struggle to regain my voice” (p. xi). According to Collins (1990), “Black feminist thought aims to develop a theory that is emancipatory and reflective and which can aid African American women’s struggles against oppression” (p. 32). Benjamin’s (1997) Black Women in the Academy: Promises and Perils, is the response to a historic convergence of 2,000 Black women academicians on the campus of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) at a conference entitled “Black Women in the Academy: Defending our Name, 1894-1994. In this compilation of essays that represent the experiences of thirty-three Black women academics and administrators exploring the themes of identity, power and change, each contributor, writing in the first-person, examines the impact of racism and sexism in higher education. With contributions from prominent African American female scholars such as Yolanda T. Moses, Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis, Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Darlene Clark Hine, the purpose of this book was to fill the gap in the research as it relates to the intersection of race, gender, class and ethnicity in the areas of women’s studies, black studies, ethnic studies and multicultural studies. The book with seven parts, addresses issues such as general academic climate, teaching and research, the status of Black women in higher education administration, recruitment and retention, tenure and promotion, gender and sexual harassment, mentors and support systems, collegiality among faculty and finally a
case history that illustrates the contributions that Black women’s perspectives and experiences can add to the academy.

Mabokela and Green (2001), editors of *Brothers in the Academy*, responded to the hundreds of inquiries from scholars nationwide about Black women in the academy with *Sisters in the Academy*. Written by and about African American women, this compilation of essays contains pictures and brief autobiographies of the authors and addresses the many challenges that African American female professors face in academe. For example, one author provides an historical overview of Black women in the academy, while another author describes her experience as a graduate student in a doctoral program at a predominantly white, research university. Another author addresses the search for theoretical frameworks where she asserts that “what separates academic writing and other types of writing is the theoretical framework that provides written evidence and counter evidence with which the researcher synthesizes and “frames” their study. Two other authors write about their experiences in the promotion and tenure process. This book, with its heart-breaking stories, underscores the struggles and challenges that African American women face in higher education.

Etter-Lewis’ *My Soul is My Own* (1993) consists of narratives from 9 African American participants and served as the model from which my study was developed. Grounded in Black feminism, stories are presented that enhance the understanding of the lives of the African American women participants. According to Etter-Lewis (1993), because sexism and racism are intertwined and intimately connected, it is difficult or virtually impossible to separate the two. Therefore, Black feminism connects race and gender and under ordinary circumstances, we cannot delete gender or skin color from our personal identities, so any research methodology or interpretation of our lives must take this into account (p. 109).
The intimate connection between racism and sexism is why the integration of Black feminism and oral history seemed appropriate for this study.

**Interdependence of Thought and Action**

**Change.** Baez’s (1998), Negotiating and Resisting Racism: How Faculty of Color Construct Promotion and Tenure, using Blumer’s theory of symbolic interactionism sought to understand race and how faculty of color construct the promotion and tenure process. In his study, conducted at a private research university, he interviewed sixteen men and women all tenured or on tenure-track about their promotion and tenure experiences. He then categorized the participants’ perceptions of racism as either individual or institutional and concluded that creating a supportive environment for faculty of color requires an understanding of race in higher education. Baez found that minority faculty negotiated and resisted racism as best they could. The responses from participants ranged from “giving up,” to fighting back, to picking and choosing battles, to playing the game, finding mentoring support and finally, by defining the promotion and tenure criteria in a manner that benefited their racial communities; meaning through “race” research and minority-related community service.

Yet, another compilation of essays written by fifteen men, Retaining African Americans in Higher Education (2001), focuses on three areas: (1) the retention of African American students, (2) the retention of African American administrators, and (3) the retention of African American faculty. Three construct areas were examined in the retention of African American administrators, they are: (1) college and university administrators and African Americans, (2) retention in higher education, and (3) the findings of a study detailing practical steps for retaining African American administrators
at PWIs. In reference to the retention of African American faculty, three challenges are identified: (1) discriminatory or “chilly” campuses, (2) disparity in promotion of African American faculty as opposed to white faculty, (3) the declining number of African American graduate students, and (4) the overburden of a few African American faculty with the work of many (p. 178). The first book dedicated solely to the retention of African Americans in higher education, the authors discuss the challenges that African American face in higher education.

**Empowerment in Everyday Life**

**Freedom.** Freedom translates into empowerment for African Americans. Several studies reviewed demonstrated a sense of empowerment and success. Sheila Gregory (1999), in *Black Women in the Academy: The Secrets to Success and Achievement*, conducted a quantitative study with a quasi-experimental design of 384 Black women faculty from two and four-year institutions highlighting their secrets to success and achievement. Gregory found that the major factor in the decision of Black women to remain in academia was tenure status. Tenure status and academic offers were also factors in the decision of Black women to voluntarily leave the academy. Professors who left were most likely to receive fewer academic employment offers and to hold non-tenured positions. The common barriers to success and achievement mentioned by the participants were discrimination and racism, academic climate, service obligation with the institution and salary differentials.

Kesho Y. Scott in her 1991 study, *The Habit of Surviving: Black Women’s Strategies for Life*, notes, “all the women are successful, both by dominant white and Afro-American cultural standards. They are politically conscious, mature Black women
whose stories not only illustrate how they survived out in the world but also reveal their interior worlds. Their stories provided both a direction and a model for studying Black women’s lives within the matrix of race, gender, class and history” (p. 9). Garcia (2000), in *Succeeding in an Academic Career: A Guide for Faculty of Color*, highlights the challenges of pursuing a career in higher education and offers advice about maintaining a career in academia. Prominent scholars such as Hu-DeHart, Nora and Turner, reflect on their own experiences in higher education offering strategies for reforming the system and ultimately answering the question of what it takes for faculty of color to succeed. Subsequently, in her study along with Myers, *Faculty of Color in Academe: Bittersweet Success*, the focus was to learn from the experiences of faculty of color that have succeeded in promotion and tenure despite the barriers. Turner and Myers conducted interviews with a diverse group of faculty of color; 11 Asians, 28 African Americans, 11 American Indians and 14 Latinos. Most of them were tenured faculty and some held administrative positions in their departments. The purpose of the study was to solicit the views of minority faculty with the goal of helping educators and policy makers understand the factors that influence the representation of minority faculty. Although most of the participants identified racial and ethnic bias as the major challenge they face, they all planned to stay in academe.

**Summary**

The research literature on promotion and tenure lead me to conclude that Black women continue to experience exclusion, isolation, alienation and devaluation in higher education. The studies reviewed came from varied venues and highlighted the challenges that women and minorities face in higher education as well as in the promotion and
tenure process. The richness of the information gathered by the studies using oral histories, semi-structured interviews, and focus group interviews influenced my decision to conduct a qualitative study with an oral history research design. My research will add to this body of literature by providing new perspectives on the promotion and tenure experiences of an under researched group, thus closing the research gap.
Chapter III

Methodology

The purpose of the study was to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. The research questions that guided this study were as follows:

- What are the experiences of tenured, African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process?
- What factors contributed to their success in the promotion and tenure process?

This chapter identifies Black feminism as the theoretical perspective, explains the rationale for using qualitative research methods with an oral history research design and provides a discussion of the setting, sample, and the data collection and analysis procedures.

Theoretical Perspective

Black Feminism

Black feminism was chosen as the theoretical perspective for this study because it identifies the nuances of race and gender in the lives and experiences of African American women. Black feminism, defined by Collins (1990) as “the process of self-conscious struggle that empowers women and men to realize a humanistic vision of community,” suggests that “African American women as a group experience a world different from that of those who are not Black and female and that these experiences stimulate a distinctive Black feminist consciousness” (Collins, 1990, p. 24). Collins
elaborates, “all African American women share the common experience of being Black women in a society that denigrates women of African descent” (p. 24). I believe this social theory challenges the “status quo” while simultaneously encouraging closer attention to view the experiences of African American females in the promotion and tenure process.

I chose Black feminism as the theoretical framework for the study for two reasons. The first reason is because of my exposure to the concept of Black feminism by scholars like bell hooks (1989), Patricia Hill Collins (1990) and Mary Eliza Church Terrell (Jones, 1993), and second, because “Black women in the United States cannot be understood if their discourse is examined using models created for white women” (Etter-Lewis, 1991, p. 43). Black women criticized the feminist movement for focusing on white middle-class women’s issues (hooks, 1981). Social theories such as postmodernism and critical feminist theory focus on gender while symbolic interactionism focuses more on the premise that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). Black feminism is best suited for this study because it integrates both race and gender in interpreting African American female perspectives so theoretically this makes sense.

So much has been written in previous literature about studies on Black women being analyzed and interpreted using white male norms that Marshall and Rossman (1999), define Black feminism as an emancipatory theoretical framework because it affords the researcher an opportunity to interpret the experiences relating to race and gender for members of an oppressed group (p. 5). Black feminism provides an avenue for the women to openly tell their stories instead of silencing them like those used to analyze
white males. Not only does Black feminism identify the impact of race and gender on African American, it also provides a connection between the everyday experiences of African American women. Using Black feminism as the theoretical framework for this study also provides an opportunity to focus specifically on the impact of race and gender in the promotion and tenure process for African American female professors in predominantly white environments. Failing to distinguish African American women as a unique group in this process has promoted a view of women as a seamless mass and implies an equality that does not exist. Another common thread binding African American women is experience and consciousness. The experiences of African American women are often suppressed by the dominant group, which renders their voices and viewpoints in American society silent.

The history of African American women in higher education is deeply rooted in the concept of Black feminism. When reflecting on the pioneers in higher education like Patterson, Coppin and Terrell, it is evident that when given the opportunity, Black women have a history of succeeding against the odds. Collins (1990) notes, “at the core of Black feminist thought lie theories created by African American women which clarify a Black woman’s standpoint – an interpretation of Black women’s experiences and ideas by those who participate in them. In spite of differences created by historical era, age, social class, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, the legacy of struggle against racism and sexism is a common thread binding African American women” (p. 22). This study will explore and document the experiences of tenured, African American female professors using a Black feminist consciousness or perspective by soliciting the participants’ response on the impact of race and gender on their everyday experiences in academia.
St. Jean and Feagin (1998) state, “in the everyday lives of Black women, there are distinctive combinations of racial and gender factors. Black women face not only the double jeopardy condition of having to deal with both racism and sexism but also the commonplace condition of unique combinations of the two” (p.16). Etter-Lewis (1993) believes that for African American women, “sexism and racism are intertwined and intimately connected. It is difficult or virtually impossible to separate the two. Black feminism connects race and gender. Under ordinary circumstances, we cannot delete gender or skin color from our personal identities, so any research methodology or interpretation of our lives must take this into account” (p. 109). Through a Black feminist analysis of the data, I hope to make the connection of race and gender in the interpretation of the transcript data in the oral histories.

**Four Core Themes of Black Feminism**

The four core themes of Black feminism are (1) the legacy of struggle against racism, sexism and social class exploitation, (2) the search for voice or the refusal of Black women to be silenced, (3) the interdependence of thought and action, the impossibility of separating intellectual inquiry from political action, and (4) the empowerment in the context of everyday lives.

**Legacy of Struggle.** The challenges and struggles that African American women face in life are unique and Collins (1990) suggests that African American women as a group experience a world different from that of those who are not Black and female. She further asserts that these experiences stimulate a Black feminist consciousness. Inherently, African American women experience the double burden of racism and sexism in America
and the battle to overcome the stereotypes and the oppression resulting from this double burden is a constant struggle.

**The Search for Voice.** The thoughts, ideas, experiences and opinions of Black women have been historically silenced by researchers in higher education that unknowingly used norms established for White males to study minority groups. This approach, as Johnsrud (1998) noted, negated the realities and experiences of the minority group being studied by treating minorities as a monolithic group. Black women responded to this misrepresentation in the research by establishing research agendas that gave them a voice. Critical of the Civil Rights Movement focusing on Black male issues and the Feminist Movement that focused primarily on middle-class white women’s issues, Black feminism provided an avenue for Black women to express their thoughts, ideas and opinions without censorship.

**Interdependence of Thought and Action.** African American women, advocates for economic, political and social change, are service workers, spending huge amounts of time in the community promoting what according to Collins (1990) is a humanistic vision of community. A battle won against racism and sexism for African American women is viewed a battle won for all African Americans.

**Empowerment in the Context of Everyday Lives.** For African American women, empowerment is deeply rooted in the connection to the family, church and community. Empowerment is the spiritual, economic, physical, and emotional strength in the family and community.
Implications of Black Feminism as a Theoretical Framework

Black feminism as a theoretical framework has several implications:

(1) Studies using Black feminism as the theoretical framework are generally not published in mainstream journals; therefore, readership is limited. A less traditional framework used by Black feminist scholars to give meaning to the realities and perspectives of an oppressed group, it forces readers to think “outside the box”, to view issues of race and gender from a Black feminist perspective.

(2) It bridges the gap between other social theories such as symbolic interactionism and postmodernism by merging a perspective on both race and gender and by providing an avenue to investigate the lives of African American women free of the values and norms applied to white males.

Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research procedures were utilized to gather information in the study. Through the use of oral histories, I sought to identify the complexities of being Black and female in a predominantly white environment especially while in the promotion and tenure process. A Black feminist consciousness is a state of being aware of the nuances of race and gender in any environment. Even though the purpose of the study was to explore and document the experiences of African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process, participants found themselves describing and discussing their day-to-day experiences as well. Qualitative research was most appropriate for this study because it is descriptive, describing the data in words as opposed to numbers, thus allowing the patterns and themes to emerge from the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).
Qualitative researchers understand that experiences are transformed by the significance the participants give to their lived experiences and they are concerned about reporting the data as accurately as possible.

**Oral History Research Design**

Oral history, growing in popularity in higher education, is defined in many ways. Gluck and Patai (1991), Anderson and Jack (1991), Etter-Lewis (1993), Bogdan and Biklen, (1998), and Marshall and Rossman (1999) all offer definitions of oral history. Gluck and Patai define oral history as “a way of recovering the voices of suppressed groups” (p. 9). Anderson and Jack state, “an oral history interview provides an invaluable means of gathering new insights about women’s experiences of themselves in their worlds” (p. 11). However, after careful consideration, I chose to use Etter-Lewis’ definition of oral history to guide my work. Etter-Lewis defines oral history as “a dynamic interactive methodology that preserves an individual’s own words and perspectives in a particularly authentic way” (p. xii). She states, “oral narrative offers a unique and provocative means of gathering information central to understanding women’s lives and viewpoints. When applied to women of color, it assumes added significance as a powerful instrument for the rediscovery of womanhood so often overlooked and/or neglected in history and literature alike”(p. 12). Critiquing Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History, Etter-Lewis (1993) identifies problems with the monolithic view of women’s narratives.

As noted in the Introduction, African American women have a rich history in education but have been ignored and silenced in the research literature. My study sought to give voice through the use of oral histories/narratives to an otherwise oppressed group,
African American female professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities.

The focus of the research was to understand how African American female professors experienced promotion and tenure and oral history allowed me to capture the participants’ stories. Oral histories seemed most appropriate because they are helpful in defining socialization and in studying aspects of certain professions. As Lerner states, “oral histories provide a “means of enfranchising and empowering people whose lives have previously been shaped by ‘colonized history’ written from the standpoint of others (p. 10). Marshall and Rossman (1999) state, “one strength of oral history is that because it pictures a substantial portion of a person’s life, the reader enters into the same experiences” (p. 121).

**Implication of Oral History Research Design**

Oral history preserves the voice of the participant, providing for rich stories which would be lost in a research design that did not promote first-person narratives. To truly understand the experiences of African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process, the women were allowed to tell their stories and reveal their experiences without the imposition of couched questions formulated by the researcher. The stories were edited for clarity only, thus further preserving the voices of the participants.

Although oral history is best suited for this study, it has its shortcomings. One of the criticisms of oral history is that it depends heavily on personal recall and focuses on the individual instead of the social context Marshall & Rossman (1998, p. 123). Another disadvantage is that is difficult to generalize the findings because the stories are personal experiences. Although oral history is not preferred by all researchers, I chose it as the
research design because stories are told in the first-person thus preserving the voice of the storyteller. Preserving the voice of the storyteller is important in qualitative research because it provides more detailed descriptions of experiences as opposed to the usual method of answering questions in interviews.

**Black Feminism and Oral History**

The rationale for joining Black feminism as a theoretical framework and oral history as a research design is to offer a new paradigm in analyzing the experiences of African American females and other members of oppressed groups. Too often, women and minorities have been studied and analyzed using theoretical frameworks and research designs used to analyze white males. This practice in research design and analysis has historically negated the experiences of African American and other minority women.

This research, along with exploring and documenting success in the promotion and tenure process, can also provide insight to the effective recruitment and retention of African American female professors by providing a first-person discussion by the participants themselves. Specifically, articulation of Black women’s experiences in higher education is a complex task characterized by the intersection of race, gender and social class with language, history and culture. Oral narrative is ideally suited to revealing the multi-layered texture of Black women’s lives because it allows for the preservation of an individuals own words and perspectives (Etter-Lewis 1993 p. 43). Marshall and Rossman (1998) believe that “narrative analysis seeks to describe the meaning of experience for individuals who are socially marginalized or oppressed as they construct stories about their lives” (p. 5).
• Confidentiality

Confidentiality is the process of maintaining participant anonymity in a research study so as the researcher; it is my responsibility to protect the privacy of women. Protecting the anonymity of the women was most important due to potential risks involved if they were identified. They agreed to participate with the understanding that what they revealed would be confidential so this agreement was honored. To ensure that their identity was protected, I used numbers instead of names on the interview tapes. Because there were only eight participants, I faced the challenge of reporting the findings in an interesting way while at the same time protecting their anonymity. It became difficult to report the findings and maintain confidentiality. For example, in all cases except one, the participants were the only African American faculty members in their department so for this reason, the departments and disciplines where the women worked were changed. Further, the data in the settings was reported generally as a measure to further maintain their anonymity. Information on the universities studied was described collectively as yet another attempt to protect the women’s anonymity. It was determined that by providing too detailed of a description of the universities the participants could potentially be identified.

• Trustworthiness

Member checking, “the process of having participants review the research report for accuracy and completeness,” was used to avoid misrepresentation of the data as well as to give the women an opportunity to review the interpretations (Leedy, 1997, p. 169). Each participant was electronically mailed a copy of her interview transcript and the interpretation of the findings to check for accuracy. Member checking afforded the
women an opportunity to check the data for accuracy, giving them a chance to review and respond to any discrepancies. This approach contributed heavily to the richness of the data collected in the study because in some cases after participants read the transcripts and findings, they wanted to elaborate further on a particular comment or to make corrections. This process enhanced the trustworthiness and credibility of the study.

**Method**

**The Universities**

The universities selected for the study were all public, land grant, predominantly white, classified as Research I and served as main campuses of their university systems. African American female professors were underrepresented at the associate and full professor rank. At University A, there were 5 African American associate professors, one African American full professor. At University B, there were 7 African American female associate professors. University C, with a faculty of 1,500, had only 3 African American female associate professors, no full professors and University D had 7 African American female associate professors, no full professors. The student enrollment at the universities ranged from 25,000 to 50,000. Female professors ranged in numbers from a high of near 700 to a low of 250.

**Sample**

The sample consisted of 8 African American female tenured professors from various disciplines at predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. Participation in the study was voluntary.
**Sampling Techniques and Identification Methods**

The sampling technique utilized in this study was purposeful criterion sampling. As opposed to purposeful random sampling, purposeful criterion sampling provides information-rich cases because the participants are chosen because they were knowledgeable and informative about the promotion and tenure process (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). The selection criteria for participants was tenured, African American female associate and full professors at select predominantly white, Research I institutions in the South. To maintain anonymity, the universities are labeled University A, B, C and D. Participants at University A were identified by contacting the Office of Institutional Studies via e-mail.

**Table III.1**  
**Participant Snapshot**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Years of Service</th>
<th>Year Tenured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linda</td>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brenda</td>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connie</td>
<td>Arts and Humanities</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwen</td>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diane</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paula</td>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Demographic Surveys

A staff member in the department responded via e-mail with the requested list.

Participants at University B were identified by contacting the Director of the Equal
Employment Office. The Director provided information needed to make a formal request through the Vice President for Business Affairs Office. A letter was written to the Vice President for Business Affairs requesting a list of full-time, tenured, African American associate and full professors. The Associate Vice President for Business Affairs responded with the list by mail. Participants at University C were identified by requesting a list of African American female professors from the university’s Human Resource department. Participants at University D were identified by contacting the Office of Diversity Resources. The list of African American female professors was forwarded by mail.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection process for this study involved 1) acquiring lists of potential participants from the respective universities and mailing a request for participation to prospective participants, 2) obtaining a curriculum vita and a completed biographical profile (Appendix C) from each participant, 3) obtaining a copy of each university’s promotion and tenure policy, 4) obtaining a copy of each university’s affirmative action plan and 5) conducting in-depth interviews.

