

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND  
UNIVERSITIES: AN EXAMINATION OF  
FACULTY LIFE FOR AFRICAN  
AMERICAN PROFESSORS

By

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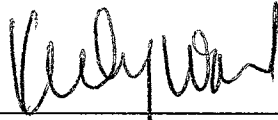
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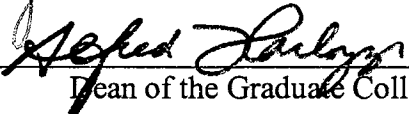
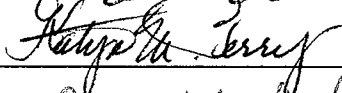
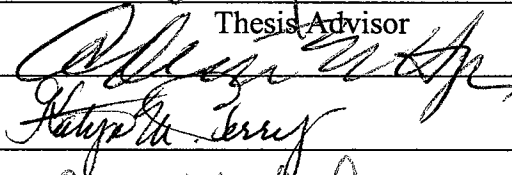
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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

Since inception, historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have stood poised for generations as a catalyst for educational opportunities for people of color in this nation. These institutions were born of the belief that post Civil War Black Freedmen should become immediately educated within society. One hundred and nine (109) institutions are still intact today, and their diverse faculties cover a broad spectrum of racial, political, and religious persuasions.

HBCUs do not constitute an academic monolith because, like other colleges, they differ along several dimensions. They do, however, share some basic characteristics that place them in a separate educational category. They were founded and developed in an environment unlike that surrounding other colleges---that is, in a hostile environment marked by legal segregation and isolation from mainstream U.S. higher education. Historically, they have served a population that has lived under severe legal, educational, economic, political, and social restrictions. The composition and position of the black population have influenced the development of HBCUs, and, in turn, HBCUs have contributed much to the advancement of the black population (United States Department of Education, 1985). In brief, HBCUs are different from other colleges because they have maintained a very close identity with the struggle of blacks for survival, advancement, and equality in American society (Thompson, 1978). Traditionally, in comparison with other colleges, they are poor in terms of financial resources, physical plant, and teaching facilities; they have faced opposition from the white power structure;

and have dealt with many students who are not adequately prepared for higher education (Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

Despite the historical role of HBCUs in moving blacks into the mainstream of American life, they have been under pressure to justify their continued existence since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Some black and white educators and policy makers maintain that the HBCUs' mission – to provide higher education for blacks who by law and/or custom were barred from attending white private and public colleges and universities prior to 1954—has been accomplished. Some claim that prior to the late 1960s, separate sets of standards were developed for black and white colleges, but that these no longer exist; that is, black schools are being evaluated now on the same criteria as are other colleges and universities. Further, in a society that is striving for racial integration some argue, the further duplication of physical facilities, academic programs, and services within a racially segregated, two-tiered higher education system is counterproductive financially, philosophically, and pedagogically (Fleming, 1984; Harvey & Williams, 1989).

HBCUs are a vital national resource and have served as the fulcrum of African-American leadership. These institutions produced approximately 70 percent of all black college graduates in 1991 (NAFEO Vol. II, 1991). Based on current trends, it is estimated that over 300,000 blacks will graduate from these institutions within the next 25 years. Though HBCUs currently enroll less than 20 percent of black undergraduates, they confer one-third of all bachelor's degrees earned by blacks. According to 1984 statistics, two HBCUs account for 40 percent of all blacks earning degrees in dentistry, two account for 22 percent of all black M.D.s, four account for 16 percent of all blacks in

law, and one accounts for 82 percent of all blacks in veterinary medicine. These institutions have championed the cause of equal opportunity, have provided an opportunity for many who would not otherwise have graduated from college, and have served as custodians of the archives for black Americans as centers for the study of black culture (NAFEO Vol. II 1991). They were originally established when segregation was mandated and now continue with predominantly black enrollments on a voluntary basis (Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

The number of African American first-time, full-time freshmen attending four-year HBCUs increased by 22 percent over the past decade, from 97,286 in 1986 to 123,993 in 1996. Although fewer than 5 percent of the nation's four-year colleges and universities are HBCUs, one-third of African American first-time, full-time freshmen attending four-year colleges and universities in 1996 were enrolled in HBCUs. In 1996, HBCUs awarded 28 percent of the bachelor's degrees, 17 percent of the first-professional degrees, 15 percent of the Master's degrees, and 11 percent of the doctorates received by African Americans nationwide (Nettles, Perna, & Freeman, 1999). HBCUs continue to fill an important niche for African Americans.

In 1995, 59 percent of all faculty members in historically black colleges and universities were African American. More than 25 percent of all faculty members of these institutions were white Americans. Faculty of Asian descent made up nearly 8 percent of the total faculty numbers, a statistic doubling their general faculty numbers in predominately white institutions. This level of diversity in faculty representation has led many in academic ranks to conclude that the "only significant diversity in academic ranks in this country exists in black colleges and universities" (Slater, 1993, p.67). To fully



understand the faculty diversity that has undergirded the foundations of higher education for African Americans in the United States and that continues to play a role in contemporary education of black students at black colleges, Browning and Williams (1978) offer that the development of black colleges, in a sense, turns on the issue of racial equality and the role of education in achieving or preventing attainment of it (Foster, Guyden & Miller, 1999).

### **Statement of the Problem**

The African American professor within the academy is slowly becoming a vanishing breed. In spite of affirmative action efforts and diversity emphasis within the academy, minor gains have been made in getting African American academicians through the pipeline. In addition, African Americans graduating with terminal degrees are opting to work at PWIs (Predominantly White Institutions) in greater numbers. According to recent statistics, approximately half of all African American faculty are employed at PWIs while the remaining half are employed at HBCUs. More specifically, there has been a plethora of research examining the socialization of African American faculty members at PWIs. However, little is known about the experiences of the African American professor at HBCUs. The shortage of research on the socialization of African American faculty members at HBCUs is the key problem to be addressed.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the dynamics of faculty life for African Americans' working in HBCUs. In particular, to explore why African Americans choose to teach and remain at black colleges and universities. Roebuck and Murty (1993) report that 55 percent of full-time African American faculty are

concentrated at the 109 HBCUs which comprise only three percent of the United States educational institutions. Historically, black colleges and universities employ faculty from a variety of backgrounds and many HBCUs are considered to be the only multicultural institutions (Johnson, 2001).

### **Research Questions**

To address the purpose of the study, the following questions directed this inquiry:

- What is faculty life like at HBCUs?
- What role does mission play for faculty working at HBCUs?
- What role do students play?
- What motivates faculty to stay at or leave HBCUs?

### **Assumptions of the Study**

For the purpose of this study, the following assumptions were made:

- The African American faculty responses were reflective of their actual perceptions and experiences based on their work at HBCUs.
- The sample of African American faculty in the study was representative of the total population of African American faculty members at similarly situated institutions.
- The African American faculty members interviewed were very knowledgeable to the extent that they could provide accurate data on their experiences at HBCUs.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The focus of this study is to examine the experiences of African American faculty at HBCUs; in particular, to determine why African American faculty members choose to teach and remain at HBCUs. In this study, interviews were conducted with thirty (30) African American faculty members at three HBCUs similar in size and composition within the midwest and southwest regions of the United States. Because of the limited nature of the sample, therefore, data cannot be considered representative of all HBCUs in that they have differing mission, demographic, cultural, and social compositions.

### **Significance of the Study**

The results from the study are significant because given the critical role of HBCUs for the advancement of African American society and the current calls for faculty diversity, this study will provide a better understanding as to why faculty teach and remain at the HBCUs when there may be opportunities elsewhere. This study is particularly important given the current dynamics of the academic labor market (Finkelstein, Seal & Schuster, 1998). As more faculty positions open, it will be continually important to understand the motivation of African American faculty to teach at HBCUs. The success of HBCUs and of African American faculty in these institutions is contingent upon our knowing more about the faculty experiences. The research is significant because it promises to shed light on something that the higher education research community has overlooked – the African American professor at HBCU's.

## Theoretical Framework

The grounded theory approach to conducting qualitative analysis is incorporated as an initial theoretical framework (Strauss, 1977). This theoretical frame and methodology are appropriate given the paucity of information of African American faculty at HBCUs. Further, given the importance of context to this study, the interpretive framework is appropriate. The interpretive framework shows the way a researcher's self, or an identity in a situation, intertwines with his or her understanding of the object of the investigation. Moreover, interpretation is an act of imagination and logic. It entails perceiving importance, order, and a form in what one is learning that relates to the argument, story, narrative that is continually undergoing creation (Peshkin, 2000).

Grounded theory can be presented either as a well codified set of propositions or in a running theoretical discussion using conceptual categories and their properties. The strategy of comparative analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on theory as process; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not a perfected product. Comparative analysis can be used to generate two basic kinds of theory: substantive and formal. Substantive theory is developed for a substantive, or empirical, area of sociological inquiry, such as patient care, race relations, professional education, delinquency, or research organizations. Formal theory is developed for a formal, or conceptual, area of sociological inquiry, such as stigma, deviant behavior, formal organization, socialization, status congruency, authority and power, reward systems, or social mobility. Moreover, grounded theory as a process is generated with the assumption that it is still developing. Theory as a process renders quite well the reality of social interaction and its structural context (Glaser & Strauss, 1999).

In that theory is a process, interpretation as a supporting framework fits well with this study. For, interpretation has to do with where one chooses to look to see that something is going on with the confluence of questions, images, and ideas that are the starting point of my inquiry, or the conceptualizing of my study. In the work of Glaser and Strauss (1999), they argue against the consequences of forcing of data. One approach, they suggest, is allowing substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own, thereby; enabling the analyst to ascertain which, if any, existing formal theory may help them generate their substantive theory. A researcher must be faithful to his/her data, rather than forcing it to fit a particular theory. Consequently, one can be more objective and less theoretically biased.

Interpretation has to do with an accurate accounting for what one has learned, or the shaping of the meanings and understandings of what has gone on from some point of view (Peshkin, 2000). Whereas, grounded theory is based on the approach that one can conceptualize and formulate a theory as it relates to the data. The framework is appropriate for this study in that organizational socialization is a cultural process that involves the exchange of patterns of thought and action. As a process, socialization is ongoing, although it occurs most clearly when new recruits enter the organization. For new members, organizational socialization is “the process of ‘learning the ropes,’ the process of being trained, the process of being taught what is important in an organization” (Schein 1968, p. 2). And yet, as a process, the organization’s members always are involved in socialization (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993).

Among the plethora of qualitative research methods and traditions available for the researcher to apply, grounded theory method exists as one option. The research

question is somewhat dependent on the “worldview” of the researcher. Although the research focus may emerge from a variety of sources, the actual formulation of the question arises from the researcher’s notions about the nature of reality, the relationship between the knower and what can be known, and how best to discover reality (Annells, 1996). In other words, the role of the researcher is to tease out from these notions some data, some tidbits of information, in order to give meaning to this discovery.

### **Summary and Overview**

There are very little data on the experiences of African American faculty at HBCUs. Therefore, Chapter One of this research study presents the background and purpose for study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, assumptions of the study, and summary and overview. Chapter Two provides a review of the literature. Chapter Three contains a descriptive and explanation of the theoretical framework for the study. In Chapter Four, the results and findings are presented. Chapter Five concludes with a discussion of the findings, implications, and suggestions for future research.

## CHAPTER II

### Review of the Literature

#### Introduction

HBCUs are defined as those institutions established prior to 1964, whose mission was the education of African Americans. While three HBCUs were established prior to the Civil War, the majority of these institutions were established after the Civil War, several with the public support of land grants through the Freedman's Bureau. The first Morrill Act (National Land-Grant Colleges Act of 1862) provided public lands to various States for the purpose of constructing educational institutions. Funds appropriated under this Act were distributed to the states with the intention that they would foster equal educational opportunities for all students, especially the freed blacks. However, the land-grant higher education system resulting from the first Morrill Act failed to provide equal educational opportunities. And, as a result, African American students were excluded from enrolling (Rachveli, 1994).

Second Morrill Act was passed in 1890, which included language mandating states with dual systems of higher education to provide land-grant institutions for both systems. As a result, 19 institutions were established as black land-grant institutions, enrolling those African American students who were been excluded under the 1862 legislation. While there was the creation of two land-grant systems—one established under the 1862 Land-Grant Act (First Morrill Act) and the other under the 1890 Land-Grant Act (Second Morrill Act)—the level of support for the 1890 institutions (both Federal and State) never approximated the level received by the 1862 land-grant institutions (Rachveli, 1994).

Today, powerful pressures are at work that will reshape American higher education over the next several decades (Dolence & Norris, 1995; Kennedy, 1995; Kerr, 1994, Lenzner & Johnson, 1997; Kennedy, 1995, 1997; Noam, 1995). Among the forces most frequently cited are the demographic shifts that will promote an increasing focus on multiculturalism; technological developments that will insure revolutionized instruction and scholarly communication; the emergence of new education/information providers; and economic and political constraints that will require an increased emphasis on productivity improvements and cost savings in higher education (Finkelstein, Seal & Schuster, 1998).

Sibulkin (1999) states that teaching at an HBCU creates an immediacy for considering multicultural perspectives that is unlikely to exist at a PWI. As a white faculty member teaching at an HBCU, she affirms that the presence of large numbers of African American students, faculty, and staff continuously focuses attention on issues of diversity, both between groups and within a group. She argues that HBCUs must be understood in historical context for these black colleges were designed to teach agricultural and manual arts as well as train professionals who would work in the black community (Sibulkin, 1999). Currently, African American faculty members at HBCUs are being faced with a number of issues varying from diversity concerns to greater emphases placed on research.

To more fully shed light on some of the trends affecting African American faculty at HBCUs, this literature review includes an overview of faculty demographics in higher education, desegregation and current trends in public higher education, faculty roles, organizational culture and socialization, and African American faculty and socialization.



## *Demographics in Higher Education*

Finkelstein and Schuster (2001) argue that changing demographics are reshaping the academic profession. They affirm that the American faculty has been undergoing dramatic changes in who it is, what it does, and the career trajectory of its members. While many of the changes—especially the demographic ones—have been evident for years, other key dimensions of the faculty’s transformation have been far less visible. Taken together, these elements constitute, in effect, a silent revolution (Finkelstein & Schuster, 2001).

Given the common perception that the academic marketplace has been more static than dynamic for many years, many observers are surprised to learn that fully one-third (33.5 percent) of the full-time faculty in two- and four-year institutions in 1992 were in the first seven years of a full-time academic career, and that in 1998, the proportion of such new entrants was 22.4 percent. Although the new faculty cohort that had transformed American colleges and universities in the late 1960s, during the last great era of expansion and substantial hiring, was very large—constituting about half of all full-time faculty members—the more recent junior cohorts have been impressively sizable and, accordingly will shape who the faculty are and what they do for years to come (Finkelstein & Schuster, 2001).

Demographic predictions of an increasingly female and minority-based work force have reinvigorated interest within the academy relative to the recruitment of qualified women and minority members into the professional ranks. According to the Hudson Institute, as many as 80 percent of the new entrants into the labor force over the next decade will be women and minorities. Such statistics have particular relevance to

higher education, where the pool of faculty applicants appears to be shrinking in some disciplines while the demand for new faculty grows. Not since the 1960s have colleges and universities focused so much attention on establishing a faculty that reflects the “diversity” of our national population (Olsen, Maple & Stage, 1995).

#### *Desegregation and Current Trends in Public Higher Education*

According to Brown (1999), *United State v. Fordice* case stands as the judicial guidepost for desegregation in those states that have historically operated racially dual systems of higher education. Brown further contends that “the Fordice opinion outlines the implications for public historically Black colleges and addresses the need for policy which aids in remedying the continuing vestiges of state traditions and institutional missions. The Fordice ruling was the first time since the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that the Supreme Court had proffered a legal standard for evaluating whether a state had addressed its affirmative duty to dismantle prior de jure segregated systems of higher education” (Brown, 1999, p. 47).

However, the burden of desegregation of state systems of higher education has been placed disproportionately on the shoulders of HBCUs, bringing them to a crossroads (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997). This forked status is even more apparent as states and courts attempt to interpret the standards set in the Supreme Court’s *United States v. Fordice* (1992) decision. The Fordice decision serves as the guide to developing state policies that can serve to eliminate segregated systems of higher education (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997).

In the three decades, since the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, predominately White universities have not been particularly successful in retaining

African American students. Institutions throughout the country have initiated a variety of programs and policies to promote the recruitment and retention of students from various minority groups. Unfortunately, these initiatives have not achieved intended goals (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997).

