Faculty also complained about walking (or wheeling--in the case of wheel chairs) long distances between their offices and their classrooms and the lack of accessible office, lab, and studio space. All these factors seem to affect the development of a learning community on campus.

“There are departments where ten and twelve faculty are in different spots. How do you build collegial relationships?” (male assistant professor).

“One of the biggest problems that we have as a department is that we’re spread out over the entire campus. We were just talking about this that it would be nice if we were in a somewhat contiguous space. It’s like someone said, I can’t bump into you in the hallway if we don’t have a hallway.”

“I think it’s even more difficult for the students than it is for the professors. The student offices are in three or four different buildings, so you don’t have any common place for the students to interact. Higher, formalized intellectual levels are stymied when there is not additional informal interaction. That’s where real knowledge production comes from” (male faculty).

**Multicultural and Diversity Issues**

In some parts of the institution it appears that there is direct resistance to diversity and even a denial of any sort of conflict related to diversity issues. The HERI findings show:

- Both genders do not believe that there is a lot of racial conflict on campus, but they differ sharply in the degree of their beliefs. This finding is most apparent for full professors, where 74.5% disagree strongly (see Table I-9).
- Faculty of color are significantly more likely than white faculty to agree that there are racial tensions. However, the primary difference seems to exist within the full professor rank where over two-thirds of white faculty strongly disagree that there is a lot of racial conflict (see Table I-10).
- About one-fifth of all faculty of color believe that creating a multicultural environment on campus is a low institutional priority (see Table I-23).
- Two-thirds of female faculty, compared to less than half of male faculty, consider helping others and promoting racial understanding an essential or very important priority (see Table I-28 & I-30).
• Over two-thirds of faculty of color assert that helping to promote racial understanding is a very important or essential personal priority. Indeed, over a third feel this is an essential priority, compared to only 16% of white faculty (see Table I-31).

• Even though our campuses are continuing to become more diverse, about 18% of all faculty do not feel that helping to promote racial understanding is important to them (see Table I-30 & I-31).

Faculty were asked to comment on the state of diversity and multicultural issues at the institution. Responses ranged considerably from “I have no idea” to “there’s a real fear of diversity.”

“I think women and minorities are particularly under-recognized. I feel like we’ve been airlifted onto the Titanic and we just got hit with an iceberg. And the men are already in the lifeboats” (female professor).

“You must understand that none of the white men will even talk about issues of diversity in administrative meetings. It would destroy their power base.”

“I see it in meetings. Whenever I discuss diversity people literally look around the room. You’re not going to get those people to really move.”

Instead of viewing multicultural issues as a fundamental educational aspect of their daily work lives, a number of white faculty stated that they were so busy just trying to survive that they were unable to add another “initiative like diversity” to their “full plates.”

“We’re so entrenched in just trying to get our day-to-day work done that looking to other kinds of things like diversity is difficult” (female associate professor).

“I just don’t feel that diversity is honored here because we have this bureaucracy model. Anything that takes extra time is not going to be dealt with which in all reality is actually antigrowth for the institution and for student learning” (female faculty).

Some faculty notions about fairness, equality, and diversity are quite limited. HERI finds:
• Over 90% of male faculty believe that faculty of color are treated fairly at the University of Arizona as compared to less than two-thirds of female faculty who share this same perspective (see Table I-11).

• Close to half of all faculty of color do not believe that faculty of color are treated fairly on campus (see Table I-12).

• Almost 90% of white faculty believe that faculty of color are treated equitably (see Table I-12).

• Assistant and associate faculty of color are far more likely to feel fair treatment than full faculty of color (see Table I-12).

• White assistant professors are the most likely to indicate that faculty of color are not treated fairly, while white full professors believe that faculty of color are treated fairly (see Table I-12).

To them, being neutral or “color-blind” is what assures equity. A heightened understanding of the intricacies of discrimination, prejudice, and oppression and how they can be manifested as individual and organizational acts appeared to elude them. Instead, there was a kind of naivete and lack of cognition regarding the full extent of their own comments.

“I feel that we look for the best person for the job and we don’t care whether he’s black, white, pink, green or yellow. It doesn’t make any difference and I don’t think most of us feel that sexual orientation has any bearing on the situation.”

“I wouldn’t exclude entirely the possibility of race playing a role sometimes but probably much more in a social sense than in a professional sense and at that level, it’s not anything to do with the system.”

Rather than an integral institutional priority that would benefit students and faculty alike, multicultural and diversity issues appear to many faculty as propaganda for the public. By not actively addressing the more complex social and economic consequences of a pluralistic society, the institution is viewed by some of the faculty as failing its educational mission. According to the HERI findings:
• Four out of ten men believe that enhancing knowledge and appreciation of other racial/ethnic groups is a very important or essential undergraduate goal as compared to seven out of 10 women faculty (see Table I-4).

• Two out of every ten male faculty indicated that enhancing knowledge and appreciation of other racial/ethnic groups is “not important” (see Table I-4).

• Only 35% of white faculty as compared to 67% of faculty of color responded that enhancing students’ knowledge and appreciation of racial/ethnic groups is essential or very important (see Table I-5).

Qualitative comments further support these results.

“There is a level of denial about the pervasive problems of race and ethnicity in this university that are never talked about. What happens to us can’t be divorced from the state of public education in Arizona. It can’t be divorced from the retention rates for undergraduate students and graduate students. These things are all connected to each other. The reason that somebody could get away with not grooming you for the next level, this is the same reason we allow all the Native American kids to flunk out” (female faculty of color).

