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This chapter explores factors of concern for, and overall experiences of, African American female faculty and administrators, including salary issues, affirmative action, racism, sexism, homophobia, campus climate, isolation, tenure and promotion processes, and salary.

The Experiences of African American Women Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education: Has Anything Changed?

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A search of databases for information on African American women faculty and administrators in higher education revealed a dearth of research on the topic. This paucity of literature and research reflects the scarcity of African Americans in academic affairs, student affairs, and other administrative positions. According to the *Digest of Education Statistics* (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002), in Fall 1999 African American women held only 5 percent (7,887) of the 159,888 executive, administrative, and managerial staff positions in institutions of higher education. Also, African American women represent only 2.5 percent (14,562) of the 590,937 full-time instructional faculty in degree-granting institutions (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002).

The research that has been conducted focuses on issues that affect retention, promotion and tenure, and job performance of middle- to senior-level African American women administrators and faculty. These studies identified issues such as racism, sexism, homophobia, climate, isolation, salary issues, coping strategies, and institutional ethos, and the impact of these and other issues on the lives and work of African American women (Allen and others, 2002; Delgado-Romero, Howard-Hamilton, and Vandiver, 2003; Edmundson, 1969; Kolodny, 2002; Jackson, 2001; James

Note that all respondent names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

and Farmer, 1993; Mintz and Rothblum, 1997; Myers, 2002; Rusher, 1996; Smith and Stewart, 1983; Winkler, 1982).

In addition, Sagaria (2002) asserts that during administrative searches, institutions may be using a range of "filters" that tend to eliminate African Americans and other people of color from the hiring pool. Although there have been pioneering efforts, "little progress has been made in achieving [and maintaining] administrative positions" (Noble, 1993, p. 101).

Predominantly white institutions have not been particularly successful in recruiting and retaining black faculty, men or women. Patitu and Tack (1998) state: "Yet, even with all of the special attention that has been paid to their employment and advancement, women and minority faculty have not made significant headway in the academy; they continue to be clustered in disciplines considered to be traditional or 'feminine,' in the lower academic ranks, and in part-time or temporary positions" (p. 8).

Given the increasing number of students of color in institutions of higher education and given increasing efforts to develop multicultural learning communities on campus, these issues must be addressed. Black female faculty and administrators on predominantly white campuses can significantly influence the lives of students. One way in which students are affected by the presence of black women is through mentoring. African American female students who need and seek mentoring relationships often discover that those relationships are difficult to develop because of cultural differences between black women and white faculty and administrators and the lack of potential mentors who have experiences similar to those of black students.

Furthermore, the experiences of African American women in administrative and faculty roles is important because enrollment and persistence toward degree completion of African American students is linked to the number of African American faculty and administrators present on predominantly white campuses (Fleming, 1984; Gardiner, Enomoto, and Grogan, 2000). When minority students see African American and other minority faculty on campus, they believe that they can also succeed and hold professional positions.

This chapter uses data from two recent studies (Hinton, 2001; Patitu, 2002, unpublished raw data from study done for this chapter) to explore experiences and concerns of African American women faculty and administrators. Issues to be addressed include salary, affirmative action, racism, sexism, homophobia and heterosexism, campus climates, feelings of isolation, and tenure and promotion processes. These issues have surfaced over the years for African American faculty and administrators, which in turn led us to ask, "What has changed for African American faculty and administrators in higher education?" The rest of this chapter attempts to answer that question. We divide the discussion into two sections: the first addresses the experiences of African American women in administrative roles; the second addresses the experiences of African American women faculty.

African American Female Administrators

When asked to describe their experiences as African American women in administrative roles in higher education, participants in the research we conducted cited racism, sexism, and homophobia as particular concerns.

Racism. One of the questions left unanswered in the literature on African American women who are administrators is which avenue of discrimination is more salient, race or gender? Hinton (2001) interviewed five middle- and senior-level African American women in administrative roles at five different institutions (one public Research Extensive, one private Research Extensive, one regional comprehensive, one urban commuter, and one public two-year) and found that for these women, race was more salient in their efforts to retain their positions and seek promotion. One respondent believed that being a woman was less threatening to others than being African American. She stated, "My race overshadowed being a woman. Being a woman was nothing. I would be surprised if you don't find that African American women, because of their race, wrestle with issues as administrators that White women do not confront, because we are not seen like they are" (p. 126). Another participant, however, believed that racism and sexism were equally problematic.