Preliminary Data Collection Procedures

Preliminary data collection procedures involved the mailing of a packet containing a request for participation (Appendix A), and a biographical profile (Appendix C) for potential participants to complete along with a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Before scheduling interviews, approval from the Human Subjects Committee was necessary for the informed consent form (Appendix B), the biographical profile (Appendix C), and the interview guide (Appendix D). Written,
informed consent forms were obtained from each participant prior to the interview. Interview numbers were assigned to the participants and on the interview tapes to ensure the complete confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

A trial or pilot interview was conducted to identify potential problems in the questioning and to estimate the length of the interviews. This trial interview provided an opportunity to make necessary adjustments in format and questioning beforehand to reduce the need for follow-up interviews.

After participant selection, I contacted each participant via telephone at the universities to schedule a “get-acquainted” meeting and to set up interview dates and times. A $25.00 Barnes and Noble gift certificate was presented to participants at the completion of the interviews as a token of appreciation for their time.

Data Collection

Curriculum Vitas/Biographical Profiles. The initial data collection procedure involved a request for a curriculum vita and the completion of a biographical profile. The curriculum vita provided background data on participants and the biographical profile was designed to collect demographic data and to facilitate in the selection process. The vitas and the profiles also aided in developing participant profiles/biographies in Chapter Four. I attempted but was unable to obtain pre-tenure vitas to examine the qualifications and background of the participants before tenure. All of the vitas I received for the study were recent copies.

Interviews. In-depth interviews were the major data collection procedure. Marshall and Rossman (1998) write, “when in-depth interviews are the major data collection procedure, the theoretical framework should demonstrate that the purpose of the study is
to uncover and describe the participants’ perspectives on events, and that the subjective view is what matters” (p. 110). The data collection process also involved the recording of field notes and the use of a reflective journal to record observations and thoughts about the interviews.

Similar to Aisenberg and Harrington (1988), I used an interview guide for questioning. (See Appendix D). Rather than using a predetermined set of questions, an interview guide was developed with potential topics of discussion. The advantage of the interview guide approach is that it allowed the interviews to flow naturally with the participant guiding the discussion. The interviews were more of a conversational nature as opposed to a question and answer session, to give participants the opportunity to express themselves freely without feeling they had to provide a rehearsed answer.

Interviews began on November 15th, 1999, and continued throughout Fall 1999, and Spring and Summer 2000 semesters. I interviewed five of the participants in person in their campus offices and, due to financial constraints, the remaining three were interviewed via telephone at a date and time determined by the participant. The interviews were tape-recorded and lasted from 1 1/2 to 2 hours. Interviews solicited participants’ experiences as African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process at select, predominantly white, public, land-grant, Research I institutions in the South.

Data Analysis

Prior to data analysis, several precautions were taken to protect the original data. After each interview, copies were made of the original tapes and transcription was conducted from copies. As stated earlier, the data was analyzed through a Black feminist
lens using the four core themes of Black feminism. Data analysis involved reading and
re-reading the transcripts thoroughly checking for themes and patterns. Through this
analysis, I was able to document and interpret the impact of race and gender on the
participants in the promotion and tenure process. To facilitate the data analysis process, I
again used the approach of Aisenberg and Harrington. I made notes in the margins and
categorized the data under one of the four core themes of Black feminism and then read
through the transcripts again. The quotations were then color-coded based on the four
core themes of Black feminism. Once all transcripts were color-coded, I cut them and
categorized them based on the color under the appropriate theme. Along with the
transcriptions, I utilized other documentation for analysis, such as the curriculum vita, the
biographical profile, information from the participating universities’ fact books that
included faculty demographic information as well as their institutions’ promotion and
tenure and affirmative action policies.

The analysis provided an opportunity to explore the struggles of African
American female professors in the promotion and tenure process as identified in the
literature review such as alienation, isolation, and the anxiety experienced due to the
subjectivity and vagueness of the criteria. The search for voice was best demonstrated by
the complexities involved in conducting research that is valued and recognized by
colleagues. The interdependence of thought and action was represented by how the
participants all decided to negotiate the promotion and tenure process as well as deal with
the day-to-day experiences in their respective environments. The sources of
empowerment and the coping strategies they adopted are evident by their faith and
spirituality. The analysis also provided a voice for a group that previous studies by
Aisenberg and Harrington, (1988) and Glazer-Raymo (1999) virtually ignored. In interpreting the data, the experiences of the participants, as told in their own words, were woven within the contexts of the four core themes of Black feminism.

The quotations were edited for clarity and to protect the identity of the participants. Some of the identities, locations and events were changed slightly and in some cases, I did not report the data to protect the anonymity of the participants. The ability to protect the anonymity of the participants is one of the problems with qualitative research involving small samples. Seven of the eight participants in the study were the only African Americans in their departments, so academic discipline was disguised to protect anonymity.

**Interviewer/Participant Relationship**

According to Patton (1990), “to increase the credibility of the researcher, information on the researcher must be included in the report such as what experience, training and perspective the researcher brings to the field” (p. 472). I shared a number of sociological characteristics with the participants. We were all African American women born in the South. Though younger than the majority, I could relate to the struggles they experienced. Most of them were undergraduates of historically black universities, a factor we had in common. The years of higher education experience among participants were comparable; yet, there were some notable differences as well. One difference was that my work experience had been primarily at a historically Black institution, and second, I was not a member of the faculty. Nevertheless, the participants were very responsive, willing to cooperate in any way possible and were very excited about the relevance of the research.
Participants’ perspectives influence researchers and, consequently, there are ethical issues that arise when researcher and participants are members of the same cultural community. The shared identity between researcher and participant had a positive effect on establishing rapport as well as demonstrating that even with this shared identity there are characteristics that make the researcher an insider as well as an outsider. Having said this, there is no evidence that research conducted by “natives” or insiders is any more objective or less biased than that conducted by outsiders. According to Foster (1996), “it is still the rule to distort the realities of ethnic minorities from all groups to fit the requirements of a caste society” (p. 9).

Bogdan and Biklen (1998) discuss how some researchers are so concerned with eliminating their personal biases that it immobilizes them. They advise researchers to acknowledge that no matter how hard they try to divorce their research and writing from past experiences, who they are and what they believe and value, it is impossible to do so. Instead, they suggest becoming more reflective of how the research can shape and enrich what you do as the researcher. They further advise that it is fine to shape the study but be open-minded to be shaped by the research and to be informed by the data. Having said that, I must admit that I had been biased by reading previous literature on faculty of color. To counteract this bias, I decided however, to let the data speak for itself in the most accurate way. I interpreted the data with an open mind limiting the misrepresentation of the actual spoken word. In doing so, I was able to preserve the ideas, thoughts, and perspectives of the participants which were most important in the study.
Chapter IV

The Stories

The purpose of the study was to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities in the South.

The stories in this chapter represent the real-world experiences and reflections of the participants on the promotion and tenure process. Obtained through oral histories, the stories are disturbingly consistent with the findings from studies conducted by other scholars involving African American female faculty members such as those reviewed in the literature. For instance, the women interviewed in this study reported their experiences on predominantly white campuses to be isolating, lacking a sense of collegiality. Most of them were the only African American female in their departments. These findings, in the year 2003, indicate that the experiences of minority faculty at predominantly white institutions remain problematic.

As bell hooks (1981) notes,

Even though racism is not named, it is still experienced by Black faculty, particularly in settings that purport to be free of prejudice and discrimination. hooks says, while it is true that the nature of racist oppression and exploitation has changed as slavery has ended and the apartheid structure of Jim Crow has legally changed, White supremacy continues to shape perspectives on reality and to inform the social status of Black people and all people of color. Nowhere is this more evident than in university settings. And often it is the liberal folks in those settings who are unwilling to acknowledge this truth (p. 114).

In spite of the challenges faced, the women in this study revealed the major factors in their promotion and tenure success, some of which are quite different from previous research. Similar to Aisenberg and Harrington (1988), I did not know at the beginning what the individual experiences of each woman would be; therefore, I did not use pre-set
questions. I identified general areas that I wanted to cover, letting the participants’
responses determine the order of subjects, the time spent on each, and the introduction of
additional issues. Some of the areas covered were participants’ graduate experiences,
personal experiences in the promotion and tenure process, opinions on various aspects of
tenure, campus climate and relationship with colleagues, long range goals, coping
strategies, and the major factors in their promotion and tenure success. The difficulty I
experienced in 1999 in identifying prospective participants for this study made me realize
why Aisenberg and Harrington did not include minority women in their study in 1988.
Today, in the year 2003, the number of tenured, African American female professors, is
still extremely low. This observation highlights the issue of underrepresentation of
African American female professors in academe.

Participant Biographies

**Gwen, Linda, Paula, Connie, Angel, Janice, Diane, and Brenda**

The participants were requested to submit curriculum vitae and complete
demographic surveys to provide background data as well as to facilitate the interviews
and provide a better understanding of their personal and professional experiences. In
reviewing the vitae and surveys, patterns and themes began to emerge that are worth
noting. Four of the participants, specifically those born in the 40s, received Bachelor’s
degrees from historically Black institutions and the other four participants received
Bachelor’s degrees in the early 70’s from predominately White institutions, all in the
South. This is significant because during that period, segregation in higher education still
existed to a large degree in the Southern states. All of the participants had parents who
were born in the South and four had mothers who never finished high school. Seven of
the eight participants were the only African American faculty member and the only African American female professor in her department. Interestingly, all participants were awarded tenure in the 90’s, a sign of changing times. However, only three of the eight participants had mentors. This represents a continued struggle without collegial support.

Summarizing the characteristics of the participants, all of them were born and educated at the undergraduate level in the South. The average age of the participants was 52.5 years. Collectively, they had a total of 130.5 years of higher education experience with an average of 16.3 years of experience. Only two of the eight participants held full professor rank as well as administrative level positions. Seven of the eight were employed in various traditional female-dominated disciplines with only one employed in a male-dominated discipline of engineering. Six of the eight were married and 3 of the eight had no children. Only one had a spouse in higher education. The educational level of the parents varied and proved insignificant in participants’ decisions to pursue the terminal degree. Only two of the participants had mentors; one was from her doctorate experience, and the other as a junior faculty member. The women in this study persevered and subsequently were awarded tenure; however, they are the exceptions to the rule.

The Stories

Gwen

Find a mentor, even if you have to go outside of your unit, so that you know that there’s somebody there you can talk to, that you can rely on, to sort of help you, someone you can bounce ideas off of. Find a mentor, be a member, a whole-hearted, red-blooded member of your professional organization. Because these people can help you.

Associate Professor- Social Science; Born 1946; B. S., M. S., Ph. D., 1991; Tenured 1999
A non-traditional student receiving her Bachelor’s and Master’s degree after her children were grown, Gwen was born in Louisiana as were both her parents. She is the proud mother of six and grandmother of nine. She has received numerous awards and serves on many college-level, university-level, national and international committees. She has conducted research in Africa and has published three articles in peer-refereed national journals, nine articles in peer-refereed national proceedings and twenty-four articles in other conference proceedings. She has also developed five courses for Correspondence Study, one via the Internet and training courses for major corporations. She is the curriculum coordinator for her department. She has received grants and contracts totaling over $1,000,000 dollars.

I interviewed Gwen in November of 1999 in her office at University C. She was very receptive to discussing her experience in the promotion and tenure process and stated that she thought my research was important. The bookshelves in Gwen’s office contained interesting titles and pictures of her children and grandchildren. The window in her office faced the street so she had a view of outside activity. Gwen was the first participant that I interviewed.

This Is Gwen’s Story

My hardest obstacle was getting out of my unit. I actually got promotion and tenure this past July but I put my papers up a year earlier. My director advised me halfway through one of the meetings that it wasn’t looking good, so I withdrew my papers. The next year, I submitted my papers based on some suggestions and comments from the previous year and I had to come up with every piece of paper on every conference I had attended, every article I had written, everybody I had ever made contact
with on many service projects. I thought that was real rough. I came up with a professional portfolio and listed almost day-by-day my activities of all the years I’ve been here at University C. Even with all that, my faculty voted 3 to 4, three against and four for. Now, once it got out of my department and into the college, it basically flew through. I don’t think it was a question of my merit, I think it was more of a personality thing. You know, to this date, no one other than my director has said congratulations, but I guess that’s just the way it is. I’m being sarcastic.

I think race and gender played a big role in the process. In my college, I believe I am the only African American and I don’t think that rubbed well for some people. Also, I am not one of the quiet types to sit in the background and just let things happen. When I came to University C, I had 25 years of experience in business and industry, so my attitude has always been, I came to University C for the job and I’ll leave it with a job. I’m not one of these typical 30 year olds because I really didn’t care if I ever got tenure, I really didn’t. But it hurt when people that you work with don’t value your work. I quickly got over it though.

Family was the easiest part. I’ve got 6 kids and 9 grandkids. And that was the easiest part because they all were cooperative and they worked with me. You have to balance that. The hardest part of my experience at work was being a minority; I ended up on every committee in the world because they wanted representation. I’m 53 years old so they get the age thing, I’m female, they get the gender thing, plus African American, they get the race thing. So every time there’s a committee especially anything about diversity, I guess I’m the expert on all cultures. I’m also involved heavily in community development. That’s one reason why I wanted to be in this department because I thought
this was where it would be. But people are not…they’re really research-oriented which is
not bad but it’s research without application and I have a problem with that. If you are
going to do all of these studies about issues, that are real issues, and someone wants to
actually implement these things and they say no, that’s not our role. I’m really interested
in working with at-risk populations, youth who are in trouble.

I’m very satisfied with my director; he’s not part of that gang I told you about.
He’s very supportive and I think had it not been for his intervention sometimes, I
wouldn’t have made it. Then the students, they sense that I’m about to leave; they are
always calling and coming to the office, begging me not to leave. It’s not just African
American students; it’s all the students. I guess that’s the mother in me too. Everything
I do is for the students. I’ve been married 36 years; my children are grown, so I can make
noise. And I realize that a lot of people can’t. But I think that has been a load off me
because to me it’s just a game and that’s a shame, it shouldn’t be like that. You’re
looking at a number, how many publications have you done, they’re looking and saying
we don’t recognize the places where you published, heck no, I’m not publishing in your
friend's journal. I’ve been in my office working with people writing a journal article and
they’ll call somebody and say oh, I’m about to send you this article. To me that’s not
refereed, but because the journal is refereed they felt as though they’ve got this big time
article. But you called your friend and told them OK, put it in there. But if I send mine
in blind, they don’t know me from Sam and it’s accepted, these are the things that nobody
looks at. I try to go to international conferences and other conferences where I can make
a difference. I mean where there’s standing room only, people are jotting notes, calling
you back later…let’s work on joint projects and things like that. I just recently received
two grants, one for $550,000 and $548,000. I mentioned that in one of the faculty meetings. You know not one person said congratulations, that’s sad. But when they give people $10,000 for their department, they say yeah, yeah, and then their names end up in the school newspaper. Give me a break. So, I’ve learned that this is not where I get my support. Since I’ve gotten tenure, it’s almost like oh, ok, let’s see if she can walk on water. It’s absolutely fake. Now that I’ve got tenure, I don’t want to play the game anymore. Let me make some rules now. You don’t want to follow my rules, then fine.

There is no opportunity for collaborative research here, basically none. Most of the collaborations that I’ve been able to do have not been with people within my unit, it’s been with people outside my unit. I guess I look at my grandmother, if you’re not a prophet in your hometown, you’ve got to go. And that’s one way of looking at it. I’ve tried to approach some people but they’re just not interested. One of the things that we were looking at was a humanity program that looks at giving people certificates for volunteer work, volunteerism is a big thing. And we were both so excited about it but the faculty didn’t buy in on it, but I’ve been approached by other units on campus that’s looking at the same thing and I’m going yeah. I mentioned it yesterday at the meeting at this particular conference and they were talking about PLA (power learning assessment). And with the changing demographics of our higher education population, people are coming back to the university. These are non-traditional students and they all have years of experience so there should be some type of assessment where you can say OK. Let me look at what you’ve done and give you college credit for it. They are doing it across the nation.
I think tenure should be abolished. I don’t know, I think there’s something you need to put in its place maybe a more thorough [evaluation system], even though you go through those evaluations annually, they’re a joke. They’re a joke. I don’t mind being evaluated. A lot of people get scared when it comes time to evaluate your teacher. I don’t care; anybody can come and sit in my class anytime to see what I’m doing. And I fear and I feel that people who are afraid to be evaluated are afraid of themselves; they’re not doing their job. So, I think if they do a real annual evaluation of people and have some real outcomes, this is what’s going to happen if you don’t meet these goals. Have something to say more than the evaluation just being put in the file. I think that’s more effective than tenure.

I was getting ready to prepare my paperwork for tenure and they told me there’s a tenure policy or whatever. And I got no sort of mentoring, no sort of formula of what to do. What happened, when I filled out mine, I went by the policy and the one I had was brand new. There was a brand new one this past year. And the one that they were used to looking at was the old one. That was why they said they couldn’t do the first one because my paperwork was not in order. But it was in order for the new one, they weren’t used to that. They haven’t even looked at it. But I think people need, I’m not going to say a mentor in doing tenure, but you need some type of guidance from those that have been there before. I know when I have a student about to go up for their Ph. D. general, we sit down and we talk about it because the students are afraid. I tell them what to expect. It’s the same way with an assistant professor, what is expected, what are they looking for in this paperwork. You know, tell me what to expect then I’ll know what to do. When you first start the job, what things should you keep up with. I was not told any
of that. It was a good thing I have what I call my trash can power system. I take things home and tell my husband here’s a letter I got from so and so thanking me and he’d put it up. I didn’t think about it because to me okay you look around my office and my diploma is not here. People say where is your diploma. I say they, they know I have a diploma here or they wouldn’t have hired me. The diploma is at my house because that’s my support system. All of my little awards and things are at home. I get plaques and things like that too, but it’s at home.

When I first started working on my graduate degree, I had three children in college and I found that it was hard on them because they felt as though they had to keep up with me. And I think once we got past that because I was feeling guilty, everything was ok. I’ve always been a goal setter. I finished my Master’s in May of one year and my Ph. D. December of the next year. But I had a goal and that was my goal. I sat down with my family and I said these are the things that I want to do and this is what it is going to take. I would come to work before daybreak and I’d leave at 2:00 in the morning, I was there all day. A lot of things happen. God gets busy and the Devil gets busy at the same time. My son got this little girl pregnant and she didn’t want the baby, so I ended up with the baby. The child is 14 years old now. But I ended up with a baby and I said once I’ve set my goals, that’s it. My children always tell me, so Mama’s knocking the woods down and I’m not going to follow behind her, I’m going to run alongside so I can knock some down too, not realizing that Mama may be knocking down the woods and you don’t have to follow. But they are leaders too, but that was hard work. But once we passed that and I made out a schedule, my family knows these are the things that I’m going to be doing.
My husband never finished college and for some people they won’t admit that. I find that with most African American women, that is the case. My husband is not (inaudible), but he makes more money than I do. And he’s talked about the desire to go back and he started but you know during the 60s, lots of things were going on, he was in the military and all this, so when we started raising a family and having kids, he just never took time. He made the sacrifice and so…but that has never been anything that bothered me. It bothered him at first. And every once on a while, we’ll get a card and it’ll have Mr. Stanley and Dr. Gwen. I keep him informed on what I’m doing. I bounce ideas off of him. I even lecture for him and he’ll go yeah but you should talk about this and have you thought about that. And I think by keeping him in the loop and involved in knowing what I’m doing has helped. I value his opinion. But that’s something you have to constantly have to work at. Because there are sometimes, I don’t know if your parents finished high school, college or whatever, but mine didn’t. And I think by being kept like OK, you may be Dr. … but you’re nobody to judge me. You know, Mama will bring you back. When you’ve got that connection of a dominant culture you don’t understand that. I don’t care how high we go, there’s always somebody that’s going to remind you of who you are. From whence you come. And I think that has made my family strong. Because if you get all of us in the family together, you’ve got everything from janitors and maids to doctors and lawyers. You can let your hair down. And we actually talk about that. Actually what we started and I say we in this department and I’m so thankful is that the graduate students are older because we’ve started what we call a woman’s chat, we just get together. It’s nothing but graduate students and me because they are the only ones that really share. You don’t have anybody you can just be with, sound off.
My everyday experiences with my colleagues, uh, there are good days and bad days. Overall, I would say it’s been more than I expected, there are no surprises. But you see I got out of high school in 1961 so I lived through the Civil Rights Movement. You know, there are no surprises.

