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Local Voices: Counterstorytelling and Retention of Faculty of Color in

Oregon's Community College System

by

Kristin Christophersen

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership: Postsecondary Education

> Dissertation Committee: Ramin Farahmandpur, Chair Andy Job Yer Thao Ethan Johnson

Portland State University 2023

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Abstract

The Oregon community college system employs a full-time faculty workforce that is overwhelmingly White. This study aimed to research why the representation of faculty of color in the state's community colleges remains low by conducting interviews with faculty of color about their experiences at these public 2-year institutions using counterstorytelling as research methodology. Using critical race theory as a theoretical framework, this study collected and analyzed the counterstories of seven faculty of color in a variety of institutions and regions across one state about their experiences with institutional racism and how it impacts their persistence strategies and retention patterns.

### Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my former students: Toya Hill, Paul Anwar Jones, William Reynaga, Gaby Gutiérrez, Norma Gutiérrez, and Brendon Campbell, and to my former colleagues Guadalupe Martinez and Hermione Torres. It is also dedicated to the seven counterstorytellers who shared the time, energy, and stories that made this research project possible. I am forever in their gratitude.

#### Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the result of the ongoing support of many people. First, I thank Stefanie Randol for walking beside me for the last four years and making every step possible. I would also like to thank Dr. Joanne Cooper and my peers in the dissertation writing groups for their consistent and ongoing support. The laughter, tears, and cheers kept me going and reminded me weekly that progress looks different for each us. I would also like to thank my committee, Drs. Ethan Johnson, Andy Job, and Yer Thao, for their time, expertise, and generosity of spirit. The questions were difficult yet necessary, making me a better researcher and scholar.

On the home front, I thank my friends and family who have walked this long journey with me. Thank you, Carol Holdt and Mel Burcham, for being my cheerleaders, my niece Amanda Aman for helping me unravel that crazy sentence in the middle of the night, and my son, Josh, for never complaining that his mom has always been in school. I will be forever grateful to my husband, Lorne Christophersen, for putting my academic studies first and never hesitating to walk the dogs, make our dinners, and manage our lives when I was locked away writing.

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#### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

I am a White, cis-gendered, heterosexual woman who was born and raised in Portland, Oregon. All of my schooling and educational training, from K-12 through postsecondary, has occurred in the same community in which I was raised: urban, hypersegregated by race and class, and overwhelmingly, White. I have more than 19 years of experience working in community colleges in the Pacific Northwest in both teaching and administration. More than 15 of these years are in community colleges throughout Oregon, 4 years in administrative positions and 10 years as a full-time sociology instructor. In each of these positions and at every college, I witnessed ongoing patterns of direct and indirect institutional racism toward people of color, as well as regular microaggressions. Due to the lack of faculty and administrators of color in most of these schools, often these actions were toward students and communities of color by fellow faculty, administrators, or other coworkers. This racism was also directed at areas of scholarship or subject matters related to and produced by racialized individuals.

These types of campus environments are what Bourke (2016) referred to as Primarily White Institutions (PWI). PWIs are those whose cultural norms are centered around Whiteness (Bourke, 2016). In my experience, PWI culture was stifling for organizational innovation and the fostering of interesting academic discourse with your colleagues. Equally problematic, PWI culture seemed the source of the limited hiring, promotion, and retention of the relatively small number of faculty of color currently employed in the state (Levin et al., 2015). The results are community colleges illprepared to fulfill their mission and to meet the needs of a state and country experiencing rapid demographic, economic, and social change (Levin et al., 2015). Jayakumar et al. (2009) argued, a "compelling reason for securing greater faculty diversity lies in the potential that faculty of color bring toward institutional and societal transformation" (p. 539). That transformation is desperately needed in a state community college system where in a recent audit by the office of the Oregon Secretary of State (2022), it was reported that community college student success in Oregon continues to lag in comparison to other states. The time for innovation and change is now. It is time to increase the number of faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges, and further, examine the institutional cultures of the colleges that have resulted in the underrepresentation of faculty of color to date.

The research on community college faculty of color is limited. Historically, research on community college faculty of color could be found within two different and distinct fields, community college faculty or faculty of color in higher education. In the former, researchers like Brawer (1976), Cohen and Brawer (1982, 1989, 1996, 2003), and Cohen et al. (2014) offered information on faculty of color that was primarily descriptive in nature and the focus of analysis was the community college, most often at the regional or national level. Seidman's (1985) national study *In the Words of Faculty: Perspectives on Improving Teaching and Educational Quality in Community Colleges* was the first qualitative study to fully incorporate the experiences of community college faculty of color into his work, not simply relegating the stories to an additional chapter. While these earlier researchers also addressed gender disparities in numbers and experiences for community college faculty, HaMai (2014) argued, they have failed to account for

intersectional analyses. Additionally, much of this scholarship on community college diversity in general has been functionalist in nature; the focus thereby upon how community college faculty of color, the Other, are integrated into the status quo (Levin et al., 2014). The community college as an institution, therefore, has forgone critique in terms of institutional process, practice or form. Further, as Levin et al. (2014) explained to us that "rarely, do studies rely upon the perspectives of faculty of color as their unit of analysis" (p. 60).

In contrast, research on faculty of color in higher education has focused on the ongoing underrepresentation of faculty of color and patterns of institutional racism in our nation's community colleges and universities. Stanley (2006) noted that the "wounds of covert and overt racism, sexism, xenophobia, and homophobia run deep for many faculty of color. Discrimination cuts across many areas of the academy such as teaching, research, service, and overall experiences with the campus community" (p. 705). Research on faculty of color has explored a broad range of topics, including recruitment and retention efforts, promotion and tenure practices, devaluation of research and service, institutional climate, microaggressions, racial battle fatigue, lack of mentorship, and the benefits of diverse faculty at the student, colleague, and institutional-level.

Community college faculty of color, however, have been underrepresented in this body of research. One contributing factor is that community college faculty of color are less likely to conduct research as part of their promotion and tenure requirements, and therefore the institution has been less likely to be a site of inquiry. Additionally, the community college system is often perceived as occupying a lower position in the educational hierarchy. Research on the experiences of community college faculty of color therefore has been quite frankly less of a priority.

While there is a growing body of research on faculty of color in general, far fewer research on community college faculty of color exists. Our knowledge about the experiences of community college faculty of color is therefore limited (Bower, 2002; Brown, 2021; Graves, 2021; HaMai, 2014; Harden, 2016; Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). Research on Oregon's community college faculty of color is even more limited or nonexistent (Sámano, 2007). This research study aims to bridge this gap.

#### **Faculty of Color in Community Colleges**

Nationally, faculty of color represent only 20% of the full-time community college faculty workforce (Espinosa et al., 2019), while students of color represent 48% of the population in our nation's community colleges with significant differentiation across regions (American Association of Community Colleges [AACC], n.d.a). Only 7.4% of these faculty identify as Black, 6.7% as Hispanic, and 4.2% as Asian, with faculty from all other racial and ethnic minority groups falling under 1% in representation (Espinosa et al., 2019).

The increasing focus on the racial and ethnic diversity of community college faculty is the result of living in a world with rapidly changing demographics (Turner et al., 2008). Underrepresentation of community college faculty of color at our nation's community colleges overall has a direct and immediate impact on the success and retention of students of color (J. Chang, 2005; Fujimoto et al., 2012; Hagedorn et al., 2006). Faculty of color bring differing pedagogical strategies and goals to the classroom, and as Kayes and Singley (2010) noted "both minority student achievement and intercultural knowledge and understanding increase when all students learn from culturally diverse and minority faculty" (para. 7). Equally important, community college faculty of color engage in service that focus on and benefit racialized and marginalized communities (HaMai, 2014; Stevenson, 2012). Collectively, these contributions are of increasing importance and relevance in an intercultural global economy with rapidly changing demographics (Kelly et al., 2017; Turner et al., 2008).

For faculty of color working in both our nation's community colleges and universities, however, research studies indicate their ongoing frustration with the lack of diversity on college campuses and a "perceived lack of . . . *effort to recruit*, hire and *retain* faculty of color contribute[s] negatively to the experience of faculty of color" (Turner et al., 2008, p. 144).

#### **Background of the Problem: The American Community College**

Today, the nation's 1,042 community colleges<sup>1</sup> play a vital role in providing affordable postsecondary education to the approximately 10.3 million students, many of them first-generation college students, and the majority students of color and students from low-income families (AACC, n.d.b) According to the AACC (n.d.b), the nation's open-admissions community colleges awarded more than 865,504 associate degrees, 599,397 certificates, and 21,348 baccalaureate degrees in the 2019-2022 academic year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 1,042 colleges include 935 public institutions, 72 independent institutions, and 35 tribal institutions (American Association of Community Colleges, n.d.b).

With 60% of these students enrolled in for-credit courses and/or programs, community colleges are providing an important pathway to degree completion.

Educational historians attribute the origins of the American community college to a wide array of conflicting material and ideological forces shaped by a rapidly developing 20<sup>th</sup>-century industrial capitalism, and a growing call for an educated workforce with the new skills needed to meet the changing local and national economic development needs (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Cain, 1999; Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Dougherty, 1994; Pincus, 1980). For most scholars, the community college system represents the best in American values, a direct response to "the democratic ideals of an open-admissions America" that underlies our "heterogeneous and pluralistic society" (Birenbaum, 1986, p. 3).

Yet, other scholars are quick to remind us that the early community colleges were "designed to remove students from the universities, to shut the doors [to higher education] rather than open them wider (Cain, 1999, p. 20). Brint and Karabel (1989) argued, this new institution of higher education was viewed by those in the universities as "a safety valve that would satisfy the demands for access while protecting their own institutions [from] hordes of unqualified students" (p. 208). One of the means by which this educational stratification took place is the offering of terminal degrees by the then junior colleges (early community colleges) in the 1930s in the form of vocational education. Critics argue that the addition of vocational education institutionalized a twotrack system within this newly emerging open admissions college. This not only began to filter students but "contributed to the reproduction of existing patterns of social and economic inequality" (Karabel, 1986, p. 14). This addition to the curriculum would become part of the community college mission for the rest of the century (Tillery & Deegan, 1985). Critics, however, saw that the changes to the community college mission only reinforced social reproduction (Ayers, 2005; Brint & Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994; Karabel, 1986; Pincus, 1980).

The post-World War II era brought forth significant demographic, political, and social change to a nation looking to shift their attention away from the previous decade of authoritarianism on the world stage. Returning soldiers looking for work, a baby boomer generation coming of age, growing racial and gender civil and social rights movements, and anti-poverty movements and policy were at the forefront of the nation (Jurgens, 2010; Vaughan, 2000). Economic needs and social justice demand of access and equity required attention and response from the nation's institutions.

#### **Truman Commission Report**

By the turn of the 21st century, although the U.S. population had become more older and racially and ethnically diverse, it remained highly segregated. (Fowler, 2004). More than 40 years since the concerns raised by the Kerner Report, Americans were and still are more likely to live in homogeneous neighborhoods, attend segregated K-12 schools, and live in communities that reflect clear race and class distinctions (Fowler, 2004; Orfield et al., 2002). Further, Capers (2008) explained, "most Americans . . . take this segregation for granted" (p. 43). Interestingly, as local borders were further dividing the American populace, in the latter decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, "globalization was bringing the world together" (Yergin, 2006, p. 30). New technologies transformed relationships with space, time, and information. Global access dramatically transformed our understanding of and experiences with diffusion and migration as global cultures and peoples took advantage of changes in the communication and transportation systems the new technologies afforded (Massey, 1994). This brought forth dramatic changes to the nation's community colleges. Marketplace considerations and demands increased bureaucratization and centralized control, and "F.T.E. (full-time equivalent) student became the criterion for almost all decisions" (Seidman, 1985, p. 9).

On the economic front, local communities around the globe faced similarly rapid change. Increasing globalization fueled by neoliberalism shifted national and global priorities and policy toward "privatization, deregulation, open markets, balanced budgets, deflationary austerity, [and the] dismantling of the welfare state" (Brecher et al., 2006, p. 33). The subsequent disinvestment of the American local left residents to maintain an overburdened public infrastructure that included the public-school systems that spanned from pre-kindergarten to the university (Fowler, 2004).

From state and national calls for a completion agenda, to increasing expansion and coordination from K-12 to middle colleges to baccalaureates, to an increasingly more racially and ethnically diverse local and collective student body, the comprehensive institution is facing significant demographic, curricular, economic, and political transformations (AAACC, 2012; Boggs & McPhail, 2016; Cohen et al., 2014; Higher Education Coordinating Commission [HECC], 2016; Levin 2001; Obama, 2009; Sullivan, 2001). Further, the community college is an institution founded on open access, not equitable access, but simply open access (Dowd, 2003; Levin, 2001). More recent national and state-level calls for accountability in outcomes are essentially asking the 21st-century community college to take on a new mission (Dowd, 2003, 2007).

In addition, the economic policies of globalization transformed the nature of work, and in the decades prior to and following the turn of the century, real wages, particularly for the American male, declined dramatically (Morris & Western, 1999). The new knowledge and service economies demanded a differently-skilled workforce, and the training, once the domain of the employer, shifted to the educational arena. The worker of the new millennium requires credentials, and the American community college stepped up to meet this need.

#### **Oregon Community Colleges**

Student and faculty demographics follow a similar pattern in the Oregon community college system. Currently, although the student population is increasing racially and ethnically diverse, the full-time faculty workforce is 81% White (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2020).<sup>2</sup> Prior to the covid-19 pandemic, the underrepresentation of faculty of color in relation to the student population was consistent across every racial and ethnic group at the state level and at each of the 17 individual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The demographic changes in student population and enrollment patterns at Oregon's community colleges are the result of the growing enrollment of first-generation and nontraditional students who recognize education as a vehicle for social mobility (Cain, 1999; Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Levin, 2001). Oregon has experienced significant changes to its economy, both in terms of expansion and decline, as well as a shift from a primarily resource-based economy to one that is more high-tech and service-based (Kittredge & Kissler, 1998). In the 1990s, "Oregon's population growth rate was 11th highest in the nation" (Oregon State Office of Economic Analysis, 2019), while simultaneously, the state experienced considerable growth in the population of racial and ethnic minorities (Kreider, 1997; Oregon State Office of Economic Analysis, 2019). These changes have resulted in a growing racially and ethnically diverse community college student population that is only expected to increase.

community college districts (see Appendix A).<sup>3</sup> In the 2017-2018 academic year, six community college districts had no full-time faculty that identified as Asian, and only 20 full-time faculty employed across the state's community college system in this same year identified as Black/African American (NCES, 2017). These numbers dropped in 2020. At the end of the 2020-2021 academic year, seven of the community college districts reported no full-time Asian faculty and only 12 full-time Black/African American faculty were employed by community colleges in the state (NCES, 2020).

Of additional concern, three of Oregon's community college districts had no fulltime faculty who identified as Hispanic/Latino in 2020-2021, with only 4.5% of the fulltime faculty across the state in that same academic year identifying as Hispanic/Latino (NCES, 2020). In the 2020-2021 academic year, no full-time faculty working in the community colleges in the state of Oregon identified as Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander and only 2.3% of the state's faculty identified as Multiracial/Ethnic (NCES, 2020). These numbers become even more troubling when we look at projections in student demographics over the next decades when significant growth is expected in both Hispanic/Latino and Asian student populations (Oregon Chief Education Office, 2019).

The underrepresentation of faculty of color within Oregon's community college system places a heavy burden on the current faculty of color employed throughout the state. Sámano (2007) reported, the small number of community college faculty of color in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Where present, at five community college districts, the rates of American Indian/Alaska Nativeidentified faculty in the 2017 were almost on par or slightly exceed the rates of students who had identified as American Indian/Alaska Native in the 2017-2018 academic year (HECC, 2018; NCES 2017). No more than three American Indian/Alaska Native full-time faculty were employed at one community college district in 2017-2018 (NCES, 2017). This holds true in 2020-2021 (NCES, 2020).

Oregon are experiencing what Padilla (1994) defined as "cultural taxation." Sámano went on to explain,

they acknowledge that they are overworked and overburdened by spoken and unspoken expectations that they will "do" diversity; they are properly motivated to work to improve conditions for all populations in higher education; they are honored to be asked to play a significant role in moving higher education toward a more inclusive place; and at the same time, they don't want to be the only ones involved, and/or pushed to the point of burnout or worse. (p. 145)

Although the Oregon community college system has had some success in recruitment, Sámano concluded that we are far from making these institutions more inclusive environments for faculty of color.

#### **Statement of Problem**

The full-time faculty employed in Oregon's community colleges are disproportionately White when compared to the current student population of the institutions and the ongoing projected demographics for the state overall (NCES, 2020 Oregon Chief Education Office, 2019). This pattern of underrepresentation puts a significant personal and professional burden on the faculty of color, resulting in what scholars have described as racial battle fatigue, isolation, and cultural taxation (Graves, 2021; Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Padilla, 1994; Sámano, 2007; Stanley, 2006; Stevenson, 2012; Turner et al., 2008). Further, J. Chang (2005) noted that the dearth of faculty of color across higher education in this country also comes at the detriment of all students; but, more specifically to the detriment of students of color whose rates of retention and success improve significantly with regular and sustained contact with faculty of color. The opportunity for student-faculty interaction takes on even more important when you consider that "the classroom is the main point of student contact" at our nation's community colleges (Hagedorn et al., 2000, p. 596). Yet, Levin et

al. (2013) explained,

in spite of the significance of faculty of color, there is little in the literature to describe or explain the experiences of faculty in the community college or to ascertain why they are underrepresented in institutions that are predominately "minority serving." (p. 312)

The study bridges this gap.

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this research is to document and analyze the narratives of faculty of color about their experiences in community colleges and to identify the factors that contributed to their persistence as instructors in Oregon's community college system. Few large-scale research studies exist that focus on the underrepresentation of faculty of color at community colleges (Bower, 2002; HaMai; 2014; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Seidman, 1985). Even far fewer research studies exist that focus on this topic at the state-level (Graves, 2021; Harden 2016; Sámano, 2007). The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to identify and analyze the challenges faced by full-time faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges, as well as the strategies employed by these faculty to persist in the face of these challenges, and; second to offer retention-related policy recommendations to community college stakeholders based on these findings.

#### **Research Questions**

Informed by a critical race theory framework, the study employed counterstorytelling methodology and thematic analysis to collect and share the experiences of faculty of color at Oregon's community colleges (L.A. Bell, 2010; Braun & Clark, 2006; Delgado, 1989, 1990). More specifically, I seek to answer the following research questions:

- What barriers, challenges and/or obstacles do Oregon's community college faculty of color experience?
- What strategies do Oregon community college faculty of color employ to persist in the community colleges across the state?

#### Significance of the Study

This study is significant in three specific ways. First, few studies have examined the experiences of community college faculty of color (Bower, 2002; Brown, 2021; Graves, 2021; HaMai, 2014; Harden, 2016; Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Sámano, 2007; Seidman, 1985, Stevenson, 2012), and as Levin et al. (2013, 2014) explained, we need to fill the gap in this literature. This research is a contribution to this area of study. Additionally, there is very limited research done specifically on faculty of color in the community colleges in Oregon (Sámano, 2007). It is my hope that this study, along with Sámano's work, will encourage additional graduate students to continue to further collect the counterstories of the faculty of color who teach in the community colleges in Oregon. Continuing to document and understand the experiences of faculty of color in the state can inform college leadership how to better recruit, retain, and support faculty of color via changes in institutional mechanisms and climate.

Second, faculty of color improve the classroom environment for all students and more specifically improve the experiences and retention for students of color (Fujimoto et al., 2012; Solórzano et al., 2000). Studies indicate faculty of color bring differing teaching strategies, subject matters, and goals to their classroom (Cole & Griffin, 2013; Levin et al., 2013; Umbach, 2006). Marginalized groups, including students of color, women, low-income students, and first-generation students, are more likely to use community colleges, whether they are seeking certificates or intending to transfer to universities (Malcolm-Piqueux, 2018; Shaw, 1999). Further, non-traditional students are more likely to be less college-ready and need developmental education due to educational histories tied to structural inequalities (Patton et al., 2007). Student success and completion, as defined by Oregon's 40-40-20 Initiative and Equity Lens, to be discussed further in Chapter 2, therefore requires significant investment in creating positive student experiences (HECC, 2016).

Additionally, community college students are more likely to be older than their university cohorts, balancing multiple roles, and more likely to be low-income (Eddy, 2010; Shaw, 1999). This role conflict, combined with financial burden, is a significant barrier in student success and completion. Shaw (1999) also suggested that

In addition to the struggles inherent in adding the role of student to the already full roster of responsibilities held by these students, they are also defined and define themselves as members of particular social categories, such as race, culture, and gender. Since community colleges enroll a disproportionate number of women and ethnic or racial minorities, identification with such categories is particularly relevant within the context of these institutions. (p. 153)

Success for students of color requires racially and ethnically positive environments in our colleges and universities, which include more faculty and administrators of color (Fujimoto et al., 2012; Solórzano et al., 2000). Solórzano et al. (2000) explained, the inclusion of faculty and administrators of color is an essential element in creating a positive racial and ethnic institutional climate, and positive climates are associated with success for students of color.

Finally, community colleges provide a unique context for examining race in Oregon. The only locally-controlled, public educational institution in the state, each of the community colleges have developed their own storytelling around the history and faculty experiences of their institutions (Clark, 1972). The counterstories collected can begin to explore "how racial stories and storytelling both reproduce and challenge the racial status quo . . . and constructively analyze persuasive patterns that perpetuate racism in [the] daily life." (L. A. Bell, 2010, p. 11) of these organizations. Once brought forward, the counterstories may help the community college leaders in Oregon understand that why the institution may claim to "value diversity, but they often do not look deep enough to ascertain how habitual policies and practices work to disadvantage certain social, racial or cultural groups" (Stanley, 2006, p. 724). It is my hope that the counterstories offered by the faculty in this study will only be the beginning of many conversations around racism in the state's community colleges and how to better meet the needs of faculty of color.

#### **Definition of Terms**

<u>BIPOC</u>: BIPOC refers to Black, Indigenous, and people of color and is intended to differentiate the histories and racialized experiences of Black and Indigenous peoples in the United States while continuing solidarity with the other racialized and oppressed groups.

<u>Faculty of Color:</u> Faculty of color is a broad term used to identify and describe faculty members from racial and ethnic groups who are historically underrepresented in higher education in the United States (Baez, 2000; Diggs et al., 2009; D. G. Smith et al., 2004). As we entered the new millennium, Whites were still overrepresented in faculty positions throughout higher education in the United States (Levin et al., 2013, 2014; D. G. Smith et al., 2004). Faculty of color, therefore, is most often used to describe individuals who identify as Black and/or African-American, Latino/a, American Indian, Asian-American, and Pacific Islander (Levin et al., 2014; D. G. Smith et al., 2004).
Consistent with Sámano (2007), for purposes of this study, "the use of the term faculty of color is for descriptive purposes only and not an assumption of homogeneity" in identity and/or experience (p. 15).

Racism: The two research questions that guide this study examine the experiences of full-time faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges both with and in response to racism. The term racism describes the socio-historical ideologies, structural apparatus and social relations that uphold White supremacy. These ideologies, constructs, and relations existed prior to this specific term itself and have been a central element in the American story for more than four centuries (Wilkerson, 2020). Bonilla-Silva (1997) provided a framework to consider the work of scholars researching racism. These included: ideologies/individual-level racism, non-ideological/institutional racism, and racism as a racialized social system. Bonilla-Silva explained that those working from the ideologies/individual standpoint tend to begin from the premise that individuals hold a specific set of beliefs about racialized Others and explore the conditions under which said individuals act or do not act upon these beliefs. These studies often explore the interrelationships between prejudice and discrimination, and have an emphasis on more overt acts of individual discrimination. In contrast, those working from a non-ideological

or institutional frame explore the role of power in the context of race and inequality in social relations and conditions, and further the ways in which institutional mechanisms reflect and reproduce these at both the micro and macro-levels (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; also see Marvasti & McKinney, 2007). Institutional discrimination refers to the everyday rules and practices of an institution, including expectations of behaviors. According to Marvasti and McKinney (2007), "institutional discrimination is more difficult for Whites to identify than overt, violent acts" taken on by individuals, even when functioning as agents of institutions (p. 68).

Bonilla-Silva (1997) offered a third category within the framework. He argued racism is best understood in the context of a racialized social system that is both product and producer of the social relations between races. These social relations, he explained, are both socially constructed and an ongoing endeavor. More specifically, these relations are a

highly political act . . . Categories such as "Indians" and "Negroes" were invented in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to justify the conquest and exploitation of various peoples. The invention of such categories entails a dialectical process of construction; that is, the creation of a category of "other" involves the creation of a category of "same." If Indians are savages, Whites must be civilized. If Blacks are defined as "natural for slavery," Whites as free. (Bonilla-Silva, 1997, p. 471)

These imbalanced relationships become normalized and institutionalized, resulting in a racialized social system. Additional aspects of identity, like class and gender, also become racialized creating what Crenshaw (1991) referred to as intersectional identities (see Chapter 3). Racism, as ideology, according to Bonilla-Silva "provides the rationalizations for the social, political, and economic interactions between the races" (p. 474).

Racist ideologies, however, are not static. Rather, as Doane (2006) explained, they are "contested concepts" in the center of an ongoing political struggle between racially-dominant and oppressed groups in a racialized social system. The ideologies and the form in which the racialized oppression takes place may differ across time, but the social relations, in the form of a hierarchy and the definition of racial difference equating to less-than White, remain the same. This pattern is clearly evident in the social relationships between Black and White individuals in the United States which began with slavery, then transitioned to Jim Crow, and then mass incarceration (Mueller, 2017). Prior to and including Jim Crow, this racialized system was sustained by overt racist ideologies; the post-20<sup>th</sup> century Civil Rights era brought forth a new White racial paradigm that allowed for the continuation of the status quo: color-blind racism. Doane explained that color-blind racism emerged as a response to the racial social justice movements of the latter 20<sup>th</sup> century and simply argued "race shouldn't matter" (p. 259). Framing racism as "a historical phenomenon that is no longer a significant problem in American society," this new paradigm shifts the blame for racism from the institutions and the powerful who control them to just a handful of deviant individuals (Doane, 2006). The focus is not simply on racist individuals or problematic institutions, the focus is on race. Meaning "under this ideology, race consciousness in and out itself is racist" (p. 266). At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the debate is one race talk is simultaneously racist on one hand and reinforcing the racial social system on the other. For purposes of this study, I was interested in how faculty of color navigate these ideologies, structural

apparatus and social relations in the context of their work in Oregon's community colleges and the communities in which they are situated.

Retention: In their recent study, Recruitment without Retention: A Critical Case of Black Faculty Unrest, Kelly et al. (2017) found individual faculty of color have very different experiences with recruitment and retention activities. Overall, the Black faculty in their study reported positive recruitment experiences; however, these same "participants discussed the lack of institutional support to retain them" (p. 312). Characterized as "The Bait and Switch" by the study's authors, the participants were left with the "feeling of being duped, manipulated, cajoled into coming to a PWI that seems to value you for your research acumen, but does nothing to foster an inclusive environment, leaves a bitter taste of resent in many Black faculty" (p. 313). Kelly et al. placed retention specifically in the context of institutional mechanisms. This is consistent with the work of Dee (2002), who studied faculty retention in urban community colleges and defined retention as organizational structures; specifically, that which "can be modified by organizational leaders" (p. 5). These structures included autonomy, support for innovation, and collegial communication (Dee, 2002).

<u>Persistence:</u> Borrowing from the work of Metz (2004) and McGee et al. (2021), persistence is defined as an individual's "relationships with their social and academic environments, where more positive relationships and interactions have an increasing impact on persistence" (McGee et al., 2021, p. 60). The research questions for this study focus on how faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges persist in the face of unwelcoming and uncomfortable environments. The greatest barrier to persistence for faculty of color is racism (Baez, 2000; HaMai, 2014; Stanley, 2006). Faculty of color negotiate racism in a variety of ways (Baez, 1998, 2000; de la Luz Reyes & Halcón, 1988; HaMai, 2014). Baez (1998) asserted,

the manner in which each of the faculty members negotiated these battles was seen by each as promoting his or her success. This is why I chose "strategies" to describe how the faculty member negotiated and resisted racism; they chose one of a number of possible alternatives and did so after weighing the consequences." (p. 16)

HaMai (2014) expanded her definition further, defining persistence as those who have chosen to stay in the academe, in the case of her study, the community college.

<u>Cultural Taxation</u>: Cultural taxation refers to the additional workload placed upon faculty of color as the result of an assumed knowledge base due to an individual's perceived race and ethnicity (Padilla, 1994). According to Padilla (1994), faculty of color are expected to be diversity experts and represent their assumed identity groups, disciplines, departments, and/or institutions both within and outside of the organizations. This representation is often used by institutions as evidence of diversity efforts. Kelly et al. (2017) indicated the expectations associated with cultural taxation often takes "time away from doing activities most important to long-term success as a faculty" (p. 307). This was also true in Sámano's 2007 study of Oregon community college faculty of color. Cultural taxation was a burden for all of the participants in his study, causing each to struggle with balancing time, stress and their regular faculty workloads.

