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Examining White Faculty Maladjustment at Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Dave A Louis, Texas A & M University - College Station

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Examining White Faculty Maladjustment at Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Dave Louis
Texas A&M University

ABSTRACT
This study examined fifty (50) faculty members at four (4) Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the Southern region of the United States. The main objective was to capture White faculty sentiments towards their employment at an HBCU and their ability to adjust to their minority status. Particular focus was placed on White faculty interactions with the Black student body and their families, their Black administrators and colleagues. The reported experiences beg the discussion of HBCUs becoming more proactive in preparing White faculty for their immersion into HBCU culture.

AUTHOR INFORMATION
Dr. Dave Louis is Lecturer at the College of Education and Human Development, Texas A&M University
Email: dalouis@tamu.edu

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INTRODUCTION

The manner in which White faculty members survive or cope with their immersion into the Black college community is completely different than that of the White philanthropist, president, trustee or administrator (Decker, 1955; Slater, 1993). For these professors, the contact zone becomes not just a place where age and gender converge, but one where ethnicities and cultures collide: groups that have historically been pitted against each other, socially, economically and politically. Hence, the groups struggle to find a common ground and a mutual plane of communication, to fulfill the institution’s education mission. This contact zone as cited by Bartholomae and Petrosky (1996) is defined as social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other in the contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power (p.530). They also speculate that it is these polarized environments that can profoundly develop greater cross-cultural communication and awareness within individuals. In contrast, a White professor’s immersion into an HBCU environment can result in feelings of isolation, frustration, guilt, embarrassment, vulnerability, stereotyping and even racism (Foster, Guyden & Miller, 1999). These feelings coupled with the newly acquired, and uncommon, status as a minority affects the adjustment to HBCUs (Foster, Guyden & Miller, 1999).

In this study adjustment was defined as a White faculty member’s satisfaction, comfort or level of coping with an HBCU environment. This includes, the faculty member’s level of adaptation to minority status, addressing racial differences and working closely with Black peers, Black administrators and Black students. Adjustment was also defined as the process whereby White professors modify their behavior as a result of their newly acquired minority status, which is an altered environment from the greater society.

Understanding HBCUs

In the African American or Black community, the HBCU is the pinnacle of its educational hierarchy. It is the institution where many Black K-12 students aspire to enroll. It is the place where many dreams and aspirations are cultivated into reality. HBCU signifies hope in education and a compassion for those who cannot afford to study at the common university. It is at these HBCUs that traditions have been built and history has been made. A plethora of Black leaders in the United States have been developed at HBCUs. Martin Luther King, Jr, civil rights leader was a Morehouse College graduate; Andrew Young, U.S. diplomat was a Howard University graduate; Earl Graves, esteemed businessman was a Morgan State University Graduate; Barbara Jordan, a congresswoman was a Texas Southern University graduate; Thurgood Marshall, Supreme Court judge was a Lincoln University graduate; author, feminist and Pulitzer Prize winner, Alice Walker was a Spelman College graduate; former U.S. Treasurer, Azie Taylor Morton is a Huston-Tillotson University alumnus, and the list goes on (Powered by an HBCU, 2006). It is within the hallowed halls of these institutions that the Black community finds its voice in the local, national and international arenas.

The first HBCUs were founded prior to the Emancipation Proclamation Act of 1862; the oldest HBCU is Cheyney State University in Pennsylvania founded in 1837 (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). However, the largest portion of colleges and universities for Blacks were established during the first thirty years following the Civil War (Foster, 2001; Lucas, 1996). Today, more than 100 HBCUs exist (Foster, Guyden & Miller, 1999; Roebuck & Murty, 1993) and they are diverse in their institutional makeup. They range from private two-year institutions to private and state funded four-year institutions to Morrill Act institutions (Foster, Guyden & Miller, 1999; Garibaldi, 1984; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Today these institutions of higher learning make up only three percent (3%) of all colleges and universities in the United States. They graduate twenty-eight percent (28%) of all Blacks with a bachelor’s degree and enroll twenty-six percent (26%) of all Blacks in higher education (US Department of Education, 1996). Unequivocally, HBCUs continue to contribute, significantly to the education of Blacks in the United States and
to the general population.