If they are going to keep tenure in place, I would change it to where it would be some type of seminar on tenure. These are the things…like a new professor coming into the department and it should be something university-wide. You are a new faculty member, these are the activities that we expect you to have, experiences you have, these are the types of documents you should keep, develop some type of portfolio. The criteria is not clear. You don’t know…they give you a formal reason for why I interpret this and the way somebody else interprets it could be different. And then what are the people who are going to be evaluating me looking at, because I have to go through my box and send off student comments. These are good things. Students make comments and pull out what the students said this. I really had no idea how to prepare one and that sounds foolish. We don’t know everything. How do you prepare these documents? What are they looking for?

I was going to say faculty development but I think that if you’re going to make it faculty development, it should be mandated. There lot’s of faculty development going on this campus and I really get disturbed when people say University C is not supportive of its faculty. University C is, but nothing is mandated. You get notices about things going on and nobody goes. It’s almost like preaching to the choir.

My level of job satisfaction, I would say it’s excellent because I’m given the freedom, like I said I guess because of my director. I’m not hounded, I’m pretty satisfied.
As far as the university is concerned, I have no complaints. They have really supported me. Once I get outside of the house, I have full support. I can call my associate dean, my dean and people in other academic units and we work really well together.

The role of the church, huh, well, I’m Catholic so that may answer some of that. Not really any, really none. There are some other people that I’m associated with, not in my department but who work on campus and I go to the same masses that they do and it’s more of the church environment but when we meet at other times, we may mention something about it. But as far as having a real powerful influence, it has been none.

I cope by simply cutting it off. I get to the point where I can talk to myself and I do a lot of self-talk. I guess the old saying, this too shall pass. And I guess its almost like healing yourself. Heal, heal yourself. I’ve developed a thing where I can look at me and appreciate who I am. I don’t want to sound cliché, but it’s like water falling off a ducks back. I am pleased with me and I’m at that stage in my life where I feel as though I’m never going to be a perfect teacher. But I like and love me just the same. I am human, I make mistakes and that’s just the way it is.

My mother has no idea what I do. Because with teaching as far as what they know is like high school. She says what do you do all day and night. They don’t understand. You talk about research and other things we do like advising, they don’t understand that concept.

I’ll probably retire at 59 ½ because that’s when…since I control my funds, I don’t have to put in when I’m 65 or whatever so many years or 59 ½ the government releases your funds and you don’t pay a penalty. So, that’s what I’m looking at.
Linda

Going through the process was not painful, it was not stressful because I really had a good mentor that guided me through the whole process. When it was announced that the final signature was signed… you know it was anti-climatic.

Associate Professor- Social Science; Born, 1947; B. S. 1973; M. S. 1976; Ed. D. 1982; Post-Doctoral Study, 1985; Tenured 1992

Linda and Gwen, both in Education had similar research interests. Linda, born in North Carolina, received her Bachelor’s degree from a historically Black university on the East coast in a social science discipline. Later, she received her Master’s in the same discipline from another historically Black university, and the Ph. D. in a similar discipline from a predominantly white, Research I university in the same area. She has 18 years of higher education experience with 16 ½ years at University B. Both of her parents, born in North Carolina, are college graduates. Her father holds a post-graduate degree. Linda is married with one child.

Linda was the second professor I interviewed. By this time, I was a more comfortable with the whole interview process. I drove to interview Linda in person in her campus office in December of 1999. Her office was well-organized with bookshelves containing books about teacher and industrial education. It was very cozy. I sat in one of two chairs divided by a small table, she sat at her desk. During the interview, she had jazz music playing softly in the background. She was very excited about the study. Linda is about 5’7” tall with a pleasing personality. She wore purple the day of the interview. You could see the university’s football stadium from her office window.

Linda is actively involved in her professional organizations and has received many awards. She has published articles, monographs, and reports and has received grants totaling over $500,000 dollars.
Linda was fortunate to have a mentor who was a White male whom she met through her professional organization. Providing guidance and support, he successfully recruited her to the university where she was awarded tenure and still works today.

**This Is Linda’s Story**

I’ve been here 14 years. So what I am experiencing now is a lot different than what I experienced when I first entered the university. So, I have sort of learned to take things in stride and put things in perspective and not worry about as many things as I used to worry about 14 years ago. The promotion and tenure experience is very isolating. The department and the college have gone through some transition and reorganization and we are still going through that. So, it's not a lot…I don’t have a lot in common with other staff around me, as you look up the halls, you don’t see the interaction with faculty, you see a lot of closed doors for one reason or another. You know, you come in here, do what you have to do and you leave. So, there’s not a lot of interaction with the faculty within this department, except when we get together for a staff meeting or occasional dinner and every now and then I might run into a couple of other black faculty in the department but it might be once every three or four months. Dr. L. and I are real good friends, but we might not see each other for three or four months within the college itself unless we’re working on a committee and we have to be there together. The black faculty in this college have gotten together to go on retreats and we have even done some collaborative research together and published a manuscript. We felt that we had a greater chance for publication if we would just form our own network, put our ideas together and generate publications; some of the faculty that we met were going through the tenure process so they were junior faculty and then some of us had already gone through the
process. It was a means of helping the junior faculty get published as well as helping ourselves.

You know, it’s just real isolating and sometimes lonely. I have a couple of projects from time to time that keep me busy and that allows me to interact with others, minority faculty in other places, but certainly not here. Day to day, I have evening classes so, I don’t really run into anybody. I have a good relationship with the students. When I came here 14 years ago, there might have been one or two African American students and now I think that I have classes with three or four and that’s a pretty good number.

When I first came to the university, I never thought about promotion and tenure and what it involved. I had some knowledge because I came from another land-grant institution. I never thought when I finished my doctorate that I would be a teacher at an educational institution. I always wanted to work with the State Department doing supervision and administration of programs. Anyway, I ended up here and had no idea what research was. They had a program that attracted me here and a colleague that I considered my mentor encouraged me to come, but like I said, I had no idea of what tenure was all about. So, slowly as I got here, you know, I became aware of the process. Between five and six years, you go up for tenure and promotion. You usually go up at the same time realizing that the main emphasis was on publishing, you had to be published. Also bringing in grant money was another big issue. So immediately, I guess, the people at that time that were mentors and role models in the department sort of steered me into activities and experiences that would allow me to do those things. I would say that the first seven years that I was here, I had a lot of support from the department
that enabled me to do the things that I needed to do. I did not have a lot of committee assignments and other duties that would have eroded my time for research. So, tenure and promotion was not a struggle for me. I know at one point, I was oblivious about it, if I got it, good, if I didn’t, I would go and do something else. However, something clicked and all of a sudden, I became determined to get it. It was like I had to prove something. I am going to get this. Then if I decided that I didn’t want to stay here, fine but it would be my decision to leave. After I went through the process, things began to change because everybody didn’t have the same experience and that was just me. Some people went through the process and didn’t get tenure and it was stressful. For me there was no problems…they now have a three-year review before tenure and in three years, the faculty and their assigned mentors get together to assess how the junior faculty person is doing. Well, they didn’t assign me a mentor and we didn’t have a three-year review. When it was time to go up, you put your dossier together and submitted it. I have seen some people come into this university and not get tenured and leave. It’s different within every department, it’s different within every college and the emphasis is different. For example in [another] department, that’s because I know black faculty there, the emphasis was on publishing and publishing books and this college, books are alright but it’s manuscripts and research that’s important and publishing in professional publications.

There were other people who had gone through the process that were willing to share their dossiers with me so I just modeled with the same documentation in putting it together, my mentor was helpful in identifying the people that wrote the letters of support because he was well known in the field. He was the department chair, so he recruited me here. I knew him before I came here; we had worked together in our professional
organization. So, he has been a mentor all along, even prior to getting here. He was very influential in my success.

Race and gender did not play a significant role because when I came here to this department…First of all, I am female, African American and in a non-traditional field. So there were African Americans. There were a handful of females in the profession that I would say at this level with doctorate degrees working in similar institutions. So when I came to this department, it was totally White males, all tenured and full professors and then there was me. I worked with all of them. All of them have retired now and I would love to have every one of them back as opposed to the people that I am surrounded by now. Some of them wanted to be the grandfather type and I am not that type so we had to establish that right away, you know. But they were helpful, they were all willing to share, I really didn’t…you know the mentor was great and I didn’t have any problems going through the process because I went through it within my department. Now we are a mixture, this department is a mixture of everything and they have thrown different areas together that weren’t in the traditional department that I came in with. This has had an effect on camaraderie.

I am working with females now, big difference. One on this side (pointing), one on this side and one down the hall. Even when I use to teach in the public schools, I was always with males because I was a shop teacher and you know where a shop was housed.

I came here to train industrial art teachers, so I always worked with males and it was odd, I never had a problem and it was fine. I never felt any overt gender discrimination but working in the professional sense you always have to fight and claw your way in but the I also came through during the period of time when we had to have
an African American, we had to have a female. Especially when working on projects and getting grant money, they look at those issues.

When I was recruited to the graduate program at [predominantly white, Research I university], I was recruited because I was active in the State Association so they knew who I was and they knew I was at that time one of the only females in [social science] in the state so they were willing to include me but then the professor at [predominantly white, Research I university] Virginia Tech got this multi-year, multi-million dollar grant that specifically dealt with gender equity, sex roles stereotyping within industrial arts and attracted more females into industrial arts and so they had to have some minorities on that project. So, they recruited me, killing two birds with one stone. Instead of being a traditional graduate student, I was made a lecturer which was a full-time position on this project making good money, going to school part-time, still taking a full load but I also worked full-time. With the project, I got to travel. I went to the professional meetings, everything, I really got involved. That’s when people recognized me. My mentor who was in Texas recognized me and kept in touch with me so when I graduated, I went to Panama and talked to the Department of Defense but kept in touch with my mentor. He advised me that they had a position open at University A. I had a very good mentor as my doctoral advisee at [predominantly white, Research I university]. My mentor recruited me and asked me to come to University A. So I have always had that network relationship within my professional associations, which I am really supportive of and would encourage anyone going through the process to get involved, go to those meetings, present, you just need to stay involved and keep those contacts, it helps. So gender was not significant. There are gender issues and things that are happening on the campus that
I am aware of that they are happening to other people. It hasn’t been a problem to me personally, though. One benefit of tenure is that you get to relax. (laugh). You get to pick and choose what you want to do. You set your own schedules, you determine what you want to teach, when you want to teach it, what you’re going to be involved in. When I first got here, non-tenured, and being a black female, I was asked to be on every committee…got to have one and we don’t have one so she needs to be on this committee, you end up on every committee in the world and you’re at their mercy because you don’t have tenure, you have to cooperate. I was on everything, had to go to everything and then you have students, then you have a few minority students and because you are black and female, you know you are going to be concerned about those other students that need role models and mentors too. So you spend a lot of time with them. I advise the undergraduate sorority, I participate in the student activities even though I’m not one of them but you have to do that. You are involved with a lot of things when you are junior faculty. When you get tenure, you get to pick and choose, you get to say no, prioritize yourself.

Post-tenure review was implemented three years ago. Every three years you have a review and they have some criteria within the college that says you have to publish so many articles within three years, and if you don’t pass that first review, you are put on probation. You still have ten years to get your act together before they actually put you into that deadwood role and it keeps you on your toes. After you have gone through one, the department head has to send something up to the Dean after he reviews your vita. We do that every year, that’s an evaluation and they count your publications to see how many you have published in the last five years or how much grant work you’ve done. This is
after tenure. It’s the same for promotion from associate to full professor. You’re not forced to go for full professorship that’s your choice, you go when you’re ready.

Research is important to me personally, and it depends on the kind of research. I have graduate students that I am really involved with their research. I have had a lot of projects and grants and they have been isolated research portions to grants. Theoretical research, I am not currently involved with any and that’s not important to me. I like the project development. I like to apply the research than do it. I have sponsored workshops and seminars at conferences dealing with diversity, gender equity, and so on.

I spend 50% of my time teaching and I usually average two classes per semester and one in the summer. It varies because if I have a project, sometimes you buy yourself out and I have had projects where I would spend 75% of my time on the project. Right now, I have one but I didn’t buy myself out but I spend a lot of time working with it and I have graduate assistants that work with the project. Buy out means that the project pays me a salary to work on that project or for spending time. I cut back time spent on committees. I cut back a lot.

I don’t know if I’d change anything in the process because I see it getting better and it’s a matter …if you are aware at the time you enter this university of what the process is and your roles and responsibilities within your department are clearly identified, if the department is hiring you basically to teach, then that needs to be identified up front. I don’t know if I would change the process but we need to make sure that junior faculty that are brought know that this is a Research I institution and know what the criteria is for promotion and tenure. And if you know that, I would say anybody who publishes ought to be able to make it through the process.
Originally, I came under the Department of [Social Sciences]. And there was a Department of [Social Sciences]. Part of [Social Sciences] went to another Department of [Social Sciences]. They combined the [Social Sciences] departments and we also had another Dean who had this focus on training and development in human resources. Then distance learning all of sudden came into the picture. So, they combined these departments and brought in the new training and development emphasis and a new distance learning emphasis. When they brought this in, they said what we are going to call this department so we came up with names. We had to put education in it because we didn’t have it, it would be [Social Science Department] and people would think we were the personnel office.

My major coping strategy was to know that I could go home and home was a place, was mine, a place that I enjoyed to get away from and I loved to work on crafts and I could just forget about work and school and class and manuscripts. I also found that I had to get involved, I had to start joining things, joining the sorority because I was going to [a city] and trying to be affiliated there. When I speak of isolating, there’s nobody…and I am not the kind of person that really talks and shares a lot. I’m doing a lot of talking now. But every now and then, a colleague and I would get together. We get together for our griping sessions. We’d have these retreats and that’s when we’d talk. There was nobody to talk to on a daily basis. I have somebody now, but at that time, it was just me …people’s interest weren't the same as yours and its hard to get someone to collaborate on something you want to do when you know the way they feel about research that focuses on minorities. It’s changed a lot, but when we first came here that was incredible research. That’s one reason I didn’t go to the Women’s Faculty Network
meetings, because White women’s issues aren’t the same as mine, even though we are all
women, what they are fighting about and discussing on these issues, doesn’t concern me,
you know I have bigger, more important things to be concerned about. I can’t wait to
read your dissertation.

In terms of the church, I’m going to be different, because I grew up Catholic. The
Catholic Church was different. There weren’t a lot of other Black women in the Catholic
Church so that was no source of strength for me when I came here. I tried a couple of
Catholic Churches but I wasn’t getting anything out of the service, people
were cold. There weren’t any other people there that looked like me and for a long time,
I just visited churches. Somebody would invite me and I would visit.

I’m pretty satisfied with my job but I'm ready to do something else now. I am a
little frustrated with the new organization because it’s a lot of uncertainties. But I also
think that I am ready to do something else but I can’t put my finger on it. Nothing here at
University A though.

One experience I’ll never forget, we had just opened a faculty club over in one
Thomas Hall and downstairs is the visiting center for the university and so I stopped by
the desk to ask one of the student workers exactly where the faculty club was. I said,
“Can you tell me where the Faculty Club is?” and they said, it’s on the 11th floor but it’s
for faculty and I said, “I didn’t ask you who it was for, I asked you where it was,” you
know. They looked at me and assumed…you’re not faculty, you don’t belong up there,
you know, that took some getting use to. It was that way for a long time, you always had
to prove yourself or introduce yourself and the questions that people ask you…It takes
some getting use to but you know I accepted it.
Paula

Of more than 700 full professors on this campus, I am the only African American full professor.

Full Professor and Administrator – Social Science; Born 1950; B. S. 1974; M. Ed. 1977; Ed. D. 1985; Tenured 1991.

Paula’s research interests focus on various areas of education. She received both a Bachelor’s and Master’s degree from a historically Black university in the South, and the Ph. D. from a predominantly white, Research I university in the Midwest.

She holds a professional license and a life certificate in two separate disciplines. She is a charter member of a National Association and holds membership in the American Education Research Association as well as other discipline and research related associations. In 1993, she received a very prestigious award from the university where she now works, and subsequently received other awards in 1994 and 1996. She has edited and reviewed journals and books, authored many refereed articles, book chapters and books and presented many papers at local, state and national meetings. She has received external funding in excess of $1,000,000 dollars. She has served as a chair and graduate advisor and has served as a part of the doctoral and master’s committees for more than 37 students.

Paula was the third professor I interviewed. Two weeks after interviewing Linda, I again drove to interview Paula in her campus office in December of 1999. She is also an administrator. It was a morning interview so the morning sun was shining through the window where I sat. Paula had pictures of her children and grandchildren displayed in her office. She has curly hair and is about 5’4” tall. During the interview, a group of
school children approached the office singing Christmas carols. We enjoyed the caroling and later returned to the interview.

**This Is Paula’s Story**

My name is Paula L. I was born in Daytona Beach, Florida on July 10th, 1950. I am married with 2 children and I have seven grandchildren. Both of my parents were born in South Carolina. Neither my mother or father finished college. I was educated at South Carolina State University, a historically Black institution in the state, where I received both a Bachelor’s and Master’s degree in Elementary Education. I later received a doctorate from the University of Missouri-Columbia. I have been working in higher education for 15 years.

I started here in 1984. When I came into the department in ’84, there was one other African American female who was on the tenure-track with me. She only stayed about three years and she left. When I came to the department I was ABD because I was looking for a job that would allow me to complete my dissertation and move into the ranks. I came in as a university supervisor, working with student teachers. This allowed me to do what I needed to do, finish writing my dissertation. At that time, I did not know all about the ins and outs of jobs and promotions and other information because I came from a public school environment. I got a degree in Education Administration which was my career goal at that time, to be a Principal or Superintendent. Although my Master’s is in Curriculum and Instruction, Elementary Education, that was not my focus of study. My husband was in Agriculture Education.

My experience as an African American female prior to my first teaching experience was in predominantly African American schools and I was surrounded by
many African American teachers, not knowing the impact of racism first-hand. However, going to work at this school in the Midwest, I went from being surrounded by African American teachers that embraced our community to being the second only African American teacher in public school so that was a cultural shock. The University of Missouri was similar to my teaching experience. This was the first time that I had experienced a majority of European teachers. I had only had one European teacher before that time. And so when I look back on that as a manifestation of racism, it was about perception. I was not naïve, I would say that my self-concept was such that my thoughts of what you thought of me did not matter. I knew I could teach and was prepared academically for what I had to do. So, coming here, I had already experienced overt racism and my personality would not allow me to tolerate [it]. When I look back, it was racism and it was people’s assumptions that they moved African Americans into higher education. Historically, many African Americans came into higher education from ethnic studies.

So, back in ’84 when I applied for the position, I went through the interview and they were impressed with my interviewing skills. If you’re going to an institution of higher education, then you do your homework very well, so I researched information about the department and became familiar with the writings of the professors. I didn’t have a concept of higher education so I’m going from public school where the dynamics is quite different. I had the support of my husband, who was also in higher education. We all got degrees together and there were several of us in the doctoral programs or in college, so going to school was a family affair. So, therefore, we did a lot of embracing
of each other by helping each other, consoling each other and just being there for each other.

My relationship with my colleagues was at best strained. One thing that I noticed is that I wondered where people went to lunch. I never got invited to lunch. So, I befriended four African American graduate students, and because of that, many people thought I was a student. Our offices were close together and they had prior experience of working in a higher education institution. We became friends and shared the ins and outs of higher education because I didn’t know. So for lunch, I would go to lunch with the students. They would share things with me from other professors or their previous experience. One was a copy editor on a journal and that’s how I found out about the publishing process. Again, I was oriented toward public schools.

Now getting back to the racism issue. So I finished the first year and you got the congratulations and that kind of thing and then I said I wanted to be moved up. I’ve got my degree and so I began to like higher education working with the student teachers. So, now that I’ve finished with the degree and they gave me a visiting assistant professor. However, under the status of visiting, you couldn’t chair committees. I found this out because I began to work with some graduate students and one young lady asked me to be on her committee. So again, this is how I found out, the information was not shared. You didn’t know, you stumbled into it. Incidents cause you to gather information and that was the time, you didn’t have a faculty handbook, you were visiting assistant, so therefore I said, I didn’t get my degree to be a visiting assistant. I wanted a tenure track position. Well, I didn’t know the nuisances of getting tenure, nobody just gives you a tenure-track position, you go through an interviewing process. The Dean and the
Department Head at the time did the paperwork that was necessary for my request. I was an advocate for putting things in writing. You know, you would tell me something, I would always follow-up with something in writing. This was not a learned behavior. That was, I think, a lot of who I was and establishing the paper trail. That request was given the next year so now I have a tenure track position, two years after being here. My first year was as lecturer and my second year was visiting assistant so that’s where my tenure clock began. At that time, I wasn’t conscious or aware of what tenure meant. However, my husband was on a tenure-track in his department so we would talk about the writing and the research, you know what you had to do.

