More Rivers to Cross: Black Faculty and Academic Racism at Penn State University (Part 2)

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Executive Summary

In January 2020, More Rivers to Cross: A Report on The Status of Black Professors at Penn State University (UP) Part 1, an independent analysis of the status of black professors at Penn State’s University Park (UP) campus, was released. Since then, our nation and particularly communities of color have been ravaged by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Further, in the aftermath of the videotaped police murder of unarmed citizen George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 25, 2020, our society has been severely challenged by the “great racial reckoning” and the most massive street protests in the nation’s history, organized and led by communities of black people throughout the country.

Penn State joined the chorus of academic institutions decrying this horrible tragedy and issued statements of “support” and “compassion” for communities and individuals long subjected to what President Eric J. Barron identified as “trauma, pain and frustration” created by everyday U.S. cultures of “hate, bias and racism.” Dr. Barron’s subsequently convened a Presidential Commission on Racism, Bias and Community Safety and released a set of draft recommendations at the conclusion of 2020. Glaringly omitted from the Commission or President Barron’s declared priorities or specific implementation plans, in advance of his retirement in 2022, are any references to increasing the underrepresentation of black faculty throughout the academy. The 100 UP black professors presently comprise 3.1% of 3,214 faculty and has remained at that level for the last 20 years. About the same proportion of black faculty are represented at the Commonwealth Campuses (CC, see Appendix A). We can only imagine what the first black Penn State professor, Mary E. Godfrey, would have to say about the progress that has been made in this area since 1956.

More Rivers to Cross: Black Faculty and Academic Racism at Penn State University (Part 2) extends the work of our initial report and goes beyond the recommendations of Dr. Barron’s Commission. This report presents the results of a survey of black professors at University Park(UP) and at each of the CC regarding their experiences with racism, on the institutional and interpersonal levels, perpetrated by students, colleagues, administrators as well as the academic culture in which we work. In addition, this document provides an analysis of the particular challenges and experiences faced by black professors at the CC. Lastly, we offer our transitions toward equity and justice. Some of the key findings of our report are listed below.

- The survey revealed that 8 out of 10 black professors reported experiencing racism at Penn State UP and slightly more at the CC. Almost half encountered racism within the first year of their appointment and one-third within 1-3 years.

- More than two-thirds (67.7%) of respondents reported that they have experienced racism within the last 3 years from students either “sometimes” (41.5%) or “often” (26.2%). About 3 times as many CC faculty compared to their UP colleagues (44% vs 15%) reported that they experienced racism from students “often” within the last three years. Black faculty have been “called racist names by students” and racial invectives have appeared on their vehicles or written in student ratings of teaching effectiveness (SRTEs)

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1 Barron Shares Message On Actions to Address Racism, Bias, and Community Safety. https://news.psu.edu/headlines/new-group-support-engage-black-behrend-alumni-and-students/649240/2021-03-01/html
including the epithet “nigger”. A faculty member stated that “Calling me a monkey that has to be sent back to Africa may be a joke but deeply hurtful because of the history behind the dehumanizing language.” One professor lamented that “student[s] complain every time I teach about enslavement”. In fact, two-thirds of all respondents (63.5%) indicated they have “sometimes” (34.9%) or “often” (28.6%) experienced racism by way of their SRTEs within the last 3 years. One black professor succinctly summarized the issue: “Students evaluate me differently on SRTEs than my white colleagues.”

- Over half of black faculty (53.1%) stated that they had “sometimes” (35.9%) or “often” (17.2%) experienced racism from administrators or supervisors. For example, black faculty reported, “the discussion of excellence (without any clarification) whenever minority, specifically black, are proposed as a target faculty candidate or graduate applicants”; or hearing “that hiring Black and Brown people is vital to the department so long as it is not at the risk of the reputation of the program”. Another professor stated, “When I received tenure I received a smaller raise than my white male counterpart who got tenure the year before. I know because they told me what they got. I spoke to [administrator] and [this person] made an excuse that they were more ‘experienced’.”

- A majority of black professors (56.2%) reported that they had experienced racism either “sometimes” (45.3%) or “often” (10.9%) from their colleagues within the last 3 years. One professor listed the following “Being forgotten on credits for projects, unintentionally for sure but it has happened many times. Not being invited to events, lack of response to communications, lack of greetings in meetings, these are things that indicate that in spite of people saying you are important, you are not. Not made to feel like a part of things. These are not wrongdoings but you do not feel a part of things.” Other professors recalled unsettling interpersonal encounters with their colleagues such as: “A ‘colleague’ telling me I speak so well… and another ‘colleague’ asking if I smoke weed when they found out I was from [a certain country].”

- The survey revealed that 70% percent of black professors either “sometimes” (37.7%) or “often” (32.5%) did not believe the academic culture at Penn State would in the next decade become an equitable environment for the pursuit of learning, teaching, and scholarship for black Americans. Black faculty echoed a fairly consistent theme in commenting about the academic culture and prospects for racial justice, as noted in this statement, “Historically, Penn State fosters a conservative climate and culture; therefore, it is difficult to feel included when institutional leaders do not champion diversity, equity, and inclusion.” A professor stated, “I was stopped while walking. I was surrounded by campus police. I have been followed around campus by police.” Another faculty member remarked, “The culture of silence to racism is pervasive, and you become the monster by standing up for your rights.” One other faculty member stated, “I question whether Penn State can authentically improve how it handles systemic racism and/or individual acts of racism.”

- The vast majority of respondents (73.1%) who experienced racism chose not to report it to the administration, for various reasons. According to one respondent, “Racism is normalized at Penn State so it's futile to report to white administrators or people of color who uphold whiteness about my experiences.” A black UP professor offered this perspective about not reporting, “I would not expect anything to be done about it.
Further, racism is deeply ingrained into the Penn State system. It is part of the culture and climate. One complaint will not address institutionalized racism” (see Appendix B for the fully array of comments of black professors).

Our transitions toward equity and justice address concerns in which the University, by way of President Barron’s Commission or noted comments, fall short with respect to the recruitment, hiring, and retention of black professors and promoting an antiracism agenda. In addition to mere numbers, we contend that culture matters too. What takes place within the classroom and individual departments in interactions with students, colleagues, and administrators impacts the wellbeing and mental health of black faculty and their pursuit of teaching, research, and service. These transitions toward equity and justice undoubtedly build upon the previous reports and study groups of black faculty who have contributed to this undertaking and whose ideas, proposals, implementation plans, and challenges have gone unheeded and indeed ignored. Most notably, some of the ideas and programmatic initiatives needed to address the status of black faculty at Penn State campuses and the systemic racism embedded in the institution are presented below in an abridged format and explored in further depth later in the report:

- Recruitment and hiring plans and measurable implementation to increase black faculty over the next 5 years.

- Implementation of an antiracism and social justice agenda by/for the Board of Trustees, university administration, deans, departmental heads and program and center directors and faculty at all ranks.

- Particular and immediate attention devoted to the transformations needed at the Commonwealth campuses with regard to black faculty and their interactions with students, colleagues, and administrators.

- Establishment of an antiracism progress and accountability committee consisting of internal and external stakeholders.

- Commissioning of an external study to examine salaries and equity over the last 15 years.

- Immediate disuse of the racially biased system of student ratings of teaching effectiveness.

- Restructuring of present organizational units such as the Office of Affirmative Action, Office of Educational Equity, Diversity, Equity and Inclusion functions to reflect an antiracism agenda.

What we find so sadly lacking from the platitudes of President Barron and the Commission is an action agenda as well as a timetable to address systemic racism at UP and CC similar to other Big Ten universities such as Ohio State University, the University of Michigan, and Michigan State University.

Lastly, this report reminds the Board of Trustees, administration, faculty, students, and the citizens of the Commonwealth that changing the status and plight of black professors as well as other faculty of color at Penn State will require a concerted and sustained set of systemic
initiatives motivated not only by goodwill but by a commitment to social justice and “doing the right thing.” Penn State can and must do better to be truly, “WE ARE”…
Introduction

The year that the Rosa Parks’ inspired Montgomery bus boycott ended in 1956, and two years after the U.S. Supreme Court issued the landmark desegregation decision of Brown v. Board of Education, Mary E. Godfrey began her career as the first “Negro full-time faculty member” at Penn State University as an assistant professor of Arts Education. In the immediate year preceding this inaugural appointment, the nation’s conscience was defiled by the horrific murder in Mississippi by white supremacists of Emmitt Till, a 13 year old boy visiting from Chicago who was accused of whistling at a white woman. These social forces and momentous historic events set the stage for the modern civil rights movement and were undoubtedly matters about which Professor Godfrey was keenly aware. Sixty-five years after she joined the Penn State faculty, and 42 years after her retirement in 1979, the challenges facing black faculty are no less formidable.

Though there is no Montgomery bus boycott or nascent civil rights movement, there is a “Black Lives Matter” movement and a “great racial reckoning” taking place in America. Albeit there is no Supreme Court decision of the caliber of Brown v. Board of Education, there are systemic forces of retrenchment hell-bent on denying African Americans and other citizens of color the right to vote and on maintaining white supremacy. And though there is no lynching of Emmitt Till to sear the nation’s soul, the brutality of the murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Aubrey Armand and the many others reminds us that our collective soul is far from at rest.

Thus, in 2021, even though no one is knocking on the door to be the first African American professor at Penn State, few welcoming signs exist inviting us to cross the threshold. In fact, there are some significant structural and cultural barriers that preclude black professors from attaining fair and equitable representation among the Penn State faculty. If Penn State can expend millions of dollars recruiting and retaining black students to play football and other sports, we ask that the same commitment be extended to fulfilling its mission of diversity, equity, and inclusion with respect to its faculty.

Our first report, *More Rivers to Cross: A Report on The Status of African American Professors at Penn State University (Part 1)* released last year on January 20, 2020, Martin Luther King’s commemorative birthday, focused on the challenges facing black faculty teaching at Penn State’s UP. Among the more salient findings of this document was the 15-year decline across colleges in the proportion of black professors, and the fact that about 3% of all faculty at UP and CC in 2018 were black, as compared to almost half the national average of black faculty working in American colleges and universities. *More Rivers to Cross (Part 1)* also addressed the racially biased use of the Student Rating of Teaching Effectiveness (SRTEs) as an evaluative tool.

This report, *More Rivers to Cross: Black Faculty and Academic Racism at Penn State University (Part 2)*, vividly details, based on empirical data, the racism experienced by black professors at both UP and CC. Some of the survey findings and verbatim recollections of black faculty are

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2 https://www.blackhistory.psu.edu/timeline/mary_e._godfrey_first_negro_full-time_faculty_member
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Table 315.20. [https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_315.20.asp](https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_315.20.asp)
shocking yet reflective of an intransigent academic culture, an environment that is more
comfortable sloganeering about systemic racism than instituting serious and sustainable anti-
racism policies and practices. This is perhaps one of the few institutions of higher learning in
America that can grant a person of color a Ph.D. to conduct original research and teach in an
academic discipline and then employ them as an administrative assistant, all the while justifying
it in the name of “freedom of choice”. 5 Further, the acquiescence of so many of our colleagues
about the systemic racism within our midst reminds us of Dr. Martin Luther King’s immortal
adage, “There comes a time when silence is betrayal.”

Though we recognize President Barron’s recent statements regarding racism, bias, and
community safety and the establishment of a Commission and Truth and Reconciliation
Committee, we note with some consternation and disappointment that he failed to mention or
include any systemic initiative addressing the paucity of black faculty at Penn State as part of his
penultimate “All In” proclamation. 6 We expect more from the head of a leading institution of
academic excellence and integrity and encourage him to betray the silence.

This report, by an independent group of black faculty, is intended to serve notice to the
university, Board of Trustees, alumni, the Commonwealth, and the nation that “there is serious
turmoil in the household”. For some, the findings and analysis will be surprising and
disheartening and will remind us that the journey leading to racial justice and equity in our
hallowed halls of higher education cannot be achieved by pontification, institutionally sanctioned
study commissions, athletic comity or collegial goodwill. It is a journey where the road is not
straight, but is sinuous and filled with roadblocks. Yet it is also a journey we can and must take
together.

For many black scholars, this public statement on racism at one of our nation’s premiere
universities reflects an everyday burden shouldered in solitary and dispiriting silence. For others,
this statement on academic racism fortifies a will to continue the struggle for equity and justice
and reifies the sanctity of our ancestral hymn of unfaltering resolve: “Just like a tree that’s
planteth by the waters, I shall not be moved.”

And for us all, this statement on academic racism at Penn State requires a serious reflection as to
exactly who really, “We Are…”

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5 Imagine All the People by Gary King, Ph.D. https://www.collegian.psu.edu/opinion/letters_to_editor/imagine-all-
the-people-letter-to-the-editor/article_7f2e46ee-6bc9-11eb-8bce-f760b2203609.html
6 Barron Shares Message On Actions to Address Racism, Bias, and Community Safety.
https://news.psu.edu/headlines/new-group-support-engage-black-behrend-alumni-and-students/649240/2021-
03-01/html
Data Collection

Methods
In this section, we briefly describe the methods of the survey of Black faculty at Penn State followed by a description of the results first, at the CC and then, at the UP campus.

We sent a cover letter and a questionnaire, via Qualtrics, to African American and black faculty at each CC, in addition to those at the UP campus (see Appendix C). We defined as a faculty member any individual employed in a full-time teaching position at any Penn State campus. We excluded from our analysis those individuals who were identified as being primarily administrators or research professors. Each faculty member was identified by photograph on the departmental website and was putatively identified as being African American or black. The email addresses of each of these faculty were collected, and in some cases additional information was ascertained regarding their racial or ethnic classification. We did not enter into the Qualtrics database the names, ranks, or departmental affiliations of any faculty member; nor did we enter any other personally identifying information (e.g., gender, age, academic discipline or area). Email addresses were employed to contact faculty but were not part of any analysis and have remained confidential. Ethnic status data were collected but it is only included in the analysis on the aggregate level if statistically relevant or salient and does not risk breaching confidentiality or anonymity.

According to our census, 51 individual faculty members were classified as African American or black at the CC. Of this number, 37 faculty responded to the questionnaire, representing a basic response rate of 72.5%. At the UP campus, we identified a total of 83 African American or black faculty and the response rate was approximately 69.9% (n = 58). The total sample size (n = 95) consisting of returns from each campus was 71.2%. Some questionnaires were deleted from the dataset as it appears that the respondents only reviewed the questions and chose not to complete any items.

The cover letter and questionnaire were emailed to each faculty member with multiple follow-up emails in order to increase response rate. In the cover letter, it was expressly pointed out that the questionnaire was anonymous and confidential. Potential respondents were warned against including any personal or professional information that could be remotely self-identifying. In addition, we reviewed both closed-ended answers and open-ended comments of all respondents and deleted or modified responses that referred by name to specific individuals or to identifiable CC. In order to preclude any misclassified responses, the survey emphasized, in both the cover letter and questionnaire, that the investigators were only interested in obtaining information from African American or black respondents.

