African American Male Faculty Satisfaction: Does Institutional Type Make a Difference?

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This qualitative study explored the job satisfaction of 16 tenure-line, African American male faculty at a historically Black university and a predominantly White institution. The common themes found in this study were autonomy and flexibility, location, institutional fit, and salary. In addition, there were some themes that were unique to institutional type such as the opportunity to give back to students and student diversity. Findings provide insight for institutional leaders to understand what influences the satisfaction of African American male faculty in different institutional contexts.

Several studies have discussed the sparse number of minority faculty at postsecondary institutions in the United States and the underrepresentation of faculty of color in the professoriate (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, & Bonous-Hammarth, 2000; Heggins, 2004; Ponjuan, 2006; Trower & Chait, 2002). For example, faculty of color represents 15 percent of full-time faculty however, people of color comprise 30 percent of the United States population (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Specifically, African Americans comprise slightly over 12 percent of the general population, but represent only 5 percent of full-time faculty (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Despite the underrepresentation of faculty of color, many reported satisfaction in their current positions (Bower, 2002; Olsen, 1993; Ponjuan, 2006). While faculty of color expressed satisfaction with their jobs, they experience lower levels of job satisfaction than their White peers (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, Bonus-Hammarth, & Stassen, 2002; Barnett, Gibson, & Black, 2003). Faculty who are not satisfied with their positions may be more likely to consider leaving their institutions (Daly & Dee, 2006; Rosser & Townsend, 2006).

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While there have been a plethora of studies that have examined the satisfaction of faculty (Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Laden & Hagedorn, 2000; Olsen, 1993; Olsen, Maple, & Stage, 1995; Ponjuan, 2006; Rosser, 2005; Tack & Patitu, 1992) there is an absence of research focused solely on the job satisfaction of African American faculty, specifically African American male faculty. Moreover, the literature has yet to explore differences in the satisfaction of same-race faculty across institutional types. Thus, this study explored the satisfaction of African American male faculty at two institutional types, a historically Black college or university (HBCU) and a predominantly White institution (PWI). The following research questions guided this inquiry: How is job satisfaction similar for African American male faculty at a HBCU and PWI? How does job satisfaction differ for African American male faculty at a HBCU and PWI?

Job Satisfaction

Spector (1986) defined job satisfaction as an affective response that an organizational member has toward his or her particular job, and results from the employee's comparison of actual outcomes with those that are expected. Sources of satisfaction for faculty are morale, institutional fit, institutional support, autonomy, and promotion and tenure opportunities (Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Laden & Hagedorn, 2000; Olsen, Maple, & Stage, 1995; Rosser, 2005; Tack & Patitu, 1992). Positive institutional characteristics, such as institutional climate, academic rank/tenure, and academic discipline have been shown to impact faculty of color job satisfaction at doctoral institutions (Ponjuan, 2006). For many faculty of color, intrinsic rewards such as service to students, continual learning, and autonomy provided the greatest satisfaction (Olsen, 1993). These sources impact faculty satisfaction positively but there are several factors that contribute to the dissatisfaction of faculty.

Factors that negatively impact faculty satisfaction were morale, rank, tenure status, increased work hours on administrative tasks, lack of university support, university structure, and the institutional reward system (Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Olsen, 1993). Additionally, the literature has revealed that institutional leadership (Allen et al., 2000), low salaries (Allen et al., 2000; Diener, 1985), lack of recognition for professional achievement, and a lack of personal development (Diener, 1985) may be sources of faculty dissatisfaction. Studies by Rosser and Townsend (2006) and Daly and Dee (2006) suggest that faculty across institutional types who were unsatisfied with their jobs expressed a greater intent to leave the institution.

Institutional Fit

The values, abilities and goals of minority faculty should fit the values, needs, and goals of the postsecondary institutions that employ them (Olsen et al., 1995). According to Chatman (1989), the concept of person-situation fit has been defined as the congruence between norms and values of organizations and the values of persons. Hence, organizations tend to reward and support those interests and activities that are consistent with their own values and goals. As a result, a poor fit between a person and the work environment has been associated with lower job satisfaction and higher rates of turnover (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990; Chatman, 1989; Olsen et al., 1995). According to Olsen et al. (1995), a misfit between an individual and an institution can result from a failure of accommodation by either the institution or the individual.

