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The *Journal of the Professoriate* (JOP) is a peer-reviewed journal that promotes critical analysis among scholars and policymakers on issues affecting all college and university faculty in America and abroad. The mission of the *Journal of the Professoriate* is to provide an outlet for research and scholarship on issues pertaining to the pathways leading to the professoriate as well as issues relevant to college and university faculty within academe and the global society.

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View of Campus Community Members of Division I Athletes in Classroom Settings

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> **Abstract:** *Despite growing empirical evidence that suggests that faculty and other students harbor prejudicial attitudes toward Division I athletes, it is not clear precisely the extent to which they are affected by these attitudes. This study explored how athletes perceived their treatment by professors, teaching assistants, and their non-athlete peers in classroom settings. Gender, race, and sport differences were explored. The sample included 174 athletes who were surveyed at two large Division I universities. Findings revealed athletes generally had neither positive nor negative views of professors and teaching assistants and somewhat positive perceptions of their non-athlete peers. Evidence that athletes' perceptions differed by their gender, race, and/or sport was minimal. New directions for future work to build on this study are discussed.*

Intercollegiate athletics has been a controversial topic of discussion, not only at some of our most prominent colleges and universities, but also with the popular press. Many critics of college athletics, for instance, have drawn considerable public attention to the extent to which campus

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climate issues affect athlete engagement and involvement in diverse college learning communities (Comeaux, 2011; Engstrom, Sedlacek, & McEwen, 1995; Sailes,1993; Simons, Bosworth, Fujita, & Jensen, 2007). This issue is certainly relevant and desperately requires greater attention. It is particularly important that we gain a greater understanding of how athletes view their relationships and engagement with other members of their campus communities.

We know that involvement in educationally purposeful activities such as student-faculty interactions and collaboration with peers is linked to desirable educational outcomes (Astin, 1993; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, 2005). We also know that faculty members and students have more negative perceptions of the academic abilities of male and female athletes than they do of their non-athlete peers (Comeaux, 2011; Engstrom et al., 1995; Sailes, 1993). However, it is not clear whether negative attitudes from members of the campus community affect the learning and personal development of athletes. There is little extant research (e.g., Simons et al., 2007) that examines how athletes feel they are perceived and treated by members of the college community. With this in mind, this study explored how Division I athletes perceived their engagement with members of the campus community. Specifically, this study examined how athletes viewed their treatment by professors, teaching assistants, and their non-athlete peers in classroom settings. In this context, the athletes' gender, race, and sport were explored as confounding variables.

In many ways, athletes experience college in the same ways as their non-athlete peers. They attend classes, work for their grades, and form social connections in the process. But they face additional challenges as a result of their athlete status, and these challenges must be explored in-depth (Howard-Hamilton & Watt, 2001). This study serves as a basis for understanding the comfort and awareness level among athletes in describing their particular experiences. A greater understanding of athlete perceptions of the broader college community provides us a useful window into this particular academic subculture. Faculty and other students have the greatest number of meaningful interactions with athletes, and are in the best position to help them fulfill their academic potential; we need to assess the quality of the relationships between these individuals in order to understand how athletes fit into the larger academic community. Findings from this study can empower internal

stakeholders in the affairs of intercollegiate athletics to examine athlete campus involvement patterns to determine how they are being translated into discriminating behaviors and undesirable educational outcomes.

Studies devoted entirely to Division I athletes can lead to an understanding of their processes of interaction within the college environment, which research has shown are essential to academic success in higher education (Comeaux & Harrison, 2011). The failure to fully understand the distinct interaction patterns of college athletes can have a significant impact on the extent to which we understand the need for specific forms of campus assistance.

Previous Research on Student Engagement

Past research has produced an extensive knowledge base on the relationship between student engagement and a broad range of outcome variables (Astin, 1993; Hu & Kuh, 2002, 2003; National Survey of Student Engagement, 2005; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, 2005). The evidence in general reveals that involvement in educationally sound activities has a direct influence on student learning and personal development. As it relates to this study, purposeful engagement activities include, but are not limited to, preparing for class, reading and writing, meaningful interactions with faculty, and collaboration with peers on problem solving task (Kuh, 2001). Chickering and Gamson's (1987) "Seven Principles of Good Practice in Undergraduate Education" lends further support to this concept by defining several educationally purposeful activities that influence student personal and academic talent development: student-faculty interaction, task orientation, cooperation among students, opportunities for communication, active learning, respect of diverse talents and ways of learning, and prompt feedback. Likewise, the concept of student engagement parallels a basic tenant of Astin's (1984) student involvement theory which posits that students experience positive gains in learning and personal development by becoming involved on campus.

Although there is extensive research on student engagement related to the general college student population, few studies have specifically examined athletes' engagement in educationally purposeful activities and its influence on a series of desirable outcomes. As such, evidence concerning the positive influence of athlete and faculty contact is

somewhat limited (Comeaux, 2005). While the benefits derived from the relationship between faculty and athletes are to some extent contingent upon the specific nature of contact, Comeaux (2005), using data drawn from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program, found that academically-oriented interactions with faculty accounted for modest significance in athlete academic success as compared to informal/social interactions. For example, athletes receipt of assistance from faculty in achieving their professional goals was positively associated with academic performance. Furthermore, Umbach and colleagues (2006), using data from the National Survey on Student Engagement, found in part that athletes did not differ from their non-athlete peers on participation in effective educational practices such as interaction with faculty. More recently, Gaston-Gayles and Hu (2009) examined factors related to athlete engagement in educationally sound activities. Using a dataset from the Basic Academic Skills Study, Gaston-Gayles and Hu (2009) revealed the extent to which athletes interacted with faculty did not significantly influence a set of desirable outcomes. However, Gaston-Gayles and Hu (2009) found on average athletes' interactions with students other than their teammates had positive impacts on personal self-concept and learning and communication skills.

College Community Attitudes Toward Athletes

The findings from several studies examining faculty perceptions of athletes suggest that faculty harbor more prejudicial attitudes toward male athletes than their non-athlete peers (Baucom & Lantz, 2001; Comeaux, 2011; Engstrom et al., 1995). In particular, Engstrom and colleagues (1995) employed the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS) to explore faculty attitudes toward Division I athletes at a large public research university. They found that faculty were more negative toward male revenue and nonreveneue[1] athletes than their non-athlete peers, especially regarding academic abilities. For example, faculty participants expressed a degree of surprise and suspicion when a male revenue or

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[1] For the purposes of this article, revenue sports include football and men's basketball, and they have "potential" to generate revenue because of their high profile status (see Eitzen, 2009). In contrast, nonrevenue sports are the remaining lower profile sport programs that are not typically viewed as entities with revenue-generating potential.

nonrevenue athlete received an "A" grade in a faculty member's class. Likewise, Baucom and Lantz (2001) employed the SAS to examine faculty perceptions of athletes at a Division II institution that did not offer athletic scholarships. The researchers found similar negative faculty perceptions toward male revenue and nonreveneue athletes regarding their academic performance.

When accounting for background characteristics, faculty attitudes toward athletes can vary by race and gender (Comeaux, 2010, 2011). Using photo elicitation methodology, Comeaux (2010), for instance, found that faculty held less favorable perceptions of the academic and post-undergraduate accomplishments of Division I Black athletes as compared to their White counterparts. In a study that employed the Situational Attitude Scale, Comeaux (2011) discovered that faculty perceived Division I male athletes more negatively than their female counterparts in areas concerning intellectual abilities, special services such as an expanded tutorial program, and out-of-class achievements. In a related study, Simons and colleagues (2007) surveyed 538 Division I athletes about their perceptions of and treatment by faculty and their non-athlete peers. The authors found a substantial portion of athletes reported they were perceived negatively by professors, teaching assistants, and other students. In addition, Simons and colleagues (2007) discovered that males reported more negative perceptions than females, African American reported more negative views than non-African Americans, and revenue athletes reported more negative perceptions than non-revenue. While the study produced useful findings, it has a significant limitation. These data were obtained from one large, public, highly-selective institution and therefore may not reflect the attitudes held by athletes at schools with different admission standards, different academic expectations, and/or different relationships and engagement with other members of their campus communities. It thus would be instructive for researchers to replicate and extend this study to other campuses to determine if the results are robust.

Research also indicates that members of the campus community (other than faculty) can perceive athletes quite negatively (Sailes, 1993). Sailes (1993), in part, found that Division I White and male college students believed that African American athletes were not academically prepared to attend college, and were not as intelligent and did not receive grades as high as White athletes. Such negative perceptions by students in the

general population appear to be less evident for female athletes. Perhaps, this is because female athletes, on average, exhibit academic performance similar to that of their non-athletic peers, and considerably better than that of their male counterparts (Sellers, Kuperminc, & Damas, 1997; Simons, Van Rheenen, & Covington, 1999). Nonetheless, female athletes face their own challenges: they have been routinely perceived as less feminine than their female non-athlete peers by members of the campus community (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Cohen, 1993). Likewise, Black female athletes have had to contend with such deep-rooted racial stereotypes as hypersexuality and masculinity (Liberti, 1999).

Based on previous research discussed in this article, it is clear that athletes face a unique set of challenges as they navigate their college experience. It is essential that we gain a greater understanding of what they face as they interact with their instructors and peers. More specifically, we must seek answers to the following questions:

1. How do Division I college athletes perceive their engagement with faculty members, teaching assistants, and peers?
2. How do these perceptions vary by race, gender, and type of sport?

Methods

Participants

The research was conducted at two NCAA Division I public universities in the mid-western United States. The participating universities were of similar size and admission standards. These universities were less selective based on their admissions standards than the previous work performed on a west coast NCAA Division I institution by Simons et al. (2007). This contrast helped to discern whether athletes perceived engagement with members of the campus community vary between these distinctly different institutions. The sample (N=174) included athletes, ranging from first-year students to seniors, and the response rate was 42%. Of the participants, 33% were male and 67% were female; 36% were revenue athletes and 64% were nonrevenue athletes; 73% self-identified as White, 19% as Black, and 8% as Other Ethnicity.

Data Collection

In order to recruit participants, one of the researchers met with key stakeholders in the athletic department at each institution to obtain permission both to survey athletes in the department and to determine which sports might be willing to participate in the study. For the sports that voluntarily agreed to participate in the study, each athlete participant was asked to complete an online questionnaire during scheduled academic team meetings in the spring of the academic year. The questionnaire, on average, required ten to twelve minutes to complete.

A questionnaire developed by Simons and colleagues (2007) was employed to examine how athletes viewed their engagement with faculty, teaching assistants (TA), and other students in classroom settings. The questionnaire contained demographic items, including gender, race/ethnicity, and sport, as well as questions related to the treatment of athletes by members of the campus community. Athlete participants were asked to respond to such questions as how they generally felt their professors, TAs, and non-athlete peers perceived them, whether their grades were positively or negatively influenced by the professor or TAs' knowledge of their athlete identity, and how they felt about asking professors and TAs for accommodations because of an athletic competition. The athletes were also asked to rate the frequency of occurrence of several circumstances on a four point Likert scale ranging from one (always) to four (never). They also answered some questions using a three-point scale (1 = negatively, 2 = neutral (neither positively or negatively), and 3 = positively) or to mark all that apply from a series of possible responses.

Data Analysis

The questionnaire data were tabulated, a series of frequency distributions were calculated, and an independent samples t-test was used to compare and understand (1) male and female athletes; (2) revenue and non-revenue sports; (3) and White and non-White athletes. This technique allowed us to investigate mean differences for these groups. In the analyses, the Levene's test was used to test for equality of variances. The assumption of equal variance was not violated for any of the test results.

Results

Table 1 presents the degree aspirations of athletes. Self-ratings showed that 36.8% of male athletes reported they intended to obtain master's degrees, compared to 50.4% of female athletes. Of the revenue athletes, 50% reported that they aspire to earn master's degrees, compared to 44.7% of non-revenue athletes. Moreover, 46.9% of White athletes reported they intended to obtain master's degrees, relative to 41.4% of non-White athletes.

Table 1

Self-Reported Degree Aspirations of Athletes (by Gender, Race, and Type of Sport)

	Gender		Race		Type of Sport	
	Male %	Female %	White %	Non-White %	Rev. %	Non-Rev. %
Bachelor's degree	29.8	35.9	32.4	41.4	28.6	35.6
Master's degree	36.8	50.4	46.9	41.4	50.0	44.7
Doctorate degree	15.8	8.5	11.7	6.9	7.1	12.1
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., or J.D.	17.6	5.2	9.0	10.3	14.3	7.6

Table 2 displays the academic and athletic identities of athletes. Of the male athletes, 33.3% reported their student and athlete identities as balanced, whereas 40.4% reported a "student first" identity. However, 26.5% of female athletes reported their student and athlete identities as balanced, in contrast to 46.2% who reported a "student first" identity. Of the revenue athletes, 33.3% reported a "student first" identity, compared to 47.7% of non-revenue athletes. Moreover, self-ratings revealed that 29% of White athletes reported their student and athlete identities as balanced, compared to 27.6% of non-White athletes.

Table 2

Athletes' Self-Ratings of Academic and Athletic Identities (by Gender, Race, and Type of Sport)

	Gender		Race		Type of Sport	
	Male %	Female %	White %	Non-White %	Rev. %	Non-Rev. %
Student First	40.4	46.2	44.1	44.8	33.3	47.7
Student Athlete Balance	33.3	26.5	29.0	27.6	40.5	25.0
Athlete First	26.3	27.3	26.9	27.6	26.2	27.3

Table 3 presents the independent-samples t-test results, which compared athletes' general perceptions of how professors, teaching assistants, and their non-athlete peers viewed them. These data were analyzed by gender, sport, and race. In general, athletes tended to believe that professors and TAs viewed them in a neutral way (46.6% and 37.4%, respectively). In contrast, only 28.7% of them felt that other students viewed them this way; athletes more often (44.3%) felt their non-athlete peers viewed them in a positive light.

College athletes' views of how their professors and their peers perceived them were consistent across the key subgroups of race, gender, and type of sport (see Table 3). With respect to teaching assistants, there were no significant differences when comparing revenue and non-revenue sports or White and non-White athletes, but there was a statistically significant difference in the scores for gender. Specifically, male athlete scores ($M = 2.44$, $SD = .50$) were higher than their female counterparts ($M = 2.18$, $SD = .60$); t (172) = 2.83, p= .01. The magnitude of the differences in the means was small (eta squared = .044).

Table 4 displays athletes' perceptions of whether or not professors and teaching assistants raised or lowered grades because of the respondents' athlete status. Overall, 83% of athletes reported that their grades were never positively influenced by a professor's knowledge of their athlete

status, and 89% reported they never received lower grades than they deserved as a result of their athlete status. Respondents' participation in revenue versus nonrevenue sports did not affect these findings (see Table 4). There were also no statistically significant differences between White and non-White athletes with respect to positive grade influence by professors. White athlete scores (*M* = 3.82, *SD* = .50) were, however, higher than their non-White counterparts' scores for negative grade influence. There were also significant differences between male and female athletes' perceptions of positive and negative grade influence by professors because of athlete status. That is, female scores (*M* = 3.74, *SD* = .57) were higher than male scores for positive grade influence (*M* = 3.58, *SD* = .86); t (172) = -1.49, p= .00. The magnitude of the differences in the means was small (eta squared = .013). Female scores likewise (M = 3.84, SD .45) were higher than male scores for negative grade influence (*M* = 3.72, *SD* = .65); t (172) = -1.40, p= .01. The differences in the means also were small (eta squared = .011). (*M* = 3.69, *SD* = .66); t (172) = 1.23, p= .03. The effect size was small (eta squared = .009).

Table 3

Athletes' Perceptions of Professor, TA, and Other Student Opinions of Them (by Gender, Race, and Type of Sport)

	Gender				Race				Type of Sport			
	Male		Female		White		Non-White		Rev.		Non-Rev.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Professors	2.35	.61	2.26	.63	2.78	.63	2.34	.61	2.33	.61	2.27	.63
TAs	*2.44	.50	*2.18	.60	2.25	.58	2.34	.55	2.31	.52	2.25	.60
Students	2.40	.70	2.39	.72	2.40	.70	2.34	.77	2.38	.66	2.39	.73

Scale ranges: 1 = negative, 2 = neutral (neither positively or negatively), and 3 = positive
*Significant at $p < .05$.