Likert scale items consisting of “never,” “seldom,” “sometimes,” and “often” numerically scaled from low to high were used to categorize most of the questions. A question related to the Student Ratings of Teaching Evaluation (SRTEs) was scaled from 1 meaning “not at all likely” to 10, meaning “most likely.” Questions related to reporting of perceived acts of racism were dichotomous with the response categories “Yes or No.” Open-ended questions were included for clarification and presented in context. Statistical analysis consisted mostly of descriptive statistics and was illustrated by pie chart and bar chart tabulations of percentage responses. Cronbach’s Alpha analysis revealed a high internal consistency reliability score of $\alpha=.89$ for the 17 Likert scale items. Correlation (Pearson’s $r$) and probability values are presented as
indicative, as the survey did not entail random selection and thus was not intended to be inferential.

This research project was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of the Penn State Office for Research Protections Human Research Protection Program. A copy of the cover letter and questionnaire appears in Appendix C. The principal investigators (King and Harrell-Levy) did not participate in the survey.
Results

Survey Results: Commonwealth Campuses
This section of the report presents both quantitative and qualitative responses of CC respondents to the survey about their experiences of perceived acts, behaviors and/or sentiments of racism. Some survey questions about black professors’ experiences of on-campus racism were restricted to a contemporary time period of within the last 3 years. The analysis is organized into 5 major areas of personal and professional encounters: 1) Experience of Racism at the CC Campuses; 2) Experience of Racism with Students; 3) Experience of Racism with Staff and Administrators; 4) Experience of Racism with Colleagues; 5) Racism and the Academic Culture at Penn State; and 6) Reporting of Racism.

Experience of Racism at the Commonwealth Campuses
At the CC, slightly more than 25% of respondents have taught for between 1-3 years and the majority (55.9%) of black professors have taught for 7 or more years. As presented in the pie chart (1) analysis below, 85.3% of black professors indicated that while teaching at a Penn State CC, they have personally experienced discriminatory behavior, bias, adverse circumstances or practices that they would attribute to racism.

One-third of CC professors who stated they experienced racism reported that they first encountered it within 1 year of their starting date and 40.7% indicated that they experienced it within 1-3 years of joining the Penn State faculty (see Chart 1).
Experience of Racism with Students

The experiences of CC black faculty with their students revealed major concerns (see Chart 2). Approximately two-thirds (64%) of respondents indicated that within the last 3 years they experienced racism either “sometimes” (20%) or “often” (44%) from students.

In two different open-ended prompts on the survey, black faculty who experienced these instances of racial discriminatory behavior or practices at the CC, and/or who were aware of the discrimination of others, described in vivid detail some of the events, interactions and trauma to which they were subjected.
Some CC respondents described the hate speech they were subjected to such as being “called racist names by students”. Another conveyed that “Someone wrote nigger in the dirt on my car and other hate speech”. One professor recalled being “Zoom-bombed with 'n-word’. An account shared by another CC professor entailed being “told by students that I must be a genius because how else could I do what I do and be black”. In one other case, a respondent remembered a “Student coming to stand face to face to intimidate”. In addition to sharing examples of explicit acts of racism perceived by respondents, participants described experiences where race had negative implications on their performance and the cultural climate, included the following categories.

According to respondents, student ratings of teaching effectiveness (SRTEs) were “sometimes” (19.2%) or “often” (38.5%) a source of racism within the last 3 years for a majority (57.7%) of black faculty (see Chart 3).

Chart 3

Almost 60% of black professors at CC reported that they “sometimes” (31%) or “often” (27.6%) found it difficult to discuss race related issues in the class with students (see Chart 4). Teaching about the history of enslavement or racism appeared to be a particularly incendiary source of hostility as noted by the comments of two individual professors: “student[s] complain every time I teach about enslavement” and “Students often resent research or content on systemic racism or discrimination”. The following remarks by a CC professor reflect a general perception about racism from CC students: “Admittedly, there are some students who I get the impression are not comfortable around faculty of color. Compound that with the fact that you may have to be that student's advisor. In some instances, that student will request another adviser. While I cannot always say it is based on race, there are at least two instances where I know that was the case.”

7 In this, and all subsequent presentations of the qualitative open-ended responses, each statement represents a response from a different participant. No participant is included more than once.
As might be expected, there was a very strong correlation \( r = .90, p = .000 \) between having experienced racism from students within the last 3 years and believing that one’s scores on SRTEs within that same time period were negatively influenced by his or her racial or ethnic background. Also, faculty who were more likely to score on the higher end of the 10-point SRTE variable about the negative influence of race or ethnicity (data not shown) were significantly more likely to indicate that they found it difficult to discuss racial issues in their classes with students \( r = .47, p = .02 \). These faculty members were also significantly more likely to report experiencing racism from students within the past 3 years \( r = .58, p = .005 \). Interestingly, the number of years spent teaching at Penn State was not significantly related to any of the questionnaire items about student racism at the CC. However, a strong negative association was found between when a professor first experienced racism at Penn State and the increased likelihood that he or she reported experiencing student racism \( r = -.57, p = .003 \) or racism via SRTEs \( r = -.58, p = .002 \) within the past 3 years; or SRTEs being influenced by negative perceptions due their/faculty’s racial or ethnic background \( r = -.67, p = .003 \). In other words, black professors at CC were highly likely to experience racism from students and via SRTEs fairly soon after joining the faculty.

**Experience of Racism with Staff and Administrators**
Most black CC professors did not consider racism from administrative staff to have occurred with great frequency, as approximately 60% reported having “never” (37%) or “seldom” (22.2%) having experienced racism from administrative staff within the last 3 years (see Chart 5).
However, this pattern was not the case with CC administrators/supervisors or colleagues. A majority of CC professors (53.8%) reported that within the last 3 years they experienced racism “sometimes” (26.9%) or “often” (26.9%) from administrators/supervisors (see Chart 6). One respondent reported having “Program leaders who for over 10 years have refused to have a department dialogue about race and how it impacts students’ education… and that their “claims of discrimination when presented to administrators are ignored.” A professor complained about “having to always answer or made to answer when a white student received a low grade, always having to explain low SRTE scores”.

Chart 6
Percent of CC Professors Who Have Experienced Racism From Administrators/Supervisors Within The Last 3 Years
With respect to the assessment of their research, 61.6% of black professors felt that they “never” (46.2%) or “seldom” (15.4%) were subject to racism (see Chart 7). One professor felt belittled by being “told that I was on a strong learning curve”.

**Chart 7**

As shown in Chart 8, a majority of black professors (55.2%) did not believe that they had been denied an appointment or promotion because of their racial or ethnic status. About 35% of respondents indicated they either “sometimes” (17.2%) or “often” (17.2%) held the belief that they were denied an appointment or promotion because of their racial or ethnic status. For example, CC black professors reported being denied a position or opportunity such as: “denial of sabbatical; denial of an administrative position I was qualified for; “denied… promised early tenure”; and another replied that they were “denied administrative position although more qualified than colleague I competed against”.

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Compared to their white or non-black peers, 27.6% faculty reported they “often” performed an inordinate amount of service-related work (see Chart 9). However, a theme noted by some respondents was that I “get put on too many committees because of my race”. According to one CC professor they “declined any further participation on [a certain] committee after [many] years serving on the committee. I could no longer be a part of a sham system of hiring. I kept silent after that.”

Respondents who were more likely to indicate that they experienced racism from an annual performance review within the last 3 years were also more likely to believe that they were denied an appointment because of their race or ethnicity ($r=.53, p=.008$); and to have experienced racism from both staff ($r=.41, p=.03$) and administrators or supervisors ($r=.64, p=.000$) within the past 3 years. Individuals who believed that they were denied an appointment or promotion based on race or ethnicity were also more likely to believe that they were asked to perform more service-related work than their white or non-black peers ($r=.43, p=.02$). Not surprisingly, there was a statistically significant association between experiencing racism from administrators and supervisors and racism from staff ($r=.40, p=.04$).

The analysis also revealed that the longer one had been a member of a CC faculty, the more often they believed they were denied an appointment or promotion because of racism ($r=.57, p=.001$). Black professors who indicated that they first experienced racism at Penn State during their early career years were more likely to believe that they had more frequently experienced racism from staff ($r=-.43, p=.02$) or administrators and supervisors ($r=.38, p=.05$) within the past 3 years.
Experience of Racism with Colleagues

This survey asked a number of questions about the relationship between black professors and their colleagues. As shown in Chart 10, 52% of CC black professors reported that they had “sometimes” (40%) or “often” (12%) experienced racism from their colleagues within the past 3 years. Another question focused on being “uncomfortable” in meetings with colleagues in which racial issues were being discussed (Chart 11). About 41% of black faculty indicated that they “sometimes” felt “uncomfortable” discussing racial issues and a smaller proportion (17.2%) stated that they “often” felt “uncomfortable” discussing racial issues with colleagues.
A large majority of CC professors (62.0%) reported that they “never” (44.8%) or “seldom” (17.2%) felt that some of their colleagues regarded them as less of a scholar because they were
African American or black. In contrast, 37.9% reported that they “sometimes” (17.2%) or “often” (20.7%) shared this viewpoint (see Chart 12).

The strongest predictor of attitudes about colleagues among CC black professors was the variable “feeling that some of their colleagues regarded them as less of a scholar because they were African American or black”. This sentiment was strongly associated with having experienced racism from colleagues within the past 3 years ($r=.61, p=.002$); seeing or hearing about racism from other black and minority colleagues ($r=.55, p=.002$); and feeling “uncomfortable” discussing racial issues with colleagues ($r=.50, p=.006$). Somewhat expectantly, the analysis found that the longer one had remained a professor at one of the CC, the greater the likelihood they would have reported seeing or hearing about racism from other black and minority colleagues ($r=.36, p=.05$).
Academic Culture at the Commonwealth Campuses (CC)
Although most black professors (62.1%) reported that they have “never” or “seldom” heard a racial epithet or inappropriate reference to black people on campus or the nearby community, about 38% recalled that they “sometimes” or “often” heard such references (see Chart 13).

![Chart 13](image)

The opinion that the academic culture at Penn State would not in the next decade become an equitable environment for the pursuit of learning, teaching, and scholarship for black Americans was shared “sometimes” (31%) or “often” (34.5%) by about two-thirds of black faculty (see Chart 14). Black faculty at CC echoed a fairly consistent theme in commenting about the academic culture and prospects for racial justice as noted in this statement, “Historically, Penn State fosters a conservative climate and culture; therefore, it is difficult to feel included when institutional leaders do not champion diversity, equity, and inclusion.” Another remarked that, “The culture of silence to racism is pervasive, and you become the monster by standing up for your rights.”
However, 41.4% of black faculty reported that they “never” regretted the decision to join the Penn State faculty and 13.8% indicated that they “often” shared this sentiment (see Chart 15).

Black CC faculty who believed it unlikely that the academic culture of Penn State would, in the next 10 years, become an equitable environment for the pursuit of learning, teaching, and scholarship, were more likely to have ever heard a racial epithet or inappropriate reference to black people on campus or the nearby community ($r=.58$, $p=.001$). These professors were also more likely to express a strong and statistically significant opinion about joining the Penn State
faculty \((r=.68, p=.000)\). The number of years that an instructor had been a member of a CC faculty was unrelated to viewpoints about the future prospects for an equitable academic culture for black professors.

**Reporting of Racism**

The following pie chart (2) presents the proportion of black professors (59.3%) who experienced racism and decided to report the matter to an administrative office at their CC. Other participants who experienced acts of racial aggression at a CC campus chose to report but only to an entity outside of Penn State. Some chose not to report their grievances at all.

![Pie Chart 2](image)

Some participants indicated that they did not report because of a willingness to work with their colleagues or campus to address the issue, while many others reported fear and/or a sense of futility or general dispiritedness with the reporting process. One comment seemed to capture a consensus about reporting: “I did not think that my claims would be supported or investigated”. For some professors, their reason for not reporting was “Because nothing will be done about it”. Another prevailing viewpoint about not reporting discrimination or perceived racism is represented by these two discrete comments: “Because I did not believe it would be understood or received the same way I experienced it” and “informal discussion with administrators and colleagues indicated they would not understand my understanding of the actions in question as racist or founded on racism”. The “fear of retaliation” was also an important theme. For example, a CC professor indicated that “It will only make things worse for me” and another poignantly remarked that they did not report, “because I was terrified of losing my job…” Interestingly, one professor stated that their reason for not reporting was because “some of [the perceived racism] came from peers/senior reporting personnel.”

Respondents were asked to share if reporting of perceived racism was useful. The responses ranged from pessimistic (e.g., a sense that the effort was not useful or productive) to sanguine (e.g., a sense that the effort was somewhat useful or productive). For example, one CC professor
stated that “The administrator never acted on what I told them” and another stated that, “People were empathetic but really felt like it was just the same conversation over and over. I knew nothing would be resolved.” The full array of comments is presented in Appendix A.

Summary
Overall, black faculty report experiencing racism from students, from colleagues and from administrators. Black faculty describe an institutional ethos that is resistant to substantive change regarding matters of race. Qualitative results reveal that CC black faculty experiences range from daily microaggressions that created a hostile and toxic workplace to macroaggressions that impacted mental health and perceptions of safety. According to participants, the issues faced by black faculty at the CC affect job satisfaction, job performance (including their ability to mentor/teach their students), retention, promotion, and tenure. Approximately two-thirds of black faculty at the CC experienced racism “sometimes” or “often” on their campuses. When asked what success their campuses have had in combatting racism, 43% of those who responded could not think of one successful measure. Three-fourths of all CC faculty indicated that they “sometimes” or “often” felt that the academic culture at Penn State would not in the next decade become an equitable environment, and over a third of black faculty “sometimes” or “often” regretted their decision to join the Penn State faculty.

Survey Results: University Park Campus
This section of the report presents both quantitative and qualitative responses of UP respondents to the survey about their experiences of perceived acts, behaviors and/or sentiments of racism. Some survey questions about black professors’ experiences of on-campus racism were restricted to a contemporary time period of within the last 3 years. The analysis is organized into 5 major areas of personal and professional encounters: 1) Racism on the UP Campus; 2) Experience of Racism with Students; 3) Experience of Racism with Staff and Administrators; 4) Experience of Racism with Colleagues; 5) Racism and the Academic Culture at Penn State; and 6) Reporting of Racism.

Experience of Racism at the University Park Campus
Our findings revealed that 8 out of 10 UP black professors reported that while at Penn State they have encountered discriminatory behavior, bias, adverse circumstances or practices that they would attribute to racism (see Pie Chart 3). As shown below, the comments of UP black professors ranged from seeing the displays of the confederate flag on area homes or on trucks in the university parking lot to outright abuse by students, the demeaning comments of white colleagues, and dismissive administrators. One faculty member described their experiences with racism at UP, as “too many to recount here [and noted that] This [question] is triggering as well”.


As shown in the chart (16) below, these encounters with racism at UP occurred at a fairly early stage in their academic career. For example, 59% reported that they first experienced racism within 1 year from their start and 28.2% indicated that it had occurred within 1-3 years after joining the UP faculty.