<u>Racial Battle Fatigue:</u> Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF) is a theoretical framework that examines the stress responses of people of color in the context of ongoing individual and systemic racism (D. G. Smith et al., 2004, 2006; W. A. Smith et al., 2007, 2011; Stevenson, 2012). D. G. Smith et al. (2004) noted that educational institutions have historically been both situated in and constructed as White spaces where White racism exists at both the micro- and macro-levels. The movement of people of color into these spaces has resulted in "differential exposure to race-related stressors at the societal, institutional, interpersonal, and individual levels and the interpretations and coping responses employed . . . can lead to the traumatic psychological and physiological stress conditions of racial battle fatigue" (W. A. Smith et al., 2007, p. 553).

<u>Institutional Racism</u>: The term institutional racism begins from the premise that racism is systemic in our nation's colleges and universities, and refers to the everyday patterns and practices of institutional actors that both reflect and reproduce systemic racism at the micro- and macro-level (D. Bell, 1995; Delgado, 1990).

PWI (<u>Primarily White Institutions</u>): Unlike other institutional designations within higher education, PWI is neither based on mission nor student population, but rather the characteristics of the dominant culture of the institution (Bourke, 2016). Are members of historically underrepresented groups expected to assimilate into the dominant culture? Do they have equal access to power, and/or representation in the political structures of the institution? Or are these groups further marginalized within the dominant culture of the educational institution? Bourke (2016) explained that the central characteristic of PWIs is not the number of white people, but rather, "embedded institutional practices that are based in whiteness" (p. 20).

#### Summary

There is a lack of scholarship that provides a thorough understanding of the experiences of community college faculty of color in Oregon and nationally. Of the 88

new full-time faculty hired by Oregon community colleges between November 1, 2019, and October 31, 2020, only 11 were faculty of color (NCES, 2020). These numbers are concerning as the state's community colleges do not seem to be making the steps needed to make the full-time faculty reflective of the communities they serve. More specifically, the data offer little information about the experiences of the state's community college faculty of color with institutional racism, and how and why faculty of color remained at the institutions in Oregon. This research project begins to fill this gap and hopes the stories shared will increase the numbers of full-time faculty of color in the state's community college system.

#### **Chapter 2: Oregon's Community College System**

Oregon's community college system comprises 17 public institutions with over 60 locations across the state.<sup>4</sup> In the 2017-2018 academic year, Oregon public community colleges served more than 272,254 students and awarded 12,843 associate degrees and 7,336 undergraduate certificates (HECC, n.d.a). Like its counterparts across the nation, Oregon's community college system is facing significant political and demographic change in this new millennium, making the underrepresentation and experiences of faculty of color an even more relevant and urgent priority.

#### **Historical Overview**

Oregon's community college system was not established until 1949, "when the state legislature authorized school districts to create centers that provided college-level courses" (Cox Brand, 2014, p. 87). Even then, growth took time. For instance, Central Oregon Community College was the first to emerge from a local high district in 1949, providing one to two years of transfer course work to students in a then isolated part of central Oregon, before students had to go over the mountain to a state college or university (Crowell, 2019). The college district, however, was not formed until nearly a decade later, and the main campus did not open its doors until 1964 (Central Oregon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Oregon's community college system consists of 16 single college districts and one multi-unit district: Blue Mountain Community College, Central Oregon Community College, Chemeketa Community College, Clackamas Community College, Clatsop Community College, Columbia Gorge Community College, Klamath Community College, Lane Community College, Linn-Benton Community College, Mt. Hood Community College, Oregon Coast Community College, Rogue Community College, Southwestern Oregon Community College, Tillamook Bay Community College, Treasure Valley Community College, Umpqua Community College, and the Portland Community College District.

Community College, n.d.). Clatsop Community College followed shortly thereafter, and in 1958, opened up as an extension of the State Department of Education.

In 1961, the Oregon legislature put into law a series of statues (ORS 341.009: Community Colleges: Education and Culture: Policy, 1961) that allowed for the establishment of local community college districts (Kreider, 1997). Per the recommendations of Koos's (1950) "A Community College Plan for Oregon," Oregon's community colleges would be of commuting distance, limited tuition, offer adult education, terminal and transfer degrees, as well as be open-access institutions, controlled by locally-elected boards. In addition, "specific programs and courses were to be related to the employment opportunities of the districts, state, and nation" (Kreider, 1997, p. 160). Following the initial state investment in construction and operating budgets, the individual districts would become more dependent on their local community college district property tax base and tuition and fees for funding (Tollefson, 1997).

As Table 1 indicates, in the years that followed, Oregon's community college system quickly developed. The origins of each of the districts differed based on the needs and the resources of the local areas. For example, as previously mentioned, Central Oregon Community College began as a more traditional junior college focusing on the first two years of college transfer coursework (Crowell, 2019). In contrast, Chemeketa Community College in Salem, Blue Mountain Community College in Pendleton and Lane Community College in Eugene all began as vocational and technical schools (Eustrom, 2019; Mabry, 2019; Sámano, 2019). Transfer and vocational-technical would quickly merge at all of these institutions, and the comprehensive mission of state's

community colleges began.

#### Table 1

#### Oregon Community College Districts: Year of Origination

District	City	Year
Central Oregon Community College (1)	Bend	1949
Clatsop Community College (1)	Astoria	1958
Southwestern Oregon Community College	Coos Bay	1961
Clackamas Community College	Oregon City	1961
Portland Community College	Portland	1961
Blue Mountain Community College	Baker City	1962
Treasure Valley Community College	Ontario	1962
Lane Community College	Eugene	1964
Umpqua Community College	Roseburg	1964
Mt. Hood Community College	Gresham	1965
Linn-Benton Community College	Albany	1967
Chemeketa Community College	Salem	1967
Rogue Community College	Grants Pass	1970
Columbia Gorge Community College (2)	The Dalles	1977
Tillamook Bay Community College	Tillamook	1981
Oregon Coast Community College	Newport & Lincoln City	1987
Klamath Community College	Klamath Falls	1996

Sources: Klamath Community College (2022); Kreider (1997).

Notes: (1) The community college districts for Central Oregon and Clatsop Community Colleges were formed in 1962. Each college was founded and originally under the direction of the Bend and Astoria Education School Districts, accordingly. (2) Formerly Wasco Area and Treaty Oak Community College Service District founded in 1977. The Columbia Gorge Community College District was formed in 1989.

The next decade was good for Oregon's community colleges. The state's timber-

economy "generated higher than national average blue collar wages . . . low cost housing

market and an expanding public sector" (Kittredge & Kissler, 1998, p. 544) for the

majority of the state.

Community and economic imperatives kept colleges focused on the local, and this relationship and focus were only reinforced by the lack of state oversight (Cox Brand, 2014). College missions were diverse, place-based, and comprehensive: from gunsmithing and computer science at Rogue to Umpqua's ecosystem restoration partnership with the Bureau of Land Management and U.S. Forest Service to Mt Hood's women in transition and dislocated workers programs (Kreider, 1997). Ward (2019) of Chemeketa Community College shared that during this time the college was focused on growth, innovation, and creativity. Chemeketa not only put an emphasis on professional development, but they had the funds to do so (Ward, 2019).

#### Globalization of the Economy

The 1980s and the1990s brought significant changes for Oregon education, industry, as well as demographics. The country experienced a deep recession in the early 1980s, and Oregon, with its heavily resource-dependent economy, was slow to recover. Kittredge and Kissler (1998) explained,

The compound nature of the economic distress in Oregon and the growing influence of international competition made it difficult for Oregon's economy to rebound when the national economy's health returned. Automation in the mills and woods had permanently reduced the employment base in those industries so that when the national housing starts began to grow again, many workers were still not employed. The anadromous fishery has not revered to this day. International competition keeps farm commodity prices low, severely hampering the farm-dependent segment of the economy. (p. 545)

Oregon's response was multi-faceted and comprehensive. At the state level, the legislature "extended the mission of the Oregon Community Colleges" through a series of strategic initiatives that were set to improve the social and economic outlook for the state (Tollefson, 1997, p. 2).

The first of these initiatives, "Oregon Shines: An Economic Strategy for the Pacific Century" (Goldschmidt & Oregon Economic Development Department, 1989), was intended to initiate an extensive transformation in the state's economic productivity and outlook and to create a global workforce (Kittredge & Kissler, 1998). Significantly, Sivers-Boyce et al. (2005) explained, Oregon Shines associated workforce skills needed for this new economy to a higher standard of living. More specifically, a well-trained, high-quality workforce was the means to attaining the state's economic outcomes. Kittredge and Kissler (1998) argued that "workforce quality was tied to a blue collar model in the 1989 document [and] community colleges benefited greatly from this emphasis" (p. 555). Oregon's community colleges were now playing a more active and prescribed role in their local and in the state's economic development activities (Kingry & Cole, 1985). The 1997 updated Oregon Shines strategic economic initiatives that followed were based upon the same premise: improved education and training will increase citizen's human capital, individual and community quality of life, and the state's economic outlook (Oregon Progress Board, 1999). What differed were the definitions of quality of life, and the educational goals set forth by the citizens over time (Kittredge & Kissler, 1998). Similar ideologies have framed Oregon's landmark educational reforms over the last 30 years. The 40-40-20 Initiative (ORS 350.014, 2011), discussed in more detail below, is the most recent of these legislative initiatives, and it is particularly relevant to the subject of this proposal.

#### **Changes in Industry and Demographics**

The rapid global economic and political shifts resulted in changing workforce needs and the movement of people and capital. Once a resource-dependent economy, Oregon was dramatically impacted by these changes, and the new state economies brought new jobs that the current state workforce was not ready to fill (Kittredge & Kissler, 1998). The turn of the century tech-boom of urban Oregon, for instance, welcomed a new and diverse workforce from across the country and globe, and this brought forth changes to the population of the state (Kittredge & Kissler, 1998; Oregon State Office of Economic Analysis, 2019).

Oregon has also experienced significant shifts in immigration and refugee populations. While the source and location of economic and political strife changed worldwide, so did the people coming to the state. Immigrants and refugees have played a vital role in the state's cultural and economic landscape, represented in each of Oregon's industry sectors (American Immigration Council, 2020; Oregon State Office of Economic Analysis, 2019). According to the American Immigration Council (2020), "the top countries of origin for immigrants [in the state of Oregon include] Mexico (36 percent of immigrants), Vietnam (6 percent), China (5 percent), India (5 percent), and the Philippines (4 percent)" (para. 2). In the 1970s, refugees were more likely to be from Southeast Asia, for instance, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia; while in the new millennium, Oregon has welcomed refugees from locales as diverse as Ukraine, Somalia, Iraq, Burma, and Sudan (Oregon Department of Human Services, n.d.). The consequence was, in a span of over five decades, Oregon went from a population that was 97% white in 1970 to a community in 2020 where only 78% of its citizens identify as white, non-Hispanic (Oregon State Office of Economic Analysis, 2019). Today, Oregonians speak 66 different languages and identify as Black, Asian, Hispanic, Pacific Islander, Indigenous/Native American, Somali, Hmong, Indian, and increasingly multiracial (Oregon Department of Education, 2019; United States Census Bureau, 2019). Oregon's youth, however, is significantly more diverse than the state population overall. In 2019, more than 38% of the children in Oregon public schools identified as racially and ethnically diverse (Oregon Chief Education Office, 2019). Many of these students will go on to enroll in the state's community college system.

### The 40-40-20 Initiative and Equity Lens

In 2011, Oregon lawmakers voted into law one of the nation's most ambitious education initiatives, referred to as the 40-40-20 Goal (ORS 350.014, Mission of Education Beyond High School, 2011). By the year 2025: the state aims to boost adult Oregonians with a bachelor's degree to 40%, to increase adult Oregonians with a 2-year degree or certificate to 40%, and to raise adult Oregonians with a high school diploma or the equivalent by 20% (HECC, n.d.a). Intended to transform the state's educational and economic outlook, the 40-40-20 Goal functions as both direction and assessment for a new streamlined and coordinated public pre-kindergarten through postsecondary education system that focuses on meeting, and even surpassing, these new outcome requirements.

Oregon's education and political leaders followed up with a series of legislative and policy actions identifying equity and diversity as critical elements in the state's future educational and economic success. Both the initial and driving force of the new directives was the 2014 Equity Lens. The Equity Lens explained that Oregon's educational leaders<sup>5</sup> had:

a vision of educational equity and excellence for each and every child and learner in Oregon . . . It is through educational equity that Oregon will continue to be a wonderful place to live, and make progress towards becoming a place of economic, technologic and cultural innovation. (HECC, n.d.b, p. 1)

The Equity Lens states that Oregon places race and ethnicity as the central and primary means for "explicitly identifying disparities in education outcomes for the purpose of targeting areas of action, intervention and investment" (HECC, n.d.b, p. 1). For the first time in its history, Oregon has put forth specific, external measurements of outcome success that hold postsecondary institutions not only accountable for student completion but further, accountable for equity in completion rates (HECC, 2022). Additionally, "the Equity Lens confirms the importance of recognizing institutional and systemic barriers and discriminatory practices that have limited access and success for many students in the Oregon education system" (HECC, n.d.b, p. 3).

Equally important, the State of Oregon, through these legislative and policy actions, has specifically asked the community colleges of Oregon to shift their institutional priority to that of student outcomes and equity (HECC, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Initially developed by Oregon's Education Investment Board. Currently implemented for higher education in Oregon by the HECC.

The Equity Lens aims to identify and make strategic investments in areas where they will make the most positive impact on "historically underserved students, such as out of school youth, emerging bilingual students (English language learners), and students in some communities of color and some rural geographical locations, with a particular focus on racial equity" (HECC, n.d.b, p. 3). The lower rates of completion, student demographics, and the specific responsibilities of the community colleges in Oregon in relationship to the 40-40-20 Goal (Mission of Education Beyond High School, 2011) demonstrate the importance of investing in faculty of color in our state's community college system. Discussed previously, the most recent data indicates that 81% of the full-time faculty in the community college system in Oregon identify as White (NCES, 2017, 2020).

#### **Chapter 3: Review of Literature**

In this chapter, I introduce the literature review for the study. First, I provide an overview of critical race theory, including a summary of its applications to the study of education. Second, I provide a discussion of experiences of faculty of color in institutions of higher education with a specific focus on the community college.

#### **Critical Race Theory**

Critical race theory (CRT) proposes that "racism is endemic in U.S. Society, [and] deeply engrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically" throughout our social institutions (Tate, 1997, p. 234). Exclusion of voices of color is, therefore, a structural feature of American life, one where White people rarely see acts of blatant or subtle racism, while minority people experience them all the time" (Delgado as cited in Tate, 1997, p. 19). Employing what Delgado (1989) defined as counterstorytelling, I examined the retention experiences of faculty of color within the state of Oregon's community college system.

The origins of CRT can be traced to the work of W.E.B. Du Bois in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, specifically in his works *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903/2018) and "Marxism and the Negro Problem" (1933), as well as more contemporary influences, ranging from ethnic and women's studies to cultural nationalism to the Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions (Hackney, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001b; Yosso et al., 2004). At the center of CRT is the work of a small group of legal scholars who, in the 1970s, wanted to move beyond the then-dominant paradigm of Critical Legal Studies, what is often referred to as the civil rights-approach to legal inequality, and bring attention to the ongoing

institutional racism experienced by Black Americans in the post-Brown era <sup>6</sup> (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Hackney, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001b).

The contributions of this first generation of CRT scholarship are most often attributed to the work of Derrick A. Bell and Richard Delgado (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Tate, 1997). D. Bell and Delgado directly challenged the ideology, epistemology, and even legitimacy of the legal actors engaged in Critical Legal Studies (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Tate, 1997). D. Bell (1995) argued that the belief in law and/or the legal system as a neutral and/or objective arbitrator of justice was at best problematic; rather, he argued that both the methodologies of law and the legal system itself, functioned to protect the interests of Whites over those of racial and ethnic minority groups (Crenshaw et al.,

1995). Calmore (as cited in Tate, 1997) explained, CRT emerged as

a form of oppositional scholarship . . . [that] challenges the universality of white experience/judgment as the authoritative standard that binds people of color and normatively measures, directs, controls, and regulates the terms of proper thought expression, presentation, and behavior. As represented by legal scholars, critical race theory challenges the dominant discourse on race and racism as they relate to law. (pp. 196-197)

As a new intellectual and legal endeavor, CRT marked a paradigm shift from a

focus on objectivity to subjectivity, from the universality of application to contextual and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CRT originated within the Black legal civil rights movements within the post-Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) era (Taylor, 1998). As discussed more fully in chapters 2 and 3 of this paper, the key tenets of CRT include intersectionality and voice. CRT recognizes that racialized voices differ across group and socio-historical context (Delgado & Stefancic, 2023). As a result, over time scholars working within the CRT tradition have shifted the lens from the experiences of African Americans to include TribalCrit (See Brayboy, 2005, 2013), LatCrit (see Valdes, 2005, AsianCrit (See Museus & Iftikar, 2013), and more. Each, like the original CRT, focuses on the specific harms experienced by the racialized group in relationship to racism and institutionalized power.

historical analysis, and moved the goal from simply managing racial diversity to liberation from oppression (Delgado, 1990; Hackney, 1998). The following elements of CRT are particularly relevant to the application to education and the research project under consideration: Racism as Systemic, Intersectionality, Contextual/Historical Examination, and Voice. A detailed discussion of the role of voice, and more specifically, counterstorytelling, can be found in Chapter 4: Methods.

### **CRT and Education**

In the 1990s, CRT was widely adopted by educational researchers interested in the intersection of race and education (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tate, 1997). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) believed CRT could address the invisibility of race in the educational discourse. More specifically, CRT was seen as "a framework that can be used to theorize and examine the ways race and racism impact on the structures, processes, and discourses within a higher educational context" (Solórzano &Yossi, 2002a, p. 156). In recent decades, CRT scholars have used critical counterstorytelling to explore a wide array of topics within and across education, including the experiences of faculty of color (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001b; Tate, 1997; Yosso et al., 2004). It is only recently that there has been a focus on the experiences of faculty of color in our nation's community colleges (HaMai, 2014; Harden, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). This study is intended to contribute to the gap in this research area.

### Racism is Systemic

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CRT begins from the position that racism is systemic and that faculty of color within our nation's colleges and universities face institutional practices that favor Whiteness and reproduce and reinforce existing patterns of inequality, including the pattern of underrepresentation of faculty of color itself (DeCuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; de la Luz Reyes & Halcón, 1988; Halcón & de la Luz Reyes, 1991; Han, 2012; Levin et al., 2013; Pittman, 2012; Sámano, 2007; Turner & Myers, 2000). Further, those working within the CRT tradition argue that education's system of meritocracy functions to sustain and defend institutional racism; specifically, preferential treatment for faculty based on race, ethnicity, gender, language, research area, and pedagogical approach that is centered from the White, male, English-speaking, western and/or euro-centric epistemology (Halcón & de la Luz Reyes, 1991; Han, 2012; Turner et al., 2011). Counterstorytelling has given voice to the experiences of faculty of color and the patterns of interpersonal and institutional racism that exist in our nation's colleges and universities. As Pittman (2012) reminded, "this information, from the perspective of the oppressed, is necessary in order to understand and disrupt oppression" (p. 84).

#### *Intersectionality*

Kimberlé Crenshaw is credited with bringing the lens of intersectionality to CRT (Tate, 1997). Crenshaw (1991) argued systems of domination and privilege "readily intersect in the lives of real people" (p. 1242). One does not experience these aspects of social identity in isolation, but rather simultaneously, and therefore "when practices expound identity as woman or person of color as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling" (Crenshaw, 1991, p.

1242). The reality of intersectionality, what Crenshaw (1991) defined as an intersectional identity, and the voice of the individual(s), is rendered silent. Further, the either/or lens has political dimensions that often require those with intersectional identities to choose and/or split their loyalties. Historically, anti-racist and feminist either/or traditions have resulted in the "denial of a fundamental dimension of [women of color's] subordination and precludes the development of a political discourse that more fully empowers women of color" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1252). Intersectionality also requires an examination of the ways in which differing structures of domination and privilege interact to produce both intentional and unintentional burdens. Crenshaw (1991) explained "it is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden that interacts with preexisting vulnerabilities to create another dimension of disempowerment" (p. 1249).

Crenshaw's (1991) scholarship paid particular attention to social policy and intervention strategies. She argued that reformative policies are too often onedimensional in nature, and do not take into consideration the complex social identities of those the intervention is intended to serve, thus resulting in additional and unintentional burdens. The hiring of faculty of color is often used as a diversity strategy with higher education, despite "the reality . . . that [faculty diversity is] perhaps the least successful of all the many diversity initiatives" in higher education (D. G. Smith et al., 2004, p. 133). Further, Sámano (2007) explained, due to the limited number of faculty of color in institutions of higher education, they carry additional diversity-related roles and responsibilities, which greatly impact workload, as well as evaluation and tenure processes. These responsibilities are discussed in greater detail in the literature review section of this chapter.

Equally important, the concept of intersectionality was central in the expansion of CRT as a theoretical framework. The resulting theoretical expansions brought forth Tribal CRT, Latina/o CRT, and Asian CRT. Each of these new contributions to CRT challenged scholars to examine not only the ways in which race intersects with gender, class, and sexuality, but how differing racialized communities are uniquely embedded in other systems of interlocking oppressions (Brayboy, 2005, 2013; R. S. Chang, 1993; Iftikar & Museus, 2019; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). For instance, as Tribal CRT theorist Brayboy (2005, 2013) wrote, colonization has been the greatest challenge for Indigenous people in the United States; while Latinx and Asian Americans have faced systemic systems of oppression around immigration, nativism, citizenship, and/or language (R. S. Chang, 1993; Iftikar & Museus, 2019; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001a). Intersectionality not only provided a space from which intersectional voices to speak, but a lens from which these voices to be heard. These lenses are central to the methodologies of any CRT research undertaking (L. A. Bell, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2000).

## Contextual/Historical Examination

CRT has been employed across the social sciences, humanities, and education to examine topics as diverse as the use of race and racism in workplace bargaining (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), to the racialization of local spaces (Haymes, 1995), to the role of race in educational discourse (Yosso et al., 2004). Ladson-Billings (1998) explained,

our conceptions of race, even in a postmodern and/or postcolonial world, are more embedded and fixed than in a previous age. However, this embeddedness or "fixed-ness" has required new language and constructions of race so that denotations are submerged and hidden in ways that are offensive though without identification . . . Conceptual categories of "school achievement," "middle classness," . . . become normative categories of whiteness, while categories like "gangs," "welfare recipients," . . . and "the underclass" become the marginalized and de-legitimized categories of blackness. (p. 9)

Race, therefore, continues to be ever-present but takes on differing meanings across social, political, and historical contexts (Lee, 1994). Tate (1997) explained that a theorist working in this tradition, "challenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/historical examination" (p. 235).

The communities that are home to the country's approximately 1,150 public community colleges, as well as Oregon's 17 colleges, are not simply geographic space in which locals live and avoid/interact, they are unique places that are "interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 465). My interest in drawing attention to both the community college as an institution and the local places where they are situated is to consider the role of these contexts in the patterns of retention, as well as the experiences of faculty of color. According to Clamore (as cited in Tate, 1997), for critical race theorists,

law, society, and culture are texts—not so much like a literary work, but rather like the traditional black minister's citation of text as verse or scripture that would lend authoritative support to the sermon he is about to deliver. Here, texts are not merely random stories; like scripture, they are expressions of authority, preemption, and sanction. (p. 197)

Community colleges are situated in local communities throughout the country that hold differing and particular histories, ideologies, populations, and definitions; therefore, the texts written and the practices sanctioned will and can differ greatly across locale. Gieryn (2000) states that "all social phenomena [are] emplaced, [whether that be] values, morality, class, gender, deviance, power, change, culture [or] politics" (p. 467). Further, Haymes (1995) argued place-making is an activity, and "places are significant because we assign meaning to them in relation to our specific projects" (p. 10) including, but not limited to, identity-making, consciousness, resistance, and control. Therefore, "place is not merely a setting or backdrop, but an agentic player in the game—a force with detectable and independent effects on social life" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 466). The community college, as a local institution, is not only emplaced in these local place-making activities, the community college, via the many and diverse groups of educational actors inside and outside the institution, is actively participating in the cultural texts that shape and re/shape the culture of racial privilege and oppression of the organization and the local community over time.

## **Community College Faculty of Color**

There has been little research conducted on the experience of faculty of color in our nation's community colleges (Brown, 2021; Graves, 2021; HaMai, 2014; Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). One of the first major qualitative studies on community college faculty to address the significance of the experiences of faculty of color in understanding the issues of the American community college as a whole was conducted by Seidman in 1985. At that time, "minority faculty" represented approximately 5% of the community college faculty; yet, Seidman consciously chose to overrepresent faculty of color, at a ratio of 21 of the total 76 individuals interviewed. Seidman (1985) explained that in his study *In the Words of* 

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Colleges,

because issues of equitable educational opportunity are central to the mission of the community colleges and because the experience of minority community college contribute to an understanding of the issues, we decided to include more minority faculty than would be called for if we had used numerical representation as the only criterion. (p. 17)

Equally significant, the voices of faculty of color were not segregated solely to the chapter on minority faculty and equity issues, but were integrated throughout Seidman's work on the experiences and issues facing community college faculty as a whole.

Seidman (1985) found that the community college faculty of color in his study deal with racism in all aspects of their work; therefore, spending a significant amount of "conscious energy . . . consumed with dealing with inequities" (p. 210). Faculty of color reported being viewed as members of their racial and ethnic groups first and teachers and colleagues second. Physics teacher Robert Thatcher (cited in Seidman, 1985) shared, "a lot of students here had never had a black instructor, had never been around black people" (p. 216). History instructor Daniel Ramiriz (cited in Seidman, 1985) found his Ph.D. to be very helpful in bridging the credibility gap with his students. He explained,

I think there are a lot of people that assume that anybody with a Latin last name or any black instructor got the job because of affirmative action. They don't really belong here; they got a break; and maybe they're not as competent as other people. So having a Ph.D. breaks down the kind of resistance that you may encounter. (p. 226)

Thatcher went on to explain that he went out of his way to initiate relationships with his white peers, with success; however, he never experienced reciprocity in initiation. Yet, after years on the job, Josephine Saunders (cited in Seidman, 1985), an instructor in

Business and Secretarial Studies, found very little change in her peers or the college climate. She shared,

I would have expected that things would have been a lot better as I grew into the job. The first year I ignored a lot of stuff because that was, I thought, just part of getting used to the job and the people. You are tested and the students test you and colleagues test, but six and half years later, it's no longer a test, or it is a test of a different sort. (p. 211)

There was a rapid growth in the research on faculty of color in universities and colleges at this time as well. In their review of the period from 1988 to 2007, Turner et al. (2008) reported more than "300 scholars published 211 studies and produced 41 doctoral dissertations related to the underrepresentation of faculty of color" (p. 140). Community college faculty of color were the focus of a limited number of the participant groups and studies reviewed in topics ranging from recruitment and hiring (Aguirre & Martinez, 1993, Chapman, 2001; Flowers, 2005; Harvey & Valdez, 1994; Isaac & Boyer, 2007; W. J. Johnson, 1996), campus climate (Aguirre & Martinez, 1993, Bower, 2002; Harvey & Valadez, 1994), gender (Aguirre & Martinez, 1993, Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Perna, 2003), retention (Harvey & Valadez, 1994; Morris, 2000) and institutional strategies (Kirkpatrick, 2001).

Discussed previously, however, much of the research on community college diversity has come from the functionalist perspective, viewing the Other as something needing to be incorporated into the current system, as is; rather than the system changing to meet the needs of a new reality (Levin et al., 2014). It is significant, therefore, that some of the more recent scholarship on community college faculty of color, particularly, dissertations, have employed both CRT as a theoretical framework and counterstorytelling as methodology. The focus of some of this research includes college culture and racial/ethnic identities (Levin et al., 2013; 2014), RBF and Black faculty (Stevenson, 2012); institutional racism and African American male faculty (Harden, 2016); cultural taxation (Sámano, 2007); and women faculty of color (HaMai, 2014). Important research has also been done in the areas of faculty recruitment and hiring from this same counterhegemonic approach (Fujii, 2010; D. R. Johnson, 2006).

The following review of literature on the experiences of community college faculty of color are divided into four categories: job satisfaction, faculty fit, workload, and institutional racism.

#### Job Satisfaction

In recent decades, community college faculty, across race, ethnicity, and gender, report higher job satisfaction compared to their university colleagues (Flowers, 2005; Kim et al., 2008; Townsend & Twombly, 2007). According to Kim et al. (2008), community college faculty are less satisfied than their 4-year counterparts with institutional autonomy, but more satisfied with their job overall. Faculty, in this same study, from both 2- and 4-year institutions, who were satisfied with their benefits, salaries and teaching support, were also satisfied with their job autonomy (Kim et al., 2008). Additionally, faculty who thought women colleagues were treated fairly, reported favorable on autonomy. Significantly, Kim et al. did not find race and ethnicity to be factors in job autonomy and job satisfaction at the 2-year institutions.