The disparity between the numbers of Caucasian and African American students completing higher education is expanding. The numbers of African American students completing postsecondary education are rapidly declining. This downward trend is apparent in all university types with the exception of HBCUs, who are currently experiencing flat-line enrollment and graduation rates and in some cases, a quantifiable, though moderate, increase (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997).

After declining in the late 1980s, the number of African Americans earning bachelor's degrees increased steadily throughout the past decade. Despite this progress, however, African Americans received just 8.7 percent of all bachelor's degrees awarded in 2000, though they represent more than 11 percent of all undergraduate students (National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2002).

African Americans at HBCUs showed gains in all degree categories in 2000 compared with the previous year. Highlights included an increase of nearly 17 percent in master's degrees, and a 28.7 percent increase in first-professional degrees. (National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2002).

The number of bachelor's degrees awarded to African Americans at HBCUs increased 10.7 percent in 2000 from the previous year. As a result of this moderate increase, African Americans made greater progress at HBCUs than at non-HBCUs for the year. Overall, African Americans earned 23.6 percent of their bachelor's degrees at

HBCUs in 2000, an increase of one percentage point from the previous year (National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2002). The success rate of African Americans at HBCUs is a clear reflection of the vital mission and purpose of these institutions.

In an attempt to expound on the mission and goals of the black college, Roebuck and Murty (1993) affirms that HBCUs, unlike other colleges, are united in a mission to meet the educational and emotional needs of black students. They also remain the significant academic home of African American faculty members and many African American students. The goals described in the HBCU catalogs, unlike those of PWIs, stress preparation for student leadership and service roles in the community (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997).

Special focus colleges such as HBCUs are different in their mission and goals comparable to PWIs in terms of their geographical location, African American focus, and their emphasis on teaching (Ward, 2003). In terms of their regional focus, these institutions must serve a population of students who otherwise would not have access to a quality education. In that many of these institutions are located in rural America; African American students on the lower level of the economic stratum are giving an opportunity to attend college.

Although African American students are now given a variety of colleges to choose from, the most prevalent research on college choice by African American students suggests that many prefer to attend Black colleges and universities (Brown, et al., 2001). According to Davis (1998), about one fifth of all African American college students continue to found at HBCUs. Brown (2001) suggests that this may be due to the fact that

the Black college campus tends to be more accepting and less prejudiced than majority institutions. Unlike other institutions, HBCUs emphasize the development of black consciousness and identity, black history, racial pride, and ethnic traditions (Brown, et al., 2001). These institutions “provide an African American culture and ambiance that many students find essential to their social functioning and mental health” (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 17). Moreover, Allen (1992) also found that African American students at HBCU’s perform better academically than those who attend PWIs.

Brown et al. (2001) argue that despite their academic and cultural success, HBCUs have been criticized for perpetuating segregation. They are mistakenly perceived as homogeneous entities that only serve African American students. HBCUs were created primarily for the education of African Americans (Brown, et al., 2001). Unlike PWIs, these institutions did not prohibit participation from other groups of people from enrolling or attending (Brown, et al., 2001). Rather, these institutions have always been inclusive and open to all who sought access to higher education. In an effort to increase access, HBCUs practically invented the open-door policy, which welcomed all that applied. Although called Black colleges, Brown (2001) argue that this term is something of a misnomer, because

the heterogeneous student body of the black college gives them unique status among institutions of higher education. The policy of open admissions goes beyond the acceptance of students with varying preparation for college work. It includes the acceptance of African, Asian, Caribbean, European, Latin American, and White American students. (Hedgepeth, Edmonds, & Craig, 1978, p. 18)

It is ironic that HBCU’s have been ignored when the discussion of diversity surfaces when in fact they were perhaps the first institutions that did not discriminate (Brown et al., 2001). Not only do HBCUs embrace people from different racial backgrounds

according to Brown, but they also reach out to those students who have been convinced that they are not college material due to their socioeconomic status, family background, and previous academic performance (Brown et al., 2001).

### *Faculty Roles*

Faculty roles are those institutional roles and expectations mutually accepted by both the faculty member and the institution. Bowen and Schuster (1986) describe the faculty role as encompassing instruction, research, public service, and institutional governance and operation (i.e., administration). Each generic activity category contains distinct concepts of workload, time allocation, and productivity (Fairweather, 1996). These particular roles may vary by campus depending on the emphasis placed at the institution.

Like all junior faculty, minorities must balance teaching, research and service to the institution, knowing that there are pressures to perform in each area, even though rewards are not equal. At the same time, minority faculty are often given more chances to fill service responsibilities than their white peers, and they are expected to take them (Eason, 1996).

Minority faculty at PWI's who are faced with significant role conflicts of teaching, research and service are especially vulnerable to conflicting expectations from the various audiences they must satisfy: minority students; White students, faculty peers, departments, administrators, and trustees (Eason, 1996).

Wheeler (1996) affirms that new junior faculty consistently indicate that positive working relationships with fellow faculty members are an important aspect of their careers. Yet, work by Boice (1991) and Sorcinelli (1989) suggests that the desire often

goes unfulfilled and these connections are not achieved. Boice adds that lack of collegiality may be an even greater problem for minorities and women. This lack of explicit support from established colleagues may be due either to a philosophy that new faculty need to be on their own or to the fear of established faculty that suggestions for collaboration will be treated as intrusions unless they are requested by new faculty members (Wheeler, 1996). This reasoning supports why there seems to be very little progress in the area of promotion and tenure for African American faculty at American colleges and universities.

Colleges and universities employed more faculty of color in 1999 than in 1997. The number of full-time faculty increased by 8.3 percent in this two year period, compared with gains of 2.5 percent and 3.3 percent for all faculty. However, growth varied for different ethnic minority groups (National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2002).

Faculty of color made no progress at the full professor level from 1997 to 1999. Moreover, the number of minority full professors declined by nearly 1 percent during this period. Among all groups, including whites, the number of full professors decreased by 1.4 percent (National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics*. 2002).

After major gains earlier in the 1990s, women of color lost ground at the full professor level from 1997 to 1999. During this two-year period, women of color experience a decrease of 4.5 percent, while white females had a gain of 5.1 percent during this time. Additionally, the number of African Americans serving as full-time faculty increased by 5.4 percent from 1997 to 1999. However, this increase was the

smallest for the period among the four ethnic minority groups. African American experienced an 8.7 percent decline in the number of full professors from 1997 to 1999. In comparison, Asian Americans and American Indians registered increases during this period, while the rate of Hispanics was largely unchanged (National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2002).

### *Organizational Culture and Socialization*

Considerable focus is on African American faculty to meet mandates for diversity. Tierney and Roads (1994) argues that “as an under represented group in higher education, African American faculty face an over-riding organizational culture that is formed on historical and social patterns that are both white (Eurocentric) and male...the result (is frequently) alienation and departure” (p. 64). Socialization into the academic culture of PWIs is often problematic for African Americans by virtue of their color and the marginal status conferred upon them in American society (Cazenave, 1988; Conciatore, 1990; Sutherland, 1990). Little is known of the socialization of African American faculty at HBCUs.

For over 30 years considerable attention has been given to the concept of organizational culture as a paradigm to understand the various groups or subcultures within academe (Clark & Trow, 1966; Clark, 1978a, 1987b; Becher, 1987 & 1989, Kuh & Whitt, 1988, Rhoads & Tierney, 1992). Kuh and Whitt (1988) offered perspectives on organizations that best fit this issue. They viewed organizational culture at higher education institutions as reflected in “the collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions that guide the behavior of individuals and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions



on and off campus” (pp. 12-13). This lens is useful for conducting studies on HBCU’s due to their strong institutional mission and culture.

All social organizations develop a social pattern of culture. Culture, as defined by sociologists, is a shared view of reality, a shared perspective, and a shared agreement of what is true, right and worthwhile (Benedict, 1961; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler & Tipton, 1985). Culture, like social structure, arises in interaction, influences the individual actor, and helps assure social organization (Charon, 1993). As social organizations, HBCUs have developed over time. They are made up of ideas about its values and goals. HBCUs all have a stake in teaching the value of education for improving conditions for African Americans. As this study demonstrates, those who become strongly committed to HBCUs develop strong social commitments to HBCUs as institutions. In terms of their careers, faculty accept lower salaries, higher teaching loads, and give their time generously to help educate the next generation. However, as indicated in this study, each institution has its own way of defining the world, a way of thinking, a set of rules, that encourages its members to share. The social organizational culture of each institution in this study is discussed and compared as a HBCU organization.

Tenure is the strongest example of a socialization mechanism for new faculty in that it involves the exchange and definition of thought and action (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). From a critical postmodern perspective in which Tierney and Bensimon (1996) try to develop the idea of communities of difference, they suggest that participants in an institution of higher education need to reconsider how faculty become enmeshed within the organizational setting. Instead of a unidirectional process in which individuals must

adapt to organizational norms, Tierney and Bensimon (1996) suggest that faculty develop a bi-directional scheme of socialization. Individuals should be encouraged to influence and change them. Their point here is that as an interpretive site of negotiation, the culture of an organization has the potential to be changed in a number of different ways if the participants within it are allowed to express their diversity. Socialization is a highly charged process through which different individuals and groups come together to determine organizational beliefs and attitudes. Thus, rather than treating tenure as an abstract system of safeguarding conceivably outmoded concepts of academic freedom, there is a need to think of it as a cultural process that orients individuals and the organization to evolving institutional values and ideologies (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996).

The literature suggests that a closer examination of the professional interests, time allocation, and satisfaction of women and minority faculty is warranted. In particular, we need a better understanding of which roles and tasks are truly sought and valued in a context where institutional priorities are both clear and different from those associated with women and minorities (Olsen, Maple & Stage, 1995).

#### *African-American Faculty and Socialization*

How do members of an organization develop the values, beliefs, and attitudes inherent in the culture of the organization and what influences does this process have on their expectations of them in that culture? The primary mechanism through which organizations impart values and goals in such a way as to make members want to believe in and conform to those goals is through the process of socialization (Manning, 1977; Owens, 1991; Van Maanen, 1976). Socialization is a process in reconfiguring the organization as new members enter the association, to introduce the organizational

hierarchy, and to build loyalty and commitment to the culture and the organization (Manning, 1997; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Successful membership within the academic organization depends upon a faculty member's ability to freely express himself/ herself as a member of a "learned" profession (Hendricks & Caplow, 1998). Informally, the process of socialization is assumed to begin whenever an individual associates with others under a common symbolic label (Manning, 1997). Formal organizational socialization is usually viewed as a product of social relations and the social structure (Manning, 1977). To understand organizational culture and the socialization process, and in particular its impact on women and minorities in academe, Tierney and Rhoads (1994) identified five sources of socialization problems: 1) inadequate anticipatory socialization, 2) weak mentoring relationship, 3) fewer networking opportunities, 4) divergent priorities, and 5) additional expectations and demands.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996), in their study of community and socialization in PWIs, found that in very large universities, there were varying levels of commitment to hiring minorities within colleges and departments. They found that the humanities and social sciences tended to be more conscious of and receptive to minority hiring efforts, and the sciences and business more insistent on hiring efforts based on "objectives, merit, and race-blind" criteria. In HBCU's, the recruiting and retaining of African American faculty is crucial to maintaining the institution's mission; however, little research has been conducted to explore this phenomenon.

In examining the commitment to hiring minority faculty, search committees must determine if there is a good fit between the potential faculty member and the particular department. This is referred to as a person-situation fit. The concept of person-situation

fit has been widely applied in organizational settings, defined general as the “congruence between norms and values of organizations and the values of persons” (Chatman, 1989, p.339). According to this definition:

Individual values are enduring beliefs through which a specific mode of conduct or end state is personally preferable to its opposite. Values are a type of social cognition that facilitates a person’s adaptation to his or her environment and values have implications for his or her behavior. On the organization side, value systems provide an elaborate and generalized justification both for appropriate behaviors of the members and for activities and functions of the system. Norms are closely related to values in that they make explicit the forms of behavior that are appropriate for members of the system (Chatman, 1989, p.339).

Given this organizational framework, the concept of “fit” would appear to be usefully applied to groups such as women and minorities whose professional values (as expressed in their interests, satisfactions, and relative expenditure of time) are supposed to vary from the traditional white male model in consistent and predictable ways (Olsen, Maple & Stage, 1995).

Moreover, the level of support and recognition an institution provides is an indicator of fit. That is, rationally, organizations should reward and support those interests and activities that are consistent with their own values and goals (“norms” in the terms above). Academe, in particular, which prides itself on its meritocratic values, should certainly adhere to such a model. If, however, phenomena like the Salieri effect or symbolic racism are operational, there may be a failure to support adequately individuals whose work values and efforts are, in the main, congruent with the university’s mission (Olsen, Maple & Stage, 1995).

In 1965, Caplow and McGee wrote: “Discrimination on the basis of race appears to be absolute [in the academic marketplace]. No major university in the United States has more than a token representation of Negroes on its faculty, and these tend to be rather

specialized persons who are fitted in one way or another for such a role...” (p. 194).

When Caplow and McGee made this statement, the majority of African American faculty members were at historically black colleges and universities (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974, Rafky, 1972). Today, although the numbers are small, African Americans can be found in faculty and/or administrative positions on most of the major college and university campuses. Their increased presence of diversity at PWIs appears to have mirrored the racial and social integration of African Americans in other aspects of American life (Hendricks & Caplow, 1998).

Concurrent with the presence of African American faculty in institutions of higher education, scholars have increasingly studied various aspects of the experiences of minority and female faculty in academe. With the exception of a few unpublished dissertations (Allen-Brown, 1994; Hendricks, 1996), however, factors that can influence the successful or unsuccessful professional socialization patterns of African-American faculty in general, and at HBCUs in particular, have not received the same scholarly attention in the higher education literature as compared to research on female faculty (Tack & Patitu, 1992; Ugbah & Williams, 1989). Furthermore, trends in the distribution of faculty by race/ethnicity and academic rank support the existence of a “revolving door” for African American faculty (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). African Americans are consistently hired into the academic ranks of instructor, lecturer, or assistant professor, but often do not achieve the more prestigious ranks of the academic organization (Finkelstein, 1990; Tack & Patitu, 1992; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Studies reveal that a high percentage of African American faculty become discouraged by the process and leave their positions prior to reaching tenure (Silver, Dennis & Spikes, 1988).

Additionally, many of these faculty are denied tenure more often than their white counterparts (Collins, 1990; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974; Rafky, 1972). Again, these dynamics at HBCU's have been unexplored.

Few institutions have the capacity, the strategy, policies, or boldness to hire with the specific intent of creating a core group of African-American, Latino, Asian or Native-American faculty with the exception of special focus institutions. The benefits to the individual minority of having others with a shared social and cultural experience are obvious. Having "comrades" increases the likelihood that a faculty member will remain at a particular institution. It also makes the institution more attractive for other minority scholars (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996).

Faculty at HBCUs are faced with a different set of obstacles in comparison to those at PWIs. These obstacles might include increased teaching loads, limited financial resources, and few opportunities for engaging in extensive research. The benefits, however, seem to outweigh the disadvantages at the HBCU. For the most part, African American faculty on black campuses adjust well in a familiar milieu that meets their personal, social, and career needs (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). The analysis of culture for this purposed study was based on an interpretive search to uncover such recurring, meaningful themes among African American faculty at these higher institutions—cultural themes that are linked by shared values, perceptions, and attitudes (Hendricks & Caplow, 1998).

Research speculates that women and minorities at large comprehensive universities are less likely to be successful within academe because of less effective socialization experiences, especially in the area of establishing a close working

relationship with a mentor who guides and promotes (Olsen, Maple & Sage, 1995). Further, work by Clark and Corcoran (1986) on the “accumulated disadvantage” suffered by female academics, and Jacob’s (1989) work on sex segregation within the work place, suggest that some form of social control must be ongoing to maintain differences in performance, opportunities and rewards. In their research, Clark and Corcoran (1986) describe a “Salieri effect,” whereby women are assessed by a dominant inner circle of men and fail to “measure up” because of their social status. The “Salieri” phenomenon is taken from Peter Shaffer’s play, *Amadeus*, in which Mozart’s lack of social graces gives Salieri, the court composer and gatekeeper of musical patronage for the Emperor Joseph, the occasion to prevent Mozart’s extraordinary accomplishments from receiving recognition. Salieri does recommend Mozart to the Emperor for the post, but he makes sure the salary is quite low. In the process, Salieri makes a pretense of being a benefactor to Mozart. Mozart, unhappy with the poor salary, is unaware that his career is actually blocked rather than advanced (Clark & Corcoran, 1986). In the end, the Salieri effect is perhaps more insidious than overt discrimination, because it allows women to enter academe while severely limiting their opportunities for advancement. Similar investigations describe a kind of “symbolic racism” toward minorities, which denounce overt forms of prejudice while denying access to resources, and sources of support (many of which are informal) essential to success (Olsen, Maple & Stage, 1995).