Table 4

Athletes' Perceptions of Positive and Negative Influence of Athlete Status on Grades (by Gender, Race, and Type of Sport)

	Gender				Race				Type of Sport			
	Male		Female		White		Non-White		Revenue		Non-Rev	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Positive												
Professors	*3.58	.86	*3.74	.63	3.71	.66	3.59	.82	3.62	.76	3.71	.66
TAs	*3.37	.98	*3.64	.75	*3.62	.77	*3.21	1.04	*3.43	.94	*3.59	.80
Negative												
Professors	*3.72	.65	*3.84	.45	*3.82	.50	*3.69	.66	3.74	.59	3.82	.51
TAs	*3.40	.90	*3.61	.79	*3.61	.78	*3.17	.97	3.48	.86	3.56	.82

Scale ranges: 1 (always) to 4 (never)
*Significant at p < .05.

Nearly three-quarters (74%) of athletes reported they never received higher grades than they deserved because of their TAs' knowledge of their athlete status. Similarly, 72% of participants reported they never received grades lower than they deserved from their TAs as a result of their athlete status. There were significant differences in both of these findings in terms of gender and race. That is, female scores (M = 3.64, SD = .75) were higher than male scores for positive grade influence (M = 3.37, SD = .98); t (172) = -2.04, p= .00. The magnitude of the differences in the means was small (eta squared = .024). The scores for female athletes (M = 3.61, SD = .79) were also higher than for their male counterparts for negative grade influence (M = 3.40, SD = .90); t (172) = -2.03, p= .01. The magnitude of the differences in the means was small (eta squared = .024).

When looking at racial differences in positive grade influence by TAs, scores for White athletes (M = 3.62, SD = .77) were higher than non-Whites (M = 3.21, SD = 1.05); t (172) = 2.47, p= .00. The effect size was small (eta squared = .034). The scores for White athletes (M = 3.61, SD = .79) were also higher than for non-Whites for negative grade influence (M = 3.17, SD = .97); t (172) = 2.66, p= .00. The magnitude of the differences in the means was small (eta squared = .039). Finally, there was no statistically significant difference between students involved in revenue versus nonrevenue sports when it came to negative grade influence by TAs; however, there was a significant difference in positive grade influence. Specifically, the scores of non-revenue athletes (M = 3.59, SD = .80) were higher than those of revenue athletes (M = 3.43, SD = .94); t (172) = -1.10, p= .04. The mean differences were small (eta squared = .007).

Table 5 describes athletes' levels of comfort with and treatment by professors and teaching assistants when requesting accommodations because their athletic competitions conflicted with class meetings. In general, 53% of athletes reported they sometimes felt uncomfortable asking a professor or TA to make accommodations for them when they had athletic competitions. When comparing these findings by subgroups, there were no statistically significant gender, race, or sport differences (see Table 5). Similarly, 70% of athletes felt professors and TAs never refused to make accommodations for them because they had athletic commitments, and there were no significant differences by gender, race, or sport.

Table 5

Athletes' Perceptions of Treatment by Professors & TAs (by Gender, Race, and Type of Sport)

	Gender				Race				Type of Sport			
	Male		Female		White		Non-White		Revenue		Non-Rev	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Student feels comfortable asking for accommodations	3.01	.79	2.97	.84	2.92	.85	3.28	.59	3.14	.68	2.93	.86
Professor/TA refuses to make accomodations	3.25	.74	2.92	.71	2.95	.73	3.41	.63	3.29	.71	2.95	.72

Scale ranges: 1 (always) to 4 (never)
*Significant at p < .05.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore how athletes viewed their engagement with members of the campus community in classroom settings. Of particular interest was the extent to which athletes' views differed by their gender, race, and type of sport. The descriptive statistics revealed that female athletes not only had higher degree aspirations than their male counterparts, but they were also more likely to report "student first" identities than were the male athletes. These findings are not surprising considering that female athletes have been shown to have higher levels of academic success in the classroom and are better able to balance their academic and athletic roles compared to their male counterparts (Sellers et al., 1997; Simons et al., 1999). Also consistent with previous research (Comeaux, Speer, Taustine, & Harrison, 2011), athletes in non-revenue sports reported a higher "student first" identity than those in the revenue sports of football and men's basketball.

With respect to general perceptions of members of the campus community, a significant proportion of athletes in this study reported that their professors and teaching assistants held neutral views of them, and that their non-athlete peers held positive views. This finding seems to suggest that athletes in this study are in a climate conducive for engagement in purposeful activities (Comeaux, 2005; Gaston-Gayles & Hu, 2009). Unlike in previous work where athletes reported negative treatment by professors and other students in classroom settings, a relatively small proportion of athletes believed they were perceived negatively by professors, TAs, and non-athlete peers. This finding is noteworthy considering existing evidence that faculty and students harbor negative attitudes toward athletes (Comeaux, 2011; Engstrom et al., 1995) and that athletes feel stigmatized in the academic community (Simons et al., 2007). Also noteworthy is the fact that male athletes were slightly more likely than their female counterparts to believe their TAs viewed them positively. This contrasts with previous evidence that suggests that male athletes experience some of the most detrimental stereotypes and negative labels from other members of the campus community (Baucom & Lantz, 2001; Comeaux, 2011; Engstrom et al., 1995).

The fact that the majority of athletes reported that they never received lower or higher grades than they deserved from professors or TAs is

encouraging. Anecdotal evidence and extant research have suggested that some coaches who view students as athletes first also feel enormous pressure to win; as such they may devalue the academic role, counseling students to take courses with selected faculty who are "athlete friendly" or are willing to give them "special" considerations in the classroom (Adler & Adler, 1985; Eitzen, 2009).

There were some interesting subgroup differences in athletes' perceptions of whether their grades had been positively or negatively influenced by their athlete status. For example, female athletes were more likely than males to believe that class grades (from professors or TAs) had never been positively or negatively influenced. Likewise, White athletes in this study were more likely than non-Whites to report that their professors had never given a lower grade than was deserved, and that their TAs had never given lower or higher grades than deserved, because of their athlete status. And finally, non-revenue athletes were more likely than those in revenue sports to report that their class grades had never been positively influenced by their TAs' knowledge of their athlete status.

While these findings are interesting and, in many ways encouraging, more work—both quantitative and qualitative—is needed in order to better understand the underlying reasons for these findings. The differences revealed in this study are relatively small differences and the extent to which relationships between athletes and their instructors affect their learning and personal development is an important topic of inquiry. For instance, because male athletes generally tend to perform less well academically (Simons et al., 1999) and participate in more high profile sports than their female counterparts, are they more likely to receive grades that are lower or higher than they deserve, simply because of their athlete status? Factors that account for these gender differences should be further explored in future studies.

This study also uncovered an important finding related to athletes' treatment by professors and teaching assistants as they requested accommodations for athletic competition. In contrast to previous research that revealed that faculty were more negative toward athletes than toward non-athletes in situations concerning special services (e.g., Baucom & Lantz, 2001; Comeaux 2011; Engstrom et al., 1995), the majority of athletes in this study reported that professors and TAs never

refused to make special accommodations for them because of conflicts between their academic and athletic schedules. While this finding is very promising, it would be instructive to explore university class attendance policies and how mid-week scheduling of athletic contests impacts faculty perceptions and related attitudes toward the athletic subculture. The types of pressures on faculty to accommodate athletes with sporadic class attendance records remain unknown.

Conclusion

The results from this study point to several conclusions. First, given the evidence that members of the campus community may hold more negative stereotypical attitudes toward athletes than their non-athlete peers (Baucom & Lantz, 2001; Comeaux, 2011; Engstrom et al., 1995; Sailes, 1993), one would anticipate that athletes would believe that the perceptions of professors, teaching assistants, and other students are quite unfavorable. Interestingly, these athletes, regardless of gender, race, or type of sport, believed their professors and teaching assistants had neutral views (i.e., neither positive or negative) of them, and that their non-athlete peers viewed them somewhat positively. Second, athletes' perceptions of the treatment they have received from professors and teaching assistants was promising. The instructors of the participants in this study, at least, were sympathetic to the needs of athletes and seemed to understand the enterprise of intercollegiate athletics. Third, it does not appear that athletes believed that other members of the campus community were treating them any differently because of their athlete status. Finally, the findings revealed that there were minimal gender, sport, and race differences related to athletes' views of and treatment by professors, teaching assistants, and their non-athlete peers in classroom settings. To further explore these differences, analyses are recommended using a national dataset or surveys from multi-institutional studies.

Overall, this study contributes to a developing area of literature regarding the relationships between athletes and other members of the college community. It extends the extant literature on athletes' perceptions of professors, teaching assistants, and other students in classroom settings. Although athletes in the present study reported their non-athlete peers viewed them somewhat positively, more detailed analyses might reveal more about their relationship. Further, while this study showed some evidence of gender, sport, and race differences concerning athletes'

views of and treatment by members of the campus community, the extent of these differences was not precisely clear. Future research is necessary to better understand these differences on a broad range of outcomes. It would also be instructive to conduct studies that involve observation of the actual classroom dynamics in order to triangulate these students' self-reports about how they are perceived and treated in light of their athlete status.

While the present study produced useful findings, it also had shortcomings. Despite the data being obtained from two large public institutions, the sample was not necessarily representative of all sectors of American higher education. Thus, generalizations from this study should be made with caution and consideration of this limitation. Second, athletes' self-reported data were used in this study, and while self-reports have been shown to be valid, all respondents may not use the same standards to respond to survey questions (Pascarella, 2001). Nonetheless, in spite of these caveats, the present study provides a useful foundation on which to build, and points to important new directions for future work on the relationship between athletes and other members of the campus community.

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Graduate Students' Perceptions of the Prospects for Combining Career and Family: The Role of Academic Program and Gender

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Abstract: In recent years, women have moved into academic programs previously predominated by men. Success in retaining women has not been replicated in the workforce. This study assessed the perceptions of 181 graduate students from male-predominated, female-predominated, and gender-balanced programs at 11 research-extensive universities in the United States. Unexpectedly, male and female students in female-predominated programs perceived they would have to prioritize career over family to be successful indicating a perceived lack of support for families. Women anticipated more numerous and severe barriers to their careers than men, with women in male-predominated programs

anticipating the most severe career barriers. Gender ideology was associated with career scaling back strategies for women, but not men, with women with more egalitarian gender ideologies anticipating scaling back more than women with traditional ideologies. Conflict between children and career was associated with plans to scale back family for career. Implications for recruitment and retention are discussed.

For the first time in 40 years, labor force participation of women declined in the last decade, with declines most noticeable among women with preschool-aged children and infants (Cohany & Sok, 2007; Juhn & Potter, 2006; Tossi, 2006; Vere, 2007). Population Survey data reveal labor force participation has decreased 4% among married women with preschool children and 6.7 % among mothers with infants since 1998 (Cohany & Sok). Vere (2007) found that Generation X mothers provide fewer hours to the labor market than previous generations, with college-educated women born in 1978-1979 supplying 7.3% fewer hours by the age of 27 than previous cohorts. It is estimated that after having children, 8% of women exit the workforce (Percheski, 2008) and among women with advanced degrees, 43% voluntarily leave the workforce for some period of time after having children (Hewlett & Luce, 2005).

Although men and women entered and earned graduate degrees at approximately equal rates at the turn of the millennium (Galinksy, Aumann, & Bond, 2009; Nevill & Chen, 2007), significant gender segregation remains in both occupations and academic programs, with women concentrated in service and administrative occupations as well as education, human resources, psychology, veterinary medicine, nursing and social services (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). In academic programs women remain concentrated in the social sciences and education (59 % and 67% female, respectively) while men are still concentrated in physical sciences and engineering (72% and 79% male, respectively) (Nevill & Chen, 2007). Research shows that with each step up the educational ladder the representation of women erodes (National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering, 2007). A study of more than 300 doctoral students by Ulku-Steiner, Kurtz-Costes, & Kinlaw (2000) found that women in male-dominated programs compared to those in gender-balanced programs reported less sensitivity to family issues and lower career commitment. In 2007, a National Academy of Sciences report echoed concerns stating, "the United States

can no longer afford the underperformance of our academic institutions in attracting the best and brightest minds to the science and engineering enterprise. Nor can it afford to devalue the contributions of some members of that workforce through gender inequities and discrimination" (2006, p. 5).

Relevant Research

Research highlights the importance of early career socialization in academic programs on later career decisions (Kirchmeyer, 2006). Using a sample of 143 accounting academics, Kirchmeyer found the impact of family on careers is felt at entry into careers as well as early and middle career stages. Work-family research has largely focused on employees already in their jobs and has given little attention to the perceptions of work and family roles and plans for balancing career and family roles among individuals who have already selected and are on the cusp of entering elite careers. Little attention has been paid to the ways sex composition of academic programs contributes to perceptions of work and family. For this reason, this study focused on graduate students to explore perceptions of family supportiveness and perceived career barriers. Grounded in life course and gender theory, the purpose of this paper was to explore gender and program differences in the perceptions of family supportiveness and anticipated career barriers among graduate students in three academic programs with differing sex composition: male-predominated, female-predominated and gender-balanced. These perceptions were used to predict subjugating career for family as well as subjugating family for career.

Life Course Theory

Life course theory positions transitions within the broader context of trajectories. In general, individuals navigate their own life course and trajectories, but they do so within a broader context of institutions and normative patterns in the world around them (Elder, Johnson & Crosnoe, 2004). The decisions made in one trajectory have implications for other trajectories. Academic environments are dynamic, unique and play a profound role in shaping ideals and behaviors of emerging young professionals. It is during the time of 'training' for desired occupations that individuals begin to receive messages about how they will be expected to work, the ways in which success is defined within their occupations and the criteria for advancement. The academic context

provides messages for students about how and where family fit into the demands of their careers. Academic environments and subsequent work environments present workers with both opportunities for achieving their goals and constraints or barriers to achieving goals. However, it is during the preparation for entering professional careers that individuals start to realize the expectations of work and family roles and begin to strategize blending these roles.

Gender Theory

Gender is a fundamental organizing principle of social life that is continuously reconstructed through everyday routines, yet remains resistant to change because gender is institutionalized (Mennino & Brayfield, 2002). Gender differs from a gender identity in that 'sex roles' or what it means to be 'male' or 'female' is not a set grouping of traits or behaviors, but rather the ways in which people conceptualize gender leads to the adoption, labeling or claiming of a gender identity. Gender is the process by which an individual claims a gender identity and acts out the socially agreed upon expectations of that gender. According to gender theory, gender is constructed through interactions with social structures, behaviors and attitudes (Ferree, 1990). Gender is shaped by the way social structures, such as occupation, academic program, and family, provide resources, advantages, and constraints to either the adoption of male or female behaviors (Ferree, 1990).

One of the ways in which women are challenged and disadvantaged is through the expectation that they conform to the stereotype of the 'ideal worker' in order to achieve success in their careers. The idealized worker norm is framed around traditional patterns of men and personifies a worker unencumbered by external demands, such as family responsibilities, and able to devote himself without distraction or interruption to his employer (Williams, 2000). Workplaces contain structural constraints and expectations when they assume spousal support or a lack of caregiving responsibilities (National Academy of Sciences, 2007). This stereotype of the 'ideal worker' in academic programs and workplaces send messages to graduate students and employees about the requisite criteria for success and advancement in their jobs with the message being that being encumbered by family demands will limit opportunities for advancement. In academic programs and workplaces where there are a greater number of men, it will be even more

challenging to conform to this standard of an ideal worker in the absence of other nonconformists and viable, valued, worker prototypes.

Gender plays a crucial role in workplaces. Evidence from the workforce coupled with the erosion of representation of women up the educational ladder in the sciences suggest sex composition may play an important role in the recruitment and retention of women in elite careers. Research shows that employers with a sex composition of at least 50% female are more likely to provide workplace supports to employees to balance work and family roles, such as flexible schedules and child care assistance (Galinsky, Bond & Sakai, 2008), helping the women in these jobs to confront the notions of the ideal worker by providing supports for forming alternative worker prototypes in the workplace.

Finally, gender ideology thus is a function of gender and comprises a variety of attitudes and values that are associated with differing roles and social positions that shape what an individual believes is acceptable for men and women. "Doing gender" is an interactional process, with the site of these processes being the social structures that provide resources and constraints, thus shaping interactions.

