Transforming the University of Oregon's Racialized Climate:

Five Factors Shaping Faculty of Color Retention

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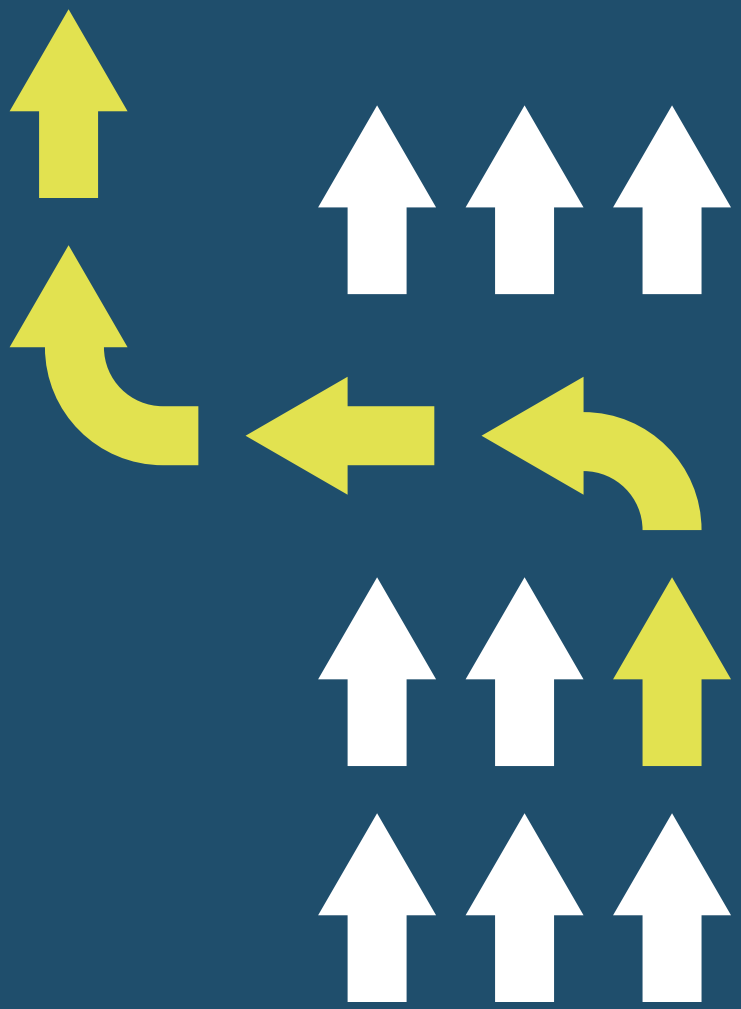

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

Center on Diversity and Community (CoDaC)
Division of Equity and Inclusion

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Active Retention Initiative

The University of Oregon has spent the past two+ years looking in some depth at active recruitment, which has included piloting search advocacy and several complementary best practices to make campus hiring practices more equitable and inclusive. As a logical companion to this work on recruitment, the Center on Diversity and Community (part of the Division of Equity and Inclusion) has formed a research team to envision the practice of "active" retention, in recognition that efforts to attract people to campus must be matched with intentional and deliberate measures that help inspire people to feel valued, to have a sense of belonging and to stay.

Phase One: Literature Review and Surfacing of Best Practices

- Literature Review and identification of primary factors affecting retention of faculty of color.
- Curate best practices relating to faculty retention; recommend exemplars throughout the initiative.

Phase Two: UO Context—Data Gathering

- Outside UO consultants interview faculty of color who have left the UO in the last five years.
- Outside UO consultants interview current faculty of color at UO
- Gather information related to institutional retention initiatives and efforts at UO.

Phase Three: Campus Engagement and Application

- Share findings with key institutional stakeholders such as Faculty of Color, Administrators, UO Faculty Senate, Department Heads and College Deans, etc.
- Produce proposal for a comprehensive Active Retention Program that is based on key findings and national best practices.

Desired Outcomes

- Build our institutional understanding about retention best practices.
- Create focused priorities that signal organizational commitment and learning around faculty of color retention.
- Identify and tackle structural and policy issues that impact retention.
- Foster innovation and energy around these issues.
- Ultimately, build a new reality about retention at UO that supports faculty of color. Design and implement a comprehensive Active Retention Program that will act as the hub for an integrated, strategic and long-term focus on these issues.

:: Introduction and Context

Diversity is imperative to the University of Oregon's vision for excellence. The University of Oregon's Mission Statement includes a value statement on seeking diversity and fostering equity and inclusion within a welcoming, safe, and respectful community. For decades, organizational researchers have studied the positive relationship between diverse teams and innovation. Fortunately for the State of Oregon, its' population's ethnic and racial makeup is increasingly becoming more diverse – yet still falls behind other Western States - where people of color are becoming the majority of the population.

As the University of Oregon seeks excellence in research, student success, and service, diversity is essential in every institutional decision. Without it, we miss the opportunity to adequately prepare our students for the multicultural world that awaits them as entrepreneurs, educators, public servants, scientists, humanists, artists and much more. The University of Oregon finds itself in this predicament because it has not – up to this point – fostered an adequate inclusive, welcoming, supportive, and nurturing climate where our faculty of color are given the opportunity to develop their potential and fully contribute to the academia.

Faculty of color play a key, but often unacknowledged role in the excellence of the academy. The University of Oregon desperately needs to improve its recruitment and retention strategies to create an inclusive environment where faculty of color can excel and thrive. Faculty of color produce new knowledge by bringing different questions, perspectives, insights, and lived experiences - often very different from their white peers - to the laboratory, their fieldwork, and their engaged applied research. In addition, this diverse lived experience and creativity helps support students of color in the classroom and helps white students reflect on their role within the changing demographics of our state and nation. Faculty of color mentor and nurture students from all backgrounds and help them graduate and pursue diverse interests in higher education (Ponjuan, 2011). As significantly, although diversity is important to white students as it increases their understanding of our global world, it should not only benefit privileged groups – there are important ethical and public service objectives of striving for diversity, such as equity and justice for historically marginalized groups. In addition, in our current societal moment, of racial reckoning, demands that experts in the field of race and ethnicity – and in particular – those with lived experience, play an important role in developing, within our students, a healthy view of race in the US.