Now getting into my research area, coming from a doctorate program in Elementary Education, Education Administration focusing on Elementary Supervision, I came to a program where I was the only person of African descent and many times the only female. So, I came to this program with gender issues but at the time, it didn’t occur to me that I was any different. But, there was significant treatment but again I was successful academically, I was an overachiever. When I began to analyze the situation, failing for me was not an option. Because all of my professors were White males, they didn’t seem to treat me significantly different as it related to grades. However, some of them wrote with their students, I never had the opportunity. I had no mentor. My husband and I became mentors to each other. But we had no mentor so there wasn’t a person that I could find out about, so spiritually we prayed a lot.

Some people call me the pioneer woman because there was no one out there for you to go back to and share, like you’re getting this information for your degree. It was not there. But I think I had a lot of things built into my personality that challenged a lot
of people. If I thought I was treated unfairly, I would challenge it and I’ve made history doing that. So, that was not something that I took very lightly. Going back to how I stumbled into my research. One professor said that teachers need to have more courses in multicultural education, would you like to teach one. She assumed by me being African descent, I knew about ethnicity and ethnic studies. She made that assumption. What I began to realize being from and looking back at my teaching experience in South Carolina which was predominantly Black to Missouri which was predominantly white, dealing with issues of racism, sexism, and classism. I began to see significant differences with the expectation of children. So I began to prepare for my discipline in my teaching, my personality of the issues that I wanted because I believe that all children could learn. In my class, very few children failed. Math education was one area that I pursued for research. A lot of my research agenda grew out of my colleagues who were graduate students coming up with what they wanted to do and through that dialogue we began the research. Another colleague asked me about running a program with her on the minority mentorship project, which was part of my first research agenda, the MMP. I also looked at the absence of teachers of color because those were the areas that I was interested in and besides I didn’t have another professor to model after. So, the avenue of institutionalized racism, where they leave you alone to do whatever you are going to do without any guidance. So, what I did was used it to an advantage, rather than say, come work with me, come do something with me, I did my work alone. I went to conferences by myself. Very often we’d go to the same conferences, if you saw them sometimes they would speak, and sometimes they didn’t. I got involved in the American Education Research Association (AERA). A few of the graduate students and I began to write
together and do things together, so when I went up for associate professor, I had maybe 15 or 16 publications and over 50 presentations because I looked at the criteria and I aligned my research with the criteria. If I decided to get on a committee, it would have to be of some advantage for me to become involved. If I were going to work with someone, it meant we published together. I didn’t believe in just doing a lot of busy work. My first three articles were accepted without any revisions. Good writers learn to be good writers because they write often. I loved the research. It didn’t matter to me that they didn’t consider it mainstream research. My point was that you don’t know enough about me to make that judgment. I’ve done well and I often tell people, you might hire me because I’m Black but I stay here because I’m good. That was a non-negotiable issue. My evaluation reflected high quality publishing. When I looked at the vitas of other professors who made those decisions about me, many of their publications records weren’t near as good as mine.

I allied with people around the country, they became my support base. I invested in telephone calls, we didn’t have computers or e-mail then, I invested in conferences and doing a lot of conferences and presentations, that’s how I started networking. So when it was time for me to send out for letters to people in the field, I knew all of the people who were in the field because we had either been at a conference together or I had edited some of their manuscripts or we had done some type of work together. I had visibility. I presented at all the national conferences. No one was doing much with diversity in teacher education and the mentorship project allowed me to do that.

I could not have done this without my family. Having a husband who understood what it was to do that. That’s very significant now. He didn’t have a mentor either. So
we worked together and figured it out along the way. We wrote together two or three times a year. We also had extended family. If I had to travel, someone was there with my children.

Spirituality played a significant role; my husband is bi-vocation. He is a professor and a minister, so my research covers all areas in my teachings, in my research and in my service. There are a lot of benefits to a tenured position. First of all, you have some sense of security within your job. Secondly, if you are in the Research I institution, you are expected to disseminate research and the research can help groups of people. And if you are in something that you like to do, you are allowed to study what you want to study. Then you will have a tool of redesigning, you do not have to accept what I say. That’s the value of knowledge. One down side is that there is no end to this. I don’t spend a lot of time on committees. I’ve learned in the earlier years that there are certain committees that I’m not going to work on because they’re not going anywhere. I look for action-oriented committees. I choose what committees to participate on, other than that I’ve learned to say no because it doesn’t help me to go and for you to listen to my ideas and for you to negate them. I don’t have time for that. The process of going from associate to full professor was stressful. I was very stressed because someone that I didn’t know had to present my information. He wasn’t a colleague here who I had worked with and who knew what I was doing. So, I felt very frustrated that what I had to do was to educate the colleague about what I did and I felt that should not have been the case. Also, the person who was going to present my information was a very controversial person so I could not take the risk of them negating who I was at the expense of getting revenge on someone else. So I ended up choosing someone else, two weeks before the
time. That person did very well even though they ended up being my department head who hired me, the one who had never taken a real interest in what I was as a professional. I had gone through four department heads. Secondly, the person that I thought was going to present my work wasn’t able to do that. Then, I had volumes of stuff that I had just cataloged so I got some people at church to help me.

If I could change one aspect of the tenure process, I would have that you have a genuine mentor who could alleviate the stress. Because you go through so much uncertainty. Everyone does not go through a lot of agony because they had a support system. But you have to have someone who is genuine and you can’t mandate genuiness.

**Connie**

For political reasons, get outside your department, know your Dean. Go to functions and shake hands with the Provost. Do some networking, make sure somebody knows you. And do get attached to your professional organizations because not only will that give you the resources you need for tenure but you will find like-minded people and projects get generated out of that.

Associate Professor – Arts and Humanities; Born 1958; B. A. 1980; M. A. 1983; Ph. D. 1991; Tenured 1997

Being in the College of [Arts and Humanities], Connie’s research interests are Social Science related. She is author of a book critiquing the works of a well-known African American novelist as well as refereed journal articles, and other publications. She is active in professional organizations and was the recipient of a prestigious postdoctoral fellowship.

Connie, born in North Carolina, received a Bachelor’s degree in [Arts and Humanities] and a Master’s degree in the same discipline, both from a predominantly white, Research I university on the East Coast. She later attended another predominantly white, Research I university where she received the Ph. D. in [Arts
and Humanities]. She was a visiting lecturer before coming to University C as an assistant professor. She is a member of various organizations and was awarded a prestigious postdoctoral fellowship at a university in Georgia from 1993-1994. She has 12 years experience at University C and 17 total years of experience in higher education. Connie’s vision is to go to a smaller, liberal arts college and continue to write and research.

Her parents, both born in North Carolina as well, hold Associate’s degrees. Connie is married with no children. According to Connie, her most rewarding accomplishment was getting tenure.

Connie was the fourth woman I interviewed. I interviewed her in her campus office one afternoon in February 2000. She was jovial. Her office was cozy yet gloomy because she did not have a window. We laughed and talked as though we’d know each other for years. During the interview, she sat at her desk and I sat comfortably in a lounge-type chair.

This Is Connie’s Story

My situation has been odd. I came into the department…I’m the only person of any color in the department. There was another Black women but she didn’t get tenure. The Chair has been very supportive, he helped me with tenure and I taught in the Honors College. I think what people don’t understand is you’re by yourself. I think that’s what they really don’t understand and it took me a long time to really come to grips with the truth of that. I came here in ’89, hadn’t finished my dissertation. Like I said, the department was very supportive about that but I don’t think they really know how to be supportive in the way that you need.
So, I finished and went on the tenure track and still kind of dissatisfied, I applied for a [prestigious grant] and got it with a post-doc. I went to [a university in Georgia] for a year and that’s when it really hit me that I was not around any other Black people or any minority people. I was around a senior person who wasn’t Black but he was the person who fostered people’s careers and knew how to place you. It really changed my life. It changed the direction of my scholarship; it changed my understanding of myself in a place like University C. It made me realize that my base of operation, my intellectual life, my friendships, the people I thought about, would always be elsewhere. And that realization has really helped me more than anything you know to deal with what it takes to be in a place like University C.

The people in my department really didn’t know what to do with me. I found my support in [another] College. There were senior people that knew how to get around in terms of publication and in terms of university structure itself. The Dean over there, B. F. he’d do things like, if there was a lunch, he’d make sure that I sat with the Chancellor. You know it was that kind of thing, which counts as much in the end as whatever you publish because they know your name when it goes across the desk. The Dean retired about three years into my appointment. He was a friend of my dissertation director and he was very instrumental in putting me in the right place so that I would be visible and therefore able to get tenure. The mentoring again, came really from the outside. [At the university in Georgia], it was my teachers in graduate school who continued to support my work. I think people here supported my position but people elsewhere supported my work. I mean, like where to publish, whom to publish with, collaborative research. This department was the lone wolf department, everybody for himself.
I knew you needed a book and this has been one of my problems here. I’ve worked like a dog because I really didn’t know what I needed. So one person who was supportive is a woman in Philosophy, she supported me as a woman, she told me, just say “no” to people. She told me things like, if you can’t get that dissertation edited, drop it and go on. She was the person who did and still does give me really good advice. She’s a full professor and I trusted her the most.

My career played a big role in my decision not to have children. I know this sounds silly, but you feel like there's no time. You just never know, are you going to be in a place two years or are you going to be there like I’ve been here, ten years. I’m unique among my friends. A lot of them have moved around and never gotten a full-time tenure-track position. It’s difficult. I think at about 25 when I was in my Ph. D. program I went through an evolvement.

I think race and gender played a significant role in the tenure process. I really do. I think it’s less so now than before because the scholarship is expected. So, I think for years, it was the scholarship. If you were writing on something and it was about women or about race, the scholarship was inadequate and now it’s not. I don’t think it’s conscious racism, conscious sexism, but I think people are operating out of old paradigms and they just don’t really realize that coming to the floor in these big decisions, like they come to the floor when you are hired. It’s all there at the surface and it’s you know the unspeakable word, you can’t speak it because if you do its tears everything up. Sometimes I think there’s a fear. Just look how few of us there are. Part of it is what they don’t understand here is that you can’t isolate people, good young Black and other minority scholars. They just don’t want to do what it takes to bring somebody here and
nurture them through the process, that’s all part of it. I see this everywhere. I have a
friend who lives in Michigan, who did twice the work as I did and didn’t get tenure and it
was because her Chair didn’t like her. That’s wrong. He did not support her and it would
not have mattered if she had done the world, everything, but he just didn’t like her. It
was heartbreaking for her. Another friend of mine didn’t get tenure, before the decision
was even made, she had five job offers.

After I was tenured, I was able to slow down and think about my work in more
depth. You can explore the nuisances and take the risk that you can’t take when you are
not tenured. When I was on the tenure track, I felt more like a servant in some ways, the
servant to the students, the servant of my department and now that’s gone. I’m doing my
thing now, whatever happens, happens. I can get my life going again. I reprioritized; my
happiness is first, my family is second, work is somewhere, but it’s not at the top
anymore. My happiness is at the top.

I’m supposed to spend about 45% of my time teaching, 50% doing research and
about 5% on committee work, however, I think for me its probably 45% teaching,
probably 20% committee work because of a particular commitment, then the rest is
research; about 35%. And I have to really focus to get that much time in. I think for a
Black woman and this is something that I’ve wrangled with my colleagues in this
department about because I’m joint appointed, I’m English and Religious Studies. So this
is my home.

I love research. When I started teaching, I just loved to be in the classroom. And
now it’s research because for me it is really spiritual, it’s not just about reading
something and you figuring out a problem or whatever, it’s really about figuring out a
meaning and so the more I do it, the more I figure about what things mean. Right now, I’m working on this piece from a [prominent African American female author].

I’d rebalance the tenure process, if I could. I think everything you do ought to count. And I think research counts too much, how much money you bring in counts too much. And what ought to count more than it does, is what kind of citizen of the university you are. How have you made yourself a home and I think the university ought to trust itself. They’ve had you for 6 or 7 years, then they go and ask other people. Why don’t they trust what they think? That’s seems important to me, not some expert opinion who might have never seen you in his or her life. Lucky for me, they were all my friends. I knew what my letter was going to say but you know, I feel for people who are up against, if you’re an English person, they can get anybody. That bothered me. Why not trust your own thoughts about the person.

I don’t think there is much effort in this department to recruit. I think I’m about all they want. And I’m not really sure they want me. Maybe that’s my fault. In Philosophy, we’re doing programs, I don’t think they really think Black people can do philosophy but that’s just a perception. I’ve never seen a person of any color get an on-site interview here in Philosophy. In Religious Studies, it tends to be so quiet, I mean the percentage of minority scholars are very, very low, it’s like 4% maybe African American, it’s small. One other interesting note is that they think I’m never here and most of the time, I’m here half the day at least, in the office with the students. I mean, I’m not in the hall, picking up mail, going to have coffee or whatever. I’m usually in here with somebody and so they don’t see me and they assume that I’m not here. That I’m somehow shirking my duties. It would be real hard for me to advise another Black
person to come here if I really thought that was about race. I have a good relationship
with my Chair and a couple of other people. I think I’ve baffled my colleagues in
Religious Studies. A couple of years ago, there was a confrontation in which they told
me they were disgruntled with me, which didn’t leave me wanting to be buddies with
anybody. You know it’s kind of led me into closing myself off even more. I’d detach
and try to look at them and say what’s motivating these issues within them and I
understand there’s some jealousy, there’s some competition, there are all these other
things. And I try to let it go, deal with it when I have to deal with them and the rest of the
time, I just realize that my home is elsewhere. Elsewhere, meaning with friends at other
schools. I have strong support from other places.

I’d like to finish the second book. I’m really interested in diversity of African
American religious experiences in America, beyond the church. I think a lot of people
are doing, especially when you live here, you realize a lot of people are doing real
interesting things that have nothing to do with the church.

I’m the first Ph. D. in the family and I’m doing something really strange as so on
one hand, I think there’s always support financially and otherwise, but on the other hand,
skepticism. And so I kind of feel caught between these two poles with my family. They
know I’m doing something. They don’t really quite know what it is, they know it requires
writing, which is kind of a strange thing. But I think they are very proud of me but at the
same time, African American families can be like…don’t get above yourself
girl because you got all of that education, got all that common sense and book sense. So
there’s a kind of attitude that is keeping you in your place a little bit.
My husband is a strange man in a lot of ways, that’s probably why I married him. He’s not an academician, he’s a private investigator, and he was in the military for 8 years. He’s Native American. He’s his own man so I think that why all this education never intimidated him.

My advice to a Ph. D. candidate, because my Ph. D. experience was horrible would be to make sure that there are some other Black people around you. Because if you don’t, you’re by yourself. Ask around about who you will be working with because my dissertation director was a nightmare. And I didn’t know this. I was encouraged to go work for this person because he was an authority in my field. But his idea of a Ph. D. was 10 years. He thought it was a lifetime effort and at a certain point, you just don’t want to do anymore. I mean, I know people whose lives he’s ruined because he would not let them finish. And that’s the kind of information you need to know. When you get into the program find out how long it this going to take, who is the enemy of this person and so on. I’ve seen people who had to take comps over not because the comps were bad, but because they had two people at war with one another. A lot of times, the faculty is not going to have support people for you and you’re going to be on your own and you can’t do it on your own, that’s really the truth.

For a junior faculty, it’s tougher because of the climate, in my field anyway, if there’s a job, more than likely you have to take it to work. I don’t think I’ll retire from University C. I’m getting old. I want to go home. I’m ready to go back East. All my friends are there, all my family is there and it’s really where I want to go. I’m looking hard right now. I think for a lot of reasons.
Angel

My mentor was key in terms of helping me structure my research program…I’m just in a good setting. I don’t think my experiences are unique at University D nor do I think my experiences were unique because I was Black.

Associate Professor – Science; B. S.; M. S.; Ph. D.; Tenured 1993

Through an initial effort to solicit participation on her campus, Angel contacted me by telephone expressing her interest in participating in the study. Angel, just recently married, is a native of a small town in Kentucky. She received a Bachelor’s degree in Speech Therapy and Master’s degree in Speech and Hearing Science from the same historically Black university in Kentucky. Her doctorate is in Speech and Hearing Science from the University D. She is an Associate Professor in A&SP at University D with 10 years experience, 25 years total experience in higher education. She notes her most rewarding experience or professional accomplishment was being on the NIH Advisory Committee and the Associate Department Head from 1994-1999.

Both of her parents are from the same small town in Kentucky. Angel’s mother never finished high school, her father is a high school graduate. Her career aspirations are to become a department head and then Dean.

I interviewed Angel on a Saturday morning by phone at her home.

This Is Angel’s Story

Well, when I came in, I was given credit for three years where I had worked at another university for 5 years. I asked that my tenure clock be shortened from the 6 years as typical to 3 years because I wanted credit for what I had done in the past. I negotiated this when I was hired and the promotion and tenure process was “smooth as silk”. I mean, I put in, there was not a hesitation. I don’t know that there were any problems at all
with my packet. I was nervous but at that time my fears were more related to the fact that there had been a change in the vice chancellor of academic affairs and I did not have any expectations that I’d have a problem at the departmental level or at the college level but I wasn’t sure that the new vice chancellor was not changing the rules in regard to his expectations. I had a faculty mentor so the presentation of my packet was presented to the tenured faculty for them to vote on and it was unanimous decision. If there were any problems at the college level, it was never brought to my attention. If there had been problems, they would have called the department head. I really didn’t have any problems.

My experiences were unique, my mentor was a White male and recently, I have been a mentor for a number of junior faculty, all of them right now are currently White, some female, and some male. So, I don’t have anything to compare it to other than that's the system that's in place in my department. I know that in some other departments, that’s not the case. I would say that the role of the mentor is more during the preparation for what is excessive.

In terms of benefits of a tenure position, it gives you the opportunity to do more work …without the threat of being fired. You can play a more active role in the governance of a department but I was pretty active before but I mean that’s one. During a meeting of decision makers, if you’re tenured, you feel that you could voice your opinion without threat, that’s supposedly one thing that untenured individuals feel they can’t do. I guess it’s because it would be held against them when they go up for promotion and tenure. That was not my own experience but that’s one benefit. Let me go back and mention something else that was a part of my pre-tenure experience. I had
very minimal responsibilities on committees. I didn’t chair any committees, nor was I on any committees that required a lot of my time. So the expectation was that my time should then be used for research. I had a teaching load. The first year, I had a teaching load of two courses one semester, one course the next. If I had asked to teach another course before I was tenured, I would have been told, NO.

I’ve been here 10 years and I think that speaks for the quality of my department and my college more than the university as a whole. You live in your department and if the quality of life is not good at that level, it doesn’t matter if you’re tenured or not. Right now, my relationship with my colleagues is not very good. In the fall, I asked to be relieved of some of my responsibilities as the associate department head which I did for 5 years. When I say it’s not very good, I mean, I’m in sort of an odd situation, in that there’s a lot of politics going on in the department. I’ve been viewed as an appendix to the department head and he’s just an arrogant, difficult person to deal with. He’s very good at some things. He’s been the department head since I’ve been here and he has been a stumbling block for me personally. It’s just the way he manages the department. Somehow as our department has grown, I am now isolated from the rest of the faculty physically and that makes it difficult. So, I don’t see them very much. I wouldn’t say there’s a problem, I think I’m still respected. I sit in on prospectus meetings and the new faculty still come to me when they’re having problems even if I’m not their mentor. They often ask me to critique their work. Currently, I am physically isolated and I think that makes me feel isolated from what’s going on so I don’t hear the gossip. I don’t know whether it’s about me but I’m not worried. That’s just a logistical problem. The
closest faculty member in terms of proximity to me retired, so that space has now been utilized for clinical supervisors.

What I disliked most about the process was the waiting. You prepare your packet in October and it’s presented to the faculty. They vote on it and then they send it to the Dean’s office where there is a college-level committee and sometimes early in, around February or March, they send it to the Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs who then sends it to the Chancellor and then in July, a final approval is voted on by the Board of Trustees and you find out in July.

Research is important to me personally. It gives me much more credibility in the classroom. I think that it improves and increases my credibility nationally, making me more competitive. I also think it aids me in the fact that if I leave here, I can get another job.

My contact with my colleagues and other women in other units is limited. Our university is huge. I have some alliances with a few people but I would guess that most of my relationships are with colleagues who are administrators. I’ve never done any collaborative research with anybody else on campus outside the department. I do clinical research with young children so I don’t have a lot in common in terms of the kind of research that I’m doing with people across the campus. I received notification last week that I was awarded a grant to do the first survey research ever done. I will be surveying pediatricians in the state relative to their referral practices, when parents present concerns about their children who stutter. It was an in-house grant. I have a fairly good reputation for what I do and I have an association with the foundation with a number of people who are highly respected in my area and we organize a conference every year. The president
of that foundation is giving me funding over the next 3 years for some other types of projects that are not research projects but are sort of consistent with what I know and also the service possibilities in my department. I also hosted a camp for kids who stutter a couple of years ago and conducted a parent training for parents of kids who stutter. Those were not research projects but service-delivery projects.