Challenges Combining Work and Family

Professional women are beginning their career trajectories and parenting trajectories simultaneously and the simultaneous entries may be one of the sources of barriers to advancement. For women in academia, having children during the first five years of an academic career has been shown to impede earning tenure (Mason & Goulden, 2002). Barriers to career advancement stem from the increased time demands of children at the same time that career advancement increases time demands. Having children has been associated with working fewer hours and having less energy for research among women in academia (Mason & Goulden, 2002). Women who do decide to interrupt their careers to stay at home with children are often highly conflicted about their decisions (Stone & Lovejoy, 2004). Among the primary considerations that influence a professional woman's decision to temporarily exit the workforce are work-based factors, such as workplace inflexibility and changes in corporate culture (Stone & Lovejoy, 2004).

Research suggests women may experience more barriers in their careers than men, in particular difficulty blending work and family responsibilities and may be constrained from career advancement opportunities by family roles (Stone, 2007; Swanson, Daniels, & Tokar, 1996; Williams, 2000). Women's career decisions are influenced by family roles more than their male counterparts (Kirchmeyer, 2006). While Reynolds (2005) found that when faced with conflict between work and family, both men and women *desire* to work fewer hours; however, research indicates that mothers, but not fathers, actually scale back career for family when faced with conflict (Bianchi & Raley, 2005).

It is estimated that work-family conflict accounts for 23% of the variation in turnover intentions, indicating that conflict between work and family roles may play a crucial role in the 'leaky pipeline' (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999). Preliminary findings from the 2008 National Study of the Changing Workforce show that experiences of work-family conflict for men have risen significantly since 1977 while conflict for women has not risen in the same time period (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009). Men have also increased time spent in child care with less than an hour separating mothers and fathers (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009). However, women still report being primarily responsible for domestic house work.

Method

Three academic programs, male-predominated, gender-balanced and female-predominated, were selected for inclusion in this study based on national statistics of sex composition. Chemical engineering was selected as a male-predominated academic program, with national statistics indicating less than 25% of chemical engineering students were female (Hoffer et al., 2006). Veterinary medicine was selected as a female-predominated program, with national statistics indicating female students account for 80% of students (Lofstedt, 2003). Finally, business/management was selected as a gender-balanced program, with national statistics indicating that men and women were approximately equally represented in these programs (Hoffer et al., 2006). In this study, women accounted for approximately 29% of students in chemical engineering programs, with a range of 16 to 35%, and approximately 79% of students in veterinary medicine programs, with a range of 54 to 85%. The sex

composition of business/management programs could not be estimated as these departments did not provide sex composition data.

Universities with comprehensive doctoral programs, including medical and veterinary programs with high or very high research activity were selected for participation from within the Big 10, Pac 10, and Big 12 athletic conferences if they contained all three graduate programs of interest. The survey was pilot tested with a sample of ten graduate students at Purdue University. Response time ranged from 10 to 25 minutes, the responses were not used in the final analysis and no changes were made to the content of the survey.

Procedure

Department heads and academic deans from 33 programs at 11 research-extensive universities across the United States were sent a letter of invitation and information about the study. Participating departments provided demographic information about the department, including number of students and sex composition. Department heads and/or academic deans forwarded a letter of invitation to their graduate students. Graduate students then contacted the researcher to be directed to the website where they completed the online, self-administered survey. Graduate students were sent three email reminders. After reading the letter of consent, graduate students completed the online survey and received a small honorarium.

Nine out of 11 universities participated, with a response rate of 81%. Two of the invited universities had participation from all three programs. Of the 33 departments invited to participate, 16 did so reflecting a 48% response rate for all programs. More specifically, the response rate for chemical engineering, veterinary medicine, and business/management programs were 64%, 55% and 27%, respectively. At the individual level, the response rate for chemical engineering and veterinary medicine students was 9%. The response rate for business/management students could not be estimated as not all programs provided composition statistics. The lack of response rate for business/management programs coupled with a low individual response rate are limitations to this study.

Participants

Participants were recruited through a multistage cluster sample that began with academic programs. The sample for this study consisted of 181 graduate students, including 66 chemical engineering students (22 female, 33% female), 40 business/management students (13 female, 33% female) and 75 veterinary medicine students (66 female, 88% female). The overall sample was 56% female and 73% white. On average, participants ranged in age from 21 to 48 years with a mean age of almost 27 years old ($M = 26.87$, $SD = 4.31$). The sample contained 82 married individuals (43%) and 28 individuals who had children (15%). Students in the three programs differed demographically in three ways. As expected, there were more females in veterinary medicine programs than engineering and business/management programs. Chemical engineering programs had 8% more females than expected while business/management programs had approximately 17% fewer females participating than expected. Students in engineering were younger ($M = 25.79$, $SD = 2.31$) than students in business/management programs ($M = 28.40$, $SD = 4.43$). Finally, there was greater racial diversity in engineering and business/management programs than veterinary medicine programs. Slightly more than one third of engineering and business programs students were non-white compared to 8% of veterinary medicine students. Sample characteristics can be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Sample Characteristics (N=181)

	Male-Predominated (n=66)	Gender-balanced (n=40)	Female-Predominated (n=75)	Total (N=181)
Gender n (%)				
Male	44 (67)	27 (67)	9 (12)	80 (44)
Female	22 (33)	13 (33)	66 (88)	101 (56)
Mean Age in Years	26	28	27	
Race n (%)				
White	41 (64)	25 (63)	67 (92)	133 (73)
Non-White	23 (36)	15 (37)	6 (8)	42 (27)
Marital Status n (%)				
Single, never Married	29 (44)	12 (30)	24 (32)	65 (33)
Single, committed	14 (21)	5 (12)	14 (19)	33 (12)
Married	23 (35)	23 (58)	36 (48)	82 (45)
Divorced	0	0	1 (1)	1 (<1)
Parent Status n (%)				
Have Children	7 (11)	10 (25)	11 (15)	28 (19)
Do Not Have Children	59 (81)	30 (75)	64 (85)	123 (81)

Measures

Sex. Sex was measured by asking participants if they were male or female. Males served as the reference group coded as 0 while females were coded as 1.

Program. Program was measured by asking participants which of the following programs they were currently enrolled in: chemical engineering, business/management or veterinary medicine. Students in chemical engineering were categorized as male-predominated and were assigned a value of 1. Students in business/management programs were categorized as gender-balanced and were assigned a value of 2. Students in veterinary medicine programs were categorized as female-predominated and were assigned a value of 3. This variable was dummy coded for use in regression analyses with students in gender-balanced programs serving as the reference group.

Perceived family supportiveness. Perceived family supportiveness was measured in academic program as well as chosen career with three items on a 7-point Likert response scale (1 = strongly agree; 7 = strongly disagree) by adapting a subscale, "Making Family Sacrifices for Work" from the "Work-Climate for Family Role Scale" developed by Kossek, Colquitt, and Noe (2001). This scale was adapted by changing the stem of the question twice, creating two separate scales, one for academic program and one for anticipated career. Items assessed the extent to which academic departments and anticipated careers required family sacrifices and asked, "*In my department/chosen career, it is generally accepted that people":* "must take time away from their families to get their work done," "have to put their families second to their job," and "must take time away from their families to get their work done." Cronbach's alpha for these three items was $\alpha = 0.79$, ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.27$) and $\alpha = 0.87$, ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.35$) for academic program and anticipated career, respectively. Family supportiveness was defined as not having to make family sacrifices for career success. A high score indicated an individual felt he or she does not have to sacrifice family for career, representing higher perceptions of family supportiveness.

Anticipated career barriers. Anticipated Career Barriers were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = would not hinder at all; 7 = would completely hinder) by adapting and using 27 of 70 items from the

Career Barriers Inventory representing four subscales: Sex Discrimination (7 items); Multiple Role Conflict (8 items); Conflict Between Children and Career Demands (7 items) and; Being Discouraged from Nontraditional Careers (5 items; Swanson, Daniels & Tokar, 1996). The stem for all 27 items asked respondents, "For each of the common barriers listed below, think about how much it would hinder your career progress. An example of a barrier item measuring sex discrimination was, "people of the opposite sex receive promotions more often than people of my sex." An example of a barrier item measuring multiple role conflict was, "stress at work affecting my life at home." An example of a barrier item measuring conflict between children and career demands was, "having children at a 'bad time' in my career plans." Finally, an example of a barrier items measuring being discouraged from nontraditional careers was, "lack of opportunities for people of my sex in nontraditional fields."

Internal consistency was calculated separately for each of the domains. The scales together have a median reliability of $\alpha = 0.77$ (Swanson, Daniels, & Tokar, 1996) and Cronbach's alpha for all 27 items for this sample was $\alpha = 0.93$. Barriers were also grouped according to their subscale for analysis. Cronbach's alpha for each of the four subscales is as follows: sex discrimination ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.91$) $\alpha = 0.91$; multiple role conflict ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.30$) $\alpha = 0.84$; conflict between children and career demands ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.56$) $\alpha = 0.86$ and; being discouraged from nontraditional careers ($M = 1.05$, $SD = 1.33$) $\alpha = 0.89$.

This scale was used to create two variables: number of anticipated barriers and severity of anticipated barriers. The number of anticipated barriers ($M = 11.11$, $SD = 6.49$) was created by counting the number of barriers the respondent rated a 4 or higher (4 = would somewhat hinder; 7 = would completely hinder). The number of anticipated career barriers was then calculated by summing all 27 barriers. The severity of anticipated career barriers ($M = 2.93$, $SD = 1.03$) was created computing the average of all barrier items. A high score on the severity of anticipated career barriers indicated greater severity in the barriers a student anticipated.

Scaling back strategies. Scaling back strategies were measured using items from the General Social Survey (GSS) and Granrose (1985). Scaling back strategies are strategies that "reduce and restructure

commitment" in the career and family domains (Becker & Moen, 1999, p. 995). In this study, scaling back strategies were classified as either career or family scaling back strategies. There were five career scaling back strategies: reducing workload, reducing work hours, temporarily leaving the workforce, making use of flexible schedules and reducing goals for career advancement. There were five family scaling back strategies: giving priority to paid work and adjusting family responsibilities accordingly, using domestic services, and three items regarding the timing of having children (having children later than preferred, having children further apart than preferred and having fewer children than preferred).

Participants were asked to mark all work-family strategies they anticipated using to combine their career and family goals (no = 0; yes = 1). Career scaling back strategies were created by taking the sum of all career scaling back strategies. Family scaling back strategies were created by taking the sum of all family scaling back strategies. On average, graduate students anticipated using approximately two career scaling back strategies ($M = 1.60$; $SD = 1.34$). The most common career scaling back strategies were flexible schedules (59%) and reducing work hours (44%) with one-fourth not anticipating using any career scaling back strategies. On average, graduate students anticipated using approximately one family scaling back strategy ($M = 1.22$ $SD = 1.00$). The most common family scaling back strategies were using domestic services (48%) and having children later than would have originally been preferred (40%) with almost one-fourth of students reporting they did not anticipate using any family scaling back strategies.

Gender ideology. Gender Ideology was measured using 4 items from the General Social Survey (GSS) and the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). Items were measured using a 5-point Likert Scale (1 = strongly agree; 5 = strongly disagree). The Cronbach's alpha for this scale from GSS data was $\alpha = 0.75$ and $\alpha = 0.80$ using study data. The items used to measure gender ideology were: "a preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works"; "all in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job"; "a job is all right but what most women really want is a home and children" and; "a man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the home and family". The mean of all four items was used to create the score for gender ideology ($M = $

2.16, *SD* = .92) with a high score indicating a more egalitarian gender ideology.

      Demographic control variables. In all analyses, age, race, marital status, and parent status were controlled. For regression analyses (hypotheses 4 through 6) academic program and sex were added as controls. Due to some small and empty cell sizes in racial categories the demographics of the sample have been described in Table 1 with two categories, White and Non-White. For regression analyses race, marital status, parent status, sex and program were dummy coded. The reference groups were White, single, nonparents, male and gender-balanced programs.

Results

To explore gender and program differences in perceptions of family supportiveness and career barriers in graduate students in academic programs of differing sex composition, three hypotheses were tested:

      H_1: Students in male-predominated programs will perceive their academic programs and chosen careers to be less supportive of family and will anticipate more numerous and more severe career barriers than students in gender-balanced or female-predominated programs.
      H_2: Female students will perceive their academic programs and chosen careers to be less supportive of family and will anticipate more numerous and more severe career barriers than male students.
      H_3: There will be an interaction between sex and program for perceptions of family supportiveness and anticipated career barriers such that female students in male-predominated programs will perceive less family supportiveness in academic program and chosen career and anticipate more numerous and more severe career barriers than all other students.

Hypotheses 1 through 3 were tested using four Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVA), one for each of the following dependent variables: perceptions of family supportiveness in academic program, perceptions of family supportiveness in anticipated career, number of anticipated career barriers, and severity of anticipated career barriers. The independent variables for all four models were sex (male, female) and

program (male-predominated, gender-balanced, female-predominated). The models were robust to controls for age, race, marital status and parent status.

As Table 2 shows, hypothesis 1 was supported for perceptions of family supportiveness in chosen career. Post-hoc comparison of means with a Sidak adjustment (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006) for multiple comparisons unexpectedly found students in female-predominated programs perceived their anticipated careers ($M = 3.00$, $SE = .24$) to be less supportive than their counterparts in gender-balanced programs ($M = 4.02$, $SE = .22$), but not male-predominated programs, contradicting hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 was not supported for perceptions of family supportiveness in academic program as well as the number and severity of barriers. As shown in Table 3 and Table 4, hypothesis 2 was supported for both the number of anticipated career barriers as well as the severity of anticipated career barriers as evidenced by female students reporting more numerous ($M = 13.10$, $SE = .76$) and more severe career barriers ($M = 3.24$, $SE = 0.10$) than male students (Number $M = 9.62$, $SE = .85$; Severity $M = 2.55$, $SE = .11$). There was no support for significant sex differences in perceptions of family supportiveness in academic program or anticipated career.

Table 2

Results of ANCOVA for Perceptions of Family Supportiveness in Anticipated Career

Source	df	*F*	*p*
Corrected Model	9	2.26	.02
Age	1	3.16	.18
Race	1	.37	.64
Marital Status	1	.34	.56
Parent Status	1	.04	.84
Sex	1	.32	.57
Program	2	5.05	.01**
Sex * Program	2	.32	.83
Error	171	(1.73)	

Note. Model controlled for age, race, marital status and parent status.
Value in parentheses represents mean square error.
p < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

Table 3

Results of ANCOVA for Number of Anticipated Career Barriers

Source	df	*F*	*p*
Corrected Model	9	4.01	.02
Age	1	1.47	.23
Race	1	3.03	.08
Marital Status	1	.24	.63
Parent Status	1	.70	.41
Sex	1	8.94	.01**
Program	2	.94	.39
Sex * Program	2	2.18	.12
Error	170	(36.55)	

Note. Model controlled for age, race, marital status and parent status.
Value in parentheses represents mean square error.
p < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

Analyses found support only for the severity of anticipated career barriers. Table 4 shows women in male-predominated programs (*M* = 3.47, *SE* = .21) and women in female-predominated programs (*M* = 3.18, *SE* = .12) anticipated more severe career barriers than men in male-predominated programs (*M* = 2.30, *SE* = .15). Hypothesis 3 was not supported for perceptions of family supportiveness in academic program and anticipated career, and number of anticipated career barriers.
The role of sex and gender ideology in graduate students' plans to use scaling back strategies was tested with the following hypothesis:

> H4*:* There will be an interaction between sex and gender
> ideology for scaling back strategies. Male students with more
> egalitarian gender ideologies will report planning to use more

career scaling back strategies, such as taking time off and reducing work hours than male students with less egalitarian gender ideologies, while female students with less egalitarian gender ideologies will report using fewer career scaling back strategies than female students with more egalitarian gender ideologies.

Table 4

Results of ANCOVA for Severity of Anticipated Career Barriers

Source	df	F	p
Corrected Model	9	4.12	.02
Age	1	1.21	.25
Race	1	2.98	.07
Marital Status	1	.00	.96
Parent Status	1	1.58	.21
Sex	1	11.62	.00***
Program	2	.20	.82
Sex * Program	2	3.00	.05*
Error	170	(36.55)	

Note. Model controlled for age, race, marital status and parent status.
Value in parentheses represents mean square error.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

This hypothesis was tested using two hierarchical multiple regression models (one each for career scaling back and family scaling back strategies). Demographic controls for sex, program, age, race, marital status and parent status were entered in the first step of the model. Hypothesis 4 predicted that male students with more egalitarian gender

ideologies would scale back career for family more than male students with traditional gender ideologies while female students with less egalitarian gender ideologies planned to scale back career for family less than female students with more egalitarian gender ideologies.