One must always be cognizant that education was the forbidden fruit for Blacks during the 1600’s. Every state that engaged in slavery enacted legislation that prohibited Black literacy which inevitably kept Blacks in a subordinate stratum (Franklin, 1992). Many Blacks ignored, very inconspicuously, the country’s want for their continued ignorance. Blacks craved education and enlightenment (Allen & Jewell, 2002) and many learned to read under the light of candles in basements of churches or nooks in houses. They persevered to possess the forbidden knowledge that endangered their lives. They were determined to quench their educational thirst (Jones, 1967). That was the foundation upon which the HBCU was built.

Whites have been major contributors to HBCUs since their inception mainly as philanthropists, faculty and administrators. The major White organizations credited for the support of the Black institutions were the Freedmen’s Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the American Missionary Association, and the Presbyterian Board of Missions. Private philanthropists also funded these Black institutions. The first HBCU was founded by a single private philanthropist, rather than an organization. The Institute for Colored Youth in Pennsylvania, founded in 1837, was totally funded by a Quaker philanthropist, Richard Humphries (Cheyney University, 2009). Similar stories are scattered throughout the South with respect to the establishment of the Black colleges, although it was more popular for organizations such as churches or foundations to take the initiative (Foster, 2001). Slater (1993) states:

While African Americans were the driving force behind the establishment of some of the earliest Black colleges—many White-dominated religious organizations established Black colleges in the South. White philanthropists such as Samuel P. Chase, Mathias W. Baldwin, Levi Coffin and Henry Ward Beecher also played a large role in establishing many private Black colleges, and their support for building funds and general operating expenses was essential in keeping the Black institutions afloat in the early years. (p.67)

The White faculty, an integral ingredient of these new institutions, was mainly comprised of clergy and missionaries, whom, as Browning and Williams (1978) explained,

...tended to mix social, economic, and religious ideas in their dedication to the task of uplifting the freed men and women... They were in agreement that someone needed to demonstrate that former slaves could be remade into the ideal of a Yankee, Calvinist, American citizen. Their common goals were to save souls, educate minds... and prepare freed men and women for their responsibilities as new citizens of the South. (p.69)

The administration of these early schools also consisted predominantly of clergy and missionaries. The aspiration of many of these individuals and their respective organizations was to prepare Black teachers and create self-sufficient institutions (Cross-Brazzell, 1992; Holmes, 1934). In historical context, these White missionaries held views that differed from the general public with respect to their belief that Blacks should be educated. However, as a result of the growing number of college-educated Blacks and the desire for self-sufficiency of HBCUs, White faculty and administration were replaced by qualified Blacks. By the end of Reconstruction there were more Black faculty at HBCUs than White (Davis, 1979; Guy-Sheftall & Stewart, 1981; Holmes, 1934).

Historical typologies of white faculty at HBCU’s
Most of the research pertaining to White faculty at HBCUs is related to observations and perceptions of others, i.e. students and peers, rather than reports from the faculty members. One of the most widely known studies of White faculty was conducted by Warrat (1976), who addressed the Black student and Black faculty perception of White faculty. Warrat developed four typologies from his findings into which each White member was assumed to be generally classified – the Moron, the Martyr, the Messiah.
and the Marginal Man.

The first of Warnat’s categories is the Moron. This professor is perceived as inept and is regarded as incapable of securing a position at a predominantly White institution (PWI) and thus the HBCU is his/her only alternative. The second is the Martyr. This professor teaches at an HBCU in an attempt to recompense personal racial guilt and also make amends for the self-perceived injustices of the general White population. This type does not typically complain about any situation and many times commits to working with the alleged subjugated Black community. The Messiah is the professor who feels superior to Blacks, specifically the students, and hopes to save them from social, intellectual and spiritual damnation. The Messiah aspires to show unknowing Black people an enlightened path. A professor within this category finds themselves in conflict with their Black faculty peers and fosters a relationship devoid of trust with the student body.

The final typology is the Marginal Man. These individuals reflect a hybrid of community members and foreigners. As community members they usually hold divergent ideas and ideals than their Black counterparts. As such, these professors are not readily accepted by the Black faculty. The Marginal Man usually strives for acceptance and attempts to bridge the gap between Blacks and Whites. Many times these individuals are loners on campus and tend to focus on their agendas, in contrast to faculty who support the missions of the HBCUs where they are employed.