Additionally, Olsen et al. (1995) found that race and gender affect the support faculty perceive they receive independent of whether or not their personal professional goals are in

congruence with institutional values and norms. Moreover, their findings suggested that the degree of fit with university values and goals is as much a product of perceptions of fit as it is a convergence of institutional and individual goals and values. Additionally, Olsen et al. (1995) found that a sense of personal control over one's career and the intrinsic satisfaction of academic work demonstrated a significant direct influence on job satisfaction.

Autonomy

One of the enduring and greatest sources of satisfaction for members of the professoriate is their autonomy (Tack & Patitu, 1992). Autonomy as defined by Tack and Patitu (1992) is having personal rule of the self while remaining free from controlling interference by others. Price (1997) contended that autonomy is the ability of employees to set organizational goals and to structure the organization to maximize professional concerns. In addition, the autonomous person acts in accordance with a freely self-chosen and informed plan. Tack and Patitu (1992) noted that faculty members are not only free to determine what they teach, what they study, and what they publish, but they also have latitude in when they achieve these goals. Faculty members typically expect autonomy and academic freedom, but they are concerned with administrative intervention or infringement in these areas (Tack & Patitu, 1992). They believe that they should be able to decide work patterns, participate in major academic decision-making, have work evaluated by professional peers, and be relatively free of bureaucratic regulations and restrictions (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1973; Pusser, 2003). However, with increasing demands for accountability, course commitments, accreditation requirements, and evaluation, the autonomy of faculty appears to be threatened (Tack & Patitu, 1992). In many institutions faculty are now having to demonstrate the worth and contribution of their work (Johnsrud & Heck, 1998).

Faculty of Color

There is limited literature focused solely on the job satisfaction of faculty of color, specifically African-Americans. Findings of Allen et al.'s (2002) study indicated that White faculty had higher levels of satisfaction with their institutions than African Americans. However, Ponjuan (2006) found that faculty of color, specifically Latino faculty, reported lower job satisfaction than White faculty while the satisfaction level of African American faculty was analogous to White faculty.

In a study that examined faculty satisfaction disaggregated by race, Jayakumar, Howard, Allen, and Han (2009) reported White, Asian, and African American faculty at selective institutions indicated higher satisfaction with their careers compared to Latino faculty. This study also found an increased level of job satisfaction among faculty of color with high base pay. However, the job satisfaction of faculty of color can be hindered by a negative racial climate (Jayakumar et al., 2009).

Scant research has addressed satisfaction of faculty by gender (Ponjuan, 2006; Trower & Bleak, 2004). Among faculty of color, women expressed a lack of clarity with tenure expectations and were less satisfied than males (Trower & Bleak, 2004). Likewise, Ponjuan (2006) concluded that within doctoral institutions that female faculty were less satisfied than male faculty with faculty rank, tenure, and increased hours on administrative work contributing to the lower job satisfaction level. Allen et al. (2002) reported African American female faculty

expressed a higher level of dissatisfaction with their salaries and institutions than African males and White females and males.

Even less research has explored job satisfaction across institutional types, such as HBCUs and PWIs (Flowers, 2005; McNeal, 2003; Perna, 2001). While two published studies on faculty satisfaction at HBCUs were identified, neither study specifically discussed the satisfaction of male faculty (Diener, 1985; McNeal, 2003). The majority of studies conducted at HBCUs examine the environment, work load, socialization, and scholarship (Aguirre, 2000; Blackwell, 1988; Boice, 1993; Cole & Barber, 2003; Epps, 1988; Fields, 1997; Heggins, 2004; Johnson & Harvey, 2002; Kulis, Chong, & Shaw, 1999; Sorcinelli, 1992; Trower & Chait, 2002; Turner, 1998).

Diener's (1985) study of faculty at two predominantly Black colleges found that the chief satisfiers among college faculty were student growth, personal growth and intellectual stimulation. It was also noted that working conditions that enhanced the life and work of a faculty member such as a flexible schedule, autonomy in the classroom, and the interaction with stimulating students increased satisfaction. Faculty in Diener's (1985) study also indicated dissatisfaction with poor facilities and equipment, inflexible or heavy teaching schedules which prevented personal and professional development, low salaries, lack of professional recognition, and high amounts of bureaucracy.

McNeal's (2003) study of African American nursing faculty at a PWI and a HBCU reported that faculty at the PWI tended to be less satisfied with the leadership, environment, and socialization processes of their respective collegiate schools of nursing than their counterparts at the HBCU. In contrast, Perna (2001) found that even after taking into account differences in background characteristics, undergraduate, and graduate school experiences, and current employment characteristics that African American faculty working at HBCUs were less satisfied with the work environment than African American faculty at other types of institutions. Consequently, this study will provide further insight on how faculty satisfaction across institutional types may vary for African American male faculty.