In the first model the dependent variable was career scaling back strategies. In the second model the dependent variable was family scaling back strategies. The main effects of sex and gender ideology were entered into the second step. The interaction term of sex and gender ideology was entered in the third step. For career scaling back strategies, as Table 5 shows, the change in R^2 after entering the sex by gender ideology interaction term was significant. Married students reported planning to use fewer scaling back strategies than single students. The interaction was tested and plotted using procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991). Contrary to hypothesis 4, gender ideology was not associated with male students' plans to scale back career for family ($B = .01$, $SE_B = .18$, n.s.) and was significantly associated with female students' plans to scale back career for family ($B = -.62$, $SE_B = .23$, $p < .01$). When egalitarianism was low there was no difference between male and female students' plans to scale back career for family (please refer to Figure 1). When egalitarianism was high there were large differences between men and women in career scaling back strategies. Women high in egalitarianism planned to scale back their careers for family more than men with similar levels of egalitarianism and less egalitarian women. There was no support found for a gender by gender ideology interaction for family scaling back strategies.

Finally, to examine the association between perceptions of family supportiveness and anticipation of career barriers and plans to subjugate career for family and family for career the following hypothesis was tested:

> H_5: Low levels of family supportiveness and the anticipation of career barriers will be positively associated with scaling back strategies.

This hypothesis was tested using two hierarchical multiple regression models (one each for career scaling back and family scaling back strategies). The outcome for the first model was family scaling back strategies and the outcome for the second model was career scaling back strategies. The steps for both models were the same. Demographic control variables for sex, program, age, race, marital status and parent

status were entered into the first step. Family supportiveness in academic program and anticipated career and each of the four career barrier subscales (nontraditional careers, multiple role conflict, child-career conflict and sex discrimination) were entered in the second step.

Table 5

Summary of Regression of Career Scaling back Strategies on the Interaction between Sex and Gender Ideology (N = 172)

Predictor	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.07					
Control Variables[a]						
Step 2			.03*			
Sex				.17		.17
Gender Ideology				.19*		-.01
Step 3					.03*	
Sex * Gender Ideology						.27*
Total R^2	.07		.09		.12	
F for ΔR^2	1.60		4.92		5.80	

Note. Base model controlled for age, race, marital status*, parent status, sex and program.

The reference group for marital status was single. The reference group for parents was nonparents. The reference group for race was Non-White. The reference group for sex was men. The reference group for program was gender-balanced.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Perceptions of family supportiveness and anticipated career barriers were not associated with plans to scale back career for family, thus failing to provide support for hypothesis 5.

Figure 1

Interaction Between Gender and Gender Ideology on Career Scaling back strategies
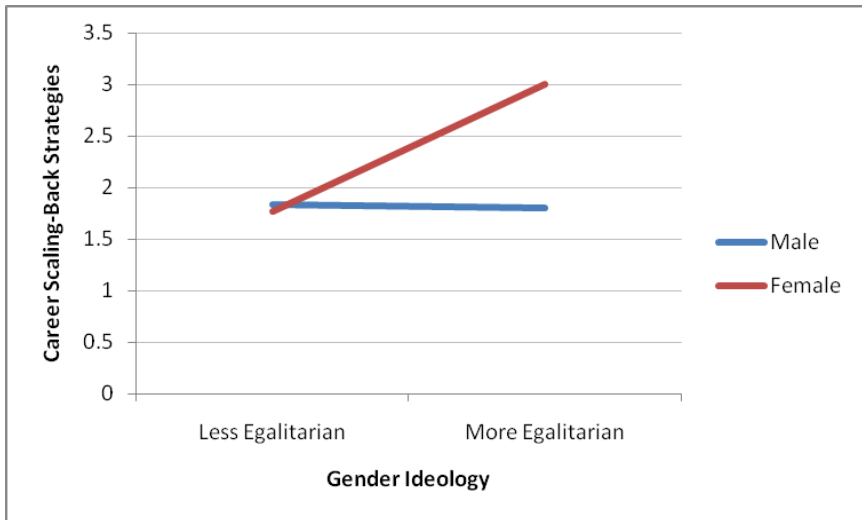
Anticipated career barriers significantly predicted family scaling back strategies. As Table 6 shows, barriers associated with being in nontraditional careers were negatively associated with plans to scale back family for career ($B = -.17$, $SE_B = .09$, $p < .05$) while barriers associated with conflict between child and career responsibilities were positively associated with plans to scale back family for career ($B = .23$, $SE_B = .08$, $p < .01$). Additionally, female students were more likely to plan to use family scaling back strategies than male students. Students who perceived barriers to their career as the result of pursuing a nontraditional career for their gender (i.e., men in nursing or women in engineering) were less likely to report planning to use family scaling back strategies to balance work and family responsibilities. Students who anticipated experiencing conflict between child and career roles, such as feeling guilty about working while children are young, were more likely

to report using family scaling back strategies to reconcile work and family demands. Perceptions of family supportiveness, multiple role conflict and sex discrimination were not significantly associated with family scaling back strategies.

Table 6

Summary of Regression of Family Scaling Back Strategies on Perceptions of Family Supportiveness and Anticipated Career Barriers (N = 169)

Predictor	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.12**			
Control Variables[a]				
Step 2			.08*	
Family Support – Program				.17
Family Support – Career				-.15
Nontraditional Careers				-.21*
Sex Discrimination				.03
Multiple Role Conflict				.00
Child Career Conflict				.29**
Total R^2	.12		.19	
F for ΔR^2	3.09		2.42	

Note. Base model controlled for age, rage, marital status, parent status, sex* and program.

The reference group for marital status was single. The reference group for parents was nonparents. The reference group for race was Non-White. The reference group for degree type was DVM.

†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Discussion

Using a sample of graduate students, this study examined the opting out phenomenon of women in elite careers who subjugate career for family. There were two main purposes of this study. The first was to identify gender and/or program differences in the ways that graduate students perceived family supportiveness and anticipated career barriers as they prepared to enter professional careers. The second was to ascertain the role that these perceptions may or may not play in strategies future professionals anticipate using to blend career and family responsibilities. Drawing on a life course perspective and gender theory, this study focused on students in graduate programs with three different sex compositions: male-predominated, gender-balanced and female-predominated in order to examine how early career socialization in academic programs of differing gender composition was associated with students' perceived prospects and plans for combining career and family goals. Both life course and gender theory indicate that the expectations for advancement and success will present graduate students with opportunities for and constraints to achieving their career and family goals, in turn, shaping prospects for blending career and family goals. Gender theory suggests that the expectations of being male and female contribute to the behaviors that are rewarded in the workplace.

Gender and Program Differences in Family Supportiveness and Anticipated Career Barriers

Previous research has highlighted differences in enrollment and degree completion between men and women in various graduate programs. Efforts have been undertaken to recruit and retain women into male-predominated programs, such as engineering. At the same time, many female-predominated programs, such as education and the social sciences are looking at sex composition and making efforts to add diversity to their academic programs. One may expect that with differences in sex composition there would be differences in perceptions of family supportiveness, specifically, that programs with more women would be more supportive of family, which would be indicated by graduate students' perceptions of family supportiveness in these programs.

Unexpectedly, our analyses found students in female-predominated programs perceived the least support for family in their anticipated

career, clearly indicating that female-predominated does not equate to being family-friendly. Students in female-predominated programs perceive that they need to place the responsibilities of their career before their family responsibilities and take time away from their families in order to be successful in their careers. There could be several reasons for this unexpected finding. It is possible that the recent growth and changes in sex composition in academic programs have not yet had a measurable impact in the profession. Although females comprise 80% of veterinary medicine students (Lofstedt, 2003), they comprise just over 50% of veterinarians in the workforce (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). Since significant differences were only found in anticipated career and not academic program it is possible that perceived lack of support for family among female-predominated students is due to structural lag. Although academic programs have increased the number of women in these programs, the labor force has not yet caught up. Perhaps the efforts to recruit and retain women into female-predominated programs are less recent than in the other programs and with the passage of time this emphasis has weakened. It is possible that in programs where the efforts to recruit women are more recent, such as the case with engineering programs, students perceive more family supportiveness.

Differences were found between men and women, as previous research has shown, in the number and severity of barriers that men and women anticipate experiencing in their chosen careers. Women anticipated experiencing more barriers than men and also anticipated those barriers to be more severe than men. There were not differences found between programs in the number or severity of barriers that graduate students anticipate experiencing. This finding may indicate the pervasive nature of gendered caregiving expectations and behaviors. While the hours spent in domestic labor and child care for women and men have converged, women are still primarily responsible for caregiving (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009). Additionally, motherhood has been shown to decrease women's earnings while having the opposite effect on men (Cohen, 2002). When women are penalized for being mothers their attachment to the labor force decreases pushing them out of jobs and pulling them into the home.

Scaling Back Strategies: The Role of Gender Ideology and Anticipated Career Barriers

Gender ideology was associated with planning to use more career scaling back strategies to combine career and family goals only among female students. However, it was women with more egalitarian gender ideologies who were more likely to plan to scale back careers for family than women with more traditional gender ideologies. Women who are more likely to endorse beliefs that men should be the breadwinner and that children and family suffer when a mother works may have already planned to enter less demanding positions within their already elite careers requiring fewer scaling back strategies, for example veterinary medicine students who will join an established clinic as opposed to starting their own.

Women with more egalitarian gender ideologies may be more aware of the ways in which their careers and family will conflict with each other and as a result have already thought about ways to balance both using career scaling back strategies to simultaneously achieve career and family goals. The finding that women with more egalitarian gender ideologies plan to use a greater number of career scaling back strategies than less egalitarian women may indicate that these female students actively seek strategies that allow them to remain in their careers by utilizing a variety of scaling back strategies to facilitate this goal while less egalitarian women may be planning to use only one scaling back strategy, staying at home after having children. Research indicates that gender ideology influences work-family balance as well as the adaptive strategies men and women use to reconcile work and family demands, particularly among women who adapt masculine behaviors (Saginak & Saginak, 2005; Wierda-Boer, Gerris & Vermulst, 2008). When competing demands for time are present, the findings of this study suggest that women with more egalitarian gender ideologies plan to favor family over career by scaling back career demands to achieve work and family goals.

These findings further indicate the pervasive gendered nature of workplaces that reinforce the notion of the 'ideal worker', relegating women more responsible for adapting to family demands than men. Williams (2000) points to the 'ideal worker', a worker unencumbered by external demands able to devote himself completely to work, as the

origin of systematic and pervasive gender inequality at work and at home. Williams (2010) argues the workplace is a "gender factory" which sets rigid, nonnegotiable terms which men and women must comply. A workplace is 'gendered' when advantage and disadvantage are "patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1990, p. 146) leading to gendered practices in the workplace. A workplace is gendered to the extent that it is sex segregated and when practices and policies place a premium on gendered characteristics, such a freedom from external responsibilities (Britton, 2000). When family responsibilities make it impossible for women to conform to masculine behaviors, they are left with few viable choices to remain in their jobs. Helms-Erikson (2001) points to congruence between gender beliefs and behaviors as having an important role in individual well-being.

Unexpectedly, perceptions of family supportiveness or anticipated career barriers were not associated with plans to scale back career for family. However, anticipating barriers associated with being in nontraditional careers (i.e. men in nursing or women in engineering), such as being passed up for a promotion because of gender or receiving less pay because of gender and anticipating conflict between children and career was associated with family scaling back strategies. Students who anticipated experiencing barriers associated with being in non-traditional careers reported planning to use fewer family scaling back strategies. While students who anticipated conflict between children and their careers planned on using more family scaling back strategies. This finding suggests individuals in elite careers who anticipate conflict between child and career responsibilities will reduce family demands by prioritizing paid work, employing domestic service, and timing childbearing by delaying childbearing, having fewer children or having children further apart in age, in order to achieve balance. This finding is not surprising given that those who are in elite careers delay child bearing and as a result will have fewer children than their counterparts (Martin, 2000; Weeden, Abrams, Green & Sabini, 2006); though having fewer children is more salient among women.

Limitations

The major limitation of this study is the small sample, despite numerous efforts to increase the response rate. In the end 181 individuals

participated. The sample size was particularly small for men in female-predominated programs with only nine men participating. The sample of married students was also small. As a result, the strategies students plan to use to blend career and family may change based on partner experiences. Due to the small sample size, the study is limited in its ability to detect medium effects. The sample was also predominantly White. Future research with larger sample sizes would be more beneficial to draw meaningful comparisons able to detect small effects. It is possible the small sample size coupled with the sex composition of programs and participants masked small effects.

This study is also limited in its reliance on single-source, self-report data. Absent from this study is data from academic programs, such as faculty members. Also absent from this study is dyadic partner data. Research shows the work status and role of a partner plays a crucial role in an individual's work-family experiences, behaviors and adaptive strategies (Burke, 2000; Cha, 2010; Westman & Etzion, 2005). In order to fully understand why some workers scale back career for family consideration of other family members is crucial. Further research could include data from partners and/or the career family plans of couples, as well as data from faculty members and other program staff. Future research is needed about the ways in which workplace expectations and demands conflict with family roles. Moreover, future research could focus on the types of workplace supports and workplace characteristics that individuals want to work.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This study indicates that the 'leaky pipeline' starts during the training for elite careers highlighting the importance of focusing on graduate students to find solutions to the problem of 'opting out' and gender inequality in the labor force. Graduate students are reporting planning to make trade-offs to achieve career and family goals before entering their careers suggesting that students recognize the incompatibility between family and elite careers. Further, academic programs, particularly female-predominated programs, are missing opportunities to socialize students about alternative, viable prospects for achieving career and family goals. The results of this study indicate that attempts to increase the representation of women in academic programs and stop the 'leaky pipeline' problem will not translate into increased retention of women in these careers unless they are accompanied by practical, tangible and

effective supports for helping individuals combine the demands of their multiple roles.

It is important to note that these scaling back strategies are the ones that female graduate students plan to do to reconcile work and family demands. Once in their careers these strategies may not be available which may result in women being pushed out of their chosen careers. Workplaces contain structural constraints and expectations when they assume spousal support or a lack of caregiving responsibilities (National Academy of Sciences, 2007). Research indicates reconciling work and family demands has also become a growing problem among men (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009; Winslow, 2005). Williams (2010) suggests that men experience disadvantage in the workplace when they are denied opportunities to attend to family responsibilities, such as being unable to work when a child is sick or leaving work early to pick a child up from daycare. The denial of these policies to men in the workplace alienates men from family responsibilities and reinforces the expectation that women are primarily responsible for family responsibilities, exacerbating gender inequality and contributing to the "stalled revolution". These findings clearly illustrate the need for workplaces to be more responsive to the demands of multiple roles and offer viable and flexible ways to meet both career and family demands in order to maintain a skilled and diverse workforce.

Conclusion

This study found significant gender and program differences in perceptions of family supportiveness and anticipated career barriers. In turn, the socialization of graduate students in programs with different gender composition regarding prospects for combining work and family goals was associated with scaling back strategies. For women, egalitarian gender ideologies were associated with plans to scale back career for family, while gender ideology was not associated with scaling back strategies among men. While perceptions of supportiveness were not associated with scaling back strategies, anticipating barriers associated with conflict between children and careers was associated with plans to scale back family for career. In order to more fully understand what recruits and retains men and women in their chosen occupations, attention should be paid to the ways in which academic programs socialize students about the prospects for blending career and family.

Specifically, attention should be placed on the types of strategies students anticipate needing in order to be successful in achieving their career and family goals. Identifying these specific strategies will elucidate the mechanisms for assisting workers combine work and family, thus increasing the retention of talented individuals in the labor force and promoting the advancement of women in certain occupations.