Subsequent to Warnat’s conjectures, Thompson (1978) described four (4) archetypes of White faculty at HBCUs. These are the Zealot, the Dedicated Professional, the Young Idealistic White Scholar and the Academic Reject. These groupings are very similar to those purported by Warnat. The Zealot is an advocate for the Black community’s journey towards equality and justice. This professor is overly enthusiastic about assisting on the HBCU campus, especially with social causes and activism. The Dedicated Professionals are those who commit to the HBCU missions and tirelessly invest in advancing the institutions. The Young Idealistic Scholar is a recent graduate and believes that all institutions of higher education are the same. They believe that being a faculty member at an HBCU should be no different from being a faculty member at a PWI. The Academic Reject is a White professor who cannot secure a position at a PWI and thus settles for employment at an HBCU.

In many ways these simple typologies may reflect some of the White faculty at the more than 100 HBCUs in the United States, however, they do not consider the voices and experiences of the White subjects. In fact, they represent the unfounded beliefs and perceptions of the Black faculty members at HBCUs. In essence it was a record of Black student and faculty sentiment. Hence, there was a dire need to record, recognize and relay the sentiments of these White faculty members, many of whom may feel misrepresented, and misunderstood by Black colleagues, students and administrators.

The White faculty voice

Smith and Borgstedt (1985) conducted a pivotal study that addressed the experiences, sentiments, perspectives and attitudes of White professors at HBCUs, unlike their predecessors. The study explored the experience of White faculty at six (6) HBCUs and focused on the faculty members’ adjustment to their minority status, the attitude of White family and friends, career restrictions, acceptance by Black students and faculty, commitment to education the of Black students, comfort level with racial and ethnic differences, and their overall satisfaction with their employment at HBCUs.

The results from the study were remarkable. Seventy-five percent (75%) of the faculty felt socially accepted by their Black peers and students, while approximately one-third (33%) expressed a belief that Black faculty members possessed negative stereotypes about them. The majority of professors, however, articulated that they were committed to the goals of their respective colleges and were supportive of the college community. Approximately forty percent (40%) reported that their White friends had made disparaging remarks about their employment at
Louis

an HBCU and that almost a quarter (25%) of the White faculty reported family members assigned shame to their HBCU employment (Smith & Borgstedt, 1985).

The experience of this subgroup of the HBCU is vital, yet not widely examined (Foster, Guyden & Miller, 1999; Smith & Borgstedt, 1985) even though in 1995, twenty-five percent (25%) of all faculty employed at HBCUs were White (News and Views, 1998). Today, at some HBCU campuses, over eighty percent (80%) of the professoriate is White (Foster, 2001). The HBCUs such as Xavier University in Louisiana reports a forty percent (40%) White faculty membership. This is also the case at Shaw University in North Carolina and Lincoln University in Missouri (Foster, 2001). At Bethune-Cookman College in Florida, approximately half of the one hundred and seventeen (117) member faculty is non-Black (Slater, 1993). At many HBCUs, Whites have become the majority of the faculty population (Foster, 2001). In some instances, almost the entire faculty is comprised of White members. Bluefield State College and West Virginia State University have ninety-two percent (92%) and eighty percent (80%) White faculty respectively (Foster, 2001). Winfield and Manning (1992) posit that the growth of the White faculty population at HBCUs diminishes the intensity of an effective learning that historically nurtured and develop Black students.

Most of the limited body of research on HBCUs is qualitative in nature. There is a dearth of quantitative research. This study continues the work that Smith and Borgstedt (1985) started and attempts to rekindle the quantitative and mixed method research to document the experiences of White faculty. It replicates their study some twenty (20) years later, and provides a fresh look at the new generation of White faculty at HBCUs, where the landscape of the institutions has evolved dramatically and the social and racial environments have been changed.

Demographic data
Faculty members from four (4) HBCUs were involved in this study. The HBCUs selected for this study included three (3) small private liberal arts colleges and one (1) large state-operated institution. All the institutions were located in different cities in the southern region of the United States. The number of White professors at the institutions ranged from five (5) to eighty (80). All of the institutions were accredited by the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). The original sample was one hundred and five (105), but some professors were no longer employed at the HBCUs or were incorrectly categorized as White by their institution. The final sample was ninety-eight (98) and the instrument was administered to the entire group. In the end there were fifty (50) participants. The rationale for the selection of institutions and population was to mirror as close as possible the research of Smith and Borgstedt (1985) in which the authors utilized ninety-four (94) faculty members from six (6) HBCUs.

The participants were asked to provide data on their academic rank (instructor, lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, professor and other), tenure status, age (25-44 years, 45-54 years, 55+ years), gender (male or female), and attitude of parents and friends towards minorities. A 75-item Likert scale questionnaire, developed by Smith and Borgstedt (1985), was used to collect the data (see instrument in Appendix A).