In contrast, Flowers (2005) found a significant difference in job satisfaction among African American 2- and 4-year faculty in a national study. More than 50% of faculty at 2-year institutions reported being very satisfied compared to 33% at the 4-year institutions. Additionally, only 1% of the 2-year respondents reported being very dissatisfied compared to 6% of those in the 4-year schools. Flowers found that the African American 2-year faculty were overall more satisfied with their job autonomy and decision-making, had higher satisfaction about the interaction with students, and expressed less dissatisfaction with salary and other benefits. Both groups, however, reported less satisfaction overall with what Flowers defined as hygiene factors, "factors or variables associated with the location of the work environment, nature of the work environment, and/or other structural characteristics of the jobs such as salary, job benefits, and the organizational structure" (p. 318). Many of these variables play a role in the work climate for faculty of color that are discussed in later sections of the literature review.

Jayakumar et al. (2009) examined the relationship between racial climate, job satisfaction, and the intentions of faculty of color to leave the academy, both in 2- and 4-year institutions. Increased job satisfaction was uniquely tied to improvement in retention rate, but there was significant differentiation in job satisfaction when factored with racial climate across faculty racial and ethnic groups. For both Black and Latino faculty, racial hostility and a decrease in job satisfaction were more pronounced; yet Black faculty in the higher ranks of the academy were "most likely to persist in the face of negative experience in the institutional environment" (p. 553). Black, Asian, Latino faculty all reported experiencing high levels of stress during promotion and tenure. While not the focus of their research, Jayakumar et al. examined the experiences and relationship of White faculty on these same variables, and their findings were powerful: "data indicate that White faculty retention is greater where racial climate is more negative" (p. 555). A negative racial climate, therefore, functions to improve White faculty retention while at the same time lowering job satisfaction and retention of faculty of color.

Near gender parity in full-time faculty representation seems to have played an important role in job satisfaction. According to a national study by Hagedorn et al. (2002), both male and female faculty have similar perceptions of campus climates, and women do not report higher levels of job dissatisfaction than their male counterparts. In this same study, Hagedorn et al. found "statistical evidence of difference in perceptions of discrimination reported significantly higher by women than by men and even statistically higher for women faculty of color" (p. 75). The perceptions of women faculty of color, therefore, differed from both their White female and all of their male counterparts.

Community college faculty of color are concerned about the lack of diversity of faculty as well as the difficulty in achieving tenure. One African-American faculty explained,

I just find it really amazing that every African-American person I've talked to at this college, not just on this campus, but all campuses, has had a problem getting tenure at this school. There aren't that many African-American professors here. There's diversity, but there aren't that many African-American instructors. We have African instructors, we have Chinese instructors, we have people from the Middle East, and we have lots and lots of diversity. And if you look at our part-time instructors. But the full timers, that is where I see a great lack of representation and I think that that is, it's a deficiency. (Stevenson, 2012, p. 75)

Faculty "Fit"

Lack of diversity within administrative ranks can also play an important role in the diversity of the community college faculty (Harvey, 1994). The interrelationship between the community college and the local community differs greatly from all other 20<sup>th</sup> century educational institutions (Cohen et al., 2014; Dougherty, 1994; Levin, 2001). Literally emerging out of the area high schools,

the colleges evolved to be responsive to the education needs of their communities, offering vocational education programs that are important to their communities, contract education for local businesses to prepare and develop their workforces, and community service courses that are important to local community members. (Boggs, 2003, p. 15)

In Oregon, like many states, local community college boards are locally elected, and board positions are often held by neighbors or local business owners, and those in leadership positions tend to be from within the institution. Further, as Ebbers et al. (2000) reported, community college boards, functioning as gatekeepers, hire people most like themselves, both in terms of race and gender.

One community college faculty of color explained that this local "fit" played a central role in terms of how her college tended to hire faculty who looked like themselves or were part of their personnel, professional and/or social networks, thus limiting the diversity of faculty on campus (Stevenson, 2012). Levin et al. (2013) found that faculty in their study viewed "hiring practices for faculty as inflexible and based on efforts to maintain existing practices (e.g., minimal efforts to diversify faculty pools or hiring committees); hiring practices and policies have gatekeeper functions" (p. 318).

Locality plays an important role in the faculty recruitment as well. The limited studies on community college faculty recruitment today seem to indicate a continuation of this pattern. Twombly (2005) found that when hiring for full-time faculty in the arts and sciences, community colleges, while advertising nationally, tend to hire regionally, preferring candidates who either lived within the region or had close ties. Locality, "familiarity with or being from the region" (Twombly, 2005, p. 436), was considered an essential part of a candidates fit with the college, particularly for the smaller and more rural institutions (see also Cejda & Murray, 2010; Pennington et al., 2006). One instructor in their study shared,

I might wonder if someone from Connecticut is serious about Rural, Midwest. Is there anything in the letter that indicates to me that they've actually taken time to find out where it is and what kind of institution it is? Do they understand that it's in a small rural community, a very small rural community? Some of those I just don't take seriously. You know if they're from Los Angeles and then you look at their employment record and if it's all been in Los Angeles, then I don't think they're serious. (Twombly, 2005, p. 436)

Further, Twombly (as cited in Townsend & Twombly, 2007) has found that colleges on each coast go so far as to be leery of candidates from the opposite of coasts.

The focus on local recruitment is even more apparent and viewed as important when recruiting occupational faculty. In Brewer and Gray's (1997) study of workforce linkages between community colleges and local labor markets, they found the continued existence of vocational education programs required these partnerships. The interrelationship feeds students to the program, as well as provides the students in the program internships and post-graduate job opportunities. Hiring local individuals to fill faculty positions is a means by which to leverage local relationships. Brewer and Gray did not find these same ties to be pertinent when hiring for the arts or sciences.

Economic investment and resources also play a role in whether hiring local or nationally. Some community colleges do not pay for travel expenses, thus limiting the pool of applicants who may choose to move forward in the hiring process (Twombly, 2005). This decision alone may limit the applicants to the local and regional area. For states like Oregon that are historically and predominantly White, community colleges that value a good "fit" and employ a minimal economic investment in hiring will likely see limited changes in faculty diversity.

#### Workload

Faculty of color experience differing workload expectations than their White counterparts; more specifically, different demands placed on their time in the form of diversity-related work (Pittman, 2012; Sámano, 2007 Seidman, 1985; Stevenson, 2012; Turner & Myers, 2000). For example, Aquirre and Martinez (1993) explained that:

Overloading Chicano faculty with minority-oriented institutional demands, such as service on university minority affairs committees, and the lack of an established institutional network for Chicano faculty that could sponsor them within a variety of institutional sectors apart from minority-oriented activities . . . prevent them from participating in institutional sectors that are closer to mainstream decision making. (p. 61)

Stein (1994) found similar expectations for American Indian faculty who reported additional responsibilities ranging from grant writing and program oversight to expectations of advising and mentoring American Indian and all students of color. This diversity-related work limits not only the roles of faculty of color within institutions but as Aguirre and Martinez (1993) argued, the perception by their White counterparts that the work of faculty of color is only relevant to issues of race (see also Pepion, 1993; Seidman, 1985). Additionally, diversity-related work is not only undervalued by institutions, but it also functions as cultural taxation on the faculty member, limiting the time available to focus on their own teaching, scholarly, and/or research interests (Sámano, 2007). Gregory's (2001) study of 384 Black women faculty employed at both 2- and 4-year institutions concluded that:

All of her respondents typically engaged in more teaching, advised greater number of students, and participated in more committee work than did their White male counterparts. They subsequently conducted less research and published fewer articles that did either White faculty men or women. (p. 126)

Equally important, faculty of color are further devalued when their teaching and/or research interests include minority subject matters or focus areas (Gregory, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000; Turner et al., 2011).

These differences in workload expectations have a profound impact on community college faculty of color. Levin et al. (2014) found community college faculty of color not only experience institutional life differently than their White coworkers, they "possess differential understandings of institutional life and situate themselves in separate social spheres (i.e., personal and professional communities) from their White colleagues" (p. 64). For instance, faculty of color in this study defined "student-centered" in terms of a personal connection with students from a similar background. In contrast, they described their White coworkers as defining "student-centered" as institutional goals and outcomes or pedagogical methodology, a professional task. Levin et al. found this difference significant because it is in this connection with students that faculty of color "articulated their most positive identification with their race or ethnic identity. When asked what keeps them at their particular community college, nearly all faculty of color referred to their connections with students" (p. 65). These differential understandings of institutional life further marginalize faculty of colors within their primarily White departments (Levin et al., 2014).

The workload differences reveal an institutional pattern where the racial and ethnic difference of the community college faculty of color is reinforced by the faculty roles as a committee Other; while, at the same time, the expression of racial and ethnic identity of the individual is silenced. How this silencing occurs is discussed further in the next section on institutional racism.

## Institutional Racism

Race and ethnic microaggressions are common experiences for faculty of color working in higher education (Bower, 2002; Brown, 2021; Ingleton, 2016; Pittman, 2012; Seidman, 1985; Stevenson, 2012; Turner & Meyers, 2000). Microaggressions range from overt racist interactions or symbols, negative compliments, the inappropriate use or presence, or lack thereof, of racial and cultural symbols within the environment, to the silence of the voices and/or experiences of students and faculty of color (DeCuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Pittman, 2012; Sue et al., 2007). Turner and Myers (2000) found "the predominant barrier is racial and ethnic bias resulting in unwelcoming and unsupportive work environments" (p. 3). What results is a sense of isolation (Graves, 2021; Levin et al., 2013; Sámano, 2007; Seidman, 1985; Turner et al., 2011; Turner & Myers, 2000), patterns of exclusion (Levin et al., 2013; Pittman, 2012) and RBF (D. G. Smith et al., 2004; W. A. Smith et al., 2011; Stevenson, 2012).

Faculty of color also experience microaggressions within the classroom (Bower, 2002; Han, 2012; Johnson-Bailey & Lee, 2005; Pittman, 2010, 2012; Turner et al., 2011). Han (2012) explained that she experienced policing of her English language use by her White undergraduate students, as well as resistance to her authority and expertise in the classroom and over the subject matter. The student's gendered racism was reinforced by the administration when they blamed her cultural values and background for her poor student evaluations. Faculty of color are more likely to get negative evaluations than their White, male counterparts, and women faculty of color even more so (Pittman, 2010; Turner et al., 2011). Women of color also are more likely to experience challenges to their authority and expertise (Johnson-Bailey & Lee, 2005; Pittman, 2010; Turner et al., 2011).

The ongoing experiences with racism outlined above creates extremely unhealthy work environments and requires faculty of color to expend additional energy, as well as develop different coping mechanisms from their White counterparts (Padilla, 1994; D. G. Smith et al., 2004). W. A. Smith et al. (2011) advised that "racial microaggressive conditions produce emotional, psychological, and physiological distress, or *racial battle fatigue*" (p. 64). RBF can manifest in a "weakened immunity and increased sickness, tension headaches, trembling and jumpiness, chronic pain in healed injuries, elevated blood pressure, and a pounding heart beat" (D. G. Smith et al., 2006, p. 301). These concerns about health and wellness are experienced by faculty of color across the higher education institutions.

Similar to their university counterparts, community college faculty of color feel their presence and actions are viewed as representations of their entire race, and as a result, they feel a strong sense of pressure and responsibility (Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2014; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). Stevenson (2012) found African American community college faculty control their expression, personal behaviors, appearance, and language to fit the dominant cultural norm of Whiteness and to avoid racial stereotyping. Levin et al. (2013) explained that this "double consciousness" occurs when individuals "must negotiate their professional and social identity and these identities are often in conflict" (p. 320). Depending on the institutional context, which vary across PWIs, "the social identities of faculty of color are either operating in the background of or in direct confrontation with" (Levin et al., 2013, p. 320) the dominant cultural norms.

In his study of university faculty of color, James (2012) identified three strategies that faculty used to negotiate their experience in Canadian universities. The differences in these strategies are tied to the ways in which the faculty constructed the racism experienced or taking place on their campus. For those faculty of color who viewed racism in individual terms, they were more likely to have an adaptive response to racism and/or view race as a non-issue. James referred to this category of strategies as compliance. Faculty of color who employed strategies within the other two categories of responses, pragmatism and critical participation, held more structural critiques of the racism taking place in their institutions. The more pragmatist responses were the result of faculty feeling isolated, alone, as well as self-conscious about their role as change-agent. In addition, these faculty were particularly mindful about the personal and professional risks associated with taking on structural change. James explained that these faculty often "engage in informal structures to bring about change" (p. 145). In contrast, those faculty of color employing critical participation strategies actively work within the system to bring about change. James found these faculty to be dedicated to raising awareness of the "historically racist system" (p. 147), more likely to utilize within system mechanisms, as well as resist the expectation that they too, overtime, would become assimilated to the dominant colorblind culture. One faculty explained,

Being colour-blind means that I have to stop being who I am or I don't have the right to expect other people to have to interact with me in terms of who I actually am. I have to pretend I am like them ... It does a disservice to my parents—I am who they were and are. (p. 148)

The few studies on community college faculty of color have found similar

response strategies. For many, the response is depersonalization (Levin et al., 2013, 2014;

Stevenson, 2012). Faculty of color reported that they "don't blur lines" (Levin et al.,

2014, p. 321) between the interpersonal and professional, and simply focus on their work

(Stevenson, 2012). One community college faculty member shared,

[This campus] is welcoming and friendly [toward faculty] until you show . . . your true color, until you show who you are. For me as a Latina, until my Latina-ness comes out, then they get uncomfortable with that. As long as I'm nice and [complaint] and . . . friendly, they're nice and kind and friendly. The subject of race doesn't come up. (Levin et al., 2014, p. 68)

Stephenson (2012) found African American community college faculty engage in a wide

range of response mechanisms that include careful assessment, withdrawal/avoidance,

resigned acceptance, confrontation, as well as, pragmatic, fulfillment and resilience. In

terms of the strategy of careful assessment, Stevenson found the faculty in her study

spent an extensive amount of mental energy and time assessing the meaning behind the

behaviors of individual and institutional actors. One storyteller offered,

I don't know if they—I mean, did they just put me on it because I'm Black? Because I'm a Black male? I don't know. But I was like, I'm not gonna call anybody because if I call people, I'm just gonna get more work . . . . And it was over—from what I could tell—their foci was over some of the atmospheric aspects of campus. So I think at one point they were doing a survey about issues for people of color, particularly students of color. (Stevenson, 2012, p. 101)

Many of the African American faculty reported avoiding meetings, colleagues and/or

ignoring emails as a coping mechanism (Stevenson, 2012). Faculty of color from Oregon

community colleges have also shared stories of the withdrawal/avoidance response. One

faculty in Sámano's (2007) study explained,

I have other incidents like that. I have had other comments that have been made in public, open, direct, unsolicited, unprovoked, verbal attacks by colleagues, by administrators, by other staff on this campus that has been not only personally hurtful, but professionally disrespectful. I have had to take it in, internalize it, process it and hold it in. At one point I took a term of leave from this place in order to keep from going postal. (p. 107)

The impact on the health and wellness of faculty of color is significant. Another faculty

of color from Oregon community college shared,

I am definitely glad for the money that I earn as a faculty member, but I'm also definitely glad for the breaks in summer and the other breaks during the academic calendar. I basically, start to lose it mid-way during the winter months, so I don't know if that's a seasonal disorder thing or what. I see institutional racism similar to what Chester Pierce describes as a series of micro-aggressions. Nobody calls me racial slurs to my face, but the things are very subtle. I call it the death of a thousand paper cuts (laughs). (Sámano, 2007, p. 114)

And still another faculty member explained,

I'd say that the physical impact would be hyper-tension, and stress eating. Hypertension in terms of high blood pressure, blood sugar, diabetes. Stress eating meaning eating "comfort foods," when I'm not comfortable, portion control, etc. (Sámano, 2007, p. 115)

Community college faculty of color also reported feelings of intense anger (Sámano,

2007; Stevenson, 2012).

# Summary

Faculty of color in our nation's community colleges experience workload expectations, interpersonal interactions with colleagues and students, as well as differing stress levels than their White counterparts. Faculty of color also found resilience and job satisfaction in their connection with their students. One woman faculty of color shared that "working with low income and minority students; that was—to me—that was the best job ever" (HaMai, 2014, p. 148). African American faculty reported positive experiences with being role models for students, had positive responses to their visibility around campus, and felt a sense of fulfillment in teaching (Stevenson, 2012). When asked what kept them teaching at their institutions, community college faculty of color report it is the connection with students from similar backgrounds (Levin et al., 2014). For an educational institution that is the primary minority-serving institution of higher education in the nation, this is one of many reasons that the underrepresentation of faculty of color in our community college systems needs our attention.

#### **Chapter 4: Methodology**

# Introduction

The purpose of the research was to examine the experiences and persistence strategies of faculty of color within Oregon's community college system through the collection of counterstories. Qualitative approaches best lend themselves to this undertaking as the emphasis is on silenced voices and the social construction of experience and differential truths (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1989). The experiences of faculty of color with racism in the Oregon community college system are not monolithic, and vary across race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, disability, language, location, historical time and institution, as well as the individual storyteller's own lens. The focus on positionality within the qualitative framework allows for, and more importantly requires, recognition of these differences and of the differences between that of the researcher and the research subjects (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In addition, I employed what Solórzano and Yosso (2002b) defined as critical race methodology (CRM) throughout the study. More specifically, I used what Delgado (1989, 1990) referred to as counterstorytelling as my method of data collection, and then utilized a narrative thematic analysis of the stories collected.

#### **Qualitative Research: Counterstorytelling**

Counterstorytelling is a part of a long tradition of knowledge-sharing that challenges the dominant narratives that reflect, reproduce, and rationalize Whiteness, White supremacy, racism, colonization, and other forms of systemic and historical oppressions, including oral histories and testimonios (L. A. Bell, 2010; Beverly, 2000; Brayboy, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Ledesma & Calderón, 2015; Mayotte & Kiefer, 2018; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002a). DeCuir and Dixson (2004) noted that "counterstorytelling has been as essential feature of educational research that [has] employed a CRT framework" (p. 27). Further, it is as the central approach of CRM which draws its foundations from its theoretical partner CRT.<sup>7</sup> CRT begins with two premises. First, CRT "foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002a, p. 24). CRT begins from a notion that race and racism are structural, endemic, and normative features of American life and U.S. institutions (L. A. Bell, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2000).

The second premise of CRT and CRM is intersectionality. CRM does not dismiss class, gender, or other systems of oppression; rather, theorists working in this tradition work from a place of intersectionality in identity (L. A. Bell, 2010). Solórzano and Yosso (2002b) noted a "critical race methodology in education also acknowledges the intercentricity of racialized oppression—the layers of subordination based on race, gender, class, immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent, and sexuality" (p. 25). For researchers working in the CRM tradition, beginning from a place of intersectional identities, helps to check that one does not replicate patterns of domination within already marginalized groups, and further, it provides a valuable lens by which to consider intervention strategies (Crenshaw, 1991). Because it is was my intention to collect stories from racialized individuals across the gender spectrum, it was important to acknowledge and consider the role of gender oppression and privilege, as well as other aspects of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Praxis: Therefore, CRT and CRM will be used interchangeably when discussing methods.

identity and structural location, including class, ethnicity, immigration status, language, religion, as well as sexual identity, in both the preparation and analysis of the stories collected. Further, race, racism, and the role of intercentricity were central elements in the interviewing and analysis processes. This is discussed further later in the chapter.

# **Counterstories and Voice**

D. Bell (1984) and Delgado (1990) were instrumental in bringing the concept of "voice" to CRT. D. Bell wanted to bring a new perspective to the old "problem of race in America" and employed narrative to highlight the condition of people of color in the post-civil rights, post-*Brown*<sup>8</sup> era (Hackney, 1998, p. 154). Hackney (1998) explained,

The perspective was required because Bell wanted not only to chronicle the absurdity of the African American condition post-Brown but also to relate how blacks" feel about it." The narrative approach is a "method of expression," more usual in literature than in law, "that incorporates the "spiritual manifestation of the continuing faith of a people who have never truly gained their rights in a nation committed by its basic law to the freedom of all. (p. 157)

It was D. Bell's intent to not only challenge the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) paradigm and resulting legal outcomes, but to shake up the legal academy by employing a methodology that further challenged the dominant discourses of meritocracy and legal scholarship (Delgado, 1990; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). According to Delgado (1990), early CRT

scholars argue that some members of marginalized groups, by virtue of their marginal status, are able to tell stories different from the ones legal scholars usually hear. In addition, some of the scholars urge that those stories deserve to be heard—that they reveal things about the world that we *ought* to know. (p. 99)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954). Majority opinion was that race-based segregation of children in "separate but equal" schools was unconstitutional.

Because CRT starts from the position that racism is structural in nature and also the normative in U.S. society, the stories of and from people of color, what D. Bell defined as experiential knowledge, are therefore stories of structural racism both inside and out of the law (Delgado, 1990). Delgado (1990) argued "that structure gives their stories a commonality warranting the term 'voice'" (p. 98).

The use of critical race counterstories meets multiple goals of CRT. First, as mentioned in Chapter 3, narratives were employed to challenge the CLS approach and the notion that civil rights legislation in the first six decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were victories for people of color (D. Bell, 1980, 1987; Tate, 1997; Yosso et al., 2004). D. Bell (1987) argued that much of this legislation was not only beneficial to Whites, a pattern he defined as interest-convergence theory, but was won using ideological frameworks that were detrimental to liberation (see also Tate, 1997). Further, landmarks victories like *Brown* did not bring about real change; and in years that followed, the actions taken to achieve racial balance in American schools, school-desegregation plans and busing for example, only continued to ignore the needs and desires—the voices—of local Black parents and families (D. Bell, 1995; Tate, 1997).

Second, the use of critical race counterstories directly challenged the methodologies of law and legal studies that reproduced and reinforced existing power relations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The U.S. system of law is a precedence-based endeavor that in the last century has relied primarily on formalism as its guiding practice (D. Bell, 1992). Precedence requires new legal claims to seek remedy via previously-identified and

approved avenues (D. Bell, 1992). Formalism reinforces precedence-based doctrine by putting forth a specific model of legal reasoning and/or argument that includes the techniques, procedures, and appropriate format for making legal claims and producing legal scholarship (D. Bell, 1992). Together, precedence and formalism function to place limitations on what can be addressed by the courts, as well as who can speak and be heard, and how they speak (D. Bell, 1992). Speaking of racial inequality and education, Yosso et al. (2004) explained, "because the courts in these cases rarely listen to the experiences of communities of color or address the effects of racial discrimination, their legal rationale and, thus, their remedy to educational equality rely on the majoritarian story" (p. 12). CRT scholars directly challenged these stories, and demonstrated how law functions to uphold current patterns of inequality and privilege (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Yosso et al., 2004). Onwuachi-Willig (2009) wrote, "not only did these pioneers give voice to the voiceless, but they did so by making discursive moves, such as elevating and explicating narrative as a tool for justice and undertaking theory production and engagement" (1501).

Third, critical race counterstories undermine the majoritarian story of meritocracy which has been used to simultaneously discount and justify the oppression of racial and ethnic minorities in this country (Yosso et al., 2004). According to Yosso et al. (2004), for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, special treatment based on skin color was not only the norm, but it was supported by law. In his dissenting opinion in the 1978 Bakke case, Supreme Court Thurgood Marshall (as cited in Yossi et al., 2004) wrote, "*from Plessy [v. Ferguson]* to *Brown v. Board of Education*, ours was a Nation where, *by law,* an

individual could be given 'special' treatment based on the color of his skin" (p. 13). In the pre-*Brown* era, the majoritarian story of meritocracy therefore was really a story of legally-sanctioned racial privilege, specifically White privilege. The post-*Brown* remedies continued to reveal contradictions to the nation's ideology of meritocracy and commitment to racial equality. D. Bell (1995) explained,

Whites may agree in the abstract that blacks are citizens and entitled to constitutional protection against racial discrimination, but few are willing to recognize that racial segregation is much more than a series of quaint customs that can be remedied effectively without altering the status of whites. The extent of their unwillingness is illustrated by the controversy over affirmative action programs, particularly those where identifiable whites must step aside for blacks they deem less qualified or less deserving. (p. 22)

Whether it was the desegregation of public schools, busing or affirmative action policies in hiring and/or higher education admissions, equal access and opportunity were welcomed in principle, but not practice (Tate, 1997). The "price of racial remedies," as Bell (as cited in Tate, 1997, p. 215) argued, would come at too great a cost to White privilege.

Finally, the collection and sharing of critical race counterstories is a transformative experience (D. Bell, 1984; Delgado, 1990; Tate 1997). Not only is the experience of the speaker given validity, the act provides what Delgado (1990) referred to as psychic validation and healing (Tate, 1997). Voice provides connection, an acknowledgment that one is not alone, and that the speaker's individual story is understood by others (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002a). Law professor and CRT scholar Onwuachi-Willig (2009) shared, D. Bell's work "spoke to my experience as a black woman in the United States, and it helped fill a void of silence about race that seeming to be never-ending during my time in law school" (p. 1500). Delgado (1989) also offered some warning about counterstorytelling, particularly

for first time story-tellers. Tate (1997) explained,

The listener to an unfamiliar counterstory may reject it, as well as the story teller, because the story reveals hypocrisy and increases discomfort. Moreover, the hearer may consciously or unconsciously reinterpret the new story, framing the content or story within the hearer's own belief system, thus muting or reversing the meaning. (p. 220)

These warnings are particularly relevant to this study for two reasons. First, my

intersectional identity is that of a White, heterosexual woman and the stories collected

were from faculty of color. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) reminded, that as a researcher, I

speak "from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community

perspective" (p. 18) and this perspective helped to frame the choices I made at each step

in the research process. Further, as Delgado (1995, as cited in Tate, 1997) warned,

Some of the new writers [neo-imperialists] make an effort to identify with the stories and accounts the outsider narrativists are offering, but in a way that co-opts or minimizes these stories. The majority-race author draws a parallel between something in the experience of the outsider author and something that happened to him. There is nothing wrong with using analogies and metaphors to deal with the experience of authors, for that is how we extend our sympathies. If, however, we analogize to refocus a conversation or an article towards ourselves exclusively, something is wrong, especially if the experience to which we liken another's is manifestly less serious. (p. 221)

With this in mind, I employed a collection strategy that was intended to provide multiple

checkpoints throughout the counterstorytelling collection and analysis process.

# Positionality

One of the first steps that I took was to consider my own positionality and relationship to the storytellers and stories being told (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Mayotte & Kiefer, 2018; Sin, 2007). As indicated in the introduction to this study, I am a White, cisgendered, heterosexual woman who was born and raised in Portland, Oregon. All of my

schooling has occurred in this same community: urban, hyper-segregated by race and class, and overwhelmingly White. I have worked for more than 19 years in community colleges in the Pacific Northwest with more than 15 of these years in community colleges throughout Oregon. For four years, I worked in administrative positions and for 10 years as a full-time sociology instructor. In each of these positions, I was witness to microaggressions and ongoing patterns of direct and indirect institutional racism towards racialized individuals. Due to the lack of any administrators or faculty of color in many of these schools, often these actions were toward students and/or communities of color by a variety of actors employed at the colleges. This racism was also directed at areas of scholarship or subject matter related to and produced by scholars of color. I am aware that the positions I held were the result of the White privilege that resulted from these patterns of inequality (McIntosh, 1989). Efforts to challenge patterns of individual and institutional inequality were met with significant resistance. My White privilege enabled me to choose to confront these inequalities or not, and the impact of these choices on my personal and professional life were minimal.

Throughout the study, I was aware as a researcher I needed to consider the role my positionality played in the choices I made as well as in the relationship with the storytellers. The history of social science is that of the White research gaze: White researchers focusing on subjects of color (Sin, 2007). Sin (2007) argued,

in this context, that the "whiteness" of the researcher is usually nonproblematized. The positionality of that whiteness is never made explicit, yet simultaneously everywhere and nowhere. The minority ethnic research "subject," on the other hand, commonly dissected, "placed" and situated. (p. 480) As a White woman interviewing faculty of color, I am aware that this study could be viewed as a continuation of this tradition. These are the steps I took to help mitigate this representation. First, I chose to work within the CRT tradition which centers on the belief that race and racism are central and normative features of interpersonal and institutional life. I acknowledge that Whiteness and White supremacy are embedded in our nation's institutional practices, and our educational systems both reflect and reproduce these systems. This study is grounded in this lens.

Second, I acknowledge my positionality, and the role it can play in the implementation and representation of the study. Building around the concepts of intercentricity and intersectionality, I drew upon Sands et al.'s (2007) definition of positionality:

Positionality refers to the interviewer's social location, personal experiences and theoretical stance; the interpersonal and institutional contexts of the research; and the effects of these on the interview process. It includes the interviewer's race, gender, class, and other factors that are culturally relevant to the interaction. From the perspective of feminist theory, multiculturalism, and postmodernism, those positions are not fixed and cans shift when the context changes. Thus, one can be an insider in one context and outsider in another, or partially insider and partially outsider, depending on the shared experiences or locations. (pp. 355-356)

Most of the positionality I brought as a researcher to this study is fixed and while I did find commonality with the storytellers in some common backgrounds, shared roles as community college teachers, and our collective desire to make the institutions a better place for faculty and students of color, the significance of my positionality did not go unaddressed by the storytellers. Kendrick expressed,

I would ask another question is, why is it that we have to do a research project on this particular thing? Why is it that it takes coming from a white woman's lens for somebody to start doing this kind of stuff? Why aren't you listening? And I heard yesterday, somebody said yesterday on a podcast, they said, and this lady was phenomenal. Her name is Tarana Burke, and she said that, she goes, any time white women say something or co-ops what black women have been saying for years, everybody jumps on it. It's, oh, we need to do that. You're absolutely right. Or for white male says, they are on it like the plague. But we've been saying it for 400 years. But why does it take you now to try to want to do this . . . Why is it that when you feel it's necessary to put this stuff out there, you want to do something about it, but when we've been saying it for years, we are disgruntled. We are, you know, we are angry. We were seen as bothersome. But, wait a minute. We've been trying to tell you this for years. This stuff needed to change. But now you want to all of a sudden recognize it. That's . . . that's B.S. That's bogus...Why, when we bring a problem to you, you do not take it seriously. But when somebody else brings it up...oh, most definitely got a jump on that. But then, but if it's not in their best interest, OK . . . I really don't have to really focus on that. Who cares?