The literature on organizational socialization and the African American professor indicates that African American graduate students are less successful than other minority populations, particularly women, in using graduate school as a socialization tool for entering into the academic profession (Astin & Villalpando, 1996, Finkelstein, 1990).

The results of a study conducted by Hendricks and Caplow (1998) supported this literature. Only three of the nineteen participants interviewed discussed how they were encouraged by undergraduate professors to continue their education beyond the bachelors degree. Likewise, the participants who indicated they were encouraged to pursue academic careers as graduate students were only slightly higher – six participants recalled fairly positive early initiation experiences into the academic profession. They spoke about being “welcomed,” “embraced,” and “nurtured” as new assistant professors. They also felt that they made a smooth transition from graduate school into the academic profession. Their descriptions of how they were socialized into faculty careers confirms research suggesting early initiation into the academic profession is a continuation of the anticipatory socialization process begun in undergraduate and graduate school (Corcoran & Clark, 1984, Feldman, 1976, Tierney & Rhoads, 1994).

The literature suggests that the positive attributes of HBCUs afford African American faculty and students opportunities to become fully integrated in campus life. HBCUs, despite attempts to dismantle them, have continued to serve as a catalyst for integration into American life. To examine the dynamics of HBCUs and the African American faculty who teach there, I now turn to the research design and methodological section of this inquiry.



## CHAPTER III

### **Research Design and Methodology**

The research questions that direct this inquiry are as follows:

- What is faculty life like at HBCUs?
- What role does mission play in working at HBCUs?
- What role do students play?
- What motivates faculty to stay or leave HBCUs?

The theoretical frame for this study is interpretive. Interpretation involves making sense of the data, the “lessons learned,” as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

Several forms of interpretation exist based on hunches, insights, and intuition. It might also be an interpretation within the social science construct or idea or a combination of personal views as contrasted with social science or idea. At this point in analysis, the researcher steps back and forms larger meanings of what is going on in the situation or site (Creswell, 1997).

This interpretive study uses qualitative research methods. This theoretical frame and methodology are appropriate given the paucity of information of African American faculty at HBCUs. Further, given the importance of context to this study, the interpretive framework is appropriate. The interpretive framework shows the way a researcher’s self, or an identity in a situation, intertwines with his or her understanding of the object of the investigation. Moreover, interpretation is an act of imagination and logic. It entails perceiving importance, order, and a form in what one is learning that relates to the argument, story, or narrative that is continually undergoing creation (Peshkin, 2000).

Interpretation has to do with where I choose to look to see that something is going on with the confluence of questions, images, and ideas that were the starting point of my inquiry, or the conceptualizing of my study. It has to do with the judgment of what to collect that provides documentation for what I think is going in my study, and the further focusing on its field of inquiry. It has to do with what to select for writing that establishes or affirms what I have identified that has gone on, or the composing of the elements of my research story. Finally, interpretation has to do with what I have learned, or the shaping of the meanings and understandings of what has gone on from some point of view (Peshkin, 2000).

### **Sites**

The study included three historically black colleges and universities located within the states of Oklahoma, Missouri, and Texas. They were Langston University in Langston, Oklahoma; Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri; and Prairie View A&M University in Prairie View, Texas.

#### *Langston University*

Langston University was created by the territorial legislature on March 12, 1897. Established 10 years before Oklahoma became a state, the school was founded under provisions of the 1890 Morrill Act and named the Colored Agricultural and Normal University of Oklahoma. It was empowered to instruct male and female students in the disciplines of teaching, agriculture, and the mechanic and industrial arts.

The school opened in 1898 with 41 students and four teachers. The first president was Inman E. Page, the son of a slave who purchased freedom for himself and his family. Page successfully launched the institution with a budget of \$9,000. Classes were held in

the local Presbyterian Church and the Langston community school house. Later that year, upon completion of the university's first permanent building—constructed in part by community labor—classes were moved onto campus. The school graduated its first two students in 1901. By 1905, the library contained 900 books. In 1907, the main campus building was destroyed by fire, but the school survived. During the Page administration (1898-1915), the campus expanded to 160 acres, enrollment grew to 650 students and the faculty expanded to 35 members. Physical changes on campus also took place as classrooms buildings and dormitories were constructed and the curriculum was strengthened.

In 1941, the legislature officially recognized the school as a fully accredited state university and renamed it Langston University in honor of the community in which it is located and for John Mercer Langston, a Reconstruction congressman from Virginia, who served as a distinguished educator, lawyer, writer, and diplomat.

Civil rights legislation, which eliminated racial barriers, resulted in slowly increasing diversity of students at Langston University. The president of Langston during this time, William H. Hale, coordinated a 10-year improvement plan during the 1960's, which included a major building program, academic reorganization and expansion, and the establishment of the Langston University Development Foundation.

The 1970's were turbulent with frequent changes in administration. In 1979, stability was regained when Ernest L. Holloway, an alumnus who previously served Langston in several administrative capacities, was named president of the campus.

Key facilities at Langston include the Melvin B. Tolson Black Heritage Center, which was established in 1970. It has three major foci: African history, the Black

American experience, and Black Americans in the arts and humanities. The E. (Kika) de la Garza Institute for Goat Research, formerly the American Institute for Goat Research, located at Langston, is a nationally recognized goat research center and was organized during the Holloway presidency.

Langston comprises three modern centers of education: the 560-acre rural Langston campus; the urban center at Oklahoma City, and the urban center in Tulsa. Langston University enrolls approximately 2,500 students annually and its operating budget is about \$6 million (National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1990).

#### *Lincoln University*

The oldest private Black school to become an 1890 land-grant campus is Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. It was founded in 1866 by black infantrymen and their White officers at the close of the Civil War. Moved by the plight of Blacks and motivated by their personal experiences, the officers and enlisted men of the 62<sup>nd</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry, stationed at Fort McIntosh, Texas, and the 65<sup>th</sup> Colored Infantry, a neighboring unit, initiated a movement that established a school for Blacks in Missouri's state capitol.

The school opened in an old building on September 14, 1866, 17 months after the Civil War, with one teacher and two students. It was named Lincoln Institute in honor of the late President Abraham Lincoln, who was assassinated on April 17, 1865, just five days after the end of the Civil War. The institute, although enthusiastically embraced by the soldiers, got off to a shaky start. Three years after its founding, Lincoln moved to its present site, where it would have ample room for growth.

Energetic black citizens in Jefferson City petitioned the Missouri legislature in 1870 for inclusion of Lincoln Institute in the benefits of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. The petition was considered by the legislature, but benefits were not forthcoming. Instead, the legislature approved Lincoln's normal school for training teachers, and the following year, the institution began receiving state aid. In 1879, Lincoln became a public institution of higher education supported by Missouri. The entire property—buildings, grounds, and equipment—was deeded to the state. On March 13, 1891, Lincoln Institute became a land-grant institution under the provisions of the 1890 Morrill Act.

Agricultural and industrial courses were added to the curriculum, and for the next few decades the institution grew steadily, while experiencing changes in the political arena and limited financial support. In 1921, the Missouri legislature changed the school's name from Lincoln Institute to Lincoln University and created a Board of Curators to help manage the institution. The bill that gave the school university status was sponsored by Representative Walthall M. Moore, of St. Louis, the first black to serve in Missouri's legislature.

After World War II, Lincoln experienced a growth spurt. Nothing demonstrated this more than the institution's reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which declared separate educational facilities unequal and unconstitutional. Caught up in the spirit of equalitarianism, four months after the decision, Lincoln opened its campus to any student wishing to enroll. From 1954 to 1964, the university enrollment doubled; and within 19 years of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling enrollment increased 400 percent.

The growth propelled Lincoln University into a modern, fully integrated institution of higher education. The university offers courses in more than 25 disciplines, organized into three colleges and the area of Graduate Studies and Continuing Education. There are about 25 buildings on the campus, including the Inman Page Library, which houses books, academic programs, and is an official repository for federal documents. In this capacity, the library serves both the Fourth Congressional District of Missouri and Lincoln University (National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1990).

#### *Prairie View A&M University*

Prairie View A&M University was founded in 1876, the first year of the Texas Constitution, the common free-school system, and the dawn of public education in Texas. The first state institution of higher education in the Lone Star state was the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, established in 1876. Corresponding with its establishment, under the 1862 Morrill Land-Grant Act, the Texas legislature authorized a similar school in Waller County to operate under the management of the Board of Directors of the Texas A&M College.

A three-man commission was appointed to locate and build the Agricultural and Mechanical College for Colored Youths. With a \$20,000 appropriation, the commissioners bought the Alta Vista Plantation. A fashionable girls' school had operated in the stately plantation house on the hill surrounded by the prairie. For \$100 per month, Edwin Waller paid and supervised the property with his representative, Ashbel Smith. On January 21, 1878, the affairs of the college were turned over to the A&M Board of Directors.

The first principal of the new college, L.W. Minor, served for one year, 1878-1879. On March 11, 1878, Minor enrolled eight young men as the first black students in a state-supported college in Texas. The October class was smaller as the students abandoned school for the “high” wages earned by picking cotton.

Prairie View Normal was launched in stormy seas. Through determination, however, the college would eventually acquire the status as a “first class” institution. This initial effort to acquire “first-class status” was to continue for more than a century before the institution was afforded a share in the Permanent University Fund, a Texas higher-education funding source closely tied to the state’s oil wealth.

Alvin I. Thomas, who became the third president of Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College in November, 1966, introduced the residential concept of the college to the campus. In an early address, he stated, “Resting on some 1,440 acres of beautiful countryside—30 minutes from the largest city in the South and fifth largest city in America, Prairie View can create an environment which will contain only those influences which will affect a student for good and we can lock out the intellectual pollution of the cities and give the students a refreshing, undistracted experience aimed at maximum personal, social, and intellectual growth” (p. 17).

On May 19, 1968, the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) unit was established at the college. It was the first new unit established in 22 years, and the first at a predominantly Black college.

Prairie View A&M University has evolved from a faculty of two with eight students to a faculty of 313 and a student enrollment of more than 5,800; from one building to a physical plant comprised of 40 buildings and landscaped grounds and roads

valued at \$165 million; from a biennial budget of \$2400 to biennial budget of \$61 million; from courses in agriculture, home economics, mechanic arts and military tactics to several colleges: Banneker Honors College, Applied Sciences and Engineering Technology, Arts and Sciences, Business, Education, Engineering and Architecture, Nursing, and the Graduate School; from a fledging Experiment Sub-Station to a Cooperative Agricultural Research Center; from a small community service effort in serving farm families to a comprehensive Cooperative Extension Program (National Association of State and Land-Grant Colleges, 1990).

### **Sample**

This study included 30 participants. Ten African American faculty members were selected from each of the designated historically black universities and those members were selected from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds. The study was divided by the following periods of employment for each faculty member at the institution (See Table 1):

- Less than 5 years
- 5 to 10 years
- Greater than 10 years



Table1: African American Faculty Employed at HBCUs

Institution	Institution Type	Year Established	Number of Students	Years Employed		
				0-5 years	5-10 years	Greater than 10 years
Langston University	Public 4-year	1897	2,988	4	2	4
Lincoln University	Public 4-year	1866	3,332	3	2	5
Prairie View A&M University	Public 4-year	1876	6,742	1	4	5

Table 2: African-American Faculty by Academic Discipline, Rank, and Gender

DISCIPLINE	JUNIOR FACULTY	SENIOR FACULTY	GENDER		TOTAL
			M	F	
BUSINESS	1	3	3	1	4
MUSIC		2	2		2
MATH	2	1	1	2	3
SCIENCE	1	2		3	3
HISTORY	1	1	1	1	2
SPEECH COMMUNICATIONS	1		1		1
HUMANITIES	1		1		1
SOCIAL WORK		1		1	1
ENGINEERING		2	2		2
SOCIOLOGY		2	1	1	2
ENGLISH		3	1	2	3
LITERATURE		1	1		1
EDUCATION	1	2	2	1	3
NURSING		1		1	1
POLITICAL SCIENCE		1	1		1
TOTALS	8	22	17	13	30

The sample included 10 faculty members at each institution and from each time period using an interview protocol (see Appendix C). Through personal contacts, the selection was based on race, time at campus, and discipline. Given the stated characteristics, the study examined the different periods served and the opportunities afforded each faculty to leave. Tables 1 and 2 provide a complete summary of the participants in the study.

### *Data Collection*

Appointments were scheduled in advance prior to arrival at each respective campus. The interviews were approximately 60-90 minutes in duration. The interview provided interesting perspectives into faculty life at the HBCU. The interviews helped me to “understand and put into a larger context the interpersonal, social, and cultural aspects of the environment” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 85). Interview questions were based on an open-ended format, allowing for dialogue and interaction (Aston, 1997). A series of questions were structured to allow the respondent to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future (Fettermen, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The proposal for this study was submitted to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for review and approval. Internal Review Board approval was granted and is included as Appendix D. Data collection began immediately following approval of the proposal.

### **Data Analysis**

The grounded theory approach to conducting qualitative analysis was incorporated as an initial theoretical framework (Strauss, 1977). Data were audio-taped and transcribed. Data management began by organizing data into file folders, index cards, or computer files. Besides organizing files, I converted the files to appropriate text

units (e.g., a word, a sentence, an entire story) for analysis by hand and by computer. As Patton (1990) said:

...the data generated by qualitative methods are voluminous. I have found no way of preparing students for the sheer massive volumes of information with which they will find themselves confronted when data collection has ended. Sitting down to make sense out of pages of interviews and whole files of field notes can be overwhelming (p. 297).

Following the organization and conversion of the data, I continued analysis by getting a sense of the whole database. Agar (1980), for example, suggests to “..read the transcripts in their entirety several times. Immerse yourself in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts” (p. 103). Coding, writing memos in the margins of fieldnotes, transcripts, or under photographs helps in this initial process of exploring the data base. These memos are short phrases, ideas or key concepts that occur to the reader. Looking over my fieldnotes and interview data, I disregarded pre-determined questions to “hear” what the interviewees are saying. I reflected on the larger thoughts presented in the data to form initial categories. Within the categories, I looked for multiple evidence to support each of the categories. Moreover, I sought to find evidence that portrays multiple perspectives about each category (Creswell, 1997).

In the open coding phase, I examined the text (such as transcripts, fieldnotes, or documents) for salient categories of information supported by the text. Using the constant comparative approach, I attempted to “saturate” the categories – to look for instances that represent the category and to continue looking (and interviewing) until the new information obtained does not further provide into the category. These categories are composed of sub-categories, called properties, representing multiple perspectives about the categories. Properties, in turn, are dimensionalized and presented on a

continuum. Overall, this is the process of reducing the data base to a small set of themes or categories that characterize the process or action being explored in the grounded theory study (Creswell, 1997).

Once the initial set of categories was developed, I identified a single category as the central phenomenon of interest, and began exploring the interrelationship of categories, called axial coding – casual conditions that influence the central phenomenon, the strategies for addressing the phenomenon, the context and intervening conditions that shape the strategies, and the consequences of undertaking the strategies. In this phase of the analysis, I created a coding paradigm, or a theoretical model that visually portrayed the interrelationship of these axial coding categories of information. Thereafter, I sought to ascertain what themes emerged from the data.

In creating the codes, however, I sought to categorize the responses line-by-line allowing myself to capture or draw upon as many themes as possible. Going down the side of each transcript, I established a name for each category. At this particular time, I wasn't sure how these themes would relate or even how they would fit together. I sorted the coded data into categories according to topics. Emerson et al (1995) state that the researcher should seek to generate as many codes as possible, at least initially, without considering possible relevance either to established concepts in one's discipline or to a primary theoretical focus for analyzing or organizing.

After completing the initial coding process, I began to entertain some ideas and concepts about what was actually occurring within the data. I kept individual memos and commentaries from each site visited and each faculty member interviewed. Through the initial coding and commentaries, I began to examine ways in which I could select core

themes. I wanted to include other insights that were observed at each particular campus. Moreover, I was looking for linkages between what I observed and what was actually transcribed. Those themes that didn't fit or were unrelated were actually useful as subthemes.