“The fact that there’s relatively little cultural diversity here sends students a false view of the rest of the world especially since the United States is becoming more and more culturally diverse. It was a shock to come to a place that was so homogeneous.”

“In this part of the world students tend to be Hispanic and we’re not finding an outreach effort where those kids could profit the most from education. We tend, in my opinion, to seek out the people who profit the least from education. They’ve got so much going for them. Education validates their talents. It does not develop them and I don’t think we do a good job trying to find ways to make people successful, whom we might want to develop” (female full professor).

“The institution would like to have the appearance of diversity and multiculturalism while maintaining what the current faculty view as academic excellence. We’re merely replicating the status quo. That is not true academic excellence” (male faculty of color).

A few faculty insightfully recognized that diversifying the institution involved far more than increasing the number of faculty or students of color. To them, becoming a multicultural institution meant shifting the current modes of expectations, interactions, and behaviors. In this sense, faculty described the creation of a pluralistic institution as requiring an openness to new ways of understanding and how one makes meaning of the world. Accordingly, policies,
practices, and programs have to evolve as well, otherwise there is little to no evidence of change or progress.

“We are here to educate and part of it is to educate people to be citizens of their nation and the world and that includes recognizing an understanding of other points of view. It also includes approaching your life from a rational position and if you hold values, to hold those values on the basis of some understanding, not just blind faith.”

“The university wide general education committee is responsible for the general education curriculum. We decide what counts for gender, race and ethnicity requirements. We have no voting minority members. The response was, ‘it’s not like we’re racists.’ And said, I’m not saying that you’re racist. I’m saying we need to be widely representative.”

“The Millennium Project may be another focal point that will generate support for diversity but it’s very hard to get collective action in a climate where collective action is not valued. It’s an abandonment of any responsibility to improve climate” (female faculty).

Similar responses were frequently shared by female faculty who believe that the institutional system is male defined as well as male dominated. One of the consequences of adhering to a competitive model is that those values more likely to be held by female faculty are not valued and rewarded in the institution. This also makes change in the institution regarding multicultural issues all the more difficult.

“I think that it’s a very male dominated place, traditional, very traditional in lots of ways” (female associate professor).
“The linear, military model of competition and divide and conquer in the institution is a gender issue. If you take the values of caring and support and collaboration and equality and diversity, they are higher on the priority of female educators and they’re being squashed. Ironically, if you looked at most mission statements of institutions and most presidential statements, they would say that those are things that are supposed to be valued” (female faculty).

While over half of all faculty feel that women are treated fairly, the degree to which groups of faculty embrace this differ dramatically. According to the HERI findings:

- Over 90% of male faculty believe there is gender equity on campus as compared to only 57% of women faculty who feel the same (see Table I-13).
- Eleven percent more white faculty believe women are treated fairly than faculty of color (see Table I-14).

As indicated previously, the educational value of diversifying the institution does not appear to be an implicit part of campus interactions and decision making. Faculty believe that programs, policies and even performances favor the dominant culture. Some faculty even stated that they have been penalized for their involvement with multicultural activities in trying to change the status quo.

“You pick up the faculty newsletter and it’s got pictures of booby little cheerleaders in it. The alumni magazines are about football and sororities. There isn’t much else happening in Tucson other than football so this is a great big tailgate party. The football players have a car and the good-looking young blondes shepherd the recruits around campus. It’s that kind of old style stuff. I don’t really see them coming out of that. What would push them out of that? This is all working for them. This is functional for this part of the country and for these people.”

“They talk a lot about multiculturalism and diversity but it’s sort of a window dressing. I think we need to reach out to the international community and into the diverse community that is right here. It will only enrich us. Universities should be universal and everybody should be included” (female faculty).
“I was told, ‘this isn’t your job. You shouldn’t be doing this kind of outreach.’ Diversity has always been, in my mind, a priority but not so in other people’s minds. The workload issue is a major one for me and a lot of the work I have done has not received appropriate credit. I’ve served on campus diversity committees that promote a multicultural environment but the criticisms are there. They got so bad that I decided to step aside” (male faculty).

For gay and lesbian faculty, they questioned whether multicultural concerns really include them and the gay and lesbian students. They wondered if the campus’ definition of diversity represents a broad spectrum of individuals in a truly pluralistic community.

“Basically the institution keeps a low profile on gay and lesbian issues. It’s very laissez-faire. The President may make a remark in the paper about having a gay son but the university is not actively supportive. When people say diversity it’s as if it’s something like a weed that will grow on its own. We have to do all the work to make this a place where a lesbian, gay, or bisexual person is not totally isolated” (male assistant professor).

“I have worked with a few women faculty that are lesbian but who do not self-disclose. They fear the men will discriminate against them” (male faculty).

Among all faculty, there seems to be some genuine concern about the degree to which gay and lesbian faculty are treated with fairness. The HERI survey reports:

- Women faculty, particularly at the associate and full ranks, were less likely than male faculty to believe that sexual orientation does not make any difference with respect to fair treatment at the institution (see Table I-15).
- More than one-third of faculty of color believe that gay/lesbian/bisexual faculty are not treated fairly compared to one-fifth of white faculty who share this perspective. This difference is mainly due to the perspectives of associate professors since there is only a marginal statistical difference at the other two ranks (see Table I-16).