The research conducted in this study uncovered 5 factors contributing to faculty of color leaving majority white universities historically. These distressing findings also point to the important role that faculty of color play beyond their individual value as scholars as they provide all kinds of invisible benefits to the university. These benefits disappear when faculty of color decide to leave the University of Oregon. The 5 factors are not mutually exclusive or difficult to identify and document within a university. For example, research documents evidence of "cultural taxation" including the expectation of faculty of color serving as experts on matters of diversity even though it is not part of the job description. For instance, faculty of color being taxed by serving on committees or task forces that rehash past diversity recommendations that leads to little racial climate structural change (Samano, 2008; 26). Cultural taxation also includes aiding as a liaison between the university and their ethnic group and playing a mediating role between administrators, staff, students and the community on racist conflicts. (Samano, 2008; 26; Fryberg and Martinez, 2014; Madyun, Mcgee, Milner, and Williams 2013). This form of "cultural taxation", plays a key role in Racial Battle Fatigue and may potentially lead to Psychological Racial Trauma. Hence, despite the obvious value that faculty of color bring to universities with their research, teaching, and service, they are more likely than white faculty to leave their university because

of a racist hostile climate (Smith 2020). While losing faculty of color is an alarming national trend in historically white universities – the issue has reached a point of crisis at the University of Oregon. At the University of Oregon, the percentage of faculty of color has changed by less than 3% over the last decade- and in the last 5 years, 41 faculty of color have left the University of Oregon. (Office Institutional Research https://ir.uoregon.edu/personnel).

The purpose of this literature review is to identify key factors that contribute to faculty of color retention nationally. The literature review is a first step of the University of Oregon's Active Retention Initiative of increasing the retention of faculty of color. The Active Retention Initiative will ameliorate the detrimental cycle of hiring and re-hiring faculty of color by helping to develop a critical mass of faculty of color who stay and continue their contribution to the University of Oregon. The constant coming and going of faculty interferes with equity and inclusion institutional stability, increases the optic of the University of Oregon being a racially hostile environment, and lessens teaching and service support to all our students. Retaining faculty of color is a key piece of the overall racial equity institutional building being done at universities (Nausheen 2018).

Sandra Day O'Conner used the term critical mass to describe the importance of having a significant number of students to "achieve that diversity which has the potential to enrich everyone's education" (Grutter, 2003). Critical mass is also essential for faculty of color as a group and when it comes to the racial and ethnic groups that comprise the larger group of faculties of color. Stewart and Valian explained that critical mass becomes even more important when a department has only a single person of color, or a single woman, as that person's perceptions may be dismissed (if they are even known) and may wash out in aggregate measures of the climate" (Stewart and Valian 2018). Just as the University of Oregon is putting into place strategies to ensure that students of color are admitted and are successful, similar efforts need to be done for faculty of color to make them feel supported and want to stay at research institutions. In fact, both of these retention efforts impact each other – students of color are more likely to stay if they see that there is a community of scholars of color to support students. These reasons are why the University of Oregon must aim to create a "critical mass" of faculty of color who feel supported and valued – as it not only helps faculty of color and students.

A key benefit of having a critical mass of faculty of color at Research 1 institutions is that it helps those stable universities recruit students of color (Madyun, Mcgee, Milner, and Williams 2013; Fryberg and Martinez, 2014; Thomas, 2020). Faculty of color help students in the university be more successful as they benefit from having faculty who look like them and have a shared lived experience which makes the teaching and service more meaningful to students of color (Hurtado 2006). Faculty of color expose white students to new perspectives and insights because of their diverse lived experiences; allow white students to practice engaging with diverse people who 'have power over them - which might be new to Oregonians students.

This engagement prepares white students, who may not have had those experiences before, for living in more diverse environments (Kelly 2017). Additionally, faculty of color's simple presence also requires students to think about and practice intercultural skills and competence that are increasingly important for success in their professional careers (Madyun 2013). In the long run, faculty of color help all students on campus develop and practice intercultural skills and communication that employers in both the private and public sectors seek and ultimately help our democracy function.

Despite the value that faculty of color bring to American universities, they are more likely to leave than to stay (Smith, 2020; Thomas, 2020). To change this destructive pattern at the UO, we must first recognize what the research says about factors contributing to faculty leaving, understand how those factors apply to the University of Oregon context and engage university resources to bring about positive change. Based on an extensive review of the literature about why faculty of color leave predominately white colleges and universities, we have synthesized the findings to the following five factors:

In the five sections below, we define the factors and explain how they contribute to faculty of color retention. These factors shape the Active Retention Initiative's investigation of faculty of color retention at the University of Oregon. This information will in turn help administrators make the necessary changes needed to transform the University of Oregon's institutional climate to one of inclusion, support, and validity for faculty of color. A climate of inclusion, support, and value of faculty of color's research, teaching, and service will positively impact the University of Oregon's mission – and by doing so will not only help faculty of color, but it will also help the university to be a better place for everyone.