### *Interpretation of Data*

The process I have described consists of moving from the reading and memoing loop into the spiral, to the describing, classifying, and interpreting loop. In this loop, category formation represents the heart of qualitative analysis. Here researchers describe in detail, develop themes or dimensions through some classification systems, and provide interpretation in light of their own views or views of perspectives in the literature. Authors employ descriptive detail, classification, or interpretation, or some combination of these analysis procedures. Detailed description means that the author describes what he or she sees (Creswell, 1997).

Classifying pertains to taking the text or qualitative information apart, looking into categories, themes or dimensions of information. As a form of analysis, classification includes identifying general themes. It is difficult, especially in a large database, to reduce information into five or six themes. However, my process involved winnowing the data, reducing it to a small manageable set of themes to write my final narrative (Creswell, 1997).

### **Reliability**

Audio-recordings were employed to ensure the trustworthiness of the data. Audio-recordings are an increasingly important part of qualitative research. Transcripts

of such recordings, based on standardized conventions, provide an excellent record of ‘naturally occurring’ interaction. Recordings and transcripts can offer a highly reliable record to which researchers can return as they develop new hypothesis (Silverman, 1993). I played the audio-recordings on a continuous basis using a dictation instrument to determine if the recordings were consistent with what I actually transcribed. In order to assure credibility, I employed member checking.

Certainly, there is no question that the naturalist is at least concerned with trustworthiness as the conventional inquirer (Lincoln & Guba, 1989). Lincoln and Guba (1989) suggest the use of member checks to insure credibility. The member check, whereby data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions are tested with members of those stakeholding groups from whom the data were originally collected, is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility. If the investigator is to purport that his or her reconstructions are recognizable to audience members as adequate representations of their own (and multiple) realities, it is essential that they be given the opportunity to react to them (Lincoln & Guba, 1989).

Member checking is both informal and formal, and it occurs continuously. Many opportunities for member checks arise daily in the course of the investigation. A summary of the interview can be “played back” to the person who provided it for reaction; the output of one interview can be “played” for another respondent who can be asked to comment; insights gleaned from one group can be tested with another. Such immediate and informal checking serves a number of purposes:

- It provides the opportunity to assess intentionality—what is it that the respondent intended by acting a certain way or providing certain information.

- It gives the respondent an immediate opportunity to correct errors of fact and challenge what are perceived to be wrong interpretations.
- It provides the respondent the opportunity to volunteer additional information; indeed, the act of “playing back” may stimulate the respondent to recall additional things that were not mentioned the first time around.
- It puts the respondent on record as having said certain things and having agreed to the correctness of the investigator’s recording of them, thereby making it more difficult later for the respondent to claim misunderstanding or investigator error.
- It provides an opportunity to give an assessment of overall adequacy in addition to confirming individual data points (Lincoln & Guba, 1989).

I used member checking as means to ascertain if what the faculty member said was actually what he or she had intended to say. I played back the recordings as well as provided typed transcripts to the faculty member to insure reliability. Additionally, I gave the respondent the opportunity to make corrections as well as to challenge wrong interpretations.

In addition, another way to determine trustworthiness as proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1989) is through the use of the inquiry audit, based metaphorically on the fiscal audit. Essentially, an auditor called in to authenticate the accounts of a business or industry is expected to perform two tasks. First, he or she examines the process by which the accounts were kept, to satisfy stakeholders that they are not the victims of what is sometimes called “creative accounting.” The concern here is not with the possibility of error or fraud, but with the fairness of the representation of the company’s fiscal position.

Accounting modes that would, for example, make the company appear to be more successful than it was, perhaps in the hope of attracting additional investors, are fair game for the auditor, who is expected to “blow the whistle” should be detected (Lincoln & Guba, 1989)

The second task of the auditor is to examine the product—the records—from the point of their accuracy. Two steps are involved. First, the auditor needs to satisfy him or herself that every entry in the account ledgers can be justified. So, for example, the auditor may send a letter to various to various parties asking them to confirm the status of their account. In addition, the auditor may sample entries in a journal to ascertain if they are supported by corroborative documents. Second, the auditor reviews the amounts to “verify the bottom line” (Lincoln & Guba, 1990, p. 243).

The two tasks of the inquiry auditor may be taken metaphorically as very similar to the tasks of a fiscal auditor. The former is also expected to examine the process of the inquiry, and in determining its acceptability the auditor attests to the *dependability* of the inquiry. The inquiry auditor also examines the product—the data, findings, interpretations, and recommendations—and attests that it is supported by data and is internally coherent so that the “bottom line” may be accepted. This latter process establishes the *confirmability* of the inquiry. Thus a single audit, properly managed, can determine dependability and confirmability simultaneously (Lincoln & Guba, 1989). In terms of auditing, I reviewed my findings and data to determine if the information actually supplied by the respondent is consistent with the proposed research. I have provided an audit trail of interview transcripts, audio tapes, memos, analysis, reflexive journal and other documents. This audit trail enables the auditor “to determine if the



conclusions, interpretations, and recommendations can be traced to their sources and if they are supported by the inquiry” (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 35).

Transferability is a direct function of the similarity between two contexts, what Guba and Lincoln (1985) referred to as “fittingness.” Fittingness is defined as the degree of congruence between sending and receiving contexts. If Context A and Context B are “sufficiently” congruent, then working hypothesis from the sending originating context may be applicable in the receiving context. An inquiry cannot know all the contexts to which someone may wish to transfer working hypotheses; one cannot expect him or her to indicate the range of contexts to which there might be some transferability. But it is entirely reasonable to expect an inquirer to provide sufficient information about the context in which an inquiry is carried out so that anyone else interested in transferability has the base of information appropriate for judgment (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For transferability, I employed the process of “thick description.” What is described as “thick description” depends on the focus of the inquiry, or whether it is a research, evaluation, or a policy analysis inquiry, and on the salient features of the context. The description must specify everything that a reader may need to know in order to understand the findings. The findings are not part of the thick description, although they must be interpreted in terms of the factors thickly described (Lincoln & Guba, 1989).

During Spring 2002, interviews of faculty members were conducted at Langston, Lincoln, and Prairie View A&M Universities. Professors were contacted via telephone and email for interview appointments. Confirmation letters via email were forwarded to the individual faculty members with date and time of appointment.

After interviews were conducted, the data were transcribed and coded. The names of faculty were removed to assure confidentiality. During Spring 2002 and Fall 2002, data continued to be transcribed and coded for emerging themes. The coded text is included within the narrative.

### **Conclusions and Summary**

To reiterate, the purpose of this study was to examine why African American faculty choose to teach and remain at HBCU's will provide information for higher education officials in the recruitment and retention of these individuals. In spite of limited resources and desegregation rulings, the HBCUs continue to produce a large number of qualified women and minority members into the professional ranks. These institutions not only provide a nurturing and caring environment for its students, the composition of their faculty has been quite diverse. As these institutions continue to fulfill an important role in meeting the needs of African American students, the role of African American faculty is of critical importance. This study seeks to fill an important gap. I now turn to a presentation of the results and findings.

## CHAPTER IV

### Results and Findings

This qualitative study explored the dynamics of faculty life for African Americans working at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). In particular, this study examined why African Americans choose to teach and remain at HBCUs. Demographic predictions of an increasingly female and minority-based workforce have reinvigorated interest within the academy relative to the recruitment of qualified women and minority members into the professorial ranks. Not since the 1960s, have colleges and universities focused so much attention on establishing a faculty that reflects the “diversity” of our national population (Olsen, Maple & Sage, 1995). Given this diversity, the research is significant because of the critical role of HBCUs for the African American society. As more faculty positions open, it will be continually important to understand the motivation of African Americans to teach at HBCUs when there may be opportunities to work elsewhere.

The chapter focuses on the following research questions:

- What is faculty life like at HBCUs?
- What role does mission play in working at HBCUs?
- What role do students play?
- What motivates faculty to stay or leave HBCUs?

The study included three (3) HBCUs in similar size located in the Midwest and Southwest regions of the United States. Ten (10) African American male and female professors across disciplines were interviewed at each university from a total of 30. All of the participants were employed at HBCUs at the time of the interview and their

duration of employment varied from two years to twenty-seven years. The majority (80 percent) of the participants had completed their undergraduate studies at an HBCU. Out of the (30) participants interviewed, five faculty members held dual positions as faculty and administrator.

Through careful examination of the socialization process using grounded theory, three categories emerged out of the data. Grounded theorists give priority to developing rather than to verifying analytic propositions. They maintain that if the researcher minimizes commitment to received and preconceived theory, he or she is more likely to “discover” original theories across the data. By making frequent comparisons across the data, the researcher can develop, modify, and extend theoretical propositions so they fit the data (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). The main themes that emerged from the data focused on the following: the role of mission and culture, faculty work, and faculty life at HBCUs. These themes provide a general overview of what constitutes the African American faculty “worldview” at these institutions.

HBCUs have played an important role in the education of African Americans. Steeped in tradition, these special focused colleges have created supportive and nurturing environments where African American students could excel academically. Although they have been created for the purpose of educating African Americans, their doors have always been open for all students. The success rates speak volumes in terms of the number of graduates produced who have impacted American society. This has unquestionably attributed to the mission of these institutions. In addition to the mission, their unique culture helps to shape and define the essential role they play in American higher education.

## Mission and Culture

The end of education is to know God and the laws and purposes of His universe, and to reconcile one's life with these laws. The first aim of good college is not to teach books, but the meaning and purpose of life. Hard study and the learning of books are only means to an end. We develop power and courage and determination and we go out to achieve Truth, Wisdom, and Justice. If we do not come to this, the cost of schooling is wasted.

---John Brown Watson, First President, Arkansas AM&N College (1928)

HBCUs have a significant and unique historical context. Educational opportunities were limited for African Americans prior to the Civil War. The problem of access was further complicated by the system of slavery operating in the South and the unquestioned racism of the North. While some free African Americans attended PWIs in northern states, systematic postsecondary educational opportunities were virtually nonexistent. In an effort to fill the void, northern missionaries, abolitionists, and educators began to establish colleges devoted to the education of African Americans (Brown, 2002).

Unquestionably, HBCUs have played an important role in educating African Americans (Perna, 1999). Some research has shown that opportunities for socialization experiences may be greater for African Americans who attend HBCUs than for their African American counterparts who attend PWIs (Perna, 1999). African Americans who attend HBCUs have been shown to experience less isolation, alienation, personal dissatisfaction, and overt racism than African Americans who attend PWIs (Pascarella & Terezini, 1991). Moreover, HBCUs seem to provide a cultural, social, and racial environment that is more supportive, caring, and nurturing for students and faculty members alike. This is reflective of the mission of these institutions.

## *Mission*

The mission of the HBCU has traditionally been to educate African Americans excluded from mainstream American educational institutions. Roebuck and Murty (1993) state HBCUs, unlike other colleges, are united in a mission to meet the educational and emotional needs of black students. In addition, HBCUs remain the significant academic home of African American faculty members as well. The goals described in the HBCU catalogs, unlike those at PWIs, stress preparation for student leadership and service roles in the community (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997). Undergirding the mission however, and prominent in the research is the concept of “racial uplift.” This concept coined by Booker T. Washington and explored by Perkins (1997), places communal concerns above those of the individual and/or institution.

Currently, the mission and need for HBCUS has been debated which places the opportunity to uplift the race in jeopardy. One faculty member articulated the following regarding the mission and this desire for uplift:

I believe that black institutions are instrumental to American life. Historically, the mission of the HBCU has been to prepare a workforce of educated black Americans who would not have otherwise been given an opportunity. Of course, the mission has been expanded to include all others. However, we have never discriminated against anyone who desired a quality education.

In 1978, William Julius Wilson published his influential book, *The Declining Significance of Race*. Wilson argued that race relations have evolved to the point in the United States where socioeconomic class is more significant than race as a basis for discrimination. He concluded that life opportunities for African Americans are now shaped more by economic status than by racial identity. Wilson’s thesis coincided with several other trends, events, and shifts in society, which combined to fuel the argument

that race no longer mattered in the United States. More significantly, the thesis suggested that race-based policies were no longer needed to address (redress) the status of inequalities of African Americans. In short, society declared the battle for racial equality a victory and announced that America was now officially color-blind or “de-racialized” (Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997).

However, there was a common consensus noted among faculty members in this study that this nation has yet to reach that plateau of a race neutral society. One professor noted the following:

The mission of the HBCU is to provide a supportive and nurturing environment where students can learn and appreciate their great and unique heritage. These students cannot get this rich and meaningful experience at other [PWIs] institutions.

This particular faculty member saw it was an obligation to educate, as well as prepare, African American students for the realities of life. One particular reality was that racism was a given and that education was at least one means to eradicating some of the effects. Moreover, many of faculty members interviewed saw education as one means of leveling the playing field. Any changes to the original mission of the HBCUs will most certainly have an impact on the culture of the institution and, therefore, the education of African Americans in general. One faculty member articulated the following in terms of the changing dynamics of HBCUs:

The historically black college is experiencing change. I believe our mission will always be in serving the less fortunate. However, the black college, as we know it, will not be the same years from now. We will look different in terms of our student and faculty make-up. For the most part, we will always remain historically black, but not necessarily predominately black.

In regards to the expanded mission and what this means to HBCUs, a tenure track faculty member argues the following:

Perhaps what we need to see in the next century is the mission of the HBCU helping shed stereotypes and ignorance. Maybe our mission is coming full circle to embrace everybody. We've always done this as people, so why shouldn't our institutions do this also.

Allen (1987) argues further that HBCUs are still necessary because, among other things, they educate many black students who otherwise would not be able to obtain a college degree elsewhere. He and Hodgkinson (1985) contend that HBCUs are still needed to bring still larger numbers of blacks into the nation's mainstream. Walters (1991), a black scholar, lists six specific goals for HBCUs:

(1) to maintain the black historical and cultural tradition (and cultural influences emanating from the black community) by preserving and acting as a repository of material records and by encouraging scholarly accomplishments of black professors in teaching and researching the black condition;

(2) to provide key leadership in the black community because college administrators, scholars, and students have an important social role to play in community affairs (the HBCU functions as a model social organization and contributes to the resources needed for the expansion of community activities);

(3) to provide an economic function in the black community (HBCUs often have the largest institutional budget within the black community, which involves the acquisition of funds, the distribution of these funds to workers and their families and small businesses, and the investment of these funds in economic institutions);



(4) to provide black role models in the black community who can interpret the way in which social, political, or economic dynamics at the general society level impact black people;

(5) to produce graduates with special competence to deal with the problems between the minority and majority population groups; and

(6) to produce black agents for specialized research, training, and information dissemination in dealing with the life environment of black and other minority communities (Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

The faculty members interviewed in this study whose disciplines were in education, music, social, and political sciences were very much involved in scholarship relating to the black experience. In addition, faculty members involved in hard sciences were actively engaged in research relating to health issues of minorities in rural communities. One faculty member was involved in research relating to AIDS in the African American community. This particular research focused on sexual behaviors of black women and how AIDS has impacted this group disproportionately. For the most part, many of the faculty members were actively involving the students in their particular research interests, thereby, developing the next generation of researchers and scholars who will impact the African American community and world.

One nursing faculty member used her knowledge as a medical professional to assist rural residents in the area of proper nutrition and exercise. This faculty member stated:

I have found that many of our rural residents don't have access to adequate information pertaining to healthcare. We go out and assist residents as well as inform them of the types of services which are available to them.

This form of outreach was observed in many of the other faculty members interviewed as well. There was an active engagement in providing needed services to the black rural community in their particular locales. There seems to be an emphasis on giving back and serving the community that was somehow interwoven into the fabric of the mission statements at HBCUs.

In order to get a full understanding of what was and is actually occurring in terms of the mission of the HBCU, I examined the mission statements at each particular campus. One particular campus articulated within its mission and vision statement the following:

Lincoln University is an 1890 land-grant, comprehensive institution which is part of the Missouri state system of higher education. Founded in 1866 through the cooperative efforts of the enlisted men and officers of the 62<sup>nd</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> Colored Infantries, Lincoln University was designed to meet the educational and social needs of African Americans. While remaining committed to this purpose, the University has expanded its historic mission to embrace the needs of a significant broader population reflecting varied social, economic, educational, and cultural backgrounds. This is the unique purpose that Lincoln University fulfills in higher education.  
(Lincoln University Catalog)

There was a viewpoint held by the majority of the faculty that the primary mission of the HBCU is to provide educational opportunities to the underserved populace in this nation. Similar to what the mission statement described, one faculty member affirmed the following:

Our mission is to first serve the students of this state. We are a state supported institution. In that the majority of students come from the state, our focus, is of course, on those students. However, we have a significant international student population in addition, to those who come from states within this nation. Many of our students come here with limited resources, and I believe that is our duty as faculty members to see that these students are afforded every opportunity to succeed.