Sexism. Despite some commonalities between sexism and racism in stereotyping (for example, devaluation and exclusion), "sexist and racist interpersonal and institutional processes also take crucially different forms" (Smith and Stewart, 1983, p. 3). Furthermore, racism and sexism have similar and differing effects on their targets. For most African American women, racism and sexism are not always distinguishable. Often they exist in tandem. This section of the chapter describes the processes and effects of sexism on the women who participated in this study.

Sunni Day, a coordinator of multicultural services at a small public two-year college, Lemon State, recalled that a white administrator pointedly told her that although she might perceive her treatment as racist, it is highly possible that sex could play a stronger role. Institutional sexism is evident at Lemon State in the fact that there were no female vice presidents, deans, associate deans, or assistant deans; "they are all White males." Sunni, in addition, has been excluded from positions of power by being denied director status (her position as coordinator was titled director for her male predecessors), which forced her to become dependent on white men to discuss and decide what was best for her office.

There was a period when the vice-president that I reported to would only speak to me through my assistant because he is a man, and he didn't want to talk to me. So if there was something major that happened, I was the last to know. He would meet with my assistant and tell him things until I went off! I went off several times and told him "I've had enough of it; I'm the director, this is what you pay me to do; this is the position you have given me and I

want to be respected as that." That's how I was treated, which was not due to racism because my assistant is also Black—that was sexism. [Hinton, 2001, p. 136]

Homophobia. According to Collins (1998), "Race, class, and gender are the systems of oppression that most heavily affect African American women" (p. 225). However, the lived experiences of African American women include other oppressions, such as homophobia and heterosexism. Two of the women in Hinton's (2001) study, Sunni and Nikki, have been consistently involved in same-sex relationships.

Sunni did not disclose her sexual orientation in the workplace, except she did come out to an African American male colleague and friend, who, in turn, "outed" her to others, including students. Her experiences with homophobia have been painful and oppressive. As a result of her colleague's betrayal, Sunni experienced verbal attacks from students. Also, many of her on-the-job struggles since being outed could be linked to her sexuality; the interlocking elements of race, gender, and sexual orientation define much of who she is (Collins, 1998).

I've had people tell me, "you don't even know if the reason you're being treated this way is because you're Black, you're female," and now a third one is because of the fact that I enjoy the company of the same sex—I don't know what it is. [Hinton, 2001, p. 143]

What Sunni does know is that being outed caused her to lose the respect of some students. At a graduation recognition ceremony, an African American male student publicly insulted Sunni by suggesting that she was a man because of the rumors about her sexual orientation. The humiliation Sunni faced at this event did not end that night. "Some students acted like they didn't want to be in the same room with me. What was I going to do, attack them? Was I a monster or something?"(Hinton, 2001, p.143). The humiliation she suffered illustrates the level of disrespect that lesbians might expect, especially when it is compounded by race and gender prejudices.

Effects and Processes of Racism, Sexism, and Homophobia. Marginalization, lack of support, survival and coping skills, and transition and growth are the subthemes that provide a context for the work and life experiences of the women involved in the study just described. These subthemes also demonstrate the effects and processes of racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Marginalization is defined as any issue, situation, or circumstance that has placed these women outside of the flow of power and influence within their institutions. Three of the women, at various times during their professional careers in higher education, were placed at the periphery of the decision-making process, access to resources, and participation in their organizations.

Sunni Day, for example, was consistently excluded from weekly meetings with the vice president of student affairs that other directors participated in, because her title was shifted to coordinator (rather than director) of multicultural services when she accepted the position. As long as Sunni was classified within the college's organizational structure as a coordinator, she and the people she served would be denied a voice and power. She stated:

As a director, I would be allowed to get in the inner circle of student services, which I have been intentionally left out of. It would allow us a voice to be heard and respected. I have been told that the dean of students is supposed to represent us. I run that office. We are a legitimate office and no one can represent our office better than we can. All of the other directors meet weekly and share what's going on in student services. They have the opportunity to work together, to be on the same team. Only when there is a problem that they can't resolve with regard to African American students, are we called in to respond. And each time our response is a home run. They will do everything they can to make sure we're the last called, and no matter the challenge, we've handled it efficiently. [Hinton, 2001, p. 150]

Support is vital to African American women who work in hostile environments at predominantly white institutions (PWIs). The administrators in this study provided many examples of their need for professional and personal support in the administrative roles they were asked to perform. Lack of support, in some cases, caused them to be ineffective in their positions. Lack of support, for these women, came in the form of sexual harassment from an immediate supervisor, budget constraints, denial of programming to increase diverse student enrollment, verbal abuse from African American men, and simply being ignored, isolated, and alienated.

