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"Dangerous Work": Improving Conditions for Faculty of Color in the Community College

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This qualitative investigation of the experiences of faculty of color at community colleges identifies current conditions for this population and suggests potentials for ameliorating conditions that inhibit their job satisfaction. We argue that the current conditions for faculty of color, based upon their expressed experiences at the community colleges, are deleterious to their professional performance, to their positive self-image, and to their contributions to their institutions. Alterations to these current conditions are unlikely without systemic institutional change. Indeed, without improvement to these conditions, the job satisfaction of faculty of color is not likely to change.

Scholarship over the past 20 years points toward numerous factors that cause low-levels of faculty of color in higher education writ-large and the community college specifically, including low-levels of diversity in the hiring pools (Cole & Arias, 2004; Nicholas & Oliver, 1994); market factors that lead faculty of color to pursue opportunities outside of higher education (Myers & Turner, 2004); faculty turnover (Bradburn & Sikora, 2002; Jayakumar, Howard, Allen, & Han, 2009); lack of diversity in administration and on governing boards (Harvey, 1994; Opp & Gosetti, 2002); and institutional climates that do not embrace diversity (Aguirre, Martinez, & Hernandez, 1993; Bower, 2002; Jayakumar et al., 2009). As well, there have been acts of discrimination against faculty of color even in the community college, touted for its diverse student body and nonclassist faculty and administration (Bower, 2002; Levin, Walker, Haberler, & Jackson-Boothby, 2013), underlining the importance of institutional culture (or climate) to the experiences of faculty of color at community colleges.

Given the multitude of research that identifies structural and cultural barriers to faculty diversity, and discomfort for faculty of color, it is not surprising to find that there is a high degree of turnover for faculty of color in higher education (Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Teraguchi, 2006), further limiting a diverse faculty population in higher education. Research suggests that numerous factors generally contribute to faculty turnover (Aguirre et al., 1993; Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, & Hazelwood, 2011; Jayakumar et al., 2009; Olsen, Maple, & Stage, 1995; Rosser, 2004; Zhou & Volkwein, 2004). While many of these studies found small, but significant, relationships between gender and race and faculty intent to leave, several of the more

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important variables such as autonomy and seniority also reflect, implicitly, racial and gender biases. Indeed, research suggests that there may be an important connection between perceptions of institutional climate and the satisfaction of faculty of color (Bennett, Tillman-Kelly, Shuck, Viera, & Wall, 2011; Laden & Hagedorn, 2000; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008). Furthermore, as Jayakumar et al. (2009) note, those faculty of color who do remain in the academy are survivors in, or resisters to, a "hostile climate" (p. 557). These scholars speculate on what factors contribute to attrition.

The concern surrounding faculty of color within higher education is one that has been at the forefront of the literature for several decades (Turner et al., 2008). However, while numerous scholars have written on the topic of faculty of color in higher education, a vast majority of this literature has been centered within four-year colleges and universities. Nationally, community college faculty of color constitute 17% of all community college faculty (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2008). And in California, combining full-time and part-time faculty, of which counselors are included, the figure is approximately 25% (NCES, 2011), a figure that includes Asians as well as African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. The main body of research that addresses community college faculty of color provides statistical confirmation that community college faculty are predominately White and recognition that several conditions prevent faculty diversity, such as lack of diversity in leadership roles, the pipeline problem that may limit the number of candidates for faculty positions, and college cultures or climates that are racist or do not embrace diversity (Barrera & Angel, 1991; Opp & Gosetti, 2002). The scholarly literature on community college faculty has significant limitations because it assumes a homogenous faculty body (Grubb et al., 1999) and ignores social and cultural identities (Levin, 2013). In order to fill in the gap in the scholarly literature and to move community college practice to respond to claims of problems in the recruitment and retention of faculty of color, this article reports on our investigation of the self-reported experiences of faculty of color at community colleges. We identify current conditions for this population and suggest potentials for ameliorating conditions that inhibit their job satisfaction.