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"I Don't Want to Work in a World of Whiteness:" White Faculty and Their Mentoring Relationships with Black Students

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> *Abstract: Cross-racial mentoring experiences of White faculty with Black students are scarce in the literature. Merging cross-racial mentoring theories and ally development models, the authors analyzed interviews of six White faculty who served as mentors of Black students at a highly selective predominantly White institution. Our findings detail how White faculty initiate and nurture mentoring relationships and suggest that White faculty recall their own formative experiences to help mentees overcome challenges. In this study, we conclude by advancing a conceptual cross-racial ally mentorship model to inform practice and abrogate cultural taxation among faculty of color.*

Since the 1960s, Black student enrollment has steadily increased at predominantly White institutions (PWIs), both in raw numbers and in representation (American Council on Education [ACE], 2005; Harris, 2012; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2010; Tuitt, Hanna, Martinez, del Carmen

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Salazar, & Griffin, 2009). However, a number of challenges have emerged with this increase: Black completion rates at PWIs lag in comparison to those of Whites and Asians (Astin & Oseguera, 2005; Lynch & Engle, 2010). The literature on Black student and faculty experiences at PWIs illustrates this point by identifying prejudice, racism, and isolation from the campus and community as reasons for the disparity in retention and completion rates (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2010; Thompson & Louque, 2005). The question, then, is how do Black students and faculty find ways to cope, even thrive in the aforementioned settings? There are examples of how Black students and faculty derive strength and guidance from mentoring relationships (DeWalt, 2004; Griffin & Reddick, 2011; Milner, Husband, & Jackson, 2002). However, the first difficulty for Black students seeking Black faculty mentors at PWIs is *finding* them. Despite increasing student diversity, the percentage of Black faculty has remained virtually stagnant—4.4 percent in 1975, to 5 percent in 1997, to 5.2 percent in 2005 (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2007; Palmer & Holmes, 2010; Trower & Chait, 2002). The growth in Black students attending PWIs—a 56 percent increase since the 1980s (Harvey, 2002)—outpaces the growth in Black faculty, creating a deficit in the potential pool of Black mentors.

Additionally, the small number of Black faculty who *could* serve as mentors are often overburdened with manifest roles at PWIs, including serving as mentors to students of color. This dilemma has been termed "cultural taxation" (Padilla, 1994) or the "black tax" (Cohen, 1998). Cultural taxation obligates Black faculty to take responsibility for the welfare of students of color, to serve on various multicultural committees—something that allows senior administrators to create an illusion of diversity, especially at PWIs lacking minority faculty representation (Reddick, Bukoski, Smith, & Wasielewski, 2014). The "hidden service agenda," as Brayboy (2003) terms it, places the burden of representation on the shoulders of faculty of color, far more than on White faculty.

Cultural taxation contributes to stress for faculty of color (Turner & Myers, 2000). While some suggest that promotion and tenure concerns should be re-imagined for faculty with significant service obligations (Griffin & Reddick, 2011; Reddick, Rochlen, Grasso, Reilly, & Spikes, 2012), another approach is to ensure that White faculty are also sharing

the responsibility of mentoring Black students (Gasman & Abiola, 2012). Some White faculty believe that they will not be able to relate as easily to Black students compared to a Black professor; however, this mindset is ultimately problematic and does little to address concerns about the taxation of Black faculty (Reddick & Young, 2012). As Gasman and Abiola (2012) wrote an op-ed for *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, "[T]he onus for mentoring Black students should not rest solely on the shoulders of Black faculty members; White faculty members need to step up." Like all faculty, majority (White) faculty have a role to play by serving as mentors to Black students – in doing so, they can lessen the cultural taxation experienced by Black faculty and provide much-needed support to Black students. To facilitate greater mentoring opportunities, there is a need to understand how White faculty members make meaningful, enduring connections to Black students.

Mentoring has captured the attention of policymakers and practitioners in a significant way: President Barack Obama has declared the past two Januarys as National Mentoring Month (Center for Health Communication, 2014). Organizations such as Big Brothers Big Sisters of America, the United Way of America, and the Corporation for National and Community Service have invested sizable resources in campaigns to interest Americans in serving as mentors *(ibid)*. Unsurprisingly, mentoring mania has also engulfed the professoriate, with an abundance of programs, perspectives, and punditry. Of particular interest is the role that faculty play as mentors to students; mentoring is generally associated with many positive outcomes for students, including higher GPAs, more units of credit per semester, and greater satisfaction with the university environment (Campbell & Campbell, 1997; Cosgrove, 1986). Given the breakdown of faculty by race in the U.S., it is likely that many of professors that Black students seek out as mentors will be White. Therefore, the question of how White faculty approach their mentoring relationships with Black students across race is one of considerable educational importance.

A more robust understanding of how White faculty approach their mentorship of Black undergraduate students has the potential of advancing both a conceptual and a new structural model of mentoring across racial and ethnic lines. As scholars have noted, college success rates for Black students have declined to critical levels or stagnated (Harper & Davis, 2012; Nguyen, Bibo, & Engle, 2012). Therefore, it is

essential that faculty of all races, particularly White faculty, bring to bear their considerable talents to help cultivate the next generation of Black collegians. In doing so, this study concludes that White faculty in the sample serve as allies on campus. By linking, but not privileging, their own experiences over those of their student mentees, they create trust and build relationships. In addition to the critical service they provide for their mentees, White faculty serve as an ally to faculty of color, especially Black faculty, as they share the mentoring workload of Black students. Our research study of White faculty mentors and their interaction with Black students substantiates the diverse knowledge shared by White faculty that helps them to serve as mentors who understand more fully how to overcome oppression and how to promote learning and success.

Mentoring Defined

In examining the phenomenon of mentoring, it is first essential to clarify meaning of a term that is routinely applied to any configuration of a developmental relationship. One of the most enduring definitions comes from Kram's (1988) labeling of mentoring as a developmental relationship between a senior and junior partner, where the senior partner imparts knowledge while simultaneously providing psychosocial support to the junior partner. Since Kram's groundbreaking work, researchers and theorists have engaged in a robust discussion of what mentoring means in certain contexts and fields of study. For example, Jacobi (1991) famously catalogued 15 definitions from the fields of higher education, organizational management, and psychology. After reviewing the voluminous literature in the area, we define mentoring as Johnson (2002) does:

> Mentoring is a personal relationship in which a more experienced (usually older) faculty member or professional acts as a guide, role model, teacher, and sponsor of a less experienced (usually younger) graduate student or junior professional. (p. 88).

We further augment Johnson's (2002) definition by the inclusion of undergraduate students as well, hearkening back to Jacobi's (1991) emphasis on mentorship as "a critical component of effective undergraduate education" (p. 505).

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to illustrate how cross-racial mentoring can provide opportunities in higher education as a step in the right direction of creating a society based on racial democracy that respects all identities. This research is timely and critical given the current status of Black student enrollment in today's higher education setting.

This study focuses on the experiences of White faculty mentors of Black students at a highly selective PWI in the northeast United States. White faculty are the focus of this study because they represent the majority of faculty at four-year institutions of higher education and are more likely to hold higher ranks and have tenure compared to Black faculty (Knapp, Kelly-Reid, Whitmore, & Miller, 2007). This study advances the conversation regarding how White faculty approach the important role of mentorship for Black undergraduate students—a critical issue in understanding and addressing issues of student retention. To address these critical concerns, the researchers posed the following questions in the study:

1. How do White faculty mentors of Black students at a highly-selective predominantly White institution discuss their mentoring of Black students?

2. What role, if any, do formative experiences of White faculty mentors play in their mentoring of Black students at a highly-selective predominantly White institution?

Theoretical Foundation

This study analyzes the mentoring work of six White faculty in their relationships with Black undergraduates; therefore, theories that discuss race and gender in mentoring were essential to understanding these experiences: those articulated by Blake-Beard, Murrell, and Thomas (2007), and others provide a framework for interpreting these relationships. Additionally, research on the development of social justice allies, articulated by Washington and Evans (1991) undergirds our conceptualization of how White faculty who effectively mentor Black students seek to challenge structures that oppress their mentees. These allies hold themselves accountable to members of the Black community, without assigning additional burdens to the Black academic community.

Cross-Race Mentoring

While previous research suggested that homophilous (matching) racial characteristics were most desirable in mentoring dyads (Erkut & Mokros, 1984; Moore & Amey, 1988; Ugbah & Williams, 1989), organizational theorist David Thomas (1990, 1993) pioneered research on cross-race mentoring through an examination of the experiences of Black executives who were predominantly mentored by White men in business environments. A key aspect of Thomas' work is the bifurcated approach to mentoring adopted by many Black professionals in predominantly White organizations. Thomas (1990) explains Black professionals often seek out same-race mentors to assist their ascent into organizational culture, but the frequency and location of Black mentors also means that these individuals also actively seek out mentors across racial lines. Whereas the mentoring relationships with Black mentors often transcend organizational and departmental structures, Black protégés look within traditional hierarchies for support as well (Thomas, 1990).

Corroborating findings related to cross-race mentoring discuss the importance of extra sensitivity considering different worldviews, becoming familiar with research embraced by scholars of color, investing in relationships, reflecting on White privilege, and sharing opportunities for professional development (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Through these conceptualizations, one can easily understand why Black undergraduates at a PWI would seek out White mentors as well as Black mentors.

However, cross-race mentoring can present challenges for White mentors in relationships with Black mentees (Reddick & Young, 2012). Individual perspectives on the (in)significance of race and racism, for example, can create barriers that inhibit trust and intimacy in the mentor-protégé relationship (Blake-Beard, Murrell, & Thomas, 2007); similar concerns about trust overall can impede cross-race mentoring as well (Cohen & Steele, 2002). The racial climate in an organizational setting weighs heavily on how White-Black mentor-protégé dyads develop; in contexts where racial tensions are high, such concerns are forced to the forefront of relationships, where a White mentor and Black protégé can array themselves in any permutation of engagement or ignorance. Thomas (1993) argues that when the mentor-protégé dyad are in agreement about the (in)significance of racial issues in the organizational and relationship context, trust can be established and fruitful exchanges can occur. However, where there is disharmony in the pair's vision of

racial issues, trust is inhibited. At any rate, Blake-Beard and colleagues (2007) endorse additional research on cross-racial mentoring in various institutional contexts, specifically in-depth ethnographic studies such as that described in this article: "[F]uture research on mentoring must move beyond the faulty assumption that the experience of race within organizations does not shape, alter, and drive the mentoring relationship" (p. 225).

Ally Development Models

Demonstration of social justice is founded on principles of equity and solidarity, as well as an understanding and valuing of human rights, and recognition of the dignity of all people (Zajda, Majhanovich, & Rust, 2006). Closely aligned with social justice is mentorship. In actuality, examination of personal and professional experiences can contribute to a faculty member's social justice framework by having the ability to relate to sub-populations of students from various backgrounds through understanding, empathy, and advocacy. As such, White faculty mentors "need not have the same cultural or social background as their mentees, but they must pay close attention to the implications of differences" (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2004). Being aware and respectful of differences while creating common ground allows White faculty mentors the opportunity to align as an ally for Black students at a PWI.

Washington and Evans (1991) discussed many benefits of being an ally, including: opening oneself up to relationships; challenging stereotypes; and, making the difference in the lives of adolescents (as cited in Owney, 2010). Washington and Evans (1991) further developed a stage model of ally development focused on the inculcation of allies for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered (LGBT) persons. They proposed four levels in ally development: 1) awareness, 2) knowledge/education, 3) skills, and, 4) action. While this framing is historically calibrated for LGBT allies, we find significant fidelity between challenges that gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered persons encounter in a heteronormative and/or homophobic climate and those that Black people encounter in a predominantly White and/or racially biased environment, such as those endemic to many PWI campus climates. We intend, therefore, to apply this conceptual framing to the work of White faculty who were identified by Black students as mentors to themselves and their peers in that community. Through this work, these faculty members meet the standard of the appellation "ally."

Researchers have detailed various intrinsic and extrinsic benefits of mentorship (Reddick, Griffin, & Cherwitz, 2011). While serving as an ally may also include these rewards, an ally is called to a deeper level of responsibility and visibility. Allies for social justice "seek to develop systems and structures to hold themselves accountable and to be held accountable by members of the oppressed groups, without placing the burden for accountability on the oppressed" (Edwards, 2006, p. 51). Bishop (2002) further discussed the responsibility placed upon allies to listen and reflect, acknowledge privilege, and take initiative to learn about oppression:

> …the essence of the path to becoming an ally is balance and clarity. One must balance patience with confrontation, flexibility and limits, boundaries and allowances, learning and opinion, humility and self-confidence, your own oppression and others' struggles. Clarity comes from observation, reflection, and analysis in a specific situation. (p. 121)

Serving as an ally can be a complex and unique process for each person, requiring attention and reflection each step of the way (Owney, 2010). It is important for White faculty to recognize the myth of race-matching in academic mentoring and to devote considerable attention to the notion of leveraging proximate experiences to identify with and connect to Black mentees as an ally.

Methodology

Our study focused on the motivations and mentoring methods of White faculty who were identified as mentors to Black undergraduate students at a PWI. Data were collected via in-depth phenomenological interviews, which covered a range of topics, including the participants' pathway to the professoriate, their time management strategies regarding their service obligations, and how they assisted Black students in their psychosocial and instrumental challenges on campus.

This study took place at a highly selective private PWI in the northeastern United States (Noble College, a pseudonym) and enrolled approximately 6,700 students in 40 majors. Demographically, the student body was equally male and female, and 45% White, 15% Asian/Pacific Islander, 9% International, 7% Black, 8% Latino, 1% Native American, and 16% unknown or other. The campus employed 1,252 faculty

members who are racially/ethnically categorized as 79.2% White, 5.7% Black, 4.3% Latino, 10.6% Asian, and 0.3% Native American. Over half (52.9%) of the faculty were female.

The lead researcher surveyed Black undergraduate students involved in a Black student support group at the university. In the survey, students were asked to identify White faculty members who had served as mentors to them or their friends (see aforementioned definition of mentoring per Kram, 1988 and Johnson, 2002), and the survey results were used to rank faculty by frequency in which she/he was identified. From this ranking, nominated faculty were invited to participate in the two-part interview study. Six faculty (three male, three female) agreed to participate in the study. Of the sample, two were lecturers, two were assistant professors, and two were full professors at the time of the interview. This sample came from a broad array of disciplines and departments, including the arts and humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. All participating faculty were assigned pseudonyms to protect their identities.

Faculty in the sample participated in a two-stage phenomenological interview process (Seidman, 1998) with the lead researcher. The first interview explored their life histories (formative experiences, pathway to the professoriate) and the second explored their mentoring experiences in depth (motivations for serving as a mentor, successes and challenges in the mentoring role, and relationships with undergraduate students). Each 60-90 minute interview was tape-recorded and professionally transcribed.

The secondary analysis of this data was informed by the aforementioned theories on cross-racial mentoring, but also integrated etic coding (those that come from theoretical constructs) to understand how these White faculty mentors connected to Black students. In this analysis, researchers reviewed transcripts from interviews using an open coding process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), capturing unique aspects of the mentoring relationship as seen from the perspective of White faculty mentors of Black students. In subsequent coding, differences and similarities were noted in how White faculty are motivated to mentor along gender and rank lines. As analysis progressed, a cross-sectional code and retrieve method was utilized (Mason, 2002; Spencer, Ritchie, & O'Connor,

2007), creating codes from a first reading of the data, and applying them across all interview data.

We endeavored to ensure trustworthiness in data collection and analysis by employing many strategies in the qualitative tradition (Johnson, 1997; Kvale, 1996; Seidman, 1998). We triangulated data by utilizing several sources (interviewing multiple participants, reading faculty bios online, conducting multiple interviews, asking clarifying questions via e-mail) to address interpretive validity (Maxwell, 2005). Additionally, we shared findings with a study group comprised of fellow scholars: the process of sharing transcripts, matrices, codebooks, and memos with this community presented alternate interpretations and challenged assumptions. Even with these validity measures, there were limitations of our methodological approach. First, mentors who experienced positive experiences in their relationships were likely more willing to participate in this research. Additionally, the selection of a single site for the research, while intentional, does suggest that mentoring relationships could be considerably different in other institutional contexts.