My time is divided usually 60% teaching and 30% research and if I could change one aspect of the process, it would be that teaching was valued more, and that the university would use something other than student evaluations to assess teaching. Now, if I had to repeat the process again, I probably would protect my time more and work harder to get a string of research going that continued. I am probably guilty as many faculty are of having a research program that kind of dead-ended about a year after tenure. I spent a lot of time trying to get external funding during my pre-tenure years. And although applications for funding to NIH were accepted as part of my research activity, it didn’t work out. So, I spent a lot of time that resulted in no publications. So I probably would have focused on doing more small publishable projects rather than pushing for funding.

My family really doesn’t understand what I do. My family has absolutely no idea of what I do. I think that working at universities is so foreign from working in the real world that when I was going up for tenure there was no way to describe that process to my family. I mean, there was no way that I could explain to them that you’ve been to school for 4 additional years, written this book as my mother called my dissertation, and were recruited for a position.

I plan to retire in 4 years and I’d like to make full professor because I should. If I don’t, it won’t kill me. Right now, I’m engaged in another major thrust to do that and
that means increasing my research productivity over the next 5 years. I would like to have a formal mechanism in place in my department for recruitment of African American graduate students.

I’m pretty satisfied with my job. On a scale of 1 to 10, right now, I’d say I’m a 7. And that’s because my department head drives me crazy, he needs to retire. We have built a strong department and he’s been here for 30 years, never been anywhere else, had been prominent nationally and is using an antiquated model. He’s a department head not a department chair, he does not understand the role of shared governing. And in the year 2000, people don’t want department heads to sit around and tell everybody what to do. That’s my greatest dissatisfaction.

My advice to any Ph.D. candidate or to junior faculty member interested in a career in higher education would be to write off the first 5 years. Remember that this is a career choice. When you go into a Research I institution, know that the expectation of that setting is research productivity. I believe that many people enter this environment and I have to remind one of my young untenured faculty colleagues that this is what is expected; she could have taken her Ph.D. and gone to [another university] where the expectation for productivity was not equivalent to that at University D. Or she could have taken a job at [another university], or she could have gone to work in a hospital. I believe that young junior faculty need to get away from the fact that there is some conspiracy to keep them from getting tenure. I mean, you’re not recruited and hired and then put in the position to fail. We are interviewing at least 5 people for one junior level position. We are investing time and money to find the best person for the job. The person selected is given a good salary; as good as we can offer them. They are given the resources to aid
them in their research. They are given no committee appointments for the first 2 or 3 years. They are given no advisees for the first year and they are given funds to set up the research lab so we expect them to be productive. They have to investigate and know what they are saying “yes” to. I said no to an opportunity to apply for a position at a [major Midwestern university] because I knew that was a big 10 competitive, male chauvinistic environment that would just require more of me that I wanted to invest. So, I think people need to look for jobs that are a good fit for what they want to do. I counsel my students. I have a number of doctoral students that have gone on to graduate and I talk to them, I tell them, if you take this job, this is what you have to do. This is what you have to do to get tenure. Many of our graduates have gone on to take positions in teaching universities, but those students’ potential for research-based scholarship was limited as doctoral students. We have now restructured our doctoral program so that the whole comprehensive exam is no longer sitting in a room writing for two days, but demonstrating competence through research which makes them more competitive. So I think young people must know what is expected of them when they take a position and recognize that it’s their job to meet those expectations. They have to understand what they are getting into. I worked every weekend, almost every weekend of my entire 3 years at University D. I worked nights, that’s what I had to do to get tenure.

Janice

It’s important for women to network on campus with other women but also within other areas to get into some of those meetings where you have the male faculty members from different departments, you learn a lot. My eyes have been opened to so many things these last few years; I just didn’t have a clue about before I got on some of these university-wide committees.

Associate Professor- Science; Born 1950; B. M. 1972; M. M, 1974; Ph. D. 1988; Tenured 1993.
Janice’s research interests focus on the African American culture. She has authored book chapters, refereed articles and encyclopedic essays. She has presented papers at professional meetings and received prestigious awards for outstanding accomplishments in 1982 and 1985. She was elected to office on a local Commission in 1994 to present. She is also a member of various discipline-related organizations.

I interviewed Janice in her campus office at University C. Her office was a Black Cultural Museum. She had a lot of interesting books on the shelves and posters on the walls. I learned so much about her by just being in her office.

Janice, born in New Orleans, LA, received her Bachelor’s and Master’s degree from University C in [Arts and Humanities]. She completed further study at a historically Black university in the South and later received the Ph. D. from a predominantly white, Research I university in the North. Janice’s vision is to conduct more research in African Diaspora, publish more of her research and become a distinguished professor. Janice described her most rewarding experience as conducting research in West Africa-Senegal. She continued, “When I publish this book manuscript that I am currently working on, it will be my most rewarding professional accomplishments.”

Both her parents were born in a neighboring town, not far from University C. Her mother holds a post-graduate degree and her father is a high school graduate. Janice is married with no children.

This Is Janice’s Story

I started teaching in 1987 so I am going into my 12th year. Two years, I was off on research leave so technically I have been teaching for 10 years, well 9 years. I taught
as a graduate assistant, while I was working on my Ph.D. I taught world music courses for a couple of years. They called us Associate Instructors at Indiana; I did that for 2 years.

Well, when I came here my tenure clock did not start running the first year because I was still working on my Ph.D., working on my dissertation. So it really didn’t start until the second year and because I left, I had a [prestigious fellowship] for a year, it stopped for that year I was at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. So, usually people would come up in 6 years when I first came but I actually came up in the 7th year because of stopping the clock. Going through the tenure process, the whole while you’re working up to that point you are thinking about it. So, what I tried to do...first after I completed the dissertation and had the official degree in hand, I thought well I can start running now so let me see what all I need to do. So, I started checking out the promotion and tenure document for University C to see what they were saying, actually they were working on for a couple of years, the time that I was coming up they were revising it. So I was looking at the old document and about a year before I had to come up, I had to look at the revised document so there were some other more specific things that they were putting in. It was vague in some areas when I first looked at it the second year I was here. You know it’s always in the back of your mind as you do your research and you try to get your publications in, you are thinking about that point where you have to submit will everything you have, be enough. Because it’s so subjective, they don’t say you have to have 10 refereed articles, they don’t say that you have to have at least 5 chapters in various books. They don’t say a book is required. It’s so vague even though they have
these specific things that are listed in the document, you are still kind of wondering if you have enough, if this going to make it.

You think teaching is the major part of it, then service and research but research is over 50%, I don’t care what anybody says, it’s over 50%. If you don’t have the research here at University C, a Research institution, you will not make it and yes, teaching is a significant part but you can be…you can get all sorts of teaching awards but if you don’t do the research you’re not going to get tenure. That’s the bottom line. Service is a part and I’ve done my share of committee work as well. I had not been on a lot of university-wide committees, I think maybe only one. When we came up for re-certification for the library and all that kind of stuff I was on that committee but that was the only actual university wide committee I had been on. The rest of them, I had been on a lot of committees in my department and I certainly had a lot of community service because I believe in giving back to the community and I probably should not have done as much of that because it does take away from your research period/time but that’s something that I have to do. I am from this community, I was raised in this community and that’s something that’s just a part of me. So, I have to do my community work. Then, I guess some people say you are lucky that you weren’t married and you don’t have any children. Well, I actually did get married right before I came up but the first few years that I was teaching, I wasn’t married. I got married in 1993 and I came up for tenure in ’94. Well, I had to submit my tenure packet in the spring of ’94 and I had just gotten married the year before so basically I had all the articles that I was going to submit. I think I maybe submitted one more in that year that I was coming up for tenure but I didn’t have any
children and I didn’t have a husband so in that respect I guess it was an asset at that point because you have to have time for your family.

My family played an invaluable role in my success. At that time, I just had my mom, my dad and my sister because I wasn’t even dating. You’re all consumed in what you’re doing, it just took up so much of my time. I didn’t have time to date. When I came back I was living with my parents for a few years until I saved up enough money to put a down payment on a house. My parents were very supportive. They knew I didn’t have money. I used to stay in this office when I was working on my dissertation, trying to work on grants because I didn’t have a computer at home. They were afraid of me being in here late at night so they purchased a computer for me so I could work at home. So they provided support financially, as well as moral support and encouragement, it was just great. My mother and father, my mother was an academician; she was an administrator at another university for many years retiring after 37 years. My father was a laborer and he worked at the plant. He always told me that he wanted me to have so much more than he had and he would do anything possible to get me there. He said, you stay in school as long as you need to because I’m going to help you and he did, he really did. Whatever I needed, my dad found. I was working on a dissertation on gospel music at the time and he would find articles in the paper and cut them out for me. Anything he could do to help.

My parents are both from the same small town and high school only went to the 9th grade. So they had to come to [a local high school] for the 10th, 11th and 12th grades. Many families could not afford to do that because you had to have money to ride the bus so he didn’t finish high school as a teenager. He had to go help his dad work in the
fields. It wasn’t until after he became an adult and started working at the plant that he went back to get his GED at night. My mother finished, but in order to do that, she had to get up at 4:00 a.m. in the morning and ride the bus that the laborers rode on to come to the plant. Then, she would get another bus [from another part of the city] and then another finally to a [local high school]. So, it wasn’t easy but she went on and finished college and got several degrees. They were determined that their children would go as far as they wanted to. They did the same thing with my sister. So I had a tremendous amount of family support. Even when I was in school at University C and things I went through at this school. I came here in 1968 about two years after they first started letting undergraduates in, that was the beginning of desegregation. It wasn’t easy; I started to leave a many days. I lived on campus and we didn’t have a lot of support here. There were no African American teachers. Everybody Black had service jobs like maids, janitors, gardeners, you know. Race and gender played a role in the process. I think there were some barriers that I had to overcome because of race and gender and also my field because I am in a Department of A. Because I’m a Black woman and an ethnomusicologist, a woman did step in to help me and maybe it was because my chair asked her to do it. My chair gave me some kind of vague thing to put in my tenure dossier. But this woman stepped in she said oh, no, you have got to put everything in there, the whole range of things that you have ever done. They have to see the total view. In order to make it stronger, you have to include everything. So, I had to go back and redo my dossier. I didn’t know, I didn’t have a mentor. I didn’t have anybody to tell me so I was going by what my chair said. I had not included a lot of community work that I do and a lot of articles that they don’t consider of value. I had done a number of articles
within festival programs. I had written a high school music journal for high school music teachers. She said, oh, yes, you have to include all of that. They have to see that you have not been just sitting around. You have to show them all of what you do and that it is very valuable. They may not consider it important but it is.

I would say that my overall experience in the tenure process was a positive one. I didn’t have to appeal anything. After it got to a certain point in the process, I felt comfortable. So, it wasn’t until the tenure process that many of the people in this department actually knew what I did because they had to evaluate me. When you go through the tenure process in this department you are evaluated by your peers, which means I am evaluated by all anthropologists and the geographers also have to look through the dossier as well. My chair later told me that some people were very surprised [how valuable my work was]. They would have never known that if I hadn’t been told to include everything. I figured they felt it wasn’t valuable. They’re not going to count this so why put it in. I really didn’t have a mentor here or anywhere for that matter. I talked with other colleagues at other universities to see what they had been going through but it’s different at various universities.

One thing that did help me was that in this department we do a two-year evaluation to let you know where you’re lacking, like a progress report. I had to submit almost like a pre-tenure dossier. They said OK. You need more of this and some more of that; you need to do more of this. So, I had an idea but I think it was still very crucial what she suggested that I do because I would not have done all of that. The two-year review really helped, it gives you an idea. You have to do a statement and you have to put articles that you published since the degree and they look at those you’ve done during
the degree. You know that the ones that count are the ones that get published after the degree.

If I had to repeat the process again, I would concentrate more on the way I do research. I am very interdisciplinary and I get sidetracked a lot because I’m so interested in so many different things. I probably would focus more on one or two projects instead of six or seven. I look back now and I would probably say no more because when you’re in a situation you’re trying to help so many people and then you end up not doing the things for yourself that you should be doing for this process. Anybody who called me and asked me to do something, I was out there trying to help them do it or do it for them. So, that meant I was dealing with a lot of festival productions, I was doing fieldwork for a number of agencies, some of them paid, some of them didn’t. I was called into Miami to do fieldwork in the Caribbean community because there are not enough folklorists that are Black to go into these communities. They were calling me because they knew I could do the work, and it was hard for me to say no because it was hard for them to find minorities who were doing this work. So, when they called me to go into the Caribbean community in Atlanta, I went. When they called me to go into the Caribbean and African American community in Florida, I went. I probably could have been here working on my dissertation for publication.

One of the benefits of a tenured position is the job stability and the raise is OK. It’s certainly not financial stability (laughs). I’ll say job stability and the insurance that you can be here without worrying about somebody firing you at anytime but you have some strength now to fight whatever diversity comes against you. So for as academic freedom is concerned, you have the freedom or you feel better about saying and doing
things that you would not have done if you did not have tenure. I’m not a real radical person but I feel free to make some statements that I probably would not have made before. I feel confident that I can go to my chair or to the dean or go to the provost now and ask for certain things that I probably would not have asked for before. I feel that I have paid my dues here, being around here all the time and I have contributed a lot to this university and to the students that I’ve helped. So I think that I have some rights that I didn’t have before as an untenured professor. I also have leverage to go somewhere else and apply for other jobs. So, there are those benefits but the struggle goes on.

I think the process helps you to focus on your research, focus on your teaching. I know that if you didn’t have the tenure process, some people might go on for 20 years without publishing a book or anything. So, it does help you to focus your research and to get those publications done if that’s what you are about. Some people would much rather teach and we’ve had professors like that. We had a professor here to go through the tenure process, got tenure and left. He said he just didn’t want to be in the rat race anymore so he went to another university that focuses on teaching. He said he wanted to be able to teach undergraduates and do research if he felt like it as opposed to being pressured to do it. Some universities give you that option. That’s good because sometimes you get excellent teachers who don’t want to do research.

I spend most of my time advising. I don’t just advise students in my department, I advise students all over the campus. Not just minority students, all students. Most of them are not in the music school. Right now, I am the anthropology undergraduate advisor so I have four hours designated for my office hours during the week, two hours
on Mondays and two hours on Wednesdays, but students drop in anytime they feel like it. I can’t turn them away.

It’s very difficult for me to get anything done with teaching, advising, committee work and service, plus I am on the Black Faculty and Staff Committee and all of the committees that I have in my department. So that’s a lot of committee work. If I have anytime left, I work on my research. I hardly do research when I’m on campus.

One thing I would change about the process would be that the clock be more flexible. It was flexible for me because I had a fellowship but for those people who don’t have that opportunity to get a fellowship to be off a year, you still have a family and other duties. For instance like having a baby, I think that it should be flexible to at least maybe have that semester off even though she might still be coming to work. One other thing, I think when a person comes to the campus, no matter what color they are, what gender they are, whatever, they should have a mentor. If they don’t find one on their own maybe one should be assigned to them. I didn’t have a mentor; I had to feel my way through.

Sometimes you don’t even know the questions to ask and I didn’t. I called colleagues at other universities. I didn’t know that if you got a substantial grant that you could buy out a semester and do research. I stumbled on that. I think having a mentor should be required.

I cope several ways. It’s good to interact with Black females from other universities and to tell you the truth, it’s sad but it’s so few of us here and we are so busy that we hardly get the chance to talk to each other. I also cope by getting away every now and then. My husband and I go to the Gulf Coast. We rent a condo for two weeks and I relax and work on my book. I get up in the morning, meditate and I come back and
write or three or four hours, take a break and I go back to the water or have lunch and go back to writing. For the holidays, we went to Spain to take a musical group, then we went to Senegal. I was doing some work there.

Because I’m the only African American in the department, I experience a lot of isolation. I think because a lot of things I’m not included in when the good ole boys get together and go to lunch and they help each other out with their grants and give each other pointers as to what to do. They collaborate on their research and their travels. I’m not in a clique or the good ole boy network. Most of the women in the department except for two that have come in are married and have families so sometimes we go to lunch but very seldom do we do anything outside the campus. We’re discussing post-tenure review in our department now because we never really had a post-tenure review. I was tenured in the Spring of 95 and look here it is 99 and I haven’t had another review since then. I do think that it’s important to have post-tenure review to keep you on track and in case you decide to pursue full professorship. Also if you apply to another university, they also need to see what you’ve done since tenure. That’s nothing on your record except committee work and working with students that is not good in their eyes or any other Research I institution. They want to see continued progress. If you have a gap of three years and you haven’t published anything, that’s not good. I don’t think tenure should be abolished because it is a motivator to get people to do research and most people really want to do research. Again, there are so many things that come into play or into your life that take priority. If there was another process to get a promotion, people would do it, that’s human nature. So I certainly don’t think it should be abolished. Now there are
certainly some changes that can be made. I think there should be certain amount of years for you to apply for full professor.

I would like to do more publishing. I still have to get my book out on gospel music and the symposium that I just coordinated. It would be good to get an edited book out of that because we have very good response from it. There are several books that I’d like to do, probably teach a few more years and maybe even do a little administration in international studies.

Lord, I don’t know if I’ll retire from University C. As I go through the years and I think about how I’m being treated and if what I have to offer is being appreciated, I wonder. You know I enjoy my job, I enjoy what I do. I’d rate it an 8. If I could get some more support, some more research funding, some more funding to go to conferences that would be good. We get $500.00, if you go to a conference in San Francisco, that $500.00 is wiped out. It pays for about half of the expenses.

In dealing with departmental politics, I’ve basically stayed out of the politics. I don’t believe in brown-nosing. I do talk to people in other circles that I’m not a part of and I learn a lot from hearing conversations, networking with people in other areas is very important.

Diane

If it’s based on performance that has been evaluated annually, there should be no surprises; you should not be stressed out when you send your package forward.

Associate Professor – Science; Born 1958; B. S. 1980; M. S. 1983; Ph. D. 1989; Tenured 1995

Diane, born in Vicksburg, Mississippi, received her Bachelor’s degree from a predominantly white, Research I university in the South in a male-dominated discipline.
She received her Master’s degree and the later the Ph. D. both in the same discipline from the university where she now works, University D. She is the only female in this study in a non-traditional female discipline as well as the only African American and female in her department. She is a licensed professional in her field and is past president and now vice-president of her local organization/chapter. Diane’s most rewarding professional accomplishment was obtaining tenure. She has 15 years of experience in higher education and is a member of various discipline related organizations. Her career aspirations are to obtain an administrative position outside the department. Neither of her parents, also born in Mississippi, finished high school. She is married with two children.

I interviewed Diane by telephone in her campus office before class. She was very cordial and receptive.

**This Is Diane’s Story**

Primarily, when I did my Ph. D. work, I had also been hired as an instructor. So uh, it wasn’t a major issue for me with regards to the work and fitting in and so forth. I was really part of the faculty in a way. My only shortcoming, I think, was perhaps being too familiar and being a part of the faculty as well as not having a mentor. I had a difficult time getting a research topic and the person who worked with me on my research topic was you know, not really willing to provide direction. So, I felt a lot of work, I basically ended up doing on my own.

There is a lack of camaraderie, having a cohort in the department. And basically you know, like for instance when I came up for tenure I was the first person in the department who had ever actually gone through the tenure process. Most of these guys in here have been for a while and they basically got letters written by the Department Chair.
So, they didn’t have to go through the stress of putting together a portfolio and justifying themselves. It was like well, you’re here so you’re accepted.

As far as gender goes, this is still a good ole boy environment. It’s starting to change, for instance, we’re in the process of looking for a department chair and one of our leading candidates is an African American male. So, I’m praying because I said, this would really be a turnaround. And it’s strange, it’s coming at a point when I have almost decided to leave academia. I’ve decided I’m going to wait and see what happens with that before I make a definite decision but I’m in the process of putting my resume out and going back out into private industry.

Part of my decision to leave was the issue of post-tenure review. To me it’s another example of changing the rules of the game. And, I don’t know it’s just asking, Diane, do you want to dance? I just keep asking myself, do I want to dance, do I want to keep proving my worthiness. I’m at the point where it’s either you take what I do on a year by year basis; either you accept it or you don’t. So, I’m not sure I want to keep dancing.

I support tenure if it’s done right and for the right reason. Okay. If it’s done for performance improvement, then I agree with it. If it’s done for punishment, then I have a problem with that. My feeling is that there should be annual reviews. If there are annual reviews, then a person knows on a yearly basis what they’ve done. What they’ve done in five years so if you received tenure within the last five years, you’re up for a review. It’s been frustrating.