We argue that the current conditions for faculty of color, based upon their expressed experiences at community colleges, are deleterious to their professional performance, to their positive self-image, and to their contributions to their institutions. Based upon the experiences of faculty of color, we suggest that alterations to their professional conditions are unlikely without systemic institutional change. Indeed, without improvement to these conditions, the job satisfaction of faculty of color is not likely to change.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

For our discussion, the experiences of faculty of color are central. However, these experiences are a consequence of the policies and practices of the community college as an institution, wherein numerous participants as well as external stakeholders with varying agendas compete against one another (Scott, 2013). The analysis, then, flows from institutional theory, organizational change theory, and social identity theory.

Institutional theory posits that organizations in a similar field (hospitals, schools, colleges), even occupying different geographical environments, tend to display similarity in organizational behaviors and structures (Scott, 2013; Tolbert & Zucker, 1994). Institutional theory also assumes

that there exists a specified set of structures, rules, and norms that all institutions in the same field (e.g., community colleges) embody and depend upon to function both internally and in relation to social society (Scott, 2013). That is, institutions are thought to operate under a set of rational procedures to help guide actions and behaviors. Institutions are highly stable and practices are deeply embedded not only in institutional operations but also institutional behaviors, including interpersonal behaviors (Scott, 2013).

Historically, as Colyvas and Powell (2006) have noted, institutional studies have operated under the assumption that change can only take place in a top-down or managerial approach, wherein institutional leadership calls for a shift in practice. However, Scott (2008) argues that while this may be the case under certain conditions, there are situations where institutional change can be fueled from the bottom-up. For example, shifts in demographics —either student and/or faculty—can aid in aligning institutional priorities towards a change in personnel. Such organizational changes can serve as the catalysts needed to propel an institution in a different direction (Scott, 2008).

In our investigation, the presence of a diverse faculty body that has been underrepresented historically in these roles at the community college may signal a need for institutional change. Such change may be addressed through managerial action and executive policy, or through the workforce, in this case the faculty, or both. Moreover, that group of faculty who represent themselves as marginalized, or treated unjustly, and underrepresented historically as college faculty can initiate organizational change.

Organizational change theory (Levy & Merry, 1986) can help explain if such change is occurring or possible given the practices of the organization or the predispositions of organizational members. According to Levy and Merry (1986), first-order change in organizations occurs when a few of the components—such as policy or a structure—of that organization change. For example, in community colleges, the revision of policies pertaining to the composition of hiring committees—from no guidelines for demographic composition to mandating balanced representation by gender and ethnicity—would constitute first-order change. This might entail policy that requires diverse hiring committees in the same way that existing policies in unionized environments, usually embedded in collective bargaining agreements, require representation by program areas on decision-making bodies (Levin, 2000). Change in this dimension usually is not substantial, and such a change is unlikely to affect deep-seated practices. By contrast, second-order change occurs when the essential foundations, values, and principles of the institution undergo a fundamental shift (Levy & Merry, 1986). Second-order change is rare in organizations, and it is characterized by substantial alteration to the values, norms, and assumptions of organizational members. For example, in community colleges, reforming decision-making to a collaborative form (Eddy, 2013)—from top-down and bureaucratic to distributive decision-making—would constitute second-order change. Second order change results in organization-wide behavioral change and in organizational decisions and actions. Second-order change is rare.

Our concern is with the expressed need for organizational change for faculty of color: what these faculty perceive as sufficient and necessary conditions for the practice of their profession; and what progress has been accomplished, or potential for progress in the future, by organizational members and leaders to establish an inclusive environment. We view these as the represented needs of faculty of color at community colleges, needs that when met will enhance not only the experiences of faculty of color but also the experiences of other members within the institution.