Conceptual Framework

The framework guiding this study focuses on research specific to job satisfaction of faculty. Specifically, the literature relative to how individual characteristics (Barnes, Agago, & Coombs, 1998; Hagedorn, 1996; Matier, 1990; Rosser & Townsend, 2006; Smart, 1990) influence institutional support (Olsen et al., 1995), and institutional fit (Chatman, 1989) and subsequent job satisfaction (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990). Consequently, the extent of satisfaction will influence whether faculty decide to depart or remain at the institution (Johnsrud, Heck, & Rosser, 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002).

Previous studies (Barnes et al., 1998; Rosser & Townsend, 2006) have found that an individual's demographic characteristics could influence the level of support received or alignment with institutional values and norms. Individual characteristics include age, sex, race/ethnicity, highest degree held, rank, tenure status, and academic discipline. An individual's characteristics may impact the institutional support and institutional fit for African American faculty. Individual characteristics have been shown to intersect with organizational or structural characteristics in one's work life to affect job satisfaction and thus intent to leave (Barnes et al., 1998; Hagedorn, 1996; Matier, 1990; Rosser & Townsend, 2006; Smart, 1990).

According to Rosser and Townsend (2006), institutional support involves technology and technological support, reward structures such as salary and opportunity for tenure, and support

for professional development. Chatman (1989) suggested that institutional fit was the congruence between norms and values of organizations and the values of persons. The values, abilities and goals of minority faculty members should fit the values, needs, and goals of the postsecondary institutions where they are employed (Olsen et al., 1995). Both institutional support and institutional fit will impact the job satisfaction of faculty, particularly male faculty of color, and consequently their intent to leave or stay (Allen et al., 2002; Ponjuan, 2006).

Methodology

In this study, the lived experiences relative to the job satisfaction of African-American males at a HBCU and a PWI were explored. This qualitative design provided an opportunity to examine in-depth a phenomenon, satisfaction of African American male faculty, for which relatively little is known (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). According to Creswell (2003), a phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon. Polkinghorne (1989) suggested that phenomenological studies explore the structures of consciousness in human experiences.

Sites

The two sites for this study were classified as public, 4-year research universities with high research activity (Carnegie, 2006). In addition, the geographic location of the two institutions allowed the researchers to drive to both sites in less than three hours. The two institutions are identified by pseudonym to provide a level of anonymity and confidentiality for the participants. The HBCU was given the pseudonym of Blakely University (BU) and the PWI was assigned the fictitious name Whitmore University (WU).

Founded in the late 1800s, Blakely University is a historically Black, co-educational, research intensive, public institution of higher learning designated as an urban university. As of fall 2006, BU had approximately 8,000 undergraduate and graduate students with females and males representing 65 and 35 percent, respectively of the overall student population. Of the total number of students, approximately four percent were White, 93 percent were African American, and the remaining three percent were comprised of Asian, Alaskan, Hispanic, American Indian, and ethnicity unknown. Blakely University (BU) is located in the southeastern United States.

There were approximately 300 full-time and part-time faculty at BU with males comprising 55 percent of all full-time faculty. Of the full-time faculty, 18 percent were White, 17 percent were Asian, 64 percent were African American, and less than one percent identified as Alien or Hispanic. African American males comprised 46 percent of the African American faculty.

Whitmore University (WU) is a state-supported, urban university founded in the early 1900s. As of spring 2006, WU had approximately 20,000 undergraduate and graduate students with approximately 40 percent of the students being male. Overall the student population is approximately 60 percent White, 35 percent African American, and the remaining five percent Asian, Alaskan, Hispanic, American Indian, and ethnicity unknown. Whitmore University is located in the southeastern United States.

Of the 819 full-time and part-time faculty at WU, 60 percent were men. The race of faculty consisted of 80 percent White, 11 percent Asian, eight percent African American, and less than one percent American Indian and Hispanic. African American males comprised 48 percent of African American faculty.

Participants

The African American male faculty members for this study were recruited via snowball sampling which entailed asking participants at the conclusion of the interview to identify other African American males at their respective institutions (Creswell, 2005). The 16 participants who agreed to participate in this study were employed full-time in a tenure-line position at the rank of assistant professor or higher. In addition, all of the participants had been employed at BU or WU for a minimum of two years. Ten faculty members held tenure and six were in tenure-track positions. Each participant held the terminal degree for their discipline from an accredited institution in the United States. For example, one participant held a Juris Doctorate and another had earned a Master of Fine Arts while the remainder held a Doctorate of Philosophy.