I believe Kendrick spoke to what Taylor (as cited in Hartman, 2022) referred to as the long tradition of White empathizers' involvement in resistance to Black racial violence and oppression in this country. Specifically, the ways in which White empathizers' participation further displaces Black subjectivity by redirecting the focus to the bi-proxy experiences of the White participants. Quite simply, Kendrick suggested that in participating in this White women's dissertation study, the focus can very easily shift to the experiences of the White researcher rather than the racialized storytellers, and regardless, the Black-White social relations and White supremacist paradigm remain intact. Further, it questions the role of social scientist research in "eliciting pain stories from communities that are not White, not wealthy, and not straight' (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 227). In this spirit, hooks (as cited in Tuck & Yang, 2014) wrote:

No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a what that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still colonizer the speaking subject and you are now the center of my talk. (p. 227) In the context of intersectional racialized power dynamics, even when employing multiple checkpoints, the balance of power between myself, the White researcher, and the counterstorytellers was precarious because, as is discussed in the Data Analysis section, at all points I was still the decision maker.

## **Research Design**

Discussed previously in Chapter 3: Review of Literature, very little has been written about the experiences of faculty of color in our nation's community colleges (Bower, 2002; Brown, 2021; Graves, 2021; HaMai, 2014; Ingleton, 2016; Harden, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Stevenson, 2012). This lack of voice in the community college discourse places faculty of color at the margins. LeCompte (1993) explained,

Scholars who study the unheard—anthropologists, sociologists, educators, political scientists, literary critics, and even social activists —define them as silenced to and by those in power. While the subjects of such research may, in fact, come to share the researcher's definition, being selected for participation in such research comes with a new set of frames through which participants are defined, frames created by the researcher and not the by the informants themselves. (p. 10)

Due to my role as researcher, as well as my position structurally, specifically as a White woman, I am neither on the margins nor silenced (McIntosh, 1989). The choice of counterstorytelling as my methodology is counter-hegemonic, but the actions I took during the research process—from story-collection, through analysis, to the presentation of findings—could further silence the counterstorytellers who generously chose to participate in this study (LeCompte, 1993; McLaren, 1993). It is important to note that CRT and CRM centers racism in the theoretical framework of the study, as well as in the interracial, interpersonal relationships between this researcher and the researched, the

counterstorytellers themselves. It is for these reasons that the research process must be one of partnership and the instrumentation "expanded to include . . . [the] storyteller" (Lincoln, 1993, p. 35). In the case of research and specifically this study, it is necessary to outline the research process in the context of the critical race perspective: how will this research take place organizationally, but also interpersonally as well. This process is outlined below.

#### Setting

Due to the subject matter, the possibility of race-of-interviewer-effects, and the need for storyteller confidentiality, the setting of the interviews was initially a significant consideration (Davis, 1997; Mayotte & Kiefer, 2018). However, due the timing of Institutional Research Board approval and the COVID-19 pandemic, I was required to conduct all interviews via video teleconferencing (Portland State University Institutional Review Board Human Research Protection Research Program Notice of Exemption dated February 18, 2021).

#### **Participants**

This qualitative study consisted of seven interviews with full-time permanent and/or contract Oregon community college faculty. Six of the counterstorytellers are currently working in their positions, and one has left their faculty position for another position in their institution. Two of the faculty identified as cisgendered male, three identified as cisgendered female, one as gender fluid, and one as Two Spirited. Counterstorytellers identified as Black Asian, Latina, Indigenous, BIPOC, and White European<sup>9</sup> and they worked in different regions of the state.

Sámano's (2007) previous study of community college faculty in Oregon focused on tenure track or non-probationary faculty of color. Sámano argued that tenured faculty would have particular insight into their institutions due to longevity, as well as greater participation in department and college-wide activities, both of which were particularly relevant to his central research questions. The result was the subjects of his study were disproportionately male (Sámano, 2007). The community college system in Oregon, however, is highly dependent on part-time (adjunct) faculty. According to the NCES (2017), in the 2016-2017 academic year, part-time instructional staff outnumber full-time staff at each of Oregon's 17 community colleges. At many of the colleges, the ratio of part-time instructional staff to full-time instructional staff during this instructional year was nearly 3:1 (NCES, 2017). Pittman (2012) explained that "the distribution of women faculty of color across types of institutions further reflects gender and race inequality . . . [and they tend] to be concentrated in the lower ranks" of institutions (p. 185). It was for these reasons that I expanded my pool to include any full-time faculty regardless of tenure status. Full-time faculty in the state of Oregon data include permanent/tenure-track and contract, non-permanent/tenure track faculty (NCES, 2017). This expansion provided for a larger pool of storytellers, and increased not only the number of women's voices in my study, but the diversity of those women across race, age, ethnicity, and sexual identity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> White and European, not European-American.

# Sampling

The sampling process was dramatically affected by the twin pandemics. I initially intended to employ snowball sampling as my sole methodology of recruitment.

According to Noy (2008),

a sampling procedure may be defined as snowball sampling when the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants. This process is, by necessity, repetitive: informants refer the researcher to other informants, who are contacted by the researcher and then refer her or him to yet other informants, and so on. (p. 330)

Snowball sampling is often employed when the research topic is sensitive and/or focused

upon a specific, targeted population (Browne, 2005).

A former employee in the Oregon community college system myself, I intended

to rely on social networks to recruit initial participants. Browne (2005) found snowball

sampling to be very effective in her research in what she defined as non-heterosexual

women's communities. Browne explained,

As the "snowballs" began with me, the researcher, I was embedded in the social networks . . . Being rooted in social networks was significant because participants were able to "check out" the research and me both as a researcher and a person. (p. 48)

Browne found that these social networks allowed participants to ask questions about who she was, about the purpose of the research, and about how their stories would be used. It also allowed participants to feel comfortable prior to making a commitment about their participation. Further, social networks functioned as "word of mouth assurances which are significant when the research is of a sensitive nature" (Browne, 2005, p. 50).

In the spring of 2020, due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, community colleges in Oregon shifted to remote operations and teaching with the expectation that

this would be a temporary arrangement; yet many are only beginning to transition back to campuses with still limited operations in the 2022-2023 academic year. During this period, student enrollments, time management, and social networks within institutions were dramatically affected (HECC, 2022; Nelson, 2021; Powell, 2022). Equally important, communities of color were disproportionately impacted by the virus (Wyatt, 2022).

The result was after some time I had to employ a secondary form of purposeful sampling to locate additional storytellers. I relied on college catalogs and websites to identify full-time faculty for each community college in the state. I then sought to confirm the racialized and ethnic identity of every faculty member within specific institutions via a wide array of resources including, but not exclusively, Linked In, Facebook, Google, professional publications and videos, and college newspapers. To be considered for this study an individual had to publicly self-identify as a member of a structurally-oppressed racial and/or ethnic group. Once individuals were identified, they were contacted via email at various times in the 17-month period the study was conducted. Individuals were selected based on their race, ethnicity, gender, geography and discipline to achieve a wide array of storytellers.

At this same time, the country was experiencing a historic movement for Black lives as the country awaited the verdicts in the murder trial of Derek Chauvin, as well as, Travis McMichael, Gregory McMichael and William Bryan, while Black citizens continued to experience an increase in police brutality (Arango & Heyward, 2021). Portland, Oregon gained national attention as Black Lives Matters protesters marched nightly for over 150 days drawing federal troops and increasing state-sanctioned violence of the marchers (Levenson, 2021).

Again, this study was approved in February of 2021 and was not completed until the late summer of 2022. The 17-month period for sampling and data collection was a specific decision made by this researcher. I considered the words of Tarana Burke (as cited in Brown & Burke, 2021), who wrote:

We need to live in an antiracist society, and people need to learn to be antiracist and practice antiracism. But I do not believe in your antiracist work if you have not engaged in Black humanity . . . I do not believe your antiracist work is complete or valid or useful if you have not engaged in Black humanity. (p. xviii)

I chose to carry this sentiment forward to all of the racialized individuals with whom I interacted, believing even the receipt of an invitation to participate in a dissertation study about racism in the workplace in one's inbox can be ill-timed. It is for these reasons that I chose to take long pauses in my sampling and data collection, and closed the study with seven interviews. I wanted to remove myself from the spaces where one's "humanity . . . needs and deserves some breathing room" (Burke as cited in Burke & Brown, 2021, p. xvii).

In describing various sampling techniques, Oppong (2013) referred to purposeful sampling as "judgment sample," and explained "sample size is more of a function of available resources, time constraints, and objectives of the researcher's study. This implies that sample size may or may not be fixed ex ante prior to data collection" (p. 203). Further, large studies like Levin et al. (2013), with 36 participants, have been conducted in regions of states with heavy concentrations of community college faculty of color (see HaMai, 2014; Levin et al. 2013, 2014). In contrast, this study is being

conducted in a state where nearly 81% of the faculty self-identify as White (NCES, 2020).

## **Data Collection**

Due to the small number of faculty of color working in the state's community college system, all participants used pseudonyms and their participation will remain confidential. Data collection consisted of a short demographic survey and an interview (see Appendix B and C). The demographic survey was conducted on-line and data was housed in a secure third-party venue with login and password protections. Interviews consisted of approximately six open-ended questions. The choice of unstructured interviews is necessary for the research project at hand. Fontana and Frey (2000) noted that "the very essence of unstructured interviewing [is] the establishment of a human-to-human relation with the respondent and the desire to *understand* rather than to *explain*" (p. 654). This is particularly relevant when the research population is what Lincoln (1993) referred to as a "silenced" population.

All of the interviews took place and were audio-recorded over video-technology. Interviews ranged from approximately 45 minutes to 2 hours. Each transcript was transcribed by a third-party service and then reviewed and edited by the researcher. Upon completion, each participant had the opportunity to review and make changes to their stories accordingly. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have argued that qualitative approaches work to bridge the gap between the researcher and the subject. The opportunity to review the transcript allows the storytellers to not only revisit and make changes to, delete, or expand upon their story, it creates an opportunity to expand the conversation, a critical element when looking to generate quality narrative research (Reissman, 2008). Upon completion of the transcript revisions, all audio transcripts of the interviews were destroyed.

#### **Data Analysis**

The narrative tradition in qualitative research offers a number of approaches to data analysis, thematic analysis and composite storytelling being the most common (Creswell, 2013). CRT has long-tradition of employing critical race composite stories in both law and research (Griffin, 2016). Due to my own positionality as White woman, I lack the personal experience I believe necessary for the work of critical race composite stories. Therefore, I chose to employ thematic analysis as my data analysis methodology, specifically drawing upon the framework of Braun and Clarke (2006).

Thematic analysis is used to identify and organize patterns found in qualitative data. It is a flexible, inductive, and data driven methodology that can be used across a wide array of research designs. Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-step framework provided a structure to the coding and theme-generating process, as well as placed the data analysis process in the context of the power dynamics between researcher and subject. Braun and Clarke argued that the "passive account of the process of analysis . . . denies the *active* role the researcher always plays in identifying patterns/themes, selecting which are of interest, and reporting to readers" (p. 80). I was the decision-maker at every stage of the process.

With this in mind, I began my analysis of each of the interview transcripts with in vivo coding. In vivo coding draws specifically from the language, the very words, of the

storyteller and renders the storyteller expert over their own experiences (Manning, 2017). According to Tribal critical race theorist Brayboy (2005):

Stories often are the guardians of cumulative knowledges that hold a place in the psyches of the group members, memories of tradition, and reflections on power. Hearers ultimately understand the nuances in stories and recognize that the onus for hearing is placed on the hearer rather than the speaker for delivering a clearly articulated message. Additionally, one must be able to feel the stories. You tell them, hear them, and feel them—establishing a strong place for empathy and for "getting it." (p. 440)

Each transcript was coded shortly after the interview. Consistent with inductive analysis, the "process of coding the data [was done] without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytic preconceptions" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83). Further, like other qualitative approaches, data analysis begins with data collection (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

With each additional interview and individual transcript coding, I began to compare the counterstories offered by the storytellers. It is in the comparison that I identified similarities and differences, as well as significant patterns. As these patterns emerged, I would return to previous interviews and review with a new lens. Braun and Clarke (2006) submit that "analysis is not a *linear* process of simply moving forward from one phase to the next. Instead, more of a *recursive* process, where movement is back and forth as needed throughout the phases" (p. 86). This recursive process was central in my decision around themes. Again, as Braun and Clarke (2006) reminded, as a researcher, I make the methodological decisions and one of the more significant decisions in a thematic analysis study is what defines a theme. The themes presented in the following chapter were thoughtfully considered in terms of their weight of meaning, prevalence of the pattern, and their relationship to the research questions.

#### **Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion**

This study combines the theoretical framework of CRT (L. A. Bell, 2010; Delgado, 1989, 1990) and thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to collect and analyze the experiences of full-time faculty of color at Oregon's community colleges. Specifically, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

- What barriers, challenges and/or obstacles do Oregon's community college faculty of color experience?
- What strategies do Oregon community college faculty of color employ to persist in the community colleges across the state?

Six major themes and seven subthemes emerged from the data (see Table 2).

This chapter closes with recommendations for White faculty, administrators, and other leading stakeholders within Oregon's community college system from the counterstorytellers themselves.

## **Participants in Oregon Context**

The seven storytellers in this study represent approximately 4% of the full-time community college faculty who identify as racialized minorities in the state of Oregon in the 2020-2021 academic year (NCES, 2020). Six have achieved full-time permanent status and one holds a non-permanent, contract position. One of the six who have achieved permanent status has chosen to move on from her full-time faculty position and is currently employed in another full-time role in an Oregon community college. The storytellers work in institutions in a variety of regions throughout the state that can be characterized as urban, suburban and rural, as well as medium, large, and very large.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The characterizations of the community colleges are drawn from a combination of classification sources including the Carnegie Classification System, the American Association of Community Colleges,

## Table 2

Local Voices: Counterstorytelling and Retention of Faculty of Color in Oregon's Community College System Themes

Number	Theme	Subtheme
1	Racism in Oregon's Community Colleges	Students Isolation Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF)
2	Racialized Spaces: The Oregon Context	
3	Negotiation Strategies	Critical Participation Compliance as Strategy Pragmatic Strategies
4	Thrive off Teaching	Traginatio Strategies
5	Institutional Support Mechanisms	Department-level Supports Institutional-level Supports
6	Personal Support Systems	

## **Participants: Racialized Identities**

The seven storytellers who participated in this research study had distinct and varied biographies. Each brought with them a diverse tapestry of intersectional identities that have not only impacted their lived experiences, but their personal interpretations of these experiences as well. Below is a brief introduction to our counterstorytellers and their racialized and gendered identities (see Table 3).

The ages of seven counterstorytellers range from their early thirties through their sixties. They identify as Black, Asian, Latina, Indigenous, BIPOC, and White European

the Katsinas, Lacey, & Hardy 2005 Classification System (Hardy & Katsinas, 2006), and The United States Office of Management and Budget (2022).

(see footnote on Table 3 below). Two storytellers identify as gay and lesbian and five identify as heterosexual and hold gender identities that include two men, one gender fluid, one Two Spirited, and three women. Collectively these elements of identity play an important role in the storytellers' experiences with racialized discrimination both inside and outside of the institutions they work, as well as the communities they live. For those working in the critical race tradition, the focus on the intersectionality identities of the counterstorytellers is not only the space from which each speaks, it is the lens from which their stories must be heard (Crenshaw, 1991).

#### Table 3

Pseudonyms	Race/Ethnicity	Gender Identity
BGM	Black	Cisgendered Woman
Brandon	BIPOC	Cisgendered Man
Jennifer	Latina	Cisgendered Woman
June	Asian	Cisgendered Woman
Kendrick	Black	Gender Fluid
Marie	American Indian/White	Two Spirit
Mark	White/European (1)	Cisgendered Man

Counterstorytellers

(1) European, not European-American.

#### Theme 1: Racism in Oregon's Community Colleges

Microaggressions have been a common experience for our counterstorytellers while working in Oregon's community colleges. Ranging from overt racist interactions, to lack of recognition, to patterns of exclusion, to the silencing of the voices of faculty of color, these experiences, individually and collectively, create what Turner and Myer (2000) referred to as "unwelcoming and unsupportive work environments" (p. 3).

Consistent with Seidman's (1985) findings, one of the earliest critical works on community college faculty of color, the seven counterstorytellers deal with racism at all levels of interaction within the Oregon colleges and with all categories of institutional actors. Equally important, these same faculty demonstrate a multitude of strategies to persist in their work and professions.

#### Students

Microaggressions in the classrooms for faculty of color tend to present as challenges to authority and expertise, as well as higher rates of negative evaluations (Bower, 2002; Han, 2012; Ingleton, 2016; Johnson-Bailey & Lee, 2005; Pittman, 2010, 2012; Turner et al., 2011). Our counterstorytellers shared stories about how microaggressions played out in their own experiences as teachers. Brandon, a BIPOC man, noted,

I think that there are times where . . . I definitely when I first started, I had some concern that when students walk into a classroom, they would go, Oh, there's a BIPOC guy here. Why is this BIPOC guy telling me things that I need to know, like some of that questioning would come up, and I don't think that most other instructors think about that as anything to be concerned about or to worry about. I've heard people worry about like age, like if you don't look very old, then it could be hard to establish that sense of authority. Um, but yeah, I worried that there would be students that would either question my ability to be an authority or have the degree that I have while I'm in the classroom, or that would be worried, hesitant or unwilling to talk with me outside of the classroom.

It is important to note that Brandon's concerns were not simply about how his students' perception of his racialized identity would impact his sense of self, but further how it

would limit their access to his support as their teacher. Storyteller commitment to

students is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Jennifer, a Latina, found the classroom to be a contested space where her

authority and expertise were regularly challenged. She attributed this to the intersection

of her race, ethnicity, gender, and age, sharing:

All of my teaching, I think this is probably important too, has been just at this particular community college, and students, geographically, by and large, the majority of our students have been born and raised here. Definitely in Oregon and many in our specific area. And I think my age was a factor when I was starting. I was very, very young. I remember a class and I remember walking in and I don't know, you know what all was behind the comment. I'll never forget it though, and students said, I heard one whispered to another: Oh my gosh, is that the instructor? I don't know. You know what? You know, it's like something about what they saw when they walked in the room, they questioned it. There were also many times where I my knowledge was just questioned. Like I remember students trying to like stump me—and I have no idea and I still don't know if that's typical or not typical—or try to get me fouled up or if you're like, well, what's the book says right here. So, those kinds of things were challenging, sometimes managing a classroom discussion was difficult.

Jennifer went on to share how these challenges to her authority continued over time:

I discovered students were getting there early, if they didn't have a class or whatever before, and one time I walked in and they were talking about me. I'd gotten there a little bit early and I remember just like . . . it still makes me want to cry. And I wait, you know. So, there was kind of this little coup in this group forming ahead of time. And they were, they were kind of trying to set the tone for the class. So, after that, I had a class right prior to, I would end that class early so I could hustle over there and cut that off. So, they never got the chance to change the tone or set a tone before I got in there. Those are some examples that come to mind.

Jennifer described sometimes feeling a particular class was very successful: "Students

were really engaged, doing well on exams and papers, and just coming in and talking and

sharing their stories. And it felt like magic." But, she noted, even after such a class, some

students went out of their way to come to her office and complain about her choice of pedagogical strategies. Jennifer shared, "I remember being so devastated."

In contrast, BGM, a Black woman, has thrived in the classrooms of her college. Her relationships with students have played a significant role in her persistence. Again, this is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Yet, BGM has still been a target of student racism. She shared that a student left a letter under her door charging that a Black History Event that BGM had organized "was racist and how one woman, race of woman, does not have superiority over another." This student went on to explain that they had removed and thrown away flyers for this event from around campus. BGM's response was multifaceted:

I was like, yes . . . I am shaking some shit up and they are mad. This is what needs to happen . . . I went right to the security office. I said, listen, someone left someone underneath my door and I would really love to see who that person is. I didn't tell them what it was. The security rolled back the footage. And sure enough, it was some student, a male student . . . and he put it under my door when I was in there . . . [and] I brought it up to the diversity team.

It was in the context of the diversity team that BGM felt the most disappointment. One of members of the team, a White colleague BGM felt she both shared a good relationship and an equal commitment to anti-racism work, did not respond accordingly. BGM explained, I thought we "had a better relationship, and I completely like, checked out. I was like, okay, so she isn't as authentic as she portrays to be . . . So that's when I kind of saw that . . . that other side like, okay, you say all these things, but you are not really feeling it like that."

Marie, who identifies as Native American and Two Spirited, has similar, but more consistent experiences with students' backlash to new ideas and negative administrative responses. She noted,

our community tends to believe there is no world around them. It's a lot. So many of my students are very, very MAGA<sup>11</sup>-focused. They are very Republican and agricultural biased. I'm the enemy to them, and I'm aware of it. And if I deviate from what they want to hear or say things they don't want to hear, they're going to complain and then I get censured or told to quiet it down.

These experiences in gendered racism, specifically in expertise and authority,

experienced by BGM, Marie, and Jennifer, is consistent with that of women faculty of

color in higher education in general. Women faculty of color are more likely to receive

negative evaluations, as well as challenges to expertise and authority (Johnson-Bailey &

Lee, 2005; Ingleton, 2016; Pittman, 2010; Johnson-Bailey & Lee, 2005; Turner et al.,

2011). June, identified as an Asian woman, did not feel she experienced any challenges

and/or racism from her students. Interestingly, she attributed this possibly to the student

populations she serves. She commented,

shortly after I started teaching, what I saw . . . a lot were older student populations and a lot of women. And a lot of that were unfortunately women who were in the process of getting a divorce or who found themselves having to find employment and not having employment skills and coming back to school, or they finally had kids that were old enough that they could go back to school. They never had that opportunity in the past, and they realized they couldn't help their own kids with their homework. And so, they decided they just wanted to better themselves as the economy changes when every time the economy goes down, the number of males in my classes tend to go up because it then is tied to an employment and job retraining kinds of things. Yeah, so, so, the population, I think it is a special population with its own needs and its own preconceptions about education even.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> MAGA refers to Make American Great Again, a campaign slogan of the 2016 Presidential candidate Donald S. Trump, and then President Trump. It was adopted by the larger far-right conservative candidates and movements of the era.

#### Institutional Systems and Stakeholders

Many of the other examples of microaggressions shared by our storytellers took place outside the classroom walls in social interactions with different stakeholders across campus; specifically, the racism that results from the everyday culture, traditions, patterns, and norms of the institution. For instance, Brandon offered the following,

I have had a couple of incidents, not from faculty, usually, from classified staff, where I've gone, whoa! that was not what I thought would happen when I asked this person a question. And in those instances, I have always kind of said, OK, well, let me just continue on with my day. Because like, I've had a couple of times where I've like gone in to talk to somebody and they've immediately said, Oh, whoa, like, why are you bringing this over from the athletic department? Hello. Ok. I'm from the \_\_\_\_\_\_ department, Dr. \_\_\_\_\_\_. This is what I'm dropping off. Oh, OK, didn't realize that. Ok, so like, I've had a couple of those instances happen, but flip side, I have not had any trouble with like my fellow faculty members.

When the counterstorytellers were asked if they were treated differently from their White counterparts, the majority response was yes.

Kendrick, who identifies as Black and gender fluid, said, "Yeah, I think there's a difference. There's a major difference." Kendrick has worked in the public and private sectors and they have seen similar patterns in both: "people gravitate to what they're comfortable with, what they know, what their knowledge base is." Kendrick went on to explain how the White students at their campus continue on to Primary-White colleges and universities in the state and that the BIPOC students on campus will only attend those same institutions if they are athletes and/or are upper-middle class. This results, they resume, in White individuals continuing along a pathway that supports and reinforces this comfort and way of thinking, what Feagin (2013) referred to as White racial framing. According to Feagin (2013), "this dominant frame is an overarching white worldview

that encompasses a broad and persisting set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, images, interpretations and narratives, emotions, and reactions to language accents, as well as racialized inclinations to discriminate" (p. 3).

Kendrick's argument is supported by Picca and Feagin (2007) who in their national study found White college students not only employ White racial framing in their various social groups and roles, but do so in a variety of ways. Specifically, Picca and Feagin (2007) found that "the presence of a group of whites seems to facilitate individual expression of racist framing" (p. 12). White individuals use these opportunities to engage in racial performances that reflect and reinforce white racial framing. Over time, these racial performances become collective memories and ultimately are institutionalized (Picca & Feagin, 2007). Kendrick argued that White students, regardless of where they are educated, return to institutions in the private and public sector as workers, and continue these patterns. For Kendrick, this has a significant impact on the lives of racialized individuals like themself:

So, when you're here and you're doing stuff like that, I don't have like . . . think about it. I'm sitting here in my office. I talk to everyone. Every second, says hi, but I've been . . . I've been on this campus a number of years, and if it wasn't for my Black or my Latino friends, no one has asked me to go to lunch.

Kendrick went on to explain how this culture of familiarity plays out in hiring at

his institution as well:

people will give people jobs, and they really didn't even apply to it, they applied, but they already pretty much knew who they wanted. They just basically just did the interviews to do the interviews. And we've seen that nepotism is at its finest. Regardless, if this is a friend of friend, brother to brother, sister to sister or whatever, it's always just like it goes back to what I talked about earlier, people are going to go with people they feel comfortable with. Marie reported similar frustrations with hiring practices at her institution:

Our hiring process, faculty is on the hiring committee for a dean, obviously with other people within the institution. But then there's the final interviews with the president, and the president decides, and quite often, with the dean and other positions in the college, faculty positions included, the committee will recommend one person, and the President will choose somebody else based on that. And generally, that's a disaster for us and eventually for him. At one point, I remember telling the dean at that point, when is he going to get it? Take who the committee recommends.

Kendrick and Marie speak to how the hiring processes at their colleges limit the range of possibilities for the institutions in terms of personnel and culture. Hiring faculty that look like those that have come before and/or are a part of the networks of those currently on campus function as what Levin et al. (2015) referred to as a "a gatekeeper role, falling far short of any actions of equity" (p. 9). As Lara (2019) found, the "this person is not a good fit," was often understood as code for "we don't want this person because they're not like us" (p. 709). At their institution, Kendrick explained "not like us" translates into:

I'm there on a college campus, so when they're looking for people to come in, they want someone with similar personalities, someone with peer lifestyles, some of them similar ideals of hope and so on to be able to make sure they feel comfortable bringing that person into the fold. When you have a person who may be a little bit more disruptive, a person who feels like . . . they feel like they're marginalized, but still has the talent to do so, you may not go after them because of the fact that you feel like, hey, it's going to be hard to be able to reel them to what we want.

What results is an institution that continues to look and feel as it always has, primarily-White.

Brandon, Kendrick, and Marie spoke to the college-wide events as uncomfortable venues, specifically the annual events that kick-off the new academic year. These rituals are important guides to the life and culture of an organization, as well as introduce, bolster, and reinforce the organizational stories of the institutions (Clark, 1972; Morgan, 2006). Further, this activity allows for values, beliefs, and the institutional norms, as well as the ideas about race, class, gender, deviance, and power of this particular place, this specific local institution, to be defined (Gieryn, 2000). Gathering the college community together in one space also shines a light on Oregon's community colleges being PWI's.

Kendrick offered,

I think the prime example, we have an event that we do every year and it's like a faculty breakfast or dinner or whatever . . . And everyone's invited from administrators to faculty. But if I didn't want to know what happened every year, I would have never gone. And when you get the email that comes across, and I've gone to them, and I stand there, and I go, I know all these people, but no one looks like me in here. I'm the only person of color standing here right now. I want to go hang out with my colleagues. I want to go to hang out with people who look like me as well. But then you're there and you feel almost like you've got to put on a different face to be able to be included or feel comfortable being a part of that. And that's unfortunate. Because you say you want to be diverse, but how much of your norms and your ways you approach things have changed to make people feel comfortable to do so.

The pressure to alter their expression, behaviors, appearance and/or language in front of their White colleagues is something Kendrick shared with their Black peers in higher education (Stevenson, 2012).