The categorization of academic rank was provided to indicate the job responsibilities and seniority of the faculty at the HBCUs. The majority of the participants were assistant professors, forty-two percent (42%). Associate professors and professors comprised thirty-two percent (32%) of the sample. The smallest faculty category was lecturers/instructors/other. Within this last category, “other” was defined as professors who teach one course but are hired by an institution primarily for a function other than teaching. They comprised twenty-six percent (26%) of the sample.
ANALYSIS
Data collected from the questionnaire were entered into SPSS Base 12.0 for Windows (2003). A General Linear Model (GLM) Univariate Analysis of Variance was performed to indicate differences between groups. A subroutine of SPSS, Explore, was used to calculate frequencies and adjustment scores. This was a primarily descriptive study detailing the frequency and responses of the participants. Results for the participants and each sub group were reported in numerical table presentations of frequencies, means, and F-scores.

The independent variables were (a) academic rank (b) tenure status (c) age (d) gender (e) parents’ attitude toward minorities and (f) friends’ attitude toward minorities. The dependent variables were (a) stereotyping (b) social acceptance and equality in relationships (c) commitment to Education of Black students? (d) racial identity self-report (e) perception of family and friend’s attitude towards minorities and employment at an HBCU (f) career restriction based on being White (g) comfort level with addressing racial differences (h) openness with discussing racial differences (i) comfort level in grading Black students and (j) trust: feeling trusted by Blacks and being able to trust Blacks. 

The adjustment score was derived to indicate the level of adjustment of White faculty to their position and environment at an HBCU. The adjustment score was calculated by creating a composite score by adding the Likert values of the responses to questions. This composite score was utilized to yield the scaled adjustment score. The scale ranged from 1 to 5. Participants with a score of 4 and above were categorized as positively adjusted. Participants who scored below 4 were categorized as maladjusted and possessed a negative attitude towards their position at an HBCU. An alpha level of p< 0.05 was used for all statistical tests.

RESULTS
The adjustment scores for each category of faculty were calculated and the categories were ranked. Contrary to what an extrapolation of the Smith and Borgstedt (1985) study results may have predicted, none of the White faculty categories received an adjustment score of 4.0 or greater (Table 1). All category scores indicated faculty non-adjustment to their minority status at the HBCU. Thus, faculty was considered maladjusted in all categories. These findings infer that the HBCU environment was not the most amiable and/or favorable for White faculty and propagated a sentiment that inclined towards the negative.

The age group of 45-54 years received the highest score, 3.32, and possibly reflected their historical-period experience and their ability to adapt to the HBCU environment. Individuals within this category were born just prior to the Civil Rights Movement and probably experienced the benefits of desegregation. These individuals also lived through the Black Power Movement of the 1970’s and may be familiar with the struggles of Black people in the United States. Thus, the adjustment to a Black environment may not be a very difficult task. However, the oldest age group, 55+, scored 3.17. The adjustment score indicated that these individuals did not adjust to their minority status. The youngest group, 25-44, scored the lowest score of all the categories, 3.10. Inexperience and immaturity with respect to socio-ethnic tensions may play a role in their inability to cope with their status as a minority.

Although there were no statistical significant differences in scores between the various ranks, White faculty who achieved the highest academic rank (associate professor or professor) attained the second highest adjustment score, 3.26. Thus, faculty who achieved the highest possible professorial rank may have a heightened sense of adjustment because of increased levels of job security. However, this researcher posits that having the rank of associate or professor may be more influential on overall adjustment in collaboration with an attribute not outlined in this study.

Female White faculty scored the third highest, 3.24. This score may indicate that White females possess an assortment of skills and coping mechanisms that allow them to adjust better to their minority status at an HBCU than their male

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counterparts, even though the females themselves were not adjusted overall. These skills and mechanisms may be a by-product of the group’s categorization as a minority in the greater society.

Smith and Borgstedt (1985), in the conclusion of their study, stated:

The majority of White faculty, however, seem to make an overall positive adjustment and are able to cope adequately with any conflicts that stem from their majority/minority role. A variety of coping responses have enabled them to deal with internal and external conflicts and to grow personally through their ability to synthesize or balance out differences [pertaining to race]. (p.163)

Smith and Borgstedt (1985) reported that White faculty made an “overall positive” adjustment to the HBCU environment. However, comparing the results of this study to that of its predecessor, this researcher posits that White faculty are maladjusted to their HBCU environments twenty years later.