Seven participants at BU represented a range of disciplines (e.g., marketing, sociology, psychology, chemistry, speech communications, regional planning, graphic design). The average length of employment for faculty who participated in this study was 7.5 years with participants having worked at the institution from two to 16 years. Four of the seven participants at BU were on tenure-track while the remaining three were tenured.   Table 1 provides a profile of the participants at BU.

Table 1

Participants at Blakely University (BU)

Name	Highest Degree	Rank	Years at BU	Tenure Status	Discipline
Pearson	PhD	Assistant Prof.	6	Tenure-track	Mgmt/Mktg
Harry	PhD	Professor	8	Tenure	Reg. Planning
Coleman	PhD	Professor	16	Tenure	Sociology
Murray	MFA	Assistant Prof.	5	Tenure-track	Graphic Dsgn
Wilson	PhD	Assistant Prof.	2	Tenure-track	Psychology
Hamilton	PhD	Associate Prof.	6.5	Tenure	Chemistry
Henry	PhD	Assistant Prof.	10	Tenure-track	Speech Comm

Two of the nine faculty members at WU were in tenure-track positions with the remainder being tenured. The participants worked at WU from two to 29 years with 10.1 years being the average length of employment. A diversity of disciplines (e.g., English, counseling education, law, anthropology, criminology, political science, history, counseling psychology) were represented by the faculty who participated in this study. Table 2 provides a profile of the participants at WU.

Table 2

Participants at Whitmore University (WU)

Name	Highest Degree	Rank	Years at WU	Tenure Status	Discipline
Mark	PhD	Professor	29	Tenure	English
Mitch	PhD	Associate Prof.	7	Tenure	English
Peter	PhD	Associate Prof.	13	Tenure	Counseling Ed
Harvey	JD	Assistant Prof.	2	Tenure-track	Law
Winston	PhD	Associate Prof.	27	Tenure	Anthropology
Thomas	PhD	Assistant Prof.	4	Tenure-track	Criminology
Melvin	PhD	Associate Prof.	4	Tenure	Political Sci
Samuel	PhD	Associate Prof.	3.5	Tenure	History
Carl	PhD	Associate Prof.	2	Tenure	Counsel Psych

Interview Guide

Interviews with participants were conducted in-person at a mutually convenient location and time. The semi-structured, open-ended interview questions allowed the participants to relay their perceptions and experiences regarding job satisfaction and their intention to leave or stay at their current institution. Questions on job satisfaction included institutional support, influences on satisfaction, challenges, and current satisfaction with job. Finally, participants were asked if they would choose the institution again and to explain their reasons for wanting to remain or leave the institution.

Data Analysis

In keeping with the parameters of qualitative research, faculty members at each site were interviewed until data saturation was achieved (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Analyzing qualitative data requires the researcher to organize, manage, synthesize, search for patterns, discover themes, and disseminate the findings relative to the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Analysis of the data in this study occurred throughout the study and insights gained during earlier interviews were used to inform subsequent interviews (Maxwell, 1996). After the data was transcribed, interview transcripts were reviewed and codes created and written in the margins of the transcript to make sense of the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Next, common patterns or themes were identified across participants with further levels of analysis dividing themes into subtopics (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Analysis using the matrix approach entailed placing the coded elements and data chunks categorized by the participants' pseudonym into a tabular display.

This method of analysis presented data in a concise format useful for making interpretations or conclusions (Maxwell, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Trustworthiness

The researchers ensured the trustworthiness of this study by employing Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria of credibility, transferability, and confirmability. To respond to the criteria of credibility, member checks were utilized. According to Orcher (2005), member checks occur when results are shared with the participants (or a sample of the participants) in order to gain feedback on how well the interpretations reflect the meanings intended by the participants during the study. Transferability was addressed by presenting the findings in a manner to assist the reader in applying the findings to other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Confirmability was ensured in this study through the use of an audit trail detailing each step of the research process.