**Isolation and Stress**

Having few women or faculty of color with whom to collaborate or connect as colleagues has resulted in a pervasive sense of isolation and stress for faculty. As highlighted earlier, the
actual numbers and physical presence of diverse faculty significantly impacts working relationships and morale for women and faculty of color.

“"I feel incredibly isolated. I’m only one of two women in my department of 25 faculty and only one of two assistant professors. Also my department is incredibly diversified in the subject matter so there’s not even anyone who does the same thing that I do in my department. It’s very stressful” (female assistant professor).

“Isolation is a very, very, very serious problem for me within the department for several reasons—not getting the information, collaborative opportunities on grants, understanding of research that may be more diversity oriented”(female faculty of color).

“It’s a very lonely environment but I have a support network that is national and that’s what I focus on. Thank God for e-mail.”

“I don’t see anybody where I am. I don’t see anyone that is like me. What I have always done is be the best mentor I can to anyone and usually they are either Asian or Anglo or Hispanic students or Jewish or anything else other than African American students” (female faculty of color).

“I think the isolation and what feels like professional isolation is a really important issue. I don’t know if forming a women’s network necessarily helps. It just makes you a second class groupie, especially if the women’s organizations don’t have national standing and don’t have support of the good old boy network” (female associate professor).

**Competition**

Male and female faculty alike raised the issue of competition on campus. The men, predominately the white men, appeared to take pride in the fact that the institution is considered competitive. To them, apparently, the competition is part of what makes the university a great place. In fact, many white men expressed feeling motivated and energized by the environment of competition.

“This is a competitive place. This is a great university. I’m in one of the 10 best departments in the country so that says something” (male full professor).

In contrast, women faculty tended to feel that the stress of competition undermined their ability to perform to their greatest potential individually and jeopardized the effectiveness of the collective. However, women can and do compete with each other as well.
“I feel so marginalized and it’s totally a gender issue. The competitiveness, the feelings of inadequacy, the lack of reward for what I have done, the lack of open possibilities for what I might do. I have to fight so hard to get things that should be a norm. The competition destroys any sense of collegiality” (female faculty).

“Success nowadays in an academic environment would be so much easier if people believed that collaboration is life” (female faculty of color).

The scarcity of and competition for resources was blamed for creating a very “cut-throat” environment. The language faculty used to describe the competitive landscape of faculty work life at the institution was infused with military metaphors and murder analogies.

“Because of the limited resources and competition, if you really tell a person what you want then it’s likely they’ll stab you in the back. So it creates mistrust, dishonesty, mysteriousness” (female associate professor).

“I’m not getting involved in the daily fights and battles. I’m not inserting knives in backs or pulling them out of mine anymore. I’m too tired.”

“There is a palpable sense of suspicion here, competition and power. You’re guilty until proven innocent” (female faculty of color).

**Buying into Competition**

The interpersonal dynamics of “knock-down” competition amongst faculty in the university was quite antithetical to many female faculty. While some had learned to “play the game,” they were distressed that the overall climate of the institution “pulsed with the rhythm of competitiveness.” Women faculty believed that male faculty and administrators were the ones primarily responsible for promoting and perpetuating the competitive environment.
“We’ve been forced into competition and it’s very gender specific. It comes from our dean and our vice dean, not only in terms of them as males but in terms of their own backgrounds and their fields. Competition is something that they value very strongly. Women see this and say why bother playing the game. I’ve never going to win, it’s too much time and energy. My nature is collaborative. We’re all in this building together. We have an important job to do” (female faculty).

“It’s the male attitude of, ‘if it isn’t my way it’s a fight.’ Making everything a competition. Forcing it to be a dichotomy” (female faculty).

“I see all these games played. It’s like being in Italy in the Mafia. You see these groups of people getting together, planning, doing all kinds of arrangements. ‘I will give you this position if you do this and if you don’t do that I’m not going to do that.’ It’s a very, very stressful environment because I care about what happens. Maybe I shouldn’t care but I do. What’s the alternative, just sit in my office.”

The environment of competition, according to faculty, detrimentally impacts their ability to effectively contribute their knowledge and expertise to the campus community. Thus, it also affects student learning and development.

“I have to take so much time and so much energy to fight and push to get what I want or need in terms of equity that it does affect my research. And, in fact, it probably affects my promotion” (female full professor).

“There is incredible political infighting that seems to serve no purpose at all. I suppose in days of scarce resources people do that. In our college it’s just pervasive and constant. It sucks up your energy if you bother to get involved in it. If you don’t, you’re probably a target of it. Students get caught in the middle of it and they’re aware of it and it’s just really stupid and counterproductive” (female associate professor).

**Replicating Traditional Gender Roles**

An explicit concern that was uniquely identified by women faculty (and not mentioned by their male colleagues) is the role that the institution plays in the replication and reproduction of gender roles. Female faculty saw this as taking the form of gender-related expectations for women such as “nurturing” the advising needs of students. Yet, the faculty felt that there is resistance from administrators and other institutional leaders regarding the development and implementation of policies and programs that would support the work-personal life balance of faculty such as the sick childcare program.
“In a world where women do the primary care taking, not only of children but of disabled family members, of elderly members of the family, that is not a personal choice. That choice is made within a social context and an economic context that has already laid out the terms of the game” (female faculty).

“A man just has to smile and recognize a student’s name and he sort of glows all over. But there is a kind of transference of expectations with women, particularly older women. We are supposed to give motherly love and it’s supposed to be unconditional and we’re supposed to be able to give unlimited amounts of time and caring. I find that in my office what I regard as a professional relation with a student or a professional response to a request, or whatever, is not received that way” (female full professor).