**Experience of Racism with Students**

Survey results revealed that 7 out of 10 black UP professors reported that they had either “sometimes” (55%) or “often” (15%) experienced racism from students within the last 3 years (see Chart 17). Student Ratings of Teaching Effectiveness (SRTEs) was another area in which a large
proportion of respondents stated that they perceived racism from students either “sometimes” (45.9%) or “often” (21.6%) within the last 3 years (see Chart 18). Concerns about SRTEs were also apparent in the responses of black professors who believed that their scores were negatively influenced or biased because they were black.

Chart 17

The qualitative comments of UP professors about the type of racism they were subjected to from student paralleled the experiences of CC professors, especially with respect to the SRTEs. Comments such as: “It is mainly microaggressions”. Professor cited the following examples: “Students inappropriately not addressing me by my professional title but by first name”; “A white man [and] student verbally harassed me an entire semester and when I reported him, I was told we had philosophical differences;”; “Outright biased and hostile responses from White students in response to feedback. Negative racist angry comments on SRTEs.”; “Students have used racial slurs within the written portion of the SRTE form”; “Students challenging my expertise of content or making microaggressive comments on SRTEs”; “…during my first two years at PSU, [I experienced] standard anti-black comments on my SRTE”; “My SRTE scores and those of my colleagues often include racist/sexist undertones and mischaracterizations of the course and instructor performance.” Student comments in teaching evaluations making completely negative and inappropriate comments about the individual's character”. One black faculty member summarized the general feeling about the SRTEs, “Students evaluate me differently on SRTEs than my white colleagues”.

Chart 17

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Chart 17
Most UP black faculty (56.3%) indicated that they either “never” (31.3%) or “seldom” (25%) found it difficult within the last 3 years to discuss racial issues with students in the classroom. However, 43.4% of respondents indicated otherwise by selecting “sometimes” (29.2%) and “often” (14.2%) to denote their experiences in the classroom discussing racial issues with students (see Chart 19). For example, one UP black professor lamented the “endless comments from students on SRTEs that make it clear that they are uncomfortable with a Black woman talking about America’s responsibility in perpetuating racial injustice and minority health disparities.” Another professor reported that, “I have also heard colleagues talk about how students challenge them about discussing issues of race in class and evaluate them poorly because they weren't expecting to take classes about race.”
The number of years that one had worked as a UP professor was not significantly related to any of the questions about views of racism and students at Penn State. Black faculty who reported experiencing racism from students were also more likely to report that they “sometimes” or “often” felt that their SRTEs were adversely affected.

**Experience of Racism with Staff and Administrators**

Regarding racism experienced by staff, UP black professors were evenly divided between the lower-end responses of “never” and seldom” and the higher-end reported responses of “sometimes” and “often” *within the last 3 years*. However, the largest proportion (42.1%) of black faculty indicated that they have “sometimes” encountered racism from staff *within the last 3 years* (see Chart 20).
The exact same percentage of respondents reported that they had “sometimes” (42.1%) experienced racism within the last 3 years from administrators as the most frequently reported category (see Chart 21). Some of comments offered to explain their views about perceived racism of administrators were: “the [Head] of the department celebrates everyone’s accomplishments publicly but for yours’; …supervisors coming to me as the voice of Black people, looking for me to validate their racist/biased views on admissions and selections processes”; “A department head inviting me to an [occasion] only to ask if I think we should have a special standard for minority grad program applicants… in which [the Head] basically explaining why this practice (Affirmative Action) was wrong.”; “the discussion of excellence (without any clarification) whenever minority, specifically Black, are proposed as a target faculty candidate or graduate applicants.”; On two separate occasions [I] heard the suggestion that hiring Black and Brown people is vital to the department so long as it is not at the risk of the reputation of the program; being asked “to design a course but [selecting] a white colleague to teach it instead of you”; “Constantly being forgotten on project credits or for projects unless initiated by me. I am seeing myself work harder for the same results as my white colleagues. I see white colleagues getting asked and included on research projects and co-teaching courses.”; “A colleague openly attacked me in a racist manner during a faculty committee meeting.” Another cited the time in which they were “…told outright that Black faculty are not working as hard as White faculty.”

As shown in Chart 22, 53.9% of UP black professors believed that they had experienced racism in the assessment of their research “sometimes” (43.6%) or “often” (10.3%) within the last 3 years. One UP professor noted that “White colleagues receive more praise for less work and
accomplishment than black colleagues. This is a huge problem.” Another black professor recounted the situation in which, “Research that deals with Black populations and is the Black colleague’s area, but is passed over because a white colleague wants to be seen as the expert in that field.”

Chart 22

Overwhelmingly, UP black professors (67.4%) did not believe that they had been denied an appointment or promotion because of their race and 10.9% stated that this had “seldom” occurred (see Chart 23).

Chart 23

A prevailing opinion among UP black faculty is that they were “often” (42.6%) or “sometimes” (12.8%) asked to perform more service-related tasks than their non-black colleagues (see Chart 24). One professor stated that “You also end up being one of a few faculty that students of color can trust and come to. This places you in a position to be “advising” way more students that you
are officially assigned to advise. When I brought this to a supervisor’s attention, I was told this was my fault because I did not send the students back to their advisor.”;

The analysis revealed a significant relationship between the number of years a faculty member had worked at UP and the likelihood that he or she had been asked to perform more service-related work than White or non-black peers \((r=.39, p=.03)\). Respondents who believed that they had experienced racism from administrators/supervisors \textit{within the last 3 years} were also more likely to have indicated that they had similar encounters with staff \((r=.52, p=.001)\) \textit{within the last 3 years}; an unfair assessment of their research \((r=.64, p=.000)\) and annual performance reviews \((r=.64, p=.000)\) due to racism; and a belief in the disproportionate allocation of service-related work favoring their non-black colleagues \((r=.45, p=.006)\).

**Experience of Racism with Colleagues**

Approximately 60% of UP black professors indicated that they have either “often” (10.3%) or “sometimes” (48.7%) experienced racism from their colleagues \textit{within the last 3 years} (see Chart 25). One professor stated that, “The racism that I have experienced has been more subtle. Certain colleagues don’t speak to me even though I see them speaking to other white colleagues. Given that race is the thing that makes me different from the colleagues they speak to, I interpret their ignoring me as racist.” Another seemed to echo these sentiments and listed a number of such “Subtleties such as lack of communication about certain events or opportunities, or being told too late to apply or get information in on time. Being forgotten on credits for projects, unintentionally for sure but it has happened many times. Not being invited to events, lack of response to communications, lack of greetings in meetings, these are things that indicate that in spite of people saying you are important, you are not. Not made to feel like a part of things. these are not wrongdoings but you do not feel a part of things.”
Other UP professors noted unsettling interpersonal encounters such as: “A ‘colleague’ telling me I speak so well… and another ‘colleague’ asking if I smoke weed when they found out I was from [a certain country].

![Chart 25]

Almost one-third of UP black professors (31.9%) and more than one-quarter of them (27.7%) indicated that they “often” felt or that they “sometimes” (27.7%) felt “uncomfortable” discussing racial issues with colleagues (see Chart 26).

![Chart 26]

Of particular note is the finding that the majority of UP black professors “sometimes” (45.8%) or “often” (10.4%) expressed the viewpoint that some of their white colleagues regard them as less of a scholar because they are black (see Chart 27). One UP black professor stated “Racism also occurs as you are trying to find collaborators on research projects to publish papers” suggesting that colleagues are less inclined to collaborate. One other respondent recalled “casually dismissive and uninformed comments made during a committee meeting in my home department, by a senior white colleague about the published work of a junior black colleague”.

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“When I received tenure I received a smaller raise than my white male counterpart who got tenure the year before… I spoke to my dean and [they] made an excuse that the [person] was more ‘experienced’.” Another black professor recalled “Being told outright that Black faculty are not working as hard as White faculty”.

Chart 27

The number of years that a faculty member had worked at UP was not correlated with any of the variables about colleagues. UP black professors who had experienced racism from colleagues within the last 3 years were more likely to share the viewpoints that some colleagues regard them as less of a scholar because they are black ($r=.36, p=.03$) and feeling “uncomfortable in meetings with colleagues discussing racial issues ($r=.43, p=.006$). Feeling “uncomfortable” discussing racial issues with colleagues was also correlated with the opinion that because of your race, some of your colleagues regarded you as less of a scholar ($r=.48, p=.001$).

Racism and the Academic Culture at Penn State
Although most UP black professors (55.3%) reported that they had “never” (29.8%) or “seldom” (25.5%) heard a racial epithet or inappropriate remark about black people on campus or in the larger community, a substantial proportion of respondents (44.7%) noted that they “sometimes” (29.8%) or “often” (14.9%) heard these pejorative references to black people on campus or the nearby community (see Chart 28).
Almost three-quarters of UP black professors “sometimes” (41.7%): or “often” (31.3%) shared the opinion that Penn State will not be an equitable environment for the pursuit of learning, teaching, and research for black faculty within the next 10 years (see Chart 29).

Chart 29

Regretting the decision to come to Penn State was not a strongly held sentiment among most UP black professors. About 40% indicated that this idea “never” occurred to them. While a small percentage (6.3 %) indicated that they “often” regretted joining Penn State, 31.3% reported that such regret did “sometimes” cross their minds (see Chart 30).
The number of years a faculty member had worked at UP was unrelated to academic culture variables. Respondents who occasionally or often regretted the decision to accept a faculty position at Penn State were more likely to believe that it would not become an equitable environment for black faculty in the next decade ($r=.34, p=.02$). They were also more likely to have heard a demeaning or negative reference to black people on campus or in the community ($r=.50, p=.000$).
Reporting of Racism
As shown in the pie chart (4), the vast majority of UP respondents (82.5%) who experienced racism chose not to report it to the administration for various reasons.

We inquired as to the reasons respondents elected not to report perceived incidents of racism. In this section, we selected four primary categories to represent the various responses from UP black professors as to why they chose not to report racism to the administration: 1) Futile to Report Racism; 2) Racism Deeply Ingrained at Penn State; 3) Not Reportable Offenses; and 4) Fear of Retaliation.

The first category of Futile to Report Racism included multiple responses that indicated it was essentially, “Not worth the headache since racism is so pervasive”; “Didn’t feel it would be taken seriously”; and “Didn't think anything would be done and fear of retaliation.” One respondent remarked that, “The burden of having to prove the wrongdoing does not seem like a worthwhile investment, [I have the] impression that nothing will change even if wrongdoing is reported.” Another recounted that, “The stress of reporting without resolution. I reported [it]within my department but it was poorly understood.” A particularly trenchant remark came from a UP black professor who stated that: “one can hardly report [redacted] racists to racists”.

The second category, Racism Deeply Ingrained at Penn State, included the views of black professors who explained that their reasons for not reporting is because “Racism is normalized at Penn State so it's futile to report to white administrators or people of color who uphold whiteness about my experiences.” A black UP professor offered this perspective about not reporting, “I would not expect anything to be done about it. Further, racism is deeply ingrained into Penn State system. It is part of the culture and climate. one complaint will not address institutionalized racism.” One respondent stated, “I didn't think there would be an institutional response, given
how institutionalized racism is here, and the risk of getting further ostracized when there is no possibility that your complaint will be taken seriously is an inordinate cost to bear.”

The third category of *No Reportable Offenses* included respondents who indicated that the type of racism that they experienced was not reportable either because there was “no tangible evidence” to support an allegation or because it entailed a type of micro-aggression. For example, one respondent stated that “I wouldn't characterize my experiences of racism as ‘wrongdoing.’ My experiences of racism have been in the form of colleagues not interacting with me, but I don't see that as a reportable offense.” Along these same lines another black colleague explained that, “The events that have happened are not blatant nor wrong, but make it difficult to thrive or grow as an African American teacher and scholar here.”

A *Fear of Retaliation* included the group of individuals who felt reporting would have led to negative personal or professional repercussions. Some of the comments included “Do not think reporting will lead to anything, but will further increase subtle forms of exclusion” and “Didn’t think anything would be done and fear of retaliation”.

**Combined CC and UP Survey Results**
This section presents the combined survey results for CC and UP. As presented in the pie chart below, our survey revealed that 8 out of 10 black professors at both UP and CC reported that they had personally experienced some form of racism as a faculty member (see Pie Chart 5). Almost 50% of those who had encountered racism indicated that it occurred within 1 year of the start date and one-third stated that they experienced it between 1-3 years of their commencement as a member of Penn State faculty (see Chart 31).
Experience of Racism with Students
Our results revealed that racism from students was a major concern of black professors at Penn State. We found that more than two-thirds (67.7%) of respondents (Chart 32) reported that within the last 3 years they have experienced racism from students either “sometimes” (41.5%) or “often” (26.2%). Specific examples of the overt patterns and micro-aggressions have been described previously in this report.

The combined dataset of CC and UP respondents demonstrated that a primary source of the racism from students emanated from the Student Ratings of Teaching Effectiveness (SRTEs).
The racial bias and invalidity of the SRTEs has long been a source of major concern of black and other faculty of color, women, and the general faculty body. This was an important and thoroughly discussed section of *More Rivers to Cross, Part 1*. Our findings show that only 14.3% of black professors at Penn State believed that their SRTEs were not influenced by racism *within the last 3 years*. Conversely, almost two-thirds of respondents (63.5%) conveyed the view that they have “sometimes” (34.9%) or “often” (28.6%) experienced racism from their SRTEs *within the last 3 years* (see Chart 33).

![Chart 33](chart.png)

Not surprisingly, respondents’ perceptions of racism by students at Penn State were highly correlated with views about the SRTEs. That is, professors who had experienced racism from students within the last 3 years were also more likely to believe that their SRTEs generally \((r=.54, p=.000)\) or in the last 3 years were negatively affected by student racism \((r=.74, p=.000)\). The frequency of experiencing racism by students within the last 3 years was not related to the number of years that one had worked as a Penn State professor. However, the earlier that black professors had experienced racism from students in their Penn State career, the more likely they reported it occurrence (e.g., “sometimes” or “often”) in the last 3 years \((r=-.46, p=.000)\). Racism from SRTEs in the last 3 years was also associated with early career racism from students \((r=-.38, p=.002)\).

**Experience of Racism with Staff and Administrators**

Slightly more than one-third of black professors at Penn State indicated that they “sometimes” experienced racism from staff *within the last 3 years*. The majority of professors (53.4%) stated that this has “never” (29.2%) or “seldom” (24.6%) happened during this period (see Chart 34). In contrast, a majority of black faculty (53.1) stated that they had “sometimes” (35.9%) or “often” (17.2%) experienced racism from administrators or supervisors (see Chart 35).
Half of black faculty shared the belief that they were asked to perform a disproportionate amount of service-related work. More specifically, faculty reported that they were “often” (36.8%) or “sometimes” (14.5%) asked to perform more service-related work than their white or other non-black colleagues (see Chart 36).
The longer that respondents were employed at Penn State, the more likely they believed that they had been denied an appointment or promotion because they were African American or black ($r=.42, p=.001$). Being asked to perform service-related work (see above) was correlated with having experienced racism from an annual performance review ($r=.35, p=.006$) and administrators ($r=.38, p=.003$) within the last 3 years, and believing that one had been denied an appointment or promotion because one was African American or black ($r=.36, p=.002$). The stronger the belief that a faculty member had been denied an appointment or promotion because of his or her racial classification, the greater the likelihood that this faculty member shared the opinion of having experienced racism from a performance review ($r=.59, p=.000$) or from administrators/supervisors within the last 3 years ($r=.45, p=.000$).