Limitations

Given the small number of participants and a limited number of sites, the findings of qualitative research are not generalizable. Accordingly, the 16 participants and two sites in this study did not allow the findings to be generalized. Nonetheless, findings of this study contribute to the sparse literature available on African American males, specifically their satisfaction across institutional type. Another limitation was the technique of snowball sampling had the potential for participants to identify prospective individuals who were like-minded which could decrease the variance in responses. In order to minimize this limitation, participants were encouraged to identify participants in other disciplines as well as to provide the names of individuals who had similar and dissimilar experiences.

Findings

Analysis of the data revealed themes consistent with existing literature. Also, evident during the data analysis were the commonalities and differences experienced across the various institutional types in this study. Subsequently, findings were categorized into two overarching themes of similarities and differences relative to job satisfaction.

Similarities in Job Satisfaction

Common themes consistent with previous research on sources of job satisfaction were autonomy and flexibility, salary, and institutional fit. Institutional location was a source of satisfaction in which there was a scarcity of research.

Autonomy and Flexibility. A career in the professoriate has many advantages. Tack and Patitu (1992) noted that faculty members are not only free to determine what they teach, study, and publish, but they also have the autonomy to determine when they will complete these tasks. Participants expressed their satisfaction with the ability to have flexible teaching schedules and the autonomy to be creative in teaching and research. They also revealed satisfaction with being able to interact with friends and family and to hold other positions in the community. In total, 11 of 16 participants (five at WU and six at BU) were satisfied with the level of autonomy and freedom at their institution. Hamilton, a BU tenured associate professor of six years, expressed positive views on autonomy:

"The autonomy aspect I like a lot. I work best in a situation without someone standing over my shoulder because I have to be self-motivated. Even at my previous job, I worked independently. And the tenure also had some appeal as well. Although no job is ever secure, in terms of the tenure aspects, we have the freedom to express ourselves without having to worry about any backlash from the University about what we may say."

Wilson, currently in his 2nd year of a tenure-track position, further explained the benefits of a 9-month schedule and the ability to be 'yourself' in the environment of a HBCU:

"A 9-month-teaching schedule would have a lot to do with it but that would be any university that you would work with for the most part. Aside from that, having academic freedom to do other things is a plus. Being at BU, so to speak, because I see a lot of people who look like me. You can be yourself, as opposed to corporate America and being a minority in a place where you can't let down your hair."

Likewise, faculty at WU expressed similar comments about their autonomy. For example, Winston, an associate professor of 27 years, related his satisfaction with his freedom:

"I have freedom. I have a good Department. I have colleagues that I've known for over 15 years. I think it's a unique Department. It's not the norm for the College or the University. I'm the only African-American faculty; though I have not always been. It just happened that I was the one who chose to stay. I like the fact that you have a chance and a choice to go at your own pace. There is no one standing over you. You have certain requirements that have to be filled whether it's tenure or whatever."

Mitch, a tenured associate professor of seven years at WU, summarized all the things he liked about freedom and flexibility at WU:

"I like the hours, flexibility, responsibilities, research, and freedom to do what I want. I like the teaching load. Currently, I teach one class a semester. I get to spend a lot of time with my children. I value my freedom."

Salary. Salary appeared to be the strongest theme as a contributor to job satisfaction across both institutional types. Seven participants from WU and six participants from BU indicated that salary influenced their job satisfaction and intent to leave or stay at the institution. An interesting commentary about satisfaction with salary was provided by Melvin (an associate professor in his 4th year at WU):

"My salary has influenced my satisfaction. When I've received offers from other institutions, this institution has always offered to match it or do better. That's as recently as three weeks ago; I was going to go to another university. They gave me a higher salary than was offered. So those sorts of things are good... Well, I was able to get a job offer and a counteroffer so it changes. But in a few more years if the pay structure stays the same and I work hard and get nothing, I'll do the same thing all over again. But my intentions are not to leave. My intention is to keep my salary where I feel it should be, and it's all about social capital. I

know what I'm worth. I know where my market value is and I'm planning on getting it every single time."

Hamilton (a tenured associate professor) commented on the recent salary increase at BU:

"Salary could always be better. But we had a performance based raise this past year so that helped to bring our salaries up some. Also, there were some faculty who had been here for awhile and hadn't gotten a raise in a long period of time. My understanding is those salaries have also been increased to reflect what they should be."