“The women are expected to comply with what the male full professor wants them to do. This is not sexual harassment but it is gender politics. Women must simply conform to a role, work hard, keep their mouth shut, not complain, do whatever it is that they say to do, think their research is the most wonderful thing in the world, sublimate your ideas to theirs. Then women get along and they do fine. If they don’t comply, they make it hard for her” (female faculty).

“I think it has a lot to do with socialization. If you think that fitting in and being nice and doing the right thing and accommodating will get you anywhere, from my experience, it simply does not work. You have to put in appeals, you have to write, you have to make noise. But I haven’t done it. I haven’t done it at all. It takes a lot of time. I was a good girl, a nice Jewish girl, right? A nice Jewish girl doesn’t make noise” (female faculty).

One male department chair did acknowledge that societal issues play a role in retaining women faculty. However, he figuratively pointed his finger at the individual women rather than offering possible institutional strategies for solving the career dilemmas of faculty. Women faculty believed that too often specific individuals are blamed for their situations or, alternatively, the issues are “kept at arms-length” by projecting them onto a larger economic context that seems too complex to address.
“I would like to share my experience with women faculty. I’ve lost six. It’s not my fault. They have left to follow their husbands. I’ve tried very hard to keep them but until women are ready to make their husbands follow their careers things won’t change. I take hard this accusation that there aren’t women faculty at certain levels and that this is discrimination. They’re making certain choices and I can’t do anything about those choices” (male full professor).

**Empowerment Issues**

Intimately intertwined with a climate that reinforces traditional gender roles, women faculty had a tendency to blame themselves for their own predicaments. In other words, while a number of female faculty identified inequities within the system and recognized inappropriate and inequitable treatment by colleagues, in hindsight, they felt “they should have known better.”

Many commented that they “naively” expected institutional leaders to treat them with respect and to judiciously and fairly execute the distribution of resources, implementation of programs and policies, and freely communicate information and processes. Thus, even though most of these women are among the most highly educated intellectuals in the United States, they felt “dumb” for “not having known better and believing the system would treat them fairly.” For some women, the overall result is that they felt less empowered and less efficacious about creating a successful career and their ability to contribute to positive change within the institution.

“I served on 7 committees. Yes, I let it happen. I didn’t say no. I didn’t even know it was okay for me to say no” (female assistant professor).

“I just get hindered by my own self because I view blocks where they might not even exist and I think they’re there. After you’ve been told ‘no’ so many times, you stop trying.”

“I don’t feel that I am discriminated against by my colleagues. I don’t ever feel that gender difference. But I do think my salary is not commensurate with men who are in my position. I don’t know if it’s because I’m a woman or because I just didn’t know how to negotiate. It could be part of my own function of not knowing how to manipulate the system” (female associate faculty).

Other faculty found that they had no choice but to take a submissive role and deny their own self-empowerment if they were to get any assistance with learning how to negotiate the system.
“I got thoroughly told how to do inventory as though I were a recalcitrant child who had done something wrong. I had to eat that kind of lecture. But I hadn’t been trained and I didn’t know all the hoops. I’ve had to learn who to go to and be nice to, ‘Please, please help me out. I’m stupid, please, please help me out. I’m ignorant.’ Help me out so I know what you want me to do. Not just for me but things my bosses wanted me to do.”

Faculty perceptions of the campus climate are the sum total of the day-to-day experiential realities of working on campus, including those factors that support faculty work and those that undermine faculty productivity and effectiveness. Accordingly, the figurative temperature of the climate is metaphorically chilled by incidents and interactions that inhibit, stymie, or preclude faculty success. As explained by faculty at the University of Arizona, these include: compensation and advancement issues; the value of scholarly agendas and service; the distribution of resources and teaching loads; adherence to policies and programs; and the discretionary use and misuse of power by leaders.

Moreover, a negative campus climate, as described by the UA faculty, is a working environment that: lacks collegiality and community; is assaulted by the noise and physical access challenges of construction; tolerates facades of diversity, while replicating the status quo; isolates and marginalizes faculty forcing them into competition with one another; and dis-empowers faculty through gender specific socialization.

While each of these aspects of faculty work life impact the campus climate and lessens the university’s potential for educational excellence, nothing has a more damaging effect on faculty performance than experiences of discrimination.

**Discrimination**

The HERI survey shows that many faculty, particularly women and faculty of color, experience a great deal of stress due to subtle discrimination. In fact,

- Women faculty are significantly more likely than men faculty to report stress due to subtle discrimination (see Table I-51).
- At least one in ten female faculty appear to suffer from severe or extensive duress over subtle discrimination, including nearly half of all women faculty who indicate that subtle
discrimination is at least somewhat of an issue, as compared to only 13% of male faculty who indicate the same response (see Table I-51).

- Half of all faculty of color on campus experience some or extensive stress due to subtle discrimination, compared to about one in five white faculty (see Table I-52).

Moreover, in the process of speaking with over 270 faculty, multiple incidents and experiences of overt and subtle discrimination were described candidly by the faculty. Individuals shared blatant accounts of harassment, derogatory remarks and interactions, and prejudicial behaviors that threatened or harmed the career progress and psychology well-being of these talented faculty. Cases included: grants being taken away from the principal investigator; personal vendettas interfering with the promotion and tenure process; saving money by not replacing staff/faculty and expecting others to carry the work load; inequitable distribution of resources and salaries; outright lies; inappropriate use of grant money; and direct comments that questioned someone’s skills or intelligence.