Nevertheless, the question still must be asked if America has become a truly color-blind society with educational opportunities available for all. And secondly, if there is a need for the HBCU, what is its current mission? W.E.B. Dubois in his classic, *The Souls of Black Folk*, may provide one answer to this dilemma. Dubois states:

The function of the Negro college is clear. It must seek to maintain the standards of popular education, it must seek the social regeneration of problems of race contact and cooperation. And finally, beyond all this, it must develop men [and women].

If Wilson's (1978) thesis is correct, then one may pose the question of the relevancy of the HBCU? Will there continue to be a need for these institutions in light of climate that is redressing the need for affirmative action? Moreover, will African American professors be needed to even teach at these institutions that were born out of a segregated era? These are the hard questions that must be answered. One faculty poignantly stated:

I feel that black colleges are vital to the African American community. Our traditional mission has been in the education of African Americans in this nation. And we have done an excellent job to that effect. The tragedy may be in not having enough African Americans professors in the pipeline committed to carrying on that tradition.

HBCUs are steeped in tradition and many faculty within the study expressed concern over the legacy and continuance of said traditions. In their research, Brown and Hendrickson (1997) documented the 1992 Fordice Case as establishing the judicial precedent for desegregation of higher education across the country. This case outlined the financial implications for public HBCUs within state higher education systems and addressed the flexibility of current constitutional standards that allow the federal courts'

jurisdiction over the processed and justifiability of collegiate institutions, missions and traditions (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997). One professor stated:

The mission of the HBCU is take young black minds and develop them. We provide an opportunity. They cannot get this kind of development at majority institutions.

Federal court rulings and recognized benefits of HBCUs have resulted in changes within the faculty and student composition at all three institutions within this study.

There is a larger presence of other ethnic groups represented within the faculty and student bodies. This presence is a clear reflection of the changing mission of the HBCU as articulated by the faculty members whom I interviewed. Another professor affirmed:

I feel that the expanded mission is a good thing for the university. Although we have always had an open admission policy, our main emphasis was in the education of the poor and disadvantaged African American student. We have always taken in those whom the other institutions rejected and have transformed those very same students into successful productive citizens.

The expanded role of the HBCU has advantages as well as disadvantages. One noticeable advantage will be in the area of greater funding opportunities. The other advantage will be the attraction of high quality students and faculty members to the HBCU. One faculty member stated, "Parents prefer to see a vibrant and well maintained campus for their children who will spend four years at a particular school." The physical plant serves, therefore, as a recruiting mechanism for the attraction of potential students.

### *Students*

There is a strong commitment to serving students at HBCUs. Brown et al (2001) affirm that unlike other colleges, HBCUs were founded on and continue to be united by the distinct mission of positioning, preparing, and empowering African American students to succeed in what many perceive to be a hostile society. Applying the notion of

racial uplift, these institutions set out to produce students who could not only read and write but who would also be viewed as a credit to both their race and nation. These institutions not only promoted educational attainment and advancement but also served as a haven and cultivated hope in an otherwise racially demoralizing society (Brown et al, 2001).

One faculty articulated:

I am here because of the students. If it weren't for the students who most certainly need our help, I would probably be somewhere else. We definitely don't get paid enough for what we do. However, I think it the dedication that we have for our students, because our educational system has really ill-prepared many of our young Black kids.

Some students are not prepared emotionally to succeed in White colleges and many require the conditional admission and remedial course offerings that HBCUs provide, but that, are not usually available in White schools.

One faculty member noted:

This university has a student population that is quite diverse. We have a lot of students who are underserved and some who are not truly prepared for college. So, we go from the ones who are underserved and not prepared and the first generation to ever enter college, to students in engineering, the sciences, and nursing, and so forth who come from several generations of college educated people and who are prepared. So, we get a general mix of students.

This diverse student population of students was also observed at another campus in the study. One faculty stated:

We have students who are extremely bright here. They complete all their assignments on time as well as bring in additional materials for discussion. Then there are the other students whom you have to give extra attention because they just can't seem to grasp the material.

In that a significant number of students come from backgrounds in which their academic preparation is less than adequate, one faculty member stated:

In terms of academic preparedness, there is a great deal of difference. This is simply because we are an open admissions school. Our mission is to give every student an opportunity. However, I want to cry sometimes because the students have so much to overcome when they get here that I don't see how they do it. Not only have they come from schools in which they weren't academically prepared, for the most part, to do college level work, some of them, (I am not talking about all of them), come from families who do not understand the educational process and are not willing to participate with them. They come here on their own wanting to do well and understanding this is going to help them break that cycle of poverty. And, I am talking about Black and White students understanding the skills that are needed which are primarily study skills.

One faculty member who was very committed to helping the next generation of students explained:

If we don't help our students, then the society will either lock them up in the penal institutions or place them in minimum wage jobs. It is incumbent that I try to do all in my power to reach back and help students to succeed. I cannot feel comfortable in my status as a African American professor at an HBCU. I will feel comfortable when I see the students I have taught go out into the world and make an impact upon it. This is not only inside the classroom but outside as well. I provide tutoring in the evenings to many of my students who are having difficulty.

It was also expressed by this faculty member that some students feel that just by arriving on the campus is a big accomplishment. The students fail, however, to realize that commitment and sacrifice comes along with the educational process. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us as educators, the faculty member expressed, to help socialize the students into the academic culture of the HBCU.

Students at HBCUs are seen as extension of the African American community.

One particular faculty member affirmed the following:

I need to be an advocate for students. Many of our students come from the inner city and they come here with many problems. I counsel them and they come because they feel I am someone they can trust. As our school changes, I remind students of the sacrifices they were made for them to be here.

Faculty members at HBCUs generally see the need to help and assist whenever they can.

The commitment by faculty to help students support is what is found in the literature.

There is a genuine need to give back to the future generation and the majority of the faculty members interviewed in study articulated this message.

### *Culture of the HBCU*

Whereas the student is seen as the primary reason for the longevity of many African American faculty at HBCUs, the culture of the institution play a significant role in their working at these institutions. One faculty member stated:

We have a unique culture at the HBCU. It is one the few places besides the black church where we can affirm who we are as a people. I write quite extensively on the black experience and this is an ideal place where I can conduct my research. I am not saying that we don't have any problems; however, I value and embrace what we have here at this institution.

The HBCU, however, given their historical significance, can be seen as an extension of African American culture while serving as a means towards higher education. One faculty expressed the following:

I am a little disturbed over the direction of the institution. The numbers are dwindling for African American professors on this campus. Historically, the HBCUs were the only places we could find employment and where the black student could find a nurturing environment. I am not saying that non-African Americans could embrace our culture; however, the commitment stems from a shared experience and African American faculty are able to provide that.

In essence, the HBCU becomes the extended family for the African American student as well as the African American faculty member. African American culture is very rich in social tradition. Family relationships, group social interaction, support, and achievement have historically been a part of African American culture. African American families have been found to be rooted in support structures and extended relationships (McAdoo, 1988). The culture is one in which social interactions and connectedness with the group are very important aspects to group identity development. Research has demonstrated that the more African Americans relate to their own blackness, the more they feel a responsibility and affinity to the group (Heath, 1988). A tenured faculty member affirmed:

The black college is going through growth pains. I feel that the closeness that we once had is being threatened. I remember as a former student on the campus where we would frequent our professors' home. I invite students over to my home all the time. Many of our students are far away from home and we are sometimes the only family they have. Students see black faculty members and our mere presence is an inspiration to them. And they may say, "I can do this..." "I can become that professor, that lawyer, or whatever."

Roebuck and Murty (1993) affirm that HBCUs emphasize the development of black consciousness and identity, black history, racial pride, and ethnic traditions. They provide an African American culture and ambiance that many students [and African American faculty] find essential to their social functioning and mental health. This African American culture emerges from two primary sources: African cultural traits developed as a result of racial segregation in the United States. The point is made that all blacks share these cultural elements in a uniform communal fashion. As with other ethnic groups, there are individual differences among blacks. The point is made,



however, that the foregoing set of elements composes what may be regarded as essential part of a black ethos in the United States [and to the culture of the HBCU]; that is, they are adhered to, more or less, by most American blacks (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Given the history and mission of the HBCU, it has been a unique culture. For one female respondent in the study who held tenure status, she affirmed that the HBCU provided her with a sense of purpose:

I am a product of this university. I also was born in the era of segregation which kept us most of us from attending the traditionally white universities. Therefore, the HBCU was the only institution where we got a good education while maintaining our dignity as a people. This institution has given so much to so many who, otherwise, would not have an opportunity to higher education. Moreover, the HBCU has validated that we can become quite successful given the odds.

This professor further stated that the preparation that she received from this institution prepared her for life. She affirms the following regarding the culture of the HBCU.

I had very few problems by the time I got to graduate school because of the of the preparation I received at an HBCU. The professors taught me so well that I was ready for the challenges of graduate school. The supportive environment here motivated me to do better. So, in essence, I felt a calling to give back to this University what it has given to me.

In examining the experiences of other faculty members, I discovered that the majority of the senior faculty shared the sentiments of this particular respondent. There was a significant number of faculty members who stated that prior to affirmative action, there were not many, if any, PWIs that held a “diversity thrust.” Therefore, many have found and continue to find employment within the HBCU.

One observation that was prevalent at all three campuses was an attachment to the symbols of the institution. Founder’s Day, homecoming and graduations are clear

examples of where traditions are carried out in the form of ceremonies, dress, language, and structural roles. One faculty member articulated:

I have never heard the alma mater sung with such fervor until I came here. The faculty and students really take pride in their school song.

Symbols exist within an organization whether or not the organization participants are aware of these symbols. To speak of organizations is to speak of interpretation and symbols. An organization void of symbolism is an organization bereft of human activity. Moreover, symbols reside in a variety of discursive and non-discursive message units: an act, event, language, dress, structural roles, ceremonies, or even spatial positions in an organization. Hence, there must be an understanding of the context in which symbols function and how leaders communicate symbols to create and interpret their organizational reality. When a leader seeks to evoke change upon those symbols, therefore, it upsets the balance of the community. The family dynamic is altered and tension is created amongst the members. Nevertheless, these symbols, structural styles, ceremonies, are noted in how faculty work is perceived at HBCUs.

In summary, the mission and culture of the HBCUs will continue to experience change as they seek to redefine themselves. As the definition and intention of collegiate desegregation continues to shift, the democratic question remains whether HBCUs should survive and be allowed to continue their unique mission in a unitary system of higher education (Brown, 1999). As the mission and culture experience changes, the work of faculty will continue to be demanding and challenging.

## Faculty Work

The section attempts to provide a brief description of what faculty work is like at HBCUs. Within the context of faculty work lie the demands of balancing teaching, research, and service. In that HBCUs are primarily teaching institutions, this section addresses the areas of teaching, service, and faculty rewards.

The demands of trying to balance teaching, research, and service is very taxing on African American faculty at HBCU's. In this study, many faculty little time to engaged in research because of the teaching load.

One particular faculty member stated:

We are required to be all things for all people. However, I need to find time for my research. I am not respected in my field if I don't publish as well as present at national conferences. HBCU's must become more effective in giving their faculty members time to conduct research. HBCUs do a good job in areas; however, we don't do a good job in giving our people time for research. Now, please don't get me wrong. HBCUs encourage their faculty to do this, but in many cases, it is on their own individual time.

The classic description of a professor's job references teaching, research, and service (Ward, 2003). Practicing faculty know when review or promotion time arises, their work is rarely evaluated with equal weight on each leg (Ward, 2003). The research about faculty is clear that there is a strong contemporary emphasis on research (Fairweather, 1996). Even at liberal arts colleges, where faculty have traditionally been seen as teachers first and foremost, it is increasingly difficult to get tenure without publishing (Boyer, 1990; Fairweather, 1996). New faculty, in particular, face increasingly demanding standards for promotion and tenure as expectations for hours in the classroom and for engagement in research activity increase (Tierney & Bensimon,

1996). One faculty member expressed the following concerning faculty work within her particular department:

Faculty work is, of course, difficult. That is a given. However, I enjoy working with my colleagues who share some of the same concerns that I have about education and values. We have a great institution and some of us don't appreciate what we have. This is our university and we're proud of all of the accomplishments. Yes, I have had to balance the heavy teaching emphasis and all. But, the product, which is the student, is the greatest asset. We will know if we have done a good job by the quality of graduates.

New faculty members employed less than five years expressed a rather different perspective than older more seasoned faculty members. One new faculty member expressed the following:

I would like more time for research. I am still rather young and would like to have more articles published in scholarly journals. However, those are the realities of working at an HBCU. Our primary focus is on teaching. Now, we value research, but our role is to serve students. Before I came here, I was an administrator at another HBCU. I am now the head of this department and really I enjoy the challenges.

This particular faculty was fortunate enough to have reduced teaching hours due to his dual role as administrator. However, the demands of teaching upon African American faculty at HBCU's seem to outweigh the need to for them to engage in scholarly research.

### *Teaching*

There is great emphasis placed on teaching at HBCUs. In that many HBCUs are teaching institutions, the demands for teaching outweigh the demands for research. This doesn't suggest that HBCUs are not interesting in research. The majority of HBCUs encourage their faculty members to engage in some form of scholarly research.

However, in that many are teaching institutions, the thrust in on teaching.

The majority of the African American faculty interviewed expressed grave concerns relating to the teaching loads at HBCUs in the study. In most cases, they must sacrifice their research, if they are engaged in such, to prepare for class, grade papers, and counsel. At HBCU's, it is expected that faculty members allow adequate time within their schedules for meeting and counseling with and counseling students. One faculty articulated the following:

There is a variety of age levels in the classes I teach. Some of the students that I teach could be my parents. This adds to the classroom discussion because when I talk about World Wars, some of these students have actually lived through them.

Another faculty member affirms:

I came to an HBCU because I enjoy teaching. If one does not enjoy teaching, then the black college is not the place for you. At black institutions you must teach and not just lecture. Many of our students come here from schools that inadequately prepared them. Therefore, notwithstanding the four or five classes faculty have to teach, there is the challenge in getting our students to enjoy the learning process.

Given the population of students who are served by the University, a particular faculty member stated the following:

I tried to get my students to know that whatever the disability, whatever their racial background, that we still can teach them. It is a continuing process to break down the barriers and to have people come to the table as equals. That is what I have tried to do in my work as a faculty member and in my teaching.

The tradition at many HBCUs is to take students from where they are academically and to bring them up to college standards. A significant number of students at HBCUs come to the campus with ineffective study skills and habits. As a result, faculty are compounded with the challenges of teaching large numbers of students who do not have the basic skills necessary for college survival.

One faculty noted:

I do not lecture to my students because they will not understand. You must teach and engage the student in the process. I believe that the students have normally been accustomed to just sitting back and taking notes without really synthesizing the material. Therefore, it becomes essential that one uses a variety of approaches for reaching the student.

Another faculty shared these same sentiments in regards to the challenges of teaching students who are not prepared for college work. This faculty member stated:

We have a tremendous burden on our shoulders. We are faced with a significant number of students who are not really prepared for college level instruction. I find that many times I have to give additional extra credit in order to assist students who are not making the grade. The tragedy is that many of the students want to be successful, but they just can't seem to get it together.

It must be noted that these sentiments are not only prevalent at HBCUs, but they are prevalent in the community colleges and major universities as well. The academic preparation of students, especially with the United States, is not measuring up to the standards; therefore, universities are faced with the task of providing remedial courses to accommodate them. This may be very challenging to the new professor who may want to also find time to conduct research.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) observed that in small institutions where teaching is the most salient activity, a professor's accessibility to students is one of the many tacit forms of judging whether a new professor embodies desirable qualities. Additionally, student evaluations are given much credence. One professor explained:

My student evaluations are not good because I place high demands on my students. My colleagues think that I am too tough on them. It is not that I am tough, but I want them to do quality work and to complete assignments on time. I realize that problems arise where assignments cannot be turned in on time, and I am more accommodating when given advanced notice that assignments will be late.

The professor was, in fact, addressing the difficulty in teaching students to be responsible and accountable without compromising the integrity of the profession. One of the arguments emerging from the data centers on the need to prepare students for a competitive market. One professor noted:

How can we teach them to be competitive when we have to water down our syllabus to accommodate their special needs. I enjoy teaching; however, I think we can cripple students if we are not careful in our approach. Students must recognize that we cannot save them from every error they make. In other words, there are things that they need to do themselves in order to be successful in life.