Previous studies reported that salary is an important factor of job satisfaction (Clark, 1983; Tuckman, 1976). Accordingly, 13 of the 16 faculty members indicated salary was a contributor to job satisfaction with the majority of participants expressing how they were overworked. Comments by Murray and Mark exemplify the opinion of participants at both institutions relative to the workload. For example, Murray (5th year assistant professor) discussed the teaching load and lack of support at BU:

"I don't like the number of courses that you teach. That's probably why a lot of people go over to a White institution. Typically at a White institution, you are only supposed to teach two classes, maximum three classes and you're given a lot of time to research. Here they typically overwork you. They try to get the most out of you. And of course when you leave everybody is kind of shocked. But being overworked and not enough support from administration are things I dislike."

Likewise, Mark (professor employed 29 years at WU) echoed his dissatisfaction with the workload and compensation:

"I am very, very, very dissatisfied. And it isn't just unfair compensation, it's also unfair workload. Now notice that neither thing has anything to do with my so called race…so no, I can't blame my dissatisfaction on just my institution or academia. I blame my dissatisfaction on the culture not understanding the value added that professors give."

Institutional Fit. Institutional fit indicates compatibility between the goals and direction of the institution with faculty goals, beliefs, values and norms (Olsen et al., 1995). Participants in this study all indicated that institutional fit or the lack thereof influenced job satisfaction and intent to leave or stay at the institution. For example, Winston stated, "I would probably say there is a good institutional fit. I really think it's a good fit. If not, I would have gone somewhere else." Likewise, faculty at BU shared similar sentiments:

"I think I fit. I'm a go-getter and excited. I don't know if it will burn out in 5 or 6 years but I think I'm a perfect fit for what the mission of the campus is which is to become more research oriented. (Wilson at BU)

Institutional fit for me is perfect, the more autonomy I have, the better I can fit in this place." (Henry, an assistant professor employed at BU for 10 years)

Mark (tenured professor of 29 years) noted that his fit with WU was attributed to his longevity at the institution:

> *"Yes, there's a good fit but not in shared philosophies. It's a good fit because I've been there so long that I know how to circumvent the system and mold it in ways that make my day less stressful."*

However, Carl (a tenured associate professor completing his 2nd year) indicated his intention to leave WU as he explained how it appeared to be a good fit on paper but this was not what he found upon arriving at WU:

> *"I typically don't fit. On paper, I fit well with them. But that's different than what happens. And I shouldn't say well, I understand them on paper…with regards to engagement, community and scholarship."*

Location of Institution. The location of the institution was a theme that emerged as important to job satisfaction for participants. When the faculty members spoke of the location they were not just referring to the geographic location of the institution, but also the proximity to friends, family, diverse activities, and an acceptable climate. Five participants from WU and five participants from BU were satisfied with some aspect of the location of their institution. Murray, a 5th year tenure-track professor at BU, commented about the proximity of BU to family.

> *"He noted, "I just recently got married and my wife is from here. She loves it here and I've started liking this area. There are many fun things to do here."*

Likewise, Hamilton (BU) reiterated similar sentiments as he relayed what he liked about the location and being near his wife's family:

> *"I like it here. Even though I'm not from here I like being down here. My wife and her family are from here. I like the South and the weather. That's one of the main reasons I like being down here. [BU] kind of adds to it. I like the people here in the Department as well."*

Similar to his counterparts at BU, Melvin (WU) talked about enjoying being close to family and having activities available for his personal life:

> *"I like being in this area. I like being close to my family. This is not a large city, probably over 1 million. But compared to DC which is where I was before I came here, it's not even a comparison. I like the fact that it's racially diverse. There are lots of things to do for a family. I can take my kid to the zoo, the museum, and to the amusement park when it is open. If I want to do grown up things, I can go downtown. We have professional sports. So there's a lot."*

Winston (WU) related *"My wife works here. I have friends here. It's not far from home. I still have contacts. It's strategically located."*

Mitch (WU) elaborated on various aspects relative to the quality of life for the urban area:

> *"The quality of life in the urban setting is desirable. You have a lot of different activities to participate in. One thing I would emphasize is tenure. It's doable*

here whereas in some institutions it's difficult. This city has a more prestigious school. The salary could be higher. The cost of living is reasonable and the quality of life is decent."

In contrast to his colleagues, Coleman (16 year faculty member at the rank of professor) did not see the location of BU as favorably. He noted, *"The setting of [BU] can be a barrier. Many institutions are located in remote or undesirable areas including [BU]."*

Differences in Faculty Satisfaction

Faculty at WU discussed the importance of diversity to their job satisfaction. Specifically, faculty members at WU alluded to being able to affect African American students in the PWI setting, but indicated that it was expected of them. In contrast, BU faculty provided few comments relative to diversity being important to their satisfaction. Instead, the opportunity to give back was a theme that was mentioned by the majority of the faculty at BU as being important to their satisfaction.