Findings

This section presents emergent themes around factors that influence White faculty to serve as mentors to Black undergraduate and graduate students. Aligned with our research questions, analysis of the findings reveal first how faculty initiated cross-racial mentorship; second, how faculty developed and nurtured the mentor-mentee relationship; and finally, how faculty drew upon formative life experiences to identify, relate and support students. A table is included (see Appendix A) to assist the reader in identifying study participants; in brief, they are:

- Rachel Jones, female teaching fellow and academic adviser, applied sciences, 36, from the Northeast

- Caitlin Page, female assistant professor in social sciences, 38, from the West Coast

- Victoria Gold, female full professor in social sciences, 61, from the East Coast

- Stephen Bell, male full professor in applied sciences, 60, from the Northeast

- Andy Russo, male lecturer in natural sciences, 40, from the East Coast

- David König, male assistant professor in the humanities, 37, from Western Europe

Research Question 1

Data gathered from multiple semi-structured interviews informed our analysis of the first research question, "How do White faculty mentors of Black students at a highly-selective predominantly White institution discuss their mentoring of Black students?" by suggesting that faculty members discuss mentoring in terms of two distinct phases – 1) a beginning stage and an 2) on-going development stage. Faculty members in the sample shared a strong sentiment that mentoring students was as much a part of their job as the components of teaching and service. Every mentoring relationship has a unique beginning, yet our analysis of the data suggests that faculty members hone in on two specific practices to initiate cross-racial mentoring. First, they ensure their accessibility to all students, but in particular students of color. Further, they reach out to students once they have identified behaviors suggesting a student may need additional support.

Faculty in the sample recognized mentoring to be a purposeful, iterative process rather than a singular meeting or disjointed set of advising sessions (Reddick & Young, 2012). As such, they discussed mentorship development under the auspice of a strong sense of awareness. Specifically, their heightened awareness ensured they were aware of the sociocultural context around Black students in a PWI, aware of the need to address the whole student, and finally aware of the mutually beneficial opportunity to learn and grow with their mentee.

How Cross-Racial Mentorship Begins. Participants in the study described the first phase of cross-racial mentoring by suggesting two distinct tactics – being *accessible* and by *reaching out*. In general, faculty shared their strategy to engage in purposeful behaviors and activities to illustrate accessibility to students. One way of promoting accessibility was demonstrated simply through physical proximity. In addition to maintaining office hours on campus, faculty kept an active profile and stayed engaged with issues on campus so they appeared to be more approachable. David, an assistant professor in humanities,

discussed the additional level of accessibility beyond supporting their intellectual growth. "I am there for [students] with regards to anything that relates to [their] college experience…or to [their] learning experience." David emphasized true accessibility as being open to conversation with a student on any topic outside the classroom.

In many ways, faculty understood physical space as an essential element; yet, participants in the study were also aware of their attitude and personality traits as a way to create an additional layer of accessibility. Andy, a lecturer in the sciences and undergraduate program advisor stated, "I think that I don't seek out African American students, but I make myself very accessible." In addition to committing himself to being visible on campus, he recognized his disposition to be a way he connects with all students, including African Americans.

> [Noble College] is an inaccessible place, with people who are not willing to talk, or give you time to talk . . . I don't think that I segregate my approach between African and non-African-American mentees. I would say what I do for everybody might be something that maybe works especially well with African-American mentees. What I try to do is I try to get to know a student, in some detail, and then I try to help them find the best path through [Noble College].

Similarly, Caitlin, an assistant professor in the social sciences, said she consciously demonstrates a sense of humor and humility over a sense of arrogance or superiority. "So, I think maybe because – I'm just not an elitist. [I]n very colloquial terms…I do think that's part of it. Maybe I'm just viewed as more approachable."

As indicated, faculty members invited mentorship relationships through the intentional, but *passive*, approach of being physically, intellectually, and emotional accessible to students. However, the majority of participants in the study described taking an additional *proactive* step to reach out and initiate a connection. Rachel, a teaching fellow and academic advisor in the applied sciences, said she makes "an extra effort" to invite Black students to be a part of her research and to talk about their studies and goals. Like Andy, Rachel recognized the unfortunate inaccessibility and unwelcoming nature of the campus climate to some student populations and she "want[ed] to make it clear

that [the university] is a place where students of all sets of skill are still going to be encouraged to go as far as they want to go."

Participant faculty reaching out to Black students became a dominant theme throughout the interviews. Stephen, a full professor in the applied sciences, suggested the reason for his reaching out was "partly because of this sort of sense that [Black students] don't quite belong, or they don't want to bother you. . . . So you've got to reassure people that it's okay to talk about these things with your professors." He shared a story about how he reached out to a Black student who was struggling in his class and his invitation to discuss the student's academics turned into an on-going relationship. "The guy needed help, you know? He was in trouble. And my heart sank [because he was] one of the two Black students in the course." By inviting the student in to discuss his academic performance, Stephen became accessible to the student in a more holistic approach by learning more about the student's personal struggles, eventually leading to the opportunity to recommend him for a job.

In at least one participant's view, her own gender identity informed how she approached mentoring in a significant way. Victoria, a full professor in the social sciences, discussed how her own self-concept as a woman likely signaled to students that she could serve as an empathetic mentor:

> I think I'm probably more compassionate than many of my colleagues, but I think that that's often because I'm a woman. And it may be that students know that they can tell me things. So that's true for my African American students, as it is for my [other] students.

In Victoria's understanding, students viewed her gender as a signal that she would be receptive to their needs and concerns – this, in fact, seemed to be an automatic part of her outreach effort.

How Cross-Racial Mentorship Develops. Participants in the study understood the difference between a one-time advising session versus a sustained mentoring relationship, in the vein of the aforementioned definitions posited by Kram (1988) Johnson (2002). Subsequently, participants described the development and maturation of a mentor-mentee relationship. We found three themes emergent from the data illustrating consistency in how faculty described ways they

successfully engaged in cross-racial mentorship, including: 1) the capacity to have *a heightened sense of awareness regarding the unique challenges facing Black students* in a PWI environment, 2) an understanding of *holistic student engagement*, and 3) the recognition of *reciprocal relationship-building*.

The first distinguishing characteristic in cross-racial mentoring was the participants' ability to have a heightened sense of awareness of the context surrounding Black students studying at a PWI. Research shows that Black students often deal with barriers to retention and completion rates at PWIs (Guiffrida & Douthit, 2010; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2010; Thompson & Louque, 2005). Recognizing this, study participants worked to be understanding, empathized, and made themselves available to Black students. David shared that while he felt his behavior did not change in class, he "had in the back of my mind that there is perhaps something that they are having a hard time with, which I should just be aware of." He attributed his awareness to understanding what it is like to be in an unfamiliar setting.

> Well, that's perhaps one of the *advantages* over any of my colleagues, is that I've lived in five different countries, and I know very well how difficult and how challenging it actually is. All the organization, the preparation, and then just *being* there.

David, like all participants, drew upon past experiences to build a frame of reference—in this case, being a foreigner in a new country—allowing him to relate to possible challenges facing some Black students on campus. The details of these personal and professional experiences are further explored in the second research question.

Though faculty were aware of possible challenges presented to students, they did not assume that Black students necessarily had more problems due to their race and ethnicity, as Rachel stated:

> I don't always suppose that [race] is the identity that one is having trouble working with here. It may be more about class. It may be about being a woman. It may be about being gay, being a freshman. I don't assume that that's something that they are coming to me with any kind of problem about.

Instead, faculty felt that their sense of awareness allowed them to hone in on a variation in class attendance or participation that might signal an opportunity to serve as a support system.

A second theme emerging from the data included "getting to know the whole student," garnering a holistic impression of their Black protégés from many perspectives. All participants in the study identified cross-racial mentoring as a way in which to help students succeed beyond academics. In order to go beyond the classroom or a one-time advising session, Caitlin said she took the time to connect with students, noting that "to have somebody sit across from you, and listen and tell you have good ideas" is "an invaluable experience." Similarly, Victoria stated that students could "lean on her," and she would listen or offer advice "for whatever reason – it could be personal, it could have to do with flunking exams. It could have to do with a range of things." Many pointed out the importance of asking questions to identify where students came from, and their aspirations for future success. In doing so, faculty hoped to bring forward the students' interests, insecurities, and passions. Participants shared this common approach, but were adamant in noting that this was a general philosophy that seemed to work with mentees of all backgrounds, as Andy stated:

> I would say what I do for everybody might be something that maybe works *especially well* with African American mentees. [W]hat I try to do is I try to find – get to *know* a student, in some detail, and then I try to help them find the best path through Noble, and let them know that there are thousands of paths through Noble, and for them to find their *own* path, and to get them…the confidence to *find* their own path.

The third theme emerged around the reciprocal nature of cross-racial mentoring and relationship-building. Participants willingly shared the intrinsic benefits they received by working with Black students: Victoria, for instance, described it as "a gift" when she had an opportunity to work with students who did not previously have a mentor. Victoria connected her mentoring to themes of responsibility and student engagement, stating that she appreciated knowing that her mentorship is "special to them" in the level of trust and reciprocity in the relationship. Andy echoed this sentiment, saying he "derive[d] a lot of satisfaction" from seeing students succeed. Andy additionally noted that there was an extra sense of fulfillment in helping a student who, if not for intervention, may

not have achieved the same goal – giving him the ability to feel "like I helped to change their world." Caitlin concurred, stating, "It's really nice to know that [mentoring] made some difference for somebody."

In summarizing the findings for the first research question, we note that participants discussed their mentorship in the two stages of initiation of the relationship and the development of the relationship. We found *passive* approaches coupled with *proactive* approaches were effective in initiating a mentoring relationship. Furthermore, faculty shared three specific qualities in the way they nurtured and developed their mentorship by 1) being aware of the PWI context for their Black student mentees, 2) engaging in discussion to develop the student in more than an academic setting, and 3) understanding the intrinsic and extrinsic benefits of being a mentor. The next aspect of our findings analyzes factors that help White faculty make meaningful connections to Black students. Specifically, we examine interview data to determine the formative experiences, both academic and personal, which situate faculty in a position where they are willing and able to serve as cross-racial mentors.

Research Question 2

In response to research question two ("What role, if any, do formative experiences of White faculty mentors play in their mentoring of Black students at a highly-selective predominantly White institution?"), our analysis of the data leads us to state that formative experiences significantly influence White faculty's cross-racial mentoring approaches. Rather than approaching the mentoring dyad as a novel occurrence, the faculty in the sample called upon previous life experiences to contextualize and hone their attempts to develop and influence Black undergraduate mentees. In particular, we found that formative experiences shaped faculty's social justice orientation, which significantly influenced their worldview and perspective that all students, including (and perhaps especially) Black undergraduates, deserve supportive, equitable treatment, which was often absent in the PWI environment. Additionally, faculty participants' early experiences as mentees themselves provided reliable models for the participants to emulate in their own mentoring of young people years later. Specifically, attention to both instrumental and psychosocial factors helped to shape the mentors' careers and personal growth – they, in turn, attempted to do the same for their protégés.

Social Justice Orientation. The interviewed faculty all reported experiences in their youth and early careers that can be described in the panoply of social justice orientation. That is, these participants participated in activities that demonstrated a belief in the principles of equity and solidarity, an understanding and valuing of human rights, and recognizing the dignity of all people (Zajda, Majhanovich, & Rust, 2006). In some circumstances, this orientation was an aspect of their research, while in others, friendships and peer networks brought these issues to the fore.

Caitlin described how her research agenda focused in Central America naturally bridged areas of social justice. "I work on questions of human rights, social justice, things of that sort… I also get students who have an affinity for those kinds of topics." Interestingly, Caitlin's experience was unique in the sample – given the diversity of disciplines represented in the sample; she was the only faculty member actively working on research adjacent to issues of social justice. For the remainder of the sample, social justice concerns evolved through interpersonal networks, such those described by Victoria, a full professor in her early sixties. As an undergraduate student at an Ivy League institution, she found herself immersed in a social network that she labeled as "activist":

> We had our own social life and group, and it concerned the student newspaper, it concerned journalism. My roommate was the vice president of student government. She was a very political person. She was an activist. And it was the beginning of the anti-war movement. It was at the tail end of some of the important civil rights activism. This roommate's husband, who was several years older than us, was with the group that went to the South, and two of those were the two students who were murdered in Mississippi.

Though she stated that she was "not a real activist," Victoria noted that there was "no question" that she was sympathetic to the plight of Black students at a predominantly White institution, noting incidents where students self-segregated in the eating commons among Jewish and White: "Where are they [African-Americans] gonna sit? Most of them aren't Jewish, and they're certainly not White. That was the tension in the place," Victoria recalled.

College was also the awakening of social activism for Andy. "Central America was big" during his college years, and he particularly identified two faculty members who helped shape his world view "non-science-wise." "One directed the Women Studies Program, and the other one who I did a lot of work with, with the Central American Committee that I was on," Andy recalled. He further found that "those people… mentored me in a moral and ethical way that was really formative." Andy pointed to his interest in Latin America, which led to developmental relationships with faculty mentors, as pivotal in his orientation towards social justice.

Relationships similarly affected Stephen's understanding of issues of inequity, but rather than a mentor, it was his partner and spouse, Jane, that helped to provide this insight. He described his relationship with Jane thusly: "I kind of merged into her, I would say." Mediating that closeness were a number of situations he had observed Jane experience which made clear that gender identity greatly influenced her opportunities in her scientific field of study. "There's so many experiences that my wife has dealt with, because she was working—it was before the expectation of women's academic equality really set in. She's had lots of experiences—which I've learned a lot from observing."

Tangible experiences which exposed the participants to inequities in life opportunities – by a research topic, by experiences concerning race, or occurrences in the campus environment as undergraduates – gave the faculty members an understanding that not all students experience the campus environment in the same way. This social justice orientation led participants such as Caitlin to commit to working with all students, but especially those who confronted isolation due to race, thus creating a safe space with often underrepresented voices brought to the fore: "I don't want to sound like a do-gooder, but I don't want to work in a land of Whiteness... that's not the world I aspire to."

Involvement in Nurturing Mentoring Relationships. An additional theme from our analysis demonstrated how White faculty who identified as mentors to Black undergraduate students were themselves involved in nurturing developmental relationships. This intentional mentorship provided essential instrumental guidance insofar as presenting opportunities to excel in the academic sense, but also featured psychosocial support, which helped the participants, get through difficult times in life and in their professional careers. These relationships were

"paid forward" in the participants' own mentoring of their student mentees.

Stephen attended an elite private university, but soon found himself in academic trouble. Fortunately, he encountered a "great," "fairly young" professor that he described as "[having] a great skill at getting one to do wonderful work for him." With the mentor's guidance, Stephen blossomed and did very well, up until his final year of college, when he encountered personal challenges. Again, his mentor stood by him, assisting Stephen in advancing and helping him maintain a healthy mental state: "As my personal life started to get rocky, [he] provided a lot of personal support to me during that last year." Stephen attributed his successful completion of his degree, and efforts toward graduate study as a consequence of his mentor's intervention. Likewise, Caitlin encountered mentors as an undergraduate who "[told] me I was capable of doing things that I hadn't thought I was capable of…and pointing out [that I] should go to graduate school." Another mentor in graduate school led Caitlin to her specific focus on medical issues in Central America. For both Stephen and Caitlin, their academic trajectory was greatly shaped by their mentors who provided not only direction for their nascent academic careers, but also critical support – for Stephen, when he encountered an intensely stressful period of his life, and for Caitlin, when she needed prodding to advance to graduate school.

As a counterexample, Rachel was buoyed by her mentor's involvement, but suffered a setback when that mentor opted to leave her faculty role. Similar to Stephen, Rachel found herself adrift in the academic setting until a mentor got involved. Rachel struggled to understand the unwritten rules of the academy, noting that she "thought that everyone else kind of knew these things, and I was the only one who didn't," further stating, "I didn't understand that you have to win grants to get money to do research." A course introduced her to a female professor, and Rachel formed a "close relationship" with her. "I started taking all of her classes," Rachel noted, "and I ended up really being interested in what she did." Unfortunately, the mentor opted to leave academia, which had the unintended consequence of additionally dissuading Rachel from considering further study at the time. Reflecting on her current status as a mentor, Rachel said that her early days with her mentor led her "to be a little more proactive about reaching out to, not just students of color, but any student that seems like they are maybe a little shy, a little hesitant."

It might seem obvious to state that strong mentoring begets strong mentoring, but our analysis makes it clear that many of the faculty's mentoring relationships imprinted essential skills in their approaches to their current mentees. Revealing the subtle and unwritten rules of academic life, providing psychosocial support, and viewing the student as a whole rather than simply an academic entity, the aforementioned mentors set in place a legacy which the participants in this study continue in their present work with Black undergraduate students. Their mentoring role models inspire their work with an often-isolated population; this awareness fuels and directs their efforts, as Stephen explained:

> The people who need [mentoring] the most are the people, very often, who aren't getting it. Partly because of this sort of sense that they don't quite belong, or they don't want to bother you…. So you've got to reassure people that it's okay to talk about these things with your professors.