Aisha, a vice provost for student development at a private Research II institution, said she possessed a "no fear" attitude. Because she experienced much of the racism and sexism characteristic of the others' experiences, she too has had to learn coping and survival techniques to preserve her sense of personhood and sense of purpose. In addition, her strong faith in God and her prayer life, like those of the other four women, stand out as her main coping mechanism. Laughter and poking fun at racist behavior are other ways that Aisha copes.

One of my girlfriends would always say that she would shake this one White administrator's hand, and he would wipe his hand off. So we had this deal that we would always shake his hand and make him wipe his hand off. But we were able to poke fun at it; it's not funny, but it's survival skills. You can get all mad and uptight or you can say you are a fool, 'cause I'm going on. [Hinton, 2001, p. 179]

Although these women experienced barriers associated with racism, sexism, and homophobia, they have persisted for decades in positions that they believe are their destiny. They have survived and coped because of parents, spouses, family, friends, colleagues, and supportive supervisors. They also shared that laughing, crying, praying, retreating, physical illness, a sense of self, and moving on were intentional and unintentional survival and coping methods.

To cope and survive in these environments, some of them retreated, some worked harder and smarter, some relied on support networks and faith in God and used prayer and spiritual development, while others invoked laughter and recalled pearls of wisdom from other black African American women, grandmothers, and holy scripture.

Because these women value their work and the experiences that have come with it, they also believe that they have made contributions to their professions. Transition and growth emerged from their perceptions of their ability and maturity over time. Juanita, an associate professor and the community liaison director for a large urban commuter university, has spent more than thirty-three years in higher education. Born in the late 1940s, she framed much of her story in a historical context because of the time period in which she grew up, the years she was in college, and the decade in which she began her professional life—the post–civil rights years.

The desegregation movement in Maryland, during the '60s when I was in high school, helped to shape my perceptions of race and America. I marched, satin, prayed-in and [even] saw so many Black people attack each other. This gave me strong signals about how complex race is in America. Funny, though, what I saw and learned during that time really didn't kick in until very recently. That is, for twenty years I felt that if you kick the door down, people are likely to be sweet and welcoming when you get inside. Love was the answer then just as it is now. But it's so much more exciting kicking the door down. [Hinton, 2001, p. 186]

The transition and growth realized by these women demonstrate the contributions they have made to the higher education profession. Furthermore, their personal maturity has served them well in how they have changed the way they communicate and fight battles. The greatest change, however, has occurred within the women themselves. Possessing a fighter's mentality, they do not see themselves as victims. They do not hesitate to speak out against any injustice they face but are tempered by their wisdom and maturity. Yet, what each woman revealed about her particular struggles suggests that there is a need for African American women administrators at PWIs to have a voice, not just a place, in higher education administration. Their visibility and presence will only increase as policies and practices come to include an understanding of cultural and gender differences.

African American Women Faculty

Following are the results of the study conducted by Patitu (2002) on the experiences of African American women faculty.

Levels of Satisfaction with Their Experiences. African American faculty have been part of a revolving door in higher education. Patitu (2002) interviewed five faculty members at three different ranks (assistant professor, associate professor, professor) at different institutions (three worked at doctoral-granting research institutions, one worked at a four-year college, and one worked at a community college) about their experiences in higher education. Four of the respondents expressed overall satisfaction, although one noted that all eyes were watching her when she first got her job and another questioned why some have to do more than others. The fifth participant was very dissatisfied. Armetha, a professor who has been in a faculty position for fifteen years, commented:

I was the first Black professor in the Registered Nursing Department. At first I was observed very closely by the other faculty members to make sure that I could "fit in" and perform at a high level in the position. They quickly discovered that in most cases I did the job at a much higher level than they did because I was willing to put in more time to ensure that. At present, I am very satisfied with my job. A couple of years ago I was offered the job of assistant chair of the department but declined because my salary would remain the same—just more administrative responsibility. I love teaching and interacting with students of all ethnic backgrounds and I really do feel that I make a difference in the lives of many of my students. I love to see the expression on Black students' faces when they see that there is a Black faculty member that they can relate to. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

Linda, an associate professor who has been in her faculty position for seven years, stated that she is satisfied with her experience. She said, "I have excellent colleagues and a good working environment" [Patitu, 2002, raw data].