Diversity. Many colleges and universities share a general belief that diversity in their student bodies, faculty, and staff is important in fulfilling their primary mission of providing a quality education, enriching the educational experience, promoting personal growth, strengthening communities, and enhancing America's economic competitiveness (American Council on Education, 2000). Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, and Richards (2004) asserted that faculty diversity greatly impacts student's attitudes and feelings toward intergroup relations on campus, institutional satisfaction, involvement, and academic growth. Diversity at WU was identified as a source of satisfaction which contributed to the decision of the faculty member to stay at the institution. Participants described diversity as working with undergraduate and graduate students, a variety of faculty from different backgrounds, and a diverse mixture of students and agendas.

Four African American faculty from WU indicated satisfaction with the diversity at the institution. Participants discussed the comfort of being in a diverse environment as illustrated in the comment made by Thomas, currently in his 4th year as an assistant professor at WU:

> *"I think I fit with recruitment, hiring, and retaining. In my case, I have a pretty diverse research agenda. I certainly enjoy teaching and being in an environment where the student body is diverse. The faculty is becoming more diverse also which I think helps, at least from a professor's standpoint. It helps the professor to grow and also to cultivate additional race issues with other faculty members."*

Peter (associate professor employed at WU for 13 years) responded similarly as he noted, *"I like the fact that I have access to the diverse student population."*

The Opportunity to Give Back. Diener (1985) revealed that some of the primary satisfiers among college faculty were student growth and working conditions that enhanced the life and work of a faculty member, such as interacting with stimulating students. Likewise, all faculty members at BU relayed the satisfaction of being able to relate to and provide students of their race with the opportunity and ability to obtain an education. Murray proudly provided his perspective about being afforded the chance to give back to students at HBCUs:

> *"One thing I like about being here is that it gives me an opportunity to give back ... well being a Black designer, you're never good enough. You're never on their playing field. So for me to have been trained by some of them actually allows me to come give back to our students so that they can be put on the level they need to be to compete. The biggest thing of course is always students. When you can see a student go from freshman all the way through to senior. They go on to get a job. And of course while they are students, they are never satisfied because you are a teacher and they think everything you say is totally wrong. But to see them prosper on the outside world is always a great joy."*

Coleman and Henry, instructors at BU, both talked about giving back in their comments. For example, Coleman shared that *"You have a sense of giving back to the community regardless of your race or ethnicity."* Likewise, Henry relayed, *"That's a great feeling to go to work and know that you're making a difference in someone else's life."* There was one participant at WU, Harvey (2nd year assistant professor), who commented on how he enjoyed being in a position to influence students:

> *"I like that I'm here and able to impact or influence just everybody that comes through the door. It's good to see a large student population. These are of course people that are going to practice here in this city. That has some appeal to it and is satisfying. Knowing that I'll be able to influence such a large part of this city's legal population is nice."*

Discussion

Overall, faculty members in this study were satisfied with their respective institutions. For example, six of seven participants at BU expressed satisfaction with their job and six of nine faculty members at WU were satisfied. Often faculty revealed satisfaction with specific aspects of the job but indicated dissatisfaction with others, such as policies of the institution. There were four areas, autonomy and flexibility, salary, institutional fit, and location, in which faculty at both institutions discussed similar influences on their satisfaction. A diverse student population and the opportunity to give back were the two areas in which there were differences expressed by the faculty at the two institutions.

Earlier studies have found the perceived level of flexibility and autonomy contribute to faculty satisfaction (Price, 1997; Tack & Patitu, 1992). Likewise, flexibility and autonomy were identified as influences in the level of satisfaction of African American males in this study. However, when faculty at BU spoke of freedom they were often referring to the HBCU environment allowing them to be themselves. In contrast, when faculty at WU mentioned freedom they were referring to completing job tasks without interference.

Salary is an important factor in the satisfaction of an individual with their job (Clark, 1983; Tuckman, 1976). All but three participants in this study noted salary was an important influence on their job satisfaction. Moreover, faculty at both BU and WU remarked they were working too hard and expressed dissatisfaction with this aspect of their job.

The congruence between institutional goals and values with that of the individual served as an influence on the satisfaction of faculty at WU and BU. Institutional fit was important to participants at both institutions. All but one participant felt that there was a good match with their goals and values with those espoused by the institution. Previous research has found that the

values, abilities, and goals of minority faculty should fit the values, needs, and goals of the postsecondary institutions where they are employed (Olsen et al., 1995).