In this sense, these expressed needs for organizational change correlate with the social identity of faculty of color within their community colleges. Social identity theory suggests that in a given organizational setting an individual may develop several identities depending on the existence of relevant categories for group formation (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). For example, in community colleges, faculty members can identify with the entire college community, their department, their race or ethnicity, or with any other subgroups that they might take part in committees such as curriculum, academic planning, or diversity committees. Individuals will seek and prioritize identities that are supported positively by individuals or groups within their organizations because such actions maximize the individual's self-esteem. The relative ability for faculty of color to identify with their community colleges in a positive way may be connected with their sense of (a) whether or not institutional leadership is trusted (Van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003); (b) whether or not their institutions are trending toward more diversity-friendly policies and practices in such areas as hiring (Stanley, 2006); and (c) whether or not college personnel (faculty and administrators) are amenable to changing behavioral patterns (Bilimoria, Joy, & Liang, 2008).

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

We chose a methodology that would both capture the perceptions and reflect the self-reported, lived experiences of faculty of color, and enable us to apply our theoretical orientations to collected data. We follow an interpretive/phenomenological tradition, "concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted" (Mason, 2002, p. 31). We focus upon phenomena described and lived by participants (Creswell, 2009). For this investigation, we relied upon qualitative field methods (Burgess, 1984; Maxwell, 2005; Seidman, 2006) in order to obtain data from the participants' point of view. This entailed researchers' engagement with organizational members on community college campuses. It also gave us the acquisition of knowledge of campuses through institutional documents in order to provide us with a context for the understanding of faculty's views of their institution. Collected data are primarily *emic* in nature (Erickson, 1986) and express the perceptions and understandings of the investigated population. Data include conversational-style interviews (Burgess, 1984) that comprise narratives of faculty's experiences as both community college faculty and faculty of color.

Research sites were selected based upon data obtained from the California Community College Chancellor's Office in 2010 regarding numbers of full-time and part-time faculty of color teaching in a credit program or classified as instructional faculty. We chose three institutions with a high number of faculty of color and, for comparative purposes, one institution with a low number of faculty of color. For the protection of the institutions in this study, we have assigned the following pseudonyms: (a) Cosmopolitan City College, located in Los Angeles County; (b) North Point Community College, located in Northern California; (c) Water's Edge Community College, located in the Inland Empire of Southern California; and (d) Oasis Community College, located in the desert of Southern California.

Once we were granted approval by our institutional review board, we entered the field to interview 36 faculty at four colleges. Semistructured interviews served as the primary method of data collection (Seidman, 2006). The intention was to elicit the perceptions and understandings of faculty of color on their experiences: that is, collected interview data constitute emic data (Erickson, 1986). All interviews lasted between 60–90 minutes and were conducted at a location

amenable for each faculty member. Interview data were collected between October 2010 and April 2011 and were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Our participants consisted of both full-time and part-time faculty of color from a variety of different disciplines and programs including auto mechanics, business, counseling, criminal justice, dance, English, health sciences, history, English as a second language (ESL), mathematics, nursing, engineering, psychology, reading, sociology, and visual arts. Of this group, a small proportion is in science or science-related fields, and the majority of our participants were full-time faculty members.

Interview data were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti to organize the data in a coherent manner (Friese, 2012). In addition, concept maps, which characterize the hierarchical organization of concepts, were also utilized to analyze the data (Novak, 1990). Primary and secondary codes were assigned to synthesize the large data set and produce findings (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014; Richards, 2009). Primary codes included racial and ethnic identity, personal and professional identity, subordination of groups, socialization, social justice, and efforts to establish a positive identity. Secondary coding included leadership and executive behaviors; the need for change in hiring practices, policies, and personal attitudes of organizational members; and resistance to change. Using our secondary coding scheme as an organizing device, we present our findings and discussion of these under three categories: (a) leadership, (b) hiring, and, (c) resistance to change.

DISCUSSION: LEADERSHIP, HIRING OF FACULTY, AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

Data analysis revealed that faculty of color in our study expressed concerns, as well as hopes, related to the leadership, hiring practices, and potential for change at their respective community colleges. Furthermore, these concerns underline the difficulties inherent in any efforts to improve the job satisfaction for faculty of color at the community college, which, in turn, translates to the relative abilities of those community colleges to increase the number of faculty of color significantly.