Exemplary experiences being mentored made participant faculty keenly aware of the importance of caring for the whole student – they are more than just, in the words of the late Reverend Peter Gomes, "brains on a stick" (as quoted in Lewis, 2006, p. 100). Their own experience of being supported demonstrated the significance of having a guide invested in their progress and making the veiled pathways in academic settings more clear. Furthermore, these professors brought an awareness that the novelty of being a Black student in a hypercompetitive, predominantly White institutional setting might be particularly isolating for these students. This led to the participants taking a proactive approach in working with their young charges.

Discussion

Our analyses suggest that White faculty find common ground with Black students by mining their own histories for experiences of discrimination and/or moments of "otherness." While these experiences are not equivalent to exposure to racism and prejudice, they do in fact provide the faculty with an empathetic frame of reference to better understand microaggressions and marginalization. Most of the research on mentoring focuses on the experience and outcomes for protégés/mentees; however, it is equally important that the experiences of mentors are analyzed and understood (Johnson, Rose, & Schlosser, 2007). Neglecting these perspectives "leaves a critical gap in our understanding of the

overall mentorship process and hampers theoretical development in the field" (Allen, 2007, p. 123). Therefore, a more robust understanding of how White faculty approach their mentorship of Black students has the potential of advancing a conceptual model of how mentoring dyads evolve across racial and ethnic lines. Given the dire state of Black college student completion and satisfaction (Reddick & Vasquez Heilig, 2012), "all hands on deck" are needed to inspire, nurture, and develop this population in which so much is invested.

Ultimately, our findings from this study can inform how White faculty approach the service aspect of their professional responsibilities. We are cognizant of the pressures on all tenure-track faculty in their effort to earn tenure and the robust landscape of advice that encourages non-tenured academics to venture into mentoring with caution. We also recognize that underrepresented faculty – including, but not limited to, sexual minorities, people with disabilities, women, and those from low socioeconomic backgrounds – are challenged in their incorporation into the academic milieu, and may experience something akin to the "cultural taxation" (Padilla, 1994) that is familiar to so many faculty of color.

However, the faculty sampled seem to follow the stages proffered by Washington and Evans (1991) regarding their development as allies. All faculty participants in the study shared observations indicating that they had an *awareness* of climate and adaptation issues that might exist for Black students. Through their formative experiences – as students, partners, and friends of people from underrepresented populations – the faculty formed identities that involved *knowledge and education* of issues pertaining to social justice. Further, as participants in mentoring relationships, the participants observed and adopted *skills* that they employed in their present roles as mentors to Black students. This background empowered Rachel, Caitlin, Victoria, Stephen, Andy, and David to *act* in powerful ways to both initiate and develop mentoring relationships with Black students. In many ways, their purposive attention to seemingly minor issues, such as participation in class discussions, were diagnostic efforts to bring issues to the fore, well before these concerns led to severely deleterious outcomes for their protégés. While none of the faculty used the term, their actions are well within the parameters of ally work. This realization suggests that there is a typology or path that White faculty can embark upon to become

bulwarks against microaggressions and at times hostile or chilling campus climes that often define PWI campuses.

Further, the centrality of trust and intimacy in the mentoring relationships described by the faculty sampled in the study underlines previous work by Thomas (1990) and Blake-Beard, Murrell, and Thomas (2007). The participants took positions against discrimination in their lives, some of which were public, and extended themselves as resources to students on these issues. This translated into strong mentoring orientations that worked not only for all students they engaged with in developmental relationships, but also particularly well with Black students. The fact that multiple Black students at the institution had identified these instructors as personal mentors, or those to their peers, suggests that the participants have earned a "rep" (reputation) as a supportive guide particularly aware of issues confronting students in this community.

Aside from the critical service that these mentors provide for their mentees, there is an additional dimension to their mentoring work that must be highlighted. A less direct, but equally important effect of this work is the fact that by their investment and support of Black students, the burden of mentoring on faculty of color, especially Black faculty, may be lessened. During our interview with Caitlin, she disclosed an experience she had while serving on a search committee to hire a new tenure-track faculty member when one of her fellow White committee members approached the topic of mentorship for Black students:

> Because [he] framed it as though "Well, we've got the African American professor who is going to be working with the African American students, and if he doesn't want to mentor then, [who will]?" It was really fascinating. I hadn't had an experience like that before, on any kind of committee where you are coming up against someone saying something that you assume most folks [won't engage in cross-racial mentoring]. So it was pretty interesting to me.

Caitlin provided a vivid example of how White faculty invested in creating more inclusive and welcoming environments for colleagues and new hires – especially junior faculty of color – can be aware of the cultural taxation (Padilla, 1994) experienced by their colleagues. Further, it should not be exacerbated by an assumption that race overrides

common interest, social background, and simple mutual attraction in the establishment of a mentoring relationship. White faculty need not assume that their own lives and experiences fail to provide a strong foundation of mentoring wisdom across race.

Though these professors were clear that their experiences were not equal or the same as the challenges confronting their Black students, these findings imply there are individual and structural interventions that should be considered by White faculty and institutional leaders. On the personal level, White faculty can explore their own pathways to the professoriate, including their formative experiences as undergraduates, for memories of isolation or being stereotyped. Additionally, close friendships can provide opportunities for reflection on the impact of being a good listener and being otherwise informed of resources and approaches that can ameliorate challenges that students might encounter. On a structural level, it seems logical that department heads and deans should maintain an awareness of mentoring patterns among their faculty. Are particular faculty members particularly effective in their mentoring? If so, what insights can they share with colleagues about their approach? Conversely, are there some faculty who are absent from the responsibility of mentoring, and do faculty of color and women have disproportionate mentoring loads? Workshops and roundtables that inform White faculty on how they might leverage their own formative experiences in mentoring work are essential opportunities to better serve students, fairly distribute mentorship (which has its own rewards), and improve morale, especially among underrepresented faculty populations. Faculty experiences should operate as markers of a sort, suggesting how a mentor might approach and advise a situation. Obviously, a trusting reciprocal relationship might progress to a stage where sharing similar experiences can be viewed in a more positive way, but such intimacy comes with time and effort. Such caution is required if members of the academy "don't want to work in a world of Whiteness."

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Appendix A

Table 1

Participant Sample, Areas of Study, and Rank

Name	Ethnicity and Gender	Area of Study	Region of Origin	Rank	Years at Noble	Age
Rachel Jones	White female	Applied Sciences	Northeastern U.S.	Teaching Fellow & Academic Advisor	3	36
Caitlin Page	White female	Social Sciences	West Coast, U.S.	Assistant Professor	4	38
Victoria Gold	White female	Social Sciences	East Coast, U.S.	Professor	9	61
Stephen Bell	White male	Applied Sciences	Northeastern U.S.	Professor	20+	60
Andy Russo	White male	Natural Sciences	East Coast, U.S.	Lecturer	7	40
David König	White male	Humanities	Western Europe	Assistant Professor	5	37

Faculty of Color and White Faculty: An Analysis of Service in Colleges of Education in the Arizona Public University System

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Abstract: This study examined faculty participation in service in the Arizona public university system among faculty of color and White faculty. Data were utilized from a survey of faculty in the colleges of education at Arizona State University, Northern Arizona University, and University of Arizona. Independent t-tests revealed that faculty of color were more likely to be engaged in liaison-related service than their White counterparts. Findings also illustrated that faculty of color were more likely to be involved as leaders in professional organizations. This study affirmed current national-level research on faculty service which indicates that faculties of color are more involved in service than other faculties. Based upon the study's findings, suggestions for revamping the weight value of faculty service within the retention, tenure, and promotion process are considered.

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One element of tenured/tenure-track faculty responsibilities in higher education is that of service. Faculty service is an integral component of institutional operations that contributes to the overall mission of colleges and universities. These higher education institutions are dependent upon faculty service efforts to sustain themselves via institutional governance participation. Committee participation, assessment and evaluation, faculty senate service, institutional planning, and outreach are a few examples of the roles faculty members play in promoting the well-being and advancement of their institutions. As a result, nearly all postsecondary institutions have service requirements for their faculty (Baez, 1999; 2000; 2002). Public universities in the State of Arizona are among the vast majority of institutional systems that have a commitment to service from their governing bodies.

To ensure faculty members are engaging in service, the Arizona Board of Regents (ABOR) requires faculty service as one aspect to the tenure and promotion process. ABOR Policy 6-211 section A.3.b. calls for faculty performance evaluation at public universities in Arizona to include an assessment of "actual performance and accomplishments in the areas of teaching, *advising, mentoring,* research and *professional/public service* [emphasis added] through a peer review process" (ABOR, 1992, p. 467). As a result of this policy, each respective campus under the jurisdiction of the ABOR has created policies to inform faculty about the aspects of their service that are applicable to their retention, tenure and promotion (RTP).

This study will investigate faculty participation in service by examining faculty service by race/ethnicity in the colleges of education at Arizona public universities. The next section will examine relevant literature on this topic, demonstrating how excessive service demands, the weight of service in RTP processes, and types of service typically engaged by faculty of color necessitate this current investigation. RTP are generally evaluated based upon three basic areas of academic contribution – research, teaching, and service. Typically, less emphasis is placed on service than teaching and research in the RTP process. In general, the most credence is given to research, with secondary importance usually given to teaching. Service is often considered supplemental and secondary to research and teaching performance in RTP (Astin, Antonio, Cress, & Astin, 1996; Brazeau, 2003; Norbeck, 1998; Park, 1996; Singell

& Lillydahl, 1996). The next section will examine relevant literature on the topic.

Relevant Literature

The varying levels of importance of research, teaching and service in RTP considerations can place certain faculty (such as faculty of color) at a disadvantage in attaining tenure and merit increases. Faculties of color tend to be more involved in service than their White counterparts. (Antonio, Astin, & Cress, 2000; Baez, 2000; Porter, 2007; Turner, 2002). However, Baez (2000) notes that "excessive service demands" from local communities, students, and their respective institutions place faculty of color at a disadvantage in advancement processes (p. 363). This in large part is a result of the service demands placed on faculty of color. Often, they are highly sought out for institutional service due to the knowledge they possess about communities of color. Moreover, service acts as a core component of their "critical agency" in facilitating the transformation of institutional structures in the promotion of social justice (p. 364). As such, service can serve as a sense of empowerment for faculty of color (Hill-Brisbane & Dingus, 2007; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008) and, subsequently, can guide meaningful efforts in promoting equitable practices for all.

The dimensions to faculty service are complex, expansive, and can vary across institutional types (e.g., research institutions, teaching institutions) and by academic discipline. In general, there are three broad areas of faculty service: professional, institutional, and public/community. Professional service involves participation in the scholarly profession (e.g., serving as a reviewer for peer-reviewed journals or leading in professional organization). Institutional service pertains to faculty involvement in supporting the operations of the university (e.g. institutional committee or task force participation). Public/community service relates to working in the local community; often, there can be a scholarly component to this form of service (e.g., working with a non-profit organization; Baez, 1999; Loveridge, 2002; Shoenfield & Magnan, 1994). For example, a host of scholars provide thought leadership that supports strategic interventions and evaluations for local non-profit organizations. Service has also been classified as professional or public service (Miller, 1987) and internal or external service (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995).

The implications for faculty of color focusing on service efforts is that they can be penalized in the RTP process since service is usually weighted lowered than research and teaching. At Northern Arizona University (NAU), the *Faculty Handbook* indicates that teaching workloads range from 50 to 70 percent, research between 20 and 50 percent (not to fall below 20 percent), and service from 10 to 20 percent (Northern Arizona University, 2008). At the University of Arizona (UofA), service accounts for 20 percent of faculty RTP considerations, which is lower than 40 percent for research and teaching (Univeristy of Arizona, 2009). Faculty workload breakdowns at ASU mirror the 40-40-20 (research, teaching, service) seen at of the UofA. Furthermore, at Arizona State University (ASU) the institution clearly indicates that service is secondary to research and teaching. For instance, a document identifying criteria for tenure and promotion located on the college's webpage informs junior faculty that "extensive service contributions are not central to promotion and tenure decisions" (Arizona State University, 2009, para. 6). In this same document, the college also notes that professional and institutional service are more highly valued than public/community service, which informs junior faculty that they "should take care that these activities [public/community service] constitute a much smaller portion of their load" (para. 6). Jaeger and Thornton (2006) noted that the limited value of public service in comparison to other types of faculty service is typical in research universities. While professional and disciplinary service have been the primary focus for RTP considerations; the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching increased the importance of community service when the community-engagement classification for institutions was introduced (see Driscoll, 2008). The widespread effect of this new initiative has yet to be seen.

Currently, there is a dearth of literature on faculty of color and service, especially with respect to service in the professional context. With this in mind, it is important to articulate what is actually known about this topic area. *Figure 1* presents a cursory overview of research in this topic area; the "+" sign represents postive factors for faculty service while the "-" sign represents negative factors to faculty service. Literature on faculty of color emphasizes their strong commitment towards service participation, especially community related service (Skachkova, 2007). As a result, they expend large amounts of their time in campus service activities such as advising students, serving on campus committees,

participating in diversity-related work or being actively engaged in their local communities (Antonio, 2002; de la Luz Reyes & Halcón, 1991; Gregory, 2001; Laden & Hagedorn, 2000; Nieves-Squires, 1991; Stanley, 2006; Turner & Myers, Jr., 2000; Turner, Myers, Jr., & Creswell, 1999). For example, Antonio (2002), in an analysis of more than 21,000 faculty, found "faculty of color to be a third more likely to advise student groups involved in community service and 29% more likely to pledge the professional and personal goal of providing services to the community" (p. 594).

Figure 1
Overview of Literature on Faculty of Color and Service

Service (Overall)	Campus Service	Community Service
(-) Service is discounted	(-) Faculty of color exhibit higher levels of stress from service activities	(+) Strong desire to participate in community service
(-) Disproportionate service demands		(+) Faculty of color serve as spokespersons for their communities
(-) Service is not properly weighed in RTP	(+) Faculty of color serve as spokespersons for their communities	(+) Faculty service in the community can serve to attract students and faculty of color to the institution
(-) Service is devalued by institutions		
(-) Hidden service requirements		
(+) Participate in service to greater degree than other faculty		
(+) Service can serve as a sense of empowerment		

(+) Positive factors to faculty service (-) Negative factors to faculty service

While many faculty of color participate in service, their engagement in service is often discounted (Aguirre, 2005; Jones, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000), not equally respected in the RTP process (Baez, 2000; Delgado-Romero, Manlove, Manlove & Hernandez, 2007; Moule, 2005; Padilla, 1994), and generally devalued (Piercy, Giddings, Allen, Dion, Meszaros & Joest, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006; Turner & Myers, 2000; Urrieta & Méndez-Benavidez, 2007; Williams & Williams, 2006). To make matters worse, there are "hidden" service requirements (especially as it relates to minority-related service) that are placed upon faculty of color (Brayboy, 2003; Niemann, 1999). Often, they are called upon as defacto spokespersons for their respective communities (Takara, 2006). As a result of these issues, higher levels of service-related stress are experienced by faculty of color (Smith & Witts, 1993).

Quantitative research approaches most effectively analyze variance in faculty service engagement (Porter, 2007). While national studies exist on faculty service, there remains a lack of quantitative literature on faculty service (with a focus on specific regions or states). This dearth of scholarly research on faculty service by region/state can shape discussions of service based upon national generalizations rather than state specificities (which may not adequately address the depth of discourse needed on service by region/state). Nonetheless, this regional study can add to a larger national body of scholarship.

Additionally, there is a need to monitor variance in service in order to create equitable policies within institutions that recognize the differing contributions of faculty by academic discipline. This particular study focuses on the colleges of education as a result of the unique constraints that education faculty face regarding the service requirement inherent in the field. According to Lawson (1990), faculty in schools, colleges and departments of education face unique challenges in service involvement for several reasons including: competition for academic prestige; retention, tenure and promotion structures which favor scholarship over service; and the transition of education faculty from the "technical-apprenticeship model to a now dominate model emphasizing theory and research" (p. 58).