This decrease in adjustment of White professors may be due, in part, to the current shift in power at these institutions. The increase in the number of Black department chairs, deans, presidents and board of trustee members over the past two decades has resulted in an environment where Whites possess considerably less power. Many White faculty members may consider and/or perceive such an environment as hostile or unwelcoming.

Black proprietorship of HBCUs has also changed over the past twenty years. Black students, Black alumni, Black administrators and Black scholars have developed a vested interest in the HBCUs and have claimed them as institutions belonging to the Black community. This, coupled with the increase in Black power within the organizational structure, has made the HBCU a haven for Blacks in higher education. This researcher speculates that this increased shift in Black power and escalated sense of ownership by the Black population has created an awkward and unpleasant environment for White faculty.

**CONCLUSION**

Undoubtedly the Black college experience is a phenomenon in U.S. higher education; it is an entity that has sustained the test of time even with the lack of major funding. These HBCUs endure hardships and have provided a safe haven for underserved and marginalized populations. However, it has done so through the generosity, care and assistance of many White individuals and philanthropic organizations. Thus the HBCU in many ways is the template for diversity and multiculturalism. Yet, somehow they have been, for the most part, excluded from the discourse on diversity in higher education. Browning and Manning (1978) states that “the development of Black colleges in a sense turns on the issue of racial equality and the role of education in achieving or preventing attainment of it”.

However, the existence of any minority population results in the development of tensions and rifts between groups, usually as a result of power and sense of belonging. Blacks in the United States continue to struggle with a sense of place in U.S. society, and so do White faculty at HBCUs. This study attempts to capture the sentiments of the latter group, in the hope of fully understanding the dynamics of minority groups and developing a complete picture of the HBCU experiences from every stakeholder. This study focused on levels of adjustment to minority status for White faculty at these institutions, using the backdrop of a study conducted twenty years prior. The main objective was to capture White faculty sentiments towards their employment at HBCUs. Particular focus was placed on their interactions with the Black student body, Black faculty peers, Black administrators, family and friends, commitment to HBCU missions, academic rank, tenure, age, and gender.

In this study, of White faculty was considered maladjusted to their minority status in every category. The researcher purports that the change in sentiments over the past twenty years is the result of the shift in power at HBCUs in the direction of Black administrators. This is similar to the rise in the numbers of Black faculty at the end of Reconstruction. It is also the result of the heightened interest and ownership of the HBCUs
by alumni and the Black communities.

The major issue that arises is the response of HBCUs to their White faculty’s maladjustment. Developing a proactive and sustained effort to orient and integrate White faculty into the HBCU environment is key to addressing the maladjustment. The development of strategies to improve the experiences, the facilitation of discussions on pertinent issues and creation of support systems that assist the White faculty at HBCUs during their transitional period and beyond is one of the major benefits of the results of this study.

Utilizing the knowledge, perceptions and experiences of both the White and Black faculty to create an open dialogue is important. Hill (1991) believes that conversations of respect resulting mutual trust and sense of belonging and acceptance, thus creating a forum that is safe, honest and engaging where faculty can express their beliefs openly, without retribution, is critical. These discussions can result in the development of relationships, programs and/or events that can assist the White faculty to understand the nuances, culture and mores of HBCUs, the Black faculty, staff and students. It also allows Black faculty to unlearn some of their misconceptions of their White counterparts and foster collaboration on various activities and research which would have not typically occurred. Creating a unified front of Black and White faculty will also assist in bolstering students’ trust in White professors, which in turn leads to more positive interaction between White faculty and students. Co-faculty relationships can be further deepened by creating mentorship partners, coupling new White faculty with more seasoned and willing Black faculty.

Including the Black student voice in White faculty’s orientation can also have a positive impact on the assimilation process. Hearing the concerns and perceptions of the student population allows the faculty member to have an improved grasp on the needs and beliefs of the community which they serve. Understanding the students’ backgrounds, motivations, family structures, academic preparedness and expectations is vital.

HBCUs can also use the results of this study to target specific groups for assistance. The groups that scored the lowest adjustment scores are male, lecturers and instructors, individuals whose parents and White friends possess negative attitudes towards minorities, and professors between the ages of 25 and 44 years. Institutions can thus tailor their programs to appeal to the specific groups, because being group-specific will result in a more impactful the program. Hopefully, the support would generate valuable and more positive experiences for White faculty. Without a doubt, understanding the White faculty experience and proactively addressing the maladjustment can create a climate and environment where all HBCU stakeholders could benefit and perceive themselves as accepted, engaged and satisfied.