Some of the benefits of a tenured position are security and freedom, the academic freedom that has been afforded to you. I think my interest is more being a female than
being Black. Also being married, having children to take care of, having an aging parent to take care of, those issues usually fall on the female shoulders. Even though you go and work outside the home, you got a job when you get home.

What counts is research, teach the courses you have to teach and do your research. You have to really watch being put on all these committees and having your time diluted. I just told my department chair that I was no longer willing to chair the scholarship and awards committee. I am no longer willing to be the advisor for the student chapter. What’s so funny about all of this, is that the people that he put into these positions after me, I’m still helping them do the work.

If I could change one aspect of the tenure process, I would make the process more individualized. I would not apply the criteria across the board. You know apply the categories across the board. One of the problems that I ran into was that we had a clear statement campus-wide expectation but then when it got to the college level, there were other expectations that had not been clearly defined. Another part of my problem is that I ran into a political situation with a person out of my department who was on the college level board. He had been up for department chair and he didn’t get it. I was on the committee and I didn’t vote for him. So that was his opportunity to get me back. There were things he should have conveyed to me that were expectations on the college board level that he didn’t. However, the chair of the committee wrote me a letter stating that before I could go forward, these were additional things that they needed. Had this person on the committee conveyed things to me before I sent my package up to the college that could have been avoided. So, you’ve got to deal with political issues as well. I was just
up front with the guy. After faculty go through these issues, a lot of times they’re bitter,
tired, and then they become less productive.

I’m preparing to undergo post-tenure review. One of the things that I’m doing is,
a friend of mine at [another university] that has already gone through the process, is
sending me her package. One thing I learned is that you have to tell your story. Just
putting down the facts and the figures, the classes and the evaluations and so forth does
not tell your story. I kept everything, even the little thank you letters from school kids.
These are things now that I know to say that I didn’t know to say before. I have to tell
my story and present myself in the best light possible. I know not to just put the facts but
to put some reasoning behind it. Basically, that’s the only chance you get to speak.

I think tenure should be reformed. I think the academic freedom that is offers is
good. But I feel that there should be no surprises when the time comes for tenure, which
is why I am a firm believer of annual reviews. A lot of people don’t believe in
measurement by objectives but I do. I believe firmly in that if you get an agreement up
front at the beginning of every year or at the end of every year when you are assessed you
know what you have to do. I think it should be reformed to the point that annual
feedback is provided, get the surprises out of it, expectations need to be made clear and
evaluations should be made on those stated expectations and objectives. Take the
subjectivity and the politics out of it.

Economically, the sacrifices that I made were definitely not worth it. Most
engineers are making big money doing research and consulting. If I was in private
industry, I’d be making twice as much.
I’ve had to become a bit more aggressive in having my opinion heard and being respected because a lot of times, they just keep talking. In a male environment, what you say isn’t of value until it’s been validated by one of them. You know, you can say something and then until one of them comes back and says it again, or say yeah, I agree with that, then it’s validated, Well why wasn’t it validated on its own? I am the only African American female in engineering here. There are three other females in a college of 115 faculty members, that’s 4 females. There are 2 African American males and so out of 115, three African Americans. There’s not been a lot of interaction and a lot of that is me. I have basically had to create my survival and that’s been to come here, do my work, interact with my students and take care of home. The climate is closed. It’s closed, not very open and a lot of that has to do with upper administration. They set the tone.

One reason why I’m considering leaving academia is because I’m not where I had imagined I would be. I imagined that I would be a department chair by now. A lot of my situation has been the fact that this is my husband’s home and he’s been unwilling to move. Not only is my husband unwilling to move, I moved my mother up here when my father died, and I don’t want to put her through another move at 80 years old.

I cope by praying. I pray honey. I get up in the morning and say thank you Lord for giving me this day you know, and let me be thankful in everything I say and do, lead me in thought, word and deed and then I head out of the door. It’s not so much the church as it is personal. I have a personal relationship with God, it’s my upbringing. I look at my mother and all the losses that she’s had and all the changes she’s experienced in her life and she goes on. She perseveres. You know, I draw my strength from her.
The support of my family has helped tremendously. The fact that my husband respects what I do and you know, we balance everything. We decide who has to pick up who? If I’m running late, he picks up the children. Two nights a week, he’s responsible for picking up everybody and for cooking dinner so I can stay late and get some things done. So, it’s the support and the willingness to tradeoff and to share responsibilities.

I wish I’d had a mentor with regard to research. I am weak in research. I’ve got a few grants but I never really got on a roll and you know I think if I had a mentor, things would have been different. When I came on board, the campus administration was in the business of appointing mentors. You can’t appoint a mentor. The person who was appointed to me was the person who did not get the department position. I thought well, since we had the same area, we’ll collaborate in this area. I think what I resented was that in working with him, he didn’t share with me, he basically used me. I did a lot of work, it was not a shared environment. You know a mentor is also a teacher. Your mentor has got to be a person who cares about whether you succeed. I think I’ve fallen into an environment where I might be needed but I’m not respected or appreciated.

Timing is everything. When I went through my tenure year, that year I think it helped me become focused about where I was in my career. You know, pulling everything together and it helped me to get a good view. But after going through all of that, and like I said the stress of like what happened when it went to the college. Wondering if it would be okay as it went on. The summer I was granted tenure is when we first brought my parents up here and subsequently that fall my father died. To be perfectly honest, I was drained.
I think pre-tenure, I was more productive to be honest with you. Pre-tenure I was doing a lot more research, I was doing a lot more writing and publishing. But then again, I think it was because I knew I was working toward tenure. Once I got tenure, the year after was basically a wash because of personal and family reasons. After that, I never really built on my research impotence that I had started before tenure. I decided to work on being a professional. I decided to work as an engineer, working toward getting my engineering license. I got my license and I got no recognition for obtaining my license, that was a major accomplishment. None from my department, none from my college. I said well I’ll be damned. This is a major accomplishment for an engineer to be able to put P. E. behind your initials. During post-tenure, I thought was basically just a time for me to continue to build and establish myself within the profession. So I set different objectives for the time. The problem is that the rules of the game change.

My most rewarding experience was getting my P. E. license because I spent a lot of time studying to get my P. E. license. I put a lot of effort into that because that was something I really wanted to do outside of academia, to be a professional engineer. I did it for personal satisfaction.

The advice I have to offer a Ph. D. candidate, would be to keep in mind that getting a Ph. D. means you want to be a researcher. It’s not about being a college teacher. A lot of people think that it is, but it’s not, it’s about being a researcher. Don’t set yourself up. You have to know yourself. Know what it is you want to do, what you enjoy doing so it won’t be a drudgery everyday when you get up. So if you enjoy teaching and just want interaction with students, then go to a school whose primary emphasis is teaching. You have to find an institution whose goals are in line with yours.
Junior faculty should stay focused. Find out what the expectations are and work toward meeting those expectations. If you know research is key, don’t assume a lot of responsibilities. That’s what you have to do, be in control. Learn to say no. Also, maintain your portfolio from day one. Keep a folder with documentation.

There was really no institutional support. The dean that hired me introduced me to different people in industry who were on his board and because of that, I got a lot of consulting jobs. The dean also helped me get a grant from General Electric. Now the department chair did nothing. He was definitely a good ole boy. He had the guys in the department that he supported but he did nothing to support me. He thought I was an affirmative action hire. This attitude gave me the motivation to really work hard toward getting tenure. I wanted to have my tenure package so tight that it wouldn’t be any doubt and it really was.

Brenda

The major factor in my successful pursuit of tenure was that I got along with my colleagues, I learned the politics. Politics did enter into the process. I don’t care what people say, it’s not totally objective. I also believe they saw me as valuable. I think the things I did outside of the school were most persuasive.

Full Professor and Administrator; Born 1943; B. S. 1964; B. S. 1974; MSW 1975; Ph. D. 1986; Tenured 1993

Brenda, born in Macon, Georgia, was a Fulbright Scholar. She is a Licensed Master Social Worker and holds a State of Florida Teacher’s Certificate. She holds memberships in various discipline related organizations and her community service is broad with memberships on many advisory boards and social organizations. She is an established author in her field with book chapters to her credit.
Brenda presented at conferences at both national and international levels. She received two Bachelors degrees, both with honors from universities in the South. The first degree with honors was from a historically Black university and the second, Summa Cum Laude, in [social sciences] was from a predominantly white university. Her Ph D. is in [Social Science] from the same predominantly white university. She has 23 years of experience in higher education with 9 years at University A. She is a member of various discipline related organizations. Brenda’s most rewarding experience or professional accomplishment was being elected President of both major professional organizations. Through her leadership as Dean, her program is ranked among the top ten in the country. She was the recipient of a [prestigious award] in 1999. She taught courses in her field and has chaired several university committees and served on 13 doctoral committees.

Her mother, who never finished high school, was born in Macon, Georgia. Her father, born in Jacksonville, Florida, is a high school graduate. Brenda’s career aspirations are to become a Provost, then retire. She is divorced with 2 children. I interviewed Brenda on a weekday evening on the phone at her home. The interview lasted over 2 hours. We instantly connected.

This Is Brenda’s Story

My experiences as a doctorate student at [university] were lonely. I was one of few. In fact, I don’t think there was another Black female in my program. In spite of this, I did my best to work around the biases and prejudices they may have had. You know, I didn’t cry too much. There was one professor who made me cry but I didn’t let him see me sweat. Most of my experience was a good one where I felt that my work was judged fairly. I had a very supporting professor, who just helped me. He made things go
well, he provided the kind of guidance I needed. My mentor was a White female. She was very instrumental. I met her in my Master’s studies and what she did was basically convince me that I had the capability to do whatever I wanted to do. She wasn’t a person that I could go to and say oh! I need help with schoolwork, or whatever, it was more personal in saying that you’re a bright person and you can do this and I guess I needed that for self-esteem.

I was already teaching in the university with a Master’s degree and then I decided that I wanted to stay in that arena and I knew to stay, I had to have the Ph.D. That’s why I decided to continue with my schooling. I mean I never had a career plan that said this is what I want to achieve. After watching my husband go through a doctoral program, I had decided that I never wanted to do that; however, it became a necessity for me to remain in the institution.

My experience in the promotion and tenure process was stressful. Before the tenure process, I was doing a lot of different things, mostly outside of the school, but all professionally connected. So I was busy. I felt that getting tenure was a medal of honor. I really thought that I had proved my value to the school. But other things interfered, personal things, somebody doesn’t like the person who voted no, so I wasn’t that anxious about the process, because I knew anything could happen. I felt that I was worthy.

I had not done a lot of publishing. I had edited a book and I had maybe six refereed publications. But I had very strong credentials in teaching and in service. So when I applied for tenure, I didn’t know what would happen. The internal committee consisted of tenured professors who all had to vote on the application. The vote was 11 positive and one negative. Then, the process involved a university wide committee of
faculty and that vote, I think, was much closer about two-thirds, yes. I can’t remember
the exact vote but it was like two-thirds positive and one-third, negative. From there, it
would go to the provost, the president of the university who would make the final
decision. In the end, I was granted tenure.

The criteria were never clear. I knew I had to have decent teaching evaluations.
Service isn’t really thought of that highly. In terms of scholarship, more is better.
Without looking at the quality of what you’re doing or the significance or the impact of
what you do. It’s just at that time, I felt as though they were simply counting how many,
not looking at the substance of the scholarship.

After the process, I was pleased that it turned out positive but I was hung up on
why those people who voted no, voted no. I mean they weren’t in my field and they
didn’t know the value of what my work had been; yet the process says that they can
make that kind of life changing decision. That made me mad about the process. Like I
said, I was happy, but it did affect how I behaved from then on.

Race probably had an effect on the process, because I think, I was the first Black
woman to be tenured in my school. They were probably thinking about it. Besides, I had
a lot of national prominence, so it would not have looked so good if they hadn’t tenured
me. You can never ignore the part that race plays. Gender always played a part in
academia because it’s historically a male run system. But less than race I think.

There is a balancing act with work and family. It was always a challenge. I had
kids when I went back to school to change to Social Work. They were young so all of
that were things that you do just because you have no choice but to do it.
During this time, I made sacrifices. I definitely sacrificed my social life, I don’t have one. I’m not comfortably socially. I do social things that are job connected. In some respects, I could say that I sacrificed my marriage, but I don’t think so. We were both professionals and both went on our own little tracks and didn’t spend much time focusing on the marriage, but I think it was more of his fault than mine.

The sacrifices I made were worth it in some respects and others not. I’d like to have a life outside of work. But when you spend so much time doing something like this, something has to be set aside.

The benefits that I’ve noticed as a tenured professor, I’ve notice is when my assistant professors get tenured, they tend to come out of their shell. They feel they have a sense of freedom and having the respect of their colleagues. I think it enhances their self-esteem and validates their work as being accepted, worthwhile and valued. I think that’s one of the biggest benefits. Another benefit is security. Tenured professors enjoy job security. It also gives them the freedom to help junior faculty. I encourage my faculty to help each other and once they are tenured, they’re more relaxed and willing to do that.

Tenure should be reformed to promote personal and professional development. It keeps the momentum going, keeps you from getting lazy. It’s like trying to achieve a brass ring. One aspect of the process that I don’t like is that no one can really articulate the criteria. I have looked at other school’s materials in addition to ours and as explicit as they become is that you need 10 articles. This means nothing, because I know people that can turn out articles that are saying nothing and they get published by some journal. It’s a
game. I dislike that lack of explicit criteria. The criteria guides people and eliminates the subjectivity that can enter into the process.

Research is important to me personally because I think in a profession like mine, it makes a difference for practice, if I can generate knowledge to somebody. As an administrator, I don’t spend much time on committees, maybe 10 or 15% within the school.

If I had to complete the tenure process again, what I’d have to do is publish more. I would have to get involved in research and that’s all I’d do more. I’d strengthen my dossier in that area. Opportunities for mentoring and research collaboration were limited. I think it’s important to collaborate with someone who is doing research. I think Black women, Black faculty in general, tend to work alone. Either it’s because they’re not invited in or they don’t feel comfortable. For whatever reason, when you’re out there alone, it’s harder and the most successful that I have seen is how two will get together and carry each other. They will co-author; one will be first author the first time and the other first author the next time. That kind of collaboration truly helps the production of work. That is a pitfall and it was one of mine. Nobody worked with me at [university]. Nobody asked me to work with them. So I was out there by myself. I could have worked with some people outside the school.

You know, Black people haven’t adopted methods that Whites have for doing research and that is working together. My friend and I talk about this all the time. We just haven’t done it for some reason. Also having a good mentor. White faculty always get a good mentor. I have seen that so vividly, where they work with someone who is established. I saw one woman who is now writing the fifth or sixth edition of her
textbook and I know how she started. It was a book that a professor had, a well-published professor, and she adapted it and the next time it came out, it had both of their names on it. The next four times, it had only her name. Blacks don’t do that, we don’t help each other. One of my students did a study similar to yours on African American female professors and there are only 4 tenured professors here. She didn’t have a big sample. One of the interesting findings was that all four of us separately, stated that they were mentored by Whites, particularly White men, that’s a shame. I have worked to help other Black women professionally. I do whatever I can to help them shine and produce. It’s so important because I see how it works for other groups. Because of my experience with mentoring, I promote mentoring heavily. I even assign a mentor but I realize that you still have to have that chemistry with the person. Occasionally, it hasn’t worked and people have asked for a change and I accommodate the change. It doesn’t always work so sometime we have to push a little. In most cases, the faculty take that role seriously. Now, the faculty feel honored to have been selected as mentors and some do a better job at it than others.

If I had to change one thing about the promotion and tenure process, it would be to have the criteria clearer. I know that depends heavily on the university. Faculty that we want to stay here are going to have to perform these things. I’d also make it more than numbers. In [this state], there are no sabbaticals. The legislature won’t allow it so you have to conduct research the best way you can.

Post-tenure review was mandated by the Legislature about two years ago where each college can set up their own process. We start with faculty who have been longest in rank and review a few of them each year, two of them each year. It’s like a mini
tenure review where they have to present their work and we do teaching evaluations. It’s conducted almost like the regular tenure review. This prevents faculty from remaining at the same rank. You can’t linger there, which I think is good. No deadwood. I support post-tenure review because I think for most faculty, it’s not going to be a problem. However, it seems to be impacting faculty who’ve been around a long time. From what I hear from colleagues, it encourages some faculty to retire. It also helps by encouraging faculty who don’t want to go through the process to say hey, I’ve had my time, let me let somebody else come in, occupy this spot.

As an administrator, I have very little interaction with my colleagues. I guess that’s one of the most unsatisfactory parts of my job here. There are 14 deans and I’m really not a part of them. You know as a Black person, you just feel things. I’ve never felt as though they saw me as their equal. And that could be race or it could be that I’m in a low status professional school, it’s not the College of Business. People don’t know what Social Work is and we’re not a rich school like some of the others within the university. I think our reputation is improving among the university community but it’s still a problem; it’s a problem for Social Work on most campuses. Coupled with the fact that it’s a female-dominated discipline. I get along fine with the Nursing Dean; however, the others tend to group together, the large colleges, the money colleges have more respect and the women, there are a number of women Deans which is very different from when I first got here. The women Deans relate to each other very well. But I consider myself very much an outsider. Why? Because I don’t push my way in. I know my place, so I go to the meetings when I have to go. I’m pleasant and then I leave because I don’t have the kind of personality to say that I want to join your circle. I think when I was first hired,
they saw me as an affirmative action person. They had no idea that in the pool, I was the best person. I knew, but they didn’t know. Even with my credentials, they still saw me as an affirmative action hire. I had to prove or show my confidence. I had to do that. They had to learn to trust me and respect me for the knowledge, the skills that I have. I think they do, but then again, they look at me through their eyes.

In regards to familial support, there wasn’t any real support there. I think my even going to college was something that I expected more than being told, “this is what you will do.” This was the path I put myself on. I just didn’t have a lot of parental support. They weren’t against it; they just weren’t strong factors.

I was raised in the church, my grandmother made sure of that. However, as an adult, I wasn’t part of the church. I never saw it as a major source of support, strength and spirituality. I think I’m a very spiritual person at this point who really is turned off on the organized religion. I have never been able to separate my expectations for what a House of God should be, versus the people who occupy the house. I can’t go and just ignore things around me and the way things are done. So I figure it’s better not to go at all.

I’m very active in the community; I really like to do that. I like more hands-on stuff. My most rewarding experience is being elected national president of both of my professional organizations. Nobody in the country has ever led both of these top organizations. It was a real honor, especially being a Black female. No Black women had ever led this one. They had some Black men presidents, but no Black females. It benefited me in just what I’ve seen of the world and what I’ve learned about the
profession. The people I know across the country, just the exposure does great things for the school to have had me in both of these. I also created a lot of enemies as well. I had some problems because some thought it was too much for one person to handle. So I had some problems. It’s been a terrific learning experience, however.

If I had to rate my level of job satisfaction, I think it would be generally very good because my school is now a good place to work. I like the things we do, the kind of teamwork we’ve built. It’s been good, but as I get closer to retirement, I want to do something else. I don’t want to lose my enthusiasm. I’d like to be Provost. I’m too old to go anywhere else, so I know the rest of my professional career is going to be in academia. If I had a chance, I’d go back to Florida. I don’t plan to retire here, but it may happen.

My advice to a person considering a career in academia is to know as much about the dynamics of the environment you’re going to work in. There’s a lot that you don’t see as a student even though you are there everyday. Talk to as many people as you can to learn about what it takes to succeed in academia. Prepare yourself not to work alone and plan.

My teaching philosophy involves the fact that I strongly believe that education is a two-way process, you know. It’s a partnership between the professor and the student where the professor is the navigator who is to guide students through that process, not always an expert but someone who knows enough. I also believe that we’re teaching students, whatever we do, not only in the classroom standing before and lecturing, in every component, every facet of the educational process you’re there, you are teaching them something, advising, extracurricular activities, you know involvement with
organizations, participation. Students learn a lot when they see their professors engage and they are looking for those things. They want to know you beyond the classroom.