2019 Faculty of Color and Allies Writing Retreat at the Oregon Coast
University of Oregon College of Design

:: Factor 1: Cultural Taxation

In addition to conducting their formal duties in the academy, many faculty of color also perform informal diversity service that is not recognized by the University (Matthew, 2016). As Padilla explains, the concept of cultural taxation is "the obligation to show good citizenship [by faculty of color] toward the institution by serving its' needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution, but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed" (Padilla, 1994, in Romano, 2008; 26). Faculty of color have double work to do as they publish and teach to secure tenure but also have a commitment to diversity work - that is not formally recognized – which in fact, helps the institution become more equitable and diverse. (Fryberg and Martinez, 2014; Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group, 2017; Flaherty 2020). Tokenism contributes toward cultural taxation. "Demands related to tokenism ... refers to the additional burdens placed on faculty of color that capitalize on their visibility and distinctiveness but simultaneously take away resources (i.e., time, energy) that could be used to achieve professional success" (Settles, Buchanan, Dotson, 2017: 9).

Cultural taxation means that the work that faculty of color do to recruit, retain and help students and other faculty and staff of color maneuverer through institutional racism is not valued as part of tenure and promotion, and it is not compensated. (Madyun, Mcgee, Milner, and Williams, 2013; Zambrana et al. 2017). The work is mostly invisible, illegible, and informal to university administrators who decide what is essential and valued by the academy. Nevertheless, faculty members of color spend much time engaged in this work because they value and recognize its importance.

Literature on faculty of color retention states that they would not be in research institutions if other more senior faculty of color had not taken the time to mentor them (Madyun, Mcgee, Milner, and Williams, 2013; Frazier, 2013). Also, many faculty of color come from family-oriented communities and value a sense of community (Fryberg and Martinez, 2014). Therefore, mentoring and helping others is deeply ingrained into the fabric of their lives (Parker, 2017; Madyun, Mcgee, Milner, and Williams, 2013; Harlow, 2003). The fact that faculty of color focus on mentoring and service does not mean that they cannot do top-quality research - it merely means that faculty of color see this informal work as critical to maintaining a diverse university.

Distressingly, at research universities, a "Focus on scholarly output continues to dominate evaluation of junior faculty despite individual, departmental, or institutional commitment to teaching and mentoring students" that help Research 1 institutions succeed (Fryberg and Martinez, 40; Social Science Feminist Network, 2017). This is a particularly problematic issue for faculty of color, whose work extends far beyond just scholarly output to service work that taxes them and keeps Research 1 institutions vibrant. In addition to dealing with their research and teaching, junior faculty of color are requested to work on committees and engage in work to help the very situation that imperils and tires them. Zambrana and her colleagues note, "Discriminatory experiences of observing exclusionary and quota system practices on the one hand, and diversity rhetoric on the other, take a powerful toll on the emotional resources of respondents. The emotional labor invested in witnessing and coping with these practices creates productivity taxation that indubitably affects retention, tenure, and promotion" (Zambrana et al. 2019). Academic studies have shown that "Junior faculty of color may be asked to participate on important committees, often at earlier stages in their careers than are white faculty" (Fryberg and Martinez, 2014), which takes attention away from their scholarship. Zambrana and her colleagues explain "[Faculty of color] face tremendous

pressure to "represent" and to engage in service and committee activities that require significant sacrifices of their time in addition to teaching and mentoring students [of color], because they are often the one person on campus who can "check the box"" (Zambrana et al. 223, 2017). These very different workloads that faculty of color bear are often not (experienced by their white colleagues) and also not acknowledged or heavily weighted in the tenure/promotion process.

Faculty members of color are also engaged in service work that includes helping students of colorwork through the microaggressions and racism on campus (Madyun, Williams, McGee and Milner 2013). A professor of color notes, "... students of color, particularly African American and some Latino students, come to you as a safe haven because they often find that their research ideas are not supported or are not getting mentoring or support - they need emotional reassurance" (Pittman 89). Most of the time, this informal work is not rewarded. Yet rarely are teaching releases or increases of their base salary rewarded for this informal taxing labor. At times, this invisible work is not even a part of the tenure promotion evaluation criteria (Fryberg and Martinez, 2014).

:: Factor 2: Racist Delegitimization of Scholarship

Another essential factor for retaining faculty of color is the value research institutions place on their scholarship. Many faculty of color conduct research that challenges traditional scholarship or is more focused on policy. For some faculty of color, their research investigates and questions some of the most established issues into question and use different research tools. For example, sociologist Edward Bonilla-Silva's work on race moves outside of the normal conversations to challenge "colorblindness", which was the holy grail of American racial politics (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). The idea that American culture has moved on from racist practices and hence racial categories were obsolete. Another example is legal scholar Kimberly Crenshaw's research which turns our understanding of feminism on its head (Crenshaw 1991) and political scientist Claire Jean Kim (Kim 1999) who questions the existing understanding of racial politics and the model minority theory with racial triangulation.

Academic literature on retention faculty of color also demonstrates how universities often view research done by faculty of color as less rigorous if the research focuses on people of color (Daut, 2019). Many times, these faculty of color have to explain the legitimacy of their research. (Fryberg and Martinez, 2014). Psychology research also indicates a cognitive bias within the tenure and promotion process that devalues faculty of color scholarship (Arnold, Crawford, and Khalifa, 2016).

An important example of this double standard is given by Kecia Thomas, in Fryberg and Martinez's edited reader. She notes:

> **"Most of the faculty of color that I know who research the experiences of a particular minority demographic group, name that group in labeling their research programs. For example, I might indicate that I study the careers of women of color. Yet, when another colleague, a white male, spends his entire career interviewing senior white male CEOs, he is simply allowed to say he studies leadership"**
> (Fryberg and Martinez, 65).

In addition, research universities underfund departments that conduct research on marginalized communities of color while heralding research about communities of color that is done by white scholars - while remaining silent about the same

type of research when scholars of color do it. Hence, research universities are sending a message that the research conducted by faculty of color is less valued, less rigorous, or less objective – than similar research conducted by their white colleagues.