Stevenson (2012) found African American community college faculty control their presentation of self to meet the dominant cultural expectation of Whiteness and avoid racial stereotyping. This ongoing negotiation of personal and professional identities in the context of primarily White Oregon community colleges results in a divided self, what Du Bois referred to as a "double consciousness" (Du Bois, 1897). Levin et al. (2013) explained that "double consciousness" occurs when faculty of color navigate conflicting professional and social identities. In the context of PWIs, the social identities of faculty of color either conflict with or are operating on the borders of dominant cultural norms (Levin et al., 2013). Further, community college faculty of color feel their attendance and actions are viewed as representations of their entire race. This results in a sense of burden and responsibility (Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2014; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). Brandon explained,

the number of times that I have been invited to like an all-faculty in-service on, you know, appreciating health disparities amongst BIPOC communities. I'm like, I don't need that, I know. That like you're actually like wasting my time or other unfortunate thing is a question pops up and then the heads start to kind of naturally swivel in my direction. And now I have to like, represent the entire . . . diaspora. Like I . . . I can give you my personal opinion on what I feel like this is, but please don't take my personal opinion and decide that this now applies to . . . million[s of] Americans. I think that's the right number, right? Like that. That is not how that works, or that it applies to a little over 1% of our county. That's not how that works. And I realize that it's happening because I'm right there. So, it feels natural and comfortable, but I don't want that to accidentally lead to, we have made all these policies because we asked Brandon if it's OK.

Offering another account of an annual kick-off event, Marie spoke about the

arrival of a new leadership team and the introduction of their guiding principles. The underlying inspiration for the team was a European explorer who conquered a nation for a colonial empire. This specifically named explorer engaged in a systematic takeover of an indigenous people, from their land, their culture, their religion, and self-governance. Marie shared.

I sat there as the native woman in the room going, a colonizer, Huh? Like, you think this is a good thing? What . . . I'm running through my mind what this colonizer did in the New World and his management team, that was shipwrecked, did in the New World. I'm like murder, rape, pestilence, killing, taking of land, taking of resources. Oh, my God. I started . . . I literally went into a freakout. I started sweating, and I'm looking around the room, and everybody else is going, yeah! Burn the ships. And I'm like, wait a minute. We were the ones who were invaded when you burned the ships . . . I am looking at our new leader and going . . . and you want to burn the ships. You want to, you want to strand your

management team, first of all, in the New World. And, but also, you want to do what the colonizer did to all of the Native people, and all the people out there in the audience are not realizing that all of a sudden, they're the Native people. Except me and another woman . . . and her husband, who are both Native . . . And I looked over at both of them and I, and I could see the fear in their eyes, and I got up and left the room. I went outside, and I had to process it. I had to call home.

Marie was truly shaken: "It scared me just as much as the local people scare me sometimes." The climate of the college did change accordingly. Marie reported that "what followed after that for some years and has still continued every once in a while, are what I call the disappeared, are people who are just let go, who have been disappeared." It is moments like that, in that campus-wide event, when Marie has truly felt alone:

There are times when I feel like . . . I'm the only one in the room . . . who like sees what I see? And what did I get up and say anything about it? Nothing . . . the college does not have a culture where I could get up and call him on his . . . racial, cultural, genocidal slander. Also misogynist, general misogyny. But, yeah. No. So any time I'm in situations where I see that, I know that there's not a culture where I can interrupt and go, excuse me, do you realize how racist that is. Excuse me. Do you realize how that could be seen? This way, this way, this way. Even just putting it in a very non-confrontational way going, you know, that could sound like that . . . or that could appear as if. And it's painful because we have all these highly educated people there who should be able to see that. Who just . . . I think some of them do. More than a few of them do, but there's just no reception for that.

Marie's response to these events, as an Indigenous woman, is not solely experienced through the lens of racism. Brayboy (2013) has articulated in his work developing Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit), Indigenous people of the United States are a colonized people and that this colonization is not only endemic, but in perpetuity. The result, he argued, is that the American Indian rests in liminal space at the intersection of lack of citizenship and "tribal race"... the factors that's framed American Indians as separate and excluded from conversations of belonging and at the mercy of others' decision-making. The resulting decisions come to dictate every aspect of our lives, including how we can/must live, eat, worship, and teach and educate our children, including the language we use to communicate with one another. (p. 90)

The presence of a leader who claims European conquistador-values would represent further colonization of a space, in this case, her professional space, where Marie is already seen as the enemy (see Theme 1: Racism in Oregon's Community Colleges). Further, this new leader is identifying with a historical figure whose guiding paradigm is one of genocide, assimilation, and disrespect for cultural knowledge. Brayboy (2013) further explained that colonization's "focus on Eurocentric ideology has been used to establish hierarchies wherein the philosophies, worldviews, and languages of Indigenous people(s) have been stripped of value and relegated to the periphery as archaic or irrelevant" (p. 92). The positive response of her colleagues to this event and the introduction to the new guiding principles was a traumatizing experience for Marie. So much so that she had to leave the event.

As previously noted, critical race theorist Clamore (cited in Tate, 1997) saw culture as texts, not like those of literature,

but rather like the traditional black minister's citation of text as verse of scripture that would lend authoritative support to the sermon he is about to deliver. Here, texts, are not merely random stories; like scripture, they are expressions of authority, preemption, and sanction. (p. 197)

In each of these cases, the annual ritual of the college, an event intended to create community at the beginning of a new academic year, functioned to isolate our storytellers, further reminding the faculty of color they are Other and further reinforcing the White racial paradigm of the institution as normative.

# Social Isolation

Isolation was a significant thread running through many of the narratives offered

by our storytellers. Bower (2002) found that concerns about the possibility of, as well as

the actual experiences with, overt and covert racism result in feelings of "isolation,

alienation . . . and a sense of separation" for faculty of color in community colleges

(p. 83).

Kendrick remarked that when the culture of organization is not one that is

welcoming, they do not have a space where they can truly be seen in their total humanity:

Maybe one white guy has asked me to go to lunch. My manager asked me to go to lunch before she left, you know, she's at another organization now. But she asked me to go to lunch.

Jennifer stayed in her full-time faculty position for 10 years before the isolation drove her

to take on a new non-teaching position, and offered the following,

in my department, I never in the years I was there, more than a decade, I never made a friend. At least in my discipline. One of the things that keeps employees engaged in this is on my mind because in the role I'm in now is just like having a work friend or people you can laugh with and it just never did not in my department and even in that time, there's just one person that I still have our friendship with. She's a good friend. She was actually in a differing department, and is now retired but . . . so, it felt very isolating. I constantly felt everyone else had Ph.D.'s and I only had a master's and I constantly felt like that was questioned. You know, like why are you here? I was really hesitant to share ideas at faculty meetings. I didn't want to look or sound like I didn't know what I was doing. I was scared to reach out for help from more experienced colleagues about classroom management issues or anything like that, because I already felt like I was having to prove myself. So, those are more like the department type of things.

When asked if this was why she left her permanent full-time teaching position, she

## responded,

Yeah, I think some of it was the isolation. You know I didn't have a lot of really close colleagues and connections with them. Teaching community colleges is challenging and in community colleges and teaching mostly white students social science courses in a place where they sort of have believed they've always been open minded because they're from a liberal community. For them to like it probably increasingly difficult for the sort of like the content for them, for to like register in their brains and it was like constant rebuttal like kind of like fighting the very like messages of the social sciences and I got tired, honestly. I was like, this is so hard. I knew that this community wouldn't be very diverse, but I also, thought students would be more open to the primary social science concepts. And that was really kind of it. And then, well, I didn't have really close connections with colleagues. It was really difficult to teach.

It is not surprising that Jennifer is the one faculty member in this study to have chosen to leave her permanent position. Unlike June, who had secured a name for herself in her field prior to hire, and Marie who had come to full-time teaching after a long-career in public service and part-time teaching at universities, Jennifer reported she was young when she was hired at her institution and early in her academic career. Further, unlike BGM who was also young at time of hire, Jennifer lacked mentors and community in her department. Sanchez-Pena et al. (2016) explained that "the availability of role models and mentors is documented as having a positive effect at all levels of the educational path of Latinas . . . and equally crucial in the development of female faculty and faculty of color" (para. 18-19).

Brandon also felt a sense of isolation within his discipline, but in his case, it was not simply a department nor institutional-level phenomenon, but a pipeline issue. He discussed,

It's going to be useful for a lot of other incoming faculty to just have access to these things. Great. But if we don't have ways to attract them to even apply for the positions in the first place, then I'm always going to be a person of one. When it comes to BIPOC males in this field, like that's what I've been for \_\_\_\_\_ years, roughly. It is, you know, me by myself. Occasionally I might get, you know, in a good year, I've been in a department where there have been me and like a BIPOC female. You know, but I've never been in a space that's had more than two. No matter how big the four-year college was. So, until we can like shore up the pipeline thing that gives you the ability to recruit and then have the recruiting steps that allow you to pull in people. It's not probably going to change much at the community college, like we're not going to be able to do much better than what we are doing right now because it's supporting so few folks.

This lack of racial diversity within his discipline can still be addressed in terms of recruitment and hiring strategies. Multiple studies indicate that whether hiring for the arts and sciences or career and technical fields, community colleges are more likely to hire full-time faculty that live within the region or have local ties; particularly when hiring for the latter (Brewer & Gray, 1997; Twombly, 2005). Additionally, as discussed in chapter 2, Twombly (2005) found economic factors play a role in recruitment; colleges that do not pay for travel expenses can limit the applicants who can move forward in the hiring process. This focus on familiarity and "local fit" in combination with economic factors further complicates the likelihood that faculty of color working in disciplines like Brandon's will continue to experience this type of isolation.

Marie spoke of the divided-self as both a stress response and as a survival strategy in the context of her PWI. When asked her greatest success in her tenure, Marie responded, "Boy. That's a hard one. Survival. Okay. For me." Marie began her teaching career at a large university in a liberal urban setting outside of Oregon. She was involved in both women's studies and American Indian studies: "So, you could be who you were." Contrary to her initial experiences as college faculty, at her current institution, she is simply there to do her job: So, who I am as a human being, as an individual, my political beliefs, my personal beliefs don't really come into play in my job place. Even when I worked in my previous non-academic jobs, I was expected as a person of color, as a woman of color, to bring my perspective, my viewpoint, and add it to what was there being happening . . . They were looking for people who had different perspectives, who were flexible, who were creative, who had insight. This college isn't. You are there to do your job. And so, if you bring insight that they don't particularly like, it is discarded or not heard. And over the years, I've learned to just not, to just not.

When I asked if her experiences in the community differ at all from your coworkers; specifically, if when she leaves work and is in the larger college community, if she is able to access or to be in her full range of human experience in the same way that her coworkers can, she replied, "not really. I live nearly over [an] hour out of town. So, the place I am myself is when I'm at home because I'm miles away."

#### RBF

The majority of the counterstorytellers in this study have had powerful encounters with racial microaggressions in their workplaces and the community college districts that they work. Consistent with Seidman (1985), they reveal a work life that has spent a significant amount of "conscious energy" focused on dealing with racial inequalities. These same counterstorytellers express concern and worry about their authority and expertise being accepted in the classroom (BGM, Brandon, Jennifer, and Marie). They are often isolated (Brandon, Jennifer, Kendrick, Marie), having to put on a differing face (BGM, Jennifer, June, Kendrick, Marie), not feeling fully themselves (BGM, Jennifer, Kendrick, Marie), being a representative for their race (Brandon, Kendrick, Marie), and in some spaces, are seen as the enemy (Marie). Even BGM, who had a wonderful reception at her college expressed concern about the interpretations of her White

colleagues. Speaking about how much she enjoys her students, she also remarked,

I also at that time was going through a really hard time because I was, I had just moved here and was having a family emergency, which was excruciating painful, and teaching was my saving grace. Because it's a big distraction, you got to, you know, you've got to. And the one thing I said, I was like, I can't fall apart. I just got this job, these white folks watching me, I got to come in here and perform. I cannot not do what I was paid and hired to do. And so, my students, like I said, became my saving grace.

According to W. A. Smith et al. (2007), RBF is combination of physiological and

physical exaggerated stress responses that result from being in an environment where one must attend to an intersection of microaggressions that range from tedious to lifethreatening. Racialized individuals who work in environments where racial and ethnic microaggressions are common, spaces like these Oregon community colleges, elicit these responses, and can cause RBF to remain active as racialized individuals await future events (Stevenson, 2012). Further, the implications of long-term exposure to these conditions and the ongoing engagement of coping responses can compromise one's long-term health and wellness (W. A. Smith et al., 2007). Quite simply, unwelcoming and unsupportive work environments in Oregon's community colleges come at a great cost to the faculty of color. When asked what question she wished I would have asked of her and

other counterstorytellers, Marie responded,

I think it would be, how do you stay healthy? How do you, how do you cope with this? And I think that's not just for me. I would think that that's for any, I mean, I would not, I would want to know for myself. But I actually would want to know it for other faculty members of color across the state in universities and colleges because I think everybody, there is a place where everybody incurs wounds and scars and has some form of PTSD. At times I've thought I've had a form of PTSD. In fact, I know I did during a few years. It's like, Oh, my gosh. You know, it's, it's how did, how do you stay healthy? How did you, how do you cope? . . . and that

might throw some of them a curveball, but that would be what I'd ask other people. And I'd ask myself. And maybe . . . why did you do it?

An exploration of some of the personal strategies employed by Marie and her colleagues

in this study are discussed further in Theme 6: Personal Support Systems.

### Theme 2: Racialized Spaces: The Oregon Context

All of the storytellers had distinct experiences with and reactions to Oregon as a racialized space. Each brought unique and varied biographies that not only affected their lived experiences, but their personal interpretations of these experiences as well (Vincent et al., 2015). For June, an Asian woman, and Mark, who self identifies as a European immigrant, these earlier experiences left each less likely to acknowledge racialized spaces. June explained to me early in our discussion,

Value and far what it's worth way be any I have that you

Yeah, and for what it's worth, you know, I know that your . . . your area is in diversity and I'm not going to share a whole lot with you that is going to bolster that side of your research other than to say, you know, it's not always that way and that there's no . . .

Later in the interview, June characterizes her navigation as having blinders. When

discussing race and racism at the community-level, June explained,

I cannot tell you that I experience things that I would say are racially-motivated. Part of that, though, I think also has to do with the fact that growing up I've put on blinders on to even being aware of and sensitive to things that could happen . . . Other piece of my back story that might be helpful is I grew up in Northeast Portland at the very start of the Model Cities Busing Program. And so, when Portland started the Model Cities Busing Program, which was designed to move essentially the Black kids out of the Black neighborhood over to the southeast side and southwest side. The school came to my parents and said, would you like, would you be interested in having your kids go across town? And so, you know, my parents doing it as a chance for a better education, said sure. And so, from the third grade on, every day, I got on a bus with a lot of Black kids and bused across town to at the time to [a southeast Portland] School . . . and went to school with the White kids and a few Black kids . . . We had to provide our own transportation to get the high school. And so, get on the bus over by Lloyd Center and take the bus all the way around downtown and then back across the river again to school.

Fortunately, I didn't have to transfer, but yeah . . . It was a long ride, and so I think a lot of that kind of thing then, you know, really colors the way, it provides me with lenses that I sometimes don't even know that I'm wearing. They color the way that I view things and react to stuff and just interact with the world and people.

When asked if she and her sister were the only Asian children on the bus, June replied,

Yeah. In fact, I don't I don't remember any other even White kids. I mean, it was truly a bus of Black kids and my sister and I, and even at that time. I'm not certain that I would have even thought of us as being Asian on that bus so much as being White on that bus or not Black on that bus, you know.

Mark, both a refugee and immigrant, does not hold a racial paradigm like those

who have been raised in the United States. People are not similarly Black, Brown, White

outside the United States (Golash-Boza, 2017). He is not carrying intergenerational

experiences of the United States-based social construction and structural oppression of

race and racism (Stevenson, 2012), and has felt comfortable as an individual navigating

his community, as well as the institution even though he may experience bias.

I'll just say that I am a cultural observer. I'm sort of going to I am going to brag at this point about I've lived in different countries. And so, my cultural lens is not only at the microcosmic level of, say, an individual or their experience or things like that, but also, at the, at the macrocosmic level of nations and societies and communities and how they choose to organize themselves. Because I and I've lived in very disparate places. Not only have I lived say, you know, . . . in . . . Western countries. But I've lived in Muslim culture, [and] with an Asian culture . . . and the way that different societies and communities choose to organize themselves, choose to approach, you know, hiring and firing, workplace culture, are very radically different sometimes, and I notice these things,

Mark went on to explain,

I'm probably Whiter than you are. So, it's you know, it's like the first one. So, that for me it's a joke. For me, it's, you know, that's it. And I think, you know, all sorts of motivations come into play. You know, obviously I am what I am. And so, people want to be nice or want to be friendly or practice they're horrible, rusty high school language. So, and that's all fine. And because the other thing that I'm I've lived in so, many places and I've had so, many very unpleasant experiences literally of life and death . . . So, I'll take people to task on it. But I, I'm really unassailable . . . Yeah. So, but, but those are usually the types of things that I encounter is, is sort of that kind of a thing where it's that's OK. That's who I am. I know this and that's what people outwardly see and that's the first thing. And that's, that's fine. We all, we all make those kinds of things. I made peace with that part of the human experience and human existence that we have eyes, we see you're a woman, you're a man, you're a this. You paint your nails, you color your hair, you wear spiky clothes, whatever it is. So, it's just that's it is what it is.

The storytellers who came from communities outside Oregon, but within the

United States, were more likely to recognize Oregon as specific racialized space, both

within and outside of the classroom. When talking about his classroom experiences,

Brandon noted,

I'd visit Oregon probably a dozen times before we moved out here, but I hadn't like been here for weeks and weeks and months and years at that point, so having that support was really great. The students that I have worked with have been really great, which I wasn't necessarily sure how that piece would be. Only because, you know, now that I've been here for a little bit of time, I do recognize that like our demographics at our college are different than some of the other larger community demographics. And so, I wasn't always sure how that would go, but that's actually been, like, surprisingly nice. So overall, it's been a good experience.

When asked if her experiences in her classroom, department or institution differed from

her colleagues due to her race and/or ethnicity, Jennifer, a Latina who was raised on a

rural Indian Reservation, noted similarly,

I absolutely think they did and I think I had a combination of factors. I also think my age which was easily observable, I was younger, I think than a lot of my students. In addition, when I would share my background for a lot of the students—you know what the demographics are like . . . here . . . they, in very specific ways, they couldn't connect to it and I knew none of my peers that were teaching shared a similar background. They were like Ph.D.'s from top ranked . . . schools. So, there was a lot of difference.

Noted previously, that difference resulted in isolation for Jennifer and ultimately her

leaving her faculty position.

BGM expanded her lens to consider the differences not only between herself as a Black woman and the White dominant group in Oregon, but how the history of White supremacy has impacted her relationship with Black Oregonians. While lengthy, I believe this piece from BGM needs to be shared in its entirety:

What I have found is that Black people who are originally from Oregon are just a very strange Black people. Very weird, and I think it's because they've been such a marginalized group for such a White space. So, I'm not worried about how White people treat me, because White folks gonna do what white folks gonna do. But I am often concerned about how we, as Black people, treat each other in White spaces because that can be tricky in education as well. And so, I think like I said, sometimes the Black people that are originally from Oregon, they won't even speak. It's almost like, don't look at me. I'm Black. You're Black. They're going to see us, like, it's a weird thing versus Black people who are not from Oregon, like implants like myself and my and my friend group. You know, you see some people like, hey, what's up? And it's so funny, because when I said this to somebody who was born in Oregon, the guy, and we were in a meeting, a Zoom meeting. He said, you know what, you're not wrong? He was like, I don't know why we do that. He's originally from Salem, Salem, Oregon, a Black man. He said, yeah, you are absolutely right. I don't know why we do that. And so, I think even that just not even living coming from here, not even just being Black, but just not even being from the state of Oregon, right? And it's and its core and seeing, you know, in [the urban Midwest], although very segregated, if I'm going to go see my people, I don't got to go far to see my people. You know. Even here when I go see my people, it's like, I can't see . . . they . . . It's something that's very unauthentic about that. So that can . . . that can impact my workspace in a sense that if I want to bring someone locally from Oregon to speak or something like that or to give their perspective, their perspective is going to be very, very different than someone who is not from here and I'm not knocking them. I'm just saying that it just seems very odd. It's almost like as if they are or have been shunned about their blackness. You know what I'm saying? And that's very sad, because I think they should be proud of who and what they are and what they represent. But like I said, I think it's just being in a marginalized area and I don't know the Black Portlandian story. You know, a lot of the spaces in which they hold a lot of things that were done to them, a lot of things that were how their community was gentrified. And that's not just them. That's a true statement for all Black communities around the United States. And so, I do struggle with that as far as community connecting with other or originally connecting with Black Oregonians can be a struggle in community.

Forrest-Bank (2016) wrote that the coping strategies that racialized individuals and groups have developed vary across multiple factors that include long-term health and wellness, sociodemographic background, and psychological and behavioral factors. More significantly, these response strategies are developed over generations (Forrest-Bank, 2016). That intergenerational response plays against a backdrop of a state with a unique and treacherous racial history, particularly for Black and Indigenous residents (Barber,

2019; Imarisha, 2014; McLagan, 2022).<sup>12</sup>

Brandon is well-situated at his college, however the racial tension and increase in state violence and hate crimes against BIPOC individuals in the country over the last six to seven years, and specifically in his community-college district has taken a toll on him and his family. He shared,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Founded in 1848, the Oregon Territory Provisional Government, included what is now the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, as well as parts of Montana and Wyoming. White settlers were coming to the region as early as the 1830's, and as Lewis and Connolly (2019) explained "routinely ignored tribal laws and policies" (p. 369) of the Indigenous peoples of the territory. The new settlers saw themselves, their culture, their way of life as superior and therefore it was their right, their duty, to overthrow the Indigenous people, taking their lands, and destroying their culture (Lewis & Connolly, 2019). The Organic Code of 1843, later formalized by Congress as The Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850, promising 320 acres to White men over 21 and an additional 320 to those married, further encouraged more newcomers to the region (McLagan, 2022). Violence and murder were a routine response of the White settlers to challenges made by their Indigenous neighbors to the taking of their lands (Lewis and Connolly, 2019). Lewis and Connolly argued, "those acts of physical injury, murder, and trauma provide insight into how White supremacy was institutionalized in Oregon" (p. 369).

The Provisional Government continued their work of institutionalizing White supremacy by passing three significant laws shortly thereafter. In 1884, the Oregon Territorial government outlawed slavery, giving slave owners three years to free their slaves; and within this created the Lash Law which said any Black person, free or unfree, found within the territory would be publicly lashed every six months (Imarisha, 2014). In 1848, the Provisional Territorial Government then passed the first exclusion law in the country, forbidding Blacks from moving to the state. Imarisha (2014) explained, Oregon was founded as a White Utopia, the first state to enter the union that both outlawed slavery and excluded Blacks from moving into the state, owning property and entering into contracts. While the exclusionary clause was repealed in the 1926-1927 legislative session in Oregon, its language remained in the State constitution until 2001 (Davis, 1972; Imarisha, 2014). At the time, 30% of the voters in the state voted to keep the language intact (Imarisha as cited in Camhi, 2020).

So, something that does come up is less about the college and more about the community. Because when you asked if I had considered leaving my job at the college, I was like, no, actually I, I have not. But if you asked me if I had considered like leaving the community where I currently live, yes. I have considered a couple of times, like maybe we shouldn't be living here and I should be commuting from another location. And I think the college so far has done a pretty good job of trying to keep that part, that climate from creeping onto the campus. But at some point, I have to leave the campus. And I worry that that also impacts our ability to recruit faculty because I have a hard time saying to somebody, oh yeah, you should totally move here and live by the college, and it'd be great if you're integrated into the community. I have a harder time right now selling somebody on that idea versus like, no, you should probably see if there's something that you can afford in a more diverse area outside the college district, and then commute . . . that has come up in the last year and a half to two years . . . yeah, and what's weird to me. I would not have said that five or six years ago. But over now, definitely the last year and a half, probably the last three to four years, it has been a greater and greater concern where I'm like, OK, I have kids. How is that working for them? I talk to people that don't want to visit us in the county, but are happy to have us come out to where they are like those conversations become a roadblock to folks wanting to come out here . . . and when I think about what my perfect faculty member at [this college], it's somebody that we hire them and they stay for 30 years. Like they, you know, they really become great instructors and they enrich the lives of all of our students for a long time. And I know part of that means that you have to feel comfortable not only on campus, but off campus.

Marie has had similar experiences in her college-district as well.

But when I'm in town, I'm always aware that I represent [the college], and people always see me and remind and think of me as the college. And I have taught grandparents, parents, children, and I'm getting close to somebody's grandkids. So that's, I'm always seen as somebody who represents the college, and I have to act appropriately and accordingly. I've told my friends, who are people of color, who lived here for a while, at one point, there was a small group of us that lived here, about 20 folks. They all left except from about four or five of us, that everybody is somebody's cousin here, friend, best friend, business partner. You have to be very careful how you comport yourself. It's a lot like being in the South . . . and during Jim Crow. And that sounds extreme, but you have to think about who those people are. I don't interact with anybody without thinking; I don't know who you know. And I learned that the hard way by spouting off when I first came here.

Brandon's feelings about and experience within his Oregon community is relatively new

due to the changing political landscape since the 2016 Presidential campaign and

election, and the Twin Pandemics. In contrast, Marie alludes us to the fact that the racism that she experiences as a faculty of color is not new and is deeply a part of the Oregon landscape, particularly for Indigenous Oregonians.

But I realized that by the look of me, by who I am, like I have my . . . t-shirt . . . here that's done by the local tribes, which I really love and I will wear it to class, and it will piss people off. I took . . . I took a bunch of stickers off my vehicle because it kept getting vandalized and keyed and hit with rocks. That kind of thing. So, I took stickers off my vehicle. Just things like support whirled peas . . . women power, the old peace sign of the woman's hand. Took that off my vehicle. Currently, now, my new vehicle that I drive now has the university logo from my alma mater. That's as far as I can go . . . But yeah, so I have to always know that people are looking at me, and I have to be and speak accordingly. I don't talk about politics with people except if they're good friends. I'm also a Democrat dyed-in-the-wool radical. I'm a dyed-in-the-wool radical, lesbian feminist, let's put it that way. So, the closest I can get in politics is liberal Democrat. And so, yeah, I talk to other people who I know are also Democrats who are like-minded, which are very small. But yeah, when you walk, when I walk into stores, when I walk into restaurants, when I'm out in area, I know what I look like and who I am.

Brandon's primarily White colleagues were quick to step up during the Twin Pandemics,

particularly when local racial violence in Oregon was heightened and more overt (Baker,

2020; Bolstad, 2020; Houston, 2019; Woodworth, 2022). Brandon shared,

I have not had any trouble with like my fellow faculty members. And for the most part, they have been like super supportive, especially like the last year and a half. They have been amazingly supportive, kind of like to the point where it's like, where are you like . . . years ago, upon hire, level of support. So that makes me feel better.

It is significant to note the Brandon's White colleagues did not step up until overt acts of racism were taking place in a larger community context, outside the institution. They did not anticipate or see the need to support Brandon prior to these national events. His White colleagues did not see or acknowledge the possibility of institutional racism, nor less overt acts of individual racism as a possibility or needing their intervention (Bower, 2002).

In her study on community college women faculty of color in southern California, HaMai (2014) spoke to the significance of the structural elements of a college district to a full-time faculty member seeking or finding remedy to an uncomfortable or unsafe work situation. HaMai found large, multicampus college districts offered reprieves for some of her storytellers, allowing them to transfer to other campuses within the district at times. This is not an option for most of the full-time faculty of color in Oregon as the state has only one multicampus district. Additionally, for both Brandon and Marie, the concern is not simply the institution itself, but the larger college district (Graves, 2021).

#### **Theme 3: Negotiation Strategies**

Each of the storytellers have differing experiences with race and racism in Oregon's community colleges whether in their classrooms, with faculty or staff at the college community, and in the wider community college districts. This is consistent with James (2012) who found that racialized faculty members do not hold the same understandings of race and racism, nor the same beliefs about the impact of race and racism on their experiences in higher education. The seven storytellers in this study fall within what James identified as three negotiation strategy categories for dealing with race and racism within the academe: critical, compliance and pragmatic strategies.

### **Critical Participation**

Kendrick and Marie, for instance, shared experiences of differential treatment throughout their institution due to their intersectional racialized identities, and both speak specifically to the institutional cultures and apparatus that uphold long-term patterns of White supremacy and racial oppression. Kendrick explained, The other piece I would say is tough is, and I don't know how this is at other community colleges. Here, there's no one in a power position who is a person of color. I think I am aware as I have power and privilege in what I can do and provide resources, and I am very grateful for that. But when it comes to being a VP or an instructional dean or someone who truly makes decisions, there's no one that looks like me. So, it's hard to find mentors. It's not that I'm not saying I can't find resources or mentorship from my white counterparts, that's not what I'm saying. But I see things from a totally different lens. And it's always good to have a person who's maybe went through some of the pitfalls of being at a college and is a person of color. And it will allow them to give me insight on what I need to do to keep advancing or trying to be in a power position to help students out.

Kendrick also added that an all-White leadership team goes beyond just who is available

for mentoring, but how communication patterns within the institution and between the

college and college district are structured and understood. Similar to their concerns about

the role of the White gaze of researchers raised in Chapter 3 of this study, Kendrick

confronts the White gaze as the prevailing paradigm of the institution:

... we as a community college may not fully understand what the community needs, because we haven't asked, or if we did ask, we got a small sample size from a small group of people to tell us that. I don't think we've done a great job of really facilitating or receiving information from the community at large. I think it's very targeted. So, think about it. If I have a total white gaze . . . and most of my social media or my information that goes out is always going to have that lens, and the framing is going to be there. So, that's who you're going to draw. But I'm not saying you've got to tokenize it and put Black faces or Hispanic or Asian faces on something to draw people. You've got to let us be the ones who are the messengers to be able to make sure that happens. Let us put the message out there and let us be on TV. Let us be on ads. Let us be on things. And because if you respect the person in the community, they'll listen to you more than if you were a person who no one knows. I could be a Black person and speaking to the Black community, but they don't know my face or not seen me in that, in that, in that arena or limelight or whatever you want to say. It's hard for them to make a decision on why they should engage.