**Experience of Racism with Colleagues**

Chart 37 presents the results of questions related to the relationships between black faculty and their colleagues at both campuses. A majority of black professors (56.2%) reported that they had experienced racism either “sometimes” (45.3%) or “often” (10.9%) from their colleagues within the last three years. Slightly less than 20% of respondents indicated that they had “never” experienced racism from their colleagues during the same time period.
Almost 60% of black professors stated they experienced feeling uncomfortable sometimes” (32.9%) or “often” (26.3%) in meetings with colleagues in which racial issues or matters were being discussed (see Chart 38).

About half of respondents indicated that they “seldom” (32.5%) or never (18.2%) felt that their racial status caused any of their colleagues to regard them as less of a scholar. However, almost
the same proportion of participants indicated that they shared this opinion “sometimes” (35.1%) or “often” (14.2%), (see Chart 39).

**Chart 39**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent Of Black Professors Who Felt That Some Colleagues Regard Them As Less Of A Scholar Because They Are African American Or Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Racism and the Academic Culture at Penn State**

The analysis revealed that 3 out of 4 black professors had either witnessed or had been apprised of racism experienced by other faculty. We found that 40.3% of black faculty reported having seen or heard about these types of incidents “sometimes” and 36.4% of respondents stated that this had occurred “often” (see Chart 40).

Respondents were asked a question about the future prospects for a racially equitable academic environment on Penn State campuses. 70% percent of black professors either “sometimes” (37.7%) or “often” (32.5%) doubted that this would occur in the next 10 years (see Chart 41). Notably, correlation analysis did not show any statistically significant differences between campuses regarding views about the prospective academic culture.
Despite the concerns noted above, 40.3% of black professors reported that they “never” regretted the decision to come to Penn State and 23.4% stated that they “seldom” shared this viewpoint (see Chart 42).
Black professors who experienced racism earlier in their career were more likely to indicate that they either “sometimes” or “often” \( (r=-.29, p=.024) \) regretted the decision to join the Penn State faculty. Also, respondents who were pessimistic about Penn State becoming an equitable environment in the next 10 years for black faculty were more likely to indicate a moderate or strong feeling of regret in accepting a faculty position \( (r=.48, p=.000) \). Other variables were strongly and significantly related to indicators of the academic culture, suggesting that relationships with colleagues, perceived racism of students, staff and administrators are key determinants of black faculty opinions about Penn State.
Reporting of Racism
As shown in the pie chart 6, the vast majority of respondents who experienced racism chose not to report it to the administration, for various reasons.

![Pie Chart 6](image)

**Pie Chart 6**
When you experienced racism at Penn State, did you report it?

Discussion
This section summarizes the findings and results presented above.

Black faculty across Penn State, and particularly at the CC, describe alarming experiences of racism in the form of discriminatory behaviors, bias, adverse circumstances, practices or microaggressions. UP faculty have a great deal in common with their colleagues at CC. Notwithstanding, important differences were found between the views and experiences of CC black faculty and UP black faculty. Some of the differences centered around interactions with students. About three times as many CC faculty (44% vs 15%) reported that they have experienced racism from students “often” within the last three years. Also, about 17% more CC professors than UP faculty (38.5% to 21.6%) reported that they have “often” experienced racism from SRTEs within the last 3 years. Nearly twice as many CC faculty (28% vs 15%) reported that they “often” found it difficult to discuss race related issues with students. These proportions indicate that the relationship between black faculty and students may be particularly problematic at the CC.

It is also apparent from the results that relations with colleagues at CC are even more problematic when it comes to matters of race and racism. For example, the majority of CC participants (55%) reported that they “sometimes” or “often” avoided any discussion of racial issues so as to “fit in” with their white colleagues compared to 36.2% of UP black faculty.
Moreover, a greater proportion of CC black faculty compared to their UP professors reported that they “often” experienced discomfort when discussing racial issues with colleagues.

Interestingly, the differences between the two groups of black professors also applied to viewpoints about their colleagues, staff and administrators, and the decision to join Penn State faculty. CC faculty were also twice as likely as their UP colleagues to report feeling that colleagues “often” regarded them as less of a scholar because of their race (20.7% to 10.4%). Additionally, twice as many CC faculty as compared to UP faculty reported experiencing racism from staff “often” (15% to 8%), and more than twice as many CC faculty reported “often” experiencing racism from administrators/supervisors (26.9% to 10.5%). Similarly, more than twice as many CC faculty (17.2% to 8.7%) reported that they were denied an appointment or promotion because of their race. The results also showed that CC faculty were slightly more than twice as likely as UP faculty (13.8% to 6.3%) to report having “often” regretted their decision to join Penn State faculty.

UP black professors were more likely to believe than CC professors that the assessment of their research was “sometimes” (43.6% to 26.9%) influenced by racism. They were also more likely than their CC counterparts to believe that they were “often” (40% to 27.6%) asked to perform more service-related tasks than their white or non-black peers. A greater proportion of UP black faculty compared to their CC professors (31.9% to 17.2%) reported that they experienced feeling uncomfortable in meetings discussing racial issues with their colleagues. UP black professors were also generally much more likely to indicate that they had personally “sometimes” or “often” (44.7% to 38%) heard a racial epithet or inappropriate reference to black people on campus or the nearby community.

Collectively, the results of the survey of black professors at Penn State demonstrate “that there is serious turmoil in the household”. Black faculty reported working in a climate of discomfort and unease because of perceived racism from their students, colleagues administrators, and the academic culture at the CC and UP. Further, the institutional mechanisms intended to formally redress these concerns and valid grievances are inadequate and, in many instances, counterproductive.

**Commonwealth Campuses (CC) Report**

This section of the report is organized to explore the issues and challenges that are most important to the CC black faculty. The analysis that follows includes, but is not limited to, the traumatic and often deeply disturbing accounts of racism provided by CC faculty who describe their experiences and “tales of exhaustion” within the context of institutional constraints and systemic challenges.

Black professors at the CC make up only 3% of the total faculty at CC, which is approximately half of the national average across U.S. colleges and universities. The survey results revealed that 85% of CC black faculty respondents stated that they have personally experienced discriminatory behavior, bias, and adverse experiences or practices that they would attribute to antiblack racism. From being on the receiving end of discriminatory and racist behavior to enduring punitive attacks for seeking institutional redress for them, the black faculty at the CC describe a harrowing and enervating professional existence at Penn State. We have organized the presentation of concerns at the CC as following: 1) Black Faculty Experiences with the Culture of and Systems within CC; 2) Black Faculty Experiences with Students on Commonwealth Campuses; 3) Black Faculty Experiences with Administrators and Human Resources on
Commonwealth Campuses; and 4) Black Faculty Experiences with Colleagues on Commonwealth Campuses.

**Black Faculty Experiences with the Culture and Systems of Penn State Commonwealth Campuses**

In describing their experiences of racism at the CC, black faculty offer a troubling set of views on the culture and systems of Penn State. Two-thirds of CC faculty expressed pessimism regarding the likelihood of cultural or systemic change. While this pessimism can be attributed to a variety of factors, lack of racial diversity among the faculty and the current means of reporting bias rank highly.

Diversifying the faculty and, more specifically, adding to the very low numbers of black professors across the CC, is an important step toward cultural change. However, far less attention has been paid to the inhospitable racial climate to which they would be recruited, which is responsible for resulting experiences of racial trauma, disappointment, and pessimism.

The present system at CC for reporting racist behavior fails to substantively address bias and discrimination. When a black faculty member experiences racism or retaliation, there is no on-site Affirmative Action Office (AAO) or authorized representative at a particular campus to whom to report. As an alternative to the AAO, faculty can report grievances to the campus leadership. However, problems arise if campus leadership are themselves responsible for, or complicit in, racial discrimination or bias. This was a notable concern of one participant who shared that “some of [the perceived racism] came from peers or senior reporting personnel.”

Ultimately, victims of racial and intersectional discrimination at CC are left to suffer in silence, perceiving that they have no working options, mired as they are in a climate that willfully supports the neglect of its black faculty. These individuals appear to feel that their only recourse is to work in a continually traumatizing situation and to hope for the best; alternatively, some may leave Penn State because the existing mechanisms for reporting and investigating racism do not inspire confidence in a fair and just investigation.

The absence of an on-site representative or office likely contributes to a larger issue, which is the absence of a relationship between marginalized faculty most in need of these services and the people charged to provide them. In several open-ended responses, participants articulated frustrations with University reporting structures; several asserted that they did not bother with the effort to report to the AAO (for example) because of a lack of faith in that office. Worse, several participants shared the ways in which they perceived that the AAO had not only failed to act on their behalf or on a colleague’s behalf in the past; but also perceived that the very act of reporting put them in harm’s way, reinforcing their suspicion and distrust.

Frequently, wrongdoing at CC is reported by faculty who have been discriminated against on the basis of race or another form of identity-premised marginalization, some are told to be sympathetic towards the people/organizations that they are being victimized by or to “seek mentorship”

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8 This quotation was not from the dataset, but, instead, provided by two black faculty members who chose to share their reporting experiences with the authors of this report.
for racial discrimination on the faculty member who made the report. Instead of triggering official inquiry or good-faith action, their claims may be simply dismissed.

Given the sensitivity of its work and the privacy the AAO must maintain to protect all involved in the reporting process, it is essential that antiracism officers be appointed on each campus and that these officers develop substantive, antiracist, strengths-based approaches, and regular interaction with black faculty.

**Black Faculty Experiences with Students on Commonwealth Campuses**

*Students-General:*

Many black faculty experience race-related challenges with students. CC professors discussed the challenges they faced teaching content about racial injustice. For example, a colleague stated that “students often resent research or content on systemic racism or discrimination” and “student[s] complain every time I teach about enslavement.” One professor shared that a “student [came] to stand face to face to intimidate.” Even more alarming was the incident in which a professor reported being “Zoom-bombed with [the] 'n-word.”

CC black faculty observed that some students have serious reservations about interacting with a black professor. One of the more poignant student-related comments illustrates the larger concern:

> Admittedly, there are some students who I get the impression are not comfortable around faculty of color. Compound that with the fact that you may have to be that student's advisor. In some instances, that student will request another adviser. While I cannot always say it is based on race, there are at least two instances where I know that was the case. There have been no incidents with my peers, staff, or administrators.

Additionally, for professors who are targeted in the SRTEs on the basis of race, this is no minor concern. It could contribute to a great deal of anxiety, only adding to the race-based trauma that participants in our survey shared. Given the large proportion of CC faculty who shared with us that they perceived that students have been overtly racist with them, concerns about students’ appraisal of their expertise and aptitude can be extremely anxiety-provoking.

*Students of Color:*

Black CC faculty experience frustration with a perceived lack of support in their efforts to support black and other students of color. The examples shared by survey participants (e.g. “[I have] advocated for black students and been dismissed repeatedly”) denote the mantle black faculty must bear in pursuit of equitable programming initiatives for themselves and black students and others at the CC. Black faculty are often a refuge and source of support and motivation for students of color, as well as other students. This issue emerged as a point of concern in the open-ended comments. One professor stated that “African-American faculty work outside of their jobs/duties to ensure African-American students are mentored and given support at a predominantly white institution (PWI). We have unknown duties that white faculty do not have to encounter.”
There is a good deal of literature explaining the extra and invisible labor of black faculty (and especially black women faculty) working with and mentoring black students.\(^9\),\(^10\) This includes additional and often unrecognized service, the tacit expectation to speak up on matters of diversity and equity, and the pressure (both internal and external) to represent black perspectives on varying initiatives and for varying committees, even when not a recognized member of a particular committee/ or initiative. According to one study\(^11\), key factors associated with black faculty’s perceived invisibility include institutions in which black faculty are fewer in number or located in schools that fail to establish a racially sensitive and supportive work environment.

As described in the literature, helping black students fit in with a culture they know to be racially unwelcoming or even racially hostile can lead to implicit pressure on black faculty to encourage black students to assimilate to white cultural norms.\(^12\),\(^13\) This form of survivalist mentoring for black students such as adjusting their demeanor, style of dress, or gait reinforces linguistic, cultural, and class biases, though well-intentioned, is potentially detrimental to the sense of self of students and faculty. Further, survivalist mentoring in a social environment that harbors strong risks to black people who fail to assimilate may reinforce hierarchical relationships and antiblack prejudices, rather than challenge them.

**Black Faculty Experiences with Administrators and Human Resources on Commonwealth Campuses**

A major concern of black faculty at CC is the role of administrators. In the open-ended data describing experiences of discrimination, bias, and other forms of racism, professors who offered responses described racial problems relating to campus leadership. One respondent wrote:

> Any time I would send an email the individual would reply back ‘cc'd to the Chancellor’. In some cases, I would only receive a reply from the Chancellor asking why I was asking that question. At some point, I would no longer reach out to ask if we could do an event or ask a question. I would instead get a white colleague to reach out to the chancellor so that we could get a response.

Another professor recalled:

> Being excluded from leadership positions and diversity initiatives; being denied funding for research; being denied other support for research; people dismissing my qualifications to teach in my area of expertise; being given an unfair teaching schedule; having my concerns about being discriminated against dismissed.

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\(^11\) Because we did not solicit information on campus affiliation (for anonymity purposes), we can neither confirm or deny whether these participants belonged to the same campus or were describing the same incident

A similar comment was voiced by another colleague who remarked that:

Denied administrative position even though colleagues overwhelmingly considered me more qualified for the position than my white colleague who eventually selected

With regard to faculty hiring and retention, the overall leadership and administrators at the CC tend to avoid any discussion of discrimination or antiracism. The experience of racism of black professors on the CC cannot be separated from the structure and policies of campus administrations nor the behavior and biases of individual administrators. Our findings suggest strongly that systemic racism emanates from these practices that become institutionalized and detrimentally impact black professors as well as other faculty of color. The survey results, both quantitative and qualitative, affirm these points as major concerns of black professors at the CC campuses.

Due to hiring policies and processes that do not employ an adequate equity and inclusion lens, because of a lack of clarity and consistency about roles and expectations during the onboarding process, and because of a perceived discrepancy between the way black employees at PSU are treated versus all others (including in performance reviews and administrative actions against employees), the Office of Human Resources is also considered highly problematic at Penn State. Not only is Human Resources perceived as largely absent from any role in creating equitable structures within Penn State, they are sometimes perceived as perpetuating structural biases and unfairly targeting black faculty (and other faculty and staff of color), through formal and informal processes and practices. Dismantling systemic racial barriers, therefore, requires an understanding of: 1) ways that Human Resource officials create policies that make PSU less likely to recruit and retain Black faculty; and 2) ways that Administrators and Human Resource officials at the CC may willfully or inadvertently work together to manage and respond to black employees differently than others, thereby contributing to a racially hostile and less productive workplace.