Many research institutions are eager to hire faculty whose research focuses on diverse issues. Yet, the enthusiasm for that research fades by the time tenure and promotion come around (Madyun, 2013; Matthews). "Scholarship related to ethnic or racial minorities often gets pushed to a peripheral position, subject to scrutiny based on legitimacy rather than quality" (Fryberg and Martinez, 49). This issue brings to light the importance of having senior faculty mentors of color at the forefront who can encourage junior faculty of color in their work. Or having senior faculty of color who have the experience to evaluate this type of scholarship. A junior faculty of color member explained the importance of having a senior faculty of color mentor who took his work seriously and encouraged him, noting, "Martin did not give up on me so I did not give up either, and as a result my writing improved tremendously...Martin always believed in the legitimacy of my study, whereas I previously frequently had to justify my rationale for studying mathematically high-achieving African-American students" (Madyun et al 78). "Despite good intentions, many senior faculty lack the experience and the knowledge in issues of race, gender, and class to evaluate the contributions of junior faculty of color accurately" (Fryberg et al 12).

> **The other point worth noting is that the university may know that racial bias exists beyond their walls — in publishing decisions, choosing of editorial boards, etc. and what gets published where, which weighs heaviest in tenure decisions. Despite this knowledge, there is no systematic attempt to address bias in scholars' disciplines, in publication, etc., in tenure decisions.**

In summary, for faculty of color research to be taken seriously, their work must be evaluated by a person who is dedicated to seeing multiple perspectives and who understands how racial and ethnic structures impact productivity and wellbeing among faculty of color.

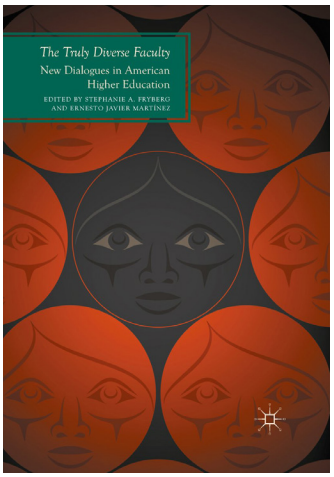
:: Factor 3: Transforming the Racial Climate (Cost For Faculty Of Color)

Transforming a University's racist climate is a challenge, not only for administrators but in particular for faculty of color. The history of racism within American academic institutions is an important part of the overall narrative of American institutions as a whole. (Varner et al, 2015; Thomas 2020; Cole 2020) Varner and his colleagues note, "Race in the academy has seemingly been reduced to an academic abstract. Racism has become something we talk about historically while maintaining the myth that academia, specifically institutions of higher learning, is a safe space for racialized individuals" (Varner et al 2015). In his book Diversity Regimes, James Thomas writes "Racially diverse campuses may produce long-term psychological and social gains for their students, but research suggests these gains are greatest for white students and weakest for racial and ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, university commitments to diversity have not proven effective in reducing minority students' experiences of isolation, alienation, and daily microaggressions-part of what we might call everyday racism. Everyday racism focuses on understanding racism from a micro-level, complementing a more macro-level analysis of racial inequality (Essed, 1991). This micro-level analysis is particularly important to fully understand Faculty of Color's experiences with everyday racism, which scholars claim mirrors students of color. (Thomas, p. 8, 2015). A new line of research is tracing the role of university presidents in maintaining as well as undermining the color line in higher education (Cole 2020), and that research highlights the important

but sometimes unseen role that university presidents play in undermining these issues (Cole 2020). Cole gives an example of the role University Presidents have historically played in undermining the color line, writing "Black college presidents negotiated several pressures in order to help maintain control of their institutions, secure money from white legislators, fight back against racists, and balance student demands with other demands--and they relied on silent networks to accomplish these tasks." (Cole 10). University presidents can help to build a more inclusive university by following in these footsteps.

In order to have a more inclusive university, we must work on building a more inclusive academy (Valian and Stewart 2018). Bronstein and Ramaly provide a helpful analysis tracing the difficulties universities experience as they engage in improving the racist narrative of their campus. They argue that historically white universities go through five phases in their efforts to become more inclusive and multicultural - in other words, to transform the historical institutional racism in their university. The stages include good intentions, attempts at acculturation, improving the climate, adding multiculturalism to the curriculum, and transformation (Bronstein and Ramaly, 2002).

But other scholars offer a different view of diversity's role in bringing about inclusion. Ferguson argues that governmental, financial and academic institutions have co-opted diversity in many respects in ways that reduced its transformative influences (Ferguson 2012). Joan Acker's work, for example, highlighted the imbalance of power and the way that diversity was used to address the most subtle aspects of inequality without really addressing the core issues (Thomas 2020). Sara Ahmed's study of diversity work in the UK warns that we should not assume that diversity work is aimed at addressing inequality because it often functions to maintain the very inequality that it is supposed to rectify (Ahmed 2012). Building on the work of Acker and Ahmed, Thomas argues that so-called diversity regimes—like many of the diversity programs featured on college and university campuses—are not organized to address systemic discrimination and thereby play a role in perpetuating it (Thomas 2020). The analyses offered by Acker, Ahmed and Thomas explain why faculty of color continue to face discrimination even as institutions engage in diversity work, especially when the diversity



The Truly Diverse Faculty: New Dialogues in American Higher Education (Future of Minority Studies) by Stephanie A. Fryberg (Editor), Ernesto Javier Martínez (Editor)
Dr. Martínez is a UO Associate Professor.

work is not focused on the real issues of structural racism. In addition, many DEI units at Universities, are largely organized as advocacy or advisory units – with no real decision-making power, which reinforces the status quo of institutional racism.

Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson suggest that transforming a university into a more diverse and inclusive institution means "creat[ing] environments in which faculty of color experience positive visibility, that is, for them to have recognition, legitimacy, and authority rather than the "wrong" type of visibility associated with hypervisibility" (Stead, 2013). The wrong type of visibility is what Settles et al. call hypervisibility, and it comes about "when faculty of color are used as tokens to enhance the university's reputation around diversity, while also being invisible in the university's acknowledgment of research that is first-rate" (Settles, Buchanan and Dotson 2019).

Samano adds to this analysis by making an excellent point regarding how these phases place added pressures on faculty of color in particular. Although the phases demonstrate progress in changing the racist institutional narrative of a university, "there are detrimental effects that faculty of color go through as the predominantly white institution tries to become a diverse, inclusive, respectful multicultural university" (Samano, 2008: 107). These detrimental effects are particularly felt under phase three, improving the climate, as the university works to improve the racial climate at the university - faculty of color experience a paradox as they must maintain their productivity in scholarship and excellence in teaching but also commit themselves to help nurture the new racialized climate change initiatives.

:: Factor 4: Racial Battle Fatigue

The combination of experiencing the above four factors within the university and other elements of racism in the community leads to what scholars' term 'racial battle fatigue' - which is the "impact of the accumulation of [racist] experiences on people of color, which can range from depression to physical illness" (Gorski, 2018: 5). Racial battle fatigue is the theoretical construct that William Smith coined to describe a type of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder affecting faculty of color. Racial battle fatigue refers to the implications of this physical and emotional stress- for example, of coping with a constant stream of microaggressions - for people of color.

> **"Racial battle fatigue develops in African Americans and other people of color much like combat fatigue in military personnel, even when they are not under direct (racial) attack. Unlike typical occupational stress, racial battle fatigue is a response to the distressing mental/emotional conditions that result from facing racism daily (e.g., racial slights, recurrent indignities and irritations, unfair treatments, including contentious classrooms, and potential threats or dangers under tough to violent and even life-threatening conditions"** (Smith, 2004; 180 in Samano, 2008; 35; Arnold, Crawford, and Khalifa 2016).

Universities are not safe spaces where Black faculty are free from the toxic effects of many covert forms of racism (Constantine et al 348). Hence, the cumulative impact of living and working in environments that are racist and sexist minefields takes a toll on faculty of color on campus and in their daily lives beyond campus (Bonilla-Silva 2001).

One of the major causes of racial battle fatigue stems from the fact that those who suffer from it are often not taken seriously. That is because many people think of racism as explicit and obvious and they overlook the ways that African Americans endure constant, ubiquitous, and mundane racism (Gorski, 2018, p. 5). Yet, researchers are extending Pierce's work on microaggressions (1974) to demonstrate how the mundane, extreme, environmental stress (MEES) African Americans endure lead to long term detrimental psychological damage (Gorski 2018). Other researchers have commented on how the constant attack on black faculty members' social identities shows up in the lack of academic freedom in their teaching and research (Locher and Ropers-Hamilton 2015). While Racial Battle Fatigue was initially theorized to focus on the experiences of black men, it has been applied more generally to all people who fight against oppression based on race and ethnicity. Asian American faculty have experienced the bodily sickness that comes from microaggressions and nonrandomness of racism (Hartlep 2015), while Native faculty have fought against the patriarchal ideas that they need to get marching orders from the "Great White Father" (Almeida 2015), and a Cuban scholar shares the fatigue that comes along with every-day institutional racism associated with Institutional Review Board processes and attempts to shield itself from being called racist (Perez 2015).

The research suggests that many of the faculty who contribute to black colleagues' racial fatigue are often ignorant or indifferent to the impact of their attitudes and actions. Chicana Feminist Scholar Anzaldua shares "We who are oppressed by Racism internalize its deadly pollen along with the air we breathe.... Racism sucks out the life from our bodies, our souls... Racism is especially rampant in places and people that produce knowledge" (Varner et al 27). Other faculty of color contend that no matter what they do, it feels like it is never enough to satisfy institutional mandates (Almeida, 2015,) dealing with ongoing battles for resources and legitimacy for ethnic and race-focused area studies programs (Giles 2015) and feelings of hyper surveillance (Hartlep, 2015). Racial Battle Fatigue impacts Black women and other women of color in a permissive way, as intersectional systems of discrimination increase the challenges Black women face (Chancellor, 2019; Pratt-Clarke 2015).

Intersectionality is naming the fact that people occupy multiple identity spaces. Examples include marginalized people who are both women and black,

Latinx and gay, low-income and Native American, (https://diversity.ucdavis.edu/sites/g/files/dgvnsk731/files/inline-files/InstitutionalBarriersStrategies2020.pdf). Intersectionality is especially important when individuals occupy two major minoritized identities because they are more likely to be marginalized and made invisible in both of those spaces (Crenshaw 1991). Turner puts it best when she states that women of color face racism in ways that white women do not, and they experience sexism in ways that men of color do not (Crenshaw 1991). That is why any efforts to address retention must use an intersectional approach and recognize how multiple identities broaden the exposure to marginalization and oppression in ways that a singular focus on race, gender or class misses (Griffin, 2019).

Devoted to an exploration of the intersectionality in the academy at the roots of race, gender, and class, nearly 100 women academics of color documented how the presumption of incompetence manifests in the campus climate, classroom, tenure, and promotion processes, faculty and student relationships and professional networks.

> **Intersectionality is not merely about differences but also about power. That is why one of the initial issues should address the issues of intersectionality among white women - and how it differs from questions of intersectionality that women of color face, including one scholar's awakening to unearned benefits based on race and that "the facets of her social identity—each intersection—mutually constitute, reinforce and naturalize one another. Thus, the thread of whiteness is inevitably woven through gender, age, and every other significant dimension that defines me"** (Shields, 2012, p. 39).