Marie is similar in taking her institutional culture to task:

The fact the institution itself, in terms of hiring and retaining people of color, they need to. Our college really needs to begin to understand what diversity is and inclusion, and they don't. You just don't get it in the classroom. We're going to teach the syllabus. And it's about this. And our college has never really dealt with

or encountered diversity, and I say this as a person who's done diversity trainings in a large urban city and county, worked on boards that worked with diverse populations and focused and prioritized diversity. And so this institution needs to find a place where it can do that. And until then, they're not going to, they're not going to recruit, and they're not going to retain people of color. It just isn't going to happen because they don't. They think they do. They'll tell you that they're nice people, and they are. But being nice people isn't the same as and being lovely people and open people and welcoming people, I'm not going to say bad things about them because I adore many of them. It's not the same as really sharing the experience and the culture and . . . the life and the diversity and the insight of people from communities of color or communities of difference. Do not come and be a transgendered person at this institution. I've had transgendered students, and it's been really rough for them. I would not be a transgendered faculty member. Not in our community. It would be tough now as far as this community is, and I pretty firmly believe our administration wouldn't necessarily hire somebody who was transgender. I mean, they wouldn't see it that way. They'd say they're equal opportunity employers. I just think they couldn't get past it, especially when I've actually had to tell both of my recent male applicants that we've hired shave your beards before meeting with the president.

The characterizations of the institutions offered above demonstrate the critical lenses and/or strategy employed by Kendrick and Marie. Rather than leading to paralysis, both have worked inside and outside of the system with allies seeking to create long-term change in very different ways. Like other critical strategists, they both do so knowing this approach can come at a cost, "personally, professionally, and psychologically" (James, 2012, p. 149).

### Compliance as Strategy

In contrast, June and Mark negotiated via what James (2012) referred to as a compliance strategy. June reported lack of respect recently from institutional actors, yet a consistent, positive response from her department, and from her students which she attributes to the specific student population that she teaches. This is discussed further in section Theme 4: Thrive Off Teaching. June attributes this lack of respect not in terms of her racialized identity or other intersectional statuses, but rather to the growing

administrative infrastructure. She explained, "you know, I really don't think it has to do much of any of that. I think it really has to do with administration that has too many layers between it and students." When asked if her experiences within with coworkers across the institution have differed because of her race or your ethnicity or your gender, she offered,

We are probably not, particularly oh, what's the word I want to see . . . supportive or we're supportive of the person to get better . . . But we're, we are maybe not the kindest people in the whole world in terms of incompetence. Ok, look tolerant, may be a better. You know, we're not particularly tolerant of incompetence. You know, whether that incompetence comes because of people's background, comes because of their racial, ethnic or whatever background, I don't know that we do any kind of job at that parsing out what that difference is. I think as an institution, we are doing a little bit better at just making people aware of difference and what difference can mean for different people. And part of that has to do with the fact that, you know, years ago when I started here, they didn't have to worry about thinking about difference because there was no difference. You know, and so as you try to grow difference and diversity, you have to put on your plate bigger than, oh yeah, now we can change our census count because we've hired another this, that or whatever. But really, you know, what does that really mean? And we have, I believe, a very good diversity and inclusion department now on campus that is trying really hard to open people's eyes.

I don't I can't speak at all to how it would be based on race, ethnicity, gender. I think there are definitely are differences across the institution based on department, but that I've always thought had a lot more to do with, for lack of a better way to describe it, the cultures of the different departments and some of that is a point in time based on who's in that department. Now some of that is historical based on who was in the department and sort of that expectation in that culture that that was established, which bears itself out when I'm on hiring committees for other departments to kind of see what, what they're looking for and what they value in some ways. And yes, you know, we're supposed to have these hiring practices that are blind to lots of different kinds of things, but there have been times where I kind of just had to bite my tongue when I knew that the fact that somebody had a PhD over somebody who did not have a PhD was the deciding factor for people within that department.

Mark was also hesitant to look to race, racism and/or identity factors as present for any

negative experience in his professional life. He held a similar lens to that of June. In his

case, he has had global experience, living and working in different cultures, first as a political refugee, and then later migrating to the United States. James (2012) explained that faculty who fall into this category of strategists often "attributed lack of experience with racism to cultural adaptability" (p. 140). Mark shared,

This is not an easy topic. It's just it's a stumper because as I started off, I just I don't see myself as a person of color. And I have to say . . . we've sort of fetishized race in our country, unfortunately. And it is just this overwhelming thing that we just that sort of just looms over every single head like this boulder. And it comes to it's just . . . I, I've never seen myself that way. And here's the deal. I'll confess something about me. I actually lived, despite the fact that we were poor immigrants because, of course, for other reasons, we were actually very privileged in our own country before we came to the United States. And really, we came because of political reasons. And even when we did come, we had certain resources that I, I let . . . I'll say it myself. I led a very privileged childhood, actually . . . I hate talking about these things, but I had a very expensive education, so . . . I always temper my thing.

He went on to explain,

Anybody, whether it's a person of color or whether it's LGBTQ, whether it's is to really have a color-blind vision of things and just sort of accept things at face value, that people are bringing their own experiences. I mean, you started off by explaining that you're a white woman and stuff. And so, and so, we feel this incumbent sort this necessity to sort of state that outright. And I just . . . I just I've never seen the world like this, you know, it's just like, oh, you do. You should know that I'm a white woman as I wanted to joke with you and say, oh, really? I yeah, I didn't see that at all. So, you know. Yeah. So, it's just become this overwhelming. So, that's the first thing that said though. That said, though, I will have to say one of the very few negative things that I do experience, I don't know. I don't even know if it's a negative thing. I really don't think it's a negative thing. But it does make me sort of turn my head and kind of do this is at many places where I have first started to work. People come up to me and they say, "Hola, so, and so."

For both June and Mark, their focus was primarily on the individual and their abilities,

whether that be themselves, fellow faculty, or other institutional actors.

## **Pragmatic Strategies**

Jennifer, BGM, and Brandon have very different journeys to and within their institutions which are situated in very disparate college districts in the state, yet they share very similar negotiation strategies. Ultimately, Jennifer found her students and department unfriendly and isolating, and she chose to leave her full-time, permanent teaching position after more than a decade for a different position within the institution. She has realized more respect and collegiality in an institutional-level position at a community college, while still being able to have an impact on students. In contrast, while both BGM and Brandon had initial concerns about racism in the classroom, institution and/or community, they have found ways to address this racism and flourish in their work. Shared BGM, "I am authentically who I am and in the space in which I hold and I will not walk around." According to James (2012), faculty that employ pragmatic strategies,

[take] into consideration their understanding of how institutions operate, their experiences with racism within the institutions, and their commitments to engaging with the institutions in ways that will bring about equity, the faculty who employ pragmatic strategies did so in ways that would minimize their personal risks and stresses associated with confronting the system. Their strategies were primarily aimed at two interrelated goals: ensuring their work was beyond reproach, and engaging with the informal power structures of the university on their efforts to bring about changes that would benefit current and former racialized faculty and students . . . Their strategy involved combining an institutional critique with . . . a "survival strategy." (p. 145)

BGM offered the following example of this strategy in action,

You know, and I know sometimes people say, oh, you know do you feel like a token? And no, not necessarily, because I don't say yes to every opportunity. So, you only become tokenized when you say yes to everything and you allow them to use you like that. You know, people can ask me to do something and I'll say, let me think about that. I don't say yes right away. I used to, and not because I want to be token in my previous institutions, but you know, when you're trying to get

out of a situation, I mean, you're trying to move on from a job, you need to say yes because you want all these opportunities.

James's (2012) negotiation strategies provide a framework to understand how the storytellers conceptualize and navigate the everyday experiences of racism in their personal and professional lives. It does not negate the patterns of racism that our storytellers experience and or witness in our classrooms, campuses, and or college districts, nor does it enrich them. Further, these categories were developed in a specific research context, and must be considered within those particular constraints.

# **Theme 4: Thrive off Teaching**

Consistent with their counterparts in recent studies of community faculty of color across the nation, the seven storytellers have been both drawn to teaching, as well as stayed in teaching at Oregon's community colleges because of their relationships with students (HaMai, 2014; Levin et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2012). Brandon, for instance, reported:

I had intended on pursuing a research track career. And after spending probably six or seven years in that postdoctoral position, what I found was that I just wasn't really enjoying that work and things that I had been doing alongside that work. I probably spent 10 years probably mentoring students from grades three or four up through undergraduate and graduate school students. So, I was looking at whether I wanted to transition into something that was more along the lines of mentoring. I did some teaching at a community college in the region where I was doing my postdoc at and kind of enjoyed that piece and what I basically decided was that it was time for me to make a transition into something that was not that research path.

Mark also shared,

I actually love teaching. And so, to me any the work that I do is not work. It's, it's exciting. It's, everything is challenging. I like to keep busy. So, in that regard, yes, of course. Work is always . . . there's always . . . there's always . . . I could stay up for the next 48 hours and still not get everything done. So, we all know that, but I don't mind doing that because I really, truly love what I do.

Many of the storytellers spoke in terms of an ethic of care for their students. Jennifer said, "I cared a lot about students. So, I wanted to find ways to make the learning meaningful." Kendrick explained that while he has "outgrown his position in my mind . . . I'm beyond it. But I do it still right now because I care about students." Brandon found enjoyment in seeing his students grow and created multiple opportunities for his students both within and outside of his campus community. He shared,

And as far as positive things, I've also been able to connect in with a couple of different programs that have kind of helped me expand as far as the types of things that I want to make sure all students are able to access and things that I feel like student. It's important for students to do or be exposed to, whether they're going to be [professionals in my field] or some other field . . . or just good citizens. So that has also been great.

He went on to explain,

Yeah. So, I've been working on that pathway, helping students from the community college get to area universities. But at the same time, it's like, these are the things that we were talking about in those conversations are things that almost every student that is thinking about going to community or going transferring from a community college to a four-year institution should be aware of or should be thinking about. And it's also started getting me thinking more about like, OK, I'm going to teach you these core content pieces of [my field], but I also kind of have like a moral obligation to tell you what the expectations are for that field currently and whether those things are good or bad so that you can make a better-informed choice about do I want to keep moving forward in this area. I don't want you to land on a college campus and have experiences that you had no idea you would ever be exposed to. And I also don't want you to land on a fouryear college campus and not like be aware of all the other things that students may have been exposed to that you only saw momentarily or never saw at all. I want you to know that there are research talks that you can go to and student's symposiums that you can go to, and we'll try to mock some of those here, even though we can only do them really small. And I want to bring speakers from other campuses here so that you can see how much bigger our field is than what you may be thinking as you come into the community college. So, like I said, I feel like that's kind of my obligation is not just to say, do you know [the major ideas of my field]. It's like, do you also kind of understand what the day-to-day life of a

professional in my field might look like and what that means for you? And can you see yourself doing some of those things?

Kendrick spoke similarly of his students, watching their students' success sustained him:

And then in terms of my major accomplishments, by assisting many of the students that I do work with, it allows me to be able to figure out what their needs are, but then also that lets me know if one student need something that meets a lot of students need it. And being able to provide these resources for these students allows me to be able to go, hmm, OK, what else can we build for them? So, I think that's some of the successes because it allows me to be able to build it in a different way. And that's been the best accomplishment. But I think the ultimate accomplishment is when I see many of them across the stage or they see me out in the street or they send me an email and they go, hey, without your help, I wouldn't be able to get, or some of your help, I wouldn't be able to get to where I'm at. So, I think that's probably one of the most major pieces.

In contrast, Marie and June both spoke about a student-centered approach as culture or

larger guiding philosophies. Marie informed,

So, it's kind of a mixed bag at this college. But our philosophy is we start with where the students are and move forward from there with them. And that's probably the reason why I'm at a school, at a community college, because we start where the students are, not where the institution demands that they be.

She went on to explain how the collegiality among their small, full-time teaching

community functions to support students,

... in-house, we kind of just generally do that because that's who we are. If somebody wants something or needs help, we help them because it's ... we ... our focus is student success. So, the better the instructors are, the better the greater student successes. So, that's kind of been ... how ... how we work.

June expressed concern about what she sees as an emerging culture of credentials

prevailing over the best interests of the students. She explained,

I'm seeing a little bit more of an administration that seems disconnected from the mission of the college or what I view should be the mission of the college, with the students being the primary driver of what we should be doing. So, and I've seen that a little bit with, you know, even sometimes we'll hire somebody new faculty wise where, you know, I kind of go, yeah, I get the credentials on paper, but this is not their first mission and goal in life is not educating students and

providing for students, and that to me always is a red flag. And so, when I see that kind of thing, it's kind of is sort of disheartening.

The differing definitions and/or expressions of an ethic of care offered by the storytellers in this study can be understood from a variety of lenses. Levin et al. (2014) found that community college faculty of color held differing definitions of "student-centered" from their White colleagues based on differential understanding of and being differentially situated within the institutions. Faculty of color in the Levin et al. (2014) study defined "study-centered" as a connection with students of similar backgrounds. Kendrick clearly supports this finding when they shared,

And to do some like, for instance, when a black student or Latino student or student of any color comes on this campus, I gravitate to him like the plague because I go to them and say, hey, you got everything you need. Do you know what you need? Do you know what this is that you know how to do this, you know, because you want them to feel comfortable and feel like they are unique in that they provide is a resource. So, yeah, that's what I try to do.

In contrast, the same faculty of color in Levin et al.'s (2014) study felt their White colleagues defined "student centered" as professional tasks, pedagogy, and/or institutional goals. Both Marie's and June's definitions could fit this latter description without a broader context and/or intersectional lens. Noted in Themes 1 and 2, Marie, due to her intersectional identity, described herself as a target both inside and outside of the classroom and in her community,

walking into the classroom, they take a look at me, and I'm already a target. So, I, I walk a line with them. I try to open up their thoughts. I try to get them to critically think, to think beyond just what they know or have been given by their parents or their community as this is the right way. But just to critically think about those things and . . . that's a challenge. It's quite often a challenge.

The ability to connect with her students across similar backgrounds is not necessarily available for Marie, so she demonstrates this care through her professional work:

And so, I guess part of the greatest success when I look at that is being a grounding, consistent presence. I am the institutional memory. I remember what happened through all those deans. I remember all the times they tried all the crazy shit they tried. And so, I've been the one that stayed there and kind of held the department, held the curriculum, held the program together.

BGM expressed similar concern about when she arrived in Oregon. She offered, "I thrive

off teaching. And I think that although sometimes it can be slightly difficult, you don't

see a lot of people who look like you." BGM went on to explain,

One of the things that I asked when I first got here was of a person of color . . . And I said, I'm concerned about how the students will receive me because I am a Black teacher from the inner city and . . . they're white . . . and I have a very different lens, and I just want to know how I'm going to be received. And so, Dr. \_\_\_\_\_\_\_. . . he said, you know, you will be fine. You know, do you have them call you doctor? And I'm like, oh, yeah, he's like, you'll be fine. They should receive you well. And he was. He was right.

Unlike Marie, BGM has found multiple opportunities to have healthy relationships with

and to be a role model for students in her district. In one example, she described an

argument that took place during group work between a Filipino male student and a Latina

student that resulted in the male student using the words "fucking bitch." BGM asked the

young man to join her in the hallway,

and I said, what is going on? Why would you call her that? And he's just standing there and he's looking like he's going to cry, because I'm seeing the tears and I said, are you about to cry? Yeah, maybe so. And so, I leave my arms out and this boy crumbles in my arms . . . he crumbles. My shirt is wet.

Through a debrief with the male student, BGM learns the young woman had been

deleting his contributions to their shared Google document without his consent, but more

importantly, the student told BGM he is struggling in this Oregon community. The young

Filipino student shared, "it's very different here. He comes from San Francisco. It's very

diverse there. This is, this is a culture shock for him" in Oregon. The opportunity to

connect and mentor a student on latent skills was meaningful for BGM. After their discussion the student remarked, "you're just weird, you're a weird teacher." BGM, however, knew she had helped him out; and more importantly, she explained, "I knew that he was better." The fulfillment BGM reported feeling working with racialized students is similar to that of her Black faculty peers (Stevenson, 2012) and other community college faculty of color (Levin et al., 2014). I would suggest that this may be the same connection with students that Brandon worries could be harmed by students' challenges to his authority presented in Theme 1. I remind readers, Brandon noted,

I think that there are times where . . . I definitely when I first started, I had some concern that when students walk into a classroom, they would go, Oh, there's a BIPOC guy here. Why is this BIPOC guy telling me things that I need to know, like some of that questioning would come up, and I don't think that most other instructors think about that as anything to be concerned about or to worry about. I've heard people worry about like age, like if you don't look very old, then it could be hard to establish that sense of authority. Um, but yeah, I worried that there would be students that would either question my ability to be an authority or have the degree that I have while I'm in the classroom, or that would be worried, hesitant or unwilling to talk with me outside of the classroom.

Similar to Marie and BGM, June's initial presence at the college and in her community stood out. Upon hire, she doubled the Asian population in the Oregon city. Thus, making connections across race and ethnicity with students was not something that was available to June in the same way it was to faculty in some of the studies done in communities outside of Oregon (HaMai, 2014; Levin et al., 2013, 2014). All three women, however, have found ways to put their passion for students and learning, even when a target, in action. This is significant because recent studies indicate that faculty of color report their connection with students is what sustains them (Flowers, 2005; Levin et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2012).

### **Theme 5: Retention Supports**

The storytellers drew on a number of supports both inside and outside of their institutions to persist in their positions as community college faculty. The following are those supports that were put in place by individual institutional actors and the institution itself through policy actions (Dee, 2002; Kelly et al., 2017).

## **Department-Level**

Some of the storytellers reported significant support at the department-level of their institutions. BGM was assigned a within-department mentor immediately upon hire. Her mentor, as well as other members of her department, helped with many aspects of her transition to Oregon, from offering to look at apartments to connecting with her husband. BGM described these interactions as "really, really helpful. And it was quite refreshing ... they were really reaching out in a way that wasn't patronizing, and it wasn't artificial. But it was authentic and genuine, and I think that that's really what has helped my transition." Her colleagues also stepped up to support her professionally whenever she needed it, from taking over long-standing courses, to revising curriculum, to helping with her preparation for review to move from probationary to non-probationary faculty. BGM offered,

What supports were there for me . . . I had to call on my team, but they were my full-time faculty, people in my department. I really considered them family, every one of them has a role in my life as far as like so, one of them is like a big sister to me. Another one is like a big cousin to me/aunt. Another one is like a little brother to me. Another is like a big brother to me. Another one's like the father of the department. Another one is like the . . . crazy uncle. The other one is like the other put-together uncle. You know, I mean, such a crazy uncle and then, you got the not-so-crazy uncle. And I think then I would run stuff by them and it's like, yeah, you should do it. I didn't even have to ask like, where do I go to the ask about this? They were like, no, you should do it, just do it. And I would just do it.

Brandon felt similarly grateful about his departmental-level support, sharing,

... I feel kind of lucky that the place that I landed. Had a couple of mentors for me already, like we used more of a team-teaching approach for the courses that I was initially teaching. So, it was nice to have, like to know that I had that support to help me make that transition ... but also just like the whole transition of moving from cross country to come to a state that I've never really like lived in. Like, I'd visit Oregon probably a dozen times before we moved out here, but I hadn't like been here for weeks and weeks and months and years at that point, so having that support was really great.

June echoed both of their sentiment,

I have had pretty much nothing but really positive working in terms of working within the department. You know, as with any institution, there's always kind of the sort of ups and downs of who's in charge these days and what kind of decisions are they making. But so just a little bit more about my own background and how this all fits in, because I had been teaching in Oregon before and because I actually had reached a fairly, I think, fairly high status in terms of leadership and reputation within Oregon, while I was teaching elsewhere when I came to this institution. I was, I think the fact I was I think I was fairly highly regarded as an . . . educator and people here knew of me or knew of my reputation already. And so, in some ways, even though it was a new job, I think people already had the vision or had the view that I was going to be competent in my job. And so, some of the first-year community college teacher kind of things, I don't think that I was subject to that. Had I not had that kind of reputation . . . and I had taught both at a university and I'd done some part-time stuff and then also because of my reputation doing stuff both locally and then also nationally, I didn't have that stigma of being a new person so much.

## Institutional-Level Supports: They See Me

Mark has had very positive experiences at his college and shared this praise at

multiple points in his interview. In speaking both to his probationary years and

preparation for tenure review<sup>13</sup>, he shared,

I had many support structures. I will just go out and say, in general, I work in a wonderful place. I work in an absolutely wonderful place, very supportive. I have wonderful colleagues. I have wonderful supervisors and deans and who are very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Each of the community colleges in the state of Oregon use differing language for their faculty positions and the promotion status. The author chose to use the term tenure as it is a commonly understood term across higher education. It is not an indication of the institutions where the storytellers are employed.

supportive. So, that's number one and I felt very much support. I was taken under the wing by several people.

Additionally, Mark brings to his position a unique set of skills and credentials that could easily be overlooked by a hiring committee and leadership team. This was not the case at with his institution. Not only did they not overlook them, they embraced them. I think the following words best sum up Mark's overall experience as a faculty member at his institution: "they see me."

In contrast, while Brandon was fortunate to have some wonderful department-

level support upon hire, specifically in terms of teaching and teaching-related needs; that

was not the case for larger employee training. Brandon noted,

So, one of one of the things that comes up at our institution, and we've, it's been addressed, I'd say in recent years, um there weren't good systems in place for folks to transition to the college. It was kind of one of those like, you had to know the right people so that you knew how to do really basic things. Like, I can remember for the first year, I would have trouble sometimes just getting like photocopies done because I didn't know how to access the website, to get to the printing services, to get to a thing, to have it done cheaply without me standing in front of the photocopier. What the college has done since, like the last round of a number of our hires, is they . . . they actually put in like a mentoring program, so they give folks release time so that they can meet as a cohort and get support as through those first couple of years of teaching at the college. I didn't have that when I started, but at least I can say the college has realized that that's important and has taken the steps to address those pieces.

He further explained,

Because the biggest thing was that I had those two other faculty that I could fall back on as mentors. So, eventually I would just get frustrated and I would go ask one of them like, I can't do this. How does this work? But I think that would have been a lot more difficult if I wasn't put in a position where by default, I had those two people to ask those questions to. And we . . . we also have never had like communities based on ethnicity, race, any kind of demographic components where I could just go like, OK, well, let me go find like the other BIPOC instructors and see what they have going on. We did start doing that a few years ago. Recently, we started implementing some . . . employee resource groups. So, they did, the college did initiate those, and that has provided a little bit of an

additional layer of support. It's nice because it is all encompassing, so you don't, it doesn't include just faculty. It includes all of the different levels of classified and faculty and part-time folks. But that did not exist when I started.

Similarly, Marie's college has recently implemented mentoring for new faculty,

something that was not available early in her tenure. She explained,

Everybody who comes in as a new faculty member . . . is assigned for that first year a faculty mentor. And they're mentored for their first 12 months, and then they're cut loose. But if you were having a hard time in your classes or things like that, you can . . . request mentoring again. So, you could, if you were having some problems on a specific part of your instruction or even with your curriculum, you could request a mentor, and the college would help you get paired with the right mentor. And that's pretty easy.

According to Dee (2002), work communities play an important role in community

college faculty retention. Defined as institutional factors, the ability and/or difficulty to

establish a college community was determined to be one of the more particularly

prevalent factors in faculty retention and turnover. Community college faculty who have

community, experience open communication on campus, experience autonomy in their

work, and a sense of support for innovation are more likely to be retained (Dee, 2002).

BGM offered insight into her department and institution that has met many of these

elements:

Well, I've only worked at one Oregon community college, which is where I am now and my experience has been, at least here . . . it's been very good. It has been . . . I am very well received by my colleagues, by my students, all the way up into the president, the previous president, as well as the new president and, you know, an array of faculty and staff and the VP and all. And one thing I really love about our institution is that they kind of let you throw things up against the wall to see if they stick. If they stick great, if they don't, it's no problem. Try again.

While in contrast, Kendrick found the organizational structure of their college a barrier in

many ways:

The experiences have been good because you are working with a many likeminded people who are trying to just provide resources for students. But then you have your, you know, your drawbacks too, because the unfortunate part about a lot of community colleges or higher ed in general, is there's a lot of silos. So, it was hard to always find the necessary opportunities for you to be able to have growth, have mentorships, without people feeling threatened. So, I thought that was the toughest part is some of my really closest friends I've worked with are here, because we all have a true pedagogy to help people, to do it together. And we truly understand the intersectionality between the different departments and how things work.

Further, Dee (2002) found lack of opportunities for innovation, as well as lack of

organizational support for these opportunities, was highly correlated with faculty

turnover. Kendrick, who has considered leaving their institution, concluded, "You are

resource more than you are a decision-maker or figurehead."

# **Theme 6: Personal Support Systems**

While not as strong a theme as the others in this study, our storytellers draw upon a wide array of personal support systems as persistence strategies. These include friends, family, spirituality and religion, professional networks, and their own social and cultural capital. Some much more than others. For instance, similar to Black community college faculty in Ingleton's study (2016), both Kendrick and Marie rely on a network of friends to address the racism they face in their work lives. Kendrick shared,

You know, like I said, having conversations with many of my friends outside of here, because I have a diverse group of friends, you know, I think all nationalities I have . . . I have a conversation or I can hang out with. Many of them, you know, talk about what they go through, working at their companies or working at their colleges and making them say the same exact thing. Hey, it's very hard to find diversity here in this part of Oregon. I feel comfortable being able to engage people and be able to just have, you know, find out what our common ground is. And it's hard. So, it's we have these conversations all the time, but then we don't try to harp on it. We don't, because we know it's not going to be conducive for us to have any success if we do.

Similarly, Marie remarked,

So, it's, you have to kind of learn how to adapt and survive in a place like this. I adapt and survive because I have tribal students and tribal friends, and the local tribes are here, and I've worked with the tribes off and on for many, many years, and then I have friends in a nearby city. So, I have family and community here.

Marie has not only stayed engaged with the Indigenous groups in her area, she actively

worked with the tribes on important social and political issues.

Mark and BGM have navigated their transition to Oregon in a variety of ways.

While both of their institutions have provided a number of formal support structures (see

Theme 8: Retention Supports), one of keys to their persistence has been their own social

and cultural capital. For Mark, his extensive experience being a newcomer and cultural

observer has allowed him to develop a rich set of cross-cultural skills. He shared,

I just I sat in his office and I shook his hand and I said, please look for my email . . . I am I'm very proactive. I mean, you have to be in all context. You just have to be proactive. And if you want something done, you actually have to do legwork. It actually is, in my experience, as in all sorts of university settings, whether community college or not. And I have taught in. One. Two. Three, four, five, I have exactly five different countries and several universities, so, it takes a lot of legwork and the personal touch is always the best to have that happen. So, at the same time that the support structures were there and they were very good. There was a lot of innovation. Part of it was also, me that I took it upon. I could have just sat back to help me, help me, help me. But I don't, I don't do that. So, now I think that that combination helped.

BGM is equally clear about the ways in which she navigates any institutional barriers she

faces as a professional Black, young, woman. BGM offered,

Yeah, it happened for me. Yes, it's happening, right? It's living . . . You know, and I also like I said, I think it also has to do with the person to, I think sometimes. Um . . . It depends on personality types. I don't care what color you are. It's just some personality. It's not just don't mesh. I do think race, of course, and gender and age. I'm a younger, a much, much younger instructor than some of my counterparts. I'm often mistaken for a student all the time and I'm not mad at, I mean, it is what it is, but, I'm equally qualified, right? And, I assert myself in a way that is . . . I mean, business. You know. Let's be clear, I made a choice to take this job and live and work here, so we're going to either learn to get along or I could just move around. And this is kind of bad optics for them.

BGM also brought with her to Oregon an extensive social network via her membership in a national, university-based organization. She shared, "that's my community." Wherever I go in the world, there are individuals who are in my organization and I can always call them." Before she even accepted the job, she reached out to the area's closest universities to connect and learn more about the region:

I said, give me the real. Tell me the truth. You are Black, I'm Black. He's in my age range . . . And he said, I might just be honest with you. It's not. It's not a big city . . . He was like, it could be challenging sometimes. He was like, I'm from L.A. I moved from L.A. to Atlanta, then from Atlanta to here. And he was like, but what I'm going to do, I'm going to put together a meet and greet with all the Black individuals I can find and all the organization folk that I can find. So, immediately I had community coming in.

Others, like Mark and Brandon have created new social networks by reaching out

to local community groups, local universities, and other educator networks, as has June

who has stayed very active in her field, developing and presenting new pedagogical

strategies and delivery methodologies. According to Bower (2002), unlike their White

counterparts, community college faculty of color are more likely to maintain "a closer

connection with universities . . . and to suggest that students make use of university

resources" (p. 81).