REFERENCES
Foster, L. (2001). The not-so-invisible professors: White faculty at the Black college. Urban
education, 36, 611-629.


APPENDIX A:
The adaptation of White faculty in a historically Black college

For Computer Use Only
PLEASE MARK THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER
(Answers may continue on the following page so please read carefully)

1. Information About Yourself
   A. Sex
      ____ Male
      ____ Female
   B. Current Age (At Last Birthday)
      ____ Under 25
      ____ 25-34
      ____ 35-44
      ____ 45-54
      ____ 55-64
      ____ 65 or older
   C. In what state did you spend most of your childhood?
   D. What is the highest grade your father completed?
      Grade School High School College Graduate
   E. What was your father’s occupation when you were growing up?
   F. What is the highest grade your mother completed?
      Grade School High School College Graduate

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information About Yourself...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. What was your mother’s occupation when you were growing up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. In the grade school which you attended for the longest period of time, what was the approximate percentage of minority (black) students?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 1-5</td>
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<tr>
<td>____ 6-10</td>
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<td>____ 11-20</td>
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<td>____ 21-40</td>
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<td>____ 41-60</td>
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<tr>
<td>____ 61-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 81-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. In the high school which you attended for the longest period of time, what was the approximate percentage of minority (Black) students?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 1-5</td>
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<td>____ 6-10</td>
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<td>____ 41-60</td>
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<tr>
<td>____ 61-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 81-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. What was the approximate percentage of minority (black) enrollment in the college/university where you completed most of your undergraduate degree requirements?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 1-5</td>
</tr>
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<td>____ 6-10</td>
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<tr>
<th>Information About Yourself...</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. Thinking back to your childhood (through high school), what is the best description of your social involvement with minority children of your age?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Many close friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ A few close friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Casual friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Occasional contact but no real friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Virtually no contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Reflecting over the preceding question, what description best characterizes those relationships with minority children?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ No friendships or contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Friendships of comparable social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Friendships where I was of a higher social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Friendships where I was of a lower social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Reflecting over your adult years, what is the best description of your social involvement with minority persons, excluding work-related interactions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Many close friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ A few close friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Casual friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Occasional contacts but no real friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Virtually no contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Which phrase best represents the prevailing attitudes of your parents regarding minority persons?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ All people are the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Minority persons are different but equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Minority persons are equal but should for the most part remain separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ Minority Persons are different and probably inferior</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Information About Your Professional Life**

A. What is the highest degree you have earned?
   - [ ] Doctoral
   - [ ] Masters
   - [ ] Bachelors

B. What is your academic rank?
   - [ ] Lecturer
   - [ ] Instructor
   - [ ] Assistant Professor
   - [ ] Associate Professor
   - [ ] Professor
   - [ ] Other (Please specify)

C. Do you hold tenure?
   - [ ] Yes
   - [ ] No

D. What is your primary job responsibility?
   - [ ] Teaching
   - [ ] Administration
   - [ ] Research/productive scholarship
   - [ ] Other (Please specify)

E. Are you involved in student advisement?
   - [ ] Yes
   - [ ] No

F. How many years have you been an academic/administrative employee at this college?

G. What is the primary discipline in which you teach? (i.e., history, philosophy, math etc.)

H. How many years of additional teaching experience (at other colleges/universities) have you had? (Please approximate)

I. If you listed any additional teaching experience in item H above, how many years of this experience were in predominantly black colleges/universities? (Please approximate).
   - [ ] None
   - [ ] Less than 2 years

J. How many years of professional employment (non-academic) have you had? (Please approximate)
   - [ ] None
   - [ ] Less than 2 years
   - [ ] 2-4 years
   - [ ] 5-7 years
   - [ ] 8-10 years
   - [ ] Over 10 years

K. How many years of this professional employment (non-academic) were in predominantly black settings? (Please approximate)
   - [ ] None
   - [ ] Less than 2 years
   - [ ] 2-4 years
   - [ ] 5-7 years
   - [ ] 8-10 years
   - [ ] Over 10 years

**Information About Your Present Job**

A. When you were hired for your present position, which of the following were major positive Attributes in your decision? (Please check any or all that apply).