In keeping with our pledge to faculty of maintaining and protecting their confidentiality and anonymity, no examples of specific incidents are included. Unfortunately, many egregious situations of discrimination have still not been resolved either informally or through legal recourse. As researchers, one of the more daunting challenges to the ethical gathering of information on faculty work life was being placed in the position of having knowledge of discriminatory behavior and practices without being able to act as interventionists.

Some of the discriminatory incidents described by faculty have already been identified in previous sections such as teaching loads and salaries that are knowingly unequal, the inequitable distribution of resources by leaders and administrators, and lack of adherence to policies and programs. Within this context, faculty highlighted that it is important to keep in mind that not all men are unfair and not all women are victims. Rather, it is the internalization of perspectives and unexamined beliefs and values that get incorporated into daily behaviors, decision making, and adherence to institution processes that need to be transformed.

Finally, knowing the long career histories of some faculty, we specifically asked them to focus on examples of discrimination that occurred within the last few years, as opposed to decades ago. Of course, as many of the senior faculty cautioned, discriminatory incidents that
occurred 10 or 15 years ago can still be having a significant impact on the work life of faculty today.

The following categorical examples of discrimination are contained in this section: discriminatory remarks and behaviors; sexual harassment; the handling of grievances; favoritism; lack of access to information and resources; double standards; and lack of adherence to policies and procedures.

**Subtle Discrimination**

Faculty shared specific examples of remarks that had been made to them or interactions they experienced with other faculty that were derogatory or discriminatory in nature. Clearly, some comments were based more on ignorance than maliciousness. Yet, for those faculty negatively affected by the remarks, it was difficult for them to understand and forgive the insensitivity of their colleagues given that their colleagues’ advanced levels of education and training. Other faculty are sure that they are being singled out because of their race/ethnicity and/or gender. For these faculty, they frequently expressed feelings of “being treated like a child,” “not informed,” and “patronized.” This type of behavior is characterized as subtle discrimination. Subtle discrimination involves sometimes unconscious sexism, often expressed by making off-handed remarks, ignoring the ideas of some groups, and expecting women to take on the role of nurturer and other stereotypical gender roles. Subtle discrimination is insidious and damaging, because if complaints are made, they are often dismissed as making something out of nothing.

“I’ve heard all kinds of comments in the department. In the middle of the meeting, there was one faculty member who stood up and said, ‘We shouldn’t have any more women, we have enough.’ And I was the only one” (female faculty).

“As minority faculty members we go through very polite discrimination. High-level polite discrimination depending on the people. Someone said to me, ‘I don’t even think of you as Black’” (faculty of color).

“Who’s gonna cook for your husband when you go to the conference?’ That kind of thing is still going on” (female faculty).

“I was told, stop being a little girl and grow up” (female faculty).
“He said, “We don’t want women on that committee.’ And nobody commented. That is very uncomfortable.”

“A white professor made a statement that women and minorities undermine the ranking of the university.”

“It’s not malevolence, it’s just never occurred to them. ‘What are you talking about? You have trouble walking up those stairs without a railing? Come on’” (faculty with disability).

“When I was coming up for tenure the acting chair wanted me to know that the dean said that there would be no preferential treatment, not for women and not for minorities. I was so shocked that I didn’t react. I was so shocked by that statement. What does that mean? That I am here because I am a minority and a woman and not because of my qualifications. If I turned around and told this woman this is a racist statement, she would freak out. She is not aware of what it is that she’s saying. So, I don’t know how to get around it but we need to find a way to sensitize people to the kind of casual comments that are really racist in a subtle manner and sometimes a not so subtle manner” (female faculty of color).

“There is an attitude toward women and women of color that is abusive. It’s in the way the dean treats you. You are ripped apart by being told to take ‘writing for dummies.’ They would never say that to a white male. Never. It’s a hard thing to prove but I’ve had things said to me that I know would never be said to a male” (female faculty of color).

“I find him extremely unfair. He does not deal well with anyone who does not agree with him. I think he’s a thug. I’ve got this guy tagging me in just totally aggressive ways that distracts attention from what should be done. I find that I spend a lot of time trying to help and protect untenured faculty.”

Faculty highlighted exchanges where ideas were dismissed and female faculty and faculty of color were left feeling voiceless and invisible. Some of these incidents point to the subtleties of discrimination, where conscious recognition of attitudes and prevailing expectations for behavior are unstated, but ever present.

“You say something. Silence. Fifteen seconds later the man to your right says the very same things and ‘isn’t he just so brilliant.’ It sounds like a silly example, of course, but the consequences are much bigger. It’s marginalizing. Feeling invisible and having no voice” (female faculty).
“What I find so maddening is the denial or ‘you’re making too much of it.’ Or, ‘you’re too sensitive or we didn’t mean that.’ That goes on all the time. If you call somebody on it, then they’re hurt” (female faculty)

“There is this subtle sexism. If two women have already said this, but then a man says it in his own words, it suddenly becomes important” (female associate professor).

“You’re invisible. They never think of you when it comes to ideas” (female faculty of color).

“I have heard from colleagues who are Hispanic or African American that they have had students on campus talk to them in ways that I wouldn’t want to be talked to. There are people on the staff who have been insulting to them, faculty who have ignored them at meetings, who have dismissed what they wanted to do.”