Black Faculty Experiences with Colleagues on Commonwealth Campuses

As noted previously, a majority of survey CC participants reported that they “sometimes” or “often” experience discomfort when discussing racial issues with colleagues. Comments by respondents such as “Being told by a white colleague that I will be promoted because I am black” or “Witnessing my colleagues target minority candidates during the search process” illustrates some of the concerns of CC black faculty.

The paucity of black faculty at CC is one of the key factors engendering marginalization. Academic departments at CC are generally small, ranging from 1-5 members and there may be only one black, indigenous or person of color working in the department. In this environment it is often difficult to form supportive networks at different CC locations. Moreover, as noted in our findings, collegial relations are not always conducive to forming meaningful networks with white colleagues or advancing an antiracism agenda. Black faculty may face barriers in finding allies and pertinent information that may be withheld thereby reducing opportunities to advance in their careers. The following comments from CC black professors illustrate some of their experiences and concerns with colleagues:

51
I’ve been working with the college and while I have had several conversations with various folks … they still seem to disregard me. I wonder if obtaining a service position is being stifled because I am black. I have been unable to participate in service opportunities despite nominating myself several times...

These experiences and sentiments voiced by black faculty are consequential. Changes in teaching loads and schedules, micromanagement of courses, and the willful misinterpretation of the actions, concerns, and contributions of black faculty have been reported.

**We Are Not “All In”**

Overall, the challenges black faculty experience at the CC are similar to those experienced at other predominantly white institutions\(^{14}\), including feeling isolated and undervalued, perceiving there is no just recourse for acts of bigotry and racial targeting, experiencing silencing and disregard, and experiencing biased reviews and inequitable promotion and tenure processes. Our survey results paint a very dismal picture of black faculty life at the CC. The challenges of combatting stereotypes and microaggressions shared by participants, in particular, offer tools for understanding both the unique and troubling experience of black faculty at the CC and the extent of the racism at Penn State.

It is with these concerns in mind that we contend that conversations about racism and its role at the CC often do not go far enough. There are few black faculty across the CC and, therefore, not enough people to engage in antiracist work. There are even fewer resources available to black faculty at the CC to offer antiracist courses, to support and build antiracist programs, and more. There is pressure on black and other faculty of color to perform in these roles but also a lack of support on campus for those issues and initiatives. Moreover, there is an elevated risk to black employees who do engage in antiracist work (e.g. unfavorable SRTEs, threats from members of local communities, professional attacks and targeting, being secretly recorded when teaching remotely and in-person). Even just mentioning a racial issue on a campus faculty listserv (e.g. a dearth of programming for Black History Month or Hispanic Heritage month, a lack of representation on hiring committees, racial imbalance on task forces, and so forth) can lead to personal attacks and ostracism from one’s colleagues. There are many takeaways from the CC section of the report; but the trauma associated with being a black faculty member must rank highest among them. Asking black faculty to stand up and be counted on issues of race in this climate is not only unfair; it is dangerous.

In addition to the emotional toll of racism experienced by faculty, there is likely an added cost for Penn State students. Research has demonstrated that degree completion for black students is highly correlated with black faculty and staff representation.\(^ {15}\) Not only are we failing to meet the bar of equitable representation on our campuses, but the racism and barriers encountered by black faculty may lead to racial barriers for students of color, which is an important point of concern. Furthermore, the apparent intersection between race and racism may create challenges

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for black faculty when trying to provide all students a quality education at the CC, including a resistance to engage in topics of race with their students.

**Review of the Select Presidential Commission on Racism, Bias and Community Safety**

The Select Presidential Commission on Racism, Bias and Community Safety — comprising Penn State administrative leadership and staff, tenured and tenure-track faculty from different campuses, schools and departments — was created in Fall 2020. The Commission was organized in response to the intensive national focus on issues of structural racism and antiblack violence in the U.S. created by the massive and sustained, national and international protests that took place following the videotaped police murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis last May. The Commission was charged with making concrete recommendations to promote and support the safety of faculty, staff and students who are confronted with racism and bias on Penn State campuses.

While we salute the noble mission of the Commission and believe that its members took the challenge seriously, working in good faith, we do not believe that their recommendations go far enough to induce the kinds of structural and cultural transformations that the Commission triumphantly declared as its goal, across the PSU campuses. Absent from its focus on an obtuse “Enterprise Model” and a “Truth and Reconciliation Committee” is the immediate “down payment” of University funding and implementation of the Commission’s most pressing initiatives. Forensically, the Commission’s draft report could extend for the next 2-3 years before coming to any final conclusions or accountable actions. In fact, we note with some emphasis that the recommendations of the report by the Forum on Black Affairs entitled, *2013 Status of Black Faculty and Staff at the Pennsylvania State University* by Dr. James Steward and colleagues were delivered to President Barron’s office in that same year and has been essentially ignored.

More recently, glaringly omitted from the Commission or President Barron’s declared priorities in advance of his retirement in 2022 was any reference to a campus-wide plan of implementation and timetables to increase the underrepresentation of black faculty in the academy. These oversights and exclusions are bewildering to say the least and serve to further reduce, marginalize, and devalue black faculty.

The Commission report outlines four recommendations:

1. Develop, promote and support an open truth and reconciliation process, which “would allow for the collection of information about historic and current policies and practices linked to racial and ethnic harm, intimidation and harassment;”

2. Develop, promote and support research, teaching and learning that advanced antiracial scholarship, pedagogy and culture. Establishing and funding an anti-racism institute/consortium that would bring together researchers and scholars, practitioners and community members would be a central element of this initiative.

3. Develop, promote and support University-wide onboarding, mentorship, auditing and continuing development of students, staff, faculty and administrative leadership in equitable and inclusive practice and procedures; and

4. Develop, promote and support accountability in implementing and sustaining an equitable and inclusive campus environment.
Regarding the Commission’s first recommendation, we would particularly desire more explicit language about the concrete purposes and functions of the Truth and Reconciliation process. We are concerned not only about how the process would take material shape on the campuses, but with what kinds of structurally transformative effects it might realistically be expected to generate throughout the University. A soulful cathartic rendition of “We Come This Far By Faith”, no matter how harmonic or true and no matter how many times it is sung, is simply not enough. Given that in other historical contexts, such processes have tended to be slow and protracted, it seems to us that the enormity of such an effort requires “down payments” in pursuit of both long-term and short-term goals. Thus, the quintessential question for all concerned is “when”.16

While we appreciate the Commission’s insistence that the project be headed by independent, third-party professional mediators and scholars, the draft report does not provide any suggestion of which administrative unit(s) at Penn State would be responsible for concrete enactment of recommendations based on the process’ assessments of past and current practices and policies that resulted in inequity, harassment and racism. Nor does it offer any suggestion of which administrative units would be responsible for implementing/managing the ‘truth and reconciliation’ operation — which according to the Commission, should culminate in the publication of its presumably exhaustive findings. Finally, we believe that the Commission should explain why a Truth and Reconciliation paradigm would offer the best practice for creating and sustaining an antiracist Penn State culture.

For, as was true of his immediate predecessors, President Barron has received several comprehensive reports (each of which is listed in the appendix to More Rivers to Cross: Part 1) outlining the primary, structural exigencies faced by black faculty and students at Penn State. Beyond acknowledgment of the on-campus issues that we have documented, to the best of our knowledge, this administration has offered very little response to any aspect of the information provided by our research. How can the Commission guarantee that the truth and reconciliation process will not result in a pageant of pathos with the same outcome — to be filed away in the archives of past reports and recommendations with no real change in the status quo?

With greater enthusiasm do we support the second recommendation – to “develop, promote research, teaching, and learning that advanced antiracist scholarship, pedagogy, and procedures.” We find, perhaps, the most exciting element of this initiative to be the proposed creation and funding of an Antiracist Scholarly Research Center or Consortium that would help diffuse antiracist scholarship (teaching, research, creative production) across the University. The Research Center would also feature a fellowship program that would shepherd research fueled by restorative, critical, evidence-based, abolitionist, and humanity-centered antiracist emphases.

16 The Commission admits that there appear to be few relevant models of this process in higher education. Recent cases at Georgetown University and Brown University offer certain insights; however, as the report draft points out, these two cases focus on the direct, historical/financial involvement of those institutions in U.S. slavery and the slave trade. Penn State would therefore have to proceed from different conceptual and historical foundations, and none are proposed here.
Once again, absent from the recommendations, however, are specifically proposed means and strategies of implementing and sustaining its many progressive and ambitiously crafted projects, whose collective thrust aims to “make antiracism central to Penn State education.” Through what processes and mechanisms will any of these projects be made standard institutionalized practice at UP and the CC? What academic units will be responsible for such an infusion of personnel, materials and approaches, across disciplines, as seem necessary for realization of this recommendation?

We note that this Center, however structured, will not appreciably increase the number of black faculty or increase diversity across colleges. A “Harlem protocol” model wherein black professors are recruited to and concentrated in one college or center would be antithetical to the very goals that the Commission aspires.

We support the Commission’s third recommendation, which focuses on creating an academic milieu that will “develop, promote and support university-wide onboarding and mentorship and continuing development of students, staff, faculty, and administrative leadership in equitable and inclusive practice and procedures.” This recommendation offers many specific ideas about the kinds of restructuration of DEI and cultural re-education that such an environmental change at Penn State would require. But again, it offers far less detail in the imagining of steps necessary for implementation. What timelines or benchmarks are envisioned? What administrative units will be responsible for overseeing this reorganizational project?

We are in general support of the Commission draft’s fourth recommendation, “to develop, promote and support accountability in implementing and sustaining an equitable and inclusive campus culture.” Proceeding from the proposed DEI reorganization, this intensified concentration on ensuring DEI-centered metrics of how to determine accountability at the levels of individual performance and of organizational culture is once again long on ambition/vision and incredulously short on implementational detailing. We could discern nothing specific in the draft report spelling out how accountability will be measured and what benchmarks will be used to evaluate success or failure. We very much hope that this issue will be addressed in the final draft of this report. As for now, it remains one of the many unanswered and inviting questions.
Transitions toward Equity and Justice

To achieve the goals of the Commission and the mission statements of Dr. Barron, much more is needed to address the underrepresentation of black faculty than lofty proclamations, as the data are quite compelling. For example, as shown in Table 1, the 100 black professors in 2020 represented 3.11% of all full-time teaching faculty at UP and this percentage has not changed appreciably in the last 5 years or has basically remained the same in almost the last 20 years. There is a clear and distinct hierarchy of hiring of black faculty among UP colleges. Between 2016 and 2020, the top five colleges that ranked highest in hiring black faculty employed between 70% and 78% of all UP black faculty. The College of Arts & Architecture held the number 1 ranking proportionally for each year followed by the College of Education. The College of Liberal Arts had the most black faculty at UP but consistently ranked third proportionally each year and that percentage declined or remained the same throughout the five-year period. Most of the black faculty in the College of Liberal Arts are in a department or program of Africana studies.

The bottom performing UP colleges in the hiring of black faculty are listed in Table 2. The College of Nursing has not included an African American or black full-time faculty member in its official listing in the last 5 years. The Colleges of Agricultural Science, Business, and Science rank low or at the bottom. If one were to consider professional status (i.e., tenured, tenure-track or non-tenure track), the picture would be even more bleak. For example, the College of Business has not employed a single black tenure-track professor during this 5-year period and only 1 tenured black professor. Even more dismally, the College of Communications has not employed a single tenured or tenured-track black professor in its ranks between 2016-20.

Table 3 presents a hypothetical example based on the average proportions of black faculty in the College of Arts and Architecture (ranging from 6.4% to 7.43%) between 2016 and 2020. If each UP college had the same standard or annual percentage of black faculty, the total number of UP black faculty between that period would have ranged from 199-239. Clearly, there are other considerations that impact these numbers including the pool of candidates, societal factors such as educational systems and pipeline trajectories, and professional outreach and acceptance that differentiate recruitment, hiring, and retention of black faculty. However, a sustained and dedicated commitment to overcoming racial bias and systemic racism in the hiring process by heads and departments is paramount toward improving the present state of affairs. In this respect, the College of Education appears to be within reach of the standard established by Arts and Architecture and may even exceed it in future years. The key point being made in this discussion of a hypothetical enumeration of black faculty is that “where there is a will, there is a way” as demonstrated by a least one, and possibly two of the colleges at UP. Colleges that perform well should be rewarded and all colleges should be held accountable.
## Table 1

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<td>2020</td>
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<td>3.18%</td>
<td>2.97% (94)</td>
<td>3.11% (100)</td>
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17 Tables 1 and 2 are based on data from the Penn State University Data Digest website [https://datadigest.psu.edu/](https://datadigest.psu.edu/) and are produced by the Office of Planning, Assessment, and Institutional Research. They represent the official source of information for faculty, students, and staff.
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<td>3.18% (99)</td>
<td>2.97% (94)</td>
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Tables 1 and 2 are based on data from the Penn State University Data Digest website [https://datadigest.psu.edu/](https://datadigest.psu.edu/) and are produced by the Office of Planning, Assessment, and Institutional Research. They represent the official source of information for university faculty, students, and staff.
### Table 3

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<th>Engineering</th>
<th>Agricultural Sciences</th>
<th>HHD</th>
<th>Total Percent &amp; Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Liberal Arts</td>
<td>7.43% (15)</td>
<td>Arts &amp; Arch.</td>
<td>7.61% (15)</td>
<td>Arts &amp; Arch.</td>
<td>6.40% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Science</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Science</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>HHD</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>HHD</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3 Hypothetical Top 5 Ranking in Hiring of Black Faculty at University Park Colleges: Percent and Number of African American/Black Full-Time Teaching Faculty in 2016-2020**
At this critical juncture in our history as a university and a nation, symbolic overtures are not enough to move forward an agenda to address academic racism at Penn State. We have elaborated on the lack of accountability and the lack of identifiable units responsible for implementing the Commission goals. The University’s customary gestures of appeasement serve no purpose toward promoting an antiracism agenda or transformative policies of diversity, equity, and inclusion, especially in this era of a “great racial reckoning”.

To date, what is lacking from President Barron and the Commission is an action agenda as well as a timetable to address systemic racism at UP and CC campuses similar to other Big Ten universities such as Ohio State University, the University of Michigan, and Michigan State University. These institutions, who we contest each year on the gridiron and in other sports, have initiated a wide range of programmatic actions and institutional reforms toward an antiracism agenda. We would do well to model and go beyond their initiatives. Further, in light of the history of recommendations over the last 20 years and the continued absence of any substantive change in the ongoing realities as well as the findings from our survey, we advance the following transitions toward equity and justice.

Transitions Toward Equity and Justice

1. A Fifty by Five Plan: The current absence at Penn State of any dedicated plan of action toward this end---in a period when PSU’s total percentage of full-time black faculty is almost half the national average---severely undermines the Presidential Commission’s stated objective “to become a dynamic leader in diversity, equity, and inclusion work through research and education.” Specifically, we propose that by 2026, the University fund 50 tenure-track hiring lines at varying degrees of rank to increase the representation of black faculty across disciplines, departments, and colleges. These positions should not be limited to the rank of assistant professor. It is crucial that Black faculty be involved in recruitment processes.

| Proposed Timetable and Benchmarks |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 10               | 10        | 10        | 10        | 10          |

2. All colleges should provide specific annual plans with timetables and benchmarks to meet the 2016-2021 standard established by the College of Arts and Architecture in the representation of black faculty at UP. Similar standards and goals should also be extended to the CC. Search committees to recruit black faculty and underrepresented faculty of color should include specific plans to reduce implicit bias in the search and interviewing processes.