BGM and Marie also shared that they rely on their spiritual and religious practices

as space of support. For BGM, this took the form of regular church attendance:

I've visited. Let me see four or five churches. I think I'm on my fourth or fifth church interview because I'm still trying to find a church home here. Yes. And that is very important to me. My spirituality is very important to me. The churches I've been through have been good. They have served purposes in the season in which I was in, in my life, you know, when I first got here and so on and so forth. But I've been received well within the congregation and that's community, right?

Jennifer has found a sense community in her neighborhood. She noted,

It is a racially and ethnically diverse, middle class, by the way . . . It is a pocket like that, by and large, because of probably the specific industry that draws people there. So, my community has always been more diverse than my workplace, and the students in my classes, it is kind of an anomaly. We're sort of bound by class. That's how we ended up in the same neighborhood and diverse in many other factors, really a fascinating like I always have felt comfortable and accepted in my immediate community.

Similar to Marie, who felt more herself the farther away she was from the college, Jennifer found this social, economic, and geographic space, and the social relationships that sustain it, an important resource.

## **Recommendations From Our Storytellers**

Using their own intersectional lenses and their own experiences working in these very different community colleges in Oregon, the counterstorytellers offered a number of recommendations to improve the working conditions for community college faculty of color in the state. These recommendations fell into the following three categories: Recommendations for White Faculty, Recommendations for Administrators, and Institutional Recommendations.

### **Recommendations for White Faculty**

The counterstorytellers offered three distinct and different approaches in their recommendations for White faculty: learning and self-reflection; working for institutional change, and; making changes in teaching paradigms and pedagogy.

Learning and Self Reflection. Brandon explained, "I think get super comfortable learning on your own without having to have people of color involved in that learning. And make sure that you are making separate spaces . . . when you decide that you do want to do some of that learning." Picca and Feagin (2007) explained that the White racial frame is performative and more acceptable in white-only segregated spaces like the backstage. This is where White racial framing is not only "learned and communicated"; it is these exchanges that the "threads that bind all-white groups together" are recreated and reinforced (Picca & Feagin, 2007, p. 113). The work to unlearn this White racial framing requires not only an individual paradigm shift, but a disruption in intragroup communication patterns. It will require White individuals to rethink the ways in they have come to know themselves and the role they take in these White racial framing performances. Altering the organizational culture of the state's community colleges will require a change in the ways in which Whites come to interact with one another when Whites are alone in these racially segregated spaces and whether they will interrupt white racial framing (Picca & Feagin, 2007).

Jennifer's recommendation for White faculty is twofold. Having not been mentored herself, and feeling isolated in her own department for more than a decade, she encouraged White faculty to engage in informal individual-level and formal structurallevel action. Speaking to the former, she shared,

I think just being very authentic and early on with new faculty members of color, introducing yourself. Encouraging informal, like, hey, do you wanna meet for coffee? Do you wanna come over to my house for a barbeque? You know, engaging people. Initially, in the beginning, conversations that maybe aren't about the work and the profession because then you can begin to build a relationship with someone and establish trust, and then it's far easier you know to help them with their work and their craft because they know who you are. I think people don't realize just the like little gestures to reach out can make a tremendous difference. Whether it's an email or an invitation to something, or just acknowledging that people exist. I see you and like you are part of our team and you're one of my colleagues and I'm curious to know who you are. Those are really big things.

BGM, who has had a very different experience in her department than Jennifer, offered a

very similar recommendation:

probably just again, making sure the faculty of color feel welcome. They feel included. They feel supported. They're not tokenized and or singled out. Their voices are elevated, but in a way that is again not tokenized and not put on display, but rather, put in a place of empowerment and, you know, having white allies. White folks saying this is not okay or this is great and we should do more of this. You know, really sticking up for your faculty of color, really, especially if you think that you know they are worth it. Not just because they're black or they're white, black or Latino, Asian, but because they are just good faculty or good staff, and it's good for morale, right. Like falling on your sword for someone who you know is an amazing faculty member or is a great employee. I mean it really, you know, in checking your own bias at the door. Please check your bias. We all have them. Check that at the door. And don't just check a box, oh they are black and she's a woman. Oh, and she may be gay or he's black, queer. Don't check boxes. Don't check boxes, but hold spaces. I think for me, it's, it's a key.

Mentioned previously, mentoring has been found to be a key to successful retention of Latinas at all stages in the educational arena, and women faculty of color over all (Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016). It is important to note, however, Boyle and Boice (1998) found women and men of color new faculty in higher education were "less likely to find [informal] spontaneous support like mentoring" than their male, white counterparts (p. 159). This is consistent with Graves (2021) whose subjects reported they had to seek out their own mentors. Therefore, as HaMai (2014) recommended, institutions should provide more formal, institutional-based opportunities for mentoring.

Working For Institutional Change. Jennifer encouraged White faculty to take on more formal roles in their organizations and work towards structural change. She recommended White faculty step up "when there are opportunities to be a formal mentor or coach for someone taking those, you know, like really stepping into those because the need is really great or creating a program if there isn't one for your department or for your college. That's a big piece right there." Further, Jennifer challenged White faculty to expand their lens to consider structural factors that encumber community college faculty of color in Oregon, and the organizational mechanisms in place to work for change. For instance,

being an advocate for better wages for faculty in general will benefit all faculty, and certainly, the retention for faculty of color. And so, getting involved with your union or other ways to influence the workplace environment, the workplace culture, that's a huge piece.

Studies indicate that there are multiple benefits to formal mentoring programs in

higher education for both faculty mentors and mentees, as well as stumbling blocks

(HaMai, 2014). Institutional racism does not end once a program is put in place, the same

barriers that necessitate this type of intervention also complicate the mentor matching and

mentor relationships.

# Making Changes in Teaching Paradigms and Pedagogy. June took a student-

centered approach when it came to recommendations for White faculty. She articulated,

if White faculty are concerned about retaining students of color or difference, they automatically have at least some on their radar that will make them sensitive to retaining colleagues of color and difference. And if they're not, if that's not on their radar for students, it's not going to be on their radar for colleagues. And to be really honest, it's not on their radar for students, that's where I want them to put their energy, first, because they're living in their own little world. And short of doing things that are just it's not right to the point where they could get fired over it. You know, their impact, I think on faculty is secondary to their impact on students, if that makes sense.

Levin et al. (2014) found community college faculty of color and White faculty construct their professional identities differently. For the former, "it is in this intimate connection with students, many who are of similar backgrounds . . . that provides a rationale for faculty of color to view themselves as professionals and members of an ethnic or racial community" (Levin, et al., 2014, p. 65). It makes sense then, that June not only identified this difference over the course of her career, but that she saw this shift toward understanding and making meeting the needs of students of color a priority as a larger paradigm shift in professional identity for her White colleagues, and ultimately the institutional culture for the all.

#### **Recommendations for Administrators**

The theme of workload is a powerful thread running through the

recommendations offered to college administrators by the storytellers. Marie spoke to the ongoing expectation that she will do the diversity work for the college, rather than various institutional actors doing the work themselves and becoming culturally competent in the process. Additionally, both Brandon and Kendrick expressed concern about the balance between opportunities for professional development and tokenism and cultural taxation. Brandon suggested,

make sure that you are kind of consistently providing opportunities for development for those faculty so that they do have some opportunities to take leadership positions if they are comfortable with taking those positions. I'm not a huge fan of like forcing somebody to go out and be like you need to be a figurehead leader on a particular thing, but at least making sure that they are getting those options and if they kind of consistently aren't feeling comfortable with taking on some of those roles, like inquiring around what . . . are their supports we can get you that would help you feel more comfortable. And I think that is something that once you start doing it for those faculty, it is . . . there are other faculty that would also benefit from having those check ins and seeing what supports would be necessary. Like I said, it's that whole universal design. If you if you get into the habit of saying, hey, this faculty member is consistently not feeling comfortable with anything beyond teaching. Is it because they are choosing to do that, or is it because they don't feel comfortable like they have the support from administration and the college to do those other things? What can we do?

# And Kendrick offered,

Don't make us do the work to tell you what you should be doing. You should be making a concerted effort and finding out why you should also. Don't be afraid to go recruiting some areas you haven't previously. There's a lot of minority

communities, a lot of great colleges that have great diversity, inclusion programs, great minority recruiting programs. You have great programs that try to become pathways for minority teachers. Go start. Let's talk it to those institutions to try to get these people to come here. And don't be afraid to lean in on your learning. Or lean in on your uncomfortableness to do that. Like, you always wanted to follow us to have to go do that. And we have this candidate who wants to come here. Well, talk to him. Tell them the truth. Don't be, don't be, be honest with them. Tell them you don't have as much diversity. Tell them that you don't have diversity. It's always color in people's minds. But don't tell them, hey, we don't have that many people of color on faculty, but we're trying to start changing that. And here's how we'll support you. Be honest with them and let them make the decisions if they want to come or not.

In his study of Oregon community college faculty of color, Sámano (2007) concluded that cultural taxation is neither uniform in experience nor cause. The faculty in his study reported additional diversity-related workload to come from a variety of sources and for a variety of reasons that included racist assumptions, ignorance, and necessity; very often, the institutions did not have other resources, i.e., human capital, who could complete the work at hand and saw the faculty of color as an expert in the field. What Brandon and Kendrick are highlighting is that their institutions lack a broad spectrum of cultural competency and that they always look to the small number of and/or only faculty of color to speak for diversity on campus. To remind the reader, as Brandon mentioned earlier,

the number of times that I have been invited to like an all-faculty in-service on, you know, appreciating health disparities amongst BIPOC communities. I'm like, I don't need that, I know. That like you're actually like wasting my time or other unfortunate thing is a question pops up and then the heads start to kind of naturally swivel in my direction. And now I have to like, represent the entire . . . diaspora. Like I . . . I can give you my personal opinion on what I feel like this is, but please don't take my personal opinion and decide that this now applies to . . . million[s of] Americans. I think that's the right number, right? Like that. That is not how that works, or that it applies to a little over 1% of our county. That's not how that works. And I realize that it's happening because I'm right there. So, it feels natural and comfortable, but I don't want that to accidentally lead to, we have made all these policies because we asked Brandon if it's OK

Additionally, faculty of color in Sámano's (2007) study reported frustration as "respondents felt that on an institutional level, there are neither sticks (penalties) nor carrots (incentives) to encourage faculty to become more culturally competent" (p. 132). Their belief was, without these in place, these patterns would nonetheless remain the

same (Sámano, 2007).

Consistent with the findings of Levin et al. (2015), June felt the current problems

were due to an administration that is disconnected from the mission of the college and

has too many layers between it and students:

Challenges, probably . . . not personally tied as much as just watching the institution, when they're in a position where they don't value people or they don't value students, especially. We're at a funny place right now . . . I'm seeing and part of this may be just old age and just getting a little bit cynical about it, but I'm seeing a little bit more of an administration that seems disconnected from the mission of the college or what I view should be the mission of the college, with the students being the primary driver of what we should be doing. So, and I've seen that a little bit with, you know, even sometimes we'll hire somebody new faculty wise where, you know, I kind of go, you know, yeah, I get the credentials on paper, but, you know, this is not their first mission and goal in life is not educating students and providing for students, and that to me always is a red flag. And so, when I see that kind of thing, it's kind of, is sort of disheartening.

June went on to explain,

in some ways that for them to focus on faculty, they need to be focusing on people, so people that they work with in whatever department they happen to work in, whether it's instruction or whether it's finance or, you know, all of those administrative places that . . . there's I think a lot of work that can be done, should be done, just in helping people understand people. And at the point, we get administrators who are sensitive to the fact that everybody does not view the world in the same lens that they view the world, that it starts moving them in the direction that they need to move to understand what needs to happen for faculty, and ultimately what needs to happen for students. Now that's part of that, there are too many layers between administration and students, and some of that has to do with. My gut level feeling is that there are very few administrators that we have working at this institution and in most institutions who have lived in their car and who have worried about food insecurity. And unless that's even on their radar, they, I don't, I don't know. You know, I don't know how they then worry about faculty that have issues that are not part of their lens, the administrative lens.

June's position is similar to those of community college faculty of color in Levin et al.'s (2015) study. Levin et al. (2015) explained that faculty of color felt there was a "lack of understanding of campus life and conditions by district office executives, and [one woman] recommended that because district officials were at the forefront in developing policy' they should have 'some roll-up-the-sleeves, hands-on experience so that they understand what's being dealt with" (p. 7).

# Institutional Recommendations

In terms of institutional recommendations, the storytellers offered very specific, material suggestions for recruitment, hiring, and retention that included access to housing, wages, internal and external retention supports, as well as detailed information about the college community.

**Recruitment and Hiring**. The counterstorytellers offered very specific recommendations for recruitment and hiring that included the use headhunters, building relationships with universities with strong enrollments of graduate students of color, and having people of color on all hiring committees, even if they are not employees of the college. June also spoke about the local community environment as an important factor in hiring faculty of color. Individuals need to be aware of what they are walking into, "it's important that they understand what the racial ethnic breakdown . . . of the area because [in the case of our college district,] it is definitely not a global community. Even still." June went on to explain, And so then so then the other piece of me says, I think and on how much of this is the college's responsibility and how much of this is the person that's being hired responsibility to really understand what the community is that you're moving into because you're moving into not just the community, but you're moving into the larger community college district. And so, when you go up and down the district there is a lot of diversity in. I mean if you go north far enough and you go south far enough, you do pick up more diversity of people, but sometimes that diversity of people is not just race, ethnicity, class. You know, you start going into some of the social, political kinds of things too and understanding that that's part of also what you're buying into.

Jennifer, June and Kendrick both spoke to the cost of housing as an important issue in

hiring. June is concerned wages have not kept up with the cost of housing locally. She

explained,

housing is incredibly hard. Affordable housing for a while was, and I think still to some extent is, just, it's not attainable for a lot of people . . . We've had a couple of situations, and I know nothing about their gender or anything else about them, but I know we've made offers in a couple of departments to people, who once they get the offer . . . they say, I can't afford to live there.

While teaching and living in a very different part of the state, Jennifer still echoed these

concerns. Her recommendations were,

an increase in wages. So, you know the starting salary for faculty is far too low to live anywhere near the areas around the college. So, if you are not already living here, established, you can't move here. You know, for whatever it is. And I think \$60,000 might be high, it might be in the \$50s. You can't get started here. If you do say yes and you're struggling financially, it's really difficult ... I do think salary increases would be significant. If you could live somewhere else that's far more diverse and make more money. Why wouldn't you?

The cost of housing is particularly relevant for faculty of color, especially Black and

Latino/a faculty, who are on average carrying higher graduate student loan debt that their

White counterparts (Webber & Burns, 2022). While the cost of housing is of national

concern, Oregon rents are currently some of the fasted growing rents (for example,

Portland: 39% increase in over last year; Oregon: apartments 46% over prior year) and

highest rents (for example, Bend: 19.2% higher than national average) in the country

(Paterson, 2022; Stebbins, 2022).

# Internal and External Retention Structures. Kendrick, Jennifer and Brandon

spoke to the importance of internal and external retention structures. Speaking

specifically to how the college is situated in the state, Kendrick detailed,

Because this part of Oregon is a special place in the sense that you have a lot draws for people here to live here and a lot of tourism, and you know, a lot of manufacturing, a lot of technology, but we are still isolated. So, trying to attract the person of color to come here and make them feel comfortable . . . You need to reach out to the community at large and say, hey, we have this person coming into our community to live. Possibly, hey, people of color, I know we're asking you for another heavy lift, as usual, to support this person.

Jennifer offered the following recommendations,

our institution definitely struggles with this. And so, this is something I've thought about many, many times. Formal mentoring and coaching, it could be by like a racial or ethnic affinity group member, but it doesn't even have to, just somebody, right? Somebody you can talk to about your teaching. Somebody when you have that really difficult situation your classroom you can go to and I think that would be a tremendous piece . . . I think something institutions need to be thinking about for all faculty, and it would definitely apply for faculty of color as so much more of our coursework and courses now are online. So, teaching is already, in my opinion, an isolating profession that shouldn't be. When you're on a physical campus, but imagine getting hired and we've done this for two years already. So, you're getting hired and you're immediately teaching online. So, that takes extra effort. You don't get the informal bumping into each other in the hall to even establish a relationship with somebody. So, I think these are really scary times in that regard because your opportunities for just informal networking aren't even there. You know a lot of programs have moved; the faculty work has moved online. Your faculty meetings are feeling different. So, we have to be very intentional with trying to build online communities for people, which is a good strategy. How can people access the support they need as faculty in ways that aren't just synchronous on campus? We've got to be creative in other ways.

Brandon echoed Jennifer's sentiment. He had been looking for the institutions to get

creative in building external connections for faculty of color across the state,

I guess another thing would be if we can encourage more cross campus associations and networks. There are a few that I have been able to find, like I've found, you know, there's like a couple of educator associations for faculty of color where you can find other folks that are out, that are away from your campus, that you can talk to and share information. So, setting up a similar type of network that colleges can access so that they are not being forced to ask a very small number of faculty about something, they can take that out and get broader input and make better decisions without creating all these additional burdens for faculty of color would be really useful.

One of the final recommendations made by the storytellers for the community colleges of

Oregon has to do with the lack of leaders of colors in these institutions in our state. One

storyteller shared,

I think having key leaders that are people of color is really important, so, deans and chairs and you know. Because then you can imagine, even you know your future should you want to pursue administration or grow, because you actually believe there would be opportunities for someone like you. And if you don't see that, you know you, you kind of internalize that pretty quickly. Like I'm tapped out here. Maybe you are a young professional who thinks maybe they won't be faculty forever. You have to see people in places where you want to be and go. And so, I think that's a critical piece.

Equally important, once leaders of color are in place, faculty of color want to know they

are being supported. Another storyteller shared,

the one woman, an administrator, who was there for about 10 or 11 years who was sort of like, like a mentor . . . Some of the things she told me about the institution were very disturbing, such as like how when she first got there, she had different pieces of art, Black art, in her office and people said that that was too much or she was too Black . . . She also had locks. So, I think sometimes hair plays a role. I think toward the end when she was close to leaving, they were really evil to her. I mean . . . she moved across the country. She got like away, away. And, and before her, I heard there was another woman there that was doing everything, she's doing amazing things . . . and had a situation with a white counterpart in her department, who was essentially, she believed was sort of kind of, maybe harassing her, and the institution did nothing about it from what I heard.

Kelly et al.'s (2017) study on retention of Black faculty at a PWI university found institutional mechanisms around retention were the determining factor in whether or not Black faculty persisted. Faculty in their study reported feeling they had undergone a "bait and switch"; the institution had invested heavily in the recruitment and hiring process, only to leave the faculty with limited retention support and resources post-hire. The counterstorytellers in this study are clear that institutional investments need to made at all points in the recruitment, hiring, and retention process, and that these investments need to be multifaceted, involve diverse institutional, college-district, and state-wide actors, and be structural in nature.

### **Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations**

This research study set out to collect and analyze the counterstories of full-time faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges. Faculty of color are under-represented in Oregon's community colleges, which have been designated as Predominantly White Institutions. This is particularly problematic as the state and the nation becomes increasingly racially and ethnically diverse, and our student population in our community colleges reflects this change. Studies indicate that faculty of color not only improve the classroom environment for students of color, but for all students, bringing to the classroom a wide array of pedagogical styles and differing goals (Kayes & Singley, 2010). Further, as Kelly et al. (2017) offered, "everyone benefits from exposure to diverse perspectives in the classroom and when faculty are diverse, students receive the type of education that prepares them for effective leadership and citizenship in a diverse democracy" (p. 305).

This study sought to explore the experiences of faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges. Using CRT as a foundational lens, this study collected and analyzed the counterstories of seven faculty of color at Oregon's community colleges and the strategies they employed that contributed to their persistence. The specific research questions that guided this study are as follows:

- What barriers, challenges and/or obstacles do Oregon's community college faculty of color experience?
- What strategies do Oregon community college faculty of color employ to persist in the community colleges across the state?

Table 4 provides an overview of the six themes and eight subthemes that emerged from the data collected.

## Table 4

Local Voices: Counterstorytelling and Retention of Faculty of Color in Oregon's Community College System Themes

Number	Theme	Subtheme
1	Racism in Oregon's Community Colleges	Students Isolation Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF)
2	Racialized Spaces: The Oregon Context	
3	Negotiation Strategies	Critical Participation Compliance as Strategy Pragmatic Strategies
4	Thrive off Teaching	
5	Institutional Support Mechanisms	Department-level Supports Institutional-level Supports
6	Personal Support Systems	

This final chapter contains a brief overview of the general elements of the study, followed by a discussion of the major findings, recommendations for future research, as well as recommendations for various institutional actors in Oregon's community colleges.

# **Participants**

The seven counterstorytellers identify as Black, Asian, Latina, Indigenous, BIPOC, and White European<sup>14</sup> and hold gender identities that include two men, one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> White and European, not European-American.

gender/fluid, one Two Spirited, and three women (See Table 3). The ages of the counterstorytellers range from the mid-thirties to sixties. Six have achieved full-time permanent status and one holds a non-permanent, contract position. One of the six who has achieved permanent status has chosen to move on from her full-time teaching position. All are employed in community colleges of various sizes in diverse regions throughout the state of Oregon.

### **Discussion of the Findings**

The intersectional identities and histories played an important role in how each of the storytellers both defined racism and their experiences with racism within the community colleges in Oregon that they work. While five of the seven storytellers provided a wide array of examples of microaggressions and institutional decision-making that made the work environment for themselves uncomfortable as racialized employees, two of those who participated in the study were less likely to identify those type of actions due to their own biographies and experiences with the social construction of race and ethnic identities. One of our storytellers, who identified as Asian, explained that she may have been raised with blinders on. And the other storyteller, who was born and raised outside the United States, explained that "we fetishize race" in this country, and it is not something he experienced until he immigrated to the United States. Equally relevant, the majority of the storytellers were very cognizant of the racialized space and history of Oregon, and the role it plays in our interracial interactions and individual and collective experiences. As, one storyteller shared, Yes, it differs. Again, I'm a Black woman, I get stares, you know... sometimes in meetings, not necessarily at the college, but, but, just, sometimes in education meetings ... some people for the first time, you know, they tend to say, oh, so what do you do? And I know that question is to quantify if I should be in the room or what qualifies me to be in it. And I know my other colleagues may not get that. Clearly, if I'm in the room, I'm qualified to be here. And there are other ways to start up a conversation. I don't know. How was the weather? What did you eat for dinner last night? You know, what do you do for fun, anything, like don't ask me that. I think that's so irritating and presumptuous, in a way. So, I do ... I do think, I do think that differs.

It is significant that these types of racist exchanges and hostile atmospheres were found in all sizes of districts, in rural, suburban, and urban areas, in a variety of regions across the state.

# Job Satisfaction

Five of the storytellers are fully satisfied with their jobs as full-time faculty in Oregon's community colleges. One of the storytellers has left their permanent position for a non-teaching position within Oregon's community college system and the second continues in their position due to the lack of the job opportunities in their region of the state. This storyteller, however, is satisfied with the legacy they will leave in their department and the mark they will have made on the college. A third storyteller, who is satisfied with their work, has considered leaving their position and may do so in the future. It is important to note that four of storytellers who are fully satisfied with their jobs reported significant departmental support upon hire that included formal and informal mentoring, encouragement for new projects, help with promotion review, and a general sense of respect. Consistent with Flowers (2005), the five satisfied storytellers find their connection with students to be central to their sense of fulfillment. The two counterstorytellers who are the least satisfied in their work, include the one permanent faculty who left her position. They identify as cis-gendered woman and Two Spirited, and they reported the most student-targeted microaggressions of all of the counterstorytellers in this study. Additionally, neither had administrative support that could have quelled the behavior of the students. In contrast, one of these faculty actually has regular contact with administration about not upsetting White students with their choice of classroom topics.

The experiences of these two counterstorytellers are consistent with their racialized female peers across the nation who report a higher level of negative student evaluations and less administrative response (Han, 2012; Pittman, 2010; Turner et al., 2011).

# Faculty Fit

Two of our storytellers spoke specifically to concerns about hiring practices and the ongoing pattern of hiring faculty that fit a specific mold or have already established relationships with the college. These concerns are consistent with earlier studies by Stevenson (2012) and Levin et al. (2013), as well as by a more recent study by Levin et al. (2015). Levin et al. (2015) found that even in colleges with higher rates of faculty of color, the racial and ethnic makeup of the hiring committee matter. According to the faculty of color at all of the sites investigated, "majority populations chose majority populations for faculty jobs: thus, a recurrent pattern" (Levin et al., 2015, p. 7). Institutions often look to faculty of color to fill the gaps in hiring committees to stop these trends (Levin et al., 2015; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). Yet, faculty of color are still underrepresented at community colleges nationally, and at every community college in the state of Oregon (NCES, 2017). Further, faculty of color cannot take responsibility for stopping this trend without taking on additional cultural taxation (Sámano, 2007).

# Workload

Only three of the seven storytellers spoke directly to the differences in workload experienced as a faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges. These counterstorytellers identified as Black, BIPOC, and Native American. Their examples included from being called out at a college-wide event to speak for all people of or color, to leading the diversity work for the college, to being a source of diversity information throughout the institution. The examples provided were consistent with those found in Sámano's 2007 study of cultural taxation and faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges. It is important to note that two of these storytellers, while being asked to carry additional diversity work, also felt pressure to alter their presentation of self in front of their White peers and/or students (Stevenson, 2012). Both of these storytellers are experiencing what Du Bois referred to as a "double consciousness" (Du Bois, 1897). Levin et al. (2013) found that this divided self results when community college faculty of color have to navigate contradictory professional and social identities. These two counterstorytellers, who identified as Black and Native American, felt their social identities came in conflict with or are operating on the borders of the dominant cultural norms of their PWIs (Levin et al., 2013). Further, all three storytellers felt their

attendance and actions are viewed as representations of their entire race or all racially oppressed groups.

# **Microaggressions and Institutional Racism**

Each of the Oregon community colleges where our counterstorytellers are employed, in differing ways, offered unhealthy work environments for their faculty of color. Even when retention strategies were present, like mentors, affinity groups, supportive department-level colleagues, and innovative cultures, the storytellers still faced racial microaggressions in the classroom, with classified staff, with administrators, or in campus-wide events that made for harmful spaces. Even storytellers that were reluctant to name experiences as racism or as the result of their racialized identity felt that due to administrative turnover at the college "there are fewer people that, for lack of better ways of saying it, respect me in the way that they should respect me and the expertise that I bring to this institution."

Consistent with the research on university and community college women of color faculty, the women storytellers in this study reported more direct challenges to their authority from their students than the men in the study (Han, 2012; Ingleton, 2016; Pittman, 2012; Turner et al., 2011). Two of the faculty mentioned above had regular and repetitive student challenges, both within the classroom and to the administration. For one of the storytellers, she attributed these challenges to the intersection of her age, gender, and ethnicity. She began in her career as a young teacher and felt that attributed to the student response. Additionally, both instructors taught subjects that asked students to take a new look at the world around them and challenged existing ideas. The second

instructor again has been sanctioned by administration when students complain about feeling uncomfortable with the topics. Another young woman counterstoryteller has experienced resistance from students outside of the classroom, and the final woman counterstoryteller teaches a specific population of students and she attributes her lack of student resistance and complaints to this difference in population.

It is important to note that only the BIPOC and Indigenous counterstorytellers spoke to feeling physically unsafe in their college districts. The BIPOC male is considering moving out of his college district as the White supremacist activities grew in his region during the Twin Pandemics. While the Indigenous faculty member has experienced overt racism and property vandalism since starting with the college. Consistent with Graves, (2021), the communities in which the state's colleges are situated are important considerations for the faculty of color who work there.

The experiences with racism outlined above not only create unhealthy work spaces for the faculty of color working in Oregon's community colleges, they require these same individuals to expend additional energy in preparation for and in response to these events (Padilla, 1994; D. G. Smith et al., 2004). Noted previously, "racial microaggressive conditions produce emotional, psychological, and physiological distress, or *racial battle fatigue*" (W. A. Smith et al., 2011, p. 64). As explained by Stevenson (2012), "headaches, high blood pressure, indigestion, fatigue, insomnia, and frequent illnesses typify physiological reactions of Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF)" (p. 33). RBF is experienced by faculty of color throughout our higher education institutions, including the faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges. When asked if she had a question

for her peers across the state, I remind the readers of Marie's comments:

I think it would be, how do you stay healthy? How do you cope with this? And I think that's not just for me. I would think that that's for any, I mean . . . I would want to know for myself. But I actually would want to know it for other faculty members of color across the state in universities and colleges because I think everybody, there is a place where everybody incurs wounds and scars and has some form of PTSD. At times I've thought I've had a form of PTSD. In fact, I know I did during a few years. It's like, Oh, my gosh. You know, it's, it's how did, how do you stay healthy? How did you, how do you cope? . . . and that might throw some of them a curve ball, but that would be what I'd ask other people. And I'd ask myself. And maybe . . . why did you do it?

She went on to ask of her peers across the state,

How do you take care of yourself? What do you do? Is there a culture of nurturing or taking care within your institution? We have a wellness program, and . . . it's okay, but it's very much focused on food and walking and exercising in our gym, which is good. But that to me is . . . that's taking care of the body. That's not necessarily taking care of the spirit and the mind.