The whiteness is distinguished from the over-arching oppression that race, class and sexuality bring in shaping the lives of women of color in the academy. In one of the few analyses of Latinas in the political science field, one respondent pointed out that the problem with being a Latina scholar is presumed incompetent by your colleagues and your students (Monforti 2012, p. 403). Another scholar pointed out the negative consequences they experienced when they stepped out of the Asian model minority paradigm - to express concerns about administrative practices through a racial lens (Fujiwara 2020). Another example deals with how side-lining based on gender and lack of access to real power prevents women deans from successfully leading (Padilla 2012). Ortega speaks to how classism in the academy impacts women of color's ability to be authentic in their teaching and research (Ortega 2012). Jacobs, a Native American scholar, challenges the dilemmas Native women face as they negotiate teaching, research, and service in the academy (Jacobs 2012). In important ways, the issues documented in both ground-breaking volumes figure into the concept of racial battle fatigue. However, intersectionality provides a more nuanced understanding that is vital when addressing retention issues for faculty of color in the academy.

Research has shown that once a faculty member "feels resentment enough to start looking for jobs, the door is already open, and they're halfway out" (O'meara, 2015). Yet, there is very little training or educational resources focused on helping faculty of color or administrators to understand these important long-term mental health stress issues. Varner explains the lack of attention as, "campuses of predominately white institutions, racism exists as a set of socially organized practices, attitudes, and ideas that deny persons of color the privileges, opportunities, and rewards that are offered to whites" (Varner et al 2015). These social arrangements are complicated for people in non-marginalized communities to see. In their book, Racial Battle Fatigue in Higher Education, Varner and his colleagues argue that racial battle fatigue are the long-term consequences of how they deal with racism as "an overwhelming feeling of fatigue that is ever-present" (Varner et al p. 26, 2015) James Thomas describes how faculty of color "report encounters with students who challenge their competence, knowledge, and authority as a whole" (Thomas, p. 8, 2015).

Another essential element of racial battle fatigue is the added stress faculty of color involved in racial justice activism experience at the university. Gorki studied fatigued faculty of color and found that "conditions that contribute to racial battle fatigue might be elevated for faculty .... of color who are racial justice activists compared to those who are not" (Gorki, 2018: 18). This important finding demonstrates

the precarious position of faculty of color, who are actively working to transform their universities' racist structure, as their activism places their jobs and health at risk. The risk is increased if colleagues and administrators negatively perceive their racial justice activism as a threat to the status quo.

Research by Jayakumar, Howard, Allen and Han focuses on how the same climate issues that drive faculty of color out of the institution are positively correlated with retention among white faculty. Their findings reveal the lack of recognition of how white faculty benefit from the status quo, making white faculty less likely to press for change (Jayakumar, Howard, Allen and Han, 2009). Additionally, even when white faculty and students work hard to see their own complicity in institutional racism, their allyship alone is not enough to redress the chains that hold faculty of color back (Joplin 2020). Institutional efforts to address retention among faculty of color need to address how improving the racial climate at universities and ameliorating racial battle fatigue will likely mean disrupting systems of privilege that white faculty enjoy.

:: Factor 5: Psychological Racial Trauma

Research on the psychological harm and trauma that faculty of color face in the academy emerged in the 1970s, but universities are more recently focusing on psychological trauma as a factor in faculty retention (Cartwright 2009). Psychological racial trauma is defined as "race-based stress, refers to the events of danger related to real or perceived experience of racial discrimination. These include threats of harm and injury, humiliating and shaming events, and witnessing harm to other people of color due to real or perceived racism" (Carter, 2007). Racial trauma shares aspects of Racial Battle Fatigue but racial trauma is racial stress that has manifested into trauma symptoms, which include depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, feelings of humiliation, poor concentration, irritability, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and suicide ideation. It may be intergenerational, may include collective trauma, historical trauma and/or vicarious trauma. Additionally, racial trauma may result from racial harassment, witnessing racial violence, or experiencing institutional racism (Bryant-Davis, & Ocampo, 2006; Comas-Díaz, 2016).

Although African Americans are more exposed to racial discrimination than are other ethnoracial groups (Chou, Asnaani, & Hofmann, 2012), many Indigenous people, Latinx, and Asian Americans significantly suffer from race-based stress. Intersectional oppression such as racial, gender, sexual orientation, and xenophobic microaggressions contribute to the cumulative effects of racial trauma. Racism and ethnoviolence can be life-threatening to people of color, due to their exposure to racial microaggressions, vicarious traumatization, and the invisibility of racial trauma's historical roots (Helms, Nicolas, & Green, 2012).

Outright aggression emanating from faculty, staff, and students and being hired into a racially hostile department contribute to psychological trauma. In addition - racial microaggressions – "defined as subtle, harmful, or denigrating messages, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges, which are put-downs of African Americans, but are also used to put down other faculty of color and women" serve as triggers to psychological trauma (Hemmings and Evans, 2018; Clark, Adams, and Clark, 2020). Furthermore, Psychological racial trauma manifest itself as a response to exclusion from faculty to faculty mentoring and social networks that are important for faculty to get tenure and promotion. Hence, faculty of color are often excluded from informal networks available to their white colleagues. In some instances, faculty of color find themselves between a rock and a hard place, especially in the natural sciences, where informal mentoring, respect and camaraderie for white faculty comes more naturally as the same informal networks are not necessarily in place for faculty of color (Stewart and Valian, p. 244, 2018). For example, "A biology professor provided an additional perspective of the amount of autonomy given to junior faculty as he explained how assistant professors try not to seek assistance from senior faculty about their research because some faculty members may view such an act as a display of ineptness" (Lechuga, p. 916, 2014).

Psychological racial trauma also occurs when peers perceive faculty of color as being "affirmative action" hires who were not good enough to get a job based on merit – are perceived as "diversity hires" (Flaherty, 2020)**. Almost no place on campus is immune from psychological racial trauma, which can also occur when white students and white parents use their privilege to question a faculty member of color's credentials or disrespect them with impunity** (Harlow, 2003; Smith and Hawkins 2011).