3. Deans should ensure that Penn State offers competitive salaries and endowed professorships to top black and underrepresented faculty of color. Penn State administration should create an external body to review each department’s progress in hiring, retaining, and creating opportunities for advancement for faculty of color who conduct research and teach issues of racial and social justice.
4. Commission an external study by the Penn State Office of Educational Equity to examine the differences in the salaries and annual raises of black and white faculty over the last 15 years to determine if they are the result of systematic inequities in annual evaluations, and particularly related to SRTEs. A select committee consisting of faculty, stakeholders, and university administrators should be established to review the results of the study. Faculty should be compensated for any differential salaries based on the findings.

5. Given the discussion of racially biased student teaching effectiveness studies in the *More Rivers to Cross, Part 1* report and the present findings of perceived racism of SRTEs by black faculty at both CC and UP, the present system should be disbanded immediately for use during the next academic term (Fall 2021-Spring 2022) and replaced with a non-punitive system designed by a diverse committee of faculty across UP and CC.

6. Creation and funding of a university-wide research center dedicated and interdisciplinary study of antiracism, critical race theory, black history, culture, and racial and social justice. Also, centers of excellence on particular topics of relevance should be established and funded within certain schools or colleges, for example, focusing on health inequities, urban education, and arts and music. These centers could serve as a means of attracting senior black scholars.

7. One of the important findings of the survey is that black faculty are generally pessimistic about reporting perceived bias and discrimination and lack confidence in the process, particularly at the CC. This is partly due to the fact that the UP Affirmative Action Office is not presently equipped to handle complaints about bias at UP as well as 24 other campuses. This office should be restructured and sufficiently funded so as to adequately serve the needs of each CC with location specific liaisons with official responsibilities, independent of the Chancellor and other administrators, to investigate allegations in a timely and judicious manner.

8. Establish an independent Office of Antiracism to address the concerns of CC and UP black faculty with respect to various forms of racial bias and discrimination among students, faculty, and administrators and to foster an antiracism agenda to combat academic racism. The functions of the Office of Educational Equity and the role of senior mentors of color should be reorganized and strengthened so as to reflect and promote an antiracist and social justice approach to promoting increased hiring and retention of black faculty and other underrepresented faculty of color.

**Conclusion**

Will there be a *More Rivers to Cross Part 3* report?
APPENDIX A
Map of Penn State Commonwealth Campuses
APPENDIX B
### Black Faculty Comments

#### Table 1. Perceived Racism and Problems Related to Race (A)

- **hate speech**

  “called racist names by students”

  “Someone wrote nigger in the dirt on my car and other hate speech.”

  “the word nigger and a swastika was written in the dust on a black colleague’s [personal property], while parked on campus.”

  “Zoom-bombed with ’n-word”

- **General disregard and/or undervaluing of skills and abilities**

  “I was told that I was on a strong learning curve”

  “Program leaders who for over 10 years have refused to have a department dialogue about race and how it impacts students’ education; administrators who prevent me from implementing programs to help minority students. One such person only agreed to help move it forward if I got a grant; given low raises; data on race and gender that I have collected is being ignored by senior administrators; get put on too many committees because of my race; my claims of discrimination when presented to administrators are ignored.”

  “A few of countless examples: 1. [administrator] telling me how their ideas about race were changed by having [ethnic food] with a black family 2. advocating for black students and being dismissed repeatedly 3. direct racist remarks about my scholarship and publishing venues 4. My faculty mentor suggested that my dissertation director… had advanced more significantly than my mentor because my director is black.”

  “Denied administrative position although more qualified than colleague I competed against.”

  “I was a competitor for an administrative position and was one of two internal finalists. The faculty overwhelmingly wanted me to serve in the interim role. I had more experience and stature than
the other candidate, but he received the position. To make matters worse, when the announcement came, it said that I was runner up [to] the white guy who received the position. This not only violated confidentiality, this had never happened in my two decades at the College. I also had to deal with the many faculty who now felt sorry that I didn't get the job.”

“After developing a course, [a] supervisor asked if someone else could teach a course. After [the] course was published in Lionpath, another faculty’s name was on the course, not mine. I have to prove myself to be approved to teach a different course. This has happened too many times.”

“Lack of Afro/Black Faculty [and] Administrators, [and] having to always answer or made to answer when a white student received a low grade, always having to explain low STRE scores.”

“I was not allowed to take part in an event that other faculty had in the past. Any time I would send an email, the individual would reply back ‘cc’d to [highest administrator]. In some cases, I would only receive a reply from the [highest administrator] asking why I was asking that question. At some point, I would no longer reach out to ask if we could do an event or ask a question. I would instead get a white colleague to reach out to the [highest administrator] so that we could get a response. I told [another senior administrator] if I get one more call from the [highest administrator] this month, I will hang up and quit.”

• Racist targeting and bullying
  “my views and perspectives about institutional racism at PSU [negatively] influenced the evaluation of my performance and contributions to the university”

  “Student coming to stand face to face to intimidate.”

  “Students often resent research or content on systemic racism or discrimination.”

  “student[s] complain every time I teach about enslavement”

• Unfair/inequitable treatment from colleagues, administrators and students
  “denial of sabbatical”
| “denial of an administrative position I was qualified for” |
| “I am a senior faculty member but my requests to teach summer courses [were not granted]” |
| “I was denied early tenure even though my hiring letter indicated [word missing], and I published [extensively\(^{19}\)] to deserve the promised early tenure. Instead, they granted early tenure to another person in my discipline hired together, with less teaching credentials or publications. They also refused to hire my [spouse] who had been promised full time teaching if I took the position.” |
| “told by a senior administrator that I would be fired if I had [any more children]”; |
| “told by students that I must be a genius because how else could I do what I do and be black” |
| “given low raise”; |
| “get put on too many committees because of my race.” |
| “comments, assessments, exclusions, [and] actions.” |
| “When I have reported wrongdoing, my concerns have been dismissed. I have been excluded from diversity initiatives.” |
| “Admittedly, there are some students who I get the impression are not comfortable around faculty of color. Compound that with the fact that you may have to be that student's advisor. In some instances, that student will request another adviser. While I cannot always say it is based on race, there are at least two instances where I know that was the case. There have been no incidents with my peers, staff, or administrators.” |

- **Hostile or problematic racial climate**

  “Historically, PSU fosters a conservative climate and culture; therefore, it is difficult to feel

\(^{19}\) Redacted to protect anonymity
included when *institutional leaders* do not champion diversity, equity, and inclusion.”

“I was part of a hiring process, but never got to impact the decision on who was finally hired. When I asked why we had not had a black hire, and that I wanted to chair the committee instead of the same white people who have never hired a black or other minority person, the chair said that it was the wording of the application process of the position that excludes black people. So, I asked to chair and to change the wording. The next year, I was informed that our *Administrative Head* saw fit to continue with the current head and wording. I declined any further participation on that committee after more than twelve years serving on the committee. I could no longer be a part of a sham system of hiring. I kept silent after that. The culture of silence to racism is pervasive, and you become the monster by standing up for your rights.”

Table 2. Participant Explanations for the Decision to Not Report Wrongdoing (A)

- **Inconclusive or plausibly innocuous situations**
  
  “Understand certain biases exist. Tried to work through them”;

  “All these acts of racism are not that clear cut…. really hard to prove what the intention was”

  “the silliness of the situation.”

- **Fear**

  “fear of retaliation”

  “...because I was terrified of losing my job. I was the breadwinner of our home [redacted]. There is no retribution for PSU administrators who discriminate against their faculty, and the campuses are not diverse. [The] Diversity office on my campus is not equipped as an independent entity. The issue of racism at Penn State is not taken seriously or else the faculty and staff would be more diverse to reflect the student population. I was afraid, unlike now. I have learned to fight, but I still do not trust the system.”

  “It will only make things worse for me”
“don’t want to be perceived as a troublemaker or make excuses for less than ideal “performance”

- **dispiritedness/futility**

  “I did not think that my claims would be supported or investigated”

  “because biases, conscious and unconscious, are not easily quantified”

  “Because nothing will be done about it”

  “Nothing happens”

  “Didn't see any advantage to doing so”

  “nothing much is done”

  “...told nothing gets done or it takes years so what is the point”

  “Because I did not believe it would be understood or received the same way I experienced it”

  “informal discussion with administrators and colleagues indicated they would not understand my understanding of the actions in question as racist or founded on racism”

  “discrimination is covert”

  “I was too angry at the time.”

  “I did not know who to report this to”
“I was afraid to report to the entities because Penn State does not give us the orientation we need as new faculty about our rights, and the only entities I knew of were my supervisor, my university head, the Associate Dean.”

“some of [the perceived racism] came from peers/senior reporting personnel.”

Table 3. Black Faculty Members Experiences Reporting Wrongdoing

| “report was lost” | |
| “The administrator never acted on what I told them.” | |
| “I wanted it to be confidential but nothing was done.” | |
| “Because nothing was done, I am being retaliated against, and the discrimination continues.” | |

“I complained many times to a [higher level administrator] about the exclusive SRTE evaluation of students in my ongoing classes, complained when they jumped over me and promoted the young white woman, and reminded them of failing to fulfil their promise. Even with [redacted], an international scholarly reputation benefiting Penn State, they kept me untenured until the normal six years, and also did not want to grant me full professorship [redacted] until I fought them. They changed the goal posts for me each time. All I had was them. I once called the Ombudsman and complained with no results.”

“Some were more useful than others (i.e. FRR [Faculty Rights and Responsibilities Committee at PSU] Committee was not useful).”

“I reported my experience to my supervisor and I reported the experience in my Faculty Annual Review. At the time I felt it was the right thing to do and felt somewhat supported and then COVID happened and everything seemed to pause.”
“People were empathetic but really felt like it was just the same conversation over and over. I knew nothing would be resolved.”

Table 4. Black Faculty Perceptions of Successful Efforts and Initiatives with Regard to Racism (A)

- **Successful Efforts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Efforts</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Encouraging dialogue to bring groups together”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“...Diversity Committee recently formed”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“programs, open discussions”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In recent years, actively engaged in courageous conversations on diversity, equity, and inclusion.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The usual go to--workshops, diversity training and events which are not successful in long term”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“administration has been supportive”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Workshops, seminars, mentoring, events, symposium”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing. Many units, such as mine, totally ignore the subject. There are a lot fewer minority tenure/tenure tract faculty than there were ten years ago.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“openness to discuss racism on campus”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Programs such as CILC and DEI are critical for addressing racism through workshops, teach-ins, and more.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The campus is having diversity sessions for FYS and during the welcome back there is always a speaker discussing diversity. We are now celebrating monthly cultural celebrations”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“? The annual African American reading program really moved me and I felt part of a group for once since I've moved...”

- **Nothing/Not Sure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing that I am aware of.”</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Not sure. A few colleagues and I have produced programs to encourage diversity and the campus has celebratory programs of the Martin Luther King Holiday, but I do not see these as serious attempts at combating racism.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Not much”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Continue talk, but lack of behavior change.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing meaningful. Just enough to say they've checked a box”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing that I am aware of.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“N/A”</td>
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</table>

Table 5. Faculty Proposed Solutions (A)
“Incentivize ways for faculty to pursue cross cultural understanding. Too much pressure on faculty of color. Hire my faculty of color.”

“acknowledge [racism’s] existence; fully research a situation before making a conclusion; provide students and faculty with a safe space to discuss racism”

“cameras, make an example out of people, be vocal.”

“Chief Diversity Officer and central reporting”

“Create more assertive institutional themes and messages that directly confront and denounce systemic and individual acts of racism. These themes and messages must come from the Board of Trustees, the President, the Deans, Department Heads, and other academic and administrative units”

“Completely dismantle assessment system and structure--especially at Commonwealth campuses--and create a more equitable and fair system of assessment; restructure diversity training (current iterations do not work); encourage/foster open and honest conversations about racism at PSU, in USA and in the world--dismantle the power of racism created by White people!”

“Genuinely caring would be a start.”

“Administrators and faculty should be required to do sensitivity training and take an exam that measures their current level of insensitivity.”
“Less talk, more action, higher pay, oftentimes AA faculty work outside of their jobs duties to ensure AA students are mentored and given support at a PWI. We have unknown duties that white faculty do not have to encounter.”

“Penn State must carry out a campus wide conference to openly discuss how to dismantle the institutional and systemic racism that is the norm. There must be a change of hiring practices, support for new faculty and staff, etc. Penn State must also change its SRTE structure and how much emphasis is placed on these evaluations by students who are predominantly white with racist bias from their homes. There must be a reeducation of the student body. I have been targeted by students for my race, and the administration took the students’ side as though I did not have my side of the story. We need a body that is responsible to hold administrators and supervisors accountable. Orientation of new faculty must include preparing the new faculty to understand their rights and how to process grievance caused by racism.”

“Teaching the history of race and racism, its place in the foundation and development of the American society. Its various manifestations in American culture, and its continuing influence in American politics and public policy making should be a required component of a Penn State education. Penn State should be committed to the recruitment and retention of black and other minority faculty and “not just paying lip service to such commitment.”

“The Affirmative Action Office’s protocols need to be revised so that there is transparency, and they are held responsible for their investigations. The Affirmative Action Office as well as the Office for Educational Equity should be an impartial entity that is there to help protect victims of discrimination rather than protect Penn State. The compliance training should be updated to explain what happens when a person reports wrongdoing and note that there is a statute of limitations on reporting wrongdoing.”

“Promote us, include us, and reduce all the data collection and actually take action.”

“Make all incoming freshmen take a course on racism. Faculty and staff take race-related seminars etc. when they are hired.”
“Continue open discussion forums and programming that address issues such as implicit biases and how best to serve students of color.”

“There should be a mandated class on systematic racism for both students, faculty and staff.”

“Vocal leadership against acts of racism”

“More black faculty is needed on my campus.”

“Strategically recognize people of color and offer promotion and rewards”

“Inform supervisors that Black people are already struggling with a mountain of adversity on and off the campus in rural PA and providing some kind of support that is built into the system prior to incidents would be helpful. Identifying ways to address oppression before the incidents arise rather than back pedaling”

“N/A”

“I choose not to answer”

“None”

Table 6. Perceived Racism and Problems Related to Race (B)

“Chair of department celebrates everyone's accomplishments publicly but for yours; excludes you from key decision-making regarding program innovation; asks you to design a course but expects a white colleague to teach it instead of you; etc.”
“Colleagues and supervisors coming to me as the voice of Black people, looking for me to validate their racist/biased views on admissions and selections processes. A white male faculty member once asked me why the Black students don’t do as well in his graduate class. I honestly didn’t know what he was hoping to hear from me.”

“It is mainly microaggressions. For example, students inappropriately not addressing me by my professional title but by first name”

“Students have used racial slurs within the written portion of the SRTE form.”