While the following recommendations do not address the counterstoryteller's questions specifically, they do offer insight from the counterstorytellers as to how to make the community colleges in Oregon healthier places to work for faculty of color. These words above challenge community college stakeholders to think of persistence not simply as whether or not a racialized individual stayed on at an institution for an extended period of time, but was it healthy for them to do so.

#### Limitations

The research on faculty of color in our nation's community colleges is limited and even more so for the faculty of color in Oregon's community college system. Research studies like these are important to the ongoing body of knowledge in this field. The counterstorytellers self-selected into the study therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to the larger population (Cresswell, 2013; Denzel & Lincoln, 2011).

Additionally, there should be some consideration for the race-of-interview effects on the subjects and their disclosure (Davis, 1997; Mayotte et al., 2018). Specifically, how might the quality of the data or outcome have differed had the researcher and interviewer been a BIPOC individual rather than a White woman? Finally, due to the priority to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, there are areas of inquiry that are not fully explored in the findings (Denzel & Lincoln, 2011).

#### **Recommendations for Future Research**

In conclusion and review of this research study, I offer three recommendations for future research. The first considers the role of community context in exploring the experiences of community college faculty of color. The second is a recommendation to examine the experiences of community college faculty of color within-racial groups, and the third calls for a public health focus on the experiences of the state's community college faculty and color and RBF.

### **Differences** Across Local Contexts

The scholarship on community college faculty of color is limited (Bower, 2002; Brown, 2021; Graves, 2021; HaMai, 2014; Harden, 2016; Ingleton, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014; Sámano, 2007; Stevenson, 2012). Some of the more recent studies have chosen to focus their research on areas of the country and community college districts with above average rates of full-time faculty of color (HaMai, 2014; Levin et al. 2013, 2014). These studies have resulted in higher sampling populations. For example, Levin et al. (2013, 2014) and HaMai (2014) all conducted their studies with full-time faculty of color employed at community college districts in Southern California. Each study had over 30 full-time participants, drawing 8–10 faculty from each of the four sites. The data and conclusions being drawn from these studies is significant and plays an important role in our understanding of the experiences of community college faculty of color in this unique American institution; however, just due to the numbers alone, the experiences of these faculty differ greatly from those in locales or states like Oregon, where in comparison, only 9 of Oregon's 17 Oregon community college districts employ any fulltime faculty who self-identify and report as racialized minorities (NCES, 2020). Additionally, the racial and ethnic makeup of the college districts and student populations where these studies have been done are substantially different from other regions in the country like Oregon. The experiences and definitions of isolation or lack thereof, for instance, I believe, would be significantly different for the subjects in the studies. For example, 8 of Oregon's 17 community colleges employ less than four full-time faculty of color, and one of colleges employs no full-time faculty of color (NCES, 2020).

I think it would be relevant for future research to more deeply explore the experiences of community college faculty of color in relationship to their local contexts. How do the experiences of faculty of color in community colleges differ across locales, in terms of institutions, communities, and regions of the country? Additionally, how does the history of the region play into the community demographics, and what role does the community college play in the social, cultural, and political dynamics of the region? If we consider the experiences of our storyteller, June, for instance, when she arrived in her community, she doubled the population of Asians per the census. That has specific

meaning for her, both in terms of her professional and personal life. Additionally, for Brandon, as a BIPOC man, his relationship with or feelings of safety within the college district took a dramatic turn during the Twin Pandemics. He became concerned about his family's safety within his community as hate crimes and increases in overt White violence and protest rose in locales across Oregon and nationally. And finally, BGM has experienced some difficulty in connecting with her Black peers who were born or raised in Oregon. She feels that implants like herself have very differing experiences from the extreme marginalization experienced by Blacks in such a white space like her peers originally from Oregon. I encourage us as researchers to more deeply embed our studies in the local area when exploring the experiences of faculty of color with the community colleges, particularly as we take on recommendations. I believe it will encourage community college stakeholders to consider the role of place and place-based actors in impeding and encouraging the change needed to improve the working conditions for community college faculty of color across the nation.

#### New Directions: Within-Group Differences in Experience & Research Design

In her dissertation on community college women of color faculty, HaMai (2014) recommended future researchers should look to explore the experiences of community college faculty of color within rather than solely across racial groups. I concur. In a state like Oregon, however, it is very difficult to undertake this type of project due to the low numbers of faculty of color and ensure confidentiality. Rather than omit or forgo research in areas like Oregon, I think the solution to a larger regional sample and expanding research designs.

Harden's (2016) and Stevenson's (2012) recent dissertations on the experiences of Black male and Black community college faculty provide excellent examples. Harden focused on faculty from the state of Washington and ended up with five subjects for her study, while Stevenson relied on a regional pool from the Midwest United States. This allowed her to both recruit and possibly draw subjects from more than one state, resulting in a larger number of study participants. The final number of subjects in her study was 20 Black community college full-time faculty. Additionally important, many of the recent studies of community college faculty of color have relied on similar methodologies and research design, including this study (HaMai, 2014; Harden, 2016; Levin et al., 2013, 2014). The studies, therefore, can come up against similar limitations, constraining our findings (Creswell, 2013). Expanding both our research designs and sampling methods could allow us to continue to explore the experiences of community college faculty within racialized groups more deeply.

# RBF as a Public Health Issue: Research

Isolation was an important reality for the counterstorytellers in this study, taking form in a variety of ways. One of the externalities of this isolation was the inability to discuss coping mechanisms, trauma, and the individual and collective impacts of RBF on one's self and fellow faculty of color. Suggested by one of the counterstorytellers, there is a lack of understanding of the impact the racism experienced in the community colleges by faculty of color in the state and impact on one's health and wellness. This information is important on multiple levels. First, it would provide insight and voice to this specific phenomenon from a public health lens, moving the discussion from organizational culture and mechanisms to physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health. Second, it would provide more direct remedies for faculty of color experiencing RBF; remedies that can be built into health policies and programs within our institutions of higher education.

#### Policy Recommendations for Oregon Community Colleges

In the context of this study, retention and persistence refer to two distinct and differing sets of activities that influence the interrelationship between faculty of color and the institutions where they work, as well as the quality and length of the employment of faculty of color in Oregon's community colleges. Retention is defined in terms of institutional mechanisms and structures (Dee, 2002; Kelly et al., 2017); specifically, as that which "can be modified by organizational leaders" (Dee, 2002, p. 5). In contrast, persistence is defined in terms of social relationships, in particular an individual faculty member's "relationships with their social and academic environments" (McGee et al., 2021, p. 60). The greatest barrier to persistence for faculty of color is racism (Baez, 2000; HaMai, 2014; Stanley, 2006).

The majority of the counterstorytellers in this study are fully satisfied in their work. This satisfaction was the result of a wide array of differing, formal and informal retention and persistence strategies, as well as the individual instructor's relationship with their students. Some of the retention strategies were put in place by institutions and institutional actors; while the persistence strategies were the result of the actions of the individual faculty themselves, the social relationships and communities they built for themselves outside of the college and college district community. Nonetheless, no instructor relied on one strategy, one method, to persist. McGee et al. (2021) noted in their study on women of color engineering faculty, persistence requires a multi-faceted, institutional approach, with internal and external support mechanisms, as well as clear understanding of the "intersectional considerations of group-specific nuances shared by Black, Latina, and Asian . . . faculty members" (p. 57). Quite simply, retention of faculty of color in Oregon community colleges will require an intersectional lens, a multifaceted approach, and as some of the counterstorytellers recommended, thinking beyond the individual college districts.

#### Policy Change: Recruitment and Retention

Between November 1, 2019, and October 31, 2020, 88 new full-time faculty were hired by Oregon community colleges, and only 11 of these new faculty were faculty of color (NCES, 2020)<sup>15</sup>. These numbers continue to be concerning as the state's community college full-time faculty is no closer to reflecting the students and communities they serve. The counterstorytellers in this study have recommended that the state's community colleges need to make institutional-level strategic improvements at every stage in the pipeline from recruitment, to hiring and onboarding, through retention.

Studies indicate that "fitness" functions as a gatekeeper at each stage of this pipeline from boards to faculty hiring people most like themselves in terms gender and race (Ebbers et al., 2000; Levin et al., 2015; Stevenson, 2012), to notions of community-level fitness in faculty hires (Cejda & Murray, 2010; Pennington et al., 2006; Townsend & Twombly, 2007; Twombly, 2005). A recent study by Levin et al. (2015) offered the following suggestions to mitigate this pattern: changing compositions of hiring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Fifty-nine of the new full-time faculty self-identified as White and 18 of the new faculty are listed as race/ethnicity unknown.

committees, including rotating long-standing participants off; having racialized individuals on all hiring teams; creating partnerships, and; paid teaching internships with universities or HBCUs.

Fujii (2010) found in her study of community college hiring committees, however, that committee composition, nor even required hiring committee training, did not assuage racism from the process. Rather, racism became more "finesse[d]" (Fujii, 2010, p. 96). The community college in Fujii's (2010) study that found success in changing its hiring practices and committee processes resulting in more faculty of color on campus was that which when "addressing the underrepresentation of faculty of color in the community college . . . acknowledge[d] that ethnicity and race and racism exists" (p. 97). The underrepresentation of faculty of color was made a priority by the board and administrators and became a part of the institution's values, goals, and practices, and the college community had a shared understanding and definition of diversity. With this shared understanding and language in place, issues of accountability in hiring committees can be better addressed (Fujii, 2010).

The next piece of the pipeline is post-onboarding and as Kelly's et al. (2017) found an element that too often gets overlooked. HaMai (2014) explained in her study of women community college faculty of color, the literature on faculty mentoring within colleges for new faculty is non-existent. Most of the research has been done on university programs, and again while the research is limited, the results are a net positive for both the mentor and mentee (HaMai, 2014). It is important to note, however, of the 37-women community college faculty of color in HaMai's (2014) study "nearly all . . . emphasized

that mentoring, whether formal or informal, was the most effective and powerful form of support that helped guide them through the tough times in their faculty experiences"(p. 116). The participants in her study found formal, structured mentoring relationships to be very important in their careers and often continued these relationships with them from graduate programs, internships and other opportunities as they moved through their academic positions in the community colleges. These mentoring relationships continued to play an important role in the support mechanisms of her participants. This was echoed by some of the counterstorytellers in this study as well. For these individuals, formal mentoring is a regular part of the institutional pipeline at their college for new hires, and this relationship has played a significant role in their satisfaction in the workplace.

# Policy Recommendation: Faculty of Color Networks: State-level Coordination and Funding

Oregon's community colleges are PWIs. The number of full-time community college faculty who identify as faculty of color in Oregon is low, and the overwhelming majority of the counterstorytellers in this study reported experiencing microaggressions and isolation. This isolation is physical, emotional, discipline-based, and geographic, and takes a toll on the spirit and bodies of our faculty of color. The counterstorytellers recommended a number of retention strategies to improve faculty of color persistence. These included informal and formal within-institution mentoring programs, employee affinity groups, increased number of leaders of color at all levels of institutions, and increased cultural competency of White coworkers. Another consistent pattern that emerged from the counterstoryteller recommendations was reaching outside the institutions to find support for faculty of color when the institution lacked numbers and cultural competency within. This is where state-level coordination and funding would be appropriate.

The State of Oregon HECC is charged with oversight of the state's higher education system from policy, to funding, to program implementation, to program evaluation. Guided by the Oregon HECC Equity Lens (HECC, n.d.b.) and the State of Oregon Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Plan: A Roadmap to Racial Equity and Belonging (State of Oregon, 2021), the Council has not only the authority, but it is within its mission to do so. These networks can take a variety of forms, from cohort-based faculty learning communities (see Cox Brand, 2004; HaMai, 2014) or annual conferences for faculty and staff of color (Washington State University, 2022); what is important, however, is that the form and methodology meet the needs and desires of Oregon's community college faculty of color. State-level networks for faculty of color would not only provide systems—voice—for faculty of color who may not have that means available currently due to the numbers of faculty of color or climate at their institution, it could alleviate cultural taxation as individual institutional leadership has larger sets of racialized voices from which to interact and listen. Further, this network could offer opportunities for mentoring relationships.

# Conclusion

Our nation's community colleges are experiencing an increasing racially and ethnically diverse student population in an era of rapid social and economic change, and there is question if the institution is up to the task (Levin et al., 2015). This open access institution is working to meet this challenge with a full-time faculty workforce that is overwhelmingly white (AACC, n.d.b), and this does not bode well for all of the students it serves, nor the institution itself. Levin et al. (2015) argued the underrepresentation of a diverse faculty in and of itself "signal a need for change" (p. 854). Yet, a recently released 2022 audit of the community colleges in the state of Oregon reported the system is lagging behind in student completion, student support, and college sustainability. The community colleges in the state of Oregon, like their national partners, are experiencing not only significant demographic shifts, but underrepresentation of faculty of color, lagging student completion, and as our counterstorytellers have shared institutional climates that continue to be primary White institutions in nature. The combination of these factors indicate deep institutional change is needed in Oregon's community colleges.

The counterstorytellers in this study thrive on teaching and research indicates that faculty of color improve the classroom experience for all students. Faculty of color bring differing experiences, goals, and pedagogy to the classroom, and further improve the retention for students of color (Cole & Griffin, 2013; Fujimoto et al., 2012; Kayes & Singley, 2010; Levin et al., 2013; Solorzano et al., 2000; Umbach, 2013). Equally important, a more diverse faculty better prepare all students for citizenship in a democracy (Kelly et al., 2017). In addition, faculty of color help to create more racially and ethnically positive college environments, which again are associated with improved success for students of color (Fujimoto et al., 2012; Solorzano et al., 2000). Improved success and retention for the state's growing demographic of students and a better prepared citizenry for a changing world are the primary goals of Oregon's 40-40-20

(Mission of Education Beyond High School, 2011) Initiative and Equity Lens and of the variety of community college stakeholders in the state, particularly our students.

It is for these reasons that I encourage the leaders in the state to listen to our students and faculty of color, and work to dismantle the PWI cultures that hinder organizational change and make our community college unwelcoming spaces for faculty of color. If there ever was a time, the time is now.

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Race/Ethnicity	% Student	% Full-Time Faculty
American Indian or Alaskan Native	1.04	1.0
Asian	4.18	3.1
Hispanic/Latino	16.35	4.5
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	.48	.0
Multi-Racial/Multi-Ethnic	4.21	2.3
White	55.79	82.0
Unknown	14.81	6.4
International/Resident Alien	.75	.1

# Appendix A: Oregon State Student and Faculty Demographics

Oregon Community College Student and Full-time Faculty by Race and Ethnicity 2020-2021

\_\_\_\_\_

Source: Higher Education Coordinating Commission (2021), NCES (2020).

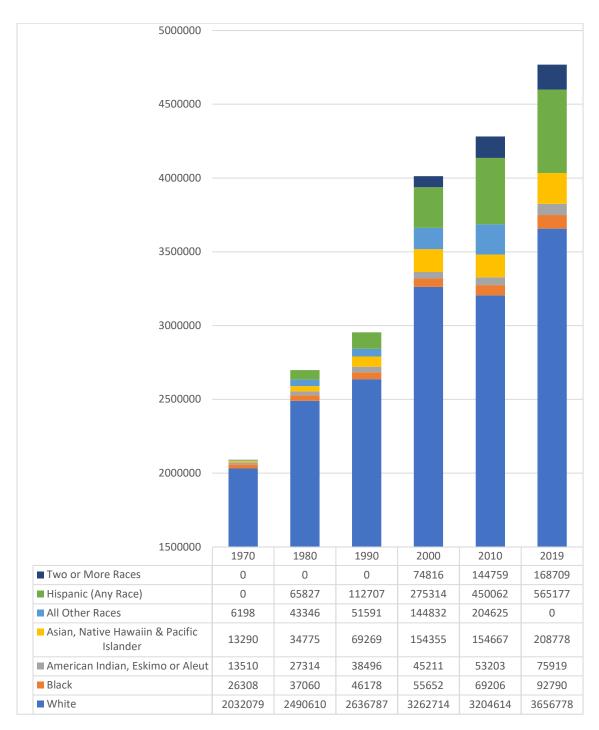
Institution	American Indian/Alaska Native	Asian	Black/African American	Hispanic/Latino	Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	White	Multi-Racial/Ethnic Two or More Races	Unknown	Total Full-Time Instructional Staff Student Headcount 2017-2018
Blue Mountain Community College									
Full-time Faculty	0	0	0	0	0	40	1	17	58
Student Head Count	142	61	106	2014	*	4172	177	498	7170
Central Oregon Community College									
Full-time Faculty	0	4	0	3	0	116	1	6	130
Student Head Count Chemeketa Community College	231	158	85	1357	31	8976	384	4540	15770
Full-time Faculty	1	3	2	9	0	145	9	39	208
Student Head Count	338	531	284	7187	177	13436	803	4336	27214
Clackamas Community College									
Full-time Faculty	2	2	1	6	0	103	0	0	114
Student Head Count	217	766	325	2546	47	13895	807	6792	25463
Clatsop Community College									
Full-time Faculty	0	0	0	0	0	28	0	0	28
Student Head Count Columbia Gorge Community College	48	39	51	396	29	2716	128	2006	5413
Full-time Faculty	0	0	0	0	0	20	1	0	21
Student Head Count	34	56	9	911	17	2465	56	465	4013

## Oregon Community College Student and Full-time Faculty by Race and Ethnicity by Institution 2017-2018

Institution Klamath Community	American Indian/Alaska Native	Asian	Black/African American	Hispanic/Latino	Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	White	Multi-Racial/Ethnic Two or More Races	Unknown	Total Full-Time Instructional Staff Student Headcount 2017-2018
College						•			
Full-time Faculty	1	1	0	2	0	28	0	0	32
Student Head Count	246	63	64	953	27	4081	218	491	6299
Lane Community College									
Full-time Faculty	3	5	2	7	0	162	4	6	189
Student Head Count Linn-Benton Community College	290	525	366	2752	97	13379	1095	6370	25528
Full-time Faculty	1	5	2	2	0	122	2	4	138
Student Head Count Mt. Hood Community College	176	438	135	1583	58	10786	539	4211	18220
Full-time Faculty	0	3	3	8	0	125	1	9	149
Student Head Count Oregon Coast Community College	218	1741	1022	3755	128	12515	711	5465	25623
Full-time Faculty	0	0	0	1	0	11	0	0	12
Student Head Count Portland Community College	38	17	*	239	*	1552	66	98	2023
Full-time Faculty	1	24	9	31	0	342	9	18	434
Student Head Count	511	5542	2973	8094	366	39142	3925	9660	71177
Rogue Community College									
Full-time Faculty	0	1	0	3	0	63	0	1	68
Student Head Count	174	204	120	2172	*	9157	499	2484	14884

Institution	American Indian/Alaska Native	Asian	Black/African American	Hispanic/Latino	Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	White	Multi-Racial/Ethnic Two or More Races	Unknown	Total Full-Time Instructional Staff Student Headcount 2017-2018
Southwestern Oregon Community College									
Full-time Faculty	2	0	0	1	0	47	0	3	53
Student Head Count Tillamook Bay Community College	164	94	52	520	47	4176	201	2101	7392
Full-time Faculty	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
Student Head Count	24	22	11	190	10	1528	12	214	2035
Treasure Valley Community College									
Full-time Faculty	1	1	0	15	0	29	0	4	50
Student Head Count Umpqua Community College	53	43	63	1261	13	3505	162	1029	6150
Full-time Faculty	0	0	1	0	1	36	12	7	57
Student Head Count	186	116	72	678	*	5573	40	6832	13497

Source: Higher Education Coordinating Commission (2018); NCES (2017) Resident alien excluded from this data. \*Indicates less than 7 per FERPA Requirements (NCES, 2017).



Oregon Population by Race and Ethnicity by Decade: 1970–2019

Note: Zero values indicate the category was not considered or available in that given year. Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2012a, 2012b, 2019)

## **Appendix B: Interview Guide**

- 1. Tell me about your professional journey. How did you come to your current position at this institution?
- 2. How would you describe your experiences teaching and working in Oregon's community colleges?

Probes: What are some of your greatest successes in your current role/roles in this institution?What are some of the challenges you have faced in the classroom, in your department, at this institution, or in the communities where you have worked?

3. Have you undergone the promotion process from probationary to permanent at this institution? Can you describe this process?

4. Do you think your experiences in the classroom, your department or at this institution differ from your coworkers of a different race and/or ethnicity? If so, how?

Probe: Can you give an example of a specific experience or an event?

- 5. Do you think your experiences in the community differ from your coworkers of a different race and/or ethnicity? If so, how? Do you think this has an impact on your experiences in the workplace?
- 6. You indicated you have thought of leaving the institution at one point. Why were your thinking of leaving and why did you change your mind and stay? (If relevant, from demographic questionnaire)
- 7. What recommendations do you have to improve retention of faculty of color in your department and at this institution?

Probes: Recommendations for faculty of color? Recommendations for White faculty? Recommendations for administrators?

6. What is a question you wish I had asked?

Probes: What supports or barriers to the process did you experience How did you handle the challenges?

#### **Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire**

Preferred Name: Preferred Pronouns: Preferred pseudonym for the study:

Personal Demographics\*:

The following questions allow you to self-identify aspects of your identity. This information will be used to analyze the data based on different aspects of identity (e.g. race, sexual orientation, age, religious or political affiliation).

You can skip items if you choose.

Age: 18 - 29 30 - 39 40 - 49 50 - 59 60 -

What do you identify as your race/ethnicity?

American Indian/Alaskan Native Asian Black/African/African American Hispanic/Latinx/Chicanx Middle Eastern/North African Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian White/European Not listed, please describe

\*The personal demographics questions were developed by the Portland State University College of Education Data Coordinator and Equity and Diversity Coordinator for the College of Education Student Climate Survey 2020 (S. Micke, personal communication, October 27, 2020).

If you would like to be more specific in describing your race or ethnicity, please describe below:

How do you identify your gender? Cisgender Man
Cisgender Woman
Gender Fluid
Transgender Man
Transgender Woman
Two Spirit
Not Listed (please describe below):
How do you identify your sexual orientation?
Asexual
Bisexual
Gay
Heterosexual
Lesbian
Pansexual
Queer
Questioning
Not Listed (please describe below):
How do you identify regarding religious affiliation?
Agnostic
Atheist
Buddhist
Christian
Hindu
Jewish
Muslim
Spiritual
Not Listed (please describe below):
Do you identify with having a physical ability concern or disability?
Yes (Optional - identify the concern or physical disability):
No No
Do you identify with having a learning ability concern or disability?
Yes (Optional - identify the concern or learning disability):
No
Do you identify with having an emotional or mental health concern or disability?
Yes (Optional - identify the concern or disability):

Is there another part of your identity you would like to disclose? (ex. an area of your identity where you might face discrimination)

Yes (Optional - please identify): \_\_\_\_\_\_ No

Educational Background:

 Did you attend a community college?

 Yes \_\_\_\_\_\_
 Number of Years \_\_\_\_\_\_

 No \_\_\_\_\_\_

Highest Degree attained: B.A. / B.S. M.A. / M.S. M.B.A. Ed.D. J.D. Ph.D. Not listed. Please describe: \_\_\_\_\_\_

Employment:

What best describes your current position at your campus? Full-time non-tenure track Full-time tenure track Full-time tenured

Career and Technical Education General and Transfer Education Adult Basic Skills Student Support Services

Have you been employed at other community colleges in the state of Oregon? If so, please check which colleges?

Central Oregon Community College Clatsop Community College Southwestern Community College Clackamas Community College Portland Community College Blue Mountain Community College Treasure Valley Community College Lane Community College Umpqua Community College Mt. Hood Community College Linn-Benton Community College Chemeketa Community College Rogue Community College Columbia Gorge Community College Tillamook Bay Community College Oregon Coast Community College

What roles did you hold at these institutions? Part-time faculty Full-time faculty Classified staff Administrative

Career and Technical Education General and Transfer Education Adult Basic Skills Student Support Services

Have you ever considered changing jobs within your current institution? Yes? No?

Have you ever considered leaving your current institution? Yes? No?

Do you live in the same community where you currently work? Yes? No?

## **Appendix D: Informed Consent**

#### Consent to Participate in Research (No Signature)

You are being asked to take part in a research study. The box below highlights key information about this research for you to consider when making a decision whether or not to participate. Carefully review the information provided on this form. Please ask questions about any of the information you do not understand before you decide to participate.

Project Title:	Local Voices: Counterstorytelling and Retention of Faculty of Color in Oregon's Community College System.
Population:	Adults, Interviews
Researcher:	Kristin Christophersen, Department of Educational Leadership and Policy, College of Education, Portland State University
<b>Researcher Contact:</b>	kchris@pdx.edu / 503.740.2721

- **Voluntary Consent**. You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. There is no penalty if you choose not to participate or discontinue participation.
- **Purpose**. The purpose of this research is to collect and document the narratives of faculty of color about their experiences with racism in community colleges, and to identify the factors that contributed to their persistence as instructors in Oregon's community college system.
- **Duration.** It is expected that your participation will last a total of 3 hours and will include the following: a short, online demographic questionnaire; a 90-minute interview; and additional time to review and edit transcripts of your interview. Participants interested in reviewing any portions of the research writeup are welcome to do so. Please expect an additional 2-3 hours for this process.
- **Procedures and Activities.** If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will do the following things:
  - 1. Complete an online demographic questionnaire prior to interview (5-10 minutes).
  - 2. Review the Consent to Participate in Research.
  - 3. Agree to meet online with the researcher for an approximately 90-minute interview.
  - 4. Agree or not to have the interview audio-taped. While taping the interview is preferred, I will take handwritten notes if you want to participate, but do not want to be audio taped.
  - 5. Agree or not to review and/edit the interview transcripts for accuracy.
  - 6. Agree or not to review and provide feedback on the writeup developed by the researcher post-interviews.

- Voluntary Consent. You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. There is no penalty if you choose not to participate or discontinue participation.
- **Risks.** Some of the foreseeable risks or discomforts of your participation include revisiting moments and/or experiences as a full-time faculty that have been both personally and professionally difficult or harmful.
- **Benefits**. There are no direct benefits to you for participating in the research study. However, the findings will contribute to the scholarship on community college faculty of color and can potentially be used to inform and improve the institutional practices for retention of faculty of color in community colleges.

Alternatives. Participation is voluntary and the only alternative is to not participate.

#### How long will I be in this research?

We expect that your participation will consist of less than five contact points across 4 - 6 weeks: initial contact; demographic questionnaire (5 minutes); scheduling; interview (90 minutes – 2 hours); transcript review/edit (1-2 hours), and; review of write up if interested (2 – 3 hours).

#### What happens to the information collected?

Information collected for this research will be used to in my doctoral dissertation for the Degree of Educational Leadership. The completed and approved dissertation will be electronically published on ProQuest and will be available electronically via the PSU Library.

### How will my privacy and data confidentiality be protected?

The researcher will take measures to protect your privacy including all participants will use selfselected pseudonyms and have the opportunity to review and edit transcripts of interviews prior to analysis.

To protect the security of all of your personal information, all demographic questionnaires will be collected and stored via a separate, secure online database, away from all transcript materials. The home computer of the researcher is both password-protected and has regularly updated security software protection. In addition, the home computer is used only by the researcher.

The recordings from the interviews will be transcribed by a transcription professional. A confidential agreement between the researcher and professional will be signed before releasing the audio files. Once the transcripts from your interview are completed, you will have the opportunity to review and/or edit the information found within. The original recordings of the interviews will be destroyed upon completion of the transcription. The final transcripts will be kept for three years after completion of the study. At that time, the files and documents will be

destroyed. Despite taking steps to protect your privacy, we can never fully guarantee that your privacy will be protected.

Individuals and organizations that conduct or monitor this research may be permitted access to inspect research records. This may include private information. These individuals and organizations include the Institutional Review Board that reviewed this research.

#### What other choices do I have besides participation in this research?

It is your choice to decide if you want to participate or not to participate in research

#### What if I want to stop participating in this research?

Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you may stop at any time. You have the right to choose not to participate in any study activity or completely withdraw from participation at any point without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the researcher or Portland State University.

#### Who can answer my questions about this research?

If you have questions, concerns, or have experienced a research related injury, contact the research team at:

Kristin Christophersen Researcher 503.740.2721 kchris@pdx.edu

Dr. Ramin Farahmandpur Dissertation and Research Chair Portland State University rfp@pdx.edu

#### Who can I speak to about my rights as a research participant?

The Portland State University Institutional Review Board ("IRB") is overseeing this research. The IRB is a group of people who independently review research studies to ensure the rights and welfare of participants are protected. The Office of Research Integrity is the office at Portland State University that supports the IRB. If you have questions about your rights, or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact:

Office of Research Integrity PO Box 751 Portland, OR 97207-0751 Phone: (503) 725-5484 Toll Free: 1 (877) 480-4400 Email: psuirb@pdx.edu

#### **Consent Statement**

I have had the chance to read and think about the information in this form. I have asked any questions I have, and I can make a decision about my participation. I understand that I can ask additional questions anytime while I take part in the research.

- □ I agree to take part in this study
- □ I do not agree to take part in this study

\*\* The Procedures and Activities and Confidentiality sections originate from HaMai, T. (2014). *The "other" women: What about the experiences of women faculty of color in community colleges*? (Publication No. 3692151) [Doctoral dissertation, California State University, Long Beach. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.