In HBCUs, there is a burden placed on faculty to “leave no child behind.” In addition, there is a mindset that every student can be educated and, therefore, saved from the perils of an otherwise racist and unfriendly society. The education of as many students as possible will at least assure an educated class of future leaders. It rests upon the notion that every student is teachable based on the fact that students are customers. It must be noted that teaching is the primary focus at the majority of HBCUs.

When asked about what faculty work is like at an HBCU, the following response was given:

Faculty work is extremely difficult. We are a teaching university; therefore, we are required to teach four classes, advise students, conduct research, attend meetings, and have time for community service. I feel that my research suffers because I have very little time to do it. It is very easy to get overloaded because of all the demands place upon faculty.

Most faculty members at HBCUs do not have the resources afforded those at the large PWIs; therefore, the work load may at times seem overwhelming. Another faculty member who was in his thirties and new to the university articulated:

I have a difficult time trying to balance the workload here. I love my work and I realize that we have limited resources. This is the challenge that we face by working at a black college. I could have gone elsewhere,

but I wanted to teach at an HBCU. Many of my peers in graduate school chose to teach at PWIs because of the high salaries; however, they are now faced with the difficulty of obtaining tenure. In terms of my research, I must fit it in whenever possible. I do belong to my professional organizations and I have presented papers at national conferences.

A significant number of the African American faculty members interviewed expressed concerns about the large teaching load as well the difficulty in balancing teaching, research, and service. Another young and rather new faculty member stated:

I think that faculty members must be concerned about their individual careers as well. I support everything that the black college stands for...especially the contributions that these colleges have made toward the advancement of African Americans in the nation My love for teaching for teaching is what keeps me here even though I think the classes are too large ....Faculty members must know how to teach and by that I don't mean lecture.

In addition to this great emphasis on teaching, faculty members at HBCUs are expected to devote a significant portion of their time towards service.

### *Service*

Certainly, faculty can have societal and community impacts through their research, but for faculty of color there is constant decisions throughout the day between obligations that are focused on individual accomplishment (e.g., a research article) and obligations to their racial or ethnic communities, what Baez (2000) calls "race-related service." He notes that many minority faculty feel "compelled or driven to participate in activities they believe would benefit their racial and ethnic communities" (p. 374). The pressures are both internal and external. Faculty of color who find themselves as sole representatives in their departments can face internal pressures to advise minority student groups or participate in every search, knowing that otherwise their perspectives may not be included. External pressures can come from community members both on and off



campus who expect educated and successful people to help lead and contribute to the betterment of the race community (Ward, 2003).

An aspect of difference that relates to faculty external service roles is tied to personal demographics and, in particular, race and gender. Antonio, Astin and Cress (2000) found that women, non-white faculty, and lower ranking faculty tend to be most involved in community service. A recent study by O'Meara (2002) also found that women and non-white faculty are disproportionately represented among those who are involved in what she identifies as service scholarship. A faculty member in the study affirmed:

Service is very important, not only for the institution but it is essential in my profession. We have a number of clinical hours that we are required to complete.

Although teaching is primary, faculty at HBCUs are obligated to serve on various committees. These service requirements are essential components to their particular roles as contributing faculty members. Service is the catchall name for everything that is neither teaching, research, nor scholarship. Performing "for the good of the organization" is one kind of service (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995). One faculty member talked about her mother in-law in describing her concept of service, who described service as "always leaving a good record." She affirmed:

And service is that. If you do for the student and the university, the things that you are most proud of .... and that you want to last.... Service is the things that you would do to make the university better....

An important part of defining the social role of higher education is defining the social role of the faculty member, who remains, in many ways, the human face of the

university, the key point (outside the athletic department, of course) of connection between university administration, students, and community members (Ward, 2003).

The HBCU has been the catalyst in answering the call for service. Ward (2003) affirms that contemporary society is now calling on higher education to become more responsive to the needs of communities in which black institutions have been heavily engaged. Unlike the large university, service is more valued at the HBCU in terms of its connection to the overall mission of the university. In large universities, the role of service that extends beyond the campus can be unclear. At HBCUs, service extends outside the university domain. One faculty member stated:

I think it important for faculty to serve on committees and I have my share of committees. And, that may be because this is a teaching institution as opposed to a research based institution. We do serve on a lot of committees as faculty members here. I do a lot of community service simply because I am in Early Childhood and it is important for my students' sake, that I am out in the childcare centers and the elementary schools. The committee work and the community service are a big part of my job.

One faculty noted that at HBCUs many faculty members are called upon to do so much with so little. This faculty articulated:

I don't see how we get anything done serving on so many committees. I think it becomes busy work at times. I have turned down opportunities to serve on particular projects, but I am very careful and I use sound judgement. I do not want to be perceived as someone who is not in agreement with the mission of the school.

The faculty members at HBCUs viewed service as an essential part of their role; however, the frustrations lie in the number of committees and tasks that were given to them in addition to teaching responsibilities.

One faculty member who has been employed for less than five years expressed the following concerning his service responsibilities:

I do not mind being elected to serve on committees. That comes along with the role of being a faculty member; however, I think that one can be on too many committees where it takes away quality time necessary for other roles and activities.

Holding on to the elements of the University's traditional mission or race progress and self-improvement, many faculty members see themselves as a catalyst for making a difference. In spite of low salaries in comparison to PWIs, the joys and burdens of "giving back" seem to outweigh monetary concerns for the present. A faculty member in this study affirmed:

I appreciate this university because the [administration] at least gave me a job without having completed my dissertation. Traditionally, in order to get a job you need a Ph.D. in hand. So, at least this university afforded me an opportunity to teach without completing my dissertation. Traditionally, you only have three years to stay at a university without the terminal degree. The university stuck with me past those three years and I owe her something back.

The need to be a good citizen permeates within the context of community although the rewards are minimal. The need to be "good citizens" extends beyond the campus, as well as being reflected in the many community outreach projects that are provided by HBCUs. One faculty member who is the director of the international programs looked at service as a reflection of the president's emphasis on the global economy. He affirmed that the university is committed to not only serving this community, but the world.

However, it is not uncommon to find members of faculties at HBCUs serving in variety of capacities relating to the campus community. One faculty stated:

I not only serve on faculty committees, but I am an advisor for the student

members of my fraternity. My fraternity is involved in many community service projects on this campus and in the broader community. You may look at us as an extension of the university.

Similar to minority faculty at PWIs, African American faculty may be more susceptible to taking on extra service burdens because they provide a means to making connections and finding out what is going on (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Although many faculty members articulated the high level of service duties, there were very few who actually designated a percentage level in regards to tenure and promotion.

Ward (2003) argues that the critical tensions that exist for African American faculty with regard to external service epitomize the tensions that exist for all faculty as they look to realize personal goals and campus missions tied to outreach. Members of the academic community need to “question the underlying assumptions that ensure that service is deemed inherently less valuable than those other criteria” (Baez, 2000, p. 364).

One faculty in this study stated:

There is a great need in the African American community for service. Although service is a smaller percentage of my evaluation, I find it necessary to give more time. There are so many needs that someone in my field can provide. Teaching comes first and then there is service. Research is stressed; however, the funding is not there in most cases. Therefore, we have to seek outside funding sources for our research.

This faculty member was in fact addressing the continuing problem facing HBCUs in terms of funding the research projects of their faculty. It becomes necessary, therefore, for faculty to seek external sources for their research projects. Nevertheless, the African American faculty member at an HBCU who opts exclusively for research and publication runs the risk of incurring negative sanctions for not being a good citizen and not living up the community service expectations of minority students,

peers, and administrators. From the interviews and a review of the literature, it seems like this service requirement, notwithstanding teaching, has a link to the reward system at most HBCUs.

### *Faculty Rewards*

Faculty at HBCUs are expected to engage in research, write for publication, obtain grants, and engage in service activities on the campus, to the discipline, and within the community (Johnson & Harvey, 2002). This tension exists for all faculty; however, these expectations are more pronounced at HBCUs.

One faculty stated:

I know what the expectations are. My department head and I set out goals and timetables at the beginning of the academic year; however, there may be times that some of those lofty goals may need revisions because of other responsibilities placed upon me throughout the course of the year.

A positive or negative socialization experience can impact how successful the promotion and tenure process will be for new faculty (Johnson & Harvey, 2002).

Promotion refers to advancement through the academic ranks while tenure is to continuing appointment at an institution, excluding certain conditions (Caplow & McGee, 1965). Heavy work loads were closely related to expectations for faculty. The normal course load of HBCU faculty is four courses per semester. Heavy teaching loads leaves little time for faculty to engage in other activities that were also used to assess them for promotion and tenure. When asked about the promotion and tenure process at their respective universities, the following response was noted from a seasoned professor:

We are rated on our teaching, our research, and service. Within my department, we establish our own rating system along with our chair. For example, in terms of percentages, I am required to devote 60 percent to teaching, 20 percent to research and 20 percent to service. At review, I get together with my chair to see if I have met those goals.

Certainly, some faculty will not succeed or may be mismatched in terms of personal and institutional goals. For example, an individual who is a successful teacher but less than an enthusiastic researcher may be better placed at an institution that focuses primarily on teaching. The chair can help the junior faculty member make a realistic assessment of his or her strengths and weaknesses and, if necessary, facilitate redirection to a more appropriate institution (Wheeler, 1996).

The institutional context greatly affects the roles and expectations of faculty. Considerable clarification may occur during the hiring process, but many junior faculty members contend that often the expectations of their departments are unclear, or worse, in conflict. Whatever the expectations for junior faculty, they should be clear and mutually accepted (Wheeler, 1996). One faculty member stated:

The expectations were rather clear. I would not have accepted the position if they were not. I feel coming to this campus provided me with certain opportunities not afforded me elsewhere. I wanted to teach at an HBCU and that is what I enjoyed doing best.

The faculty responses supported the research in this area, especially as it relates to new entrants into the faculty ranks. The new entrants are embarking on their academic careers with a richer variety of experiences: a more diverse educational background in terms of distribution of their academic degrees, as well as a considerably more varied work history. A large segment of the new generation—one third of them—hold temporary or term appointments, rather than starting out on the traditional, tenure-bearing academic career ladder. Thus, “whereas 83.5 percent of the senior cohort hold tenure-track appointments, only 66.8 percent of their junior colleagues have comparable positions. Not surprisingly, the new-cohort faculty are significantly less satisfied with

their job security and less sanguine about their prospects for advancement” (Finkelstein, Seal, & Schuster, 1998, p.103). There were similar findings with new African American faculty members at HBCUs. One faculty member stated:

If the opportunity presents itself, I would probably take a new position somewhere else. I am still rather young and in this profession you must stay engaged. Otherwise, your career can become stagnant and your opportunities to move up may become slim. I am enjoying my experiences but I am not committed to staying here.

This particular faculty member was in fact articulating the traditional route towards career advancement for an academic. Academe provides opportunities for a variety of career paths, even for the same individual over the course of 40 or so years. The simplest and cleanest path is the professorial one. A fairly typical sequence of events, especially in the arts and science disciplines, is for the individual to have been a teaching assistant during the doctoral program, perhaps having a couple of postdoctoral years (particularly in the sciences), taking a position as an assistant professor, and then enjoying two promotions on the way to becoming a full professor. For most, two or three institutional changes will occur along the way—the postdoctoral being at a different university and the first full appointment at still another. One might eventually return to one’s alma mater (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995).

On the contrary, there were some striking reactions in regards to the amount of faculty work that is required from faculty at HBCUs. There was a general consensus among the respondents that the workload at HBCUs can be overwhelming and overburdening on them as faculty members. One female faculty member noted:

Currently, I am working on two papers that I hope to get published. The only free time I have to work on those articles is when I am at home. Between teaching and service obligations, I have to fit this research agenda in. Now this is not crucial in terms of my evaluation.

However, it is a plus when I can say I have published so many articles and have presented at my professional conferences.

A rather new faculty member expressed:

I think we don't get enough mentoring by senior faculty members who have been here for some time. I don't know if it is because everyone is so busy that they don't have time or what. I realize that many of us try to balance a lot; however, it would be helpful if someone can assist me. I am not saying that senior faculty members are not cordial. I really like being around here, but I feel that senior faculty need to take out time for effective mentoring of us new folk.

The productivity paradox for faculty at HBCUs is in balancing the enormous demands of teaching and service while seeking to engage in research and publishing. In that teaching is emphasized at these institutions, engagement in significant research goes lacking because of time constraints. There is research that suggests that faculty members who are active researchers tend to be somewhat better teachers than those who are not, though the relationship is by no means a strong one. The relationship is strongest in the lowest rank of the faculty and weakest in the highest rank. It varies as well across disciplines, with moderately strong relationships observed for the social sciences and the humanities, and hardly any relationship at all for the natural sciences (Michalak & Freidrich, 1996). One faculty member articulated:

In my discipline, it is paramount that one remains actively engaged. I personally feel that if our primary focus is the student, then it should be obligatory upon faculty to bring new levels of knowledge to the classroom environment. I encourage my students to become researchers as well as critical thinkers.

In higher education, we often speak of socialization as if it were a unitary and rational process embedded in an understandable culture. Culture gets defined as the sum of activities – symbolic and instrumental – that exist in the organization and create shared



meaning. The definition of socialization pertains to the successful understanding and incorporation of those activities by the new members of the organization (Tierney, 1997).

One faculty who had been at the university less than eight months stated:

I really haven't been here long enough to get a clear picture of what it is like around here. I know that there are some problems with the leadership, however, I am not very familiar with the culture yet. Besides my department, I do not get around the campus much.

Wiedman, quoting Brim, stated that socialization is "the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less effective members of their society" (p. 293). Dunn, Rouse, and Seff echoed Weidman by stating that socialization is "the process by which individuals acquire the attitudes, beliefs, values and skills needed to participate effectively in organized social life" (p. 375).

Bragg (1976) pointed out that "the socialization process is the learning process through which the individual acquires the knowledge and skills, the values and attitudes, and the habits and modes of thought of the society to which he [she] belongs" (p.3).

I have been here approximately 29 years. I first came here with a diploma in my field which is equivalent to an associates degree. I have since earned a bachelor's and master's degree ....all at this university. I am now working on my Ph.D. You can say I am a career student. I have had administrators who supported me in my efforts to obtain advanced degrees.

In an article on organizational culture, Tierney defined socialization by asking, "What do we need to know to survive/excel in the organization?" (p. 8). Kirk and Todd-Mancillas (1991) were similarly instrumental in their definition by linking socialization with academic "turning points" in an individual's life. For this faculty member, there were department heads and administrators who valued her academic potential, thereby allowing time off to obtain the required degrees essential for success.

In addition, the supportive institutional environment projects an image of an institution's taking a proactive stance in ensuring faculty are well informed of both informal and formal norms, thereby resulting in a better organization. Faculty members who perceive their socialization experience as negative may endure stress and conflict when they are left to figure out the norms of the institution by themselves and to guess what the expectations are. Faculty members who are unhappy or unproductive are more likely to leave the institution (Johnson, 2001). Moreover, there may have not been a good match between the faculty and the institution. The individual department, as well as the overall mission of the university, plays a significant part in the process.

In light of all this, succeeding at HBCUs is based upon how well a faculty member is socialized into the culture of the community. For the new African American faculty member, it is paramount that the individual is shown by what Johnson (2001) describes in her research as "The Ropes." A rocky socialization into the culture of HBCU could be problematic for new faculty members as many HBCUs still maintain what is referred to as the "Old Guard." These are the old experienced faculty members and administrators who seek to dominate and maintain control. Any threat to their individual turfs is met with great resistance. As with any "family" environment, there are disagreements and turf battles. If a faculty member fits in with the norms and values of institution and their respective departments, then they are welcomed and embraced. For the experienced faculty member, their success is a reflection of their longevity at the institution.

In summary, faculty work at HBCUs is very demanding. The heavy teaching loads and service requirements allows very little time for faculty to engage in scholarly

research. Traditionally, HBCUs have been viewed as teaching institutions placing relatively little emphasis on research (Johnson & Harvey, 2002). However, as HBCUs take steps to further position themselves in this century, they are increasing their research agendas. If this shift is to occur, HBCUs must be willing to realign their work load, mission, and resources (Johnson & Harvey, 2002). In other words, faculty members must be apprised of the values and expectations of the institution.