Leadership

Respondents expressed concern over the attention, as well as the inattention, that their administration placed upon campus diversity, and faculty diversity in particular. For the faculty we interviewed, leadership issues were viewed as problematical at the institutional, district, and state levels. Ruby, a full-time African American psychology faculty member at Oasis Community College, suggested that campus administration was not a diverse group. “I think this is definitely the time on this campus for diversifying [the] administration.” Louis, a full-time business faculty member at Water’s Edge Community College, offered a similar observation for his campus and provided a more detailed explanation: “There’s not very many administrators of color . . . If you have administrators of color and women that could affect . . . the institutional culture also and how it relates to people of color.” According to Louis, organizational change originates from the top of the institution, and yet that is the domain where ethnic and racial diversity is lacking.

The responsibility for the makeup of not only the administration but also the faculty resides first and foremost with the college president. As noted by Marlena, a full-time Latina at Water’s

Edge Community College, "It begins with the president, okay and the 20 years that I have been here really no president has addressed the needs of people of color, really." Presidents are not only important in addressing the needs of people of color on a day-to-day basis, but they are also the decision-makers in the selection of faculty and the makeup of the faculty body. Selena, a full-time Latina Counselor at Water's Edge Community College, notes, "We have to start at the top and change the attitudes of the folks at the top . . . because . . . even though the faculty sit on the committee, the folks that make the final decision are not the folks in the room." Oscar, a full-time Latino counselor at North Point Community College, echoes this sentiment. College leadership, then, affects the ways in which these faculty of color experience the college and fulfill their professional responsibilities.

Gloria underlines the importance of leadership broadly at community colleges, whether chancellor or president, arguing that if all administrative personnel, "not only the president," were behind an issue such as diversity it would be more effective because "it begins to trickle down." Phyllis, a full-time African American psychology faculty member at Cosmopolitan City College, where a president was recently hired, expressed the view that the president is the bell-weather leader of institutional behaviors, and faculty displayed a sense of optimism in a new leader when she reflects upon a recent meeting:

> . . . I heard people as they left, "Oh well that sounded good." And they were kind of happy to hear of [the new president's] goals and plans for the college . . . He's very focused on diversity and really wants to be able to represent . . . students of color and issues relating to . . . retaining those types of students.

Barbara, a full-time African American counselor also at Cosmopolitan City College, added to this sense of optimism. "We have a new president, so we expect that to change. We're very optimistic about this new president." Thus, while neither of these respondents noted issues pertaining specifically to the experiences of faculty of color, they both alluded to the genuine interest exhibited by the new president. The president's expression of concern for improving conditions on campus, including those for students of color, translated into potential for positive organizational change for faculty of color. In both a positive and negative way at three of the colleges—positive in the articulations of concern by the president of Cosmopolitan and negative in the actions or inactions of presidents at North Point and Water's Edge—college leadership affects the experiences of faculty of color (whether positively or negatively) through leaders' attention or lack thereof to issues specific to faculty of color.

Not only senior leadership positions but also mid and entry-level formal managerial positions reflect a monoculture absent people of color. Leticia, a full-time Latina psychology faculty member at North Point Community College, indicated that at her college the top level administration and leadership positions "are mostly held by White people . . . and sometimes those circles are closed in kind of covert sort of way to Chicanos and African Americans, and I think those barriers need to come down." Leticia's commentary suggests that those in the positions of authority act to maintain the status quo and prevent losing their positions of power and influence.

In addition to the leaders at the individual colleges, the leadership of the community college district affects the daily life and experiences of faculty of color. Gloria, a full-time African American counselor at North Point Community College, pinpoints the role of the district chancellor in affecting change, specifically in changing the organization climate and makeup of the faculty body:

> The chancellor of our district . . . wanted each college to really think about how we position ourselves within the changing demographics . . . and each campus created a taskforce, and the task was to develop a framework for who we would be able to strategize the plan for what we'll be seeing.