Bearing this in mind, this study will investigate faculty participation in service. This investigation was undertaken in response to perceived differences in faculty engagement in service along racial/ethnic lines on the part of the researchers. As such, this study will examine whether or not differences exist and the extent of those differences. This examination will be guided by one primary question: what do analyses by race/ethnicity reveal about differences in faculty participation in service. The following hypotheses will be used to analyze the data collected:

> A1. Null Hypothesis: there will be no differences in faculty participation in service by race/ethnicity.
> $H0: \mu1 - \mu2 = 0$

> A2. Alternative Hypotheses: there will be differences in faculty participation in service by race/ethnicity.
> $H1: \mu1 - \mu2 \neq 0$

Methodology

Data for this study was collected through a questionnaire distributed to select faculty in each college of education within the ABOR universities. Faculty members were selected using proportional stratified sampling, a "type of stratified sampling in which the sample proportions are made to be the same as the population proportions on the stratification variable" (Johnson & Christensen, 2004, p. 207). The stratification variables employed in this study were faculty race/ethnicity and gender. One hundred and thirty-nine (139) total faculty members participated in the study, of which 112 were White and 27 were faculty of color. There were a total of 334 faculty in the colleges of education when the survey was distributed. This represented a 42 percent sampling return rate of the total population. Participants involved in this study were reflective of the racial/ethnic makeup of faculty in ABOR universities. Despite the sampling procedures employed, no Native American faculty participated in the study. Due to the limited number of racial/ethnic minorities in each university's college of education, faculty of color were treated as one group in the analyses.

The researchers collected the names, emails and stratified variable information on each faculty member in these aforementioned colleges using public information posted on the websites of each respective university. The data were then entered into a spreadsheet for stratification selection. Questionnaires were distributed utilizing SurveyMonkey, an online data collection system. Informed consent was obtained by faculty via the data collection system before faculty commenced the survey. This program was utilized since it has the capability to track each individual whom a questionnaire is sent to in order to ensure that over/under sampling would not occur. The questionnaire was comprised of open-ended and Likert-scale questions (with an emphasis on the latter). This particular paper focuses on the Likert-scale responses only.

Faculty were asked about their participation in faculty service (e.g. departmental committees, journal reviewing) based upon a five-point Likert-scale indicating the amount of hours a faculty participated in each

specific type of service.[1] Service activities identified in the faculty
policy manuals for each institution were examined (see Figure 2). While
there are nuances in the service expectations for faculty across the three
institutions, the researchers elected to treat the colleges in aggregate
rather than discussing each individually. Service activities provide an
overview of the types of service investigated.These service activities as
well as the work of Astin et al. (1996) and Baez (1999; 2000) were
utilized in constructing the areas of service addressed in the
questionnaire.

Figure 2
Types of Services in Faculty Policy Manuals, By Institution

Institution	Types of Service Indicated
Arizona State University	Service to the Division, College or University 1. Division, College or University committees; 2. Sponsoring special programs, conferences, or professional activities 3. Faculty governance activities 4. The preservation of a collegial atmosphere at all levels of interaction within the University. Service to the Public 1. Should be an extension of the faculty members' research and teaching activity to the larger community outside the University. 2. Service to professional organizations, journal editorships 3. Non-paid service to community agencies or groups related to the faculty members' research or teaching area.

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[1] Likert-scale ranged from: 0 to 10 or more hours per week. Equal variance was
assumed among individual items in the scale.

Figure 2 (continued)
Types of Services in Faculty Policy Manuals, By Institution

Institution	Types of Service Indicated

Northern Arizona University	Service to the Department/College
	    1. Committees (e.g., curricular)
	    2. Task forces
	    3. Recruitment efforts
	Service to the University
	    1. Committees (elected)
	    2. Task forces
	    3. Leadership roles (e.g., in accreditation projects)
	Service to the Local Community
	    1. Evaluation project for local school
	    2. Review board for a journal
	    3. Leadership role in national organization
	    4. Public workshops
	    5. Technical assistance

University of Arizona	Service to the Institution
	    1. Membership on and chairing of committees
	    2. Temporary or continued assumption of administrative duties
	    3. Major participation in decision making bodies
	Service to the Profession
	    1. Service as a journal editor or on editorial boards.
	Service to the Community
	    1. Community boards
	    2. Public service lectures and similar activities.

Sources: Arizona State University, 2006; Northern Arizona University, 2006; University of Arizona, 2000.

After data was collected, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted in order to identify evident constructs among the 22 items examined in the survey. An exploratory factor analysis allows for the identification of

underlying dimensions among a set of items. Three composites were constructed from 22 items which roughly represent: campus service; liaison service; and professional service. The dimensionality of 22 items of faculty service measures were analyzed using a principal component factor analysis. Three criteria were used to determine the number of factors to rotate: the a priori hypothesis that the measure was uni-dimensional, the scree test, and the interpretability of the factor solution. The scree plot, which is a pictorial representation of the cluster of items including their associated eigen values, indicated the items were not uni-dimensional. Based on the plot, three factors were rotated using a Varimax rotation procedure. This procedure employs orthogonal rotation among a constrained number of factors. The rotated solution, as shown in Table 1, yielded three interpretable factors composed of 15 items. The first factor accounted for 12.59% of the item variance, the second factor accounted for 11.92% of the item variance, and the third factor accounted for 8.60% of the item variance. No items loaded on multiple factors (see Table 1). A reliability analysis was conducted, factor one (campus service; Cronbach's Alpha, .66), factor two (liaison service; Cronbach's Alpha, .71), and factor three (professional service; Cronbach's Alpha, .52). The Cronbach's alphas from the campus services and professional service constructs were low. Generally, Cronbach alpha's of .7 or greater are desirable for such analyses (Santos, 1999; Schmitt, 1996), though lower alphas are sometimes used (see Flowers, 2006). Two sets of Independent sample t-tests were conducted; the first set focused on background characteristics of the sample; and the second set focused on each item within the three constructs.

Table 1
Correlations Between Factors

Items	Factor 1 Campus Service	Factor 2 Liaison Service	Factor 3 Professional Service
Departmental Committees	*.667*	-.040	.063
College Committees	*.565*	.136	-.074
Advising Students	*.675*	-.005	.244
Mentoring Students	*.484*	.075	.297
Tutoring Students	*.574*	-.042	-.156
Program Practicum Coordination	*.525*	.065	.007
Probono Advising Consulting	*.424*	.272	.072
Institutional Committees	.169	*.619*	.235
Campus Community Committee	.019	*.789*	.133
Nonprofit Board	.081	*.515*	.122
Campus Community Program	-.051	*.708*	.076
Journal Reviewer	.171	.024	*.540*
Journal Editor	-.001	-.172	*.606*
Leadership in Professional Organizations	.246	.243	*.592*
Task Force/Blue Ribbon Committee	-.174	.208	*.630*

Note: Note: Principal Component extraction method shown above. Items are from rotated component matrix. The strongest loadings (factors coefficient) ≥ .40 are identified in italics. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Limitations

The data examined in this study represents the self-reported responses of faculty. Self-reported data can be subject to respondent bias, especially on a tenuous subject such as faculty workload. Also, it is plausible that while the total number of participants in this study (n=139) represent a reasonable sample of the population examined (42 percent), more participants may increase the likelihood of finding statistically significant differences among groups. Additionally, with the limited number of respondents in this study, findings are only generalizable to faculty in the college of education in ABOR universities. Finally, faculty of color were treated as one group in the analyses due to their limited representation in the population. Variance among these faculty in terms of their participation in research, teaching, and service may exist and would not be captured by the grouping approach used. The next section focuses on the findings.

Findings

Background data on faculty of color and White faculty revealed that all faculty members spent about twelve hours per week conducting research and around nine hours per week teaching courses. On average faculty of color spend slightly less time conducting research (about half an hour per week) and slightly more time teaching (about an hour per week). However, no statistically significant differences were evident between groups relative to background characteristics (see Table 2). This suggests that faculty of color are as invested in research and teaching as their White counterparts.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Selected Background Characteristics of Faculty of Color and White Faculty in the ABOR Universities

Background Characteristics	Faculty of Color		White Faculty	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Number of hours spent per week conducting research	12.296	10.167	12.732	10.857
Number of hours spent per week teaching	9.925	7.883	8.883	7.279
Number of hours spent in teaching related duties (other than direct instruction)	14.333	10.164	14.294	9.801
Annual unit load	10.703	7.091	10.401	6.736
Number of formal advisees	4.538	2.831	4.654	2.972
Number of informal advisees	4.538	2.595	4.156	2.579

Note: Most of the programs were graduate level, as such numbers for formal and informal advisees are correspondingly low.

Factor One (Campus Service)

Factor one (campus service) was comprised primarily of items related to campus service with the exception of pro bono advising/consulting. An independent sample t test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis that there would be no difference in faculty participation in campus service by race/ethnicity. Again, the alternative hypothesis was that there would be differences in faculty participation in campus service by race/ethnicity. Several measures of campus service were used to examine this construct: departmental committees; college committees; advising students; mentoring students; tutoring students; program/practicum coordination; and program advising consulting. As shown in Table 3, there were no statistically significant differences between faculty of color

and White faculty. However, faculty of color exhibited higher means scores on campus service items (except for program/practicum coordination).

Table 3
Means of Items From Factor One (Campus Service)

Campus Service Items	Faculty of Color		White Faculty	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Departmental Committees	.2871	.144	.2806	.156
College Committees	.2426	.156	.2189	.181
Advising Students	.4142	.164	.3504	.189
Mentoring Students	.3972	.173	.3531	.188
Tutoring Students	.1914	.187	.1212	.168
Program/Practicum Coordination	.2670	.287	.3156	.285
Pro Bono Advising/Consulting	.2619	.186	.1960	.161

Factor Two (Liaison Service)

Factor two (liaison service) was comprised of four items (e.g., institutional committees, campus community committees, non-profit boards, and campus community programs). The commonality among these items is the role of faculty in serving as liaisons from their respective departments to the institution and the community (with an emphasis on the latter). An independent sample t test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis there would be no difference in faculty participation in public/community service by race/ethnicity. Again, the alternative hypothesis was that there would be differences in faculty

participation in liaison service by race/ethnicity. Several measures of public/community service were used to examine this construct: institutional committees, campus community committees, non-profit boards, and campus community programs.

Table 4
Means of items from factor two (liaison service)

Public/Community Service Items	Faculty of Color		White Faculty	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Institutional Committees	.2245 **	.237	.1163	.168
Campus Community Committee	.2146 **	.214	.1107	.150
Nonprofit Board	.1681	.208	.1286	.171
Campus Community Program	.1264 **	.189	.0466	.126

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 4 shows three of the four items measured in the construct of public/community service were significant. Service on institutional committees was significant (t (137) = 2.746, p = .007). As a result, the null hypothesis was rejected. Faculty of color on average (M= .2245, SD = .237) spend more time engaged in service on institutional committees than White faculty (M= .1163, SD = .168). The 95% confidence interval for the difference in the means ranged from .030 to .186. The eta square index indicated that 5% of the variance in the institutional committee variable was accounted for by faculty race/ethnicity.

Service in the campus community was also significant (t (137) = 2.939, p = .004). Similar to the first item in the construct, the null hypothesis was rejected. Faculty of color on average (M=.2146, SD= .214) spend more time engaged in campus community committees than their White faculty (M=.1107, SD= .150) counterparts. The 95% confidence interval for the

difference in the means ranged from .034 to .173. The eta square index indicated that 6% of the variance in the campus community committee variable was accounted for by faculty race/ethnicity.

Finally, the last item of the construct was also significant t (137) = 2.645, p = .009. As a result, the null hypothesis was rejected. Faculty of color on average (M=.1264, SD= .189) spend more time engaged in campus community programs than White faculty (M=.0466, SD= .1268). The 95% confidence interval for the difference in the means ranged from .0201 to .1395. The eta square index indicated that 5% of the variance in the campus community program variable was accounted for by faculty race/ethnicity.

Factor Three (Professional Service)

Factor three (professional service) was comprised of four items related to service in the scholarly community. An independent sample *t* test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis there would be no difference in faculty participation in professional service by race/ethnicity. The alternative hypothesis was that there would be differences in faculty participation in professional service by race/ethnicity. Several measures of professional service were used to examine this construct: journal reviewer, journal editor, leadership in professional organizations; and task force/blue ribbon committee.

Of the items examined, one was found to be statistically significant (see Table 5). Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected. Leadership in professional organizations was significant (t (137) =3.156, p = .002). Faculty of color on average (M=.2686, SD= .177) spent more time engaged in leadership in professional organizations than White faculty (M=.1490, SD=.176). The 95% confidence interval for the difference in the means ranged from .0446 to .1946. The eta square index indicated that 7% of the variance in the campus community program variable was accounted for by faculty race/ethnicity.

Table 5
Means of items from factor three (professional service)

Professional Service Items	Faculty of Color		White Faculty	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Journal Reviewer	.1803	.170	.2213	.144
Journal Editor	.0799	.157	.0662	.178
Leadership in Professional Organizations	.2686* *	.177	.1490	.176
Task Force/Blue Ribbon Committee	.0911	.162	.0466	.124

Note: * = p < .05, ** = p < .01

Discussion

There are important considerations that educational leaders can take away from this study. Though only one of the three factors yielded statistically significant differences among the majority of items examined in the factor, it is instructive that faculty of color had higher mean scores on 13 of the 15 items examined in this study. This illustrates that faculty of color are involved in greater service activities, though not at a significant level in the campus service and professional service. The exceptions (though not significant) in which White faculty had higher means scores, were the journal review item within the professional service construct and the program/practicum coordination item within the campus service construct.

Arguably the most important finding from this study is that faculty of color participate in liaison service (based upon three of the four measures used) more often than their White counterparts. This study found statistically significant differences between faculty service in leadership in professional organizations (see the professional service factor). Analyses of this item indicated that faculty of color spend more time engaged in this type of service than their White counterparts. While the

factor analysis did not group this item in the liaison service factor, there seems to be a relationship between serving as a liaison of the university and serving as a leader in a professional organization. The literature notes that faculty of color tend to participate in service more than White faculty, on average (Antonio, 2002; Antonio, Astin & Cress, 2000; Baez, 2000; Porter, 2007). The finding of this study also complements this notion.

These findings indicate important regional particularizations in faculty service that raise several considerations as well as some unique opportunities for Arizona public universities. Some institutions value campus and professional service with higher regard than service to the community (Holland, 1997). Since it is apparent that many of the items with the liaison service factor are directly related to community service, the ABOR and public educational leaders may examine the manner in which this form of service is weighted among other forms of service within colleges of education. Consideration must be given to whether liaison-related service is receiving equitable recognition in the tenure and promotion process as campus and professional service. Ensuring equitable weights among these forms of service is important in ensuring parity in the tenure process.

Unlike research and teaching which can be clearly delineated in meaning, service is vague and expansive. This in itself is problematic, as it makes it difficult to define and assess. Difficulty in assessment can lead to less weight and credibility given to this area. Based upon the findings of this study, it is clear that faculty of color spend more time engaged in service than their White counterparts. As such, the weights among teaching, research, and service in the tenure and promotion process should take into account variance in the overall productivity of faculty based upon race/ethnicity. Finally, faculty of color may also want to evaluate and analyze the institutional type of college/university prior to accepting the role. Each type has expectations for research, service, and teaching that must be met, and faculty should work at institutions where their service commitments are valued.

Conclusion

An examination of faculty participation in the area of service found statistically significant differences by race/ethnicity in the liaison service factor and higher mean scores across campus and professional service factors. Based upon these findings, there is a need to address the importance of service in RTP considerations. An important step to promote this includes: 1) the development of new weights for service which can create parity for faculty of color in RTP processes. As it stands, the current weights may tend to be counterproductive to their success in the area of service; 2) an effort to view faculty service as an integral component of faculty workload should be promoted. This can be done by recognizing and supporting faculty involvement in service activities (e.g., funding, release time), as well as publicizing faculty service activities; and 3) all faculty must take responsibility in knowing the expectations involved with the RTP process. Once this is evident, faculty of color need to adjust their workload in accordance to what is expected of them. Knowing that service is not given much consideration, they can make a conscious (and likely difficult) decision to limit or forego service – at least until they have received tenure or policies have been changed.

Faculty service excellence will not thrive without a culture that values service and holds faculty accountable to work towards making service an everyday practice. The discrepancy between actual work conducted by faculty of color and evaluation processes are not systematically aligned. This impedes the success of faculty of color, which can further widen the disproportional representation of these faculty members in institutions of higher education. A key element of institutional excellence includes a rich, vibrant pool of faculty of color. RTP process must be reconsidered, particularly in the area of service. This can promote and adequately reward the contributions of faculty of color.

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