### **Faculty Life**

The majority of the respondents found faculty life to be rather good at HBCUs. This success can be attributed to the campus climate, the faculty, and administrators. Faculty members at HBCUs are committed to the education of the underserved of the underserved student. Here, faculty are not only expected to achieve excellence in their academic work, but they are also counted on to be engaged in hands-on teaching and mentoring. This section is distinct from the previous section in that it focuses of faculty relationships. What follows are discussions on “collegiality,” how leadership affects the climate, and how relationships varied by department.

#### *Collegial*

New junior faculty consistently indicated that positive working relationships with fellow faculty members are an important aspect of their careers. Yet, work by Boice (1991) and Sorcinelli (1989) suggest that the desire often goes unfulfilled and these connections are not achieved. Boice (1991) adds that lack of collegiality may be an even greater problem for minorities and women. This lack of explicit support from established colleagues may be due either to a philosophy that new faculty need to stand on their own

or to the fear of established faculty that suggestions for collaboration will be treated as intrusions unless they are requested by the new faculty members (Wheeler, 1996). This viewpoint was the opposite for faculty at HBCUs. A new faculty explained:

I feel that I am supported here at the university. The department head is very supportive and is always interested in how I am adjusting to this new environment. Also, my senior colleagues always are willing to answer questions and share information regarding the department.

This viewpoint was also shared by another faculty member in terms of “collegiality.”

This faculty member affirmed:

I feel that we are a rather close unit. This is not to say that we agree on everything. However, for the most part, we feel that we are part of a team and it is the responsibility of all of us to create a hospitable working environment. When a new faculty member arrives, I quickly try to welcome, as well as acclimate, them not only to the department but to the campus as well.

This kind of collegiality was noted in other studies on Faculty Life at HBCUs. Johnson and Harvey (2002) in their study also found that faculty at HBCUs perceived that faculty both in and outside of their departments had good “collegial relations,” a situation that would explain why faculty informally shared information with new faculty in many settings. It was also noted that senior faculty were supportive of new faculty, easily sharing information about their institution’s values and expectations. This is because of the type of environment that the HBCU promotes. The supportive and nurturing environment that HBCUs provided for students (Davis, 1991; Fleming, 1984) also promotes both collegiality and solidarity among faculty. As senior faculty informally communicated the institutions’ values and expectations to new faculty, they enhanced and enriched the information from formal sources (Johnson & Harvey, 2002).

A new faculty member to her department had a different viewpoint. She expressed:

Just as I mentioned Greek life has changed, I think faculty life has changed over the last decade...I've only been here for six years. But having talked to people who have been here longer, I think they had more collegial relationships prior to the time I got here....For the last three years I have been coordinating the Christmas luncheon. I really work in isolation; however, other than getting together at lunch, we really don't have much interaction.

African American faculty members who are employed at PWIs are presented with a different set of obstacles. Some of the challenges are: (1) discriminatory or "chilly campus climates; (2) disparity in the promotion of African American faculty as opposed to white faculty; (3) the declining number of African American graduate students; and (4) the overburdening of a few African-American faculty with the work that is done by many" (Branch, 2001, p.177-178). Unlike the PWIs, the HBCUs provide a more collegial environment for African American faculty. One male faculty member stated the following:

A PWI in the north once employed me. In that this is a teaching university, I don't have the pressures that I had there in terms of publishing or perishing. My scholarship is more recognized here. Furthermore, my research focuses on minority issues. And, issues relating to African Americans tend to be less respected if we write it.

This sentiment was echoed by another faculty at an HBCU who was experiencing a change in its faculty racial composition. Although this African American professor was concerned about the greater presence of non-minority faculty members, he affirmed that his contributions were still very respected and recognized.

At this university, we are going through varying changes. There are some are some tensions in the air; however, I feel that we, as African-

American faculty, will always have a presence and a voice at the HBCU. In fact, our faculty has always been diverse. No where in the country can you find more diversity in the faculty ranks than at black institutions. I cannot speak for any of the other faculty members in my department, but I feel that we have a very collegial environment and many of us are respectful of one another's views and opinions.

As colleges and universities have struggled to retain African-American faculty, they have missed opportunities to engender social climates that affirm all members of the faculty community. The revolving doors of many of the nation's more visible colleges and universities have taught us that African American faculty members will not be satisfied to improve the look of their campuses by one of two in their departments or part of an invisible few on the entire campus. It is reasonable to believe that the African-American members of the faculty, like faculty members of other ethnic groups, want to be full, contributing, power-sharing members of their university and college campuses (Branch, 2001). One faculty member in this study stated:

African American faculty members don't have to worry about not having our voices heard. This may be a problem for minorities at majority institutions. I think the problem at HBCUs is that many of faculty need to retire and allow entrance for new faculty members. I think many of us become too comfortable and complacent by the fact that we are at HBCUs. We don't like change.

This faculty members' reaction is a problem within many HBCUs. Older faculty members tend to stay around longer than most junior faculty members. Moreover, new junior faculty members tend to leave for a variety of reasons that is not exclusive to the black college. Change is not an easy process, in part because it raises questions about closely held values and assumptions relating to the academic enterprise. We know that academic culture, particularly the culture of major research universities, is very strong (Turner & Myers, 2000). Peterson and Spencer (1990) note that culture is change

“primarily by cataclysmic events or through slow, intensive, and long term efforts” (p. 6). The history of higher education reveals both types of organizational change events, and the issue of diversity provides another opportunity for institutions to reexamine their missions and values. The leadership of the institution will determine a large part of this reexamination process.

### *Institutional Leadership*

The leadership of any institution is very essential to setting the climate for faculty life. What occurs at the top of the administration is usually translated down to the faculty ranks. This is even paramount when it comes to faculty life at HBCUs. At all three campuses there was emphasis on presidential leadership at the institution. The faculty senate served as the primary means for expressing their views associated with how the university is managed. African American faculty members at two of the campuses were rather reluctant to respond on matters relating to the presidential leadership on their campuses. At the remaining HBCU, African-American faculty were very supportive of the current leadership. A rather middle-aged African American faculty member who had been with her institution for over 20 years stated:

The climate is very good here. We have a dynamic president who cares about the students as well as the faculty. I think at an HBCU, the quality of life depends a lot on the kind of leadership that you have at the top and within the various departments. One thing that I would like to see here is a faculty lounge. We really have no place to meet where we can share ideas and research interests.

At another HBCU, there was a very much different perspective. The university was experiencing changes in its leadership and racial makeup of the faculty and student body.

When asked about the current state of affairs, the following responses were noted:

The environment is very tense here. I choose not to go into details.

However, I will make this point. We have a leader who is not responsive to the needs of his faculty. The board likes him, but it seems like he is trying to change the mission and purpose of this university.

Another faculty member stated:

I believe that we will not recognize this university twenty years from now. I am very proud of the capital improvements and the push for all faculty to have terminal degrees. But, what about the African American students. Will they continue to see faculty members who look like them? Will this campus continue to provide a nurturing experience for them?

The HBCUs will certainly continue to go through a process of change as challenges continue to confront them. For the most part, visionary and effective leadership will play a very important role in the continued existence of these institutions of higher education. Organizational theorists say that change is simply painful, and that it is natural for change to bring discomfort on many levels. Change alters role stability, creates confusion, and causes people to feel incompetent and powerless. It generates conflict and creates winners and losers. Finally, it creates loss, meaning, and purpose as attachments to symbols are severed (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

### *Department*

For academic departments, there exists another dynamic. That dynamic surrounds the context of “collegiality.” For the most part, the majority of faculty members in this study were very much involved in their respective departments. One faculty stated:

I am new here, but I am not a new faculty member. Actually, I am eligible for tenure and promotion next year. That was part of the contract that enticed me here that I would be eligible in continuing my years of service. I would not have come here without it. That was too much to give up. I always felt that my role as a faculty member was not only as a teacher, but in becoming a part of the institution in terms of student life and administration.



An easy way to think about it is in the context of department or campus culture or “collegiality,” that is, the relationship and interaction among colleagues, in the case of the faculty. As faculty on most campuses are organized according to academic disciplinary units called departments, whose members hire, evaluate, promote, or fire each other, the nature and quality of a department’s collegial relationships are a good reflection of its culture and dysfunction. Collegiality begins with each member’s sense of commitment to the department and its mission, knowing ultimately, success lies in a team effort among the entire faculty, not merely the excellence of any individual. Moreover, faculty culture, like all culture, is most readily accessible to those whose backgrounds are most similar to those who are its keepers and main beneficiaries (Hu-Dehart, 2000).

One faculty member in the study explained:

The majority of the faculty here on this campus share a common bond. That bond centers around a shared experience from the past. Many of us older folk graduated from historically black colleges and we had very little resources. However, ingrained within was a desire to become educated and successful. In my department, we are like a little family. We are very attached to the mission of this department and the University as a whole.

Another faculty member at the same institution had a slightly different view concerning their particular department and the university:

I am the minority within my department. I know it may seem hard to believe at this historically black institution. The chair of this department is a person of color who is of Asian decent. I find that we all get along within this particular department. But, I feel that the University as whole will be loosing its intended purpose if we do not find African American professors to fill the vacancies. The push for terminal degrees has resulted in those positions being filled by others. I feel that students must see African American professors present, especially at an historically black institution. The students that we serve cannot get that nurturing that we offer here at the majority institutions.

African American professors on white campuses have reportedly faced inequalities in position, promotion, tenure, and pay, as well as problems of social distance, lack of trust, and marginality (Jacques, 1980). Unlike white professors on white campuses, African Americans at HBCUs are concerned primarily with conducting classroom activities, providing personal counseling, sponsoring student organizations, and participating in community services. Their interactions with students are many-sided, sustained, and personal, and they instill in their students a strong orientation towards success. They have a higher social status in the black community than do white professors in the white community (where parents frequently have a higher social status than do their children's professors). Moreover, many African American faculty members at black colleges are influential local and national leaders. African American professors, unlike white counterparts, are expected to interpret the black experience for their students (Thompson, 1978). A possible reason why there is concern over increase presence of "other" faculty members on HBCU campuses could be the uneasiness over how this would affect the notion of "family" at these institutions.

In brief, faculty members at HBCUs place great emphasis on good working relationships. The supportive and nurturing environment provides a climate where collegial relations are fostered and promoted. For the most part, HBCUs are one of the few institutions where there exist social climates that affirm African Americans. African Americans play a very important role in the continued existence of these institutions. For African American faculty members, any change to this perception creates confusion and tension.

## CHAPTER V

### **Summary, Implications, and Recommendations**

#### *Summary*

The purpose of this study was to explore the dynamics of faculty life for African Americans working at HBCUs. In particular, the study sought to explore why African American faculty choose to teach and remain at HBCUs. A total of thirty (30) African American faculty members were interviewed at three (3) HBCUs located throughout the midwest and southwest regions of the United States. In addition, the study sought to gather individual perspectives surrounding the socialization of African American faculty members at these unique institutions. Given these findings, the experiences as well as perspectives of African American faculty at HBCUs is significant because it shed light on something the higher education research community has overlooked.

The success of HBCUs and of African American faculty in these institutions is contingent upon our knowing more about faculty experiences. This study was directed by the following research questions:

- What is faculty life like at HBCUs?
- What role does the institutions' mission play in faculty working at HBCUs?
- What role do students play?
- What motivates faculty to stay or leave HBCUs?

Previous research does exist that addresses the socialization process of faculty members within the nation's colleges and universities. However, the existing research focuses on the socialization experiences of minorities and women at PWIs. As an underrepresented group in higher education, African American faculty "face an over-

riding organizational culture that is formed on historical and social patterns that are both white (Eurocentric) and male...the result (is frequently) alienation and departure” (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994, p. 64). Socialization into the academic culture of PWI’s is often problematic for African Americans by virtue of their color and the marginal status conferred upon them in American society (Cazenave, 1988; Conciatore, 1990; Sutherland, 1990).

Therefore, this study attempted to provide a perspective on the African American faculty experience within an environment that is culturally similar. It is hoped that the information generated will be utilized by higher education officials and policy makers to create an environment that is cultural sensitive for African American faculty. It is also the attempt of this study to determine what are the criteria or determining factors for the successful socialization of African American faculty members within the academy.

The research process for this study included an interview protocol. Interviews questions were based on an open-ended format, allowing for dialogue and interaction (Aston, 1997). The interview protocol included questions pertaining educational background, length of employment, discipline, etc. The questions were structured to allow the respondent to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future (Fettermen, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

An analysis of the individual responses from the data was collected to determine if there were any similarities or differences. According to the results, the majority of the faculty members interviewed expressed an affinity to the concept of “race uplift.” According to Perkins (1997) this concept situates individuals as members of communities and sees those individuals seeking education by assisting in their economical and social

improvement. Although a large percentage of the faculty members revealed that this burden of giving back to the black community at times seemed overwhelming, they all viewed this responsibility as somewhat of a “calling.”

Moreover, there is a general notion within the African American community that exists whereby successful members are required to contribute to the advancement and well-being members of their race. This perception is even more pronounced within the individual African American family composition, where each generation is obligated to lift the next generation. For a faculty member, however, there is a conflict that arises between individual goals which advances an individuals’ career and those relating to racial uplift.

Certainly, faculty can have societal and community impacts through their research, but for faculty of color, there are constant decisions throughout the day between obligations that are focused on individual accomplishment (e.g., research article) and obligations to their racial and ethnic communities, what Baez (2000) calls “race related service.” He notes that many minority faculty feel “compelled or driven to participate in activities they believe would benefit their racial and ethnic communities” (p. 374). The pressures are both internal and external. Faculty of color who find themselves as sole representatives in their departments can face internal pressure to advise minority student groups or participate in every search, knowing that otherwise their perspective may not be included. External pressures can come from community members both on and off campus who expect educated and successful people to help lead and contribute the betterment of the race community (Ward, 2003). Noted, there are differences in service

related work at PWIs and those at HBCUs. For HBCUs, service and teaching are the focus. Whereas, research is given emphasis over teaching at large comprehensive PWIs.

The findings revealed that there was overall “collegiality” among the faculty members at all three (3) HBCUs. However, the degree of collegiality varied by individual departments and the length of employment of the particular faculty member. Hendricks and Caplow (1998) suggests that successful membership within the academic organization depends upon a faculty members’ ability to freely express himself/herself as a member of a “learned” profession. Informally, the process of socialization is assumed to begin whenever an individual associates with others under a common symbolic label (Manning, 1997).

Junior faculty members tended to be more concerned with balancing the demands of faculty work than in creating a network of associates. Senior faculty members had similar demands, but their longevity had already established a network of support systems or “comrades.” For the newer faculty members, this could be problematic. According to Tierney and Bensimon (1996) the benefits to individuals having others with a shared social and cultural experience are obvious. Having “comrades” increases the likelihood that a faculty member will remain at a particular institution. It also makes the institution more attractive for other minority scholars (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Moreover, older faculty members tend to stay around longer than most junior faculty members. New junior faculty members tend to leave for a variety of reasons that is not exclusive to the black college.

The mission of the HBCU played a significant role for African American faculty teaching at HBCUs. According to Roebuck and Murty (1993), HBCUs are united in a

mission to meet the educational needs of African American students. In addition, HBCUs remain a significant academic home for African American faculty.

The findings dictated that African American faculty members have an individual connection to the mission statements at these institutions. Many of the responses revealed identification with the aims and goals of the mission. For many of the older faculty, most of them have come from meager backgrounds with very few resources to attend college. Therefore, a special purpose college that spoke to their individual and collective needs proved to be beneficial to their success.

There was an overall concern expressed by the majority of the faculty members regarding the direction of the mission and original purpose of HBCUs. In that the mission is steeped in tradition, the expanded mission statements are now more inclusive seeking to attract a wider population of students. Moreover, federal mandates are placing the burden on HBCUs to become more integrated. Brown and Hendrickson (1997) documented the 1992 Fordice Case establishing the judicial precedent for desegregation of higher education across the country. This case outlined the financial implications for public HBCUs within state higher education systems and addressed the flexibility of current constitutional standards that allow the federal courts over the processed and justifiability of collegiate institutions; missions and traditions (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997).

With the expanded mission have come some notable changes to the composition of the campus environment at all three (3) campuses. The increased numbers of white faculty and students has redefined the traditional mission of HBCUs. Although the majority of the faculty expressed that these institutions will remain historically black, the

writing may be on the wall in that they will not remain predominately black. This can be attributed to the case of one HBCU within this study where the African American faculty and students are now within the minority. This could have some interesting implications in terms of the preparation of potential African American faculty for American colleges and universities.