Faculty comments and behaviors are repeatedly used to keep individuals from supporting one another and/or for asking for the support and resources they require to perform their jobs effectively. This forecloses participation, community building, and collegial relationships, not to mention impinging about career advancement. Concurrent, it seems that women’s appearance, at times, can be more important than their intellectual contributions to the university.

“Faculty in my department are primarily male. The females that are in the department have acclimated themselves to a male climate and are intimidated into not assisting other females. Every time they support a woman they are teased. Comments related to gender inequities are met with ‘You don't really believe that--do you?’ That question necessarily puts the speaker in a no-win position.”

“My department is an old boy's network. The language of intimidation permeates conversations such that females are not allowed to be supportive of each other. It is not overt or direct, but extremely subtle.”

“I’ll offer a comment that illustrates our hostile environment and discrimination. When I was being evaluated for my annual performance, I basically was told that men could be assertive but women couldn’t. I was told that I was too assertive and I was basically docked down on my annual performance because of that” (female faculty).

“The current topic of discussion in my department is whether or not I am yet pregnant. I find that people from medical students to residents to attending physicians often make inappropriate comments about the way I look and what I’m wearing on a daily basis” (female faculty).
Faculty appropriately recognized that anybody can be a target of discrimination. The irony of discrimination is that it does not discriminate against anyone. Each individual faculty is vulnerable at some level to having prejudicial acts and attitudes directed against him or her.

“I earned some of my own enemies because what was passing for feminism simply is not my brand of feminism. What was passing as feminism to me was extreme narcissism. I’ve experienced some persistent discrimination, with no apologies, from other women.”

“I think that they have not paid attention to female discrimination against females. I think there’s been a lot of unchecked female aggression against other females. It doesn’t really matter what your gender is. Human behavior varies. Men also discriminate against men.”

**Sexual Harassment**

One of the features of interpersonal interactions within a work environment is that a single inappropriate remark is not justification for administrative or legal action. Moreover, in the spirit of a supportive learning environment, everyone should be allowed to make the occasional mistake as long as they are receptive to being corrected and agree to grow from the experience. Still, any remark that objectifies a human being as a commodity takes its toll with respect to the psychological climate that it creates. Women (and men, for that matter) who encounter such comments must expend energy on protecting themselves and their career rather than focusing on their research and teaching.

At the time the data were gathered, there was not a permanent sexual harassment policy in place. The lack of a sexual harassment policy that is congruent with federal guidelines and with appropriate procedures for follow-up was especially troubling for faculty. In fact, there was relative consensus that, in general, grievances of any kind are not well attended to because they are often dismissed as “women’s issues.”

“He told me, I’d like to see the way your hair sticks to your body when you’re coming out of the shower” (female faculty).

“I was discussing a research project when he looked at me and said, ‘I bet you’re good in bed.’ At that point your entire career becomes genderized” (female faculty).

“When I made it clear that I wasn’t interested he would not speak to anybody and was so morose that I literally felt in fear of my life” (female faculty).
“When I was an assistant professor going up for tenure an associate dean made me an offer I wasn’t supposed to be able to refuse.”

“There was this increasing control and domination and every time I said no there was a repercussion. I was cut from the project, then he went around telling everybody that I had abandoned the project and had left him hanging even though I wrote the final report” (female faculty).

“I told my male colleague that we were getting some new resources. He said, ‘Oh I see you’ve been sucking the chair’s cock again.’ I couldn’t talk about that for two years. It’s kind of hard for me to talk about it now. Quite frankly, it’s been downhill from there” (female faculty).

“The dean didn’t really want to have to deal with this but he made it clear to me that if there was sexual harassment going on that they would get on it. Unfortunately, this is a small profession and women that have made any sexual harassment claims at other universities are pariahs. They can’t get other jobs. No one will work with them. They can’t get funding. I basically told the dean’s office that I felt physically threatened but I didn’t feel like I could handle fighting him on a sexual harassment claim. It’s probably the biggest mistake I made, but at the time it was the only choice I felt I had” (female faculty).

“I was very confused at that point about which one of us was crazy because it was such a distorted situation where somebody is constantly telling you that you’re wrong. You’re the one that’s bad. It’s your fault that this has happened. You start to think that must be true. I must be the one that’s at fault here. I think that happens a lot for women. I’ve heard women say that when they’ve experienced various forms of harassment and discrimination, they question themselves.”

“I felt very much like a battered spouse. The mental abuse that you put up with everyday and the anger that you have. It’s taken me a good three years to get over the anger. At one point I couldn’t mention his name without my chest constricting to the point that I couldn’t breathe. It was just horrible. It’s this helpless situation where he’s there and has not suffered at all.”

“There were sexual harassment suits that were brought but they tried to shush them up. Finally he was asked to leave. He was not fired. They said you should find another job. He was given a good reference. He’s now at another institution in a good position. What I’ve experienced is the good old boy’s network. It’s who you know and it’s certain people and it’s male dominated” (female faculty).

“I’m a powerful woman on this campus and yet I can’t deal with this problem. What’s that say for all of the other women on this campus in a less powerful, visible position?”
“When I was a young assistant professor I faced some sexual harassment and I was clueless as to how to pursue a grievance complaint. The attitude was just tough it out and handle it which I did and there was also an atmosphere of you just don’t do that, that there would be retribution if you did. Now, interestingly enough, I’m about to file an affirmative action complaint and I know the procedure now but I don’t know how it will go. Even when there are steps to be taken, there is strong pressure not to take them.”