Tamara, who has been in her position for only three and a half years and who is in the midst of the tenure and promotion process, felt that her experiences have, for the most part, been positive. She is frustrated primarily with her institution's lack of commitment to diversity. She stated:

I am frustrated sometimes when I sit in faculty meetings or engage in discussions with my students and colleagues and find that they are not as progressive in their thinking about diversity issues. I worry that my institution is behind the curve on how to recruit, mentor, and retain faculty of color in higher education. Universities have a tendency to hide behind the cloak of affirmative action lawsuits, rather than work to create viable, creative alternatives to achieving a diverse university. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

Renee, the newest faculty member of the five, who has been in her position for only one year, is clearly dissatisfied. She is dissatisfied not only with the location of her job but also with the community, which "seems to be complacent about critical political and social issues that affect people of color and the nation" (Patitu, 2002, raw data). Thus, she, too, is concerned about commitment to diversity. She has decided to look for another position, to get away from her present institution. This is very unfortunate, because Renee is the only African American faculty member in her program; if she leaves, there will be no African American presence.

Tenure Status and Experiences. In tenure-track faculty positions, a person must go through the tenure process to obtain permanent status. Three of the respondents (Armetha, Rita, and Linda) had tenure; two (Tamara and Renee) did not. When asked about their experiences in achieving tenure or working toward that goal, the respondents' perceptions varied. For some, there was no problem; for others, concerns included conflicting information, unwritten rules, higher expectations for faculty of color than others, and the absence of mentoring and direction from others. They described more negative experiences than positive.

Armetha stated she had had no problems. She attributed this to her context, a community college, where tenure and promotion might be less complicated processes than at research universities.

At the Community College level getting tenured is based primarily on involvement in college and professional activities and community service. In addition, I have received a Ph.D. and a Post-Masters Degree, which helped. Each time that I was up for promotion, I received it without any problems. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

The other respondents, who served doctoral-granting or research universities, expressed frustrations and did not view the tenure and promotion processes as problem-free. Linda, an associate professor, stated that the process was stressful and nitpicky, characterized by conflicting information. She stated:

Requirements changed as I got closer to the process. The annual reviews became a time to "nitpick" on what I had done. Early on I was told to work collaboratively in publishing; later I was told I should have had predominantly single-author pieces. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

Tamara, in her third year of service and so still involved in the tenure process, also was not happy. In particular, she did not like the unwritten rules.

It has been my experience that there are a lot of "unwritten" rules about a tenure-track position. Collegiality and citizenship, whether universities want to admit it or not, play a large role, in that some colleagues will either support

you or not, based on triviality, and not on your academic work. Some senior faculty like to say that the rules for tenure have not changed since they went through the process. I find this statement to be an insult to one's intelligence. The rules of the tenure game keep changing. As a faculty of color, I hoped and prayed that I had every "I" dotted and every "T" crossed while going through the process for promotion and tenure. I did not want to give my colleagues an opportunity to question anything in my dossier. I want to be tenured because the scholarly evidence was there, because I worked my tail off, and I deserved it. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

Also experiencing frustration, Renee commented, "White males were not required to do the same amount of research" (Patitu, 2002, raw data).

According to the junior faculty in the study, mentoring is critical during the tenure process. Renee stated, however, that she had received no mentoring. She also worried that there were no senior faculty in the program with which she was affiliated. She perceived that she had received no direction, although she had sought advice and suggestions from faculty members at other institutions. Renee worried constantly that she was not publishing enough.

Tamara also sought mentoring and identified several mentors who had helped her.

I have been fortunate to have several mentors in my field of expertise and also a senior, White, female colleague who has been instrumental in providing me with open, honest, and constructive feedback. I seek their advice when necessary and made sure that when I was preparing to go up for tenure and promotion, for example, that they understood my research, my split appointment, and how my split appointment is crucial to my research agenda. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

The tenure process issues that surfaced for these African American women included conflicting information, unwritten rules, lack of direction and mentoring, and nitpicking or triviality. These issues must be addressed, because dissatisfaction with the promotion and tenure processes is one reason for the decline in African American faculty (Tack and Patitu, 1992).