Thus, the district-wide leadership of this set of community colleges created an agenda focused around diversity and charged each of the individual colleges to enact a plan to carry out the new agenda to embrace diversity through various culturally responsive workshops and discussions.

Faculty of color, however, viewed district officials as affecting individual colleges negatively in their policy-making. Selena, a full-time Latina counselor at Water's Edge Community College, suggests that there is a lack of understanding of campus life and conditions by district office executives, and she recommends that because district level executives are at the "forefront in helping to develop policy" they should have "some roll-up-the-sleeves, hands-on experience so that they understand what's being dealt with." This allusion to the lack of awareness of those in positions of authority at the highest level of community colleges regarding the experiences of faculty members of color underlines the importance of leadership to the institutional structures and climate that influence the ability of faculty of color to identify positively with their community colleges.

As well as district officials, state government legislators and bureaucrats were viewed by faculty of color as responsible for current conditions. Educational funding and state and federal policies were identified by faculty of color as influential in the professional lives of faculty. Dara, a part-time Asian/Pacific Islander nursing faculty at Water's Edge Community College, focused on the need to create more full-time positions at these colleges in order to establish stability for the employees:

> I think a lot comes from the state, but making more part-timers full-timers . . . that'll definitely help because . . . it all breaks down to the money . . . A lot of us want stability and maybe because of that stability some will stay in the profession.

Clearly, faculty of color in this investigation associate faculty and administrator college demographics, and specifically the presence of people of color, with policy and decision makers at the institutional and state government levels.

Hiring of Faculty

Hiring practices within these four community colleges were perceived as both significant and problematical. Specific hiring practices and policies were characterized as serving a gatekeeper role, falling far short of actions of equity. Diego, a full-time Latino faculty member at Oasis Community College, suggested having "only minorities on hiring committees because I think that's the only way you really can change [the faculty make-up]." However, he lamented that most programs did not have enough faculty of color to accomplish that feat. The composition of the hiring committee, Diego maintains, determines the outcomes and leads to a recurring pattern. These percentages indicate that the makeup of hiring committees does not likely include faculty of color, or at best one faculty of color, a point confirmed by faculty of color at all four colleges. According to the faculty of color at our four colleges, majority populations choose majority populations for faculty jobs: thus a recurrent pattern. This cycle was noted by William, a full-time African American history faculty member at Cosmopolitan City College, who suggests that "when it comes to the paper screen process, where you're losing the diversity is at that

moment" because colleagues replicate themselves in hiring. Selena, a full-time Latina counselor at Water's Edge Community College, expressed a similar frustration with recruiting and hiring faculty of color:

> It's extremely challenging . . . because as hard as we worked to increase the population of ethnic minority [faculty] in the pools, you just didn't see them coming out of the pools . . . Very few would make it to the actual appointment part.

The perception, then, is that even with potential for hiring faculty of color, colleges continue to reproduce existing demographic patterns.

The composition of these hiring committees is an area that was addressed by a number of the respondents. Composition refers to the monolithic ethnic/racial makeup of these committees. Barbara, a full-time African American counselor at Cosmopolitan City College, explained that at her college, hiring committees rarely ever change in membership as a result of apathy among faculty: "[There are] some departments where the same people are on the hiring committees all the time because nobody else wants to do it." Barbara's view that the same individuals serve on hiring committees could be one explanation for the perceived apathy of faculty to participate in faculty selection; another, expressed by others, is that institutional norms and patterns of behavior militate against either equal opportunity for faculty of color or diverse representation of views, or both, on hiring committees and the resultant decisions.

Accompanying the composition of membership on hiring committees as militating against the diversification of faculty, recruitment practices of community colleges are viewed as inadequate to attract qualified applicants. The observation is that qualified candidates are neither aware of available positions nor are they recruited. Booker, a full-time African American criminal justice faculty member at Water's Edge Community College, explains what might work in drawing in potential candidates. For Booker, it is the faculty who are responsible, not policy and not college leadership:

> You would have to get faculty who would be willing to commit to begin to reach out into the school district and that would mean [teaching] classes there, and there has been a lot of resistance over the years to that sort of "remedial work" out in the community.