“dealing with staff via microaggressions”

“Micro-aggressive ideological expressions”

“The racism that I have experienced has been more subtle. Certain colleagues don’t speak to me even though I see them speaking to other white colleagues. Given that race is the thing that makes me different from the colleagues they speak to, I interpret their ignoring me as racist.”

“surrounded by police”

“When I received tenure I received a smaller raise than my white male counterpart who got tenure the year before. I know because he told me what he got. I spoke to [administrator] and [this person] made an excuse that he was more ‘experienced”

“When departmental colleagues discount your contributions, or talk in meetings as if you are not even there”

“Subtleties such as lack of communication about certain events or opportunities, or being told too late to apply or get information in on time. Being forgotten on credits for projects, unintentionally for sure but it has happened many times. Not being invited to events, lack of response to communications, lack of greetings in meetings, these are things that indicate that in spite of people saying you are important, you are not. not made to feel like a part of things. These are not wrongdoings but you do not feel a part of things. White colleagues receive more praise for less
work and accomplishment than black colleagues. This is huge problem.”

“Being stopped by campus police”

“The courses you are asked to teach as a faculty member can set you up for more experiences of racism. For example, being asked to teach courses with a multicultural focus. “This would not be as needed or necessary if CRT and culturally competent frameworks were used throughout all courses in programs. You also end up being one of few faculty that students of color can trust and come to. This places you in a position to be “advising” way more students that you are officially assigned to advise. When I brought this to a supervisor’s attention, I was told this was my fault because I did not send the students back to their advisor. Racism also occurs as you are trying to find collaborators on research projects to publish papers. Racism occurs alongside sexism for Black female faculty enduring inappropriate comments such as colleagues making off color comments about the number of children you have, the timing of when you had children (you should have had children after you got tenure) or supervisors contacting you or making you feel guilty for taking or being on maternity leave with comments or ‘jokes’ like having more children can potentially ruin your career!”

“Non-consideration (by University administration) for a program leadership appointment for which I had been strongly recommended by multiple colleagues; casually dismissive and uninformed comments made during a committee meeting in my home department, by a senior white colleague about the published work of a junior black colleague; during my first two years at PSU, standard anti-black comments on my SRTEs.”

“A faculty member at another institution said I should be ‘grateful’ to have been invited to give a talk rather than initiate honorarium discussion”

“Careless/ disrespectful tone or words”

“Students not addressing by title by first name; assumptions that I not faculty by asking me questions for administrative staff; students challenging my expertise of content or making microaggressive comments on SRTEs (e.g., mispronouncing a word) - I know these examples of student conduct are unlikely to be demonstrated to my white colleagues, particularly male white colleagues”

“I was stopped while walking. I was surrounded by campus police. I have been followed around
campus by police...it’s a very long list. I was told having an exhibition at the Smithsonian institution was not adequate. It’s endless.”

“I have had to have some frank conversations with my white colleagues from other countries who do not understand how their works and lives are underwritten by a whole system that has made it easier for them to be here. It is very difficult to educate them and while these are very good folk, they are ignorant but in charge of what I do on a daily basis and do not recognize how the system works, so I constantly have to have these conversations with them to help them understand gently what is happening with students, or how situations can play out unfairly. Constantly being forgotten on project credits or for projects unless initiated by me. I am seeing myself work harder for the same results as my white colleagues. I see white colleagues getting asked and included on research projects and co-teaching courses. I am happy for them but do not understand why this is. I have strong research. I have a good personality, and people I work with and students in general like me here. However, somehow with service work I get elected to every single thing. I am constantly refusing service assignments. It is as if people see African American and that is equated with service. Big problem. I see this as a pattern in many departments in my college. In addition, the service is not noted. It is not only campus that is the location for adverse circumstances. Off campus, especially out of town if one goes to eat dinner with friends you may have to choose between eating dinner with your friends at a restaurant that is next to a series of houses flying the confederate flag or driving back to town. Or on campus wondering who put the confederate flag on their truck in the university parking lot with the Penn State parking permit? Bad service at restaurants, mostly it is ok but just knowing that you may have to insist on something that needs to be addressed spoils the prospect of an evening out.”

Table 7. Perceived Racism and Problems Related to Race (B)

- **Personal Experiences with Racism (Colleagues/Administrators)**

“Research that deals with Black populations and is the Black colleagues area, but is passed over because a white colleague wants to be seen as the expert in that field. Being placed on committees because a Black presence is needed, but your contributions in that space are not taken seriously or even considered. Being told outright that Black faculty are not working as hard as White faculty.”

“A colleague openly attacked me in a racist manner during a faculty committee meeting. Also, a student made false allegations against me (with actual demonstrable lies in the report) through the anti-bias reporting system and compelled an investigation of me and my class alleging that I was racist against white people, because I discussed racism and anti-immigrant bias during my class
where we talk about English learners in American schools.”

“When I firmly and assertively objected to being treated badly, I was described as having been 'threatening”, and ‘aggressive”

“Views not taken seriously in committee work”

“I was assigned the same classroom as another faculty member from another Department. He insisted that I had made the mistake. It took a few days to sort it out.”

“Confederate Flags on cars on campus or employees’ cars.”

“More service expectations, more questions about quality of scholarship.”

“In the past 4 months in faculty meetings, the "erasure" of my presence on separate two occasions when the matter of race was being discussed; * The dismissal of comments I have made as a voice of the affected group, after persons have expressed a desire to hear the thoughts of those people on more than on occasion; * On two separate occasions heard the suggestion that hiring Black and Brown people is vital to the department so long as it is not at the risk of the reputation of the program; * The idea that the problem resides in communicating content to students (they just need to get what we’re teaching) without any deep reflection on what the learned content is or how it might be insulting or passively supportive of systemic racism.”

“I mentioned earlier being paid less than my white male counterpart when I went up for tenure. I asked what he got when he got tenure to prepare. And I was offered less and even when I took it up with my [administrator] I was told he has more experience than me or he's older or something vague like that.”

“I have been greeted at Penn State Donor Relations events with "What are you doing here?" and "How did you get in here?". Since my spouse and I fund two scholarships at Penn State, and I serve/have served on a number of boards, committees, and councils at Penn State, I found these comments highly offensive and racist.”

“Black faculty inclusion on large collaborative and externally funded research projects. Student
"A white man student verbally harassed me an entire semester and when I reported him, I was told we had philosophical differences."

"Being denied access to some resources."

"Not be invited to be a part of projects and sometimes sharing research ideas that are used by colleagues, but not be included in the process of putting together the project (this is the most upsetting and frustrating experience I have had but it has happened before beyond PSU); dismissiveness of colleagues when racial concerns are raised or feeling like racial concerns are minimized when faculty and/or students of color raise the issue (again microaggressions!)"

"Denied raise so that my salary is not higher than my colleagues."

- **Personal Experiences with Racism (Students)**

  "Students evaluate me differently on SRTEs than my white colleagues."

  "My SRTE scores and those of my colleagues often include racist/sexist undertones and mischaracterizations of the course and instructor performance."

  "A white colleague vocalizing that we are simply tokens"

  "Outright biased and hostile responses from White students in response to feedback. Negative racist angry comments on SRTEs."

- **Comprehensive (More Than One Category)**

  "A ‘colleague’ telling me I speak so well, and another assuming I was from the South Bronx when I..."
told him I was from NY...I'm from the suburbs.”

“A ‘colleague asking if I smoke weed when he found out I was Jamaican.”

“A department chair inviting me to a mystery lunch (he did not share the purpose of the lunch) only to ask if I think we should have special standard for minority grad program applicants. I may have said 1 sentence (like, why would you assume the minority applicant is lesser than others to begin with), but the majority of the lunch meeting was spent with him basically explaining why this practice (Affirmative Action) was wrong. And there are so many other microaggressions, like colleagues saying ‘Hey girlfriend’ or ‘Hey Sistah’ when they see me...I have not heard them say that to other female white colleagues, even those who are with me when they call me "Sistah." And endless comments from students on SRTEs that make it clear that they are uncomfortable with a Black woman talking about America's responsibility in perpetuating racial injustice and minority health disparities.”

- **General Experiences with Racism**

“The discussion of excellence (without any clarification) whenever minority, specifically Black, are proposed as a target faculty candidate or graduate applicants”

“I have heard Black colleagues describe instances of talk during meetings with racist undertones and overt racists comments.”

“Interaction with police; issues with tenure process/promotion by a couple of colleagues.”

“have heard of disrespectful questions/comments made to black female faculty colleague.”

“The main thing that stands out in my mind is not something that necessarily "happened" to me, but it did shape my perceptions of a colleague I work in close proximity to. A student told me that this white professor used the word "nigger" in class. The student said that at first, the professor used it when quoting directly from a text but then went on to continue using the word beyond the context of the quotation. I have also heard colleagues talk about how students challenge them about discussing issues of race in class and evaluate them poorly because they weren't expecting to take classes ‘about race."
- **No detail provided**

  “Too many to recount here. This is triggering as well.”

  “Too many to enumerate.”

- **No Experiences of Racism**

  “I have never had any personally.”

  “n/a”

Table 8. Responses to Reporting

- **Was not Useful**

  “No resolution and no action against anybody”

  “No action was taken and the actions continued”

  “Nothing happened”

“Reporting was not useful as Penn State authorities appear to be more interested in protecting Penn State’s brand, the perpetrators or the deeply entrenched racist systems at play within the university. My comment is based on the following: 1) Invalidating a Black faculty member’s experience through White-splaining; 2) No investigation or failure to share the outcomes of investigation(s); 3) reporters retaliated against by those in positions of authority; 4) Perpetrators supported and left in positions of authority; 5) Failure to provide restitution to those harmed by bias treatment and/or systemic racism within the university.”

- **Was useful**
“I did report the incident and there were a number of witnesses who observed the incident. Because of the large number of witnesses, the issue was dealt with quickly.”

Table 9. Participant Explanations for the Decision to Not Report Wrongdoing (B)

- **Futile to Report Racism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Not worth the headache since racism is so pervasive.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Although I am part time now, I was previously full time and tenure track. I watched my [close friend] try to report the racist behavior of [their] boss. [They were] unsuccessful and it significantly and negatively impacted [their] mental health and ... family’s wellbeing. It seems that the system is tilted to support the offender. In the process they “surveyed” [their] white colleagues asking about their experiences when [they are] one of very few [people] of color. It was no surprise that no racism was founded. The way these investigations occur is racist and biased toward the offender. Has there ever been an employee let go due to racist behavior?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Not worth the effort.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Why try if no action is going to occur.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Do not think reporting will lead to anything but will further increase subtle forms of exclusion.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Didn't feel it would be taken seriously.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“The burden of having to prove the wrongdoing does not seem like a worthwhile investment, impression that nothing will change even if wrongdoing is reported.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Didn't think anything would be done and fear of retaliation.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“The stress of reporting without resolution. I reported within my department but it was poorly understood.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I did not expect anything to be done about it.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Didn’t see it would be acknowledged or made any difference.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“I did not believe I had any reasonable expectation of redress.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Didn’t think it was worth it.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I did not think it would change anything.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“During this time, I did not think that my claims would be supported or investigated.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Didn’t see any advantage to doing so.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In the process but told nothing gets down or it takes years so what is the point.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nothing happens.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Because nothing will be done about it.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Didn’t see any advantage to doing so.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Racism Deeply Ingrained at Penn State**

| “I would not expect anything to be done about it. Further, racism is deeply ingrained into Penn State system. It is part of the culture and climate. one complaint will not address institutionalized racism.” |

| “Racism is normalized at PSU so it's futile to report to white administrators or people of color who uphold whiteness about my experiences.” |
“I knew nothing would be done about the situation because the culture of the College is to ignore and minimize racist behaviors. Additionally, how does someone have faith in an educational culture which has shown through their hiring practices, language regarding ‘quality research’, and other practices that administrators will address the inappropriate behaviors?”

“Based on conversations with colleagues and administration it was clear that the either party one “they're young,’ ‘I'm sure that's not what they meant,’ or ‘that just not a part of our culture’ would has been applied to dismiss the concern.”

“I didn't think there would be an institutional response, given how institutionalized racism is here, and the risk of getting further ostracized when there is no possibility that your complaint will be taken seriously is an inordinate cost to bear.”

“It seems that the system is tilted to support the offender. In the process they ‘surveyed’ his white colleagues asking about their experiences when he is one of very few men of color. It was no surprise that no racism was founded. The way these investigations occur is racist and biased toward the offender. Has there ever been an employee let go due to racist behavior?”

“No one would believe me. I would be told that I was overreacting. One can hardly report... racists to racists.”

“Because reporting these actions does not appear to be taken with consideration and sensitively addressed; also it seems like the individuals who report such wrongdoings are victimized and labelled unfairly which further enhances negative racial stereotypes and racist actions in academia.”

“Informal discussion with administrators and colleagues indicated they would not understand my understanding of the actions in question as racist or founded on racism.”

“Because I did not believe it would be received by understood or received the same way I experienced it. Also some of it came from peers/senior reporting personnel.”

- **Not Reportable Offenses**
“No tangible evidence.”

“I wouldn’t characterize my experiences of racism as "wrongdoing." My experiences of racism have been in the form of colleagues not interacting with me, but I don't see that as a reportable offense.”

“Didn't feel the events rose to the level of reporting”

“The events that have happened are not blatant nor wrong, but make it difficult to thrive or grow as an African American teacher and scholar here.”

“Understand certain biases exist. Tried to work through them.”

“Some wrongdoings are not reported because biases (conscious and unconscious) are not easily quantified”

“All these acts of racism are not that clear cut. The committee wants these acts by the book. Really hard to prove what the intention was.”

- Fear of Retaliation

“Fear of retaliation.”

“It will only make things worse for me.”

“I did because I was terrified of losing my job. I was the breadwinner... There is no retribution for PSU administrators who discriminate against their faculty, and the campuses are not diverse. Diversity office on my campus is not equipped as an independent entity. The issue of racism at Penn State is not taken seriously or else the faculty and staff would be more diverse to reflect the student population. I was afraid, unlike now. I have learned to fight, but I still do not trust the system.”
“Don't want to be perceived as a troublemaker or make excuses for less than ideal ‘performance’.

“It will only make things worse for me.”

Table 10. Black faculty perceptions of successful campus efforts and initiatives with regard to racism

- **Successes (Hiring)**

  “*Hiring* more faculty who do critical race work”

  “I'm still waiting to see what they claim they are doing, but if I had to name one point, it is the *hiring* of Black Deans and other administrators.”

  “Began discussions, which unfortunately dance around anti-blackness”

  “*Hired* a new African American dean for my college. He has already made these issues a big part of our work moving forward.”

  “Recent efforts to increase diversity in faculty ranks.”

  “Making advances in *hiring*”

  “Investment in *hiring* more minority faculty (AFAM recent hires are a great example). It is unclear whether another task force and commission will do much to reduce racism, but there have been such committees formed to address it.”

  “Created a Presidential Commission on racism, bias and community policing”
“Created committees to change the racist culture at the department level first.”