Institutional Climate. The climate at an institution also can affect a faculty member's satisfaction; climate is a particular concern for a faculty member of color at a predominantly white institution. When describing the climate for faculty of color at their institutions, respondents noted a lack of commitment to affirmative action, the presence of very few African Americans, and conservative attitudes and beliefs. Armetha stated, for example, "I get along with my colleagues but the climate here is that affirmative action is out and most positions are filled based on power of influence, not necessarily the best qualified or wanting to have a diverse faculty representation" [Patitu, 2002, raw data].

For support, the participants turned to church, the few African American organizations available, or family. Linda, who stated that overall the climate at her university felt positive, commented that her "social environment revolves around church and a few professional Black organizations." Tamara asserted, "There are little to no social outlets like the performing arts, . . . cultural events, and the opportunity to meet other professionals of the opposite sex." Tamara also commented on her family as a support system: "My father, mother, and brother are here, so I am fortunate to have them as a support network" (Patitu, 2002, raw data).

Salary. Salary was, at one time, thought to be an important factor in the job dissatisfaction of faculty, particularly faculty of color and women (Edmundson, 1969; Winkler, 1982). Therefore, the respondents were asked what concerns, if any, they had about their salaries. Armetha, the professor, and Renee, the new assistant professor, both felt that their salaries were comparable to those of other faculty. However, Linda, the associate professor, and Tamara, the other assistant professor up for tenure and promotion, felt strongly that their salaries were not comparable to those of their colleagues, especially the men. Linda commented, "My impression is that my male colleagues have a higher salary than I do. The one thing I've learned is how important it is to negotiate your salary upfront." Tamara stated:

From listening to senior, White, female colleagues in my department, I am sure that my salary is not comparable. I am concerned that salary often detracts from attracting senior faculty of color to the university. The university has a tendency to be stringent about not hiring someone at a higher salary level than what we offer a current faculty member. Yet, other institutions do this all the time. The system is not perfect and equal, it never has been. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

Discussion

Myers (2002) asserts, "African American women live in a society that devalues both their sex and their race" (p. 6). The African American women in these studies have experienced overt and covert racism, sexism, and homophobia. They have been devalued, excluded, marginalized or mistreated because of who they are. Those who aspire to be tenured believe they are less likely to receive mentoring and direction on their pursuits than white faculty. Furthermore, they believe they are less likely to be asked to coauthor a publication by a senior white faculty member.

When it is time for them to go up for tenure, they assert, the rules change. And one of the subjects stated, "White males were not required to do the same amount of research." These respondents feel that expectations are higher for them than for white or male colleagues. Worse yet, they are working solo with their feelings of loneliness and isolation, in hostile environments with a lack of support. They also feel they have to try to fit in and

repeatedly prove that they can do the job as they are constantly watched. And worse yet, these respondents do not believe their institutions are committed to diversity, and they feel the institutional climates are not good for them. On top of all of this, they feel their salaries are not comparable with their colleagues, especially the men.

These issues have surfaced over the years for these respondents. This leads us to conclude that little has changed for these African American women and to speculate that little has changed for African American female faculty and administrators in general.

As we stated previously, in 2002 in Fall 1999 African American women held only 5 percent of the executive, administrative, and managerial staff positions in institutions of higher education (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). Faculty are not reaching the full professor level, "a highly valued, powerful status in which people of color and women continue to be vastly underrepresented" (Allen and others, 2002, p. 190). African American women represent only 1 percent of all full professors in degree-granting institutions, and as previously stated, African American women represent only 2.5 percent of the full-time instructional faculty in degree-granting institutions (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). Their low numbers in turn make it harder to recruit other African American faculty, administrators, staff, and students.

Institutions must act to increase and retain African American women in higher education. Colleges and universities must value a diverse workforce in all branches of their institutions. These women have rich backgrounds and bring diversity in their experiences, their perspectives, and their abilities. They also bring different worldviews, which help to promote a multicultural environment. Furthermore, their presence is crucial for the personal and academic success of minority students for whom they act as mentors, role models, and advisers and for white students, who need the opportunity to interact with African American faculty to overcome misconceptions about the intellectual capabilities of minorities, especially African Americans. A diverse faculty and curriculum, which these women help to create, "enriches students' overall education by allowing them to experience people and ideas that they are likely to encounter as they move further away from their localized comfort zone and into our increasingly heterogeneous society." (Jimoh and Johnson, 2002, p. 288).