**Grievances**

Whether specific to sexual harassment or other circumstances that seemed unfair or inequitable, faculty complained that grievance procedures and processes on campus were more injurious to the claimant than helpful in resolving situations.

“There really isn’t a mechanism on this campus to deal with it without huge personal sacrifice.”

“There’s no where to go if you have conflict. I am not confident that my complaint will be heard in a just and fair manner. We need an impartial way or some kind of protocol so that if you have an employee problem you know what to do. I had an instance this year where a supervisor told a staff that they could not speak Spanish. The university personnel office said ‘Well, the university doesn’t have a policy. It’s up to each department to have their policies. It’s not legal’.”
“When I took my complaints to my supervisor, what I received in response was a barrage of why my complaint was ill founded. ‘Why, you will upset the apple cart if you pursue this complaint.’ How grievances are handled is that a tremendous amount of pressure is put on you to withdraw your complaints. Then, if you want to pursue your complaint, your only choice is to do an end run over your whole management structure. You’re forced to involve higher up administrators.”

“If there’s a problem then go to one’s immediate supervisor, and then to one’s department head, and then to one’s dean, and then the dean refers them back to the department head who refers them back to the section head, and the section head confronts the individual faculty member and asks if there’s a problem or agrees if there’s not a problem. So it’s really a circular process and it actually doesn’t resolve anything” (male faculty of color).

**Favoritism**

Favoritism was an issue raised by both male and female faculty. The opportunity for having research valued, salaries increased, teaching loads reduced, etc., seem directly correlated to one’s personal relationship with those in power. As faculty stated, many decisions that should have been based on objective criteria and procedures were often quite subjective and ultimately discriminatory in nature.

“There is a definite culture of favoritism. We’ve talked about it as junior faculty. We don’t know what to do but it’s a definite hindrance. It’s a definite barrier to achieving tenure, to finding research cohorts or collaborators. It is definitely a problem in terms of finding resources on campus to assist in research. It’s pervasive. We lose faculty left and right. It’s like a revolving door because of that underlying bias against folks from the outside” (female faculty).

“I’m not sure inequities are based on gender or race, at least in my college. It’s not that kind of bias. Instead, there are obvious pockets of faculty that are favored within the college” (female assistant professor).

“We work in fiefdoms where favors are dispensed according to the whim of people who have favors to dispense” (female faculty).

“Little factions develop. Let’s bring this guy, no that guy, no my friend, no your friend” (male associate professor).

“Frankly, it amounts to who likes you. It may not be you’re the most skilled person. To me, a lot of the P & T process is still, if they like you, you will make it in the system. So you try very hard not to piss people off and make noise.”
Lack of Access to Information and Resources

It might be argued that whether or not the power in the institution actually resides within a privileged enclave of white men is speculative. But women and faculty of color believe from their experiences and interactions that at the very least critical information, knowledge, and decisions are withheld from them. At the very worst, female faculty and faculty of color believe that their marginalization in the institution is based on active and intentional prejudice since their gender and race/ethnicity (and at times their sexual orientation) is different from those in leadership positions. What this means for the realities of working in the institution is that different approaches to problem-solving and creative initiatives are stifled, recruitment and retention of diverse faculty remains problematic, career progression is delayed or denied, and the overall climate is pervasively “chilly.”

“They were in the lunchroom and it’s like this big pow wow of the power elite. It’s really a big issue for the women to eat lunch in there with the old white guys” (female faculty).

“He puts money into helping his male colleagues, all the time. There’s like a boy’s club that you are not going to be a part of. They always get together before the meetings and prearrange the votes. They prearrange what’s going to happen with all the resources that he has. It’s not a faculty decision, it’s just a decision of this club” (female faculty of color).

“Here in Arizona is the first time that I’ve ever encountered the old boys’ club mentality. I fear in all my career I’ve never felt hindered by anything or anyone until very recently. A male colleague was hired at the same time and we’re in the same position. He’s very good at the linear stuff and I’m very good at the creative stuff. But those don’t always get rewarded the same. The rewards are jocularity and comradery. Who you sit around with and bullshit with. If you go have a beer with them. It’s very frustrating” (female faculty).

“I’m the last one to know something because the guys are talking down the hall or go out for beers so you know where decisions really get made. It’s very, very subtle” (female faculty).

Women faculty and faculty of color also viewed the traditional white male alliances and networks as actively discouraging the leadership pursuits of women and faculty of color.

“When a woman finally gets appointed to some fairly substantial position of authority a lot of things happen. I’ve experienced being undermined so that I don’t want
to keep those positions of authority and leadership. The stress that I experienced is too great” (female faculty).

“Sometimes qualified women aren’t willing to take leadership positions because the environment is so hostile so end you up again with all white males” (female faculty).

“For the last year and a half I was department head. In that position I did feel treated differently than some of the men. There’s a good old boys thing and I was definitely out” (female faculty of color).

“Quite frankly, if I want to move up I won’t stay here. I’ll be very honest. I’ve been told by white faculty on this campus that there is no administrative mobility for women of color. There is no pipeline or mentorship for women of color into administrative management.”

**Double Standards**

The issue of double or different standards (duplicity) was raised by faculty over and over again, particularly with respect to what was expected of white men as compared to what was expected of women faculty and faculty of color. Women faculty stated that they were naively working under the assumption that life is fair at this public institution and that everyone who worked hard would be treated equitably. In all actuality, women and faculty of color came to realize that this presumption was quite inaccurate since men and women are treated quite differently. For instance, the kind of negative behavior that was tolerated in a male colleague (in a faculty meeting or in the classroom) would never be tolerated in a female colleague. Faculty contended that dual standards are not just an unpleasant irritant, but that the inconsistent application of policies and procedures are a direct form of discrimination.