GeoFigureical Location
   - [ ] Desirable area of the country (climate, recreation, etc.)
   - [ ] No move was required
   - [ ] Desire to move nearer (or away from) family and friends
   - [ ] Spouse/family employment

Potential Job Benefits
   - [ ] Rank/salary
   - [ ] Job responsibilities (e.g. teaching workload, hours, consultation opportunities)
   - [ ] Support for research publication
Information About Present Job..  

Impressive Future Colleagues

- Reputation
- Congeniality
- Apparent abilities/knowledge
- Desire to work in a predominantly black setting
- Only job (academic job) offered to me at the time
- Other (please specify)

B. Which Attribute listed above was most important in your decision to accept your current position?

Information Relation to Beliefs/Feelings About Your Present Job

A. The following statements represent beliefs and feelings which white faculty members in predominantly Black colleges may hold. For each statement please circle the appropriate response (i.e., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) to indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. No opinion
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Racial/cultural differences between myself and students at times pose barriers to effective teaching. I generally feel socially accepted by black faculty members.

My being white will not affect my career advancement within the college/university.

Black students tend to try to manipulate me more than they do black faculty members.

Sometimes I feel “out-of-place” in meetings and other gatherings where black issues are discussed.

Black students are willing to approach me about a problem as they are to approach a black faculty member.

College administrators perceive me as less committed to the college/university than they do black faculty.

I feel a strong need to contribute to the education of blacks.

Some people assume that I took this job because I wasn’t able to be hired at a predominantly white institution.

Information Relation to Beliefs/Feelings About Your Present Job...

black faculty at times make me feel like a “fringe” member of the faculty.

Administrators treat me no differently than they do black faculty in similar positions.

I believe that there is tighter administrative control of faculty here than at most other white colleges and universities.

Being totally accepted by black faculty is possible in time.

I feel that I am a scapegoat for black faculty when issues of racism and discrimination come up.

Race is an influential Attribute in the interaction between myself and black faculty and/or students.

Teaching in a black college is my chosen mission in life.

I feel that I am not qualified enough to teach in a predominantly white university of my choice.

Usually, my perceptions of situations are more accurate than those of my black colleagues, and I would like to be able to broaden their understanding.

Initially black students seemed to stereotype me as a typical “honky” with a very different perspective that their own.

Some of my white friends have made derogatory remarks about my teaching at a black college.

Some of my white family members have made derogatory remarks about my teaching at a black college.

I would involve myself more in extracurricular activities at a white college.

Some of my black colleagues assume that I would not be teaching here if I had my preference.

My adjustment to working in a predominantly black college has posed no problems at all.

I am committed to the goals and general welfare of this college.

I fulfill my job responsibilities to the fullest extent of my ability.

I am supportive of this college in discussion of the college’s programs with those outside

I probably would feel stronger loyalty to a predominantly white college than to this college.

Generally, I feel that the quality of education at this college is good.
### Information Relation to Beliefs/Feelings About Your Present Job...

I feel that minority colleges should continue to retain their minority identity and focus. I am aware of making allowances at times in grading black students, since I realize the many disadvantages in some of their educational backgrounds. I have discussed differences in our perspective stemming from our diverse racial backgrounds with black students and/or faculty.

B. If you were able to find another faculty position which was comparable in all respects but in a predominantly white college, what is the likelihood that you would accept that position?

--- Definitely
--- Probably
--- Possibly
--- Probably Not
--- Definitely Not

C. If you remain at your present job, what Attribute would most influence your decision?

--- Commitment to black education
--- Job change is just too difficult for me (various reasons)
--- Other (please specify)

### Other Comments: Statement Which You May Care to Make

A. What do you see as especially positive about your experience as a white educator in a predominantly black college?

B. What do you see as the most negative aspects of your experience as a white educator in a predominantly black college?

C. What suggestions can you make which might help alleviate any problems which you may experience or have experienced as a white educator in a predominantly black college?

D. Any additional comments?

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### APPENDIX B

TABLE 1: Adjustment scores of White faculty participant categories in rank order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>Associate/Full Professor</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Friends’ Positive</td>
<td>Friends’</td>
<td>3.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parents’ Positive</td>
<td>Parents’</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Non-Tenured</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>55+</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lecturer/Instructor/Other</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Parents’ Negative</td>
<td>Parents’</td>
<td>3.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Friends’ Negative</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
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