Their presence also is crucial for white faculty, who need to interact with African American faculty to gain a better understanding of minority cultures. In addition, African American women faculty are involved in research and development that bring in different perspectives, and they can serve as role models in the research arena for their minority colleagues. And they need each other for their survival. Serious steps must be taken by predominantly white institutions to address the serious issues that African American females face in higher education, in order to ensure a welcoming environment conducive to their success.

Recommendations

Although the studies described here examined the experiences of only five faculty members and five administrators, it still is possible to identify steps that PWIs might take to attract, hire, develop, and retain African American women administrators and faculty. First, Sagaria (2002) suggests these institutions "must provide leadership and resources to improve search processes" (p. 705) by educating search committees to reveal unconscious and subconscious institutional and individual biases; use a follow-up interview for candidates who did not receive an offer or who turned down the position, to determine how the institution could become more effective in recruiting and hiring African American women administrators and faculty; and hold senior administrators "accountable for the behavior of search committees and the outcomes of the searches" (p. 705).

Also, PWIs should consider ongoing assessments to determine whether discrimination based on race, gender, and sexual orientation persists. This can be accomplished by cultural audits of each academic and administrative unit on campus.

When recruiting faculty and administrators, PWIs should emphasize the opportunities and support systems available for research and teaching. Mentoring also should be provided by individuals who are sensitive to the problems faced by women of color.

Also, African American women should be assisted in establishing contacts within the African American community. Doing so relieves some of the isolation that often is felt by African American faculty and administrators new to an institution. For the same reasons, institutions should avoid having only one African American faculty member or administrator in a department. As Renee, a faculty member in one of the studies, said:

Many times, people of color are the sole entity or voice in a department. This sort of lone wolf environment breeds an atmosphere that may further marginalize the person of color. Persons of color should not be forced into situations where they are the representative from the race; this is often the case at many institutions. [Patitu, 2002, raw data]

To help African American women alleviate the isolation and loneliness that they experience on their campuses, support systems should be established. An example of a support system is the Women of Color in the Academy Project (WOCAP) at the Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan (2003), which "grew out of discussions with women of color faculty who expressed their concerns that there needed to be extended, focused attention to issues pertaining to women of color and students." The Office of the Provost currently supports the project, which is

administered through the Center for the Education of Women. The purposes of WOCAP include the following:

- To highlight the contributions that women of color make to the University community and to society at large, both academically and culturally; and
- To build a network of women of color faculty that serves as a support system for research undertakings, academic career development, and enhanced career satisfaction, thus supporting their retention. [Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan, 2003]

Predominantly white institutions also must provide and encourage supportive professional networks on and off campus to help African American female administrators and faculty feel included, valued, and respected and to help them with their academic career development, especially knowing "the informal networks of friendship and collegial exchange that silently influence the promotion and tenure review remain largely unavailable to women" (Kolodny, 2002, p. 90).

Because it is possible that African American female administrators and faculty feel they face hostile environments, prejudice, racism, and sexism in their work environments, PWIs should require diversity training for all faculty and administrators. Individuals must learn to appreciate the contributions of African American women and other minority groups and to celebrate their differences. Many groups provide diversity training, including the National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI), which works to eliminate prejudice and intergroup conflict in communities throughout the world. NCBI has conducted effective diversity programs on hundreds of college campuses and has campus affiliates at sixty-five colleges and universities in the United States and Canada (National Coalition Building Institute, 2003). By changing the institutional ethos to value and exhibit multicultural competence, PWIs could improve the hiring and retention of African American women administrators and faculty (Hinton, 2001).

Institutions must also take serious action against those individuals who harass and illegally discriminate against African American women and other minority groups. There must be zero tolerance for harassment of persons of color. The attackers and their superiors who ignore their behavior must be held accountable. Too often the victims leave the environment, when the attackers should be the ones who are pushed out.

Finally, institutional evaluation processes should include a commitment to diversity. For example, are various perspectives and worldviews explored in the curriculum? Does programming include diverse speakers and diverse topics? What is the minority enrollment and retention for faculty staff and

students within a given department? These and many other questions need to be asked as we evaluate the people and elements in institutions of higher education.

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