“There is definitely a feeling of double standards for men and women and inconsistent expectations. For instance, everyone is expected to bring in money, but then some boys get jealous and are intimidated. So, the message is don’t do too good. Don’t be better than the boys” (female faculty).

“It’s a patriarchy. I’m sorry I sound like a feminist here, but it’s a patriarchy. Subtle discrimination is rampant. There’s a huge subtle discrimination on P & T committees. If a guy goes through everybody says yeah, yeah, yeah. Then a woman went through and you’d thought they all got out their magnifying glasses. They actually went back and made her submit more information. She got through but it was after some scrutiny and a few more hoops and some special letters that she had to have written” (female associate professor).
“One young white male faculty member never spoke up when it came to committee assignments and obtained tenure in just 4 years. To do this, he never participated on any of his committee assignments, never contributed to the department and received MUCH attention from other male faculty when writing his journal articles. He also had two children during this time and spent time with his wife and family. In contrast, the female Hispanic tenure-track faculty and the male African-American tenure-track faculty were in charge of organizing departmental brown-bags, heavily involved in College committee work and in their offices until 8:00 or 9:00 p.m. working on papers.”

“I think that there are men on campus who just don’t like pushy women. It’s very obvious that three of the male colleagues hate it when a woman is pushy or dominates the discussions. I’ve actually had a male colleague lose it and say, ‘will you stop dominating the discussion?’ You don’t very often hear someone being called a pushy man. It’s a double standard” (female full professor).

**Lack of Adherence to Policies and Procedures**

Clearly, the product of inconsistently applied standards is that (for example) inequalities in service and teaching loads result. Moreover, specific policies and programs that are intended to support faculty effectiveness such as sabbaticals and alternative duty due to childcare needs are not judiciously administered. Many of the objections faculty voiced were quite similar to the one’s expressed concerning incompetent leadership. Of significance, however, is that faculty viewed these incidents as outright discrimination.

“I didn’t get my first sabbatical until my tenth year here because our chair said only one person a year is going on sabbatical. Then a bunch of people came in at the same time and he just rank ordered us so I got my first one after ten years. As a result, I am going to get one less sabbatical in my years here” (female faculty).

“I wanted to go on family leave but the chair wanted his sabbatical and this other faculty member should have his sabbatical so I couldn’t take any of it” (female faculty).

“With regard to the alternative duty policy, university-wide I think what is flawed about the policy is that it is up for negotiation between you and your chair. I was lucky that I had a supportive chair” (female assistant professor).

"To a certain extent what it teaches you is that you have to play these little games and assert your rights to enact the policy. You have to find out how from somebody and then maybe you get something. Otherwise, you’re at the mercy of the men in power” (female faculty).
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**Summary of Impediments**

Factors that identified as impeding or hindering faculty productivity and success were quite numerous, covering the range of roles and responsibilities of faculty work life. Faculty also identified specific experiences that create a negative campus climate, not the least of which are incidents of discrimination. These impediments include:

- Compensation and advancement issues (salary, retirement concerns, merit pay and annual review, promotion and tenure)
- Support of scholarly agendas and research (value of faculty work and scholarship, research, resource and bureaucratic issues)
- Service
- Teaching, students, and curricular issues (teaching, student-centered research university, students, student advising, curricular issues)
- Hiring and retaining faculty (recruitment and hiring, spousal and partner hires, role of numbers, faculty retention, faculty mentoring)
- Institutional leadership (leadership, accountability and intervention, faculty governance)
- Work life issues (time management/life balance)
- Campus climate (perspectives on the environment; incivility, animosity, and humiliation; physical environment; multicultural and diversity issues; isolation and stress; competition; replicating traditional gender roles; and empowerment issues)
• Discrimination (subtle discrimination, sexual harassment, grievances, favoritism, lack of access to information and resources, double standards, lack of adherence to policies and procedures)

Differences Across Groups

As the previous sections have already illustrated, faculty as a whole share some agreement about the factors that support and inhibit their teaching and scholarship, but clear differences emerged in the discussions and interviews depending on the individual faculty member. For instance, assistant professors tend to be more worried about the promotion and tenure process than higher-ranking faculty.

Even though each of these statements is a generalization about a specific group of faculty it should be kept in mind that much variability exists from individual to individual. Thus, it is imperative that we not stereotype faculty by their affiliation with certain categorical groupings. Still, the fact remains that various groups of faculty view the institution quite differently. If we are to fully understand the sources of support and impediments in faculty lives, we must simultaneously take into consideration how faculty construct and make meaning of their experiences. For example, what may appear to one faculty member as a jovial or jocular remark, may appear to another faculty member as a comment of ridicule.

The co-mingling of these independent realities is what embodies faculty’s daily working lives. To refrain from taking into account differences in perspective means placing at risk the loss of a spirited and creative community. Moreover, if we fail to bring into consciousness the possibility of multiple interpretations of experience, we replicate and reinforce inequities and domination that inevitably get subsumed into our teaching, service, and research.

The following descriptions of differences across academic rank, academic discipline, and type of discussion group (faculty with disabilities, lesbian/gay/bisexual faculty, and administrators) are intended to further enlighten our knowledge about faculty life in order to best understand how to positively transform the working domains of all faculty.