One of the major factors in my tenure success was the fact that I was visible in the profession. I was very well known and visible and I don’t think they would have liked it too much if I hadn’t got tenure. We didn’t have annual reviews or three-year reviews. After the fifth year, the dean called us in and said OK, I think you did satisfactory. He had three scores, satisfactory, unsatisfactory and something else, I can’t remember. And he would say, it’s satisfactory, goodbye. So there was nothing. So I didn’t know until that moment that I was supposed to submit a dossier, etc. They did tell me I had to have letters written outside of the school and I got the letters. My mentor was not instrumental in this process. She was not a Ph.D.; she worked in the field, so it wasn’t anything she had ever gone through. I don’t think I wrote with anybody white. They don’t invite those opportunities. They don’t even let it be known that they would welcome those opportunities. Generally, nobody asked me to co-author anything with them the entire time there. As for Blacks, there weren’t that many Blacks to observe going through that. I don’t know whether it’s cultural. I guess I refuse to believe that it’s cultural. I really feel like it’s a hangover from slavery. We were pitted against each other. I think it’s so ingrained that it’s just hard. We talk a good game though but when it comes down to it, it minimal. Black people in my profession, if they’re writing with someone, they’re writing with someone White or they’re writing alone. Very seldom do you find two Blacks writing together. And a very practical reason too, is that often there are not a lot of Blacks on a faculty in these institutions. I told you I was the first Black that the school tenured. And I had already seen three people fail in that process when I was there, but I
still felt that my performance warranted it. And I knew if I was going to have to go through something extra. But I knew also going in, I knew what I had to do. And I did it, but I didn’t do it as some others did. I was teaching there and getting my doctorate at the same time from the school.

Getting tenure was like a medal of honor. Having what I’d done recognized as worthy as well as the security it afforded. Now, I can go on and do other things, do what I like to do. Thought a little bit about what the next step would be, would I do everything that needed to be done to be promoted to full professor at that time. It was just a relief, a hurdle. I wasn’t worried during the process because I felt that my dossier was pretty good, but I knew anything could happen.

**Summary**

The stories began with the participants describing their experiences as Black female professors in a predominantly white environment. Fortunately, I was able to establish a rapport immediately with the participants that led to rich explanations of their experiences. While the stories are diverse, there are common threads that connected them. The themes of struggle, the double dilemma of being Black and female, the vagueness of the promotion and tenure criteria and knowing what is expected of you when you go to work at a Research university, to name a few, will be discussed in Chapter 5 along with other themes that represent the four core themes of Black feminism.

In the interviews, the women reflected on their day-to-day interactions fully disclosing their experiences in the promotion and tenure process. They were asked to evaluate how much time they spent on teaching, research and service and overwhelmingly, all participants noted that they spent over 50% of their time, teaching
and advising students leaving little time for research and service. Over and over, the participants detailed the challenge of managing teaching responsibilities, conducting research and participating in service-oriented projects. They elaborated uniformly on being chosen by colleagues because they were Black and female to advise minority students and of being called upon to serve on committees when minority representation was needed. These are experiences that African American women consistently reported in previous studies (Moses, 1989; Washington & Harvey, 1989; Etter-Lewis, 1993; James & Farmer, 1993; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Etter-Lewis & Foster, 1996; Benjamin, 1997; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998; Gregory, 1999; Garcia, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000). This is an experience not shared by their White counterparts.

They shared their long-range goals which ranged from aspirations to be full professors and administrators, to completing pending research projects and retirement. They were in consensus regarding the fate of tenure; they all believed that it should be reformed. The group favored post-tenure review as long as it was done to enhance professional development and not used as a means to fire professors.

Through the oral histories, I was able to explore and document the experiences of the participants as well as how they made meaning of their day-to-day interactions with colleagues and well as their personal experiences in the promotion and tenure process.

Overall, the African American women whose views are presented in this study express a wide array of perspectives on the promotion and tenure process. The stories presented are valuable because they come from unique and revealing vantage points.
Olson (1996) states, “we can address prejudice only when we make ourselves open to the truth of other people’s experiences” (p. 34).
Chapter V

The Findings

This chapter identifies the emerging themes and how they relate conceptually to the four core themes of Black feminism, (1) the legacy of struggle, (2) the search for voice, (3) the interdependence of thought and action, and (4) the empowerment in everyday life (Collins, 1990). In the analysis of data collected across institutions, these four themes of Black feminism will be used in the interpretation of the findings. I identified the themes in the data analysis as struggle, oppression, change and freedom.

The Legacy of Struggle

Struggle

Consistent with the research literature on both women and minorities, struggle was the dominant theme for African American female professors in higher education. According to Webster, legacy is defined as something transmitted by or received from an ancestor or predecessor or from the past. Because of slavery and its social, economic and political impact on African Americans, the struggle continues today for African American female professors in higher education.

Struggle was identified by the participants in the study as (1) the isolation associated with being Black and female in a predominantly white environment, (2) having to defend against negative perceptions of their credentials and qualifications, (3) being overburdened with teaching and service responsibilities, (4) lack of collegial support, and (5) vague promotion and tenure criteria. The first sub-theme, the social isolation associated with being Black and female in a predominantly white environment is often referred to the double dilemma. All of the participants noted that race and/or
gender played a significant role in the promotion and tenure process. Having what is sometime referred to as “dual status,” being the only Black or the only Black female in the department fueled the notion of “killing two birds with one stone” which translates to departments hiring a Black female to meet both the gender and race hiring goals or objectives. Janice believed that race and gender played a role in her promotion and tenure review. “I think there were some barriers that I had to overcome because of race and gender and also my field because I am in [my particular department]. Diane, in a male-dominated field stated: “as far as gender goes, this is still a good ole boy environment; however, it’s starting to change. I think [their interest] was more of my being a female than being Black.”

The isolation the participants experienced in their predominantly white environments added yet another barrier to overcome in the promotion and tenure process and is directly related to being the only Black and/or female in a department. Seven of the eight participants were the only African American faculty members in the department where they indicated that their colleagues treated them as if they “did not belong” or were affirmative action hires. Janice stated:

Because I’m the only African American in the department, I experience a lot of isolation. I think because of a lot of things…I’m not included when the good ole boys get together and go to lunch and they help each other out with their grants and give each other pointers as to what to do. They collaborate on their research and their travels. I’m not in a clique or the good ole boy network.

Research notes the challenges associated with being the only African American in the department (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). One of the challenges of being the only minority
or African American in a department is that African Americans are often called upon to speak on issues regarding race or diversity. For example, African American professors are (1) asked to participate on committees regarding multicultural issues, (2) asked to be representatives for the race, to speak for all African Americans as if a monolithic group, and (3) viewed as the “symbol of diversity” (Phelps, 1995, p. 257). Being Black and female in academia presents a unique struggle for African American female professors who have to work to dispel the myths associated with their dual status.

The second sub-theme, having to defend credentials and qualifications translates to “having to prove their worth.” This theme was identified by the participants as constantly having to defend their work, credentials and qualifications to be higher education faculty. Linda stated:

I know at one point, I was oblivious about it (tenure), if I got it, good; if I didn’t, I would go and do something else. However, something clicked and all of a sudden, I became determined to get it (tenure). It was like I had to prove something. I am going to get this.

Along with the double burden of race and gender, African American women struggle with stereotypical notions that they are less qualified and hired to fill quotas.

The third sub-theme, being overburdened with teaching and service responsibilities, is identified as “feeling like a servant” in their departments.

Excessive committee work and time spent teaching and advising students absorbed valuable time for research. Connie stated:

When I was on the tenure-track, I felt more like a servant in some ways, the servant to the students, the servant of my department and now that’s gone. I’m
doing my thing now, whatever happens, happens.

Having a similar experience, Janice expresses her thoughts:

It’s very difficult for me to get anything done with teaching, advising, committee work and service. Plus, I am on the Black Faculty and Staff Committee and all of the committees that I have in my department. So that’s a lot of committee work.

If I have any time left, I work on my research. I hardly do research when I’m on campus.

Gwen commenting on her experience stated, “I ended up on every committee in the world because they wanted representation. So every time there’s a committee especially anything about diversity, I guess I’m the expert on all cultures.” One advantage noted in university-wide committee participation was that it provided campus-wide exposure that could prove valuable during the promotion and tenure process. Paula found that participation on campus-wide committees had advantages. She stated:

I said that I was not going to be the only Black person in this department. So, I made a concerted effort to look for qualified persons when job openings were available. I found out that no one was going to care about my need unless I made an effort. So, I took time to be on committees that did the hiring or I asked to be on those committees. I became very proactive.

Janice, heavily involved in community service, noted:

I certainly had a lot of community service because I believe in giving back to the community and I probably should not have done as much of that because it does take away from your research period/time but that’s something that I have to do. I
am from this community, I was raised in this community and that’s something
that’s just a part of me. So, I have to do my community work.

The participants told stories of how difficult it was to negotiate within the departments
without knowing the departmental politics or without knowing the right people. Connie
discovered by accident that campus-wide exposure was an advantage. She stated, “get
outside your department, get to know your Dean, the Provost. This helps when its time
for promotion and tenure, they know you.” A bit more familiar with departmental
politics, Janice noted:

In dealing with departmental politics, I’ve basically stayed out of the politics. I
don’t believe in brown-nosing. I do talk to people in other circles that I’m not a
part of and I learn a lot from hearing conversations. And networking with people
in other areas is very important.

The experience of being overburdened with teaching and service responsibilities
resonated throughout the study with comments like having to work “twice as hard” to
maintain the same status as their white female counterparts.

The fourth sub-theme identified in the legacy of struggle was the lack of collegial
support in their departments. Unfortunately, the African American women professors in
this study explained that they had to venture outside their departments to establish
relationships that they noted had been critical in their success. Colleagues at other
universities assisted them by reading their drafts, providing opportunities for research
collaboration, and by encouraging their involvement in professional organizations and
presentations at national conferences.
Connie stated:

The people in [my department] really don’t know what to do with me. I found my support in the Honors College. There were senior people that knew how to get around in terms of publication and in terms of the university structure itself. I think people here supported my position, but people elsewhere supported my work. I mean like where to publish, whom to publish with. This department was the lone wolf department, everybody for himself.

Collegial support facilitates faculty socialization and socialization fosters a kinship between colleagues that is missing among African American female professors and their peers.

The fifth sub-theme of struggle continues with the vague promotion and tenure criteria. To the participants, the subjectivity of the promotion and tenure criteria did not take into account their unique struggles such as the isolation experienced due to their underrepresentation and their race and gender related research interests. The vagueness of the promotion and tenure criteria was viewed as one of the most frustrating concerns about the process. The women vehemently discussed their dissatisfaction with the criteria, noting that the subjectivity and vagueness made the process less trustworthy. The consensus was that tenure needed reform.

As Brenda stated:

The criteria were never clear. I knew I had to have decent teaching evaluations. Service isn’t really thought of that highly. In terms of scholarship, more is better. [They evaluate you] without looking at the quality of what you’re doing or the
significance or the impact of what you do. It’s just at the time; they were simply counting how many not looking at the substance of the scholarship.

Diane followed with:

One of the problems that I ran into was that we had clear campus-wide expectations, but when it got to the college level, there were other expectations that had not been clearly defined.

Furthering the conversation on the criteria, Janice stated:

Because it’s (the criteria) is so subjective, they don’t say you have to have 10 refereed articles. They don’t say that you have to have at least 5 chapters in various books. It’s so vague even though they have these specific things that are listed in the document, you are still wondering if you have enough, if this is going to make it.

After reviewing the promotion and tenure policies collected from the universities, unfortunately, I found the complaints about the process to be legitimate. The criteria are unclear and nowhere do the policies state where to publish and what journals will be given more credence. Neither do they advise faculty to save every letter or piece of documentation that is received to compile a dossier because it will be needed for promotion and tenure evaluation. The participants were asked what they would change about the process and the consensus was the ambiguity in the promotion and tenure criteria.

The Search for Voice

Oppression

Oppression, defined by Webster’s Dictionary as a sense of being weighed down in body
and mind, is the dominant theme in the search for voice. Refusing to be referred to as victims, the women in the study were strong willed and determined in their quest for tenure. Realizing that life for African Americans had been worst in the past, their overall attitude was to persevere and conquer. What they wanted was simple. They wanted what every professor wants (1) to be treated with respect by their colleagues, department heads and deans, and (2) to be judged on the merit and the quality of their work instead of by their sex and skin color. Understanding what was expected of them in their chosen careers in academia, they were determined to make the best of what some would consider a bad situation. In this study, oppression is represented by African American female professors having to establish two research agendas; one mainstream research agenda necessary for publication and one race and/or gender related research agenda of personal interest. According to Patricia Hill-Collins (1990):

Oppressed groups are frequently placed in the situation of being listened to only if we frame our ideas in the language that is familiar to and comfortable for a dominant group. This requirement often changes the meaning of our ideas and works to elevate the ideas of dominant groups. By placing African American women’s ideas in the center of analysis, I not only privilege those ideas but encourage white feminists, African American men, and all others to investigate the similarities and differences among their own standpoints and those of African American women (p. xiii).

The dominant theme in the search for voice was “the lack of respect for their work and research.” Having respect from their peers, department heads and deans was identified by the participants as another barrier in the promotion and tenure process. All
of the participants had race and/or gender related research agendas. They discussed in detail how they had to conduct research that would be accepted in mainstream journals to get published. The participants reported that their work was devalued because it was on race and gender related issues. All of the participants wanted the respect of their colleagues and often struggled with why they did not get it. They wanted their work to be valued, respected and thought of as contributing to the body of knowledge worthy of being published in mainstream journals. According to Moses (1997), “one of the best sources of support that faculty members can get is the respect and validation of their peers” (p. 30). Moses concluded that “for many Black women, especially those on predominantly white campuses, this essential ingredient is missing from their professional experience.” Because of stereotypes based on racist and sexist attitudes, Black women’s contributions to their departments are not always recognized or valued” (p. 31). The race and gender related research agendas provided a medium for the women to express themselves in their own words, in the first-person. Having been silenced by research norms that historically ignored the experiences of women and minorities, it was important for them to engage in research that gave them voice. This was their way of giving back to their communities and constituents.

Connie said, “I think everything you do ought to count. And I think research counts too much. How much money you bring in counts too much.” Janice, echoing Connie, responded:

You think teaching is the major part of it, then service and research, but research is over 50%, I don’t care what anybody says, it’s over 50%. If you don’t have the research, you will not make it and yes, teaching is a significant part…You can get
all sorts of teaching awards but if you don’t do the research, you’re not going to get tenured. That’s the bottom line.

Diane, feeling the same way, stated, “what counts is research, teach the courses you have to teach and do your research. You have to really watch being put on all these committees and having your time diluted.” Angel said if she could change one aspect of the tenure process, “it would be that teaching was valued more and that the university would use something other than student evaluations to assess teaching.”

Research in higher education is conducted for many reasons (1) to add to the existing body of knowledge about a specific topic or (2) to solve a particular problem. In order to value all faculty members, research agendas should be of individual interest because when faculty are free to explore areas of interest to them, it broadens research available on topics and introduces different perspectives. Academic freedom protects the rights of professors to introduce different perspectives without fear of dismissal. The academy has much to learn from the introduction of different perspectives and everybody wins when this is individuality is honored. It is important in the preservation of voice that all research is measured on its own merit instead of by its focus. The search for voice continues for African American female professors because there is still a large gap in the research literature on African American women in academia.

**Interdependence of Thought and Action**

**Change**

Change, according to Webster’s Dictionary, means to make or become different. Change represents the interdependence of thought and action and its impact on the promotion and tenure process. As Carter G. Woodson (1933) stated, “if you can control a man’s
thinking, you do not have to worry about his actions” (p. 84). This quote solidifies the connection between the interdependence of thought and action.

The sub-themes of change are identified as (1) mentoring and (2) advice and recommendations for junior faculty. Mentoring, the first sub-theme, was identified as a means to a better promotion and tenure experience. I inquired about mentors on the biographical surveys that I mailed to prospective participants, and ten of the twelve women noted that they wanted a mentor or wished that they had had one. In the study, I found participants with mentors discussed their promotion and tenure experience quite differently from those that did not have mentors. They described their experience as positive and acknowledged that Whites in key positions had helped them. This finding regarding mentoring confirms Cullen’s (1995) idea of having a mentor to guide professors through the process as having an impact on promotion and tenure success. The professors without mentors described promotion and tenure as a difficult and very isolating experience. Since mentoring has been identified as a vehicle to promotion and tenure success, it should be a priority for departments to provide mentors not only for minorities and women, but for the entire academic community. In Barbara’s words:

Because of my experience with mentoring, I promote mentoring heavily. I encourage mentoring between junior and senior faculty, and senior faculty understand that it is not an option. My rationale for this requirement is that the entire school benefits from the scholarship.

Paula, with a different idea, stated:

Because my experience was so lonely and isolating, I make a concerted effort of mentoring graduate students and young professors across the nation. I meet them
at conferences; help them with their research… I show people now how to set up their research agendas, and I write with them a lot.

Janice expressed her thoughts:

Sometimes you don’t even know the questions to ask and I didn’t. I called colleagues at other universities. I didn’t know that if you got a substantial grant that you could buy out a semester and do research. I stumbled on that. I think having a mentor should be required.

Mentoring facilitates the socialization of junior faculty and has been identified as a vehicle to positive promotion and tenure experiences.

The second sub-theme of interdependence of thought and action is represented by the advice and recommendations that the participants offered junior faculty. The participants provided valuable, rich, first-person discussions of their experiences in the promotion and tenure process. Connie said, “for junior faculty, it’s tougher because of the climate, in my field anyway. If there’s a job, more than likely you have to[accept it to be employed].

Angel stated:

Write off the first 5 years. Remember that this is a career choice. When you go into a Research I institution, know that the expectations of that setting are research productivity. I believe that junior faculty need to get away from the fact that there is some conspiracy to keep them from getting tenure.

Consistent with the theme of change, the insight of the participants demonstrates that changes should be made in the promotion and tenure process.
Empowerment

Freedom

Freedom, as defined by Webster’s Dictionary, is the quality or state of being free, the absence of constraint in choice or action. It refers to the liberation from slavery or restraint from the power of another. Collins (1990) contends, “Black feminist thought cannot challenge race, gender and class oppression without empowering African American women” (p. 34). Empowerment is represented by three sub-themes, (1) self-validation, (2) spirituality, (3) faith, the church and the support of family and the community. Much like Kesho Yvonne Scott defines in *The Habit of Surviving: Black Women’s Strategies for Life*, all participants had coping strategies or ways of dealing with the stress of the promotion and tenure process as well as the day-to-day experiences in a predominantly white environment.

hooks (1991) discusses the first sub-theme of empowerment, self-validation:

> It is impossible for Black female intellectuals to blossom if we do not have a core belief in ourselves, in the value of our work and a corresponding affirmation from the world around us that can sustain and nurture. Often we cannot look to traditional places for recognition of our value; we bear the responsibility for seeking out and even creating different locations (p. 12).

Paula discusses self-validation, “I know that I can’t change people, but I don’t have to give them the power to devalue [me]. I try to do something good for somebody everyday.”
Spirituality, the second sub-theme, was identified and practiced as a way of dealing with the day-to-day experiences and challenges in the workplace. The participants described ways in which they coped with their experiences. Some of them went to the beach, others prayed, while others learned to disconnect by spending time with family and friends. I asked Diane how she coped, she stated:

I cope by praying. I pray honey. I get up in the morning and say thank you Lord for giving me this day you know, and let me be thankful in everything I say and do, lead me in thought, word and deed and then I head out of the door. It’s not so much about the church as it is personal.

In the Black community, spirituality plays an important role in shaping the values and beliefs of Black people. For two of the participants in the study, spirituality was a great source of support in the isolating environments where they worked.

Closely linked to the Black community is the relationship with the church and family, the third sub-theme of empowerment. The Black Church has been the cornerstone of the Black community for ages and has played a very important role in the lives of African Americans in their struggle for freedom and equality in America. Gregory (1999) notes, “one of the greatest sources of strength and what was often at the center of the Black community was the Black Church. Its role was to provide spiritual, moral, emotional, social, political and economic support” (p. 6). The success of African American women, in prevailing against the odds, is directly related to their faith. Faith, a component of spirituality, enabled them to overcome obstacles and hardships, believing that things would get better. “The Black Church is a place where many women grew up and have a long meaningful relationships. The relationship to the church is another way
in which African Americans find relief from stress” (Wolfman, 1997, p. 164). The church is a “restful haven” and a source of spiritual and emotional energy for African Americans (Wolfman, 1997, p. 165). All of the women related how their experiences in the promotion and tenure process shaped their actions and willingness to help other African Americans and junior faculty. This attitude of giving back is a long tradition among African Americans. It stems from the “lift as we climb” philosophy that many African Americans subscribed to, the belief is that when one “got out” or became successful, they went back to the community to help others. According to Peterson (1992), “Blacks who succeed were very conscious that a victory for one was a victory for all” (p. 83).