Manuel, a part-time Asian/Pacific Islander faculty member at Water's Edge Community College, extends Booker's theme by arguing that having faculty of color serve their communities would convey the message "that you're helping people that look like you and you're encouraging them towards education." Booker also notes that much more could be done to recruit potential faculty of color. College faculty could "go . . . out to the universities, getting internships, paid internships, bringing them [graduate students of color] into the classroom, teaching them how to teach. Have them work as a team with an experienced instructor . . . " Indeed, connections to other institutions, which are viewed as lacking, was a suggestion by several other faculty.

From recruitment to hiring to socialization at the college once a faculty member joins the institution, the colleges, according to faculty of color, are failing in the efforts to recruit and hire faculty of color. Julio, a part-time Latino health sciences faculty member at Water's Edge Community College, laments the absence of mentoring of new faculty members. "[New faculty members] need to be hooked up with a mentor to kind of show them what it's like . . . What are some of the things you do." Josephine, a full-time African American business faculty member at North Point Community College, expanded upon the notion of socialization of new faculty:

"There should be a formal way of integrating faculty . . . into the district, into their college, and into their division." Here, knowledge of rules, norms, behaviors, and processes that shape the institution are either passed on to new faculty or they are not. According to these faculty of color, this knowledge is not transmitted. Such a condition can result in a deleterious institutional climate for faculty.

Resistance to Change

In spite of awareness of conditions for faculty of color and potential improvements to these conditions, organizational change is difficult to achieve (Scott, 2008), especially the more systemic and all-encompassing second-order change (Levy & Merry, 1986). One central impediment to organizational change is member resistance. Although March (1981) contends that institutions do change with regularity, and this contention is supported by community college scholars for that institution (Meier, 2013), the data from the interviews do not support that change, particularly related to ethnic/racial and diversity issues, occurs at the organizational level; that is, behavioral patterns are set and alterations or deviations to these patterns do not become institutionalized. This recognition by college faculty is expressed as resultant apathy or stasis. Diego, a full-time Latino counselor at Oasis Community College, observed that "I think people have accepted their place . . . so [they] just continue on with the same things." Marlena, a full-time Latina counselor at Water's Edge Community College, lamented that "it's because they're so stuck in their ways . . . No change [in] twenty years."

Resistance to change also stems from long-held patterns and perspectives of long-term employees. Carlos, a full-time Latino faculty member at Cosmopolitan City College, noted that "I think here in the community college there's a lot of older faculty and maybe that's part of the resistance nature of it . . . They're thinking about retirement." But, resistance also stems from the unwillingness of members to accede their positions of power, as argued by Romero, a full-time Latino sociology faculty member at Oasis Community College. "There's a notion that if you're going to change or . . . if a minority population gains, the dominant group population loses. . . . Change is scary to people." In addition to the threat of power diminution or loss of control, there is also personal fear of personal reflection and discussion of intimate topics such as race. Gloria, a full-time African American counselor at North Point Community College, suggested that "people have difficulty with self-reflection . . . to really constantly examine where they are, what biases they may have." Thus, for Gloria, the resistance to change she sees is at a personal level, and it is at that level where institutional change must begin.

For others, that personal level cannot be addressed until college leaders can themselves alter their own patterns of behavior. Marlena, a full-time Latino counselor at Water's Edge Community College, describes an initiative of faculty of color to meet as a support group on campus. The college vice-president exerted his authority and opposed this initiative, displaying both insensitivity and racism. His words reflected authoritative resistance to accommodation of the needs of diverse faculty.

> We brought it [support group] up to the attention of the VP . . . I saw him in the cafeteria . . . He says . . . "I heard from . . . some faculty that you guys have been meeting." I go, "yes." He goes, "well, I want it to stop." And I go, "why is that?" He says, "I don't like divisiveness. I don't like an African-American thing, a Latino thing, a this and that." I said, "Oh no, this is very important." I go,

> "there are always things that are needed . . . most importantly our students." I go, "and you are there to support them then its better to come from an association than one person." And he says, "Well I don't like it."