Daryl Smith, a leading researcher on institutional change, notes, "The explanations given on most campuses for the turnover of faculty of color, especially, focus on aggressive "hiring away" to another institution or the lack of research productivity by the faculty member. However, faculty of color and white women studies contain powerful and emotional descriptions of climate, fairness, treatment, tokenism, and inequity (Niemann, Muhs and Gonzalez 2020). Studies report "environments that are alienating and in which faculty report feeling that they do not matter" (Smith 2020, p. 176). These studies point to psychological racial trauma as an important but often overlooked factor in why faculty choose to leave.

Faculty of color not only experience psychological racial trauma from faculty and staff but also by students. For example, "Faculty of color often encounter a deficit of credibility from students, who undermine their authority and expertise in both subtle and not so subtle ways" (Harris et al 44). In one study of black faculty, researchers reported that, "Most Black professors felt that their classes always contained at least some students who questioned their right to hold the status of professor" (Constantine 2008).

Having to face this sort of racial discrimination leads to trauma in the psyche and physical problems. To remedy these situations, some faculty of color engage in what the literature refers to as "John Henryism", a coping strategy used by people who face prolonged adversity – against inequality, financial hardship, and racial discrimination (Clark, Adams, and Clark, 2020). John Henry is a heroic African American man in a folk hero story who worked hard enough to compete successfully with a steam powered engine but ended up dying from his efforts. The term was coined by researcher Sherman James, who investigated racial health disparities between Blacks and others in North Carolina. He interviewed a Black man born into an impoverished sharecropping family, who could read and write, even though he only had a second-grade education. The man had freed himself and his family from sharecropping by the time he was the age of 50. With that hard work, came hypertension, arthritis, and severe optic ulcer disease.

Similar to the way that John Henry developed maladies while having to work twice as hard due to being dealt a racist hand in life, people of color today who have to cope with racist barriers in universities cope by working harder than their white colleagues and develop health maladies (Clark, Adams, and Clark, 2020; Hemmings and Evans, 2018). John Henryism refers to high-effort coping required to thrive in the face of racial inequality which damages their health. Findings indicate that John Henryism leads to a greater likelihood of cardiovascular disease, heart attacks, and other health problems (Adams et al., p. 1).

As Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson explain, working harder "is a response to performance pressures due to one's heightened visibility and uniqueness. This response to tokenism and exclusion seeks to increase individuals' positive visibility and reduce the extent to which others attach racial and/or gender stereotypes to them. When individuals work harder to prove their worth, they may have professional success and greater chances for mobility to more supportive environments. However, although working harder may lead to positive outcomes for individual faculty members, the constant scrutiny and pressure to outperform can have negative psychological and health effects" (Settles, Buchanan, Dotson, 2017: 10). As a result, faculty often leave because the negative psychological racial trauma in the university is literally making them sick.

The literature also points out that while psychological racial trauma impacts faculty of color across the board, the impacts differ across the groups because of how racial and ethnic groups are racialized in society (Jana and Baren, 2020; Omi and Winant, 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 2009). That is why universities must understand the unique ways in which faculty (based on race and ethnicity) experience psychological racial trauma and its impact on retention.

:: Conclusion: Envisioning Transformation

In order to address structural racism in the academy, over three decades ago, universities began the process of using affirmative action to increase faculty of color representation and diversity: "Initially affirmative action led to significant increases in the number of faculty of color in the academy. Yet, after more than three decades, 2018 NCES date reveal inequities across the board...). (7 percent Asian/Pacific Islander males; 5 percent Asian/Pacific Islander females; and 3 percent each were Black males, Black females, Hispanic males, and Hispanic females. Those who were American Indian/Alaska Native and those who were of two or more races each made up 1 percent or less of full-time faculty". (https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=61). At the University of Oregon, the statistics are even more stark. **Less than 1 percent of UO tenure track faculty Native, 9 percent Asian, 2.2 percent Black, 5.5 percent Latino/a, and 1.4 percent two or more races**. (https://ir.uoregon.edu/sites/ir2.uoregon.edu/files/Faculty_Demographics_02072020.pdf).

These statistics are troubling, and it is evident that bringing more faculty of color into a hostile racialized environment is not useful and will result in further attrition. A faculty of color member noticing his colleagues' high turnover rates aptly compares the attrition experienced by his colleagues to a horror film. "His companions have all disappeared: the women of color, the quiet gay man, the only other Black faculty member to achieve the rank of full professor. This is not a horror film. Still, everyone knows who dies first" (Anthem and Tuitt, 1084).

To prevent high turnover rates for faculty of color at universities, the factors that compel them to leave must be deliberately and intentionally addressed. The five factors identified through this literature review are a start.

Further, for "visibility to be positive, individuals must have control over their image and be recognized in ways that affirm their important identities (e.g., academic)". (Settles, Buchanan, Dotson, 2017: 11).

In a Chronicle of Higher Education piece titled Becoming Full Professor While Black, Marlene L. Daut, encourages universities to combat racism actively by purposefully reprimanding students, faculty, staff, and administrators who engage in racist behavior (Daut, 2019). To do this, universities need first to name the discrimination and oppression that are taking place. They must also realize that the diversity models that are used to bring about more equity on campus are not designed to hold people accountable for discrimination and harassment. In fact, scholars have pointed out that if institutions really want to evolve, they have to "interrupt business as usual" and take actions that will increase the success of diverse faculty when they get there (Williams, 2013). These actions include punitive action against faculty, staff, or students who harm the campus community members. Title IX provides a good model for developing remedies for faculty of color who find themselves on the receiving end of microaggressions, discrimination, and oppression (Stewart and Valian 2018)

The next phase of the Active Retention Initiative conducted to ground these factors within the actual experiences of both current and former University of Oregon faculty of color. The qualitative interviews might identify other factors of importance or frame

similar retention factors differently. For example, Uma, Howard, Allen, and Han, attributed to faculty of color retention to similar factors but framed them differently. They found that the "key factors identified [in faculty of color retention] are perceptions of campus racial climate, autonomy and independence, review and promotion process, and having one's research valued by colleagues in the department. The literature has tied these issues to racial inequity in the academy" (Uma, Howard, Allen & Han, 2016: 555). Hence, it is important to ground our factors within the University of Oregon context and allow for an inductive analysis that might yield diverse retention factors.