“Inviting outside expertise in the field to present talks on diversity and inclusion, discussed incorporating multiracial/ethnic/cultural content in the material (however, when one faculty attempted to do this in a course, criticism was received from students in [their] class); mandatory equity inclusion workshop for faculty (this is great but the workshop seems catered to students and I wonder where is this type of workshop for the students when it pertains to appropriate engagement with faculty particularly faculty of color)”

“Invited outside speakers to discuss their research and perspectives on racism and discrimination”

“At the School level, engaging alums in discussion about systemic racism they experienced (sadly, this is not working in my department). Cross department efforts to support black students entering the School.”

“competent colleagues [that are] assets to university and to humanity at large.”

- No Suggestions/ Not Sure

“not sure -- a lot of rhetoric though”

“They have had initiatives but not sure of the impact of any of them.”

“PSU is like all historically white serving institutions, lots of talk but not anti-racist actions that create inclusive educational spaces.”

“Not sure, does not seem like much”

“Absolutely nothing.”

“next to nothing”
“Not a [redacted] thing. All superficial bullshit to maintain the white racist status quo”

“My campus has given lip service to addressing the racial climate, but the campus environment remains toxic faculty and students of color.”

“I don’t see anything”

“I am not aware of a campus-wide initiative that has been successful at addressing racism on my campus.”

“Not much that I can remember”

“Nothing of note.”

“The administration is trying to address this issue. There are a lot of talks, but I am not sure of any resolutions or what will arrive from these talks. It has meant a lot of extra time for everyone.”

“[PSU] in general, is engaged in much dialog and rhetoric concerning racism and how to be an antiracist; however, the campus has shown little evidence, if any, of having been successful at addressing racism on campus.”

“I’m not aware of any substantive initiatives.”

“I do not see anything that has actually had any impact on the...campus. If things are being done it is not visible and therefore it has not impact on the actual culture that is imbedded...The "All In" initiative from a few years ago, was not effective at all. We need more than slogans!”

“I have not seen anything that has been implemented.”
Table 11. Suggestions to improve how Penn State handles systemic racism and/or individual acts of racism

- **Proposed Solutions**

> “Penn State must do more than engage in talk around racism when something captures media attention. The University and all who are associated with it must engage in on-going efforts to name and address racism, sexism, ableism, and more. We must work to see how it shows up in the classrooms through what is taught (syllabi cannot be all White) and how. We must see transparency from the top. We must also see greater diversity within the Board of Trustees, upper-level administration, and more. Additionally, many of us are doing so much of the work to help create safer and more welcoming environments for Black students on campus that we are not able to do the work that is recognized and rewarded for promotion. Our work to help the students is often to our own detriment.”

> “It seems like the most strategic approach is to gather a team of experts that includes experts outside of PSU (Drs. Thomas LaVeist, Camara Jones, David Williams, Ibram Kendi, Thomas Parham, Robin DiAngelo, Linda James Myers, etc) to see how they are planning on handling this issues. I think the gathering various steps and resources for handling systematic and individual acts of racism will be more useful than just gathering suggestions from the pool of responses you receive from this poll. Also, this approach could promote an initiative across academic institutions than strictly PSU. Lastly, this approach can provide particularly the PSU Black students an opportunity for observing more examples of Black excellence across academic fields and positional levels and could spur a chance for expanding Black professional and/or mentoring networks in academia.”

> “(1) Acknowledge that the problem exists, (2) mandate anti-bias training for students, staff and faculty, (3) commit REAL dollars towards efforts to dismantle racists systems, and (4) commit funds to formalize social support/mentoring programs for minority faculty.”

> “What is good for type university is good for diversity.”

> “Make a strong attempt to hire administrators (e.g., department heads, college deans, center directors, provost, president, board of trustee member) that identify as Black/African American as well as other racial/ethnic groups”

> “Call the racist folks out and get them through professional development. Often they do not
realize that they are being racist in the actions and words and body language”

“PSU has enough suggestions of what to do, it needs to take action and stop asking Black folx how to handle racial violence.”

“Actual change needs actual action that is beyond perfunctory. Hiring one or two people is not helpful. It needs to be university-wide and systematic from the top down. Excuses should not be and cannot be tolerated or accepted. The loss of funds should be attached to not meeting diversity goals. With those goals being high.”

“Gender definitely needs to be brought into this conversation. To isolate race without attention to gendered inflections would be insufficient.”

“Holding Deans accountable for the lack of Black faculty within their Colleges (and tie this to their performance reviews.) Create pathways for coalition building between campuses to support Black faculty who are navigating these spaces.”

“It should be more transparent and discuss actions that were taken.”

“Develop policies, procedures that actively and sustainably combat anti-blackness, as well as a reward system that gives credit for DEI activities; re-evaluate the use of SRTE's by first acknowledging they can be weaponized.”

“More training for faculty and students to understand how hurtful some of the comments they make are. Calling me a monkey that has to be sent back to Africa may be a joke but deeply hurtful because of the history behind the dehumanizing language.”

“Be serious about it”

“A lot. All of them have been ignored or either taken by whites as their own and promoted devoid of substance”

“Campus leadership must first admit there is a problem of systemic racism and commit PSU to
addressing the issue beyond establishing another commission to study the problem once again.”

“Take people’s claims of racism seriously, and have consistent, fair ways of holding people accountable for being racist. Even though HR investigations are confidential, maybe the investigation process (of wrongdoing) itself could be made more transparent.”

“Hold faculty ‘accountable’ for what they teach and from what perspective. We can provide all the support in the word, but if your message is we will help you work through a discouraging message on a case by case message instead of changing the message, you’re not doing impactful work.”

“Offer people of color working at PSU a place to get concrete support when they feel they are being discriminated against. I felt like I was on my own when it happened to me and my only recourse was to get a lawyer.”

“Cluster hires; including us on search committees; not focusing hires of black people on just searches for "race" faculty; hire etc.”

“It is good to have a reporting system in place, but there are so many subtle things that keep people from thriving here, especially when you compare how African American and black colleagues are treated. These are not reportable things. This is the next level of things that needs to be addressed.”

“Implement the recommendations of the Select Presidential Commission on Racism, Bias, and Community Safety.”

“Yes, revisit old claims and complaints that were dismissed at the time. Collect wisdom from people who have survived the immediate crisis.”

“Visible presence of an ombudsman to discuss such issues when they arise”

“Promote Penn State Black faculty to administrative ranks (i.e., Chancellors and other high impact administrative positions. Those who have had experiences navigating the promotion and tenure fields, for example have much to offer experientially. Rarely, does Penn State look for talent
among its Black faculty. The tendency is to look beyond those directly in front of the gatekeepers’ faces. Without seriously respecting and nurturing the Black intellect and critically deconstructing the past and present "Penn State Way," I question whether Penn State can authentically improve how it handles systemic racism and/or individual acts of racism.”

“The system needs to be changed from top to bottom from the T&P process that does not place value on the some of the roles and responsibilities most often taken up by faculty of color to the lack of acknowledgment or weight provided in evaluation, review, or T&P of the toxicity of the environments in which Black students, faculty, and staff must toil and the absolute resilience and strength it must take to be successful despite all efforts to make it not so. Accountability measures need to be put in place to hold everyone from the President to program chairs and managers accountable to change.”

“The University would be well-advised to act on the research of the More Rivers to Cross group, following not only the group's suggestions for transforming the culture of University, but also acting concretely on the specific recommendations of the University's own Commission on the same question.”

“Be up front about it, tackle it as seriously as it would address any other issue it considered pressing/urgent”

“Truth and reconciliation. Sweeping things that have happened under the carpet will perpetuate the problem”

- Resignation / Doubt

“Nothing will change.”

“I don’t see any measures being enacted. I have myself served on committees. I have created initiatives and put them forward with no response.”
APPENDIX C
Cover Letter

Dear Colleagues,

This letter is an introduction to a survey on racism and African American professors at Penn State and racism. As you are aware, on January 20th of this year, we released a document entitled More Rivers to Cross: A Report on the Status of African American Faculty at Penn State (Part 1). Since that time, as a result of the tragic murder of George Floyd the nation has experienced a cataclysmic “racial reckoning” and has been forced to deal with issues pertaining to racism, anti-racism, systemic racism, and racial injustice. This survey extends the dictates of our initial report and will provide empirical evidence regarding this important topic.

The attached questionnaire was prepared by your Black Commonwealth campus colleagues and included rigorous review and revisions. It is being distributed to all faculty at each of the Commonwealth campuses and University Park who we have identified as Black faculty inclusive of multiple groups. The findings of this report will be published in a forthcoming More Rivers to Cross (Part 2) report.

Please note that this is a voluntary request for information and the survey is anonymous. Your name, rank, or campus information will not be requested or recorded in any way. Information from the questionnaire received will be kept confidential. Please do not include any information that could potentially be traceable to you personally or to your campus.

If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to contact the principal investigators Gary King at gxk14@psu.edu or Marinda Kathryn Harrell-Levy at mkh23@psu.edu. We thank you in advance for your cooperation and look forward to receiving your response at you very earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Marinda Kathryn Harrell-Levy, Ph.D.
Health Development and Family Studies
Penn State Brandywine

Gary King, Ph.D.
Department of Biobehavioral Health
University Park
More Rivers to Cross Survey of Black Faculty and Racism on Commonwealth Campuses

Start of Block: Default Question Block

Please answer each of the following questions that pertain to your experiences at Penn State. All responses are anonymous and the analysis will be confidential. Only the aggregate results will be reported.

As explained in the cover letter, this is a voluntary request for information about the experiences of Black faculty at the Penn State campus. Please do not include any information that could potentially be traceable to you personally or to your campus.

The survey takes approximately 10 to 15 minutes. Please be sure to answer the questions in the order that they come. Once you move to a new page in the survey, you cannot return to the previous page.

1. This survey is specifically for Black and/or African American instructors at Penn State (including individuals who are part-time, full-time, tenure-line, and teaching-line).

Before you proceed with the remainder of the survey, please verify your eligibility by responding to the following question: In thinking about your racial or ethnic identity or group, do you consider yourself to be one of the listed races/ethnicities? (If so, select which one; if none of the above, select other).

- African-American (1)
- Black and African (2)
- Black and Caribbean American (3)
- Other Group Identified as Black (4)
- Other (5)
1b. If you wish to further explain your race/ethnicity, please do so here.

________________________________________________________________________

Page Break

________________________________________________________________________
2. Please Indicate whether you are full time or part time.

- Full-Time (1)
- Part-time (2)

3. Please indicate the range of years have you been teaching at a Penn State Commonwealth Campus.

- 1-3 years (4)
- 4-6 years (5)
- 7-10 years (6)
- 11-15 years (7)
- 16-20 years (8)
- 21+ years (9)

4. As a faculty member at Penn State, have you ever personally experienced discriminatory behavior, bias, adverse circumstances or practices that you would attribute to racism?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q23 if 4. As a faculty member at Penn State, have you ever personally experienced discriminatory behavior... = No
5. During your time at Penn State, when did you first experience racism?

- Less than one year of start date (1)
- 1-3 years from start date (2)
- 4-6 years from start date (3)
- 7 years or more past start date (4)
6. Within the past 3 years, as a faculty member have you ever experienced the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>never (14)</th>
<th>seldom (15)</th>
<th>sometimes (16)</th>
<th>often (17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>racism by students? (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>racism as part of the Student Rating of Teaching Effectiveness (SRTEs)? (11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>racism by staff? (14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>racism by administrators or supervisors? (15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>racism from colleagues? (16)</td>
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<tr>
<td>discrimination or bias assessing your research from colleagues that you felt was unfair and related to racism? (17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>discrimination or bias in a performance review that you felt was unfair and related to racism? (19)</td>
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</table>
7. Please answer the following question on a scale of 1 to 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>not at all likely (1)</th>
<th>2 (2)</th>
<th>3 (3)</th>
<th>4 (4)</th>
<th>5 (5)</th>
<th>6 (6)</th>
<th>7 (7)</th>
<th>8 (8)</th>
<th>9 (9)</th>
<th>most likely (10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In your opinion, how likely do you think that your scores on the SRTES have been influenced by student negative perceptions or biases regarding your racial or ethnic background? (12)

8. If you wish, please provide examples of ways that you have personally experienced racism at Penn State. However, do not provide specific details that may potentially identify you, (e.g., no names, campus information or dates).

________________________________________________________________________

9. When you experienced racism at Penn State, did you report wrongdoing?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q29 If 9. When you experienced racism at Penn State, did you report wrongdoing? = No
10. When you reported experiences of racial discrimination/harassment at Penn State, did you receive a response?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

11. Did you get an immediate response?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No response received (3)

12. Was there a timely investigation?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No response received (3)

13. Was the investigation procedure explained to you?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
14. Was there any action taken?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No response received (3)

15. Was there a resolution to the problem?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

16. Did you report your experience(s) of racial discrimination/harassment at Penn State to any of the following entities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entity</th>
<th>Yes (1)</th>
<th>No (2)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the Affirmative Action office (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>the University Faculty Senate’s Faculty Rights and Responsibilities Committee (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>the Office of Educational Equity’s “Report Bias” link (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>another resource within Penn State (4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>any resources outside of Penn State (5)</td>
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</table>
17. Was reporting to any of the aforementioned entities useful?

- Extremely useful (1)
- Very useful (2)
- Moderately useful (3)
- Slightly useful (4)
- Not at all useful (5)

18. Please elaborate on the ways reporting was/was not useful.

________________________________________________________________

19. If you chose not to report wrongdoing, why did you choose not to report wrongdoing? (If you did report wrongdoing, please skip this question).

________________________________________________________________

20. All Penn State employees are required to do annual compliance training. If you have previously reported wrongdoing related to racism, has the compliance training helped to clarify your rights about reporting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Have never reported (3)
21. Have you ever experienced any of the following as a faculty member at Penn State?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never (1)</th>
<th>Seldom (2)</th>
<th>Sometimes (3)</th>
<th>Often (4)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeling very uncomfortable in meetings with colleagues discussing racial issues. (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Believing that you were denied an appointment or promotion because you were African American/Black. (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hearing a racial epithet or inappropriate reference to black people while on campus or in the nearby community. (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finding it very difficult to discuss race related issues in your class with students. (4)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing or hearing about racism from some of your African American/Black or other minority colleagues at Penn State. (5)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Feeling that some of your colleagues regard you as less of a scholar because you are African American/Black. (6)

Avoiding any discussion of racial topics so as to “fit in” with your White colleagues. (7)

Feeling that the Penn State academic culture will not in the next decade be an equitable environment for the pursuit of learning, teaching, and scholarship by African Americans/Blacks. (8)

Regretting the decision to join the Penn State faculty. (9)

Believing that you are asked to perform more service related work than your White or non-Black peers. (10)
The final three questions are open-ended. Please do your best to provide us with accurate and detailed information. *(Do not provide specific details that may potentially identify you, (e.g., no names, campus information or dates).)*

22. Describe briefly some instances of discriminatory behavior, bias, adverse circumstances or practices that you would attribute to racism that happened either to you or another African American or Black colleague?

________________________________________________________________

23. What, if anything, has your campus done that has been successful at addressing racism on your campus?

________________________________________________________________

24. Do you have suggestions to improve how Penn State handles systemic racism and/or individual acts of racism?

________________________________________________________________

Thank you for participating!

End of Block: Default Question Block