This administrator— a college executive member—brought the weight of his office down on faculty of color and amply demonstrated resistance to change in a manner that subordinates faculty of color.

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon the perceptions and experiences of faculty of color at our four community colleges, institutional change at the deep structural level, that is second-order change (Levy & Merry, 1986) may be improbable to achieve at the community college. Such a change would entail radical alterations to the values, assumptions, and behavioral patterns of organizational members as well as change to major policies and procedures within the institution. Not only would the number of faculty increase quantitatively but also experiences of faculty of color would reflect a campus climate and structures that support their professional and social identities so that these identities are not in opposition. Furthermore, faculty of color would express confidence in their self-efficacy and agency to effect change at their college, so that their efforts at institutional change is not *dangerous work.*

Instead of second-order change, improvement initiatives at the colleges are viewed as superficial, certainly not actions that become institutionalized. Consider, for example, the commentary by Gloria, a full-time African American counselor at North Point Community College, who characterizes North Point's attempts at change as "a lot of Band-Aid stuff and not really addressing the problem." Of course, Gloria also recognizes that deeper levels of change entail "dangerous work . . . because you're challenging a power system that . . . is resistant to change." The presence of an institutional climate that inhibits change or focuses only on surface-level changes translates into a decreased sense of positive identification with the community college's future direction for faculty of color.

Yet, the faculty of color at Cosmopolitan City College indicate that there is always the potential for change under a new administration—in their case a president—with fresh ideas, expressions of commitment to diversity, and new policies. However, this optimism must be tempered by the climates revealed at North Point and Water's Edge, where histories of failed initiatives and particularly resistant monocultures underline the importance of ongoing resistance in moving beyond the superficial trappings of first-order changes to the second-order changes hoped for by their faculty of color.

Nevertheless, the negative state for community college faculty of color also has implications for the state of the community college itself, both as an institution and in the development of students. Without significant change—for example increasing the proportion of faculty of color and improving the experiences of this population—the institution cannot fulfill its function to develop talent (Astin, 1985) and to provide access to further education while reflecting its local community (Levin & Kater, 2013). The question remains, then: How does the community college, as an institution, change policies, practices, and procedures, and consequently behaviors, in order to improve the experiences of faculty of color?

We see that to initiate second-order change, if such change is at all possible, action is required, and we offer several recommendations to community college administrators, faculty, and policy makers. First, those in positions of leadership must strive to cultivate diversity-embracing climates beginning with themselves. Hiring searches for top-level positions should be based upon how potential candidates for administrative jobs might reproduce or challenge what faculty of color referred to as the status quo, or the traditional monoculture that is resistant to change and alienates faculty of color. Second, in light of faculty comments about the ignorance of top-level administrators, and particularly district-level officials, regarding their faculty and the climate at their community colleges, we recommend a deeper level of involvement and communication with the faculty as well as ongoing professional development for all practitioners related to cultivating a diverse climate. Third, while not every problem in a community college is solved with more money, the restrictions on community colleges in hiring, and retaining, full-time faculty and, thus, in resorting to large numbers of part-time faculty have not led to a robust faculty body (Levin, Kater, & Wagoner, 2011). As such, several outcomes follow, such as a lack of cohesion among faculty, small populations of full-time faculty of color, and managerial control over faculty. Additional state funds for increasing the number of faculty, especially faculty of color, are imperative for institutional change. Fourth, we detect distinct spheres of interaction and interests among faculty and especially between faculty of color and White faculty and between generations of faculty. For the benefit of students and in order to establish a coherent and cohesive professional workforce, faculty must have, what at one college was called, "courageous conversations" about race and must determine ways in which to function as a community of peers, including part-time faculty. Fifth and finally, we recommend that faculty of color, more than as token individuals, be included on any leadership team that attempts to address a diversity-related issue on a community college campus or on a hiring committee for administrators or faculty to ensure that there is greater potential for the inclusion of people of color in professional roles.

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