As the University of Oregon continues its climate transformation to one that is more racially inclusive and equitable, it is essential to understand the key factors shaping faculty of color retention. In his book, Respecting One's Abilities, or (Post) Colonial Tokenism: Faculty of Color Speak Out, Samano argues that predominantly white universities can make positive change — in the manner suggested by Bronstein and Ramaly — transforming themselves "in such a way that a more respectful learning and working environment would result" (Samano, 2008: 107)**. Yet these Universities need to emphasize active retention of faculty of color as this climate transformation takes place, as faculty of color will be in the front lines of these institutional initiatives and structural transformation.**

As the University of Oregon addresses these issues in a transformative way, other important issues need to be considered. First, faculty of color are not a monolith. There is plenty of evidence that Asian, Black, Latino, and Native faculty experiences are impacted differently by white institutions' racial climate (Lawrence et al. 2014). Second, there is diversity within each of the racial and ethnic groups. For example, the group identified as Asian includes Pacific Islanders, Japanese and Chinese. Black includes those who have a lineage of slavery in the Western Hemisphere (i.e., U.S. Jamaica, Brazil) and recent immigrants from Ghana, Nigeria, and other African states. Latinos are a broad group comprised primarily of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, and increasingly immigrants from Central America. Native American peoples comprise groups that date back thousands of years and are made up of various tribes (some federally recognized and others not).

Third, while this research has focused mainly on faculty of color, it is essential to remember that gender, class, nationality, language, sexuality, and other intersectional aspects of identity interact with how faculty of color are impacted in the academy. Fourth, faculty of color are in various academic disciplines, and some disciplines have a better track record than other disciplines at retaining faculty of color. The disciplinary differences mean that solutions should be designed with disciplines in mind (Lechuga 2014). Fifth, as the University of Oregon considers our next steps, it is essential to remember that the five factors identified relate to national trends; therefore, it is vital to draw on national expertise and examples from other universities with a strong retention record. The University of Oregon also needs to center the faculty of color's lived experience when creating programs and initiatives in any university-wide interventions.

:: Five Factors Shaping Faculty of Color Retention

Factor	Definition	Example(s)
Cultural Taxation	Performing informal diversity work that is not valued by the institution (Fryberg and Martinez 2014; Matthew 2016; Samano 2008)	Being a role model for students of color; service on committees as "diversity member"; fixing the problems of racism on campus; mentoring students of color and white students interested in race; serving as a barometer for racial issues at the institution (Hall 2016)
Racist	Research conducted by faculty of color on issues related to race is devalued and characterized as non-traditional, less objective, less rigorous. (Fashing-Varner, et al 2015; Matthew 2016; Fryberg and Martinez 2014)	Underfunding departments that conduct research on marginalized communities of color while heralding research about communities of color done by white scholars; Undervaluing the impact of research published in ethnic journals.
Transforming the Racial Climate: Costs for Faculty of Color	Detrimental effects that faculty of color go through as the predominantly white institution tries to become a diverse, inclusive, respectful multicultural university. (Samano, 2008)	Faculty of color feeling guilty for not participating in efforts to improve the racial climate at their university. Campus expectations are for faculty of color to disproportionately allocate time to racial climate initiatives which stresses their scholarship. Creates paradox for faculty of color of needing to meet the white institutional requirements of scholarship and institutional life while also wanting to nurture new initiatives that support multiculturalism. (Bronstein, P and Ramaly, J.A. 2002)
Racial Battle Fatigue	Cumulative result of a natural race-related stress response to distressing mental and emotional conditions. These conditions emerged from constantly facing racially dismissive, demeaning, insensitive and/or hostile racial environments and individuals. ('Smith, Hung and Franklin 2011)	Symptoms may include suppressed immunity and increased sickness, tension headaches, trembling and jumpiness, increased pain in healed injuries, elevated blood pressure, and a pounding heartbeat, rapid breathing, an upset stomach, or frequent diarrhea/urination. (Goodwin 2018) Ever present and overwhelming feeling of fatigue. (Varner et al, 2015) There may be an elevated sense of Racial Battle Fatigue for faculty of color who are racial justice activists (Gorski, 2018) as their activism may place their jobs and health at risk. (Double jeopardy)
Psychological Racial Trauma	Racial trauma, or race-based stress, refers to the events of danger related to real or perceived experience of racial discrimination. These include threats of harm and injury, Humiliating and shaming events, and witnessing harm to other people due to real or perceived racism (Carter, 2007). Racial trauma may be intergenerational, may include collective trauma, historical trauma and/or vicarious trauma.	Physical or mental health problems that are often more chronic; effects may cross generations. Shares aspects of Racial Battle Fatigue but racial trauma is racial stress that has manifested into trauma symptoms. The trauma may result in experiencing symptoms of depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, feelings of humiliation, poor concentration, irritability, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and suicide ideation. May also be evidenced by feelings of alienation, worries about future negative events, and perceiving others as dangerous (Williams et al, 2018). Racial trauma may result from racial harassment, witnessing racial violence, or experiencing institutional racism (Bryant-Davis, & Ocampo, 2006; Comas-Díaz, 2016).

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