Perna (1999) has found that although increased numbers of African Americans are attending PWIs, the findings from her research suggest that HBCUs continue to play an important role in preparing African American faculty. In the fall of 1992, 40 percent of all African American full-time faculty had earned their bachelor's degree and 9 percent had earned their doctoral degree from an HBCU. This is concurrent with this study where 80 percent of the faculty members were graduates of HBCUs. The success of HBCUs in facilitating the movement of African Americans up the educational pipeline has been accomplished in the context of low levels of institutional resources and more disadvantaged student bodies (Perna, 1999). Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) also concluded that persistence rates and educational attainment levels are somewhat higher for African Americans who attend HBCUs than for African Americans who attend PWIs. HBCUs play a crucial role in socializing African Americans both as students and professors.

The views expressed by faculty members in this study placed great emphasis on providing a quality education for the students at HBCUs. From the individual responses, there was an attachment observed, particularly as it relates "wellbeing" and "nurturing" of each particular student. It is important to note that although a large percentage of students come from disadvantage backgrounds at HBCUs, there are a significant number



of students who are from middle and upper income families. This new class of student is a result of second and third generations of college educated African American families who are graduates of HBCUs. Nonetheless, the majority of students that come to HBCUs require the attention that PWIs are not equipped in providing.

The findings revealed that most faculty members enjoyed teaching students. However, there was a significant number of faculty who expressed dissatisfaction over the large classes and teaching loads. Faculty members also alluded to the fact that large classes impeded the learning process of students, particularly African American students. In addition, the large teaching loads created avenues for stress and burnout. Moreover, African American faculty members perceived that the demands for this kind of juggling teaching, service, and research (when time permits) did not serve the student very well. Notwithstanding the other expectations they are required to fulfill, it is a wonder that these faculty members have time for their personal lives. These conflicting roles support similar research with minority faculty at PWIs. Eason (1996) found that minority faculty at PWIs who face these significant role conflicts of teaching, research and service are especially vulnerable to conflicting expectations from the various audiences they must satisfy: minority students, white students, faculty peers, departments, administrators, and trustees.

According to the results of this study, African American faculty members saw teaching as primary at HBCUs. On one hand, faculty members are faced with the task of preparing and educating students for the competitive world. On the other hand, faculty members are obligated to give certain students extra attention in order to assist them in synthesizing the material. This was a grave concern, particularly among the faculty

members in mathematics, engineering, and the hard sciences. The lack of preparation of incoming students posed some unique challenges to their teaching methodologies. The academic preparation of students especially within the United States, are not measuring up to standards. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) observed that in small institutions where teaching is the most salient activity, a professor's accessibility to students is one of the many tacit forms of judging whether a new professor embodies desirable qualities.

Finally, it was interesting to examine what motivates faculty at HBCU's. In terms of whether a faculty member would stay or leave at an HBCU, the faculty varied considerably by institution and individual department. However, this is predicated on the notion that there is fit between the institution and the faculty member. Although the majority of African American faculty members expressed an affinity for their respective institutions, the degree to which there is a good match between faculty member and university is really determined by the individual department the faculty member works in. In other words, there must be potential fit between the person and the opportunity. This connection is what Chatman (1989) refers to as the concept of person-situation fit. Although faculty members were positive about their campuses, some responses were not so positive when it came to individual departments.

Chatman (1989) affirms that the concept of person-situation fit has widely been applied in organizational settings, defined general as "congruence between norms and values of organization and the values of the person" (p. 339). Socialization into the organization is crucial to creating a person-situation fit. Tierney and Rhoads (1994) identified five sources of socialization: 1) anticipatory socialization, 2) mentoring relationship, 3) networking opportunities, 4) establishing priorities, and 5) negotiating

expectations and demands. Positive socialization is key to establishing person-situation fit for faculty.

The findings in this particular study determine that there were additional expectations and demands that were constantly placed on faculty members. Faculty members were expected to teach four or more classes, serve on numerous committees, advise students, and serve the community both on campus and beyond. These kinds of burdens placed on the African American faculty member in many instances seemed to be very taxing. Nonetheless, faculty members saw the need to contribute to be greater than their individual desires and wants. It must be noted, however, that there were a significant number of the African American faculty members who expressed that they would work elsewhere if the opportunity presented itself. But, the perception was that the HBCU afforded them the best opportunity at the present time. The opportunity to leave was noted more so among the junior faculty members than senior level faculty members.

### **Implications for Practice**

In the educational literature and in my findings, HBCUs have maintained a supportive as well as nurturing environment for students and faculty members. The future of these institutions will be determined by their ability to attract and keep high quality African American faculty. Traditionally, African American have not had the luxury of working at PWI's, however now, African American doctorates have attractive options and they are vying to work at other institutions and agencies. Moreover, because of salary differentials, many new doctorates are choosing to work in the private sector instead of higher education (Gregory, 1999).

There is also concern about the pipeline of African Americans entering doctoral programs, resulting in lack of qualified candidates entering the professoriate. The dearth of African Americans receiving their doctorates is even more daunting when we consider the so-called 'graying' of African American faculty at HBCUs (Jackson, 2002). Nearly a third of African American faculty are soon approaching retirement, along with many other baby boomers (Gregory, 2003). Given the decreasing numbers of African American faculty earning doctorates and the increasing number of African American faculty retirements, as found in this study, some HBCUs may witness more 'whitening' among faculty ranks (Vaughn-Cooke, 2002). Concerns about the pipeline and the professoriate suggest the need for improved practice.

### **Recommendations for Practice**

The following suggestions for practice related to this study are proposed:

- HBCUs must be proactive in creating avenues towards preparing their own faculty for the professoriate.
- HBCUs must explore the possibility of a reduce workload in order that faculty members may engage in research opportunities.
- Higher education officials must increase funding levels to HBCUs for the expressed purpose of faculty development.
- More programs are needed where PWIs and HBCUs work in concert towards creating avenues for increasing the population of African American doctoral students.

- Provide models and incentives for attracting African American faculty to the HBCUs.

### **Implications for Future Research**

The findings from this study provide an avenue to encourage researchers, higher education officials, and policy makers to think about ways in which there can be improvement in the education, retention and promotion of African American professors. Although this study does not show the full complexity of the problem, it does provide the reader with a general view of the life of African American faculty members in academe. If universities are serious about retaining and promoting African American professors, then there must be a concerted effort in making their campuses welcoming and more diverse. This applies not only for faculty members but students as well.

Although this study gives credence to the nurturing and supportive environment of the HBCUs, the fact remains that these institutions are no longer attracting new junior African American faculty members at the significant levels previously held.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

Although many findings were noted in this study, there are still many areas, which warrant further investigation. The following suggestions for future research related to this study or this area of study are proposed:

- Determine what level of mentoring is being provided to African American students at HBCUs interested in becoming potential faculty members.

- Determine what level of support is being provided for African American faculty interested in obtaining terminal degrees.
- What effects do the decreasing numbers of African American faculty on HBCU campuses have on their culture?
- The impact of non-African American faculty and students upon the mission of the HBCU.

These and other questions and areas of study deserve the attention of researchers interested in making diversity in the faculty ranks and to maintaining the important unique position of HBCUs in the landscape of higher education.

### **Summary**

HBCUs are a vital and historic resource within American higher education. Moreover, despite limited resources and efforts to dismantle them, HBCUs will continue to play a significant role in society. The nurturing and supportive environment that HBCUs provide for faculty, as well as students, supports the need for their continued existence.

Davis (1998) argues that within the debate over the direction and mission of the nation's HBCUs, there appears to have surfaced a conflict between a legislative agenda and a cultural mandate for these institutions. He suggest that court rulings and litigation have been based on the elusive dream of desegregating higher education institutions and creating universities that are truly 'state' controlled and directed (Davis, 1998).

Juxtaposed to these court directives, these institutions continue to adhere to community

cultural mandates that focus on their development and character on African American community needs and cultural experiences (Davis, 1998).

From an historical account, as HBCUs experience changes in their faculty and student populations, it would be interesting to see what these institutions might look like in the future. Current trends suggest that these institutions will be more cosmopolitan as they compete for state funds and resources. In spite of the challenges that African Americans faculty must face in terms of resources by working at these institutions, those challenges pale in the face of the contributions these faculty members provide. For that matter and many more, HBCUs will remain the academic home for the majority of African American faculty in this nation.

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**APPENDIX A**  
**(Abstract to Faculty)**

## Abstract

### *Faculty Life at Historically Black Colleges and Universities: An Examination of the Socialization Process of African American Professors*

The purpose of this study is to explore the dynamics of faculty life for African Americans working at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). In particular, to explore why African Americans choose to teach and remain at black colleges and universities. Given the diversity of faculty, there has not been a large body of research that investigates experiences of various faculty at HBCUs. The proposed research is significant because given the critical role of HBCUs for the advancement of African American society and the current calls for faculty diversity, this study will provide a better understanding as to why faculty teach and remain at the HBCUs when there may be opportunities elsewhere. In addition, this study is particularly important given the current dynamics of the academic labor market. As more faculty positions open it will be continually important to understand the motivation of African American faculty to teach at HBCUs. The success of HBCUs and of African American faculty in these institutions is contingent upon our knowing more about the faculty experiences.

The study will include 30 participants. The researcher will utilize existing networks at three (3) HBCUs and use snowball sampling to identify 10 respondents from each particular campus within the Midwest and Southwest regions. Additionally, participants will be chosen from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds.

Interviews will be approximately 60-90 minutes in duration using an interview protocol. Questions will focus on matters relating to faculty life, the role of mission, students, and motivational factors for staying or leaving the HBCU. Interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed.

There are no identifiable risks to the participants of the study. A benefit to the participants is in providing information to higher education officials in the recruitment and retention of African American faculty. HBCUs continue to provide a nurturing environment for its students as well as a diverse workforce with faculty members from a variety of ethnic and racial affiliations. Therefore, knowing about the experiences of African American faculty at these institutions is of critical importance. This study seeks to fill a significant gap in the research and to provide insight on the retention of faculty.



**APPENDIX B**

**(Consent Form)**

Consent Form

I have read the information outlining the research project on faculty life at historically black colleges and universities that is being conducted by Leonard Gaines. I understand the research purpose, process, safeguards, and that information about my interview will be kept confidential and presented anonymously. I agree to participate.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

I appreciate your willingness to be part of the study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, do not hesitate to contact me at the following address.

Leonard Gaines  
Doctoral Candidate  
104 N. University Place, Apt. #8  
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74075  
(405) 332-0542  
[gleonar@okstate.edu](mailto:gleonar@okstate.edu)

For more information you can also contact the IRB office at Oklahoma State University:

Sharon Bacher  
IRB Executive Secretary  
Oklahoma State University  
203 Whitehurst  
Stillwater, OK 74078  
405-744-5700

APPENDIX C  
(Interview Protocol)

## INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

### BACKGROUND

1. Tell me a little about your history?
  - a. Educational background: Graduate School, etc.
  - b. Previous work experience
  - c. How did you end up at \_\_\_\_\_ University
2. Why did you choose to teach at an HBCU?
  - a. Did you ever imagine yourself teaching at this kind of school?

### MISSION

3. What do you see the mission of the HBCU.
  - a. How does your work play in with this mission?
  - b. How does your role as a faculty member relate to the campus?
  - c. How does the mission of \_\_\_\_\_ relate to your working here?

### STUDENTS

4. What are students like?
  - a. What is your role in relation to the student?
  - b. How does your work with students influence your being here?
5. Tell me a little about your career aspirations?
  - a. How does your school fit in with that?
  - b. Has the mission of the school played a part?

### FACULTY LIFE

6. What is like to work here?
  - a. What is faculty work like?
  - b. What about teaching, research, and service?
  - c. What do you see as the role of the African American faculty at HBCU's?

### WRAP UP

7. Have you ever considered working elsewhere?
8. Has your race played a part in your remaining at an HBCU?
9. How has your career identity influenced you to stay or remain at \_\_\_\_\_ University?

**APPENDIX D**  
**(Institutional Review Board)**

Oklahoma State University  
Institutional Review Board

Protocol Expires: 11/27/02

Date: Wednesday, November 28, 2001

IRB Application No ED0252

Proposal Title: FACULTY LIFE AT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: AN  
EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN  
PROFESSORS

Principal  
Investigator(s):

Leonard Gaines, Jr  
104 N. University Pl #8  
Stillwater, OK 74075

Kelly Ward  
316 Willard  
Stillwater, OK 74078

Reviewed and  
Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

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Dear PI :

Your IRB application referenced above has been approved for one calendar year. Please make note of the expiration date indicated above. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Sharon Bacher, the Executive Secretary to the IRB, in 203 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, sbacher@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

  
Carol Olson, Chair  
Institutional Review Board

**APPENDIX E**

**(Letter of Entry)**

## LETTER OF ENTRY

104 N. University Place, Apt. #8

Stillwater, Oklahoma 74075

Date

Dear Professor \_\_\_\_\_

I am a graduate of Prairie View A&M University and I'm currently completing my doctoral degree in Higher Education Administration at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma.

I would like to know if you are available to participate in my study on Faculty Life at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). I will be on your campus on the following dates \_\_\_\_\_ to complete a series of 60 to 90 minute interviews. For your information, my dissertation topic focuses on the experiences of African American faculty at HBCUs.

I would appreciate if you could assist me with my research by agreeing to be interviewed. I have attached a copy of my abstract for you information. In addition, please be advised that I have IRB approval and that the interview will remain confidential.

Sincerely,

Leonard Gaines, Jr.

Doctoral Candidate

Oklahoma State University



**APPENDIX F**

**(Cover Sheet)**

## COVER SHEET

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

University \_\_\_\_\_ Department \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_ email \_\_\_\_\_

Time \_\_\_\_\_ Location \_\_\_\_\_

1. When and where were degrees obtained:

2. Jobs held and how long:

3. Length of employment at the University:

4. Career aspirations:

5. Faculty roles:

6. Additional comments:

2

Curriculum Vitae

LEONARD GAINES, JR.  
104 N. UNIVERSITY PLACE, APT. #8  
STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA 74075  
Phone – (405) 332-0542  
E-mail – [gleonar@okstate.edu](mailto:gleonar@okstate.edu)

**EDUCATION**    **Oklahoma State University**, Stillwater, Oklahoma  
Doctoral Candidate  
*Dissertation Topic: Historically Black Colleges and Universities: An Examination of Faculty Life for African American Professors*

Doctor of Education to be awarded July 2004

Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York  
Master of Arts in Social Science, May 1996

Prairie View A&M University, Prairie View, Texas  
Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering, December 1983

**EXPERIENCE**

August 2000 to Present    **Langston University**, Langston, Oklahoma  
Research Coordinator /Adjunct Professor

- Teach classes in Elementary and Intermediate Algebra
- Coordinate research surveys for the campus within the Office of Institutional Planning and Research
- Reporting of campus statistics via the Integrated Postsecondary Education System (IPEDS) mandated by the U.S. Department of Education
- Assist in maintaining and updating the Strategic Plan for the University

August 1997 to May 2002    **Oklahoma State University**, Stillwater, Oklahoma  
Graduate Associate

- Secure research documents for Associate Professor
- Assist in compiling bibliography for publication
- Retrieve information from the internet for research
- Review documents for completeness and accuracy

- August 1997 to Aug 2000 **Langston University**, Langston, Oklahoma  
Assistant to the President
- Assist the President in administrative duties
  - Assist in matters relating to student affairs
- March 1992 to Aug 1996 **New York State Electric & Gas Corporation (Gas Business Unit)**  
Staff Engineer – Quality Engineer
- Ensured that materials are received in accordance with standards
  - Provided Customer Service Reliability Statistics on a monthly basis
- Dec 1983 to Aug 1985 **United States Navy**  
Naval Officer
- Served as an Engineering Officer aboard USS Valdez
  - Directed a division of fourteen service men
  - Honorable Discharge

#### AWARDS

AND HONORS Oklahoma Board of Regents Minority Doctoral Study Grant

PRESENTATIONS Rocky Mountain Educational Research Association Conference  
Poster Board Presentation: *Faculty Life at Historically Black Colleges and Universities: An Examination of the Socialization Process*

Texas Tech Higher Education Conference and Advisory Board Meeting  
Paper Presented: *Faculty Life at Historically Black Colleges and Universities*

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS Association for the Study of Higher Education  
American Educational Research Association  
American Association for Higher Education  
Association for Institutional Research

WORKSHOPS ASHE Graduate Seminar on Higher Education Policy

AERA Division J Pre-Conference Graduate Forum on Faculty as Teachers

White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities and National Center for Education Statistics Economic Impact Study

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Will be supplied upon request