African American women play a vital role in the black community. They are committed to the uplift of African Americans; sometimes a heavy burden to bare. Support from family also resonated throughout the study. All of the women, very emotional at times, spoke of their families and expressed how difficult the process would have been without the support of their families. As the legacy of struggle is identified as a tradition in African American life, the support of immediate and extended family and friends is a another long tradition in African American culture. The church and education are among the legacies of values passed down for generations and as a result of this tradition, they remain a part of the African American culture today. The support of family has been key in the success of African American women in all aspects of life. Everyone plays a role in “lifting as we climb.” Brunetta Reid Wolfman (1997) stated: “it is the family that provides a continuity of identity and a reality base for Black women” (p. 164). In relation to this claim, Connie talks about her family reminding her of her roots, she stated:
I’m the first Ph. D. in the family and I’m doing something really strange. So on one hand, I think there’s always support financially and otherwise, but on the other hand, skepticism. And so I kind of feel caught between these two poles with my family. They know I’m doing something. They don’t really quite know what it is; they know it requires writing which is kind of a strange thing. But I think they are very proud of me. But at the same time, African American families can be like…”don’t get above yourself girl because you got all of that education, got all that common sense and book sense.” So there’s a kind of attitude that is keeping you in your place a little bit.

Janice talks about her family very affectionately with these words:

My family played an invaluable role in my success. They were very supportive. They knew I didn’t have money. I used to stay in this office when I was working on my dissertation because I didn’t have a computer at home. They were afraid of me being in here late at night so they purchased a computer for me so I could work at home. They provided support financially, as well as moral support and encouragement.

For the participants, knowledge is a form of empowerment, a vehicle for social, economic and political freedom, especially freedom from ignorance. In the study, empowerment provides the African American female professors the opportunity to exercise academic freedom and by definition, promotion and tenure was established to protect academic freedom.

When asked about the church in their lives, two of the women were very active in the church while the others still had ties in the church didn’t feel that it was a great source
of strength. All had been involved in the church as children, however, as adults had ventured away from the church for personal reasons. Paula, who is very active in her church, stated:

I try to read my Bible before I leave in the morning to go to work because if I don’t, I have a bad day. And sometimes, when I’m in a difficult meeting, I pray within the meeting for the strength asking the Lord to give me the word to say that would be about penetrating the heart.

The theme of freedom is associated with spirituality, ties to the family and strong religious traditions that have been a legacy of African Americans for centuries.

Summary

In summary, it is important to note that the four major themes of Black feminism identified in this chapter; the legacy of struggle, the search for voice, the interdependence of thought and action and the empowerment of everyday life represent the sub-themes or underpinnings of struggle, oppression, change and freedom. These sub-themes provide insight into the unique experiences of the African American women participants in the promotion and tenure process.

In the next chapter, I draw on the emerging themes to provide a final discussion on the experiences of African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process in predominantly white Research I institutions in the South.
Chapter VI

Discussions, Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of the study was to explore and document the promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors at select predominantly white Research I universities in the South. The research questions that guided the study were:

- What were the experiences of tenured, African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process at select, predominantly white, Research I institutions?

- What factors contributed to their success in the promotion and tenure process?

This chapter includes a discussion and comparison of the research findings, understanding the contribution of Black feminism as a theoretical framework, and recommendations for further research.

Discussion of the Research Findings

Issues and experiences of Black women cannot be discussed without examining how the past continues to inform and influence the experiences of African American women today. “Black women have been participants in higher education for more than a century, but are absent from the research literature; rarely is the impact of racism and sexism on Black women in academe examined (Moses, 1989, p. 1).

Using the four core themes of Black feminism, (1) the legacy of struggle against racism, sexism and social class exploitation (2) the search for voice or the refusal of Black women to remain silenced (3) the interdependence of thought and action, the impossibility of separating intellectual inquiry from political activism and (4) the empowerment in the context of everyday life for the data analysis, provided a different
perspective and interpretation of the data where research has often ignored or silenced the voices of these women. Analyzing data with a theoretical framework that subscribes to African American women, preserved the voices of the participants.

In this study, the overall finding was that even though promotion and tenure is required for assistant professors to gain tenure, each individual experience varied. Several internal and external factors are figured into the equation such as discipline, ratio of men to women in the department, the racial/ethnic make-up of the departments, support of the department chairperson and dean, the individual interpretation of promotion and tenure criteria, and the assistant professors’ ability to establish a research agenda. I found that all of the factors mentioned above affect the individual, the process and subsequently the promotion and tenure experience. After conducting the literature review and reading other studies focusing on African American females, I discovered a gap in the research literature on African American females in higher education. My premise when I decided to study tenured African American female professors at predominantly white Research I universities was that faculty of color have been grouped in categories that obscure their individual experiences (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). So, in this study, I sought to exclusively highlight the unique promotion and tenure experiences of African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process by giving credence to their individual experiences and by not grouping them into a general minority category.

**Factors Influencing the Promotion and Tenure Process for African American Females**

After reading and analyzing the data through the four core themes of Black feminism, I found that several factors influenced the experiences of African American female professors in the promotion and tenure process. In summary, they are (1) the
double burden of being Black and female in a predominantly white environment, (2) being the only African American female faculty member in a department, (3) overburdened teaching, advising and mentoring students leaving little time for scholarly research (4) the vagueness of the promotion and tenure criteria, (5) serving on numerous committees representing women and minorities (6) opportunities for scholarly research limited due to research interests on race and gender-related issues, no research collaborators, (7) being unfamiliar with departmental politics, (8) no mentoring, no camaraderie or informal relationships with senior colleagues, (9) little or no departmental or institutional support, funds for seminars or conferences. Although these factors may negatively influence the process, with a strategy, the promotion and tenure experience can be a positive one.

In the study, the participants provided advice to junior faculty and others seeking careers in higher education. The participants offered the following advice for junior faculty:

- Before applying for a position at a university, do the homework. Examine the university’s fact book. Determine the minority faculty ratio at the university.
- Research the department where you are applying for employment. Talk to colleagues and friends about the university and the department.
- Once hired, take steps to clarify any misconceptions. Obtain policies and procedures that explain what is expected. Talk to tenured faculty who can provide guidance.
- Work to recruit Black graduate students.
• Stay involved in professional organizations; remember professional relationships are key to receiving tenure.

Although the majority of published literature on African American women in the academy details the struggles and obstacles that they face daily in higher education, this research adds to that body of knowledge by presenting individual cases where some of the participants described positive promotion and tenure experiences.

Through this research, a Black feminist lens detailing the struggle, oppression, change and freedom of African American female professors, is provided for higher education policymakers and strategists to examine the experiences of African American women. The goal is to provide information that they can use to successfully recruit, retain, promote and tenure African American female professors. Exploring the experiences of these women surviving the promotion and tenure process will provide university policymakers and other officials with an insight as to what is required to provide warmer climates for African American female professors as well as the necessary hiring and promotions practices to eliminate underrepresentation.

Referencing studies that focused on the difficult issues that women and minorities face in the promotion and tenure process, the participants did not dismiss the fact that they too had these experiences. As stated, two of the eight participants had very positive promotion and tenure experiences. The contributing factor in these positive experiences was the departmental climate and mentoring. Both of the participants had mentors that facilitated their socialization and assisted them in establishing their research agendas, one of the most important factors in promotion and tenure. Research notes that mentoring facilitates the transition to tenure (Cullen, 1995). Cullen (1995) found that when African
American females had mentors, their perceptions of the promotion and tenure experience were different from those with no mentors. On the other hand, it was duly noted that the participants who had no mentors succeeded but not without difficulty. The participants all shared the isolating experience of being in a “chilly” environment, unaware of the politics and not having a mentor available to answer questions. They had to search for information or ask colleagues from other campuses to share important information about the process with them.

**Understanding Black Feminism as a Theoretical Framework**

Black feminism as a theoretical framework, with its four core themes, contributes to the research literature by providing a template in which to interpret the experiences of an oppressed group, a framework rarely used when researching women and minorities. According to Collins (1990), “it encompasses theoretical interpretation of Black women’s reality by those who live it” (p. 22). Unlike feminist theory and other social theories that have also suppressed Black women’s ideas, it provided a forum to address the impact of race and gender in the promotion and tenure process. The stories of the participants were interpreted within the context of the four themes of Black feminism which are (1) the legacy of struggle, (2) the search for voice, (3) the interdependence of thought and action and (4) the empowerment in everyday life. Although the participants had different promotion and tenure experiences, the experiences were all informed and influenced by the fact that the participants were Black and female.

There were challenges using Black feminism to interpret the data because Black feminism has four predetermined themes. However, careful consideration was given to establishing the themes and sub-themes in the study in order to preserve the ideas of the
participants and report them in the most unedited manner. The ideas presented in the categories are the candid responses of the participants.

Comparison of the Findings to the Research Literature

The findings in this study are unique in that they were analyzed using Black feminism as the theoretical framework. Black feminism provided a canvas for the participants to paint the picture with their perceptions and provide the rich descriptions of their experiences in the promotion and tenure process. Unlike other studies in the literature review, this study highlighted exclusively the experiences of African American females in the promotion and tenure process. The findings in this study share some similarities with those of Johnsrud and Sadao (1998), Turner and Myers (2000), Benjamin (1997), Baez (1998), where it was found that minority faculty experience the academy differently than their white counterparts. The participants were afforded the opportunity to explain in detail their day-to-day experiences with colleagues as well as department heads and deans to promote a better understanding of their promotion and tenure experiences.

Recommendations for Further Research

I have several recommendations for further research. First, I would examine the promotion and tenure process through case studies. Case studies are valuable, according to Merriam (1998) because they faithfully represent how others make sense of their experience. This is important because the African American female professors studied had different experiences in the promotion and tenure process. Case study research would allow the researcher to explore the underpinnings of each individual experience in more detail. The researcher could observe the participants in their academic environments
while attending meetings, classes and by also observing the day-to-day interactions with students, colleagues, other faculty and administrators to get a general sense of the overall climate. Second, I recommend that the study be conducted with African American female professors in predominantly white environments where tenure was denied. Third, to strengthen the study, I recommend including a wider array of institutions, such as private, Research II, Doctorate II, and Doctorate I. This will provide a nationwide perspective on the promotion and tenure process for African American female professors. Fourth, I recommend conducting focus group interviews with African American female professors to provide a forum for them to network with each other, share valuable information and to discuss their day-to-day experiences. Further studies are needed to identify the problems and issues that African American men and women face in academia.

The Future of Black Women in the Academy

The struggles to gain access to higher education have not been easy for African American women. It has been one of struggle, perseverance and enlightenment. Many federal agencies, such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH), recognize the impact of race and gender in society and have instituted policies that require the inclusion of women and minorities in clinical research to qualify for grant funding. Other agencies on the federal level are also mandating the inclusion of women and minorities in proposals for grant funding and require the monthly submission of progress reports and data on the populations studied.

Higher education on the other hand, has struggled with issues related to diversity as the untenured and tenured faculty ranks remain predominantly white. Affirmative action policies required by the federal government were established at the institutional
level to address the hiring of women and minorities but much is left to be desired in terms of hiring. With the retirement of the baby boomers, vacancies in higher education will increase and women and minorities will be available to fill the positions. A change in philosophies and attitudes is needed to assure that access to employment in higher education is realized by anyone that is qualified.

Summary

The most important lesson learned in this study is that promotion and tenure experiences differ by the individual. This study reinforces what Collins (2001) states, “Black women in the academy differ in their experiences, backgrounds, appearances, educational levels, demographics, occupations and beliefs. However, what connects them all is their struggle to be accepted and respected members of society and their desire to have a voice that can be heard in a world with many views” (p. 29). Carter, Pearson and Shavlik (1988) note that, “historically Black women have been one of the most isolated, underused and consequently, demoralized segments of the academic community” (p. 98).

I hope this study on African American female professors fills the research gap in higher education as it relates to women and minorities. The experiences as told by the women in this study, challenge all of us in higher education to honor and acknowledge difference and to be more tolerant of others. To meet the challenge, a change in philosophy and attitude is warranted.
Bibliography


Hull, Gloria T., Scott, Patricia B., Smith, Barbara (1982). *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave*. Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press at CUNY.


Luna, Gaye & Cullen, Deborah (1995). Empowering the Faculty: Mentoring Revisited and Renewed. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Reports.


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Appendix A - Request for Participation

Dear Prospective Participant:

My name is Tonetta B. Morrison and I am a doctoral student in Educational Leadership, Research and Counseling at Louisiana State University. I am in the proposal stage of the dissertation process and my research will focus on the promotion and tenure experiences of African American women faculty at Research I institutions in the South. My dissertation is entitled “Your Blues Ain’t like Mine: Exploring the Promotion and Tenure Process of African American Female Professors at select, predominantly white, Research I universities in the South. This is a qualitative study using in-depth interviews to highlight, document and better understand the unique experiences and perceptions of tenured, African American female faculty regarding the promotion and tenure process. The information gained from these interviews will highlight an area of research on African American women at Research I universities that has been systematically ignored.

Yolanda Moses, formerly the president of the City University of New-City College, poignantly states,

At the intersection of race and gender stand women of color, torn by the lines of bias that currently divide white from nonwhite in our society, male from female. The worlds these women negotiate demand different and often wrenching allegiances. As a result, women of color face significant obstacles to their full participation in and contribution to higher education. In their professional roles, women of color are expected to meet performance standards set for the most part by white males. Yet, their personal lives extract a loyalty to their culture that is central to acceptance by family and friends. At the same time, they must struggle with their own identity as women in a society where “thinking like a woman” is still considered a questionable activity. At times, they can even experience pressure to choose between their racial identity and their womanhood.

As a young, African American, female Ph. D. candidate, I am deeply concerned about the issues that African American female faculty face in higher education settings.

Previous research notes that Black women have unique experiences in higher education settings and are often lumped into a general minority category. This categorization nullifies the unique experience of African American women and other minority women as well. In this research, I hope to highlight the experiences of African American women faculty, particularly at Research I universities. Let your voice be represented in this research. If you agree to participate, I am asking for a commitment of 1 or 2 interviews scheduled at your convenience throughout the fall semester. Upon completion of the interviews, you will receive a $25.00 Barnes and Noble gift certificate in appreciation for your time.

Your participation is greatly needed, valued and would be deeply appreciated. If you are interested in participating, please submit a curriculum vita and complete and return the enclosed biographical profile in the self-addressed, stamped envelope by (date). The confidentiality of the profile is protected by the “Protection of Human Subjects” guidelines of the Code of Federal
Regulations. Shortly after receiving your vita and profile, I will call you to schedule an appointment to meet with you personally and to set up interview dates and times.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please feel free to contact me at (225) 357-9804 or (225) 355-9338 or you can e-mail at tonie@earthlink.net.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Tonetta B. Morrison
Doctoral Candidate
Louisiana State University
Educational Leadership and Research
Appendix B – Informed Consent Form

Louisiana State University
Informed Consent Form
for Participation in a Research Project

Project Title:  *Your Blues Ain’t Like Mine: Exploring the Promotion and Tenure Process of African American Female Professors at Select, Predominantly White, Research I Universities in the South*

Project Director/Major Professor: Dr. William Davis
Educational Leadership, Research and Counseling
(225) 388-6829 or (225) 388-6900

Doctoral Student: Tonetta B. Morrison
Educational Leadership, Research and Counseling
(225) 357-9804 or (225) 355-9338

Purpose of Research: The purpose of the study is to explore, document and better understand the experiences of African-American female faculty members in the promotion and tenure process at select public, land-grant, Research I universities.

Procedures/Methods To Be Used: This study will employ a qualitative methodology, specifically in-depth interviews to obtain an understanding of the experiences of tenured, African-American, female faculty members at Research I institutions. If you agree to participate in the interviews, you will be asked to respond to a series of questions on topics relating to, but not limited to, your personal quest for tenure, the role of race and gender in the tenure process, benefits of a tenured position, importance of research, factors that contributed to acquiring tenure, post-tenure review, coping strategies, mentoring, etc. Notes will be taken and the interview will be tape-recorded. The notes and tapes will be kept confidential. All materials will be categorized by interview numbers as no names will be assigned to the interviews. Your participation is voluntary, and if you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw consent and terminate participation at any time.

Potential Risks: To minimize all risks to you, I have taken the following steps (1) no names will be on materials (2) interviews will be conducted at several institutions and (3) disciplines will be grouped together to avoid identification of participants.

Potential Benefits: There are no known benefits associated directly for you as a participant in the study but the information gained from you will be helpful in documenting the promotion and tenure process as experienced by African-American female faculty at major Research I institutions. This knowledge can aid administration and policymakers in reevaluating the
promotion and tenure process for minority females as well as provide valuable information to junior faculty involved in the promotion and tenure process.

Protection of Confidentiality: Your identity will not be used in any reports generated by the study, however, quotes from the interviews will be used to support general themes. Tape recordings will be stored in a safe place and kept confidential.

Your signature acknowledges that you have read the information stated and willingly signed this consent form. Your signature acknowledges that you have received on the date signed, a copy of this document.

_I have been fully informed of the above-described procedure with its possible benefits and risks and I give my permission for participation in the study._

Participant Name (Printed)

Participant Signature Date

Major Professor Signature Date

Doctoral Student Signature Date
Appendix C – Biographical Profile

Personal Data:

Name ____________________________________________

Address ____________________________ City __________ State ___ Zip ______

Phone(_ _ _) _ _ _ -_ _ _ _ Ext._____   Birthdate__________Birthplace____________________

Age     E-mail

□ Under 30
□ 30-39
□ 40-49
□ 50-59
□ 60 or older

Marital Status
□ Married
□ Single
□ Divorced
□ Widow

Children
□ Yes, Number ____
□ No

Mother’s Birthplace_______________________Father’s Birthplace_______________________

Mother’s Education Level

□ Never finished high school
□ High School Graduate
□ Some College
□ College Graduate
□ Post-Graduate Degree

Father’s Education Level

□ Never finished high school
□ High School Graduate
□ Some College
□ College Graduate
□ Post-Graduate Degree
**Professional Data:**

Title________________________________Department_______________________________________

College________________________________________________________________________

Tenure Status
☐ Non-tenure track
☐ Tenure track, not tenured
☐ Tenured Year Awarded Tenure_____

Have you ever been denied tenure?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Rank
☐ Instructor
☐ Assistant Professor
☐ Associate Professor
☐ Full Professor

Salary
☐ $15,000 – 19,999
☐ $20,000 - $24,999
☐ $25,000 - $29,999
☐ $30,000 - $34,999
☐ $35,000 - $39,999
☐ $40,000 - $49,999
☐ $50,000 - $59,999
☐ $60,000 or more

Academic Background

☐ Bachelors
School___________ Location_____________ Discipline/Area___________

☐ Masters
School___________ Location_____________ Discipline/Area___________

☐ Doctorate
School___________ Location_____________ Discipline/Area___________

Position currently held at this institution________________________________________________________________________
Previous positions held

Total years of experience in higher education

Years experience at this institution

Discipline employed in at this institution

How many female colleagues in your department?

How many are African American?

Career Aspirations

Membership in professional organizations

☐ AAHE
☐ AERA
☐ ASHE
☐ ABWHE
☐ WIHE
☐ NAWE
☐ Other

What was your most rewarding experience or professional accomplishment?

Did you have a mentor/role model?

☐ Yes, who?
☐ No
How did you meet your mentor?____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
What is the race and gender of your mentor if you have one?____________________________________________________________________
Participation in this study will require at least 2 interviews. Would you be willing to commit to 2 interviews during the fall/spring semester?
☐ Yes, what dates?________________________________________________________
☐ No
Comments_____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
Appendix D – Interview Guide

Promotion and Tenure Process

Personal quest for tenure
Role of race and gender in tenure process
Organization as a junior faculty member
Factors contributed to tenure success
   Sacrifices/worth
   Benefits of tenured position
   Like and dislikes about tenure process
   Have you ever been denied tenure?
Importance of research in dept/personally
   Hours devoted to each
   Teaching/advising students
   Research
   Service
   Time spent on committees
   One aspect of tenure to change
Criteria for promotion and tenure clear
If you had to repeat the tenure process, what you would you do differently?
   Maintain in present status

Personal

What was the major influence in your decision to pursue the Ph. D?
Describe yourself before and after the tenure process?
Describe what effect these factors had in the promotion and tenure process?
   Race
   Sex
   Marital Status
   Children
   Discipline
What was your most rewarding experience or accomplishment?
Career Aspirations
What advise would you give/offer to a Ph.D. candidate or junior colleague in a career in higher education in regards to the promotion and tenure process?
Any questions that I did not ask that you think I should have?
Anything you would like to add?
## Appendix E – Participant Background Data

### Personal Data:

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Vita

Tonetta Beloney-Morrison received her Bachelor of Science degree in computer science in 1982 and a Master of Education degree in 1992, all from Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In 1996, she entered the doctoral program in the Department of Educational Leadership, Research and Counseling at Louisiana State University. Having held several positions in higher education including Programmer/Analyst, Assistant to the Chancellor and Systems Analyst, she is now the Director of Research, Evaluation and Information Technology at the State of Louisiana’s Department of Health and Hospitals’ Office for Addictive Disorders. Tonetta Beloney-Morrison completed her doctoral program in August 2003 and will receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in December 2003.