The location of WU and BU were mentioned by a majority of the participants at both sites as an influence on the satisfaction level. With a locale in the southeastern region of the United States, the sites were ideally located to provide participants with the opportunity to be close to friends, family, and diverse activities. Faculty at WU and BU indicated that proximity to family was important to their satisfaction. There was a paucity of literature on the aspects of location which indirectly influence faculty satisfaction.

Diversity and opportunity to give back were themes highlighting the differences in influences on the satisfaction of participants at different institutional types. Faculty at WU discussed the importance of diversity to their job satisfaction and noted their satisfaction with working with a diverse student population (60 percent White and 35 percent African American). In contrast, BU faculty provided few comments relative to diversity being important to their satisfaction. Instead, participants at BU expressed satisfaction with being able to give back to HBCUs by educating other African Americans (the student population at BU is 93 percent African American).

Implications for Policy and Practice

Findings of this study have implications for policy and practice as it relates to job satisfaction of all faculty members but especially African American male faculty. For instance, leaders across institutional types can use the findings to identify how their institution can address the needs of African American male faculty. Moreover, current and aspiring African American male faculty may be able to utilize the findings of this study to determine which type of institution offers them the best organizational or institutional fit.

Institutional fit was a finding in this study with implications for practice and policy. Institutional leaders must ensure that the stated and unstated institutional expectations are conveyed to prospective faculty members during the interview process, so that authentic assessments of compatibility between the institution and the individual can be made. Additionally, these institutional expectations should be continuously conveyed to faculty during annual reviews and evaluations.

The National Center for Education Statistics (2003) indicated that there is a shortage of faculty overall and an even greater shortage of faculty of color at postsecondary institutions in the United States. Accordingly, diversity was a finding in this study that influenced job satisfaction. Therefore, institutions should be proactive in their efforts to diversify their faculty. Programs and committees designed to recruit, hire, and retain African American faculty are needed. The demographics of the student population at an institution can serve as one of many indicators of what the level of representation of African-American faculty might approach. Thus, the development of a policy that focuses on increasing minority representation should be created and reviewed annually.

HBCU leaders could use the influences of location, institutional fit, and opportunity to give back as recruiting tools to attract potential faculty members. The opportunity for potential faculty members to work in an environment with students and faculty of their own race and culture could be emphasized, particularly for African American faculty. In addition, working in a context in which you are valued and what is important as it relates to training African American students could also be integrated into a recruitment campaign. Furthermore, the location of the majority of HBCUs in the south with less harsh climates is a positive aspect that could be

capitalized on as a source of satisfaction. Leaders at PWIs could also implement some of these recruiting initiatives to attract not only African American faculty but all faculty. Specifically, marketing strategies for PWIs could emphasize diverse student enrollment and the availability of a range of activities in close proximity to the institution.

Future Research

The majority of the faculty members at the two institutions indicated that they were satisfied with their institution. Several commonalities across both institutions were identified. There were some sources of satisfaction that were consistently relayed by participants at one institution versus the other. Analysis of the data not only necessitates the need for future research but also provides insight for institutional leaders to understand what influences the satisfaction of African American male faculty.

There are several research possibilities, which can be developed from the findings of this study. According to Ehrenberg (2002), faculty, especially tenured faculty, at private and wealthier institutions are more likely to report higher levels of satisfaction with compensation and resources, and thus express greater intentions to remain at the institution. Hence, the current study could be expanded to include institutions of this type in order to discern if the findings hold true. Finally, studies comparing faculty by gender and ethnicity across institutional types could prove insightful as knowledge of faculty satisfaction is expanded. A study that uses both quantitative and qualitative assessment could be used to gain more insight in each of these two areas.

Future research could examine the job satisfaction of non-tenured African American male faculty to discern what influences their job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Little is known about non-tenured faculty as a whole, inquiry into their satisfaction would contribute to the literature on this growing subgroup of faculty. The same research design and institutions for this current study could be used to provide additional insight into this phenomenon.

Additionally, there is limited research on the job satisfaction of African American females, other minority groups, and White faculty at HBCUs. Therefore, future research could be conducted to explore how job satisfaction influences the intent of these groups and whether it differs across institutional types. A qualitative inquiry could provide further information as well as a voice for other faculty at HBCUs.

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